

# THE ALYESKA COLLECTION OF PONY EXPRESS MAIL

*Featuring One of Two Known "Stolen Pony" Covers*



SALE 1038

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 2013

*Robert A. Siegel*  
AUCTION GALLERIES, INC.



# THE ALYESKA COLLECTION OF PONY EXPRESS MAIL



Sale 1038

Wednesday, March 20, 2013, at 1:30 p.m.

Lots 1-32

*A 15% buyer's premium will be added to the hammer price of each lot sold.*

*Lots will be available for viewing on Monday and Tuesday, March 18-19, from 10-4, Wednesday, March 20, from 10-1, and by appointment (please call 212-753-6421).*

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Nathaniel Estes Catalogue and Digital Production

## Information for Bidders

### Bidding

The following means are available for placing bids:

- 1) Attending the Live Auction in Person:** All bidders must register for a paddle, and new bidders must provide references at least three business days in advance of the sale.
- 2) Live Internet Bidding:** Instructions for participating as a Live Internet Bidder are provided on the page opposite.
- 3) Phone Bidding:** Bidders can be connected to the sale by phone and bid through a member of staff. Requests for phone bidding are subject to approval (please contact our office at least 24 hours before the sale). A signed Bid Form is required.
- 4) Absentee Bids.** All bids received in advance of the sale, either by mail, fax, phone, e-mail or internet, are Absentee Bids, which instruct the auctioneer to bid up to a specific amount on one or more lots in the sale. Absentee Bids sent by phone, fax or e-mail should arrive at least one hour prior to the start of the sale session. Bids entered through Live Internet Bidding will be visible to the auctioneer during the sale. Written bids should be entered legibly on the Bid Form in the sale catalogue. E-mail and internet bids should be carefully typed and double-checked. All new bidders must provide references. We recommend calling or e-mailing to confirm that Absentee Bids sent by mail, fax or e-mail have been received and entered.

### Pre-Sale Viewing

Subject to availability, certain lots (except group lots) can be sent to known clients for examination. Requests must be made no later than 7 days prior to the sale. Lots must be returned on the day received. Postage/insurance costs will be invoiced.

In addition to regular viewing, clients may view lots by appointment. Our staff will be pleased to answer questions or provide additional information about lots.

### Expert Certification

Individual items offered without a PF or PSE certificate dated within the past five years may be purchased subject to independent certification of genuineness and our description. **Please refer to the Conditions of Sale and Grading Terms for policies governing certification.**

### Shipping and Delivery

Procedures and charges for shipping lots are printed on the back of the Bid Form. **Bidders are responsible for all prescribed shipping charges and any applicable sales tax or customs duties.**

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Prices realized are sent with each invoice. Bidders with e-mail will receive a Bid Results report after the sale. Session results are posted immediately to **siegelauctions.com**



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## BIDDING FROM YOUR COMPUTER LETS YOU BE PART OF THE LIVE AUCTION FROM ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD!

**There's NO SUBSTITUTE for following the auction in real time.**  
**Live Internet Bidding lets you bid and buy as though you were right there in the saleroom.**  
**And it's easy.**

**This step-by-step guide will instruct you how to register, set your browser and use the bidding interface.**

**Start by following the simple steps to become a registered Live Internet Bidder.**  
**Once you've been approved for bidding, you can listen to the auction and place bids with the click of a mouse.**

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Live Internet Bidding is managed by Stamp Auction Network (SAN).  
To bid, you must be registered and approved by *both* SAN and Siegel.  
To decide what you need to do, choose the description below that best fits you.



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Before bidding by internet for the first time, we recommend finding a sale in progress and listening to the public broadcast or logging in as a registered bidder. This will help you develop a feel for the sale tempo and bidding interface.

**I'm a Siegel client, but I'm not registered with SAN.**

Go to [stampauctionnetwork.com/siegel](http://stampauctionnetwork.com/siegel) and click on "Register" at the top. Check the box for Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries (under "R") and submit the form, indicating you are a Siegel client. Once registered at SAN, you're ready for internet bidding.

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Go to [stampauctionnetwork.com/siegel](http://stampauctionnetwork.com/siegel) and click on "Register" at the top. Check the box for Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries (under "R") and submit the form **with your trade references** (please, no family members or credit card companies as references). Once registered at SAN and approved by Siegel for bidding, you're ready for internet bidding.

### Log on to the auction at [stampauctionnetwork.com/siegel](http://stampauctionnetwork.com/siegel).

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When you're logged on as a Live Internet Bidder, the bidding interface shows a photo and description of the lot, the current bid (and your bidding status), options for placing competitive bids and buttons with bid increments.

- After you click on a bid amount, the auctioneer is immediately notified of your bid.
- Retracting a bid is usually not acceptable, so please bid carefully.
- If you bid and then decide to stop, the "Pass" button will tell the auctioneer you are no longer bidding.
- You can send messages to the auctioneer (for example, a request for extension).
- You can track prior realizations from the bidding screen.



**"System Down" or "Lost Connection" events do occasionally happen.**

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1. The highest bidder acknowledged by the auctioneer shall be the buyer. The term "final bid" means the last bid acknowledged by the auctioneer, which is normally the highest bid offered. **The purchase price payable by the buyer will be the sum of the final bid and a commission of 15% of the final bid ("buyer's premium"), together with any sales tax, use tax or customs duties due on the sale.**
2. The auctioneer has the right to reject any bid, to advance the bidding at his discretion and, in the event of a dispute between bidders, to determine the successful bidder, to continue the bidding or to reoffer and resell the lot in dispute. The Galleries' record of the final sale shall be conclusive.
3. All bids are per numbered lot in the catalogue unless otherwise announced by the auctioneer at the time of sale. The right is reserved to group two or more lots, to withdraw any lot or lots from the sale, or to act on behalf of the seller. The Galleries will execute bidding instructions on behalf of clients, but will not be responsible for the failure to execute such bids or for any errors in the execution of such bids.
4. **Lots with numbers followed by the symbol ° are offered subject to a confidential minimum bid ("reserve"), below which the lot will not be sold. The absence of the symbol ° means that the lot is offered without a reserve. If there is no reserve, the auctioneer has sole discretion to establish a minimum opening bid and may refuse an offer of less than half of the published estimate. Any lot that does not reach its reserve or opening bid requested by the auctioneer will be announced as "passed" and excluded from the prices realized lists after the sale. The Galleries may have a direct or indirect ownership interest in any or all lots in the sale resulting from an advance of monies or goods-in-trade or a guarantee of minimum net proceeds made by the Galleries to the seller.**
5. Subject to the exclusions listed in 5(A), the Galleries will accept the return of lots which have been misidentified or which have obvious faults that were present when the lot was in the Galleries' custody, but not so noted in the lot description. **All disputed lots must be received by the Galleries intact with the original packing material within 5 days of delivery to the buyer but no later than 30 days from the sale date. (5A) EXCLUSIONS:** The following lots may not be returned for any reason: lots containing 10 or more items; lots from buyers who registered for the pre-sale exhibition or received lots by postal viewing, thereby having had the opportunity to inspect them before the sale; any lot described with "faults," "defects" or a specific fault may not be returned because of any secondary fault. Photographed lots may not be returned because of centering, margins, short/nibbed perforations or other factors shown in the illustrations. Lots may not be returned for any of the following reasons: the color of the item does not match the color reproduction in the sale catalogue or website listing; the description contains inaccurate information about the quantity known or reported; or a certification service grades a stamp lower than the grade stated in the description.
6. Successful bidders, unless they have established credit with the Galleries prior to the sale, must make payment in full before the lots will be delivered. Buyers not known to the Galleries must make payment in full within 3 days from the date of sale. **The Galleries retains the right to demand a cash deposit from anyone prior to bidder registration and/or to demand payment at the time the lot is knocked down to the highest bidder, for any reason whatsoever.** In the event that any buyer refuses or fails to make payment in cash

for any lot at the time it is knocked down to him, the auctioneer reserves the right to reoffer the lot immediately for sale to the highest bidder. **Credit cards are not accepted as payment.**

7. If the purchase price has not been paid within the time limit specified above, nor lots taken up within 7 days from the date of sale, the lots will be resold by whatever means deemed appropriate by the Galleries, and any loss incurred from resale will be charged to the defaulting buyer. Any account more than 30 days in arrears will be subject to a late payment charge of 1½% per month as long as the account remains in arrears. Any expenses incurred in securing payment from delinquent accounts will be charged to the defaulter. A fee of \$250.00 per check will be charged for each check returned for insufficient funds.
8. All lots are sold as genuine. **Any lot accompanied by a certificate issued by The Philatelic Foundation or by Professional Stamp Experts within 5 years of the sale date is sold "as is" and in accordance with the description on the certificate. Such lots may not be returned for any reason, including but not limited to a contrary certificate of opinion.** Buyers who wish to obtain a certificate for any item that does not have a P.F. or P.S.E. certificate (dated as above) may do so, provided that the following conditions are met: (1) the purchase price must be paid in full, (2) the item must be submitted to an acceptable expertizing committee with a properly executed application form within 21 days of the sale, (3) a copy of the application form must be given to the Galleries, (4) in the event that an adverse opinion is received, the Galleries retain the right to resubmit the item on the buyer's behalf for reconsideration, without time limit or other restrictions, (5) unless written notification to the contrary is received, items submitted for certification will be considered cleared 90 days from the date of sale, and (6) in the event any item is determined to be "not as described", the buyer will be refunded the purchase price and the certification fee up to \$600.00 unless otherwise agreed.
9. Until paid for in full, all lots remain the property of the Galleries on behalf of the seller.
10. Agents executing bids on behalf of clients will be held responsible for all purchases made on behalf of clients unless otherwise arranged prior to the sale.
11. The buyer assumes all risk for delivery of purchased lots and agrees to pay for prescribed shipping costs. Buyers outside the U.S. are responsible for all customs duties.
12. **The bidder consents that any action or proceeding against it may be commenced and maintained in any court within the State of New York or in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, that the courts of the State of New York and United States District Court for the Southern District of New York shall have jurisdiction with respect to the subject matter hereof and the person of the bidder. The bidder agrees not to assert any defense to any action or proceeding initiated by Galleries based upon improper venue or inconvenient forum. The bidder agrees that any action brought by the bidder shall be commenced and maintained only in a Federal Court in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York or the State Court in the county in which Galleries has its principal place of business in New York. These Terms and Conditions shall be governed by and construed in accordance with the substantive laws of the State of New York.**

SCOTT R. TREPEL, Principal Auctioneer

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Telephone (212) 577-0111

*Revised 1/2013*

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## Grades, Abbreviations and Values Used in Descriptions

### Grades and Centering

Our descriptions contain detailed information and observations about each item's condition. We have also assigned grades to stamps and covers, which reflect our subjective assessment. For stamps, the margin width, centering and gum are described and graded according to generally-accepted standards (an approximate correlation to numeric grades is provided at right). Although we believe our grades are accurate, they are not always exactly aligned with third-party grading terms or standards for all issues. **A lot may not be returned because a certification service grades a stamp lower than the grade stated in the description. Information from the P.S.E. Stamp Market Quarterly and P.S.E. Population Report<sup>SM</sup> is the most current available, but lots may not be returned due to errors or changes in statistics or data.**

**Extremely Fine Gem (90-100):** The term "Gem" describes condition that is the finest possible for the issue. This term is equivalent to "Superb" used by grading services.







**Extremely Fine (80-90):** Exceptionally large/wide margins or near perfect centering.

**Very Fine (70-85):** Normal-size margins for the issue and well-centered with the design a bit closer to one side. "Very Fine and choice" applies to stamps that have desirable traits such as rich color, sharp impression, freshness or clarity of cancel.

**Fine (60-70):** Smaller than usual margins or noticeably off center. Pre-1890 issues may have the design touched in places.

**Very Good (below 60):** Attractive appearance, but margins or perforations cut into the design.

### Guide to Gum Condition

Gum Categories:	MINT N.H.	ORIGINAL GUM (O.G.)				NO GUM
	 <b>Mint Never Hinged</b> <i>Free from any disturbance</i>	 <b>Lightly Hinged</b> <i>Faint impression of a removed hinge over a small area</i>	 <b>Hinge Mark or Remnant</b> <i>Prominent hinged spot with part or all of the hinge remaining</i>	 <b>Part o.g.</b> <i>Approximately half or more of the gum intact</i>	 <b>Small part o.g.</b> <i>Approximately less than half of the gum intact</i>	 <b>No gum</b> <i>Only if issued with gum</i>
Catalogue Symbol:	★ ★	★	★	★	★	(★)
PRE-1890 ISSUES	Pre-1890 stamps in these categories trade at a premium over Scott value			Scott Value for “O.G.”		Scott “No Gum” Values thru No. 218
1890-1935 ISSUES	Scott “Never Hinged” Values for Nos. 219-771	Scott Value for “O.G.” (Actual value will be affected by the degree of hinging)		<b>Disturbed Original Gum:</b> Gum showing noticeable effects of humidity, climate or hinging over more than half of the gum. The significance of gum disturbance in valuing a stamp in any of the Original Gum categories depends on the degree of disturbance, the rarity and normal gum condition of the issue and other variables affecting quality. For example, stamps issued in tropical climates are expected to have some gum disturbance due to humidity, and such condition is not considered a negative factor in pricing.		
1935 TO DATE	Scott Value for “Unused”					

### Covers

Minor nicks, short edge tears, flap tears and slight reduction at one side are normal conditions for 19th century envelopes. Folded letters should be expected to have at least one file fold. Light cleaning of covers and small mends along the edges are accepted forms of conservation. Unusual covers may have a common stamp with a slight crease or tiny tear. **These flaws exist in virtually all 19th century covers and are not always described. They are not grounds for return.**

### Catalogue Values and Estimates

Unless otherwise noted, the currently available *Scott Catalogue* values are quoted in dollars with a decimal point. Other catalogues are often used for foreign countries or specialized areas and are referred to by their common name: *Stanley Gibbons* (SG), *Dietz*, *American Air Mail Catalogue* (AAMC), *Michel*, *Zumstein*, *Facit*, etc. Estimates are indicated with an "E." and reflect our conservative valuation in dollars. Reserves will never exceed the low end of the estimate range; they will sometimes exceed Scott Catalogue value for stamps in Extremely Fine condition.

Because of certain pricing inconsistencies in the *Scott Catalogue*—for example, blocks that have no gum, the absence of premiums for Mint N.H. items, etc.—we cannot guarantee the accuracy of values quoted for multiples, specialized items and collection lots. We generally try to be conservative, but buyers may not return a lot because of a discrepancy in catalogue value due to Scott pricing inconsistencies.

### Symbols and Abbreviations (see chart above for gum symbols)

田	Block	E	Essay	pmk.	Postmark	No.	Scott Catalogue Number
☒	Cover	P	Proof	cds	Circular Datestamp	hs	Handstamp
FC	Fancy Cancel	TC	Trial Color Proof	var.	Variety	ms.	Manuscript



# PONY EXPRESS.

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## NINE DAYS FROM SAN FRANCISCO To New York.

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**THE CENTRAL OVERLAND PONY EXPRESS CO.** will start their **LETTER EXPRESS** from San Francisco to New York and intermediate points, **On Tuesday, the 3d day of April next,** And upon every **TUESDAY** thereafter, at 4 o'clock, P. M. Letters will be received at San Francisco until 3¼ o'clock, P. M., each day of departure.

**OFFICE—Alta Telegraph Office, Montgomery street**

Telegraphic Dispatches will be received at Carson City until 6 o'clock, P. M., every Wednesday.

Schedule Time from San Francisco to New York :

For Telegraphic Dispatches, 9 days;

For Letters, 13 days.

Letters will be charged between San Francisco and Salt Lake City, \$3 per half ounce and under, and at that rate according to weight. To all points **BEYOND** Salt Lake City, \$5 per half ounce and under, and that rate according to weight.

Telegraphic Dispatches will be subject to the same charges as Letters.

All Letters must be enclosed in stamped Envelopes.

**WM. W. FINNEY,**

mh17-tf      Agent Central Overland Pony Express Co.  
Times copy.

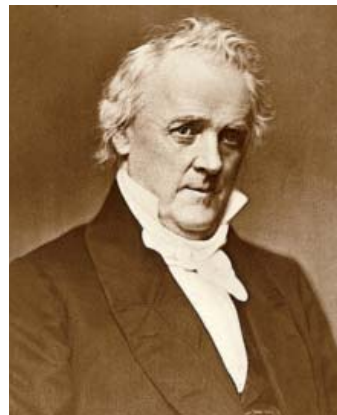
# THE ALYESKA COLLECTION OF PONY EXPRESS MAIL

## The Path Between One Era and Another

THE PONY EXPRESS, WHICH RAN FROM APRIL 1860 TO OCTOBER 1861, followed the physical manifestation of white Americans' destiny and crossed the boundary between the antebellum era and the Civil War.

The Pony Express route followed the well-established Oregon-California Trail—really a string of ox-cart trails with alternate routes—which crossed the Great Plains, the Great Basin and the mountains and valleys of Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Nevada and California. Much of the Pony Express route—especially the 1,350 miles between Fort Kearny and Carson City—traversed the American Indians' homeland, where various tribes and bands hunted buffalo, harvested pine nuts, camped near water sources and raised their families.

The vast territory acquired by the United States as a result of the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the Mexican War, and the discovery of gold and silver in California, Colorado and present-day Nevada, fueled the migration of pioneer settlers to the West. By 1860 the encroachment on Indian civilization was nearly complete.



President James Buchanan



President Abraham Lincoln

When the Pony Express started in April 1860, the slavery question was tearing the country apart. As the election of 1860 approached, the Republican party's candidate, Abraham Lincoln, campaigned against the pro-slavery candidates while debates raged over extending slavery into the newly-settled lands west of the Mississippi River.

At this point, communication between the coasts still required the physical transport of mail, either by ocean or land. Letters sent by steamship and rail across the Isthmus of Panama took at least three weeks to reach their destination. The alternative land routes were no faster and far less reliable.

The Pony Express promised to carry a letter or telegram between California and Missouri in just 10 days. For businesses dependent on timely news and a public engaged in the hot political issues of 1860, the ability to send and receive messages in half the customary time was essential. For the three men who launched it, the Pony Express was a means to an end—a public relations tool to win congressional support for a lucrative mail contract along the Central Route.

Unprofitable from the start, plagued by troubles and doomed by the transcontinental telegraph, the Pony Express still managed to move between 35,000 and 40,000 letters a total distance of more than 600,000 miles during its nineteen months of existence [1].



***Russell, Majors and Waddell, and The Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Co.***

The migration to California and other regions west of Missouri created a tremendous need for transportation services to carry supplies, mail and newspapers. This demand was met by steamship companies and overland stage companies.

The water-based operators travelled the Pacific Ocean between California and the Isthmus of Panama, where a land-crossing was made to connecting steamers on the other side, plying the Atlantic waters. Land-based operators using horse-drawn stagecoaches and ox-driven wagon trains had two basic options. They could take the Southern Route via Los Angeles, Fort Yuma, El Paso and Fort Smith (Memphis and St. Louis were the two eastern terminals), or they could follow the Central Route across the Rocky Mountains (San Francisco and St. Joseph/Leavenworth at opposite ends). The Central Route offered a more direct path, but the Southern Route was more reliable, because it avoided treacherous mountain terrain and weather.

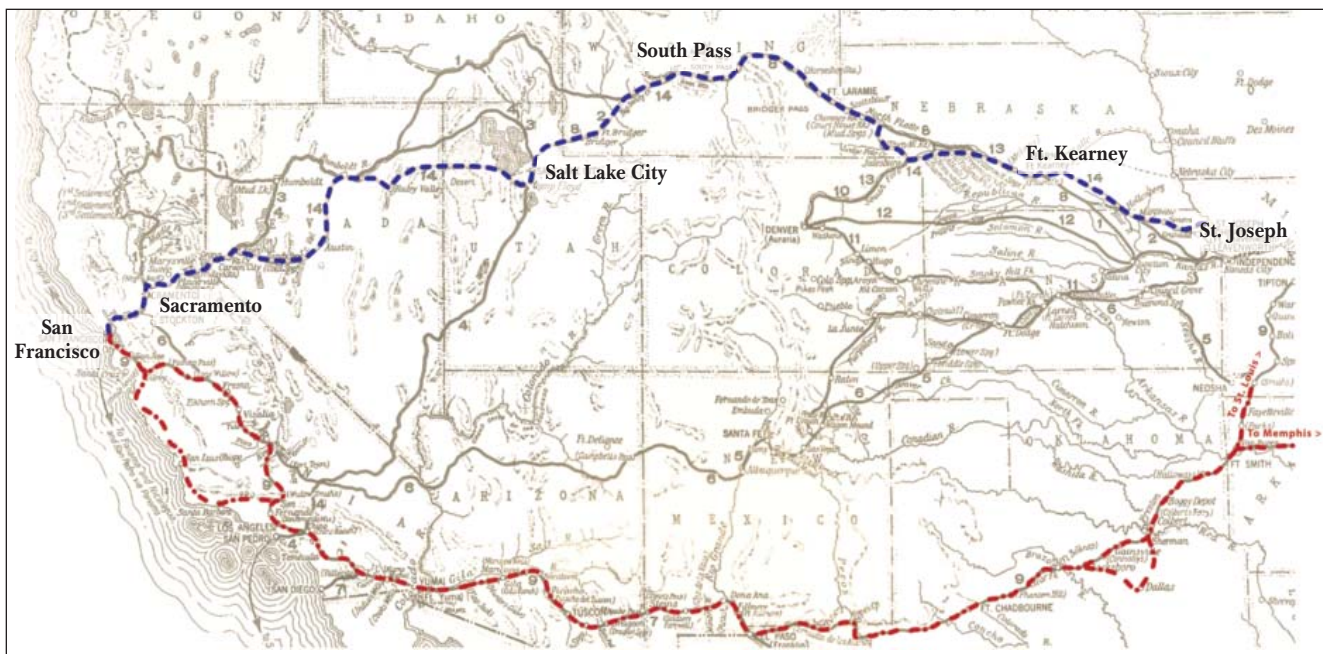
By 1859 the U.S. Post Office Department had contracts with three firms to provide mail transport across the Southern Route (Overland Mail Co.) and the Central Route (Hockaday from St. Joseph to Salt Lake City, and Chorpensing from Salt Lake City to Placerville). The contract for semi-weekly mails on the Southern Route paid \$600,000 per year. The less-reliable Central Route paid only \$205,000 per year, because postal officials reduced the number of trips to two per month [2].

William H. Russell, Alexander Majors and William B. Waddell originally joined forces in December 1854, in order to win the War Department contract for transporting supplies to western military outposts. The Quartermaster General had recently switched from an ad hoc contracting policy to awarding two-year contracts, which made supplying outposts more dependable for the government and more profitable for the contractors.

Russell was a promoter and lobbyist who spent much of his time trying to secure government contracts. Majors was a skilled operations manager, responsible for organizing and maintaining the caravans that carried enormous quantities of freight. Waddell was the quiet and conservative financial man. Russell, Majors and Waddell built a successful freighting business. However, in 1857 they began to spiral downward after Mormons destroyed a large supply train under contract with the War Department.



William H. Russell, Alexander Majors, William B. Waddell—the three principal directors of the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company, which created the Pony Express in 1860.



Map of the overland stage route in 1860

--- Central Route  
 - - - Southern Route

The loss incurred during the Mormon War left Russell, Majors and Waddell in debt, and the government was unwilling to compensate them for \$500,000 in claims. Faced with this gloomy financial picture, Russell turned his attention to obtaining a government contract to carry mail along the Central Route. The idea of a faster, more direct route from St. Joseph to San Francisco had its proponents, but skeptics argued that the route could never function when winter weather made the mountain trails unpassable.

In 1858 Russell and John S. Jones, along with several other partners, started a stage and express operation called the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express Company. L&PP acquired the bankrupted Hockaday line in May 1859 and invested heavily in reorganizing the stage route between St. Joseph and Salt Lake City. The burden of debt soon became too great for Russell and his partners. In October 1859 the assets and liabilities of L&PP were assumed by a new partnership between Russell, Majors and Waddell. For Majors and Waddell, the assumption of their partner's debt must have been a bitter pill, because they had cautioned him not to over-estimate the revenue that could be generated by the L&PP stage line.

On November 19, 1859, Russell named the new firm The Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company (COC&PP), betting on his ability to secure a mail contract for the entire Central Route. Apparently Russell failed to consult his partners about naming the company. He also sidestepped Majors and Waddell when he decided to "establish a Pony Express to Sacramento, California, commencing 3rd of April. Time ten days." [3]

The concept of a rapid express using relay riders over the Central Route is credited to Benjamin F. Ficklin, an experienced stage line manager. It is reported that Ficklin gave the idea to Senator William M. Gwin during a horseback trip along the route in





U.S. Senator William M. Gwin was a pro-slavery Democrat who served as U.S. senator from California from 1850 to 1855 and again from 1857 to 1861. He is credited with encouraging William H. Russell to launch the Pony Express, an idea given to him by Benjamin F. Ficklin.

1854. Gwin introduced legislation in January 1855 to establish “a weekly letter express [along the Central Route],” but the bill never made it out of committee. Ficklin later served as superintendent of the L&PP Express. Late in 1859, Senator Gwin approached Russell about establishing a Pony Express to help promote the viability of the Central Route. Russell, seeing this as a strategy to winning the mail contract, embraced the Pony Express and persuaded his reluctant partners to support the enterprise. [4]

Russell announced his intention to establish the Pony Express on January 27, 1860. With only two months to prepare for the April 3rd launch date, Russell, Majors and Waddell had to choose the exact route, locate and build stations, hire employees, buy horses and supplies, and advertise the schedule and rates for Pony Express mail. Their success was due to the experience and abilities of Majors, Ficklin and the superintendents, and to the fact that COC&PP already had a significant amount of infrastructure in place over much of the route.



Sacramento in 1849—steamers, barges and seagoing sailing ships crowd the Sacramento waterfront at the foot of J Street during the height of the Gold Rush.

From *The United States Illustrated* by Charles A. Dana, published in 1855

### ***The Pony Express Route and Organization***

The Pony Express route followed the old Oregon-California Trail for much of the way between the eastern terminus at St. Joseph, Missouri, and the western terminus at Sacramento, California, where the actual Pony ride would begin and end. The total distance travelled along this route was approximately 1,840 miles, passing through what are now the states of Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Wyoming, Utah and Nevada. The trip between San Francisco and Sacramento, usually by steamer, added 120 to 140 miles.

Although Russell, Majors and Waddell used Leavenworth, Kansas, as their eastern stage terminus, they decided to establish the Pony Express terminus at St. Joseph, in order to connect with the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad (used to transport mail) and the telegraph line. St. Joseph also provided incentives, such as office space, free railroad passes for employees and free passage on the Missouri River ferry for Pony riders. [5]

The Alta Telegraph Company office in San Francisco served as the primary mail collection and delivery point. Mail was carried by steamer to and from Sacramento, where the Pony relay started and ended (the western terminus was later moved to Folsom, then Placerville).

The route was divided into five divisions, each under the management of a superintendent who reported to the general manager, Benjamin F. Ficklin. The divisions and superintendents are listed in the “Pony Express Divisions” table above.

During the two months prior to April 1860, Ficklin’s team sent out wagon trains with materials necessary to build the stations required between St. Joseph and Sacramento. Between St. Joseph and Salt Lake City, the old L&PP Express stations were augmented

#### **PONY EXPRESS DIVISIONS**

##### **Division I**

St. Joseph to Fort Kearney (340 miles)  
*Superintendent: A. E. Lewis*

##### **Division II**

Fort Kearney to Horse Shoe Sta. (363 miles)  
*Superintendent: Joseph A. Slade*

##### **Division III**

Horse Shoe Sta. to Salt Lake City (462 miles)  
*Superintendent: James E. Bromley*

##### **Division IV**

Salt Lake City to Robert’s Creek (304 miles)  
*Superintendent: Howard Egan*

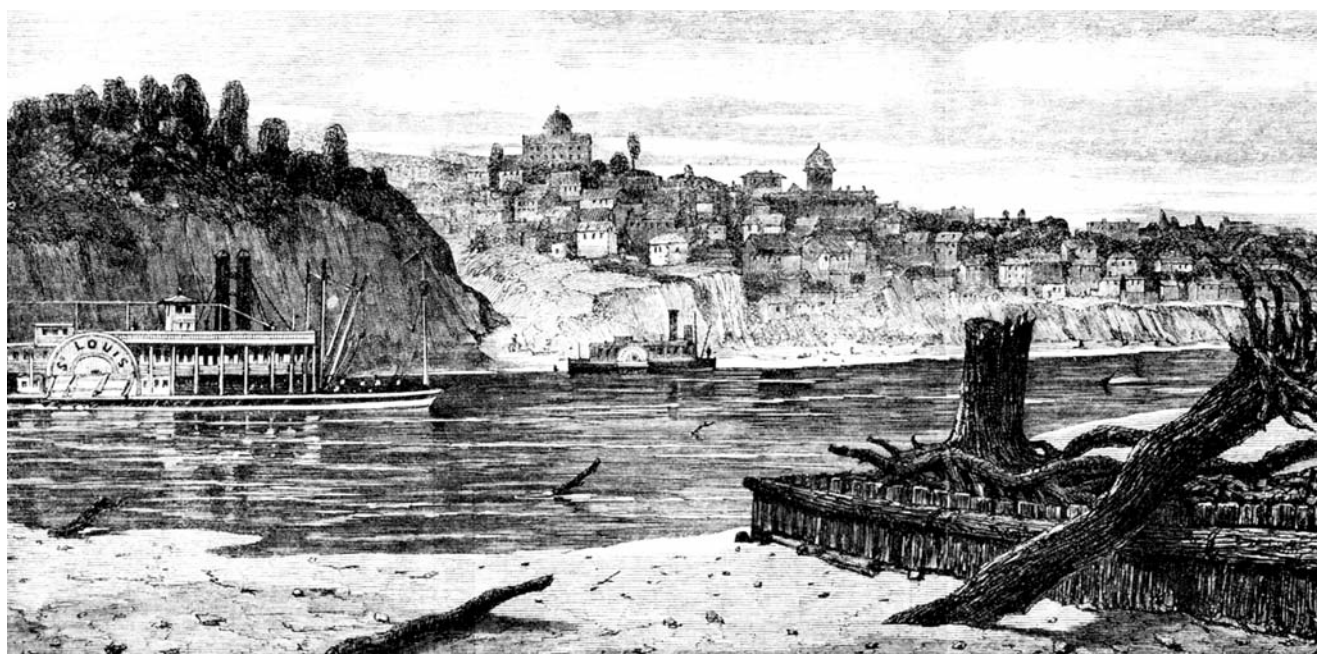
##### **Division V**

Robert’s Creek to Sacramento (373 miles)  
*Superintendent: Bolivar Roberts*



Pony Express stable at St. Joseph—the original building, known as the Pike’s Peak Stable, was built in 1858 to accommodate horses used by the local freight and stagecoach company. In 1860, the Central Overland California and Pike’s Peak Express Company purchased the building for the Pony Express, to serve the same purpose. The original wooden structure was replaced by a brick building in 1888, but some of the original posts and beams were reused. In 1950, the Goetz Foundation restored the building to its 1888 brick appearance and established a museum dedicated to the Pony Express.





St. Joseph, Missouri, in 1861, viewed from the Kansas side of the Missouri River.  
The Pony Express riders crossed the Missouri between St. Joseph and Elwood, Kansas.

with new stations, spaced apart at a distance of approximately 10 to 12 miles. The route between Salt Lake City and Sacramento presented greater difficulty, because COC&PP had to build and equip many more stations. Prior to May 1860, the mail contract for this western section of the route was still held by George Chorpenning. This meant that COC&PP did not have existing infrastructure equivalent to what was in place east of the Rockies.

It is not definitely known how many stations were up and running when the Pony Express started in April 1860. One source reports 119 stations, with a home station every 75 to 100 miles apart where a rider could rest before making the return trip. Another source reports 153 stations and relay posts operating from the start. [6] The total number of stations claimed to have been used is nearly 190. [7]

The managers had to buy horses—400 to 500, according to Alexander Majors—and distribute them along the route. They also had to hire employees to man the stations and riders. The estimated number of Pony riders hired ranges from 50 to 80. [8]

The Alta Telegraph Co. was the location of the first Pony Express office in San Francisco. The address is shown on this ca. 1860 printed telegraph envelope. 153 Montgomery Street is the old street number (it is now in the 600 block).



The Pony Express was designed to operate on a relay system in which a rider would change horses every 10 to 15 miles, and a new rider would carry the *mochilla*—the leather bag used to carry mail—every 75 miles. The first published schedule projected a 240-hour journey [9]. The miles a rider and horse could run per hour varied greatly, depending on the terrain and weather conditions. On open plains, a rider could cover a much greater distance in an hour. Confronted with steep inclines and winding mountain trails, the pace slowed considerably. Relay stations where riders changed horses and passed the mochilla were established at locations best suited to the circumstances.

Only the most vivid imagination can envision the hostile environment, desolation and physical discomfort that confronted a Pony rider. A detailed and brilliantly articulated description of the land and conditions is provided in Joseph J. DiCerto's *The Saga of The Pony Express* (chapters 8 to 11). A recap of the journey follows.

The westward trip from St. Joseph first took a Pony rider across the vast prairie of the Great Plains, at a time when 30 million American bison and 50 to 100 million pronghorns still roamed the wilderness. About 100 miles west of St. Joseph, he reached the Big Blue River at Marysville. From there he followed the Little Blue River and then the Platte River to Fort Kearney. Where the river divides into north and south branches, the rider followed the South Platte for about 100 miles, venturing into Colorado Territory and stopping at Julesburg before turning back to Nebraska toward Fort Laramie.

Beyond Fort Laramie the rider entered Wyoming Territory and encountered mountainous terrain. After passing Devil's Gate, he reached South Pass, where so many pioneers had travelled before him, and then Fort Bridger. The trail followed canyons surrounded by massive snow-peaked mountains until it finally reached Salt Lake City, nestled in the valley of the Great Salt Lake.

### The Mochilla

The following description of the saddle bag used to carry Pony Express mail appears in *The White Indian Boy*, a book of stories told by a Pony Express rider named "Uncle Nick" Wilson:

Our saddles, which were all provided by the company, had nothing to them but the bare tree, stirrups, and cinch. Two large pieces of leather about sixteen inches wide by twenty-four long were laced together with a strong leather string thrown over the saddle. Fastened to these were four pockets, two in front and two behind; these hung on each side of the saddle. The two hind ones were the largest. The one in front on the left side was called the 'way pocket.' All of these pockets were locked with small padlocks and each home station keeper had a key to the 'way pocket.' When the express arrived at the home station, the keeper would unlock the 'way pocket' and if there were any letters for the boys between the home stations, the rider would distribute them as he went along. There was also a card in the way pocket that the station keeper would take out and write on it the time the express arrived and left his station. If the express was behind time, he would tell the rider how much time he had to make up.



The exterior view of the walls at Fort Bridger in 1859.



Locomotive crossing at Folsom—the rail cars of the Sacramento Valley Railroad were used to carry Pony Express mail between Sacramento and the western railroad terminal at Folsom.



With the winding paths and steep grades of the Rockies behind him, the Pony rider emerged to confront a vast and inhospitable desert. This stretch of arid land crossed from Utah to Nevada (as they exist today). It was here where the threat of Indian attacks was greatest, earning it the nickname “Paiute Hell.” Only the Ruby and Diamond Mountains interrupted the bleak desert landscape.

Once at Carson City, the rider’s final challenge was passing over the Sierra Nevada mountains. Even in favorable conditions, it took at least a day to ride the 100-mile trail to Placerville. In late June 1860 the western terminus was moved east from Sacramento to Folsom, where the Sacramento Valley Railroad reached and mail was put on cars to and from Sacramento. Placerville became the Pony terminus on July 1, 1861.

Throughout the 1,840-mile journey, dangerously unpredictable rivers and rocky terrain put both horse and horseman at risk of injury or death. Sand and snow storms could stop a rider in his tracks. Thick swarms of gnats and mosquitos were torturous. In areas still populated by Indians, to whom the western migration of pioneers represented encroachment and depletion of resources, there was always the danger of attack. In these aspects, the legend and reality of the Pony Express match.



Palmer & Day’s assay office at Folsom was the agency for the Pony Express after June 1860. It is shown in this photo with the Wells Fargo & Co. name.

This photograph shows the main street in Placerville in July 1859. Newspaper reporter Horace Greeley and the famous stage “whip” Hank Monk are seated in the stagecoach with white horses.





Courtesy of Wells Fargo History Museum, San Francisco

### ***The First Pony Express Trips***

The inaugural Pony Express trips departed from San Francisco and St. Joseph on the same day, Tuesday, April 3, 1860. They were scheduled to reach their respective destinations in 10 days. Adding three to four days for regular mail to travel between St. Joseph and the East Coast, a Pony Express letter would reach its destination in 13 or 14 days, start to finish. Using the telegraph connection at St. Joseph, a message could be transmitted between the East Coast and California in just 10 days.

In Sacramento on April 13 at 5:25 p.m., the westbound rider galloped into town and was greeted by a large celebratory crowd. The mail was carried on board the steamer *Antelope* for the trip down river to San Francisco. He arrived after midnight, but was welcomed by a throng of cheering citizens and a band playing “See the Conquering Hero Comes” [10]. The eastbound express rider reached St. Joseph in the late afternoon of April 13, exactly 10 days after departure. The St. Joseph *Weekly Free Democrat* of April 14 announced the news of the first Pony Express arrival:

The Pony Express arrived in our city at five o'clock yesterday afternoon, just ten days from San Francisco. The event was duly and grandly celebrated last night by fire-works, firing of cannon, parade of the military, and illumination of Market square... Twenty, or even ten years ago, the man who would have suggested such an event would have been termed a lunatic. Hurrah, then, for the Pony Express and its enterprising proprietors. Long may they live, and soon be the time when the ‘Iron Horse’ shall supersede the Pony.



STAMPS AVAILABLE	TELEGRAPH RATES	POSTAGE RATES	EXPRESS RATES	TELEGRAPH TERMINUS	WEST TERM. SCHEDULE	WESTERN TERMINUS	EAST TERM. SCHEDULE	EASTERN TERMINUS	COMPANY STRUCTURE	PHASES AND EVENTS
<div>APR 1860</div> <div>MAY 1860</div> <div>JUN 1860</div> <div>JUL 1860</div> <div>AUG 1860</div> <div>SEP 1860</div> <div>OCT 1860</div> <div>NOV 1860</div> <div>DEC 1860</div> <div>JAN 1861</div> <div>FEB 1861</div> <div>MAR 1861</div> <div>APR 1861</div> <div>MAY 1861</div> <div>JUN 1861</div> <div>JUL 1861</div> <div>AUG 1861</div> <div>SEP 1861</div> <div>OCT 1861</div>	<div>4/3/60 First trips from St. Joseph and San Francisco. Pony Express privately operated by COC&amp;PP Express Co.</div> <div>May-June 1860 Disruption in service due to Paiute Indian attacks (service resumes 7/7/60).</div> <div>12/25/60 News of the Indian Trust Bond scandal breaks. Russell indicted (but charges dismissed on a legal technicality)</div> <div>Overland Mail Co. signs contract with COC&amp;PP to operate segment of contract mail route between Salt Lake City and Missouri.</div> <div>3/16/61 which the Overland Mail Co. has government mail contract for Central Route and Wells Fargo is appointed agent in California.</div> <div>7/1/61 Start of official government contract period for Pony Express. Last trip from St. Jo. 10/24/61</div>	<div>Jan 1861 COC&amp;PP taken over by Ben Holladay, its largest creditor. Majors and Waddell leave the firm.</div> <div>4/26/61 Russell resigns and is replaced by Bela Hughes.</div> <div>Jul-Oct 1861 (33 Trips) 10,057 Letters</div> <div>9/23/61 Atchison Kan. Post office at Atchison used as entry point</div>	<div>4/3/60 St. Joseph</div> <div>4/3 &amp; 4/10/60 (2 Trips): Weekly on Tuesdays 4/15 to 6/17/60: Weekly on Sundays</div> <div>Starting 7/1/60: Twice Weekly on Thursdays and Sundays</div> <div>Dec 1860-Apr 1861: Severe winter conditions result in delayed trips (up to 20 days). COC&amp;PP announces a revised Pony Express transit time (New York news in 15 days, 11 days between telegraph stations).</div> <div>4/1/61 St. Joseph or Atchison Kan. The Overland Mail Co. contract states that the eastern terminus could be St. Joseph or Atchison</div> <div>7/1/61 Placerville: Mail collected by Wells Fargo &amp; Co. in SF usually carried by steamer to Sacramento, then by rail to Folsom. WF &amp; Co. ran an express between Folsom and Placerville.</div>	<div>4/3/60 San Francisco: Mail collected at offices of Alta Telegraph Co., 153 Montgomery St., corner of Merchant St., usually carried to Sacramento by steamer where Pony Express rider starts trip.</div> <div>6/28/60 Folsom: Sacramento Valley Railroad used to carry mail from Sacramento to Folsom where Pony Express rider starts trip.</div> <div>Dec 1860-Apr 1861: Severe winter conditions result in delayed trips (up to 20 days). COC&amp;PP announces a revised Pony Express transit time (New York news in 15 days, 11 days between telegraph stations).</div> <div>4/1/61 San Francisco office moved to Wells, Fargo &amp; Co., at California and Montgomery Streets</div> <div>7/1/61 Placerville: Mail collected by Wells Fargo &amp; Co. in SF usually carried by steamer to Sacramento, then by rail to Folsom. WF &amp; Co. ran an express between Folsom and Placerville.</div>	<div>4/3/60 Western (W) Carson City Eastern (E) St. Joseph</div> <div>November 1860 (W) Fort Churchill (E) Fort Kearney</div> <div>Western Terminal: Miles extended east of Ft. Churchill: 7/15 (50), 8/2 (100), 8/9 (150), 8/19 (190), 9/6 (225), 9/27 (250)</div> <div>Eastern Terminal: Miles extended west of Ft. Kearney: 8/9 (50), 8/27 (110), 9/4 (165), 10/8 (533)</div> <div>Apr-Jun 1861 (26 Trips) 5236 Letters</div> <div>Transcontinental telegraph completed 10/24/61</div>	<div>Rate Period 1: \$5 per half-ounce* Eastbound from SF: 4/3/60 to 8/14/60 Westbound from St. Jo: 4/3/60 to 7/30/60</div> <div>*\$3 short-distance rate from SF to Carson City and Salt Lake City appears in early ads (one example recorded)</div> <div>Rate Period 2: \$2.50 per quarter-ounce Eastbound from SF: 8/15/60 to 4/14/61 Westbound from St. Jo: 7/31/60 to 3/31/61</div> <div>Rate Period 3: \$2 per half-ounce Eastbound from SF: 4/15/61 to 6/30/61 Westbound from St. Jo: 4/1/61 to 6/30/61</div> <div>Rate Period 4: \$1 per half-ounce 7/1/61 to 10/26/61</div> <div>Jul-Oct 1861 (35 Trips) 4,937 Letters</div> <div>Total 162 Trips 11,317 letters</div>	<div>3¢ per half-ounce under 3,000 miles 10¢ per half-ounce over 3,000 miles</div> <div>If a westbound letter was sent by mail to St. Joseph (including bundled letters sent by Pony Express agents), the 3¢ rate applied. If carried outside the mails, the 10¢ rate applied.</div> <div>2/27/61: 10¢ per half-ounce on all letters crossing the Rocky Mountains</div> <div>The provision that allowed the lower 3¢ rate to be paid on westbound letters to St. Joseph was eliminated by the Postal Act of Feb. 27, 1861.</div>	<div>Messages transmitted by telegraph to Carson City from points west, carried by Pony to St. Jo and re-transmitted east were charged \$2.45 for express plus telegraphic charges. If sent by mail from St. Jo, the regular \$5 express fee applied. Other rates applied to westbound telegraphs.</div> <div>Jul-Sep 1860 (26 Trips) 1958 Letters</div> <div>Jan-Mar 1861 (25 Trips) 2255 Letters</div> <div>Jan-Mar 1861 (26 Trips) 2080 Letters</div> <div>Apr-Jun 1861 (26 Trips) 2259 Letters</div>	<div># Eastbound Letters Apr-Jun 1860 (9 Trips)—900 Letters</div> <div># Westbound Letters Apr-Jun 1860 (11 Trips)—178 Letters</div> <div>Jul-Sep 1860 (29 Trips) 497 Letters</div> <div>Oct-Dec 1860 (26 Trips) 1271 Letters</div> <div>None</div> <div>Eastbound: \$2 Red &amp; \$4 Green Horse &amp; Rider adhesives</div> <div>Westbound: \$1 Type I envelope The adhesive stamps and printed envelope were prepared and sold by Wells Fargo &amp; Co.</div> <div>Eastbound: \$1 Red, \$2 Green &amp; \$4 Black Horse &amp; Rider adhesives</div> <div>Westbound: \$1 Garter adhesive and \$1 Type II envelope (Aug 1861)</div> <div>The adhesive stamps and printed envelope were prepared and sold by Wells Fargo &amp; Co.</div>	

### ***Operation of The Pony Express***

The Pony Express ran for nineteen months from April 3, 1860, to October 26, 1861. During this period, there were significant changes in the ownership and operation of the Pony Express. In the most recent book written on the postal history of the Pony Express (Frajola-Kramer-Walske, *The Pony Express: A Postal History*), the authors present a logical division of the enterprise into three operational phases and four rate periods. This structure is incorporated into the chart shown opposite.

The operational phases are as follows:

#### **Phase I —April 3, 1860, to March 31, 1861:**

The Pony Express operated as a private express company owned by The Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company. The express service was not included in the U.S. mail contract that COC&PP acquired from Hockaday (April 1859), nor in the contract that was transferred by the government from Chorpensing to COC&PP (May 1860). Those two contracts paid less than \$200,000 per year, which was insufficient to cover the costs of operating the route, especially with the Pony Express running. Without an adequate mail contract and facing mounting debt, in January 1861 the COC&PP was taken over by its largest creditor, the "Stage Coach King" Ben Holladay, and Majors and Waddell left the firm.

#### **Phase II—April 1 to June 30, 1861:**

This is described by Frajola-Kramer-Walske as the Interim Phase, in which the Pony Express was operated as a joint private enterprise by COC&PP (now controlled by Holladay) and the Overland Mail Company, with Wells, Fargo & Company acting as agents for the business. Prior to this period (on March 12, 1861), the Overland Mail Company won the passenger/mail contract for the Central Route (St. Joseph or Atchison to Placerville) at \$1,000,000 per year, effective July 1, 1861. On March 16 they sub-contracted with COC&PP to run the stagecoach mail route between the eastern terminus and Salt Lake City, and to continue running the Pony Express, which was mandated in the government contract until the transcontinental telegraph was completed. On April 26, 1861, Russell was replaced as COC&PP president by Bela Hughes, who was Holladay's cousin. Although COC&PP continued to operate the entire Pony Express route during this period, Wells, Fargo & Co. took on a prominent role as agent and issued stamps and envelopes.



The "Stage Coach King" Ben Holladay loaned money and equipment to The Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Co. He took control of the company in January 1861.



Bela Hughes, the cousin of Ben Holladay, replaced William H. Russell as president of COC&PP in April 1861.





Wells, Fargo & Co. First Issue—the \$2 Red and \$4 Green Horse & Rider stamps and the Type I printed envelope (unstated \$2 value) were the first Pony Express issues by Wells Fargo & Co.

### Phase III—July 1 to October 26, 1861:

The third and final phase reflects the terms of the U.S. government contract awarded to the Overland Mail Company on March 12, 1861, which paid \$1,000,000 per year for mail/passenger service along the Central Route and required the company to “run a Pony Express semi-weekly at a Schedule time of ten days eight months of the year and twelve days four months of the year...” During this period, Wells, Fargo & Co. issued new stamps and envelopes to reflect the agreed-upon \$1 per half-ounce government contract rate for the Pony Express.

As the chart shows (page 16), the volume of mail increased significantly during Phase III. However, when the telegraph line was completed on October 24, 1861, there was no longer any need to run the costly Pony Express, and a termination announcement was made on October 26. The last eastbound mail left San Francisco on October 23. The westbound mail that was datestamped in St. Joseph on October 24 was carried by Pony Express. The letters that were bagged at St. Joseph for the October 27 and 31 trips were probably carried part or all of the way by regular mail stagecoach, because they arrived in San Francisco on November 18 and 21, in line with the usual 20-day transit time by stage. [11]

The four rate periods that overlap the three operational phases are as follows:

**Rate Period 1—Eastbound April 3 to August 14, 1860; Westbound April 3 to July 30, 1860:**

The first Pony Express rate was \$5 per half-ounce. The early ads also mention a short-distance \$3 rate to Salt Lake City and Carson City, but only one example is recorded,

**Pony Express Notice,**  
.....FOR THE.....  
**Service Commencing July 1, 1861.**  
**PLACERVILLE TO ST. JOSEPH.**  
**THE OVERLAND MAIL COMPANY'S**  
"PONY EXPRESS" will be dispatched regularly FROM  
THE OFFICE OF THEIR AGENT, AT PLACERVILLE,  
On the Arrival of the  
**EXPRESS LEAVING SAN FRANCISCO**  
**Wednesday and Saturday**  
OF EACH WEEK.  
ALL LETTERS must be enclosed in ten-cent Government  
Stamped Envelopes and prepaid, at the rate of one dollar for each  
half-ounce or any fraction thereof.  
**MESSRS. WELLS, FARGO & CO. HAVE**  
BEEN APPOINTED AGENTS, and letters will be received  
and delivered at their office.  
**WILLIAM BUCKLEY,**  
Superintendent O. M. Co.  
JULY 11

**Pony Express Notice,**  
.....FOR THE.....  
**Service Commencing July 1, 1861.**  
**MESSRS. WELLS, FARGO & CO.**  
**WILL RUN A**  
**Pony Express**  
....BETWEEN....  
**SAN FRANCISCO AND PLACERVILLE,**  
Regularly on  
**Wednesday and Saturday,**  
OF EACH WEEK,  
Leaving their office at 8:45 P. M., on those days, and  
Connecting with the Overland Mail Company's  
Pony Express at Placerville.  
LETTERS MUST BE ENCLOSED IN OUR TWENTY-  
CENT GOVERNMENT FRANKED ENVELOPES, and  
Charges FROM PLACERVILLE PREPAID AT THE RATE  
OF ONE DOLLAR FOR EACH HALF-OUNCE, OR ANY  
FRACTION THEREOF.  
NB—All letters not enclosed as above will be charged at the  
rate of 25 cents each.  
JULY 11 **WELLS, FARGO & CO.**

The ads above were placed concurrently by the Overland Mail Co. and Wells Fargo & Co. to announce the Pony Express service starting July 1, 1861, under the new government contract.

and the \$3 rate never appears in later ads. The amount charged for a letter to be carried by Pony Express—\$5 per half-ounce—was quite substantial. Based on the Consumer Price Index, \$5 in 1860 dollars is equivalent to \$134 in today's dollars. [12]

Because rate changes originated in St. Joseph and had to be communicated to San Francisco, there was a two-week difference between the start dates for rates on eastbound and westbound mail.

**Rate Period 2—Eastbound August 15, 1860, to April 14, 1861; Westbound July 31, 1860, to March 31, 1861:**

The use of extremely thin paper made it possible to reduce the weight of a Pony Express letter to a quarter-ounce. To encourage business, the rate was recalibrated to \$2.50 per quarter-ounce. This rate change followed the period from the end of May to beginning of July 1860, when Pony Express service was disrupted due to attacks on stations by Paiute Indians. When regular runs could resume in July, the schedule was changed to twice-weekly departures from St. Joseph (Wednesdays and Thursdays at first, then Thursdays and Sundays) and San Francisco (Wednesdays and Saturdays).

**Rate Period 3—Eastbound April 15 to June 30, 1861; Westbound April 1 to June 30, 1861:**

When Phase II (Interim Phase) started on April 1, 1861, the rate for a Pony Express letter was substantially reduced to \$2 per half-ounce, down from the \$5 per half-ounce or \$2.50 per quarter-ounce rates in effect during the previous year. At the same time, the new agents—Wells, Fargo & Co.—had stamps and envelopes printed for use on Pony Express letters.

**Rate Period 4—July 1 to October 26, 1861:**

The significance of Rate Period 4 is that it coincides with Phase III of the Pony Express, the period in which the service was mandated by law as part of the contract with the Overland Mail Company. The contract stated that the fee for Pony Express service between Placerville and St. Joseph (or Atchison) could not exceed \$1 per half-ounce. If Wells, Fargo & Co. carried the letter by express to or from Placerville (for example, from San Francisco), an extra express charge was permitted. If the sender used one of Wells, Fargo & Co.'s 10¢ stamped envelopes with the company's express frank, the total amount paid was \$1.20 (\$1 for Pony Express service, 10¢ for the additional express charge, and 10¢ U.S. postage). The Wells, Fargo & Co. ad noted that "letters not enclosed as above [in government franked envelopes] will be charged at the rate of 25 cents each [in addition to the \$1 Pony Express fee]."



**PONY EXPRESS!**

CHANGE OF TIME! REDUCED RATES!

**10 Days to San Francisco!**

**LETTERS**

WILL BE RECEIVED AT THE  
**OFFICE, 84 BROADWAY,**  
**NEW YORK,**  
**Up to 4 P. M. every TUESDAY,**  
 AND  
**Up to 2½ P. M. every SATURDAY,**  
 Which will be forwarded to connect with the PONY EXPRESS leaving  
 ST. JOSEPH, Missouri,  
**Every WEDNESDAY and SATURDAY at 11 P. M.**

**TELEGRAMS**

Sent to Fort Kearney on the mornings of MONDAY and FRIDAY, will connect with PONY leaving St. Joseph, WEDNESDAYS and SATURDAYS.

**EXPRESS CHARGES.**

LETTERS weighing half ounce or under..... \$1 00  
 For every additional half ounce or fraction of an ounce 1 00  
 In all cases to be enclosed in 10 cent Government Stamped Envelopes,  
 And all Express CHARGES Pre-paid.

Send PONY EXPRESS ENVELOPES For Sale at our Office.  
**WELLS, FARGO & CO., Ag'ts.**  
 New York, July 1, 1861.

This advertisement was placed by the New York office of Wells Fargo & Co. to announce the start of Pony Express service "10 Days to San Francisco" on July 1, 1861.





Second Issue (July 1, 1861)—the \$1 Red, \$2 Green and \$4 Black Horse & Rider stamps were issued by Wells Fargo & Co. on July 1, 1861. The earliest possible use of the new stamps could occur no sooner than the July 3 trip from San Francisco, the first in the government contract period. A cover from the July 3 trip is shown at left. The \$1 "Garter" stamp was issued in August 1861 at New York City for use on westbound mail.

Since the July 1 commencement date of the Pony Express contract service was known well in advance at both the eastern and western terminal offices, the new \$1 rate was effected simultaneously for eastbound and westbound trips. New stamps were printed ahead of the July 1 commencement date, as evidenced by the June 22 recall notice for the old issue (shown below) and the July 3 cover sent from San Francisco with the new \$1 stamp on the first trip under the new contract (shown above).

The Horse & Rider stamps were used exclusively on eastbound mail. For westbound mail originating east of St. Joseph, a printed envelope and the adhesive "Garter" stamp were used to indicate prepayment. The frank on the "Eastern" Pony Express envelope is similar to the Type I frank used during Rate Period 3.

Rate Period 4, coinciding with Phase III, was also the most successful period of the Pony Express, in terms of increasing volume and maintaining a regular schedule. As the chart on page 16 shows, the number of letters carried by Pony Express basically doubled (for both directions) from the previous Rate Period. Wells, Fargo & Co. proved to be effective agents, and the reduced fee structure and distribution of stamps and envelopes undoubtedly contributed to the increased patronage.

This recall notice for First Issue stamps was sent from the San Francisco office of Wells, Fargo & Co. on June 22, 1861, requesting that "all 'Pony Express Stamps' on hand" be returned on June 29.

Return to this Office on the 29th June all "Pony Express Stamps" on hand at that time.  
Address same to L. T. ZANDER, and Way Bill "Advanced Charges."  
On the 1st of July we will furnish new Stamps with instructions for the service, to commence at that date.  
WELLS, FARGO & CO.  
SAN FRANCISCO, June 22, 1861.

### *Pony Express Markings and Stamps*

Eight types of handstamped markings are known on Pony Express covers. Two were used at San Francisco, one at Sacramento, three at St. Joseph and two at New York. The most familiar are the pictorial Running Pony oval-rimmed handstamps used at St. Joseph and San Francisco. The Running Pony ovals are usually preferred by collectors who want the image of a running horse on a Pony Express cover. However, they are the most common (except for strikes in red or carmine). [13]

Prior to April 1861, fees on letters were usually indicated with handwritten notations. Sometimes these markings were no more than tiny pencil or pen numerals, such as “Pd 5.00.” Other times the notation was more explicit. From the start a rare type of franked envelope was used, bearing the imprint “PAID. CENTRAL OVERLAND PONY EXPRESS COMPANY” in conjunction with a 3¢ or 10¢ embossed U.S. stamp produced by George F. Nesbitt. Only nine examples of this type of franked envelope are recorded, dating from the inaugural April 3, 1860, trip through the January 7, 1861, trip from Sacramento (one is offered as lot 5 in this sale).

Once Wells, Fargo & Co. started participating in running the express in April 1861, they introduced adhesive stamps and franked envelopes bearing their name. The stamps and franks were created to meet the rate requirements of Rate Periods 3 and 4. There were six adhesive stamps in total: the April 1861 (Rate Period 3) and July 1861 (Rate Period 4) Horse & Rider issues for use on eastbound mail, and the August 1861 (Rate Period 4) “Garter” stamp for westbound mail. Two franked Pony Express envelopes were issued for westbound mail: the April 1861 (Rate Period 3) Type I frank and August 1861 (Rate Period 4) Type II frank.

The April 1861 Horse & Rider issue comprised two stamps, the \$2 Red and \$4 Green, corresponding to the single and double rates. The earliest documented use of the April 1861 issue is a \$2 cover dated stamped at Placerville on April 28, 1861 (a way usage on April 27 trip).

The July 1861 issue added a \$1 denomination for the new rate specified in the government contract. The \$1 was issued in a Red color similar to the \$2 First Issue, while the \$2 was re-issued in Green and the \$4 in Black. This color scheme indicates that Red was the designated color for a single rate and Green for a double rate in Rate Periods 3 and 4.

The Horse & Rider stamps were printed by Britton & Rey of San Francisco, using three lithographic printing stones. The \$2 and \$4 stones comprised 20 subjects (5 wide by 4 high) and were used to print stamps in all colors for both issues. The \$1 stone comprised 40 subjects, arranged in two panes of 20 (4 across by 5 high). The “build-up” process used to create the lithographic stones is the subject of a published study, *Wells, Fargo & Company 1861 Pony Express Issues*, which can be downloaded from [www.siegelauctions.com](http://www.siegelauctions.com)



The pictorial Running Pony ovals were applied to mail at St. Joseph and San Francisco. The latter office used the marking with and without a date.



### *The \$1 "Garter" and Franks for Westbound Mail*

The Horse & Rider stamps were never used on westbound Pony Express mail. In Rate Period 3, Wells, Fargo & Co. introduced a special franked envelope for westbound mail, but its use was extremely limited. On July 1, 1861, the new contract rate went into effect. On August 12, 1861, Wells, Fargo & Co. announced in the New York papers that "Pony Express Envelopes" were "Now ready and for sale at our office." Although this announcement refers only to "envelopes," in fact both the franked entires and \$1 adhesive stamps were put on sale in August 1861.

The small belt-shaped Garter stamp looks nothing like the Horse & Rider issues and omits the words "Pony Express." Although Nesbitt was identified as the maker of the franks and Garter issue in an 1867 article, subsequent writers mistakenly attributed the Garter printing to Britton & Rey. Around the year 2000 a Garter stamp was found with the imprint "G. F. Nesbitt & Co. N.Y." (shown here). The Garter was printed from a lithographic stone of 20 subjects, arranged 5 across and 4 high.

The Garter stamp is extremely rare in any form. A strip of three is the only recorded unused multiple on regular paper. Only four covers are recorded, including two from New York City and two from Boston, dated from August 24 to October 26, 1861.

The first Wells, Fargo & Co. Pony Express frank was issued during Rate Period 3, when the express charge was \$2. The Type I frank is printed in red on the 10c Green Nesbitt entire and reads "½ OUNCE/PAID/FROM/ST. JOSEPH/TO/PLACERVILLE,/"



This stamp with the "G. F. Nesbitt N.Y." imprint only came to light around the year 2000 and proves conclusively that the Garter issue was printed by Nesbitt in New York City.



**Lot 20 in this sale:** The Type II frank was printed on the new 10c "Pumpkin" envelope made from thin paper especially for the Pony Express. The envelope was carried by regular U.S. mail to St. Joseph and given to the Pony Express agent.

PER/PONY/EXPRESS.” The absence of a rate was probably deliberate, because by March 1861 the Overland Mail Co. and Wells, Fargo & Co. knew that the contract at \$1 per letter would commence on July 1. Without a stated value, the envelopes could be sold for \$2 until June 30 and \$1 thereafter. As it turned out, circumstances required a new envelope printing. On June 21, 1861, the OMC treasurer in New York wrote to Postmaster General Blair to seek approval of the Pony Express frank and to obtain clarification of the postage requirements on mail posted at the Placerville terminus.

The slightly modified Type II frank was printed in red on the new 10c 1861 “Pumpkin” entire. According to reliable sources, the Nesbitt firm was specifically asked to provide franked envelopes on thinner, tougher paper than that used for the regular stamped envelopes, to reduce weight. [14]

The part-printed address on the Type II frank was added (per the June 21, 1861, letter and sample) to facilitate a new mail-handling procedure. Previously, westbound mail was forwarded in packages to the St. Joseph post office. On arrival the letters were unbundled and counted before they were given to the Pony Express agent. Beginning in mid-August with the introduction of the new Type II franks, individual letters were mailed at the post office of origin and transmitted through the regular mails to the agent in St. Joseph, who gave them to the next departing rider. After the Pony terminus was moved to Atchison in September, the St. Joseph agent bagged the letters he received by mail and placed them on board the train to Atchison.

#### ***United States Stamps on Pony Express Mail***

Over the course of the Pony Express, two significant changes occurred in the U.S. postage requirements. First, the Act of February 27, 1861, applied the 10¢ rate to any mail that crossed the Rocky Mountains, thereby eliminating the use of the 3¢ “under 3,000 miles” rate on Pony Express letters sent across the Rockies, but carried by regular mail for distances less than 3,000 miles. Second, the Civil War resulted in the demonetization of the 1857 Issue adhesive stamps and the release of an entirely new issue, the 1861 stamps and envelopes. For this reason, Pony Express covers from August to October 1861 can be found with the 10¢ “Pumpkin” embossed stamp and 10¢ 1861 adhesive (Scott 68), instead of the earlier Nesbitt and Star Die envelopes or the 1857 Issue adhesives.

#### ***Free Franks on Pony Express Mail***

The company’s stated policy was that express charges would not be waived, but surviving covers show that company mail and some letters from political allies were carried free. The Frajola-Kramer-Walske census records 15 covers with various forms of free franks.

#### ***Pony Express “Way” Mail***

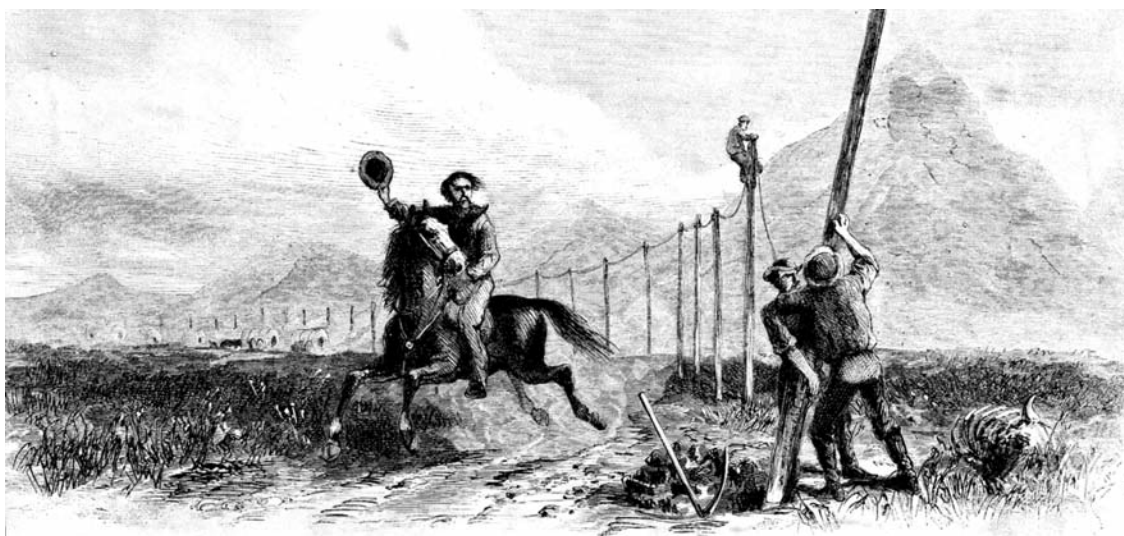
Letters received by the main offices at the eastern and western ends of the route were packaged in oiled silk cloth to protect the mail against the elements, and these bundles were placed in three of the four mochilla pockets. The pocket in front on the left side was called the “way pocket.” All of the pockets were locked with small padlocks, and each home station keeper had a key to the way pocket. When the Pony rider arrived at the home station, the keeper would unlock the way pocket and add outbound mail. If there were any letters for station employees, they would be removed.

### *The Telegraph and The End of the Pony Express*

The value of the Pony Express as a way to transmit news faster than any other means was destined to disappear once the transcontinental telegraph was complete. Yet the electronic communication technology that would soon render the horse-and-rider relay system obsolete actually complemented the Pony Express and made it better. By transmitting telegrams to receiving stations along the Pony route, it was possible to reduce the overall time required to send news from one coast to the other. As the telegraph lines lengthened and the gap between them narrowed, a message could be sent by wire and horse in as few as seven days.

The Overland Mail Company was compelled to continue running the Pony Express as part of the March 12, 1861, government mail contract, but they did so reluctantly. Now that Congress favored the Central Route over the Southern Route—partly because COC&PP had demonstrated its reliability, and partly because the Civil War threatened the Southern Route—the public relations value of the Pony Express disappeared. Running a continuous relay with 150 to 200 stations, 50 to 75 riders and 400 to 500 horses stretched over 1,900 miles was costly. The revenue generated by Pony Express fees was never sufficient to cover the costs. Now the profit-minded directors of the OMC and COC&PP were literally saddled with its cost. However, in negotiating their mail contract, OMC was able to insert an escape clause for the Pony Express; once the transcontinental telegraph was complete, they could discontinue the service.

When the Pony Express started in April 1860, the western telegraph station furthest east of Sacramento was Carson City, and St. Joseph was the eastern terminus for telegraph messages. The Pacific Telegraph Act of June 1860 accelerated the construction of the transcontinental telegraph line through incentives and government subsidies. By November 1860 the western telegraph terminus had been extended as far east as Fort Churchill in Nevada, and the eastern terminus for Pony dispatches was at Fort Kearney. [15] The news of Lincoln's election in November 1860 was sent by telegraph to Fort Kearney and from there by a special "extra" Pony Express to Fort Churchill, where it was immediately transmitted to San Francisco. [16]



This engraving is based on a painting by George M. Ottinger. It depicts a Pony rider passing and saluting pole setters for the Overland Telegraph.





This announcement was published in the October 26, 1861, edition of the *San Francisco Bulletin*. It reads "The Last Pony coming this way left Atchison, Kansas, yesterday." The announcement date is October 25, and the last westbound express from St. Joseph/Atchison was on October 24.

The chart on page 16 contains information about the advancement of the eastern and western telegraph terminals. On August 6, 1861, the *San Francisco Bulletin* printed over its dispatches, "By telegraph to Fort Kearney from St. Louis, thence by Pony Express to Robert's Creek Station, thence by telegraph to San Francisco." In the August 13, 1861, edition, the same paper reported that the Pony Express rider was leaving his dispatches for the *Bulletin* and other Pacific Coast newspapers at Dry Creek station. By the beginning of September, hundreds of miles were cut from the distance between telegraph terminals on the Pony route. The eastern section of the telegraph was completed on October 17, 1861, and just one week later the final connection was made on October 24. [17]

As soon as messages could be sent by wire, the need for the Pony Express was eliminated, and the OMC was free to discontinue the money-losing service. The last trip from San Francisco left on October 23. On October 25 the Wells, Fargo & Co. office in San Francisco announced that the "Last Pony coming this way left Atchison, Kansas, yesterday [October 24]." They probably received that news by wire. Thus, after just 19 months of operation, the Pony Express became a relic of the past.

#### *Epilogue—Wells, Fargo & Company's Virginia City Pony Express of 1862-1865*

The gold and silver strikes in western Utah Territory (to become Nevada) between 1859 and 1863 brought a huge influx of miners and settlers into the Carson and Washoe Valley region. At the beginning of the Civil War, the Federal government moved quickly to ensure that the population of eastern California and western Utah Territory—along with its mineral wealth—remained loyal to the Union. Congress created Nevada Territory on March 2, 1861, carving out a portion of Utah Territory that included Carson City (the new capital of Nevada Territory), Genoa, Virginia City, Gold Hill, and Aurora.



Wells, Fargo & Co. advertisement announcing the start of the "Pony Express to Washoe," dated August 8, 1862, states that service will commence on Monday, August 11, from San Francisco.

Wells, Fargo & Co. and other express companies had long served this region. The transcontinental Pony Express of 1860-1861 passed through Carson City and Virginia City. Therefore, when there was demand for a fast express service between San Francisco and Washoe, it was relatively easy for Wells, Fargo & Co. to organize a horse-and-rider relay along their existing routes.

The “Pony Express to Washoe—Through in 24 Hours” was announced by Wells, Fargo & Co. to start running on Monday, August 11, 1862. The schedule provided for a 4 p.m. departure from San Francisco and arrival in Virginia City by “the next evening.” Letters sent westbound from Virginia City would leave at 6 p.m. and arrive in San Francisco the “next evening, by Sacramento Boat.”

From August 1862 through January 1863, the rate for the Virginia City Pony Express was 10¢ per half-ounce, which was paid by the Brown stamp. Sometime shortly after January 1863, the rate was increased to 25¢, and a new stamp was issued in Blue. The 25¢ rate continued through to the end of the express service, but the stamp color was changed to Red around March 1864.

The 10¢ Brown was used for only six months and is the scarcest of the three colors. The 25¢ Blue was used for one year and is the most common of the three stamps on cover. The 25¢ Red was also used over a span of one year, but during that time the express did not run from July 29 to December 29, 1864. [18]. The suspension of service coincides with a period of violent conflict between Indians and whites in the region. The 25¢ Red was the rarest until the dispersal of the Crittenden correspondence increased the number of 25¢ Red covers, making it the second scarcest, after the 10¢ Brown.

In addition to adhesive stamps, Wells, Fargo & Co. issued 10¢ Red and Blue envelopes with the same design printed directly over their standard express frank, of which a few used examples are known. The 25¢ Red envelope is only known in unused condition.

A letter contained in one of the covers from the Crittenden correspondence stated that the last day of the Virginia City Pony Express service was March 2, 1865. [19]



This 1866 photograph shows Virginia City as it must have appeared in 1862 to 1865 when the Pony Express ran. Nevada was admitted as the 36th state on October 31, 1864.



## Endnotes

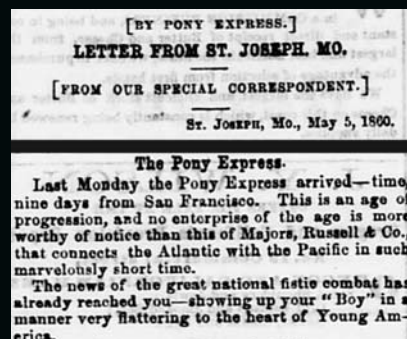
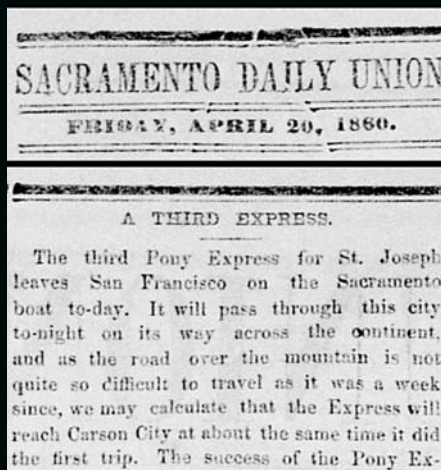
1. The number of Pony Express trips varies according to the source, ranging from 298 (Frajola-Kramer-Walske) to 330 (Root-Connelley). The Pony route between San Francisco and St. Joseph has been stated to be a distance of 1,950 or 1,966 miles. 34,753 letters, excluding way mail, have been documented. FKW estimates that 39,500 letters were carried, based on the fact that way mail accounts for 12% of recorded covers.
2. Frajola-Kramer-Walske, *The Pony Express: A Postal History* [FKW], pp. 5-6
3. Godfrey, Anthony, Ph.D., *Pony Express: Historic Resource Study*, [www.nps.gov/archive/poex/hrs/hrst.htm](http://www.nps.gov/archive/poex/hrs/hrst.htm) [HRS]. The COC&PP Express Co. was chartered in Kansas Territory on Feb. 13, 1860.
4. HRS
5. DiCerto, Joseph J., *The Saga of the Pony Express* [JDC], p. 40
6. HRS
7. JDC, Appendix A and HRS (184 stations listed)
8. Bloss, Roy S., *Pony Express—The Great Gamble* [RSB], pp. 30-34
9. Schedule published in the *St. Joseph Weekly West*, Mar. 31, 1860
10. As with most aspects of the Pony Express, historians provide varying accounts of the specific arrival times. The times quoted in this catalogue come from a summary in N-B (p. 8)
11. FKW, pp. 58-59
12. The value of \$5.00 from 1860 can be calculated in 2013 dollars using rates based on different criteria, as follows:

Consumer Price .....	\$133.56
GDP Deflator .....	102.50
Unskilled Wage .....	855.50
Nominal GDP per Capita .....	1,719.66
Relative Share of GDP.....	16,618.18

Source: [www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/](http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/)
13. The updated FKW census records: **187 eastbound covers**, of which 130 have the San Francisco Running Pony oval (4 black, 121 blue, 5 red); and **73 westbound covers**, of which 33 have the St. Joseph Running Pony oval (23 black, 10 carmine).
14. *U.S. Envelope World*, May-August 1958, p. 91
15. The Missouri & Western Telegraph Co. completed the first telegraph line from Brownville to Fort Kearney via Omaha in November 1860 (source: [www.usgennet.org/usa/ne/topic/resources/OLLibrary/MWHNE/mwhne080.htm](http://www.usgennet.org/usa/ne/topic/resources/OLLibrary/MWHNE/mwhne080.htm))
16. HRS
17. Perry, Elliott, Pat Paragraphs, No. 38, July 1939, contains a table showing dates that the eastbound Pony Express sent news and messages by telegraph and the New York publication dates of those telegrams.
18. Gamett, James M., *Nevada Express—Wells, Fargo & Co. and Other Letter Expresses, 1857-1895* [JMG], p. 33
19. Frajola, Richard C., *The Crittenden Correspondence* auction catalogue (No. 2), October 23, 1981



Lot 1



Newspaper reports from the *Sacramento Daily Union* and *Daily Alta California*, confirming that the April 20 trip was the "Third Express" from San Francisco



## “Way” Cover Carried on Third Eastbound Pony Express Trip with St. Joseph Running Pony Handstamp and 10-Cent 1857 Issue

### Lot 1

**Pony Express, St. Joseph, Apr. 30 (1860).** Complete and sharp strike of **Running Pony** oval datestamp with “9am” arrival time inserted by hand on cover addressed to Lloyd T. Smith Jr. in Grass Lake, Michigan, with sender’s directive “[If] he is not at Grass Lake, forward to his address immediately”, notation along left edge “To be sent by Pony Express”, **10c Green, Ty. V (35)** affixed by sender and tied after arrival at St. Joseph by part strike of blue “St. Joseph Mo. May 1, 1860” circular datestamp with full clear strike repeated to the left, small piece of stamp at lower left torn away when separated from sheet, cover slightly reduced at left

VERY FINE. ONE OF TWO INTACT PONY EXPRESS COVERS WITH THE 10-CENT 1857 ISSUE AND ST. JOSEPH RUNNING PONY OVAL STRUCK ON THE FRONT OF THE COVER. THIS WAY-MAIL COVER — CARRIED ON THE THIRD EASTBOUND TRIP, WHICH STARTED FROM SAN FRANCISCO ON APRIL 20, 1860 — IS THE EARLIEST RECORDED PONY EXPRESS COVER WITH AN ADHESIVE STAMP. AN IMPORTANT EARLY PONY EXPRESS COVER.

This cover was placed in the way-mail pocket of the rider’s mochilla (see page 13 for a description of the mochilla) somewhere along the route from California to Missouri. The trip originated in San Francisco on Friday, April 20, 1860, and arrived at St. Joseph on Monday, April 30. It was reported in contemporary newspapers as the *third* Pony Express departure bound for the East (newspaper articles shown opposite), despite the fact that the Frajola-Kramer-Walske book and other references list this as the fourth eastbound trip, with three earlier expresses departing San Francisco on April 3 (Tuesday), April 10 (Tuesday) and April 13 (Friday). The newspapers do not contain any mention of an April 13 departure from San Francisco, nor do they report the arrival in St. Joseph of an express that left April 13. Outbound Pony Express departures were moved from Tuesday to Friday after April 10, and the April 20 express was the first Friday departure.

The St. Joseph Running Pony oval was normally applied in black to the address side of *westbound* covers. These westbound strikes are usually dated on the departure day, and all of the recorded westbound examples are either stampless covers or embossed stamped envelopes. No westbound covers are known with an adhesive stamp and the St. Joseph Running Pony oval. This marking was also struck in Carmine ink on eastbound and westbound covers (10 recorded), but all of the Carmine Pony eastbound covers have the marking on back.

Of the eastbound Pony Express covers, only four have the St. Joseph Running Pony datestamp struck on front on arrival. This cover is the earliest of the four, and it is the only way-mail cover. The other three were carried together on the trip that departed San Francisco on May 18 and arrived at St. Joseph on June 1, the last to make it through before the Paiute Indian War interrupted Pony Express service. One is a 10c Nesbitt stamped envelope. The other two are franked with 10c 1857 Type V stamps, but one has most of the address panel cut out, leaving only two intact 10c 1857 covers (the one offered here and FKW Census E7).

FKW Census E4. Trip ET-3 (corrected). Ex Baker and Alexander. Estimate \$50,000-75,000

## The Paiute Indian War of 1860

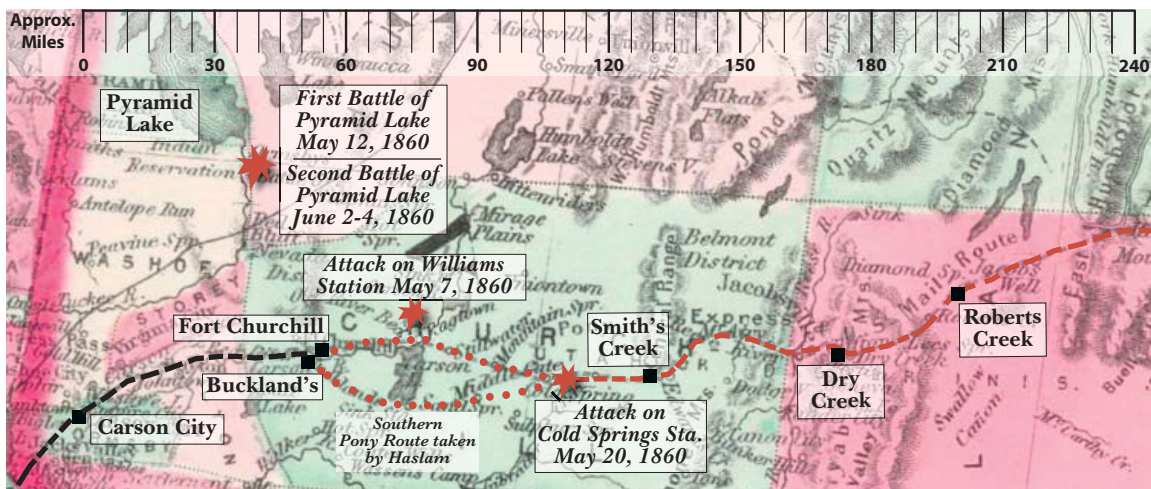
THE CONFLICT BETWEEN INDIGENOUS INDIANS AND WHITE PIONEERS is woven into the fabric of North American history. It began with Spanish colonization in the 15th century, and was followed by the arrival of the English, French and Dutch in the 17th century. These colonial settlers engaged Indians with mixed results, ranging from trade and peaceful coexistence to treachery and massacre.

During the 18th and early 19th centuries, the white population expanded into the land east and west of the Mississippi River, and from Maine to Florida. The Indian wars of the early 19th century created a patchwork of treaties and “reservations,” upon which the Five Civilized Tribes were expected to survive through adaptation and assimilation. Whites broke almost all of the treaties. Indians who refused to submit were considered hostile, and many tribes struggled to preserve their customs and land.

America’s “Manifest Destiny”—the great migration toward the West—was fueled by a combination of religious fervor, the quest for cheap land and, with the discovery of precious gold and silver, unmitigated greed. Between 1843 and 1849, emigrants to the West were, for the most part, nothing more than travellers trespassing across Indian homelands, leaving no permanent mark. From 1849 through the 1860’s, the gold and silver strikes in California, Nevada and Colorado, as well as Mormon migration to Utah, gave whites a reason to “settle” in and around the hunting grounds, water sources and verdant areas of Indian territory.

The conflict between white settlers in the West and the people they called “savages” reached a boiling point in the 1860’s. Indians had witnessed their essential buffalo herds hunted to near extinction. Disease and alcohol inflicted a terrifying physical toll. Many tribes suffered from starvation and deprivation. Weakened and forced to seek new lands, some tribes completely perished.

As if all of the suffering had coalesced into a perfect storm of rage and retribution at one moment in time, on May 7, 1860, a group of Paiute and Bannock warriors descended on a small, crudely constructed stage station operated by three brothers from Maine named Williams. Two of the Williams brothers and a couple of others were murdered. Their deaths ignited a war that brought the Pony Express to a halt.



Colton map of the Pony Express route in western Nevada, showing the locations of the battles at Pyramid Lake and the first attacks on stations. The route in red (continuing east to Deep Creek) was attacked. Scaled distances are inaccurate.



### *The Attack on Williams Station (May 7, 1860)*

Prior to 1859 the Paiutes located around Pyramid Lake in western Nevada had relatively good relations with the whites they encountered. In 1844 the great explorers, John C. Frémont and Kit Carson, met the Paiutes as the two journeyed through the region; in fact, Frémont claimed he gave Pyramid Lake its name. However, as more whites settled in this region, the Paiutes and other Great Basin tribes



Depiction of Frémont at Pyramid Lake in January 1844.

—Washoe, Bannock, Western Shoshone and Goshute—became increasingly hostile. Horse theft and running off of livestock were typical acts of aggression. War parties were usually reserved for attacks on other tribes and bands, but that was about to change.

Relations between the Paiutes and whites worsened in 1859 and the early months of 1860. The murders of some whites in the area were blamed on the Paiutes. The Paiutes blamed the whites for the lack of food and harsh conditions

during two particularly severe winters. When tribal leaders held a council meeting at Pyramid Lake in the spring of 1860, there were calls for war against the white settlers. A dissenting voice came from the great Paiute leader, Numaga.

Numaga was a war chief, but he advocated peace with the “white father,” because he knew that the white nation possessed considerable military power. Numaga warned that they would come like “sand in a whirlwind” and destroy his people. To make his point and save the Paiutes, Numaga fasted for days, but events were unfolding that would make peace impossible.

There are conflicting accounts of what happened to precipitate the attack on Williams Station, but the most believable story is that the Williams brothers abducted and held captive two young Paiute girls who had wandered from camp in search of food. When questioned, the brothers denied knowing anything about the girls. Soon after, a Paiute hunter entered the Williams barn, looking for a pony that had been taken from him. He heard the girls’ cries and quickly rode back to Pyramid Lake to report what he had discovered. A war party was organized and set off for Williams Station.

The group of twenty or so Bannock and Paiute warriors confronted two of the Williams brothers (the third, James, was somewhere else) and their visitors. One of the unfortunate guests drowned trying to escape. The two brothers and second guest were quickly killed, and the Indians found the young girls under a trap door in the barn. After setting fire to the cabin, the warriors sent news of their success to Pyramid Lake. Upon learning of the attack, Numaga realized that the whites would send their army and that war was inevitable.



War Chief Numaga, leader of the Pyramid Lake Paiutes, in 1870, about one year before his death.

### *The First Battle of Pyramid Lake (May 12, 1860)*

When James Williams returned to the smoldering embers of Williams Station and discovered the dead men, including his brothers, he fled to nearby Buckland's Station. News of the "massacre" quickly reached Virginia City and the surrounding settlements. The telegraph transmitted the story to California, and the Pony Express carried the first reports eastward.

When Carson Valley's residents heard stories about "hundreds" of Indians killing settlers, they panicked. The men gathered, drank whiskey and vowed revenge. While cooler heads urged a more cautious response, the mob prevailed and hastily organized a militia to track down and kill Paiutes. Four groups of volunteers were assembled at Carson City, Virginia City, Genoa and Silver City. The leader of the Carson City detachment was Major William Ormsby, a local hotelier, former Pioneer Stage agent and previously a member of William Walker's filibustering expedition into Nicaragua.



Major William Ormsby

Major Ormsby was given command of the 105-man militia. On the morning of May 10, he led his men northeast along the Carson River toward Williams Station. After two days and nights of extremely harsh weather, the ragtag army followed a path from the Truckee River to a place just a few miles south of Pyramid Lake. It was precisely where Numaga wanted to meet his enemy.

The ambush quickly turned from a fight to slaughter. Three quarters of Ormsby's men were killed, including Ormsby himself. Another 29 were wounded. Scalps were taken, bodies mutilated and horses stolen.

The first news of the disastrous battle was brought to Virginia City by a volunteer on horseback who had deserted his post. As the news of the First Battle of Pyramid Lake spread, fears of an Indian Armageddon caused widespread panic. Families took refuge in secure buildings. The residents of Silver City built a wooden cannon. Officials sent desperate pleas to California and Washington to send troops.



A 19th century depiction of the carnage of Indian warfare. Although Indian methods were described as savage and barbaric, atrocities such as rape, killing women and children, scalping, mutilation, hostage-taking and kidnapping, were practiced by both Indians and whites.

VIRGINIA CITY, U. T., May 8—4 P.M.  
Last night a horrid massacre was perpetrated by the Indians below the Great Bend of the Carson. J. Williams arrived at Buckland's, near the Bend, and gave the information of the murder of his two brothers and five other white men at the same hour, and the burning of the house. After witnessing the perpetration of this shocking butchery, on his way up, Mr. Williams called at two other houses, on the opposite side of the river; the doors were open, but loud calling, at a short distance, failed to induce any signs of life about the premises. He supposes all are murdered. They numbered twelve or thirteen men. The Indians are about 500 strong, and all armed. They pursued him to within six miles of Buckland's. The Pony Express dispatched their horses and riders, and through them we have received the dreadful intelligence. J. Barstoles and J. H. Smith brought the news. It is to be feared that Buckland station may be attacked to-night. Efforts are making here now to go to the relief of the border settlers and stations. Much excitement prevails.

A committee of five, consisting of Col. Whitman, L. Nightengale, George Ashe, Henry Meradith and Capt. Johns were appointed to make arrangements for forming a company of volunteers and scouts to protect settlers, and warn parties in the mountains, near the desert, of their danger.

Capt. Leonard's company, from San Francisco, of 17 men, have gone on to Buckland's to-night, to defend that station.

The Indians engaged in the murder are the Carson division of the Pah-utes, numbering 150, but were reinforced by 300 more. They are under command of Capt. Ham, a notorious rascal. They are now about 25 miles from here. Volunteers are enrolling, and a subscription is open to defray expenses. The excitement is increasing.

9:30 P. M.—A company, to reinforce Capt. Leonard's company, start at 12 o'clock to-night. A company of scouts, consisting of 18, start for the Nevada district at 10 o'clock. There will be a company of mounted men leave early in the morning. Five hundred dollars and increasing had been raised.

[Later news, received to-day by telegraph from Carson City, of these events, will be found in another column.]

San Francisco Bulletin, May 9, 1860—  
news of attack on Williams Station.



### *Colonel Jack Hays and The Washoe Regiment*

Colonel John Coffee "Jack" Hays (1817-1883) was in his early 20's when he gained renown as a fearless and skilled member of the newly-organized Texas Rangers. While countless white soldiers and militiamen had died standing on two legs against the mounted warriors of the Indian horse tribes, Colonel Hays and his fellow Rangers understood the tactical necessity of fighting on horseback. They developed the equestrian skills and adopted weaponry—in particular, the Colt revolver and the howitzer—to subdue the dreaded Comanches, who had terrorized settlers along the Texas frontier.



Colonel John Coffee "Jack" Hays

In 1847 Colonel Hays married the daughter of a fellow Ranger and two years later was appointed U.S. Indian agent in Arizona and New Mexico. In 1850 Colonel Hays moved his family to California, where he was elected sheriff of San Francisco County. In 1853 he was appointed U.S. surveyor general for California. Colonel Hays eventually became a wealthy real estate investor and one of the founders of Oakland. While visiting Virginia City on business, Colonel Hays learned that Major Orsmy's army had been annihilated in the First Battle of Pyramid Lake.

In the days that followed, the governor of California ordered arms and ammunition to be sent to Carson Valley. About 165 California state militiamen marched over the

Sierra Nevada to meet Major Daniel E. Hungerford in Virginia City. At the same time, army regulars from the 3rd U.S. Artillery and 6th U.S. Infantry regiments were ordered to embark from Fort Alcatraz on the Carson Valley Expedition under the command of Captain Joseph Stewart.

Urged by locals to appoint an experienced Indian fighter to lead the campaign against the Paiutes, Major Hungerford gave Colonel Hays command of the Washoe Regiment, comprising nearly 600 men, half of whom were mounted. Colonel Hays made training and discipline his priority, and he quickly established "Camp Hays" in a sagebrush flat near the Carson River to give his men a couple of days to adapt to military life.

After replacing some of the volunteer officers with men better suited to warfare, Colonel Hays marched the Washoe Regiment out of camp on May 27. Shortly after, he was joined by Captain Stewart and the 212 army regulars. The combined force of approximately 800 soldiers, placed under the command of Colonel Hays, marched toward Pyramid Lake to find the Paiutes.

THE TROOPS AT WASHOE.—A dispatch to the *Bee*, dated at Carson City, May 25th, contains the following:

From Cole, agent of Wells, Fargo & Co., who has just returned from Camp Hays, on Carson river, twenty miles below Carson City, we learn the following:

The officers of the regiment are, Col. Hays, commanding; Lieut. Colonel Sanders; Adjutant, C. S. Fairfax; Quartermaster, E. R. Lippincott; Commissary, R. N. Snowden. The regiment consists of Silver City Guards, 52 men, Capt. Ford; Carson City Company, 43 men, Capt. J. L. Blackburn; Virginia Company, 103 men, Capt. Stone; Virginia Guards, 33 men, Capt. Hal. Clayton; Downieville Battalion, 100 men, Major Hungerford; Rabbit Creek Company, 28 men; Sacramento Company, 52 men, Capt. Curtis; San Juan Company, 30 men; Nevada Company, 72 men, Capt. Van Hagan; Capt. Lance Nightingale's Company, 35 men; Spy Company No. 1, 15 men, Capt. Wallace; Spy Company No. 2, Capt. Gleason, 35 men.

Col. Hays will move with the regiment to Big Bend of Carson river to-morrow, and await the arrival of Capt. Stewart with the United States forces, who will probably leave here Saturday morning. From what we can learn from reliable sources, the Indians are at Pyramid Lake, about 1,500 strong. It is doubtful whether they will give battle; but should they do so, the war will end soon.

[The figures footed up, show that the army under Col. Jack Hays numbers 598 men.]

Sacramento *Daily Union*, May 26, 1860, reporting the formation of the Washoe Regiment under the command of Colonel Jack Hays.



### ***The Second Battle of Pyramid Lake at Pinnacle Mount (June 2-4, 1860)***

Numaga, anticipating an attack, took the precaution of moving the women, children and elderly to safer ground north of Pyramid Lake. His scouts reported the movements and strength of the white man's army, and there was a brief skirmish as Colonel Hays marched north. Numaga's strategy was to once again lure the enemy into an area that left them exposed. However, Colonel Hays was experienced in Indian tactics, and his army was much larger and better equipped than Ormsby's militia had been.

The Second Battle of Pyramid Lake started in the afternoon of Saturday, June 2. Colonel Hays ordered a small cavalry unit led by Captain Edward F. Storey, a former Texas Ranger, to advance ahead of the main force to the place where Ormsby's men had been attacked. Captain Storey's men arrived to find the ground littered with putrid, mangled corpses. In the distance they saw what appeared to be a deserted Paiute camp. Then rifle fire pierced the air, and Paiute warriors on horseback emerged from a ravine behind the camp. Storey and his men found themselves under attack, trapped in exactly the same place where Ormsby's men had perished.

Captain Storey ordered his men to retreat to their camp beside the Truckee River. Before reaching the camp, they caught sight of Colonel Hays and a large group of cavalymen galloping toward the sound of gunfire. The reunited soldiers then continued with an attack plan that Colonel Hays and Captain Stewart had worked out before shots had been heard. Hays would lead his men toward the Paiutes, while Stewart's troops would move down from the plateau to dislodge warriors from their hiding places. In the meantime, the howitzers would be placed into position to fire on nests of sharpshooters and Indian attack formations.

The fierce battle between the Paiutes and white soldiers ensued for three hours. Numaga's warriors attacked relentlessly on horseback and from concealed positions. Indian sharpshooters on Pinnacle Mount were beyond the reach of the howitzers, which forced Colonel Hays to send foot soldiers to drive them from their protected position. The battle line grew to a mile-wide stretch of smoke, screams and blood-soaked ground. As the afternoon came to an end, Numaga led his warriors away from the Pyramid Lake battleground, but neither side emerged victorious.

The Paiutes found refuge from the white army in the canyons north of Pyramid Lake near the Black Rock Desert. There were no major military engagements after the battle of June 2, but Numaga's warriors skirmished with the white soldiers who tried to track them. During the weeks that followed, the Paiutes and other bands of warriors continued to launch small-scale attacks—what we now call guerrilla warfare—and they successfully evaded attempts by the local militia to hunt them down.

On June 7 the Washoe Regiment returned from the field, then disbanded. Captain Stewart was ordered to construct a military post in a suitable location, and he chose one near Buckland's Station on the north side of the Carson River, approximately 30 miles below Carson City. Work on the installation started around July 20, and on August 28 the post was officially named Fort Churchill for Colonel Sylvester Churchill.

The Paiutes eventually returned to Pyramid Lake, and a fragile peace between the people of the lake and the settlers of Carson Valley was established in August. Nonetheless, other Indians—especially Shoshones and Bannocks—continued to attack stations and wagon trains in Nevada and Utah. The war had achieved nothing.

### *Attacks on Pony Express and Disruption of Service*

The raid on Williams Station on May 7 and the defeat of Major Ormsby's militia on May 12 started the Paiute War. During this time, eastbound Pony Express riders left from San Francisco on May 4, 11, 18 and 25. It normally took a day or so to reach Carson City and another four or five days to reach Salt Lake City, so the May 4 express was well beyond the trouble spots by the time hostilities erupted.

The May 11 express passed through Carson Valley on May 12, the same day that Major Ormsby's army was destroyed. The San Francisco *Bulletin* reported that the rider carrying the May 11 mail was killed by Indians "on the California end," but the mail was intact. The express carrying the May 11 mail reached St. Joseph on May 21. No covers from this trip are recorded.

The May 18 express left San Francisco on schedule, but the trip was delayed. Under ordinary conditions, it should have reached Salt Lake City around May 24, and from there it would be another four days to St. Joseph, arriving on May 28. However, the newspapers reported that the express was late, possibly due to Indian attacks. An express rider from the West rode into St. Joseph on May 29, one day late, but he had left Salt Lake City before the May 18 mochilla arrived and carried no California mail.

### **ARRIVAL OF THE CALIFORNIA MAIL !!**

Last evening as we were just going to press, the California mail arrived, bringing us dates from San Francisco, Sacramento and Placerville to May 12th, and from Carson City to May 19th.

*Deseret News*, May 30, 1860, reporting that the Pony Express rider carrying the May 18 mail from California arrived in Salt Lake City on Tuesday evening, May 29.

The May 30 *Deseret News* reported that, just as the paper was going to press late Tuesday evening (May 29), the Pony Express from California had arrived at Salt Lake City with Carson City dates to May 19 (telegrams). Finally, news correspondents in St. Joseph telegraphed that the "lost" express arrived at 2:20 p.m. on Friday, June 1 (*New York Times*, June 2, 1860). Three covers are known from this May 18 express (FKW Census E5-E7), each of which has a St. Joseph June 1 receiving datestamp.

The Carson City-Salt Lake City leg of the May 18 express trip took 10 days, twice the normal time. We know something about what happened to that mail from Robert "Pony Bob" Haslam's stirring account of his role in carrying the eastbound May 18 mail in Alexander Majors' *Seventy Years on the Frontier* (see page 36 of this catalogue for the full account). Haslam carried the mochilla from Friday's Station—on the southwest shore of Lake Tahoe—to Smith's Creek, which lies 135 miles east of Carson City. According to Haslam, he made this trip by himself across hostile Indian territory in 14 hours, rested 9 hours, then returned with the May 13 westbound mail from St. Joseph.

Haslam's account tells us that the May 18 mail left Smith's Creek on May 20. The Salt Lake City report confirms that the mochilla arrived late in the evening on May 29. Therefore, the delay of approximately five days occurred after the mail left Smith's Creek on May 20, almost certainly along the first 150 miles east toward Ruby Valley, the part of the route where Indians were attacking Pony Express stations.

When Haslam made his westbound return trip late in the day on Sunday, May 20, he discovered that the station keeper at Cold Springs had been killed and the horses run off by Indians. This attack must have occurred during the day on Sunday, May 20,

King's River, Telegraph Camp No. 21, }  
Near Visalia, June 12, 1860. }

The Overland mail from St. Louis, with dates to the 24th, arrived here at 7:30 P. M. The following is a summary of the news dispatches addressed to the *Bulletin*, *Union* and *Alta*:

St. Louis, May 24, 1860.

Overland Mail and Pony Express.

The Overland mail, with dates from San Francisco to the 30th April, arrived on the 22d May.

The Pony Express which left San Francisco May 11th, arrived on the 21st. A rider was killed by the Indians on the California end. Mail and dispatches saved.

San Francisco *Bulletin*, June 13, 1860, reporting that a Pony Express rider was killed by Indians while carrying the May 11 mail (the mail reached St. Joseph on May 21).

### **“Pony Bob” Haslam’s Account of the May 18 Express and Indian Attacks**

The following account was provided by Robert “Pony Bob” Haslam in *Seventy Years on the Frontier*, the memoirs of Alexander Majors. Haslam carried the May 18 mail from Friday’s Station—on the southwest shore of Lake Tahoe—to Smith’s Creek Station, a distance of approximately 160 miles, then returned with the May 13 westbound mail from St. Joseph. **Dates and estimated times—based on arrival/departure times reported in newspapers, speed of 10-12mph on horseback and Haslam’s remarks—are inserted in brackets to provide an approximate chronology of events.**

**[The trip started at Friday’s Station, Sat. May 19 6pm]** From the city [Carson City] the signal fires of the Indians could be seen on every mountain peak, and all available men and horses were pressed into service to repel the impending assault of the savages. When I reached Reed’s Station **[aka Miller’s Station, Sat. May 19 10pm]**, on the Carson River, I found no change of horses, as all those at the station had been seized by the whites to take part in the approaching battle. I fed the animal that I rode, and started for the next station, called Buckland’s, afterward known as Fort Churchill, fifteen miles farther down the river **[Sat. May 19 11pm]**. This point was to have been the termination of my journey (as I had been changed from my old route to this one, in which I had had many narrow escapes and been twice wounded by Indians), as I had ridden seventy-five miles, but to my great astonishment, the other rider refused to go on. The superintendent, W. C. Marley, was at the station, but all his persuasion could not prevail on the rider, Johnnie Richardson, to take the road. Turning then to me, Marley said, ‘Bob, I will give you \$50 if you make this ride.’ I replied: ‘I will go you once.’

Within ten minutes, when I had adjusted my Spencer rifle—a seven-shooter—and my Colt’s revolver, with two cylinders ready for use in case of an emergency, I started. From the station onward was a lonely and dangerous ride of thirty-five miles, without a change, to the Sink of the Carson. I arrived there all right **[Sun. May 20 2am]**, however, and pushed on to Sand’s Spring, through an alkali bottom and sand-hills, thirty miles farther, without a drop of water all along the route **[Sun. May 20 4am]**. At Sand’s Springs I changed horses, and continued on to Cold Springs, a distance of thirty-seven miles **[Sun. May 20 6am]**. Another change, and a ride of thirty miles more, brought me to Smith’s Creek **[Sun. May 20 8am]**. Here I was relieved by J. G. Kelley. I had ridden 185 miles, stopping only to eat and change horses.

After remaining at Smith’s Creek about nine hours **[Sun. May 20 5pm]**, I started to retrace my journey with the return express. When I arrived at Cold Springs **[Sun. May 20 7pm]**, to my horror I found that the station had been attacked by Indians, and the keeper killed and all the horses taken away. What course to pursue I decided in a moment — I would go on. I watered my horse — having ridden him thirty miles on time, he was pretty tired — and started for Sand Springs, thirty-seven miles away. It was growing dark **[sunset around 8pm on May 20]**, and my road lay through heavy sage-brush, high enough in some places to conceal a horse. I kept a bright lookout, and closely watched every motion of my poor horse’s ears, which is a signal for danger in an Indian country. I was prepared for a fight, but the stillness of the night and the howling of the wolves and coyotes made cold chills run through me at times, but I reached Sand Springs in safety and reported what had happened **[Sun. May 20 9pm]**. Before leaving I advised the station-keeper to come with me to the Sink of the Carson, for I was sure the Indians would be upon him the next day. He took my advice, and so probably saved his life, for the following morning Smith’s Creek was attacked [Mon. morning, May 21]. The whites, however, were well protected in the shelter of a stone house, from which they fought the Indians for four days [Mon.-Thu. May 21-24]. At the end of that time [Thu. May 24] they were relieved by the appearance of about fifty volunteers from Cold Springs. These men reported that they had buried John Williams, the brave station-keeper of that station, but not before he had been nearly devoured by wolves.

When I arrived at the Sink of the Carson **[Mon. May 21 12am]**, I found the station men badly frightened, for they had seen some fifty warriors, decked out in their war-paint and reconnoitering the station. There were fifteen white men here, well armed and ready for a fight. The station was built of adobe, and was large enough for the men and ten or fifteen horses, with a fine spring of water within ten feet of it. I rested here an hour, and after dark started for Buckland’s, where I arrived without a mishap and only three and a half hours behind the schedule time **[Mon. May 21 4am]**. I found Mr. Marley at Buckland’s, and when I related to him the story of the Cold Springs tragedy and my success, he raised his previous offer of \$50 for my ride to \$100. I was rather tired, but the excitement of the trip had braced me up to withstand the fatigue of the journey. After the rest of one and one-half hours **[Mon. May 21 5:30am]**, I proceeded over my own route, from Buckland’s to Friday’s Station **[passed Carson City at 8:30am per newspaper reports]**, crossing the western summit of the Sierra Nevada **[arriving Friday’s Station Mon. May 21 10:30am]**. I had traveled 380 miles [actually 320] within a few hours of schedule time, and surrounded by perils on every hand.



#### INTERRUPTION IN THE PONY EXPRESS.

A dispatch was received in this city May 26th, to the effect that the Pony Express stations had been interfered with by the Indians. The *Bulletin*, of May 26th, has the following on this subject:

W. W. Finney, the agent of the Pony Express, called upon us this morning and gave us some sad news respecting the perilous condition of that enterprise, which already has taken such deep root in the favor of the people. He had just received telegraphic dispatches from Carson City, which state that the station at Simpson Park was burned on Monday last, and that it is supposed to have been the work of the Indians; that the station keeper and all the animals are yet missing; that recently the Indians fired on two men named Redman and Robinson, who were conducting a freight train, severely wounding Robinson, and that Redman escaped on one of the mules, leaving the wagon in Simpson's Canon, and had arrived at Smith's Creek. The fate of the wounded man is not stated. The dispatch further informs Mr. Finney that the man who came in with the last Express from Reese river, was forced by fear of the Indians to lie by for thirty-six hours at the Smith Creek station—otherwise the Express would have arrived through to Carson in less than six days—and that though the Express leaving here on the 18th had duly started on the perilous journey, there was doubt as to who would be the succeeding expressman with the letters which left here yesterday.

Upon the reception of this news, Mr. Finney called upon General Clarke to ascertain if the Government would not furnish some protection to the route. As the Pony Express is but an individual enterprise, Mr. Finney explained to General Clarke that he knew he had no right to look for protection of the Express by itself; but the route was the same over which passed the United States mail, and for that reason it was, perhaps, the duty of the Government to keep it clear; beside this, there were on the road, journeying to California by this route, at least six or seven hundred emigrants—men, women and children, with their wagons and stock—who would fall victims to the cruelty and rapacity of the savages, as fast as they unsuspectingly journeyed into the hostile territory ahead of them. For these reasons, Mr. Finney thought General Clarke might deem it within the scope of his duty to station some forces along the line and the stations of the Pony Express, which would answer the purposes of keeping said Express uninterrupted, protecting the incoming immigration, and maintaining the Central mail route. For this purpose Mr. Finney thought that with seventy-five well armed and well mounted men, distributed between Sand Springs, sixty miles beyond Carson; Cold Springs, thirty-five miles further east; Simpson's, forty miles further; and at Dry Creek, twenty-five miles still further, the route might be kept safe. This would give fifteen men to each station; but if these were well mounted and armed with Minie rifles, it is thought they could secure the stations against any force of Indians likely to attack them. The trails of the hostile savages run at right angles with the Express route; small predatory bands of from half a dozen to a half hundred Indians, in moving backwards and forwards, frequently stop at the stations, and heretofore have been well treated, and have manifested great friendship. Since the war has broken out, it is thought that these Indians, if they find the stations wholly defenseless, as at present, with only two or three men at each, will not hesitate to attack them, massacre the whites, steal the provisions and provender, and run off the stock. But if there were fifteen well armed and experienced soldiers there, the roving bands of Indians would rather avoid the stations than have a battle.

General Clarke, in reply to Mr. Finney's application, expressed great regret that he could do nothing, but the limited number of men under his command made it impossible for him to detail seventy-five soldiers for the proposed duty. He regarded it of great importance to protect the mail route and the incoming immi-

between the time Haslam passed the station on his eastbound run (early morning) and the time he returned to Cold Springs on his westbound run (early evening). Continuing on, Haslam persuaded the keeper at Sandy Springs to leave his station for safer ground closer to Carson City. Haslam's account also states that Smith's Creek was attacked on Monday morning, May 21. Another source reports that the Simpson's Park station was burned and its keeper killed on Sunday, May 20.

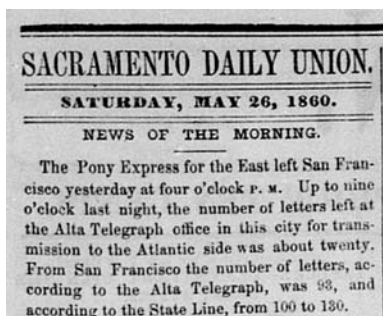
The May 22 *Daily Alta California* reported the arrival of the westbound express (carrying the May 13 mail) at Carson City at 8:30 a.m. on May 21. Therefore, Haslam's report of the attack on Cold Springs should have been telegraphed to San Francisco *before the next eastbound express left* on Friday, May 25 (the mail arrived Tuesday evening, May 22). However, the first public statement from COC&PP management regarding the situation was not made until days later, on May 26, when the San Francisco *Bulletin* was notified of Indian attacks on Pony Express stations by William W. Finney, the superintendent of the route from Sacramento to Roberts Creek.

Despite the threat of further Indian attacks and destruction of several stations between Carson City and Roberts Creek, the May 25 express left at 4 p.m., carrying the mail bag containing the cover offered in this sale (lot 2). The San Francisco *Bulletin* (May 28) carried a report from Carson City: "The outgoing Pony, which left San Francisco on Friday, at 4 P.M., arrived at this place, and passed right on with the letters, at 9 o'clock, on Saturday night [May 26]."

gration, and thought it would, at this time, be a great misfortune to have the Pony Express interrupted, but, in the absence of means, he could do nothing. Under these circumstances Mr. Finney is fearful that the Express will have to be stopped. He leaves for the scene of danger and will attempt to carry it on. But should the hostilities of the savages be as serious as is represented, he has great doubts of his ability to keep up the service. The stations are in a country frequented by Indians, and are at those points where Indian bands are almost forced to pass, as there they can get water. If they are not protected, therefore, the men at those stations will be forced to abandon them; or, if they remain at their posts, will in all probability be murdered. Some of them are already sending in for permission of the agents to leave.

Under these circumstances what is to be done? We cannot pretend to know General Clarke's business as well as he does, but it seems to us that seventy-five men might well be spared from the army in Carson Valley for the duty of protecting the Express route, and insuring the lives of the hundreds who are journeying unsuspectingly towards bloody graves in the wilderness. The men of Carson Valley are better able to protect themselves than are these immigrant trains with their women and children. In view of the exigency of the case, something should be done, and that right speedily.

Sacramento *Daily Union*, May 28, 1860, reporting Indian attacks on Pony Express stations.



Sacramento *Daily Union*, May 26, 1860

**The Pony Express.**

CARSON CITY, May 28—3 P. M.

Nothing heard of the incoming Pony Express. The outgoing Pony, which left San Francisco on Friday, at 4 P. M., arrived at this place, and passed right on with the letters, at 9 o'clock, on Saturday night.

San Francisco *Bulletin*, May 28, 1860

**Departure of the Next Pony Express Postponed.**

PLACERVILLE, May 31—10 A. M.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BULLETIN:—I am in receipt of intelligence from stations beyond Carson, which has determined me to postpone the departure of the next Pony Express to the East. I will be under obligations if you will make this fact known through your columns. This interruption will be but temporary. Our trips will be resumed just as soon as they can be, without jeopardizing the interests of our patrons. I have reason to believe that the Express which left San Francisco on the 25th May has gone through safely.

WILLIAM W. FINNEY,  
General Agent of the Pony Express.

San Francisco *Bulletin*, May 31, 1860

The following dispatch was received by W. W. Finney, at Strawberry Valley, from C. H. Ruffin, Road Agent of the Pony Express, at Miller's Station, May 31st:

I have just returned from Cold Springs—was driven away by the Indians who attacked us night before last. The men at Dry Creek Station have been killed, and it is thought the Roberts Creek Station has been destroyed. The Express turned back after hearing the news from Dry Creek. Eight animals were stolen from Cold Springs on Monday. Hamilton is at the Sink of the Carson, on his way in with all the men and horses.

Sacramento *Daily Union*, June 4, 1860

No Pony Express.—The rumor which obtained such general circulation yesterday, to the effect that another Pony would be started to-day, for the other side of the continent, is wholly without foundation. Telegraphic dispatches, however, may be sent this morning, to go by the Pony Express which leaves Carson City at 12 M. This is the Express which left here on the 25th ult., and returned to Carson City in consequence of the late Indian disturbances on the route.

Daily *Alta California*, June 8, 1860

The May 25 mail was carried east of Carson City, but at a certain point, before reaching Dry Creek, the rider turned back. On May 31, C. H. Ruffin, the road agent at Miller's Station, telegraphed the following report to superintendent Finney (boldface added for emphasis):

I have just returned from Cold Springs—was driven away by the Indians who attacked us the night before last. The men at Dry Creek Station have been killed, and it is thought the Roberts Creek Station has been destroyed. **The Express turned back after hearing the news from Dry Creek.** Eight animals were stolen from Cold Springs on Monday. Hamilton is at the Sink of the Carson, on his way with all the men and horses. (Sacramento *Daily Union*, June 4, 1860).

In a notice Finney released for publication in the San Francisco *Bulletin*, dated at Placerville, May 31, 10 a.m., he makes a puzzling statement (boldface added for emphasis):

I am in receipt of intelligence from stations beyond Carson, which has determined me to postpone the departure of the next Pony Express to the East... **I have reasons to believe that the Express which left San Francisco on the 25th May has gone through safely.**

The question that must be asked is, how could Finney, at this point, believe the May 25 express had safely passed the danger zone?

Finney wrote his notice from Placerville at 10 a.m. on May 31. Apparently he had not received the route agent's telegram by then, nor had he heard any other news about the express since it left Carson City on May 26 at 9 p.m.

The timing is interesting. Dry Creek is about 180 miles east of Carson City, which would take 12 to 18 hours to reach at the rate of 10 to 15 miles per hour on horseback. Even if we assume the slowest pace and further delays, the May 25 mail should have made the round trip and returned to Carson City before midnight on May 28, leaving plenty of time to notify Finney and the home office of the interrupted trip.

The company's decision to send both the May 18 and May 25 mails in the direction of a war zone was imprudent, to say the least. Superintendent Finney's "belief" that the May 25 express had "gone through safely" was either shockingly misinformed, disingenuous, or perhaps an outright lie. At \$5 per letter and with the future of the Pony Express in jeopardy, Finney and his bosses were probably reluctant to stop the express or to give their patrons the bad news. Only when they had no choice did they pull the plug on May 31.



Finney's May 31 notice effectively suspended Pony Express service from California and across the war-ravaged route. At the same time, company officials pleaded with the military authorities for assistance in safely transporting the mail.

Newspapers claimed that an express would leave on Friday, June 8, but those reports were incorrect and retracted the next day. No new mail was carried from San Francisco. Instead, telegraph dispatches received through June 8 were transmitted to Carson City, and these, together with the May 25 mail, were carried by riders who were escorted by "20 picked men, well armed and mounted" through hostile territory until they reached relatively safe ground beyond Ruby Valley. This "guarded" express left Carson City on Saturday, June 9, at 2 p.m.

From start to finish, the May 25 (Friday) express took 31 days, the longest of all eastbound Pony Express runs (the May 20 westbound mail was held at St. Joseph and did not reach California until June 25). The June 20 *Deseret News* reported the arrival of the eastbound express at Salt Lake City at 10:15 a.m. on Tuesday, June 19, and the reports received from St. Joseph confirm that the May 25 mail finally reached there on June 25, carrying California telegraph dispatches through June 8.

Eastbound service along the route from San Francisco to just west of Ruby Valley was suspended from June 1 through July 6. Express riders continued to carry mail between St. Joseph and points as far west as Diamond Springs (*Deseret News*, June 6, see page 45), but no letters or telegraph dispatches from California or the war-torn region of Nevada were carried during this period.

After weeks of rebuilding stations and replacing equipment, stock and dead employees, service from California resumed with the San Francisco departure on Saturday, July 7. The Saturday departure from San Francisco was the first from California on the new bi-weekly express schedule.

The westbound mails from trips scheduled to leave St. Joseph on May 20, May 27, June 3 and June 10 were held at St. Joseph until the army could ensure safe passage. According to newspaper reports, the combined mail from these four dates left St. Joseph on Wednesday, June 13, with an escort of 25 U.S. troops, and arrived in San Francisco on June 25. The five known westbound covers with May 20–June 10 dates are desirable examples of delayed mail that was held at the eastern terminus after Indian attacks disrupted service. However, the westbound covers were not carried on a Pony Express run that was interrupted in a war zone, necessitating the return of the mochilla to a safe haven. In that respect the May 25 eastbound cover offered in lot 2 has special historical significance.

We understand that the outgoing Pony Express, which left San Francisco May 25th, and put back to Carson City, will leave the latter city on Friday, June 8th, at twelve o'clock M. Telegraphic dispatches will be received at the Agency in this city—the Alta Telegraph office—up to the hour of the departure of the Express.

Sacramento Daily Union, June 7, 1860

To the Bulletin Exclusively.

Efforts to Re-establish the Pony Express—The Army in Washoe—The Volunteers—The Indians.

CARSON CITY, U. T., June 9—2 P. M.

A company of 20 picked men, well armed and mounted, have just left with the Pony Express and Salt Lake mail. They will proceed till they meet the Express or mail coming this way—re-establishing the route by leaving men and animals at the stations destroyed, as they go along. It is thought they will not have to go further than Ruby Valley. If necessary, however, they will go to Camp Floyd.

The Indians having fled from Pyramid Lake without giving fight, all but about 150 volunteers are to be disbanded. Of the latter, 15 arrived here yesterday; many more are expected to-day. The remains of Ormsby, Meredith, Snowden and Story will also reach here to-night. Their funeral will take place to-morrow.

The weather is warm and showery. The grass is growing rapidly. The miners are returning to their work. No further apprehensions is entertained of Indians in the mining districts.

The Indians are peaceably disposed on Walker river.

San Francisco Bulletin, June 9, 1860

#### News from the West.

The express from the west which left California 25th May, arrived Tuesday 19th, at 1-4 past 10 a. m., and immediately left for the States. The Indians are still troublesome, annoying the stations in front and rear of the troops. Part of the troops were stationed at Shell creek and Ruby valley, and the balance went on west with the mail as an escort, in company with Major Egan. Mr. Morrell, postmaster of this city, with a company of others, with the mail had arrived at Ruby valley from California, and the mail is expected here in the course of a few days.

Deseret News, June 20, 1860

ST. LOUIS, TUESDAY AFTERNOON, June 25, 1860.

Last night we received, by telegraph from St. Joseph, the welcome news that the great Central route was once more open, and that the famous Pony had arrived from Carson Valley, through the Indian country, although seventeen days were consumed in making the trip. This, though slow for that route, is still some days faster and later than the news brought by the Butterfield mail. But it is not so much the news, as the development of the fact that communication is now open, and can be maintained, which gives us pleasure. And furthermore, it raises the hope that all of our despatches from this side may have gone through safely, though some of them, perhaps, tardily. It is a satisfaction to me that I did not stop my correspondence by the Pony line. The recent despatches, I scarcely have a doubt, will have gone through safely, and in time, for, with the disappearance of the Indians, the stock will have been restored to the line on your side, and on ours it has never been withdrawn. Success to the Pony, and the pluck that rides it! As it was not anticipated that an express could be got through from your side, I take it for granted nothing has come through from California by the Pony which arrived at St. Joseph on Monday, June 25, bringing dates from Carson Valley only to the 24th. A highly interesting summary of news was received by the St. Joseph Gazette, from its Carson Valley correspondent, and it was at once telegraphed over the Union. It contains an account of Indian operations, and an allusion to a fight, without particulars, in which the Indians had thirty killed and as many wounded, and then scattered to the North and East of Pyramid Lake. From California, the only items of news furnished are the discontinuance of the Standard newspaper, the injunction upon the Carson Valley Telegraph, and the arrival of Col. Lander, with one hundred men, in Honey Lake Valley. It is to be hoped the telegraph is not entirely suspended, as it would have cut you off from the receipt of Douglas' nomination, by the last Pony, and of the news of the permanent division of the Democratic party.

Sacramento Daily Union, July 17, 1860





Lot 2

**SACRAMENTO DAILY UNION.**  
**SATURDAY, MAY 26, 1860.**  
**NEWS OF THE MORNING.**  
 The Pony Express for the East left San Francisco yesterday at four o'clock p. m. Up to nine o'clock last night, the number of letters left at the Alta Telegraph office in this city for transmission to the Atlantic side was about twenty. From San Francisco the number of letters, according to the Alta Telegraph, was 93, and according to the State Line, from 100 to 130.

**Sacramento Daily Union**  
 May 26, 1860

The following dispatch was received by W. W. Finney, at Strawberry Valley, from C. H. Ruffin, Road Agent of the Pony Express, at Miller's Station, May 21st :  
 I have just returned from Cold Springs—was driven away by the Indians who attacked us night before last. The men at Dry Creek Station have been killed, and it is thought the Roberts Creek Station has been destroyed. The Express turned back after hearing the news from Dry Creek. Eight animals were stolen from Cold Springs on Monday. Hamilton is at the Sink of the Carson, on his way in with all the men and horses.

**Sacramento Daily Union**  
 June 4, 1860

**News from the West.**  
 The express from the west which left California 23th May, arrived Tuesday 19th, at 1-4 past 10 a. m., and immediately left for the States. The Indians are still troublesome, annoying the stations in front and rear of the troops. Part of the troops were stationed at Shell creek and Ruby valley, and the balance went on west with the mail as an escort, in company with Major Egan. Mr. Morrell, postmaster of this city, with a company of others, with the mail had arrived at Ruby valley from California, and the mail is expected here in the course of a few days.

**Salt Lake City Deseret News**  
 June 20, 1860

Newspaper reports announcing the departure, delay and arrival of the May 25 trip from San Francisco, which was interrupted and delayed due to Paiute Indian attacks on Pony Express stations.

## **The Only Recorded Cover from the One Pony Express Trip Interrupted and Delayed by the Paiute Indian War**

### **Lot 2**

**The Central Overland California & Pikes Peak Express Company, San Francisco, Cal. May 25 (1860).** Full clear strike of blue oval datestamp over embossed stamp on 10c Pale Green on Buff Nesbitt entire (U16a) to “G. W. Schenkberg, 112 Broad Street upstairs, Post office Box 1292, New York”, sender’s bold directive “Per ‘Pony’ Express” and “Paid”, the May 25 express was stopped en route to St. Joseph, on the day of arrival—31 days after departure—the blue “St. Joseph Mo. Jun. 25, 1860” circular datestamp was struck over embossed stamp and San Francisco oval

EXTREMELY FINE. THIS IS THE ONLY EXTANT COVER FROM THE ONE PONY EXPRESS TRIP THAT WAS INTERRUPTED AND DELAYED DURING THE 1860 PAIUTE INDIAN WAR.

As more fully explained in the preceding introduction (pages 30-39), this cover is important because it is the only recorded example of mail carried on the one Pony Express trip that was forced to turn back in response to attacks on express stations by Indians in western Nevada (then part of Utah Territory). These attacks occurred during the Paiute Indian War, which started with the May 7 raid on Williams Station by a party of Paiute and Bannock warriors. On May 20 and 21, Indians attacked stations at Cold Springs, Smith’s Creek and Simpson’s Park. In the weeks that followed, other stations were burned, horses were run off and station keepers were killed.

From start to finish, the May 25 (Friday) express took 31 days, the longest of all eastbound Pony Express runs (the May 20 westbound mail was held at St. Joseph and did not reach California until June 25). After leaving San Francisco on May 25, the express passed through Carson City on May 26 at 9 p.m., but sometime before May 28 the trip was terminated, and the mail bag was returned to Carson City. On May 31, eleven days after Indians started attacking stations, Superintendent William W. Finney announced that the express would be temporarily suspended. He also expressed his “belief” that the May 25 mail had “gone through safely.”

There was no express from San Francisco on June 8 or 9, contrary to a rumor reported in the newspapers on June 7, but retracted the next day. However, telegraph messages dated through June 8 were transmitted to Carson City and added to the May 25 mail. From there, at 2 p.m. on Saturday, June 9, a group of 20 soldiers escorted the eastbound riders through hostile territory. The *Deseret News* reported the arrival of the eastbound express at Salt Lake City at 10:15 a.m. on Tuesday, June 19, and the reports received from St. Joseph confirm that the May 25 mail finally reached there on June 25, carrying Carson City telegraph dispatches dated through June 8.

Eastbound service from California and along the war-torn route was suspended from June 1 through July 6. The California mail dated May 18 at San Francisco arrived at St. Joseph on June 1. Express riders continued to carry mail between St. Joseph and points as far west as Diamond Springs when it was possible. Service from California resumed on Saturday, July 7.

The westbound mails from trips scheduled to leave St. Joseph on May 20, May 27, June 3 and June 10 were held there until the army could ensure safe passage. The combined mail from these four delayed departures arrived in San Francisco on June 25 (five covers are recorded).

FKW Census E8. Trip ET-9. Ex Baughman and Haas.

Estimate \$75,000-100,000



Lot 3  
Front and back



# One of Two Recorded Pony Express Covers Stolen by Indians

## Lot 3

**“Pony Express, July 22d” (1860).** Magenta manuscript way-mail marking on 10c Pale Green on Buff Nesbitt entire (U16a) addressed in the same hand (in brownish-black ink) to “*Mr. Wm. A. Hedenberg, Newark, New Jersey*”, stolen by Indians on or about July 28 at the Platte Bridge Station in Wyoming and recovered nearly two years later, **“*recovered from a Mail Stolen in 1860*”** written once across the backflap and again along the left edge, embossed stamp cancelled by circular grid applied at New York City post office, neat receipt docketing “*Received May 1st 1862*”, some effects of exposure and two backflaps are missing, but the markings and address are intact, restoration not affecting the stamp or markings

THIS “WAY” COVER WAS ADDED TO THE EASTBOUND PONY EXPRESS MOCHILLA ABOUT SIX DAYS BEFORE THE RIDER WAS THROWN FROM HIS HORSE WHILE CROSSING THE PLATTE RIVER BRIDGE IN WYOMING IN JULY 1860. THE MAIL FROM SAN FRANCISCO AND THIS “WAY” COVER WERE IN THE MOCHILLA STOLEN BY INDIANS AND RECOVERED IN 1862. THE TWO KNOWN “STOLEN PONY” COVERS WERE MAILED AT NEW YORK CITY, DELIVERED TO THE ADDRESSEES, AND TODAY SURVIVE AS THE ONLY TANGIBLE EVIDENCE OF THIS REMARKABLE “WILD WEST” DRAMA.

FKW Census E11. Trip ET-15.

Estimate \$200,000-300,000

### *The Incident at Platte Bridge Station*

The mochilla carrying the “Stolen Pony” mail left San Francisco on Saturday, July 21, 1860, and travelled 1,200 miles east to the Platte River Bridge in pre-territorial Wyoming, at which point the rider was thrown from his horse. The horse and mochilla went missing, and neither was recovered despite the efforts of a 20-man search party over a period of 10 days. The incident is documented in a news article published in the *San Francisco Bulletin* on September 29, 1860 (shown right).

The fate of the horse will never be known, but the mochilla with the Pony Express mail was stolen by Indians, as stated retrospectively in the manuscript notations on two of the “Stolen Pony” covers. The mochilla was missing for two years until it was traded, found or possibly recaptured in 1862. Both covers reached the addressees at the beginning of May 1862.

Other than the *Bulletin* news article, neither the loss nor recovery of the July 21 Pony Express mail is mentioned in any contemporary reports known to us. Consequently, we must try to reconstruct the history of the Platte River Bridge incident and the “Stolen Pony” mail using the evidence in hand. We will try to answer these questions:

What circumstances affected the Pony Express in July 1860? When was the rider thrown from his horse at the Platte River Bridge, and what is the history of this remote river crossing? Who sent the “Stolen Pony” cover, and who was the addressee, William A. Hedenberg? And, which Indian tribe might have been responsible for the theft?

**FATE OF THE MISSING PONY EXPRESS.**—Considerable interest has been felt here as to the fate of the Pony Express that left San Francisco on the 21st of July last, and what has become of the letters which it carried. We learn from a communication by the Secretary of the Pony Express Company at Leavenworth city, dated 14th September, instant, to the agent of the company in San Francisco, that an accident befel the Express in question, when going East. In crossing the “Platte Bridge,” the rider was thrown from his horse, and the animal, with the letter-bags upon him, ran off. Some twenty men were employed to search the country, during a period of ten days, for the horse and bags; but, up to the date of the letter by the agent at Leavenworth city, no tidings had been received there on the subject.

*San Francisco Bulletin*, September 29, 1860, reporting the “Fate of the Missing Pony Express” and the loss of the July 21 eastbound mail when the rider was thrown from his horse on the Platte River Bridge in Wyoming.

### *The Unreliable Pony Express of June and July 1860*

The Pony Express in June and July 1860 was a struggling enterprise trying to overcome the major disruptions caused by the war between Paiute Indians and white settlers in western Nevada, which was then part of Utah Territory. The war started on May 7, 1860, with the raid on Williams Station. It reached its climax with the Second Battle of Pyramid Lake on June 2-4, in which the war chief Numaga and the Washoe Regiment's commander, Colonel Jack Hays, led their respective armies in a three-hour fight that ended with the Paiutes withdrawing north to the Black Rock Desert region.

The 360-mile stretch of the Pony Express route between Carson City and Deep Creek (about 150 miles west of Salt Lake City) was repeatedly attacked by Indians, beginning on May 20 with the raids on Cold Springs and Simpson's Park stations. Reports of stations burned, stock run off and station keepers killed caused COC&PP officials to announce on May 31 the suspension of the Pony Express and cancellation of the June 1 departure from San Francisco.

There were no new eastbound runs from California or Carson Valley until July 7. The May 25 express from San Francisco, which was interrupted and forced to return to Carson City, continued east on June 9, accompanied by a military escort. It carried the May 25 mail and telegraph dispatches sent to Carson City through June 8, but no additional mail from California. The express arrived at St. Joseph on June 25, a 16-day trip from Carson City. One cover from this trip is recorded (lot 2 in this sale).

The mails bound for California dated May 20, May 27, June 3 and June 10 at St. Joseph were held there until an army escort could accompany the riders. The first "guarded" express left St. Joseph on Wednesday, June 13, with an escort of 25 U.S. troops, and it arrived at San Francisco on June 25. The Wednesday June 13 departure is confirmed in a report dated June 12 from the Sacramento *Daily Union's* St. Louis correspondent (published July 2). This corrects the philatelic record, which lists the departure date as June 10. Five covers are recorded, including one to Camp Floyd.

Another California-bound express departed from St. Joseph with mail and telegraph dispatches received up to 11 p.m. on Saturday, June 16 (Sacramento *Daily Union*, June 30). This express probably left shortly after the closing time for telegrams. It arrived at Carson City on June 29 and San Francisco on June 30, a 14-day trip. This express also travelled with a military escort for part of the trip. No covers are recorded.

A report from the St. Louis correspondent (Sacramento *Daily Union*, July 16) contains significant information about the departure schedule from St. Joseph:

June 19, 1860. To-morrow night [Wednesday, June 20] the semi-weekly Pony Express again leaves St. Joseph... The Express of Saturday night takes out all the leading features of the news of the past week, necessarily in imperfect form. Being compelled to close up the regular letter at an early hour on Tuesday, we can only have general news telegraphed on Monday night or Tuesday morning.

From this report we learn that the express left St. Joseph twice weekly on *Wednesday* and *Saturday* in June, not once per week on Sunday, as before, or twice weekly on Thursday and Sunday, as it did later (historians seem to have overlooked this report).

Although the June 19 report states that an express would leave on June 20, and the mail it carried should have reached California by July 6 or 7, there is no newspaper report of the arrival of an express between June 30 and July 15.

The July 31 New York *Evening Post* reported the July 16 arrival of the express with “St. Louis dates of July 1st.” A July 15 telegraph from Miller’s Station reported that the letters were dated to Friday, June 29 (*Daily Alta California*, July 16). This express departed either on Saturday, June 30, or possibly the next day. The *Evening Post* article explains that it carried the mail from the “previous express,” which was delayed “somewhere west of Salt Lake for an escort, and then having to journey two hundred miles in company with soldiers, making only forty miles per day.” Five days and 200 miles from the July 15 arrival at Miller’s Station means that the express left from Roberts Creek on July 10 with its military escort. The June 20 express from St. Joseph would have reached Roberts Creek around June 28 to 30, so the trouble started then. The eastbound expresses that left San Francisco on July 7 and 11, which took 17 and 15 days to arrive at St. Joseph, respectively, must have been delayed by the same problem that kept the westbound riders from going beyond Roberts Creek.

As in the case of the Wednesday June 20 express, there are no reports in any of the newspapers of arrivals of expresses scheduled to depart St. Joseph on June 23 (Saturday) and June 27 (Wednesday). The Wednesday July 4 *Deseret News* reported the arrival of an “express from the east on Friday” (June 29). The same article also reported the “expected arrival” of expresses from “east or west” the night before (Tuesday, July 3), four days later. This four-day gap between Salt Lake City arrivals fits with Wednesday and Saturday departures. The June 29 arrival from St. Joseph also points to a Saturday June 23 departure or, if slow, the Wednesday June 20 express.

From all of this we may conclude that the westbound expresses with mail for California resumed departures from St. Joseph on Wednesdays and Saturdays, starting June 13. The June 13 and 16 mails were carried through to California in 13-day and 14-day trips guarded by a military escort for part of the route. The June 20, 23 and 27 expresses apparently left St. Joseph on time, but were delayed when they reached Roberts Creek, beginning on or about June 28, due to renewed Indian attacks on stations and riders. The June 30 express caught up with the others at Roberts Creek, and on July 10 a military-escorted express carried the accumulated mail on a 5-day, 200-mile trip to Carson City, where it arrived on July 15 (the mail reached San Francisco the following day). The next westbound express left St. Joseph on Wednesday, July 4, and arrived at Sacramento on July 20 (*Sacramento Daily Union*, July 21).

The *Deseret News* reports also reveal that while service was suspended in California and the war-torn area in Nevada, riders continued to carry mail between St. Joseph and points as far west as Diamond Springs (25 miles west of Ruby Valley). The report shown here states that on Tuesday, June 5, an express arrived at Salt Lake City carrying mail from the West, but not Carson Valley or California, and another came in from the East on Friday, June 1.

### THE PONY EXPRESS:

The express from the east on Friday did not bring much news and, being anxious to get this number off in good season in order to give our hands an opportunity to participate in the doings of to-day, we did not wait for its expected arrival yesterday evening from either east or west, consequently our readers will have to wait till next week for the latest items, as no footman has passed the express since last Friday with any important news that had not obtained “newspaper publicity,” not even with the report of the balloting at the Baltimore Democratic Convention.

*Deseret News*, July 4, 1860, reporting arrival of Pony Express from the East on Friday, June 29, and expected arrival of another on Tuesday, July 3.

### Pony Express.

The express from the East arrived on Friday, about one p.m.

The express from the west arrived about ten a.m., yesterday. It brought no later dates from Carson Valley or California, as on account of the Indian disturbances, it was unable to proceed further than Diamond Springs station, twenty-five miles west of Ruby Valley.

*Deseret News*, June 6, 1860, reporting Pony Express arrivals from the East and West.



### *The Pony Express Service from California Resumes*

In June and July 1860, Bolivar Roberts, the COC&PP Division V superintendent in charge of the day-to-day operation of the route between Sacramento and Roberts Creek, led a team of workers to repair and rebuild damaged stations, to resupply the route with horses and materials, and to replace employees who had been killed or quit their stations. The militia and U.S. army regulars assisted in protecting the men sent to accomplish this task.

Indians continued to attack express stations and riders, and skirmish with soldiers, but by the beginning of July, the COC&PP managers announced their readiness to restart regular express runs from California and to operate the relay across the still-dangerous part of the route between Carson City and Ruby Valley.

The plan to resume service was announced in the *San Francisco Bulletin* on July 3 (shown right), and the first eastbound trip was scheduled to depart from San Francisco on Saturday, July 7. Curiously, other than this notice and advertisements placed by COC&PP, the California newspapers were surprisingly silent on the subject of the revived Pony Express. As far as we can find, there were no published reports of the outbound express in the San Francisco or Sacramento papers, nor was a telegraph report received from Carson City, notifying the public that the express had arrived and departed.

#### **Latest from the West!**

The express came in from the west on Monday evening bringing little or no news, further than that the pony came through from Carson without molestation. It was believed that the hostile Indians on the route had mostly left it for the time being, not because of the presence of the troops, but to recruit their horses and prepare for future operations.

**CALIFORNIA MAIL.**—As we were going to press yesterday evening the California mail arrived. It was reported as being in a very damaged condition and we could not wait for it to be distributed.

*Deseret News*, July 18, 1860, reporting arrival of Pony Express from the West on Monday, July 16, which carried news that the "Pony came through from Carson without molestation."

**PONY EXPRESS.**—The Pony Express will resume its trips next Saturday, the 7th inst., and will hereafter run semi-weekly. The regular days of leaving the city will be Wednesdays and Saturdays, as will be seen from an advertisement of the general agent in our columns to-day. He assures the public that every arrangement has been made to insure safety and dispatch.

*San Francisco Bulletin*, July 3, 1860, reporting that the Pony Express will resume service from San Francisco on Saturday, July 7, and will run twice-weekly eastbound expresses on Wednesdays and Saturdays.

The only news items confirming that the July 7 express actually left San Francisco are reports from Salt Lake City and St. Joseph. From Salt Lake City the July 18 *Deseret News* (shown left) reported that the express from the West had arrived on Monday evening, July 16, carrying news that the Pony Express "came through from Carson without molestation." The report from St. Joseph dated July 25 (*Sacramento Daily Union*, August 6) stated that the Pony Express with dates to July 7 arrived on Tuesday, July 24. The 17-day trip from San Francisco to St. Joseph was slow (9 days to Salt Lake City plus 8 days to St. Joseph). No covers from this July 7 mail are recorded.

Another eastbound express left on Wednesday, July 11, which arrived at St. Joseph on July 26, also a somewhat slow trip of 15 days. One cover is recorded from the July 11 mail (FKW Census E9). The July 7 and 11 expresses—both unusually slow—were delayed between Carson City and Roberts Creek, due to renewed Indian attacks.

The next express run from San Francisco departed on Saturday, July 14. The July 28 report from St. Joseph (*Daily Alta California*, August 9) announced the earlier arrivals of the expresses carrying the July 7 and 11 mails, and anticipated the arrival of the July 14 mail. No further mention of the July 14 mail can be found, but the July 31 St. Louis report (*Sacramento Daily Union*, August 13) applauded the 12-day trip made by the express carrying the Wednesday July 18 mail, which arrived at St. Joseph on July 30.

### *The Indian Attacks Continue*

The May-June Indian attacks on the Pony Express deeply impacted the enterprise and threatened to destroy it. The measurable costs included replacing infrastructure—buildings, horses and equipment, all at inflated war-zone prices—which company officials calculated to be at least \$75,000. The intangible cost was in lost patronage and diminished public confidence.

As the Pony Express tried to revive itself in July and August, the Indians continued to strike at riders and stations. Military escorts and troops in proximity to stations offered some protection. The COC&PP company distributed firearms to their employees for protection. Yet the guerrilla-style tactics of the Indian warriors made it very difficult to defend against attacks.

#### LATEST FROM THE WEST.

DEEP CREEK, July 22, 1860.

DR. JUDGE:—I was just trying to get up a short letter for you when the Express arrived. I can't write it now. Please excuse me. The Express brings word that the Indians are threatening Robert's creek station again—building fires at night, yelling, etc. One of the Express men who came in—Jas. Armstrong—was shot through the thigh—rode 30 miles after it was done. Dr. Kay is attending him. I have not learned particulars myself. Jason Luce and Bill Sterrett were shot at by Indians going thro' the canyon between here and Willow Springs, on the 20th inst. Jesse Earl was accidentally shot dead on the same day. The Pi-Utes stole two horses from the soldiers at Ruby the other day. The other end of the road is re-stocked as far as Smith's Creek, 100 miles west of Ruby. Lieut's Weed and Perkins were returning.

Very respectfully, W. H. SHEARMAN.

*Deseret News*, July 25, 1860, with a report from Deep Creek station about Indian attacks on Pony Express riders.

The July 25 *Deseret News* published a letter written by W. H. Shearman from Deep Creek on July 22 (shown left), which states that the express just arrived (possibly the July 18 express) and reports that a rider named Armstrong was “shot through the thigh” by Indians and “rode 30 miles after it was done.” According to Shearman, two others were shot at, and Paiutes stole two horses from soldiers. Finally,

he reports that “the other end of the road is re-stocked as far as Smith's Creek, 100 miles west of Ruby.”

Small-scale attacks and a major fight with Indians are described in an article published in the August 21 *Daily Alta California* (shown right). These attacks took place at Spring Valley, Deep Creek, Shell Creek and Egan Canyon stations during the first half of August.

The war between the Pyramid Lake Paiutes and whites in western Nevada rippled across the Great Basin and Great Plains. The Shoshone, Goshute, Cheyenne, Arapaho and Sioux tribes in the remote regions of Utah and Wyoming presented an even greater threat.

In late July—under a moonlit sky 700 miles east of Ruby Valley—a lone rider carrying his mochilla across Platte River Bridge in Wyoming, would experience the harsh reality of Indian warfare.

#### **Indian attack on the Pony Express Rider—Indian Depredations and Fights with U. S. Troops—Seventeen Indians Killed at Shell Creek Station.**

CARSON CITY, Aug. 20—5 P. M.

By advices received from Salt Lake, I am enabled to send you the following particulars, in regard to the late Indian disturbances on the Pony Route.

SALT LAKE, August 15.

By the mail carrier, who arrived here on Sunday morning, we are informed that as Mr. Wm. Rogers was coming in from the West, with an escort of several soldiers, he camped in Spring Valley over night, and was attacked by Indians, who fired on them, without, however, doing any damage, except wounding one of the soldiers' horses with an arrow.

We have also been favored by Major Egan with the perusal of several communications, received by the Express yesterday morning, from persons at Deep Creek and other points on the California and Salt Lake mail line, from which we learn that on the 11th inst., about 200 Indians came to the station at Egan Cañon, and demanded some powder and lead of the men in charge of the station, which they refused to let them have, as a matter of course. They then wanted some provisions, and the men gave them two sacks of flour, and some sugar and coffee.

One of the men then started out after the animals kept at that place, when the Indians told him that he could not go, and that they would take care of the animals themselves, and commenced singing and hallooing at a great rate. At that instant, Lieut. Weed, with twenty-five soldiers, came up and attacked the Indians, who returned the fire, wounding three men, including Corporal Mitchell, who, it was thought, would recover, but the other two were seriously injured. Their recovery was considered doubtful.

The Indians fled without driving off any of the stock.

About the same time, six or eight Indians went to where some men were mowing, near Deep Creek, and ordered them away, but went off without molesting them further. They came back next morning, when four soldiers, who had secreted themselves in a wagon, fired on them, wounding two mortally. The others fled. At about six o'clock on the morning of the 12th, the next day after the attack at Egan Cañon, the Indians made an attack on Shell Creek Station. The first intimation the men had of the proximity of Indians was a shower of balls flying about them; but, fortunately, no one was killed or wounded. They instantly took shelter in the house.

There were two parties of Indians, one of which surrounded the house, crawling up as near as they could, without being seen, and kept up an incessant fire for about an hour, without wounding any of the men; but they had the mortification of seeing their stock driven off, without the means of preventing it. Fortunately, in about an hour after the attack was commenced, Lieutenant Weed arrived with his command, from Ruby Valley, and attacked the Indians, killing seventeen of them, and wounding many others, and thus relieved the men from their perilous position. The same day there were four other Indians killed on Shell Creek Cañon, by three soldiers, who came in from Round Valley with the Western Express.

*Daily Alta California*, August 21, 1860, reporting Indian attacks on the Pony Express.

**PONY EXPRESS OUTWARD.**—The Pony Express will leave this afternoon. An unusually large number of letters have already been delivered for it, and it is expected that the express bags will be more fully freighted than ever before.

*Daily Alta California*, July 21, 1860, reporting the trip that carried the stolen mail, containing “an unusually large number of letters.”

### The “Stolen Pony” Mail

With the bi-weekly eastbound Pony Express trips of July 7, 11, 14 and 18 demonstrating increasing reliability and speed, the newspapers became more optimistic about the Pony’s future.

In reporting the trip scheduled for July 21, the *Daily Alta California* gushed to its readers, “An unusually large number of letters have already been delivered for it, and it is expected that the express bags will be more fully freighted than ever before” (shown above). After two months of delayed trips, interrupted runs, Indian attacks and suspended service, the *Daily Alta California*’s unbridled enthusiasm was the 1860 equivalent of upbeat “consumer confidence” reports in the aftermath of a major 21st century recession.

The Saturday July 21 express should have travelled over the same route and at the same speed as the Wednesday expresses that left San Francisco immediately before and after, on July 18 and 25. Both of those expresses arrived at St. Joseph in 12 days. However, determining the date and time of arrival at an intermediate point—in this case, the Platte River Bridge in Wyoming—requires more precise analysis.

A useful piece of evidence is the way-mail cover sent from Fort Bridger to Augusta, Georgia (FKW Census E17). It has a manuscript Fort Bridger marking dated August 31, 1860. The trip originated in San Francisco on August 25 at 4 p.m. and ended in St. Joseph on September 6 (time unknown). Therefore, the mid-point of this 12-day trip is Fort Bridger, at least in terms of overall travel time.

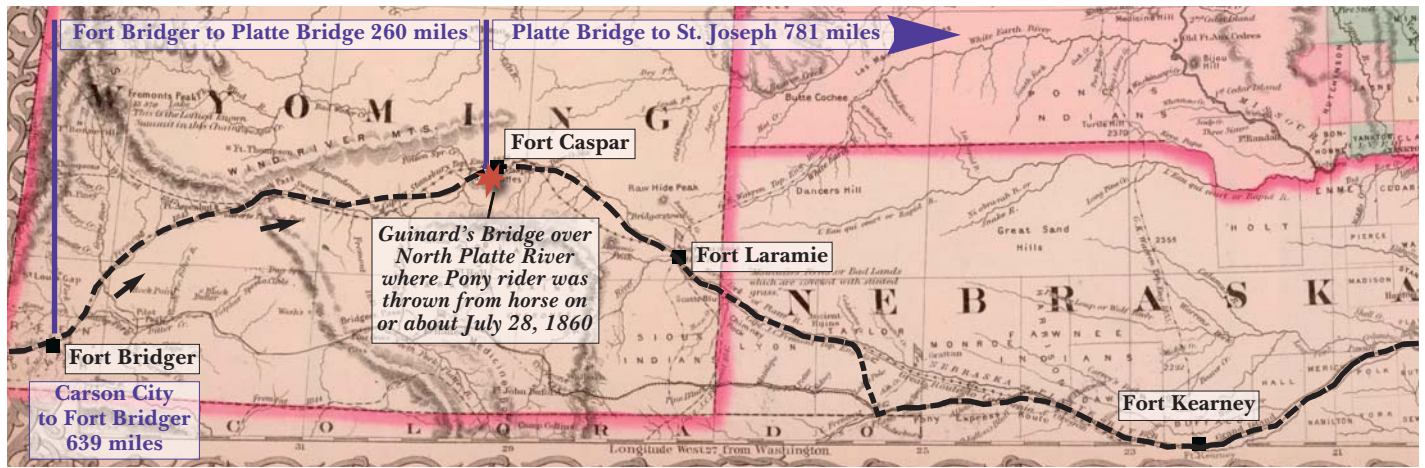
In July 1860, Folsom was the starting point of the actual pony-and-rider trip, but to simplify this analysis, it is better to start the clock and zero-mile point at Carson City. Newspapers reported that mail leaving San Francisco at 4 p.m. would reach Carson City at 9 p.m. the next day (29 hours later). So, for the purpose of measuring the time required to travel from Carson City to Fort Bridger, we will start the clock at 9 p.m. on August 26 and stop it on August 31 at 9 a.m., a total of 108 hours. On the express trail, Fort Bridger lies 639 miles east of Carson City, so the distance would have to be travelled at an average speed of 6 m.p.h. to arrive by 9 a.m. on August 31.

For the leg of the trip between Fort Bridger and St. Joseph, we will start the clock at 9 a.m. on August 31 and stop it at 9 a.m. on September 6, a total of 144 hours. The St. Joseph company oval and post office datestamp are both dated September 6, so the mail probably arrived in the morning. The distance travelled in that time was 1,041 miles; therefore, the average speed for this leg of the trip was approximately 7.3 m.p.h.

The exterior view of the walls at Fort Bridger in 1859.







Map of the Pony Express route between Fort Bridger and Fort Kearney, showing Platte Bridge Station, the location of Guinard's Bridge, where the Pony Express rider was thrown from his horse and the July 21 mail was stolen by Indians.

Both of these speeds are considerably slower than the average for the earlier 10-day Pony Express runs, but they reflect the difficult conditions in late summer 1860, and they are synchronized with the 12-day express runs of July 18 and 25.

For the purpose of estimating the hour that the July 21 “Stolen Pony” express rider crossed the Platte River Bridge, where he met his fate, we will apply the same timing. The trip from Carson City started on July 22 at 9 p.m. (29 hours from San Francisco). The first 639 miles to Fort Bridger were completed at 9 a.m. on Friday, July 27. Riding at 7.3 m.p.h., the next 260 miles from Fort Bridger to Guinard's Bridge on the North Platte River took 36 hours. Therefore, according to our analysis, the rider carrying the July 21 mail crossed the bridge at 9 p.m. on Saturday, July 28. That night in 1860 a three-quarter moon lit up the landscape. Bright moonlight—the so-called Comanche Moon—was preferred by Indian warriors for night attacks.

### ***Guinard's Bridge and Fort Caspar, Wyoming***

The Platte Bridge Pony Express station was situated at the Upper Crossing of the North Platte River on the South Pass route to California and Oregon. The South Pass played a key role in the history of western migration, going as far back as 1812 when the Astorians returned from a fur trade expedition under Robert Stuart. In 1847 the Mormons established a ferry at the Upper Crossing, near the future site of Guinard's Bridge and Fort Caspar.

Several shoddy bridges were built across the river, but they washed away when the river rose. Two solidly-constructed bridges became the primary crossing points. The first was built at the Lower Crossing in late 1852 by John Baptiste Richard Jr., the son of a famous fur trader. The French pronunciation of his name gave the bridge its popular title, Reshaw's Bridge. It was actually Richard's second bridge (the first washed away), and was located about six miles south of the Mormon Ferry. Reshaw's Bridge and trading post served emigrants and wagon trains on the Oregon-California Trail, as well as the U.S. army station established near the bridge crossing. Reshaw also traded with the neighboring Indian tribes—Lakota Sioux, Northern Cheyenne and Arapaho—and his business carried on through the Civil War.

The second bridge was built in 1859 at the Upper Crossing, near Mormon Ferry, by Richard's former partner, a French Canadian named Louis Guinard. His wife was a Shoshone, and Guinard traded with the Shoshone tribe located near his post.

Guinard's bridge was reported to be 810 feet long and 17 feet wide, and to cost \$40,000 to build. He charged a toll of \$1 to \$6, depending on the height of the river, plus an additional toll for livestock and passengers. According to [www.wyohistory.org](http://www.wyohistory.org), a man named Joseph McKnight, who worked for John Richard for several years, wrote the following description of Reshaw's Bridge. Other sources apply McKnight's description to Guinard's Bridge. The two were probably similarly constructed.

The new bridge was built on several wooden piers, made of heavy timbers in a diamond shape to divert the water around them; they were then filled with rock for stability. The north abutment was a sandstone cliff that rose several feet above the high water line. The south end of the bridge was slightly lower as it extended some distance to meet the sloping prairie. To further strengthen the piers they were cross-timbered internally before the rock was added. These piers were thirty to forty feet apart and spanned by logs hauled from the mountain, seven miles to the south. After all had been braced, stayed, and fastened together with iron bolts, the deck was laid. Made from four-inch thick hand-sawn planks, each was hand fit tightly together and spiked to the span logs. Afterward a heavy railing was installed to prevent livestock from drifting over the side. This railing carried extra bracing at each of the piers to further strengthen the structure.

A Pony Express rider heading east would pass Red Buttes near the north bank of the river, then cross over Guinard's Bridge to the south side where the station was located.



Two illustrated views of Guinard's Bridge over the North Platte River in Wyoming.



The first military detachment assigned to the crossings arrived at Reshaw's Bridge in 1855. Over the next several months the encampment grew to company strength, and in February 1856 it was named Camp Davis, in honor of Jefferson Davis, Franklin Pierce's secretary of war. In November 1856 the camp was abandoned.

On June 13, 1858, before Guinard's Bridge was built, two companies of soldiers from the 4th Artillery Regiment, under the command of Captain Joseph Roberts and Captain George W. Getty, were ordered from Fort Kearney to the location of Mormon Ferry. On July 29 they established a military post (named Camp Payne) to maintain communication lines and supply trains during the Utah Expedition. In May 1859 the soldiers were ordered to abandon the post and relocate to Fort Laramie. Construction of Guinard's Bridge near Mormon Ferry is said to have started soon after the soldiers left.

Around this time in 1859, Jones, Russell and Company—Russell was one of the three principals in COC&PP—acquired the mail contract for the Central Route. They used Guinard's Bridge and made his trading post a stage stop. When Russell and the COC&PP launched the Pony Express in April 1860, Guinard's trading post was used as a relay station, and riders crossed the river on his bridge. In 1861 the Civil War caused Congress to transfer the overland mail from the southern Butterfield Route to the Central Route, which increased the traffic over the South Pass and Guinard's Bridge.

Following the outbreak of the Civil War, the Indian tribes surrounding the Platte Bridge Station became increasingly hostile. In May 1862 the 6th U.S. Volunteers established a military garrison at the bridge to guard against Indian attacks on the bridge crossing and telegraph lines in the region. As a precaution, in July 1862 the overland mail route was moved further south to the Cherokee Trail.

The 1864 Sand Creek Massacre in Colorado triggered a violent response from the Great Plains tribes. In July 1865 the Battle of Platte Bridge was fought between a detachment from Platte Bridge Station and warriors from the Lakota Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho tribes. Five soldiers were killed in the ambush, including Lieutenant Caspar Collins, for whom Fort Caspar was later named. Caspar's name was misspelled with an "e" in the official dedication, and the error carried over to the spelling of the town of Casper.

Platte Bridge Station was fortified in October 1865 with new troops from the 6th West Virginia Volunteer Cavalry, and in November Major General John Pope changed the name of Platte Bridge Station to Fort Caspar. The influx of soldiers required the construction of a larger facility, and 20 new buildings were built over the next two years. In 1867 it was abandoned, and the soldiers moved to Fort Fetterman. Soon after Fort Caspar was abandoned, Indians burned the fort and Guinard's Bridge.



Contemporary illustration of Fort Caspar, Wyoming.



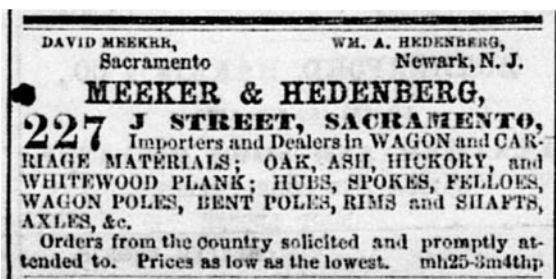
***The Addressee—William A. Hedenberg***

The “Stolen Pony” cover offered in this sale is addressed to “Wm. A. Hedenberg” in Newark, New Jersey. A thorough search of newspapers and genealogical records produced some information about him and his activities in California.

William Alexander Henry Hedenberg died in 1903 at the age of 73. His obituary (*New York Times*, April 18, 1903) identifies him as a “Forty-Niner” who was born in Newark in 1830, the son of John Charles Hedenberg, “who more than fifty years ago owned the largest carriage factory in the world.” Carriages and wagons were big business in the 1850’s, and we can imagine William, in his adventurous youth, heading West to promote the family firm. The *New York Times* article identifies William as a member of the Sacramento Society of California Pioneers and an associate of several prominent California businessmen. He is also described as having owned an interest in the great Comstock mine.



Sacramento *Daily Union*, January 30, 1860, advertisement announcing new partnership between William A. Hedenberg and David Meeker.



Sacramento *Daily Union*, June 13, 1860, Meeker and Hedenberg advertisement describing products sold and listing William A. Hedenberg at Newark, N.J.



David Meeker—Hedenberg’s partner in selling lumber products and wagon material in Sacramento in 1860.

From advertisements in the Sacramento *Daily Union* (shown above), we know that in January 1860 William Hedenberg formed a partnership with another prominent Californian, David Meeker. The firm of Meeker and Hedenberg had offices located at 227 J Street in Sacramento and advertised their products as “wagon and carriage materials... hubs, spokes, felloes, wagon poles, bent poles, rims and shafts, axles, &c.” The announcement of their partnership also noted that “W. A. Hedenberg will make their purchases in the Atlantic States, and they intend to keek [keep] a large stock of the best quality to be found...” The June 13 advertisement gives William Hedenberg’s address as “Newark, N.J.” This explains why someone addressed a Pony Express envelope to William Hedenberg in Newark in July 1860. He was there procuring products for the new Meeker & Hedenberg business in Sacramento.

### *The Unknown Correspondent and Point of Origin*

Knowing of Hedenberg's partnership with David Meeker, it is tempting to say that Meeker addressed the cover to Hedenberg from Sacramento. The problem is that the address and Pony Express marking were written by the same person, and there is no evidence that Meeker was a COC&PP employee with authority to apply a Pony Express marking.

The address precisely matches the "*Pony Express, July 22d*" marking (detail at right). The Pony Express marking is magenta, while the address is brownish-black, which rules out the possibility that they were written at the same time. One explanation is that the envelope was addressed by someone who had authority to apply a Pony Express marking. He wrote the address in black, then wrote the Pony Express marking in magenta later when he was preparing the outbound mail.



Comparison of the magenta "July" in Pony Express marking and the brownish-black "Jersey" in address—clearly they were written in different inks by the same person.

Handstamped Pony Express markings were used only at the principal offices, and handwritten postmarks were normal for smaller stations. The earliest use of a handstamp at Sacramento is January 7, 1861, so manuscript markings might have been applied there before the oval handstamp was introduced.

Without evidence that David Meeker had authority to apply a Pony Express marking, it seems likely that this "Stolen Pony" cover was addressed and postmarked by someone else, most likely a station agent or employee of COC&PP. The letter is no longer with the cover, but perhaps the sender was in communication with Hedenberg about ordering wagon material or wood products to repair the damage from Indian attacks. The absence of a "Paid" marking or \$5 fee (as far as one can see) also supports the possibility that this was sent on company business.

The point of origin is also uncertain. Other way-mail covers with the station identified are usually dated on the day the express was at the station. Therefore, it seems likely that the cover was put into the mochilla on the same day it was postmarked, July 22. If that is indeed true, then the origin point can be narrowed to a range of locations based on where the express would have been between 12 a.m. on July 22 to the start of the new day 24 hours later.

The boat carrying the Pony Express mail usually arrived at Sacramento by midnight on the day of departure, but recorded covers from Sacramento are usually dated the day *after* the San Francisco departure date. Therefore, the western end of the range for the July 22 "Stolen Pony" cover is Sacramento. The express usually reached Carson City at 9 p.m. on the day after departure and continued through the night along the route described by Haslam (see page 36). The 12-day trips before and after this one indicate that the riders were moving through Carson Valley and Ruby Valley slowly (about 6 m.p.h.). When July 22 ended at midnight, the rider carrying the July 21 mail should have been no more than 18 miles east of Carson City.

Therefore, this cover could have been added to the mochilla at any point between Sacramento and a short distance east of Carson City. Hedenberg's business, the July 22 date, and the likelihood that this cover was sent by a COC&PP employee, are indications that the original content was an order or payment for products.

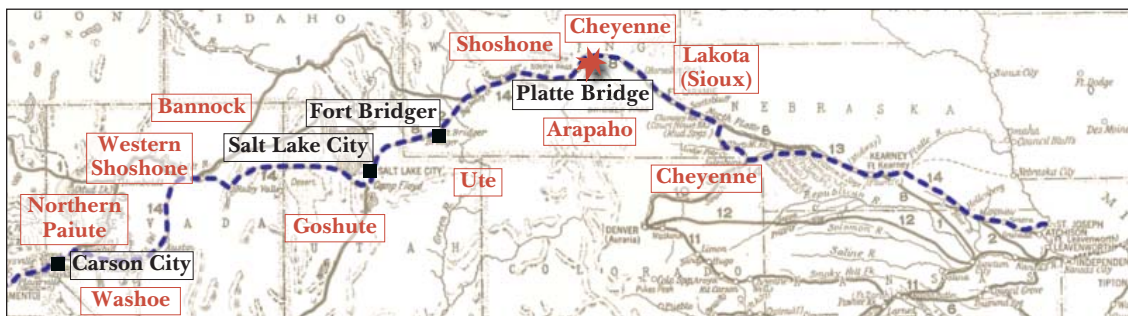
### *The Rider and the Indians*

The identity of the rider who carried the July 21 mail over Guinard's Bridge will probably never be known. There were numerous Pony Express riders who ran the relay through the South Pass, including one of the most famous, William "Buffalo Bill" Cody, whose 300-mile (plus or minus) ride from Red Buttes to Rocky Ridge and back became the stuff of Wild West lore (some say it was exaggerated or concocted). Express riders were generally young men with experience riding fast horses over rugged trails. The severe conditions—long rides, dangerous terrain, unpredictable (or predictably bad) weather and the threat of Indian attack—naturally selected men who were willing and adaptable. Each rider was furnished with a buckskin suit that repelled the rain and snow, and they were armed.

Although the rider's name remains a mystery, we can be confident of two things: that he was experienced in the saddle, and that he was thrown from his horse because of an Indian attack. A trained express rider crossing a bridge was unlikely to be thrown from his horse. The only question is how an Indian marksman might have missed his slow-moving target. Perhaps the Indians wanted the horse, but showed mercy on the rider.



Two famous Pony Express riders, circa 1861—Billy Richardson (left) and Johnny Frye (right).



Map showing relative locations of the major Indian tribes along the Pony Express route.

It is also impossible to determine exactly which Indian tribe's warriors were responsible for the attack, but we can examine the tribes across the region for possibilities.

As the map above shows, the Paiutes were hundreds of miles west of Platte Bridge Station and could not have been involved. We know that Western Shoshone and Bannock warriors joined the fight in Nevada, and it is possible that the Shoshones living north of Platte Bridge Station were harrassing Pony Express riders. Likewise, the Cheyenne and Lakota Sioux tribes on the north side of the river were responsible for a number of attacks on white "trespassers." On the south side of the river were the Arapahos, another hostile tribe with a history of attacks on whites in the area. The Utes and Goshutes were concentrated farther west, near Salt Lake City, but Ute attacks on Pass Creek and Grand Pass in northwestern Wyoming occurred in 1863, so they are also "suspects" in the Platte Bridge Station incident.



A Shoshone warrior in full dress.



### Recovery and Delivery

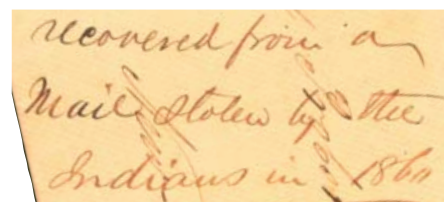
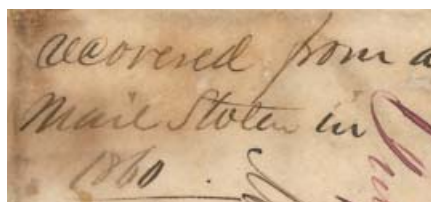
The two “Stolen Pony” covers were delivered to their respective addressees on May 1 and 3, 1862. Assuming that no more than a month passed between the time of recovery and delivery, the mochilla was found, traded or recaptured in April 1862.

There is an obvious difference between the cover originating in San Francisco on July 21 and the July 22 way-mail cover sent from somewhere between Sacramento and Carson City. The July 21 cover is pristine, and the July 22 cover shows the effects of exposure to weather. The explanation for this difference is simple. Mail from either end of the Pony Express run was wrapped in oiled silk cloth to protect it from rain, mud and water, before it was placed in the pockets of regular mail. Way mail was not.

It seems likely that the mochilla was intact when it was found, and that it was returned to Wells, Fargo & Co., the logical place to send it in April 1862. In support of the theory that Wells, Fargo & Co. handled the recovered mail is the presence of identical New York City grid cancels on both extant covers. Rather than mailing them from California or from a location near the point of discovery, Wells, Fargo & Co. probably forwarded them inside an express package to its New York office, where they were placed into the mails. The Wells, Fargo & Co. cover shown below followed a similar path in March 1862, and it has the same New York City grid cancel.

If Wells, Fargo & Co. handled the “Stolen Pony” mail, then they are also the likely source of the manuscript notations on the two covers. The writing is similar, if not identical, and the wording is almost the same. On the July 21 cover, it reads “recovered from a mail stolen by the Indians in 1860.” On the July 22 cover, the words “by the Indians” are omitted. Obviously, the covers were stolen at the same time. The identification of Indians as the thieves on the July 21 cover suggests that Pony Express officials knew more, or learned more, than the “Fate of the Missing Pony Express” article revealed. Perhaps the COC&PP, anxious to restore confidence, deliberately kept Indians out of the story in 1860.

Recovery notations in similar handwriting on the two “Stolen Pony” covers. The notation at left reads “recovered from a mail stolen in 1860” and the one at right reads “recovered from a mail stolen by the Indians in 1860.”



The other “Stolen Pony” cover sent from San Francisco. Unlike way mail, the mail from the ends of the route were wrapped in oiled silk cloth for protection, which explains why this cover shows no signs of exposure.

From the William H. Gross collection. Photo courtesy of the Smithsonian National Postal Museum.



Wells, Fargo & Co. cover from San Francisco in March 1862, which entered the mail in New York City. The grid cancel is the same grid used on the two “Stolen Pony” covers.

Photo courtesy of Schuyler Rumsey Auctions



Lot 4  
Shown with back unfolded

**Pony Express Cover to Lieutenant Catesby ap Roger Jones  
with San Francisco Running Pony Handstamp and  
Two Different 1857 Issue Stamps for 10¢ and 3¢ Rates**

**Lot 4**

**10c Green, Ty. V (35).** Straight edge at right and small flaws around perforations, tied by bold strike of blue “**The Central Overland California & Pikes Peak Express Company, San Francisco, Cal. Oct. 27**” (1860) oval datestamp, perfect matching strike of “**Pony Express, San Francisco, Oct. 27**” **Running Pony** oval datestamp on back of folded letter (can be folded open for display), addressed to “*Catesby Ap R. Jones, United States Navy, Washington City, Distr. Columbia*” with sender’s route directive “*Pony Express*”, the trip was 11 days, one day after arrival the “**The Central Overland California & Pikes Peak Express Company, St. Joseph, Mo. Nov. 8**” oval datestamp was applied, lightly-inked but clear strike of “Saint Joseph Mo. Nov. 10” double-circle datestamp to the left of stamp, which was not cancelled by the St. Joseph post office—there are a few covers from this period that have stamps cancelled by the San Francisco Pony Express office oval, but do not have the St. Joseph grid—after reaching Washington D.C. the U.S. Navy Department applied forwarding instructions “*Forward at once, New York, No. 12 West 35th St*”, **additional 3c postage paid by 3c Dull Red, Ty. III (26)**, scissors-separated with some clipped perfs, tied by large grid in circle cancel with second strike tying 10c stamp and matching “Washington D.C. Nov. 13, 1860” circular datestamp overlapping St. Joseph oval, pencil receipt docketing inside “*B. W. Mudge—Oct 25th/60, Received—Nov 14th/60*”, minor cosmetic improvements including lightened toning and rejoined separations along folds of address panel (no paper added), small repairs in crossed-out part of address where the ink has eroded the paper

A VERY FINE APPEARING AND REMARKABLE PONY EXPRESS LETTER ADDRESSED TO CATESBY Ap ROGER JONES, A UNITED STATES NAVAL OFFICER FROM VIRGINIA WHO RESIGNED IN APRIL 1861 TO BECOME A LIEUTENANT IN THE CONFEDERATE STATES NAVY, AND WHO EARNED FAME FOR HIS ROLE IN THE BATTLE OF THE *MONITOR* AND THE *MERRIMACK*. THIS IS ONE OF ONLY THREE RECORDED PONY EXPRESS COVERS WITH MORE THAN ONE DENOMINATION OF THE 1857 ISSUE. IT IS ALSO THE ONLY FORWARDED COVER WITH A COMBINATION OF THE 10-CENT AND 3-CENT 1857 ISSUES.

FKW Census E33. Trip ET-43. Illustrated in Nathan-Boggs book (p. 23). Ex Haas.

Estimate \$50,000-75,000

***Lieutenant Catesby ap Roger Jones***

Catesby ap Roger Jones (1821-1877; the “ap” is a Welsh term for “son of”) was born in Virginia and descended from a long line of prominent Americans, including three governors of Virginia, George Mason (the “Father of the Bill of Rights”) and General Robert E. Lee (first cousin of Jones’ mother).

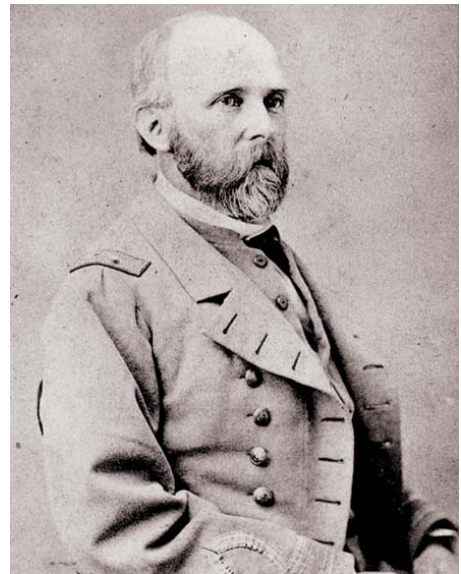
Jones was appointed U.S. Navy midshipman in 1836 and received his promotion to lieutenant in 1849. During the 1850’s, Jones was involved in naval weapons development and served as an ordnance officer on the U.S. steam frigate *Merrimack*. On April 17, the day

*continued*



his native state of Virginia seceded, Jones resigned from the U.S. Navy in the office of Virginia's governor, John Letcher, and joined the Virginia State Navy the next day. Shortly after, he received his commission as a C.S.A. Navy lieutenant.

In 1861 Lieutenant Jones was ordered to convert the steam frigate USS *Merrimack* into an ironclad. He was the ship's executive officer when it was commissioned as the CSS *Virginia*. During the Battle of Hampton Roads in March 1862, Jones assumed temporary command of the *Virginia* when the commanding officer was wounded in the attack on the USS *Cumberland* and *Congress*. Jones was at the helm during the *Virginia*'s epic battle with the USS *Monitor*, and he was rewarded for his heroism with a promotion to the rank of C.S.A. Navy Commander. Jones spent the rest of the war overseeing the Ordnance Department at Selma, Alabama, where he met his future wife and eventually settled after the war. On June 20, 1877, Jones was shot and killed as a result of a feud between his son and another man's son.



Lieutenant Catesby ap Roger Jones  
Source: U.S. Naval Historical Center



Chromolithograph of the Battle of Hampton Roads, published by Louis Prang & Co., Boston. In this epic battle, Lieutenant Catesby ap Roger Jones assumed temporary command of the CSS *Virginia* after his commanding officer was wounded.

### *The Pony Express Letter from Benjamin W. Mudge*

This three-page letter was written to Lieutenant Jones by Benjamin W. Mudge in San Francisco, concerning the modification of a limited power of attorney for real estate transactions. Mudge, an attorney and Republican Party advocate, was subsequently appointed by President Lincoln as Appraiser of Merchandise for the Port of San Francisco on July 29, 1861.

When he received this letter, Lieutenant Jones was visiting New York City after serving on the USS *Pawnee*. His mail, including Mudge's letter sent by Pony Express, was forwarded from the Navy Department in Washington D.C. to 12 West 35th Street.

The transactions in San Francisco might have been related to the estate of his uncle, Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones, another famous naval officer who signed the first U.S. treaty with the King of the Hawaiian Islands in 1824. Thomas Jones died in 1858 in San Francisco, and his estate was still under public administration in 1860 (San Francisco *Bulletin*, August 6, 1860).

### *Arrival of October 27 Eastbound Express on November 7*

The eastbound Pony Express carrying this letter left San Francisco at 4 p.m. on Saturday, October 27, and arrived at St. Joseph at noon on Wednesday, November 7 (New York *Commercial Advertiser*, November 12, shown right).

Lincoln was elected president on November 6, and the results reached St. Joseph the morning of November 7, coinciding with the arrival of the October 27 express. News of Lincoln's election was telegraphed to Fort Kearney, the western end of the telegraph line, and at noon on November 7 the "special" Pony Express left from there, bound for Fort Churchill in Nevada (formerly Buckland's Station), the nearest telegraph station.

The *Deseret News* (November 14) reported that the special election-news express arrived at Salt Lake City on Sunday, November 11, at 3:50 p.m. Relying on the accuracy of this report, the 825-mile trip from Fort Kearney took 76 hours. It reached Fort Churchill at 8 a.m. on November 14, and the news of Lincoln's election immediately went out by wire.

The regular westbound express left St. Joseph at 8 a.m. on Thursday, November 8, and arrived at Salt Lake City on November 11 at 11:10 a.m.

### *A Rare Combination of Adhesive Stamps on Pony Express Mail*

Pony Express covers with adhesive stamps used for U.S. postage, instead of embossed stamped envelopes, are relatively scarce. According to the FKW census, this is the only Pony Express cover with a 10c adhesive stamp and an additional 3c adhesive used for forwarding (one other forwarded cover has a 3c adhesive on a 10c embossed stamped envelope). The stamps pay the 10c over-3,000 miles rate required on Pony Express mail from California and the 3c under-3,000 miles rate for forwarding from Washington D.C. to New York City.

St. Joseph, Nov. 7.—The pony express, with San Francisco dates to and including October 27, arrived here at noon to-day. Through some error the news was not interceded at Fort Kearney.

New York *Commercial Advertiser*, November 12, 1860, reporting arrival of October 27 eastbound express at St. Joseph on November 7 at noon.

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#### **LATEST BY PONY EXPRESS.**

##### **LINCOLN ELECTED PRESIDENT.**

An express from Fort Kearney, on Wednesday, the 7th at 12 m., arrived at 3h. 50m. p.m. on Sunday with a dispatch from W. H. Russell, president of the Pony Express Company, to Mr. Bell, the agent in this city, announcing that New York had given Lincoln fifty thousand majority, and that his election was conceded.

The Express from the West, which arrived on Monday evening at 6 o'clock, 15 m., brought a telegram from Carson city, stating that California had gone for Lincoln by two thousand majority.

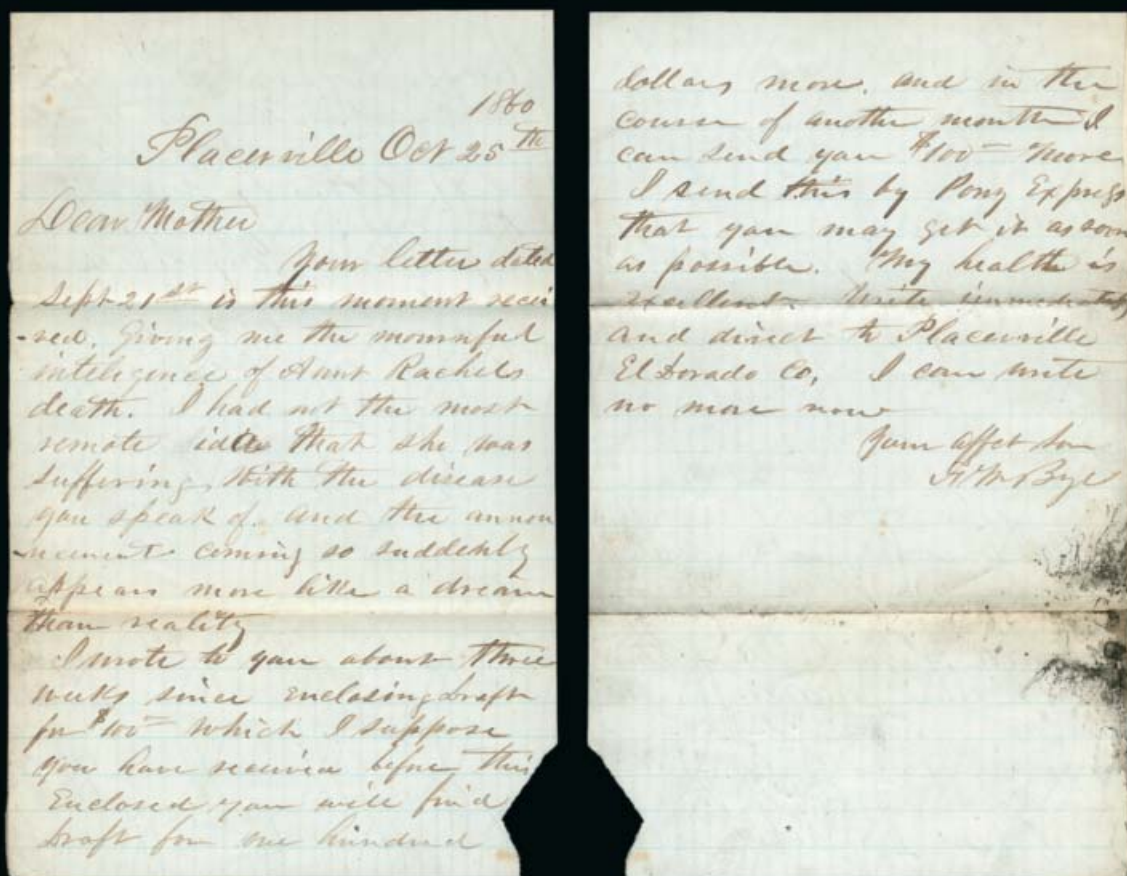
On Tuesday, at 11h. 10m. a. m., the Express which left St. Joseph on the 8th, at 8 a. m., arrived with dispatches confirming the election of Lincoln and the complete triumph of the Republicans in each of the free States.

*Deseret News*, November 14, 1860, reporting arrival of the November 7 "special" Pony Express from Fort Kearney, which carried the first news of Lincoln's election, followed by the regular November 8 westbound express from St. Joseph.





Lot 5



Lot 5 enclosed letter (shown reduced)



## One of Nine Recorded Covers with “Central Overland Pony Express Company” Printed Frank

Lot 5

**PAID./Central Overland Pony Express Company.** Two-line frank with manuscript “\$2.50” quarter-ounce rate and “*Placerville, Cal. Oct. 25*” (1860) station agent’s way-mail marking on 10c Pale Green on Buff Nesbitt entire (U18a) to “*Mrs. Frances Bye, Wellsville, Columbiana Co., Ohio*”, “**The Central Overland California & Pikes Peak Express Company, St. Joseph, Mo. Nov. 5**” oval datestamp applied the day of arrival (the entire trip was 12 days), lightly-inked strike of “Saint Joseph Mo. Nov. 8” double-circle datestamp (date is unreadable, but the other two recorded covers from this trip are dated November 8), with original letter enclosure from F. W. Bye to his mother, Frances, datelined “*Placerville Oct. 25th 1860*” and stating that a \$100 draft is enclosed, conservatively treated to remove very light staining, minor sealed half-inch tear at top

VERY FINE. ONE OF NINE RECORDED EXAMPLES OF THE “CENTRAL OVERLAND PONY EXPRESS COMPANY” FRANK, OF WHICH SIX ARE 10-CENT ENTIRES. PONY EXPRESS COVERS WITH ORIGINAL LETTERS ARE ALSO VERY RARE AND DESIRABLE.

The updated FKW census lists nine entires with the two-line frank, which identifies the company as the Central Overland Pony Express Company. In fact, there was no such company, but rather The Central Overland California & Pike’s Peak Express Company owned and operated the Pony Express. Of the nine entires, six are 10c values. The presence of manuscript station markings on several of these COPEC franks, including the cover offered here, supports the theory that they were mainly used by telegraph operators and by relay station agents for way mail received along the Pony Express route.

This cover was sent from Placerville on October 25 and placed in the way-mail pocket of the mochilla that contained the October 24 mail from San Francisco. It passed through Fort Kearney on November 3 (see news report below) and arrived at St. Joseph on November 5. The sender, F. W. Bye, might be connected with Henry & Bye, commission and forwarding agents based in Placerville in 1860.

FKW Census E31. Trip ET-42.

Estimate \$30,000-40,000



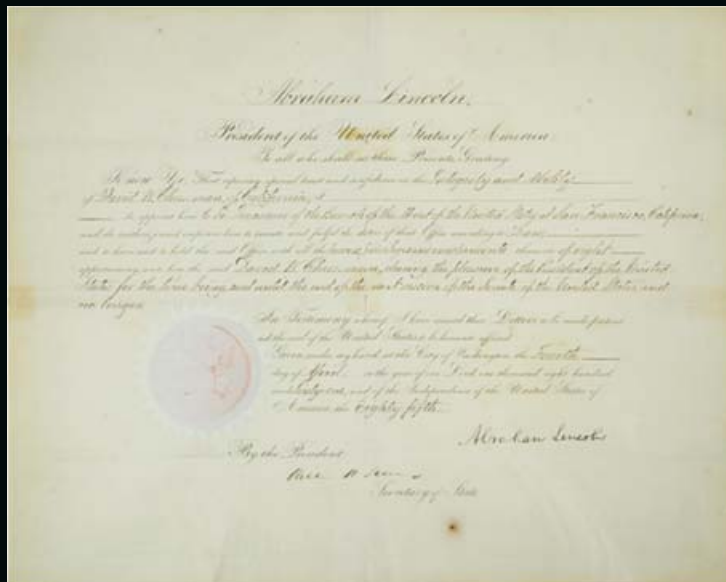
Main street in Placerville in July 1859—newspaper reporter Horace Greeley and the famous stage “whip” Hank Monk are seated in the stagecoach with white horses.

**FORT KEARNEY, Nov. 3, 1860**  
The pony express, with California dates to October 24, has passed here. The through packet was locked, and there being no key here we failed to obtain the summary of news for the Associated Press.

New York *Herald*, November 5, 1860, with report from Fort Kearney stating that October 24 express arrived on November 3, but the “through pocket” was locked, so no telegraph dispatches could be wired to the Associated Press.



Lot 6



David W. Cheesman and his appointment as Treasurer of the U.S. Mint at San Francisco signed by President Abraham Lincoln (this document is not part of this auction).

## A Superb and Unusual San Francisco Running Pony Cover to the Future Treasurer of the San Francisco Branch of the U.S. Mint

### Lot 6

**Pony Express, San Francisco, Mar. 2 (1861).** Beautifully struck blue **Running Pony** oval datestamp with equally clear matching **“The Central Overland California & Pikes Peak Express Company, San Francisco, Cal.”** undated oval handstamp on 10c Pale Green on Buff Nesbitt entire (U16a) to D. W. Cheesman in Washington D.C., **without St. Joseph post office datestamp**, immaculate condition

EXTREMELY FINE. ONE OF THE FINEST PONY EXPRESS COVERS IN EXISTENCE AND AN UNUSUAL USE. THE UNDATED SAN FRANCISCO OFFICE OVAL IS BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN APPLIED AS A PREPAYMENT MARKING, AND THE ABSENCE OF A ST. JOSEPH POSTMARK IS EXTRAORDINARY. THE ADDRESSEE—DAVID W. CHEESMAN—WAS A CALIFORNIA DELEGATE TO THE 1860 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION AND WAS APPOINTED BY PRESIDENT LINCOLN AS SUB-TREASURER OF THE UNITED STATES MINT AT SAN FRANCISCO IN APRIL 1861.

This cover was part of the Pony Express mail that left San Francisco on Saturday, March 2, 1861, and arrived at St. Joseph on March 17. Fort Kearney reported that the express arrived there on March 15 at 4 p.m. (New York *Herald-Tribune*, March 16, shown right).

The cover is addressed to David William Cheesman (1824-1884), an Indiana lawyer who went to California in 1851 and later ran for lieutenant-governor. In 1860 he was one of eight California delegates to the Republican National Convention held on May 16-18 in Chicago. This March 2, 1861, cover is addressed to him in Washington D.C., presumably where he travelled after attending the convention. One month later, on April 4, 1861, Cheesman received his presidential appointment as “Treasurer of the Branch of the Mint of the United States, at San Francisco, California” (the document is shown opposite). Cheesman’s personal records and correspondence are located at the National Archives.

Dateless strikes of the San Francisco oval handstamps (with or without the running pony) appear on a few covers in this period. According to *The Pony Express: A Postal History* (p. 33):

It is believed that the undated markings... were applied when the Pony Express fee was paid, and then stamped again with the dated handstamp when the Pony Express mail was being made up for dispatch. The usage of undated handstamp to indicate prepayment is supported by evidence that the Central Overland California & Pikes Peak Express used this practice in their Colorado operations and sold undated ‘franks’ at way stations.

Another cover from the March 2, 1861, trip is recorded (FKW Census E58). It has a manuscript “1/4” (quarter ounce) express rate notation and a St. Joseph March 18 double-circle datestamp. The absence of a rate marking and post office datestamp on the cover offered here could mean that it was sent in a government mail package carried by Pony Express (see lot 9).

FKW Census E59. Trip ET-79.

Estimate \$30,000-40,000

Fort Kearney, Friday, March 15, 1861.  
The California Pony Express passed this place at 4 p. m., bringing the following summary of news:  
San Francisco, March 2—3:40 p. m.  
The steamship Uncle Sam, with the New-York mails of February 1, is now overdue some six days, causing much anxiety.  
The Pony Express with dates from the Atlantic States to the 15th ult., is telegraphed from Carson Valley to-day.

New York *Herald-Tribune*, March 16, 1861, with report from Fort Kearney stating that March 2 express arrived at 4 p.m. on March 15. It reached St. Joseph two days later.





7

### Lot 7

**Pony Express, San Francisco, Nov. 3 (1860).** Two clear strikes of blue **Running Pony** oval datestamp, manuscript "1/4" (quarter ounce, \$2.50 rate) on 10c Pale Green on Buff Nesbitt entire (U16a) to Henry I. Beers at a New York City post office box, sender's directive "*Per Pony Express*", after a 12-day trip the "**The Central Overland California & Pikes Peak Express Company, St. Joseph, Mo. Nov. 15**" oval datestamp was applied on the day of arrival, "Saint Joseph Mo. Nov. 16" double-circle datestamp and grid cancel, half of backflap intact, small repaired opening nick at top edge well clear of markings

VERY FINE APPEARANCE. AN ATTRACTIVE PONY EXPRESS COVER WITH TWO CLEAR STRIKES OF THE SAN FRANCISCO RUNNING PONY HANDSTAMP. SENT FROM CALIFORNIA ON THE EVE OF LINCOLN'S ELECTION.

This cover was carried on the Saturday, November 3, 1860, trip from San Francisco, which passed Fort Kearney on November 13. The news it carried was immediately telegraphed to the East. It arrived at St. Joseph on November 15 and was put into the mails the next day.

#### Arrival of the Pony Express.

#### CALIFORNIA CONCEDED TO LINCOLN.

#### INDIAN OUTRAGES.

FORT KEARNEY, Tuesday, Nov. 13, 1860.  
The Pony Express, from San Francisco on the 31st., passed here at 4 o'clock this afternoon, bringing the following California news:

New York *Herald-Tribune*, November 14, 1860, with report from Fort Kearney stating that November 3 express arrived 4 p.m. on November 13. It reached St. Joseph two days later.

The addressee, Henry I. Beers, was a prominent California businessman who returned to New York in 1859 and made his fortune in oil and real estate in Western Pennsylvania.

FKW Census E36. Trip ET-45. Ex Lichtenstein, Knapp and Barkhausen.

Estimate \$10,000-15,000



8

### Lot 8

**The Central Overland California & Pikes Peak Express Company, St. Joseph, Mo. Oct. 25 (1860).** Mostly clear strike of oval datestamp on 10c Pale Green on Buff Nesbitt entire (U16a) to “Mrs. Edward L. Field, care of Mrs. James Plant, Utica, New York”, sender’s directive “Pr Pony Express”, light pencil “2.50” Pony Express rate, **placed in the way-mail pocket of the mochilla** carrying the October 13 mail from San Francisco, oval datestamp and “Saint Joseph Mo. Oct. 25, 1860” double-circle datestamp applied on the day of arrival after 12-day trip from California, pristine condition

EXTREMELY FINE. A RARE PONY EXPRESS “WAY” COVER GIVEN TO THE RIDER AT ONE POINT DURING THE TRIP FROM CALIFORNIA TO ST. JOSEPH.

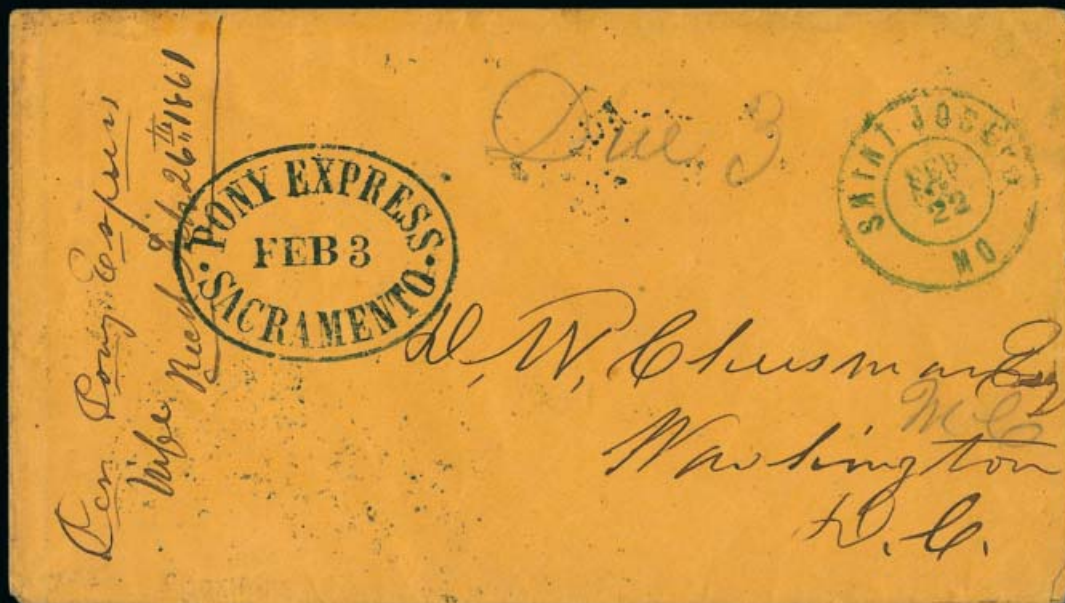
The Pony Express rider’s mochilla had four pockets, one of which was used to carry way mail and mail for delivery along the route. This cover was placed in the way-mail pocket somewhere along the route during the 12-day express trip that departed San Francisco on Saturday, October 13, 1860, and arrived at St. Joseph on October 25.

The sender, Edward L. Field, was born in North Carolina about 1828. He is listed in the 1860 census as residing in Utica with the Plant family as household members. Another cover with the same written address has the rare “Paid. Central Overland Pony Express Company” frank and was also sent as way mail, arriving at St. Joseph on September 26, 1860 (FKW Census E20, illustrated on p. 72).

FKW Census E25. Trip ET-39. Illustrated in Ashbrook One-Cent book, Volume II.

Estimate \$7,500-10,000





Lot 9





# The Rare Sacramento Pony Express Oval on a Cover to the Future Treasurer of the San Francisco Branch of the U.S. Mint

## Lot 9

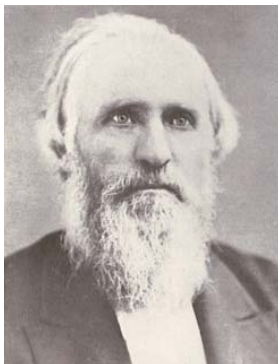
**Pony Express, Sacramento, Feb. 3 (1861).** Perfect strike of dark blue oval datestamp on buff cover to David W. Cheesman in Washington D.C., mostly clear strike of green “Saint Joseph Mo. Feb. 22” double-circle datestamp (with what appears to be inverted “1860” obsolete year slug used as a spacer between month and day), **no postage paid**, pencil “Due 3”, matching pencil “MC” below Cheesman’s name, this “Member Congress” notation was incorrect, as Cheesman was never elected to Congress, sender’s directive “Per Pony Express” along left edge, beneath that is “Wife, Recd Feb. 26th 1861” receipt docketing, immaculate condition

EXTREMELY FINE. A RARE EXAMPLE OF THE SACRAMENTO PONY EXPRESS OVAL ON AN UNUSUAL UNPAID COVER TO THE FUTURE TREASURER OF THE SAN FRANCISCO BRANCH OF THE UNITED STATES MINT.

This cover was sent from Sacramento on February 3, 1861, and carried with the mail that left San Francisco on Saturday, February 2. It passed through Fort Kearney on February 18 at 6:30 p.m., and the St. Joseph arrival date is reported to be February 21 (FKW). The 19-day trip was typical of slow winter travel times.

ST. LOUIS, Feb. 20, 1861.  
The Pony Express, with dates from your city to February 2d, arrived at Fort Kearney day before yesterday, one day or so beyond schedule time, but still in very good season, considering the weather.

Daily Alta California, March 12, 1861, with report from St. Louis stating that February 2 express arrived at Fort Kearney on February 18, delayed by bad weather.



David W. Cheesman

The cover is addressed to David William Cheesman (1824-1884), an Indiana lawyer who went to California in 1851 and later ran for lieutenant-governor. In 1860 he was one of eight California delegates to the Republican National Convention held on May 16-18 in Chicago. This February 3, 1861, cover is addressed to him in Washington D.C., presumably where he travelled after attending the convention. The receipt docketing indicates it was sent by his wife, Urania, to whom he was married in 1849. Two months after this cover was sent by Pony Express, on April 4, 1861, Cheesman received his presidential appointment as “Treasurer of the Branch of the Mint of the United States, at San Francisco, California” (the document is shown on page 62). Cheesman’s personal records and correspondence are located at the National Archives.

The unpaid U.S. postage and “Due 3” are unusual for Pony Express mail. This cover might have been included in a government mail package, as we think might have occurred with the other cover to Cheesman in this sale (lot 6). The “MC” notation—applied in error since Cheesman was never a congressman—supports this possibility.

FKW Census E56. Trip ET-71. Ex Knapp (with his notes on back “B. E. Poole May ‘44” and “The Sacramento Pony Very Rare”, pictured in Knapp booklet) and ex Hawley.

With 1976 P.F. certificate.

Estimate \$15,000-20,000



Lot 10  
 Front and back

## Wells, Fargo & Company and Pony Express Conjunctive Use

### Lot 10

**Wells Fargo & Co. Sacramento, Sep. 13 (1860).** Bold strike of large blue double-circle datestamp on back of cover to Mr. L. M. Foulke in Lyons, Iowa, sender's directive "*Pony Express*", manuscript "\$2.50 Paid" and additional note that appears to read "*With Pkg Cost 54¢*", this is a **way-mail cover** placed in the mochilla that carried the September 12 mail from San Francisco, full clear strike of "**The Central Overland California & Pikes Peak Express Company, St. Joseph, Mo. Sep. 23**" oval datestamp applied on day of arrival, 3c 1857 stamp replaced, part of "Saint Joseph Mo." circular datestamp (pencilled in on stamp), **forwarded to Muscatine, Iowa**, with manuscript "*forwarded Due 3*" and "Lyons, Iowa, Sep. 27" circular datestamp, despite the replacement stamp the condition is very fresh and attractive

A REMARKABLE PONY EXPRESS COVER DEMONSTRATING CONJUNCTIVE EXPRESS SERVICE WITH WELLS, FARGO & COMPANY.

This cover was placed in the way-mail pocket of the mochilla on the trip leaving San Francisco on Wednesday, September 12, 1860, and arriving at St. Joseph on September 23. The use of the Wells, Fargo & Company datestamp is very unusual on Pony Express mail, and in this case it indicates conjunctive express use.

The September 13 large double circle pre-dates the period when Wells, Fargo & Co. acted as agents for the Overland Mail Company and The Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company in operating the Pony Express (starting April 1, 1861). Only one other cover is recorded with the large Sacramento double circle, and it is dated May 12, 1861, after Wells, Fargo & Co. assumed its new role. Therefore, this cover represents *conjunctive service* between two separate, unrelated express companies.

Sacramento was the original western terminus for the actual Pony ride, but as the Sacramento Valley Railroad line was extended eastward, the terminus was moved to Folsom (starting at the end of June 1860). From April 1860 to March 1861 the Pony Express office in Sacramento was located in the Hastings Building at J and Second Streets. The local agent was Jonathan W. Coleman, secretary of the Alta Telegraph Company.

The oval "Pony Express Sacramento" datestamp was used on Pony Express mail originating at the Sacramento office, both before and after Wells, Fargo & Co. took over (earliest use is January 7, 1861). The large Wells, Fargo & Co. double-circle datestamp was usually applied to letters carried over their own regular express routes. In this case, it was applied to way mail on the Pony Express. The express from San Francisco usually arrived at Sacramento on a boat before midnight of the departure day, and was then carried by railroad to Folsom. In this case, the mail arrived in Sacramento on the next day, September 13.

The addressee, L. M. Foulke, served as a California state senator in 1863-1864 and later as supervisor of Internal Revenue for the Pacific Coast. This cover to Iowa was entitled to the 3c under-3,000 miles rate. The original stamp fell off the cover, but has been replaced with the appropriate 3c stamp of the 1857 Issue.

FKW Census E19. Trip ET-30. With 1976 P.F. certificate.

Estimate \$4,000-5,000





Lot 11  
Front and back

The Pony Express arrived in this city yesterday morning, with the details of prominent events to September 4th. They will be found under their appropriate heads, consisting of general items of Atlantic news and political intelligence, including an interesting letter from Boston.

The number of letters brought by the Pony Express yesterday, for Sacramento, was seven; for San Francisco, twenty-eight.

Sacramento *Daily Union*, September 19, 1860, reporting arrival of September 6 Pony Express from St. Joseph the previous morning.

# The St. Joseph Carmine Running Pony

## Lot 11

**California Pony Express Paid.** Lightly inked but readable strike of red oval handstamp on 3c Red on Buff Star Die entire (U27) to Crosby & Dibblee in San Francisco, beautifully addressed with sender's "*Pony Express*" directive and "*Paid*" notation, manuscript "5" (dollars) Pony Express fee for weight over quarter ounce, sent to the eastern terminus at St. Joseph where "**Pony Express, St. Joseph, Sep. 6" (1860) Carmine Running Pony** oval datestamp was clearly struck on back, part of backflap removed and repair at top edge do not affect markings or writing

VERY FINE APPEARANCE. ONE OF TEN RECORDED EXAMPLES OF THE RUNNING PONY HANDSTAMP STRUCK IN CARMINE, OF WHICH FOUR ARE WESTBOUND.

The St. Joseph Running Pony handstamp was normally struck in black. The FKW census records ten covers with this marking struck in the distinctive Carmine color. They are dated from August 12 to September 13, 1860, and all but two are struck on the backs of the covers. Four are westbound trips: August 12 and September 13 with the marking on front, and two September 6 covers with the marking on back.

This cover was carried on the westbound trip from St. Joseph, departing Thursday, September 6, and arriving at San Francisco on September 18 (Sacramento *Daily Union*, September 19, shown opposite). It is addressed to Crosby & Dibblee, a large shipping firm that operated in San Francisco from 1852 to 1862. Charles W. Crosby and Albert Dibblee both arrived in San Francisco in 1850. Crosby had worked as a dry goods clerk in Boston. After accumulating a fortune in California, he moved to New York City in the 1860's. Albert Dibblee was born in upstate New York and worked for the State Bank of New York before emigrating to California in 1850. In addition to his business activities, Dibblee was a member of the Vigilance Committee of 1856.

This cover demonstrates the under-3,000 miles "loophole" that allowed westbound mail to be sent in bundles from the East Coast to St. Joseph by mail with only 3c U.S. postage. This loophole was closed by the Act of February 27, 1861, which eliminated the mileage provision and required 10c on any letter crossing the Rocky Mountains.

FKW Census W11. Trip WT-33. Ex Dr. Polland.

Estimate \$30,000-40,000

### Westbound Covers with St. Joseph Carmine Running Pony (FKW census):

No.	Pony Origin	St. Jo Carmine Pony	Address	Stamp
W9	NY (date?)	8/12/1860 (front)	Crosby & Dibblee, SF	U15
W10	None	9/6/1860 (back)	Fiske, Sacramento	U10
<b>W11</b>	<b>NY (date?)</b>	<b>9/6/1860 (back)</b>	<b>Crosby &amp; Dibblee, SF</b>	<b>U27</b>
W12	NY (date?)	9/13/1860 (front)	Crosby & Dibblee, SF	U27



Lot 12

**ARRIVAL OF THE PONY EXPRESS.**  
**GENERAL DISPATCH TO THE UNION.**  
**DATES TO DECEMBER 18th.**  
 PLACERVILLE, December 30th.  
 The Pony Express arrived here this morning at half-past nine o'clock, with general advices to Dec. 14th, and special dispatches to the UNION, by telegraph to Fort Kearny, to the night of Dec. 18th.

Sacramento *Daily Union*, December 31, 1860, with report from Placerville announcing arrival of the December 16 Pony Express from St. Joseph.



# New York Office and St. Joseph Running Pony Handstamps

## Lot 12

**California Pony Express New-York Dec. 11 (1860).** Bold strike of greenish-blue oval datestamp on 3c Red on Buff Star Die entire (U27) to Daniel Gibb & Company in San Francisco, sent to the eastern terminus at St. Joseph where “**Pony Express, St. Joseph, Dec. 16**” Running Pony oval datestamp was boldly struck at lower left, arithmetic notations applied at the offices of Gibb & Company, slight wear at top left corner

EXTREMELY FINE. A SPECTACULAR WESTBOUND COVER WITH THE RARE NEW YORK OFFICE AND ST. JOSEPH RUNNING PONY HANDSTAMPS. ONLY TWO COVERS ARE RECORDED WITH THIS COMBINATION OF PONY EXPRESS MARKINGS.

Only 21 covers have the St. Joseph Running Pony oval struck on the front, including two in Carmine and four eastbound covers (one of which is badly damaged). Of the 21 covers with the Running Pony oval on the front, eight have New York Pony Express markings—only two of the eight have this distinctive New York office oval with a date, and they are both dated December 11 (FKW Census W28 and W29).

The two December 11 covers were carried on the same trip to two different addresses in San Francisco. They were sent in a package of U.S. mail from New York City to the eastern terminus at St. Joseph. The under-3,000 miles “loophole” allowed westbound mail to be sent in bundles from the East Coast with only 3c U.S. postage. This loophole was closed by the Act of February 27, 1861, which eliminated the mileage provision and required 10c on any letter crossing the Rocky Mountains.

This cover and its twin were carried on the westbound trip from St. Joseph, departing Sunday, December 16, and arriving in San Francisco on December 31. According to the Sacramento *Daily Union* (December 31, shown opposite), the express passed Placerville on December 30 and carried letter dates to December 14 and telegraph dispatches to Fort Kearney to December 18.

### DANIEL GIBB & CO.

#### OFFER FOR SALE:

##### Ex J. Ahlers, from Glasgow---

261 casks Tennant's India Pale Ale, (quarts);  
270 do do do (pints);  
145 do do Brown Stout, (quarts);  
86 do do do (pints);  
60 barrels Double Brown Stout, (in bulk).

##### Ex J. Ahlers, from Glasgow---

18 puncheons "Bernard & Co's" Old Tom Gin.

##### Ex J. Ahlers, from Glasgow---

20 puncheons "Graham & Co's" fine Scotch Whisky.

##### Ex J. Ahlers, from Glasgow---

40 casks "C. Tennant & Co's" Soda Ash.

##### Ex J. Ahlers, from Glasgow---

10 frames Brown Sheathing Felt.

##### Ex J. Ahlers, from Glasgow---

87 casks Ground Fire Clay;  
15,000 Garbark Patent Fire Bricks;  
80 tons Eastfield Splint Coal.

##### Ex Catharina, from Liverpool---

67 casks Tennant's India Pale Ale, (quarts);  
88 do do do (pints);  
54 do do Brown Stout, (quarts);  
52 do do do (pints);  
34 do do Double Strong Ale, (in stone jugs.)

##### Ex Catharina, from Liverpool---

30 casks "Chas. Tennant & Co's" Soda Ash.  
1000-12

San Francisco *Bulletin*, April 5, 1860

The addressee, Daniel Gibb & Company, was a large merchant firm in San Francisco. Daniel Gibb and his brother William purchased the original lease for the New Idria Quicksilver Mine and brought the mine into successful production in 1858. New Idria quickly became one of the world's largest mercury mines. The firm's warehouse at Front and Vallejo Street is a registered historic landmark building.

FKW Census W29. Trip WT-62. Ex Dr. Polland.

Estimate \$30,000-40,000



Lot 13



Detail

**Wells, Fargo & Company First Issue  
\$2.00 Red Horse & Rider**

**Lot 13**

**Wells, Fargo & Co. Pony Express, \$2.00 Red (143L1).** Position 4, large margins all around including part of frameline of adjoining stamp at left, bright color, tied by blue **“Pony Express, San Francisco, Jun. 19” (1861) Running Pony** oval datestamp—a perfect strike with every detail sharp and clear—on 10c Green on Buff Star Die entire (U33) to Henry I. Beers at a New York City post office box, sender’s directive *“Per Pony Express”*, bold strike of green *“St. Joseph Mo. Jul. 2”* circular datestamp cancels embossed stamp, minor waterstain removal at right and sealed half-inch tear at top, most of backflap removed

EXTREMELY FINE. AN OUTSTANDING AND VERY RARE EXAMPLE OF THE SHORT-LIVED WELLS, FARGO & COMPANY \$2.00 HORSE & RIDER FIRST ISSUE ON COVER. THE SAN FRANCISCO RUNNING PONY OVAL IS SELDOM FOUND STRUCK WITH SUCH CLARITY.

This cover was carried on the Wednesday, June 19, 1861, trip from San Francisco, which arrived at St. Joseph on July 2. The addressee, Henry I. Beers, was a prominent California businessman who returned to New York in 1859 and made his fortune in oil and real estate in Western Pennsylvania.

When Phase II (Interim Phase) started on April 1, 1861, the rate for a Pony Express letter was substantially reduced to \$2 per half-ounce, down from the \$5 per half-ounce or \$2.50 per quarter-ounce rates in effect during the previous year. At the same time, the new agents—Wells, Fargo & Company—had special stamps and envelopes printed for use on Pony Express letters. The \$2 rate was in effect for a brief period, from April 1 to June 30, 1861. The FKW census records 37 \$2.00 Red covers.

The \$2 and \$4 were printed in sheets of 20 (5 wide by 4 high). Rather than build up the printing stone from intermediate transfer groups or from a primary matrix containing the denomination, the printers used a blank matrix to enter each subject on the stone for each value. This required a total of 40 transfers (20 for each value). The denomination (shaded numerals “2” and “4”) then had to be individually transferred to each subject on both stones, thus requiring another 40 separate transfers. It seems incredible that experienced lithographers such as Britton & Rey did not simplify the process by using intermediate transfers. Based on the fact that the \$2 and \$4 of the July 1861 issue (in Green and Black) were printed from the same stones as the April 1861 issue, it is certain that the printers had retained the two original stones. Lithographic stones were usually re-used by erasing the image and repolishing the surface, but in the case of the Pony Express stones, they were evidently preserved for future printings.

FKW Census E100. Trip ET-110. Illustrated in Nathan-Boggs book (p. 42). Ex Dr. Polland.

Estimate \$40,000-50,000





Lot 14



Detail



Atchison, Kansas, as it appeared when the Pony Express eastern terminus was moved there in 1861.

**Wells, Fargo & Company Second Issue—\$1.00 Red Horse & Rider  
Used on Cover Postmarked at Atchison, Kansas**

**Lot 14**

**Wells, Fargo & Co. Pony Express, \$1.00 Red (143L3).** Position R20, huge side margins including part of frameline of adjoining stamp at left, full at bottom and full to just barely in along frameline at top, rich color, tied by blue **“Pony Express, San Francisco, Sep. [2]8” (1861) Running Pony** oval datestamp (with missing digit in date) on 10c Green on Buff Star Die entire (U33) with Wells, Fargo & Co. red printed frank, to Robert E. Dietz in New York City, clear strike of **“Atchison, Kan. Oct. 12”** double-circle datestamp applied on arrival after 14-day trip, small piece of backflap missing

EXTREMELY FINE. A BEAUTIFUL EASTBOUND PONY EXPRESS COVER WITH THE WELLS, FARGO & COMPANY \$1.00 HORSE & RIDER SECOND ISSUE AND POSTMARK SHOWING ENTRY INTO THE MAILS AT THE ATCHISON POST OFFICE.

This cover was carried on the trip that departed San Francisco on Saturday, September 28, 1861, and arrived at Atchison on October 12. The Pony Express stamp pays the government contract rate of \$1 per half-ounce, and the shift to Atchison as the point of entry into the U.S. mails was due to Confederate military incursions into central Missouri in September 1861.

Congress awarded the mail contract along the Central Route to the Overland Mail Company on March 12, 1861, effective July 1. The contract paid \$1,000,000 per year for mail/passenger service along the Central Route and required the company “...during the continuance of their Contract, or until completion of The Overland telegraph, to run a Pony Express semi-weekly at a Schedule time of ten days eight months of the year and twelve days four months of the year...” This period of operation is known as Phase III, which corresponds to Rate Period 4 (July 1-October 26, 1861). During this period, Wells, Fargo & Co. issued new stamps and envelopes to reflect the agreed-upon government contract rate of \$1 per half-ounce for the Pony Express. In addition, Wells, Fargo & Co. charged a fee for service in California (10c if a franked envelope was used, 25c if not) and U.S. postage (10c per half-ounce).

On September 3, 1861, the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad experienced a horrific tragedy when bushwhackers burned a bridge over the Platte River, causing a derailment that killed between 17 and 20 people and injured 100 more in the “Platte Bridge Railroad Tragedy” (this bridge should not be confused with the Platte River Bridge in Wyoming). Starting with the Pony Express mail that left San Francisco on September 11, 1861 (ET-134, arriving September 23), the entry point for mail became Atchison. The FKW census records 25 covers, including one with the Pony Express stamp missing.

The addressee, Robert E. Dietz (1818-1897), started an oil lamp business in Brooklyn in 1840. When kerosene distilled from coal oil went into mass production in 1856, Dietz patented a burner designed to burn the new fuel in lamps. Dietz & Co. supplied mining camps in California.

FKW Census E167. Trip ET-139. With 1973 P.F. certificate.

Estimate \$40,000-50,000



Robert E. Dietz



Lot 15



Detail



# Wells, Fargo & Company Second Issue \$1.00 Red Horse & Rider

Lot 15

**Wells, Fargo & Co. Pony Express, \$1.00 Red (143L3).** Position L10, ample to large margins, rich color, tied by blue “**Pony Express, San Francisco, Aug. 24**” (1861) **Running Pony** oval datestamp on rebacked 10c Green on Buff Star Die entire (U33) with Wells, Fargo & Co. red printed frank, to W. J. Widdleton at 17 Mercer Street in New York City, bold strike of “St. Joseph Mo. Sep. 5” circular datestamp applied on arrival after 12-day trip, small sealed nick at top and the back has been skillfully added to create a complete envelope (not noted as such on certificate)

AN EXTREMELY FINE REBACKED FRONT WITH ALL OF THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF AN EASTBOUND PONY EXPRESS USE INTACT, INCLUDING THE WELLS, FARGO & COMPANY \$1.00 HORSE & RIDER STAMP TIED BY THE SAN FRANCISCO RUNNING PONY OVAL.

This cover was carried on the trip that departed San Francisco on Saturday, August 24, 1861, and arrived at St. Joseph on September 5. The addressee, W. J. Widdleton, was a New York City publisher. In 1861 Widdleton acquired the rights to publish the collected works of the late Edgar Allan Poe.

Congress awarded the mail contract along the Central Route to the Overland Mail Company on March 12, 1861, effective July 1. The contract paid \$1,000,000 per year for mail/passenger service along the Central Route and required the company “...during the continuance of their Contract, or until completion of The Overland telegraph, to run a Pony Express semi-weekly at a Schedule time of ten days eight months of the year and twelve days four months of the year...” This period of operation is known as Phase III, which corresponds to Rate Period 4 (July 1-October 26, 1861). During this period, Wells, Fargo & Co. issued new stamps and envelopes to reflect the agreed-upon government contract rate of \$1 per half-ounce for the Pony Express. In addition, Wells, Fargo & Co. charged a fee for service in California (represented by the red frank) and U.S. postage (10c per half-ounce).

FKW Census E146. Trip ET-129. With 1976 P.F. certificate. Estimate \$10,000-15,000

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\*The entire list of Books formerly published by J. S. Redfield.

W. J. Widdleton advertisement



16



17

**Lot 16** Wells, Fargo & Co. Pony Express, \$2.00 Red (143L1). Position 15, full margins to just touched at bottom, cancelled by blue “Pony Express, San Francisco” Running Pony oval datestamp, replacement for stamp that was removed from 10c Green on Buff Star Die entire (U33) to Mrs. James G. Dorr in East Boston Mass., part of Running Pony oval dated May 25 (1861) and bold strike of green “St. Joseph Mo. Jun. 6” circular datestamp (Trip ET-103), “Boston Jun. 10” backstamp, right edge reduced and torn through embossed stamp, a genuinely used \$2.00 Red Horse & Rider stamp and a genuine Pony Express cover beautifully matched to restore the original appearance Estimate \$1,000-1,500

**Lot 17** Wells, Fargo & Co. Pony Express, \$1.00 Red (143L3). Position L5, touching to slightly in all around, cancelled by blue “Pony Express, San Francisco” Running Pony oval datestamp, replacement for stamp that was removed from 10c Green on Buff Star Die entire (U33) with Wells, Fargo & Co. red frank, blue “Paid” oval handstamp, to Mrs. P. A. Billing in Brooklyn N.Y., most of Running Pony oval dated July 6 (1861) and bold strike of “St. Joseph Mo. Jul. 18” circular datestamp (Trip ET-115), reduced at left, a genuinely used \$1.00 Red Horse & Rider stamp and a genuine Pony Express cover beautifully matched to restore the original appearance Estimate \$1,000-1,500



18

**Lot 18 Wells, Fargo & Co. Pony Express, \$1.00 Red (143L3).** Position R3, huge bottom margin and full at right, cut in at upper left and barely in at top, scissors-cut at bottom right, tied by blue **“Pony Express, San Francisco, Oct. 16” (1861) Running Pony** oval datestamp on large piece of 10c Green on Buff entire (U41) with Wells, Fargo & Co. red frank, clear strike of **“Atchison, Kan. Oct. 30”** double-circle datestamp applied on arrival after 14-day trip (ET-144), Fine, an attractive representative example of the \$1.00 Horse & Rider stamp with the San Francisco Running Pony oval and Atchison datestamp, starting with the Pony Express mail that left San Francisco on September 11, 1861 (ET-134, arriving September 23), the entry point for mail became Atchison, the FKW census records 25 covers, including one with the Pony Express stamp missing Estimate \$2,000-3,000



19

**Lot 19 Wells, Fargo & Co. Pony Express, \$4.00 Black (143L5).** Position 2, margins cutting in evenly all around, cancelled by blue **“Pony Express, San Francisco” Running Pony** oval, small faults

FINE APPEARANCE. ONE OF FIVE RECORDED USED EXAMPLES OF THE \$4.00 BLACK PONY EXPRESS STAMP.

Only two covers with the \$4.00 Black (Second Issue) are recorded, each worth more than a half-million dollars. Estimate \$2,000-3,000





Lot 20

#### Failure of Pony Express Letters.

The Overland mail is constantly bringing to correspondents in California letters which should have been received by Pony Express, having paid the charges entitling them to that rapid mode of conveyance. An examination of the new Pony Express envelop adopted by Wells, Fargo & Co. early in August last, affords a clue to these frequent and annoying blunders. These envelopes have the United States 10-cent postage stamp at one end, and an Express device at the other. Each bears upon it the printed address to the "Agent of Pony Express, St. Joseph, Missouri." Beneath this is printed the word "For," followed by a blank space to be filled with the California address of the party for whom the letter is intended. For example, a letter thus addressed to the *Bulletin*, and which came to hand by regular mail ten days after arrival of the Pony for which it was intended, bears the following superscription:

Agent of Pony Express, St. Joseph, Mo. For Editor *Evening Bulletin*, San Francisco, California.

It is evident that the postoffice clerks at the East overlooked, altogether, the first part of the foregoing address, and noticing only the words "San Francisco, California," deposited the letter at once in the through-mail bag. Such carelessness is unpardonable. The needed remedy has been applied before this, however, and we may hope that the annoyance resulting from this specimen of official stupidity will not be of long continuance.

San Francisco *Bulletin*, September 13, 1861

**Wells, Fargo & Company Second Issue  
\$1.00 Type II Printed Frank for Westbound Mail**

**Lot 20**

**Wells, Fargo & Co. Pony Express, (\$1.00) Red Type II East-to-West Frank, 10c Green on Thin Hard White Entire (unlisted in Scott).** Clearly struck “Cambridge, Ms. Aug. 28, 1861” double-circle datestamp, printed address to the “Agent of Pony Express, St. Joseph, Mo.” and handwritten address to Wm. E. Chamberlain in Sacramento Cal., full clear strike of “**Pony Express, The Central Overland California & Pikes Peak Express Company, St. Joseph, Mo. Sep. 5**” large oval within circle datestamp applied before departure on September 5, small piece of backflap missing, lightly cleaned and two small sealed edge tears at lower left and top center

VERY FINE. ONE OF 21 RECORDED TYPE II EAST-TO-WEST PONY EXPRESS ENTIRETS AND THE ONLY PONY EXPRESS COVER ORIGINATING IN CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS.

In Rate Period 3, Wells Fargo & Co. introduced a special franked envelope for westbound mail, but its use was extremely limited. On July 1, 1861, the new contract rate went into effect. On August 12, 1861, Wells Fargo & Co. announced in the New York papers that “Pony Express Envelopes” were “Now ready and for sale at our office.” Although this announcement refers only to “envelopes,” in fact both the franked entirets and \$1.00 adhesive stamps were put on sale in August 1861. The 1861 10c “Pumpkin” entire with the Type II printed frank was ordered from George F. Nesbitt & Co. (New York) by the Overland Mail Company after they obtained approval for the design and imprint from the Postmaster General’s office. The earliest recorded Type II envelope is dated August 14, 1861, according to the FKW census.

Based on a newspaper article in the San Francisco *Bulletin* (September 13, 1861, shown opposite), the Type II franked envelopes were problematic, because eastern post offices were sending them in the “through” mail to San Francisco, instead of directing them to St. Joseph for the Pony Express. As a result, they would arrive by regular mail ten days after the Pony Express for which they were intended. This might explain why some examples of the Type II franks are found without a St. Joseph Pony Express handstamp.

This August 28, 1861, cover was sent from Cambridge just as Civil War demonetization of the old stamp issue began and the new 1861 Issue was released. It entered the post office and was treated as regular mail until it reached the Wells, Fargo & Co. agent at St. Joseph. From there it made the September 5 westbound Pony trip to California. At Placerville, it was carried by Wells Fargo & Co. to Sacramento on September 16. The addressee, William E. Chamberlain (1801-1896), was the cashier of the D. O. Mills bank in Sacramento and later worked for the National Gold Bank. His wife Charlotte was a contributing writer for the Sacramento *Daily Union*.

The updated FKW census lists 21 examples of the Type II \$1.00 frank, including some that have stamps added or have been extensively repaired. This is the only Pony Express cover that originated from Cambridge, Massachusetts, during any time period, and of course it is the only example of the Type II frank used from Cambridge.

FKW Census W54. Trip WT-137. Weill backstamp.

Estimate \$30,000-40,000



Lot 21



U.S. Senator Milton S. Latham



## Late Pony Express Cover with Senator Latham Free Frank and Wells, Fargo & Company “Free” Handstamp

### Lot 21

**Pony Express, The Central Overland California & Pikes Peak Express Company, St. Joseph, Mo. Oct. 13 (1861).** Mostly clear strike of large oval within circle datestamp applied before October 13 departure from St. Joseph on cover **free franked “Milton S. Latham U.S.S.”** by **U.S. Senator Milton S. Latham** and addressed in his hand to George Wallace in San Francisco, his directive “*Pony Express*”, pencil street address “*29 South Park*”, **Wells, Fargo & Co. greenish-blue “FREE” handstamp** indicating waived charge for express service between Placerville and San Francisco, slight edgewear

VERY FINE COVER WITH A CLEAR STRIKE OF THE ST. JOSEPH SPECIAL “PONY EXPRESS” DATESTAMP AND FREE FRANK OF SENATOR LATHAM. ONE OF SIX RECORDED PONY EXPRESS COVERS FRANKED BY LATHAM—THIS IS THE ONLY ONE WITH THE WELLS, FARGO & COMPANY “FREE” HANDSTAMP.

Senator Milton S. Latham went to California in 1850 and was elected to Congress on the 1852 Democratic ticket. After his term expired, he declined to run for re-election and served as collector for the port of San Francisco. In 1859 he was elected governor, but he resigned five days after taking office to fill the U.S. Senate seat left vacant when Senator David C. Broderick was killed in a duel. The addressee, George Wallace, was secretary to California governor, John Downey.

Senator Latham was a friend of William H. Russell, the Central Overland California & Pike’s Peak Express Co. president, and a strong supporter of COC&PP in their effort to secure the contract for the Central Route. He was among the few individuals later permitted to send Pony Express letters free of charge. In this case Senator Latham’s free frank applied to the \$1.00 Pony Express rate, Wells, Fargo & Co.’s 10c charge for service between Placerville and San Francisco, and 10c U.S. postage (for a total of \$1.20). This cover left St. Joseph on Sunday, October 13, 1861, and arrived at San Francisco on October 25. This was one of the latest Pony Express trips.

There are 15 recorded Pony Express covers with any form of free frank for postage or express charges. Of these, six are signed by Latham (FKW E94, W3, W5, W7, W48 and W62). The eastbound cover (E94) has the San Francisco Running Pony oval. Three of the westbound Latham covers have the St. Joseph Running Pony oval (W3, W5 and W7), and two have the oval within circle datestamp (W48 and W62). The cover offered here is the latest of the Latham covers, and it is the only Pony Express cover with a Wells, Fargo & Co. “Free” marking.

FKW Census W62. Trip WT-148. Illustrated in *The Pony Express: A Postal History* (p. 53).

Estimate \$20,000-30,000

## Pony Express Related Free Franks on Regular U.S. Mail



22



23



24

**Lot 22 William M. Gwin.** Free frank “Free W. M. Gwin, U.S. Senate”, partly struck “Washington D.C. Free Apr. 9” circular datestamp on cover to Mrs. B. G. Kiger in Vicksburg Miss., slight edgewear, Very Fine, a desirable free frank from one of California’s colorful politicians—Senator Gwin was a pro-slavery Democrat who served as U.S. Senator from California (1850-55 and 1857-61), he is credited with encouraging William H. Russell to launch the Pony Express, an idea given to him by Benjamin F. Ficklin Estimate \$500-750

**Lot 23 William M. Gwin.** Free frank “Free W. M. Gwin, U.S. Senate”, clearly struck “Washington D.C. Free 10 Jan.” circular datestamp on cover to B. G. Kiger in Vicksburg Miss., Very Fine, see previous lot for biographical notes on Senator Gwin Estimate \$500-750

**Lot 24 Milton S. Latham.** Free frank “Milton S. Latham, U.S.S” as Senator, partly struck “Washington D.C. Jan. 4, 1863” circular datestamp on cover to Capt. George Wallace in San Francisco, sender’s directive “Overland”, with 5-page autograph letter signed, interesting content regarding Generals Meigs and Halleck, efforts to transfer Capt. Wallace to the East instead of Salt Lake City and a remark about “Abolitionist proclivities” of Lincoln’s administration, Very Fine, Senator Latham was a proponent of the Pony Express Estimate \$400-500

## Pilsbury “Chips” Hodgkins



From *The Saga of Old Tuolumne* by Edna Bryan Buckbee (pages 153-165):

Of the many express riders not a single man was so well known as ‘Chips.’ Pilsbury Hodgkins—his real name—the pioneer expressman carried gold dust on a white mule—a noted character of early days... Mr. Hodgkins sailed from Boston to San Francisco in 1849, working his way around Cape Horn as the ship's carpenter. After a short stay in the latter city, he went to Stockton, and with a hundred and fifty dollars in his wallet, he looked around for a teamster to haul his supplies from Stockton to the mines... From June 20, 1857, to June 20, 1858, Chips carried in coin \$1,421,514 and in dust \$3,167,237, making a total of \$4,421,751... It was said of him that no man in the United States ever actually handled more money than he did, but not a nickel of it ever stuck to his fingers.



26



25

**Lot 25 Pilsbury “Chips” Hodgkins.** 10c Green on Buff Nesbitt entire (U18) addressed to “*Chips, care of Wells Fargo & Co. Stockton, California*”, blue “Wells, Fargo & Co. Express Boston” oval handstamp, carried outside the mails, receipt docketing “*Nickerson*” on front and “*Recd. June 29th 1858 Benicia answered by return mail*” on back, toned band across front and minor wear, still Fine, a desirable express cover addressed to one of the famous characters of the California Gold Rush period Estimate \$300-400

**Lot 26 Pilsbury “Chips” Hodgkins.** 10c Pale Green on Buff Nesbitt entire (U18a) addressed to “*“Chips” Esq., Care Wells Fargo & Co. Boston*”, red “Wells, Fargo & Co. Express Stockton” oval and “Free” in double-line oval handstamps, carried outside the mails, receipt docketing “*Recd. Keene Aug 23d/56*” on back, repaired tears and right edge restored, still a presentable cover to this famous California expressman Estimate \$200-300





27



28

## **Wells, Fargo & Company Virginia City Pony Express—25¢ Blue**

### **Lot 27**

**Wells, Fargo & Co. Virginia City Pony Express, 25c Blue (143L8).** Ample to full margins, tied by perfect strike of blue “Wells, Fargo & Co. Virginia Cty. N.T. Apl. 30” (1863) oval datestamp on 3c Pink on Buff entire (U35) with Wells Fargo & Co. printed frank, to James Feeney in San Francisco, reduced at right into embossed stamp

A FINE AND ATTRACTIVE VIRGINIA CITY PONY EXPRESS COVER WITH THE 25-CENT BLUE HORSE & RIDER ISSUE.

The addressee is James Feeney, one of several men by that name listed in the 1863 San Francisco city directory. This person is not (as sometimes reported) James “Old Virginny” Finney, a colorful character in the history and folklore of the Nevada mining region who died two years before this cover was sent.

Gamett Census 69.

Estimate \$2,000-3,000

### **Lot 28**

**Wells, Fargo & Co. Virginia City Pony Express, 25c Blue (143L8).** Ample margins to slightly in at bottom, tied by blue “Wells, Fargo & Co. Express Gold Hill Utah” oval handstamp on 3c Pink on White entire (U34) with Wells Fargo & Co. frank dramatically misprinted diagonally across envelope, to Elias Goslinsky in San Francisco, reduced at right and faults in need of a paper restorer’s skills, yet potentially an attractive and unusual Virginia City Pony Express cover

Gamett Census 50.

Estimate \$750-1,000



Lot 29



Detail



## Wells, Fargo & Company Virginia City Pony Express—25¢ Red

### Lot 29

**Wells, Fargo & Co. Virginia City Pony Express, 25c Red (143L9).** Position C9, large even margins, rich color, tied by blue “Wells, Fargo & Co. Virginia Cty. N.T. Jul. 13” (1864) oval datestamp on 3c Pink on White entire (U34) with Wells Fargo & Co. printed frank to Clara C. Crittenden in San Francisco, pencil “65” and “37”, with original letter from her husband, Alexander Parker Crittenden, datelined “*Virginia July 13th 64*” (letter waterstained), small ink spot at top of cover and tiny tear in upper right corner

VERY FINE. A CHOICE STAMP AND BEAUTIFUL VIRGINIA CITY PONY COVER FROM THE FAMOUS CRITTENDEN CORRESPONDENCE. THE RED 25-CENT VIRGINIA PONY STAMP IS MUCH SCARCER ON COVER THAN THE BLUE.

This letter was sent to Clara C. Crittenden by her husband, Alexander Parker Crittenden, a prominent West Coast attorney, while he was residing in Virginia City. The move to Nevada became necessary after California passed a law prohibiting the practice of law by anyone who would not take the loyalty oath. “Parker” Crittenden was a pro-Southerner who chose to relocate to Virginia City, rather than swear allegiance to the Federal government. His wife stayed in San Francisco for some time, and the two corresponded frequently while he was away.

Parker wrote this letter to his wife around the time he became romantically involved with a young woman named Laura Fair. After a short-lived acting career and three failed marriages, Laura had travelled to Virginia City and used a small inheritance to acquire the 37-room Tahoe House. With her mother and daughter in residence, Laura made the hotel the social center of silver-rich Virginia City. One can imagine her Pavlovian response when the distinguished and successful Parker Crittenden decided to make the Tahoe House his residence. Likewise, the older gentleman—separated from his wife and family, and living in proximity to a young and eager lady friend—must have thanked the gods for the circumstances that sent him to Nevada.

The affair between Parker and Laura went on for years. Laura would demand that Parker divorce his wife and marry her. Parker would assure her that it was going to happen soon. And, of course, when nothing happened, Laura would fly into a rage. After she moved to San Francisco and married another man, Parker professed his undying love and demanded that she divorce her new husband; and, he promised to finally divorce Clara. Laura complied, and then she discovered that Parker had ordered new furniture for a home in San Francisco where he was planning to live with Clara and the kids. So, Laura boarded the same ferry boat that Parker, Clara and their young son were on, walked up to Parker, aimed her Colt revolver and fired one bullet into his chest. He died two days later.

The trial of Laura Fair in the murder of Alexander P. Crittenden was the O. J. Simpson trial of 1871. Fair’s defense was the classic “driven to insanity by emotional abuse.” It worked. The jury acquitted her.

Gamett Census 7. Ex Haas. With 1981 P.F. certificate.

Estimate \$7,500-10,000

## Wells, Fargo & Company Reprints



30

### Lot 30

**Wells, Fargo & Co., 10c-\$4.00 Pony Express 1897 Reprint, Black Plate Proof on Wove.**  
Complete sheet with defaced \$4.00 column at left, vertical creases thru 25c rows, small tears and corner crease in selvage, otherwise Very Fine, rare, ex Kramer

Estimate \$1,000-1,500

## Posthumous Strikes of San Francisco Running Pony Handstamp



31

**Lot 31 San Francisco Running Pony Handstamp.** Proof strike with “APR 60” anniversary date on piece of gummed paper with some faults, a rare posthumous strike from the original device

Estimate \$300-400



32

**Lot 32 San Francisco Running Pony Handstamp.** Proof strike on paper, faint creases, a rare posthumous strike from the original device

Estimate \$300-400

**End of Sale—Thank You**



## Acknowledgments and Sources

We are grateful to Steven C. Walske for reviewing this catalogue and answering our questions. We are also grateful to Richard C. Frajola for information regarding the false newspaper report of a stolen westbound Pony Express in August 1860.

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Western Cover Society ([www.westerncoversociety.com](http://www.westerncoversociety.com))  
Wyoming Historical Society (<http://www.wyshs.org>)

# Bid Form—15% Premium Sale

Sale 1038

Wednesday, March 20, 2013

1

Please provide the following information:

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY/STATE/ZIP .....

TEL. (DAY) ..... FAX .....

E-MAIL .....

PADDLE #

*Do not write in box*

2

Have you purchased from us in the past 5 years? ☐ YES (if so, please go to Section 3)  
☐ NO (please provide a trade reference and bank information)

References:

Stamp Firm: ..... Telephone .....

Bank: ..... Account # .....

3

In the space provided below, enter the **lot number** from **Sale 1038** and your corresponding bid. Please use **whole dollar amounts** only and enter the **maximum bid** you wish to have us execute on your behalf, according to the **bidding increments** on other side of this form. **Your bid will NOT include the 15% buyer's premium.** We will advance the bidding at one increment over the

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Lot	Bid	Lot	Bid	Lot	Bid
	\$		\$		\$

4

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Sale1038—March 20, 2013

Lot	Bid	Lot	Bid	Lot	Bid
	\$		\$		\$

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Transit insurance is provided in all cases, except when the buyer has furnished us with proof that insurance coverage is effective under another policy. Proof, in such cases, will be accepted in the form of a written certificate from the insurance carrier.

You are responsible for insurance charges, which will be added to your invoice. This coverage is provided for our mutual protection against theft or loss in transit.

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The auctioneer may regulate the bidding at his discretion. However, to assist absentee bidders in establishing their maximum bid for each lot, the increments shown at right will be used in most cases. We recommend that written bids conform to these increments (those which do not will be reduced to the next level).

### REVISED CHARGES FOR SHIPPING EFFECTIVE SEPTEMBER 1, 2010

We have reduced the FedEx Envelope charge to \$20, reflecting the elimination of the fuel surcharge. All other charges remain the same.

#### Current Postage & Insurance Charges

Weight/Class	Shipping Method	Charges
Up to 2 lbs.	Fedex Envelope	\$20.00
Over 2 lbs.	Fedex Box	\$35.00*
Non-U.S.	Fedex/Courier	\$50.00**
Bulk Lots	UPS Preferred	By weight and value
<b>These fees reflect additional FedEx charges for residential delivery, signature and fuel surcharge.</b>		
<b>*Higher fees will be charged on packages weighing more than 5 lbs. or insured for more than \$75,000.</b>		
<b>**Buyers are liable for all customs duties and clearance charges. An accurate declaration of value will be made on all import/export documents.</b>		

1/2012

Up to \$50	\$5	\$3,000-7,000	\$250
\$50-200	\$10	\$7,000-20,000	\$500
\$200-500	\$25	\$20,000-30,000	\$1,000
\$500-1,000	\$50	\$30,000-75,000	\$2,500
\$1,000-3,000	\$100	\$75,000 up	\$5,000

1/2012





Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries, Inc.  
Prices Realized for  
Sale 1038 March 20, 2013 The Alyeska Collection of Pony Express

Lot#	Realized
1	75,000
2	105,000
3	200,000
4	70,000
5	32,500
6	37,500
7	12,000
8	14,000
9	22,000
10	2,100
11	28,000
12	37,500
13	55,000
14	32,500
15	6,250
16	950
17	2,700
18	3,500
19	1,900
20	26,000
21	15,500
25	375
26	275
27	6,000
28	1,000
29	8,000
30	1,100
31	160
32	325