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of AMERICA INC.

• T H E B U L L E T I N •

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Luther Boardman: His Life and Times

by Andrew F. Turano

(See article beginning on page 323)

Photograph of Luther Boardman
Born: Dec. 26, 1812, Rocky Hill, CT; Died: Mar. 29, 1887, East Haddam, CT
Working Period: 1834-1887

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President's Letter—

A decade ago the PCCA "Committee of the Nineties" made a recommendation that a goal of 1000 members be achieved by the year 1991. Even though this goal was not formally adopted, it was generally agreed that steps needed to be taken to increase our membership. After all, new members bring new ideas and a renewed vitality.

During our 50th Anniversary exhibit in 1984, with all its publicity, membership stood at 578, excluding institutions. Three years later, during a period of little publicity, membership stood at 502. That was eleven years ago. Publicity was increased to the antiques publications announcing and reporting on our national and regional meetings. Grants-in-Aid was established which, aside from research promotion, generated publicity for awards granted. This generated some new memberships.

Concurrently, there were plans to hold onto our members. *The Bulletin* and *Newsletter* resumed their twice yearly publication schedule. Recently the *Newsletter* underwent a facelift, thanks to the talents of Bill Snow. Both publications have a focus on quality of material. A more informative new member kit was developed containing resource materials and suggested reading, among other things.

National Meeting content was enhanced with an added emphasis on pewter. If the meeting site had some meaningful pewter but not in volume, then members brought examples from their own collections to share with us all. Barbara and Bob Horan have worked with John Carl Thomas to organize our "study" collection (read FAKES-we have all been there; it's called tuition). Usually some aspect of fakes is included in each National Meeting.

I am particularly pleased with the reception given our newest program at national meetings, our Orientation Sessions. This is an introductory session run on Friday afternoon concurrently with the Board of Governors meeting. Geared to the new member/collector, this is basic pewter: its forms, marks, etc. At the last meeting, one-third of those attending went to this session. Lastly, the regional groups are putting on wonderful one day meetings.

We are also trying to improve our membership retention. In the past we have tended to lose almost as many members as we gained in any particular year. Now when a member is lost, that person is contacted and we try to find out where we have not fulfilled this member's expectations. We want to know what we could have done better.

As you can see, much is being done to strengthen our Club. Results are that we are holding our own. There are 613 current members; not 1000, but not 502 either.

I will close this letter with a request. Each of us is an Ambassador of this organization and I know we all want it to grow and prosper. As you go about your travels, will you do a little promotion? If you see pewter at an antique show, ask the dealer if he would allow a few membership brochures on a table. Same with an auction house. I keep a few brochures in my glove compartment just in case I need one. How about you? Membership Chair, Louise Graver, would be pleased to send you a few. Referred members often make the best members.

—Tom Madsen

Fall Meeting Photographs

Willmington, Delaware, October 2-4

Fig. 1. The Fall National Meeting was hosted by the Mid-Atlantic Group. **Richard Graver**, past president of the Group, **Louise Graver**, Membership Chair, and **Frank Powell**, new president of the Group did a great job planning the meeting.

Fig. 3. **Don Herr**, the feature speaker on Saturday evening, together with his wife **Tricia** hold respectively an 18th century creamer and sugar bowl, the topic of Don's talk.

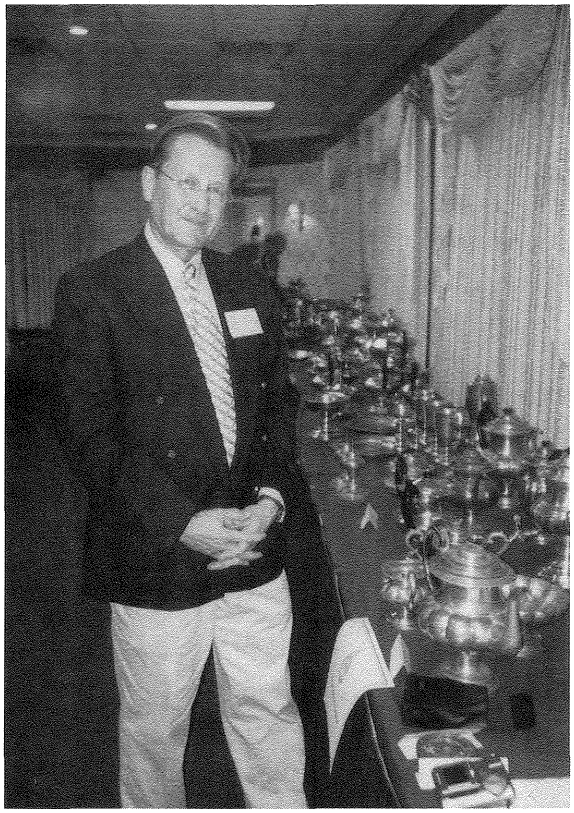


Fig. 2. **Robert Bury**, the feature speaker on Friday evening along with examples of pewter items illustrated in his topic, "The Whitesmiths of Taunton." Most are from his own collection.

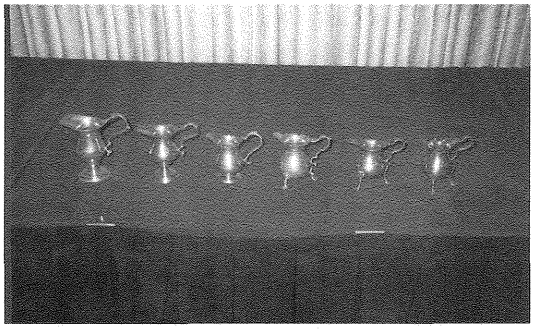


Fig. 4. Some of the 18th century creamers brought to the meeting.

Fig. 5. Also brought were some 18th century sugar bowls.

A New Pewter World Record Set in June 1998

by Garland Pass

Fig. 1, left. The communion flagon by Johann Christoph Heyne that sold for a new world record price of $145,500 including a buyer's premium. The flagon was part of the von Hess sale conducted by Sotheby's in New York City on June 16, 1998. Fig. 2, right, shows the famous "I C H/Lancaster" maker's mark on the flagon.

—Photos by Melvin Wolf

By now, most readers are aware of the astonishing world record price of $145,500 achieved by a Heyne flagon on June 16, 1998 at the von Hess sale conducted by Sotheby's. Information on this sale has been reported in all of the trade publications as well as in the Fall 1998 issue of the PCCA's *Newsletter*. Those details will not be repeated here.

However, to understand why this piece almost tripled the previous Heyne flagon, which had some damage, that was sold nine months earlier, one need only consider rarity, condition and *provenance*.

As for rarity, only 18 of these flagons are known and most are in churches. Longtime collectors do not recall any offered at auction until these two appeared. Whether the high price achieved by this flagon will cause any church to dispose of their treasure is unknown. But the likelihood of another coming onto the market anytime soon seems remote.

The condition of the flagon as well as Heyne's mark is excellent as shown in the photographs above.

As for provenance, the von Hess family acquired the flagon from early collector John J. Evans, Jr. in 1973. Evans, with some help from Ledlie Laughlin, was the first to identify the "I C H/Lancaster" pewterer as Johann Christoph Heyne. His article describing the discovery was published in *Antiques Magazine* in 1931, three years prior to the formation of the PCCA. The article was later republished in the book, *American and British Pewter,* edited by John Carl Thomas.

In the *PCCA Bulletin, Volume 11, No. 8*, we listed the six highest prices paid for pewter sold at public auction. The von Hess sale has supplied three more. Ironically on the same day, the Boonshaft sale in England supplied another, a 16th century or earlier English or Dutch flagon. It is interesting to note that Heyne pieces currently account for five of the top ten prices paid at auction. Prices include buyer's premium when it existed *but do not include sales tax or value added tax.*

We repeat our request for information on any item we may have missed or which should have been included in this list. This applies to American, British, or European pewter as well as from any country in the world.

HIGHEST PRICES PAID FOR PEWTER SOLD AT PUBLIC AUCTION

	Item	Sale/Auction House	Date	Amount
1.	Heyne Flagon	von Hess/Sotheby's	16Jun98	$145,500[1]
2.	The Tonbridge Flagon	Law/Phillips	25Sep97	52,440[2]
3.	Heyne Flagon*	/Cochrans	20Sep97	50,000[3]
4.	Heyne Sugar Bowl	Brenner/Horst	23Aug85	42,500[4]
5.	28 3/16" English Charger	/Phillips	18Dec84	42,240[5]
6.	Chalice attrib. to Heyne	von Hess/Sotheby's	16Jun98	41,400[6]
7.	Early Eng./Dutch Flagon	Boonshaft/Sotheby's	16Jun98	41,239[7]
8.	Coffee Pot attrib. to "Love"	Esner/Skinner	22Feb94	36,800[8]
9.	Wm. Will Drum-shaped Teapot	/Sotheby's	220ct88	35,200[9]
10.	Chalice attrib. to Heyne*	von Hess/Sotheby's	16Jun98	32,200[10]

*Some damage

[1] $130,000+(15% x 50,000)+(10% x 80,000)
[2] £28,500 + 15% Premium x 1.60 conversion rate
[3] No premium charged
[4] No premium charged
[5] £32,000 + 10% Premium x 1.20 conversion rate
[6] $36,000 + 15% Premium
[7] £22,000 + 15% Premium x 1.63 conversion rate
[8] $32,000 + 15% Premium
[9] $32,000 + 10% Premium
[10] $28,000 + 15% Premium

Luther Boardman: His Life and Times

by Andrew F. Turano

There exists only scattered information published on Luther Boardman, "The Spoonmaker". However, this transitional worker left a voluminous accumulation of personal notations over a period of fifty four years that are, for the most part, easily accessible. Until now, what has been published has been scant and usually incidental to research on other more exciting makers of the period. Luther Boardman has not stimulated the interests of pewter and britannia collectors and students, probably because we find little but spoons as his legacy. However, a more detailed examination of his voluminous diaries, account books and letters reveals that this unpublished data exposes an untapped, source of information on the evolutionary period during which he worked: first as a pewterer, then as a britannia spoonmaker, and finally, in the last third of the 19th Century, as a manufacturer of silver plated nickel silver tableware.

Since 1834 when be became a journeyman, Luther Boardman recorded over 32 account books throughout his working years. All of his early books and most of the later accountings were written in his own hand until his death. Recently, with the assistance of fellow P.C.C.A. member Robert G. Smith who accumulated and researched these account books, letters, ledgers, maps, diaries, catalogs of the period, as well as patent and genealogical records, new and more accurate information has surfaced. On closer examination they reveal a fascinating history of the changes that evolved in the industry during Luther Boardman's lifetime. These changes not only directly affected other workers of the era, but they illustrate details about their personalities, interpersonal relationships, business practices and manufacturing methods in factual and exciting detail. Such information assists us in better understanding the evolution of this industry in New England throughout the entire span of the 19th Century.

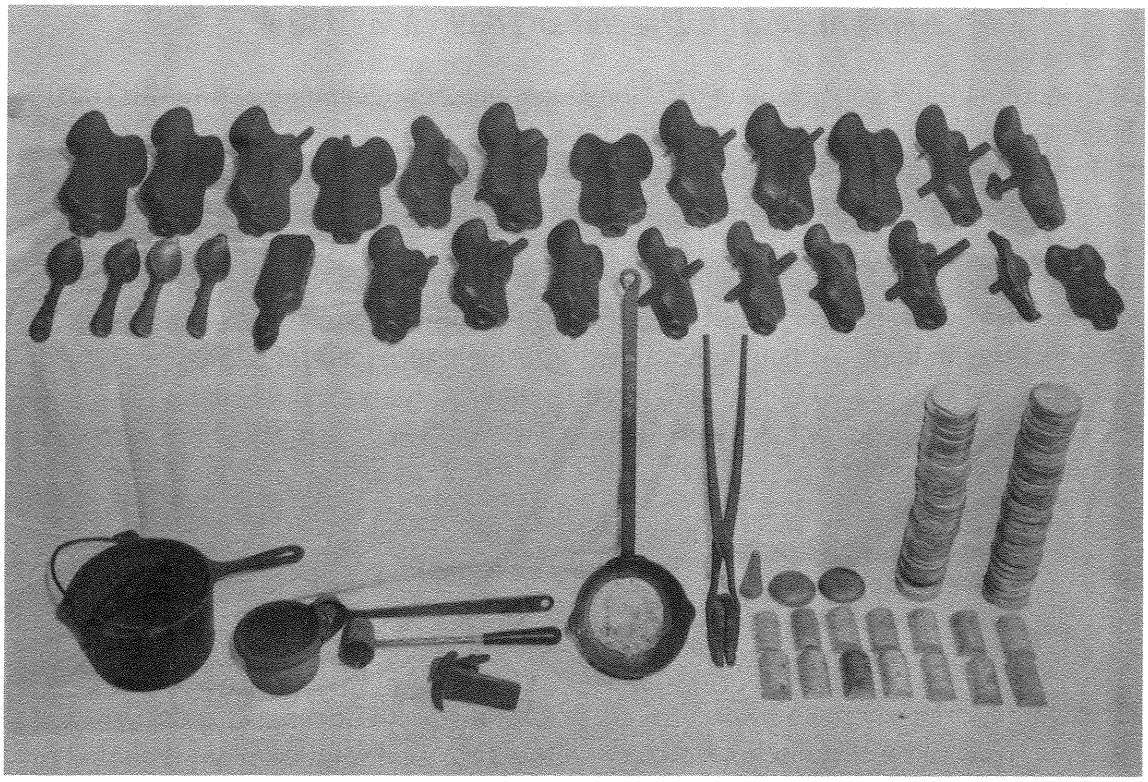
Without the generous assistance of numerous organizations and individuals, this monograph could not have been written. Acknowledgement must be given to the following: the Meriden, Chester, and East Haddam Historical Societies (CT), the Rathbun Free Library (E. Haddam, CT), The Conn. Historical Society (Hartford), the Russell Library (Middletown, CT), and the Connecticut State Library in Hartford. All readily granted access to and permission to use the original account books and other relevant written material. The Meriden Historical Society also made available the account books of Ashbil Griswold. Another source of information was a written synopsis of most of these resources on Luther Boardman by William G. Snow (W.G.S.), compiled circa 1937. W. G. Snow was the Librarian of the Historical Library of the former International Silver Co. in Meriden, CT, in whose archives many documents and artifacts were originally stored. Copies of this synopsis now exist in the Meriden and E. Haddam Historical Societies. After the International Silver Co. closed and the collections were dispersed, all of these documents and most of the artifacts were acquired by the Meriden Historical Society. A few private collectors were able to obtain some desirable pieces.

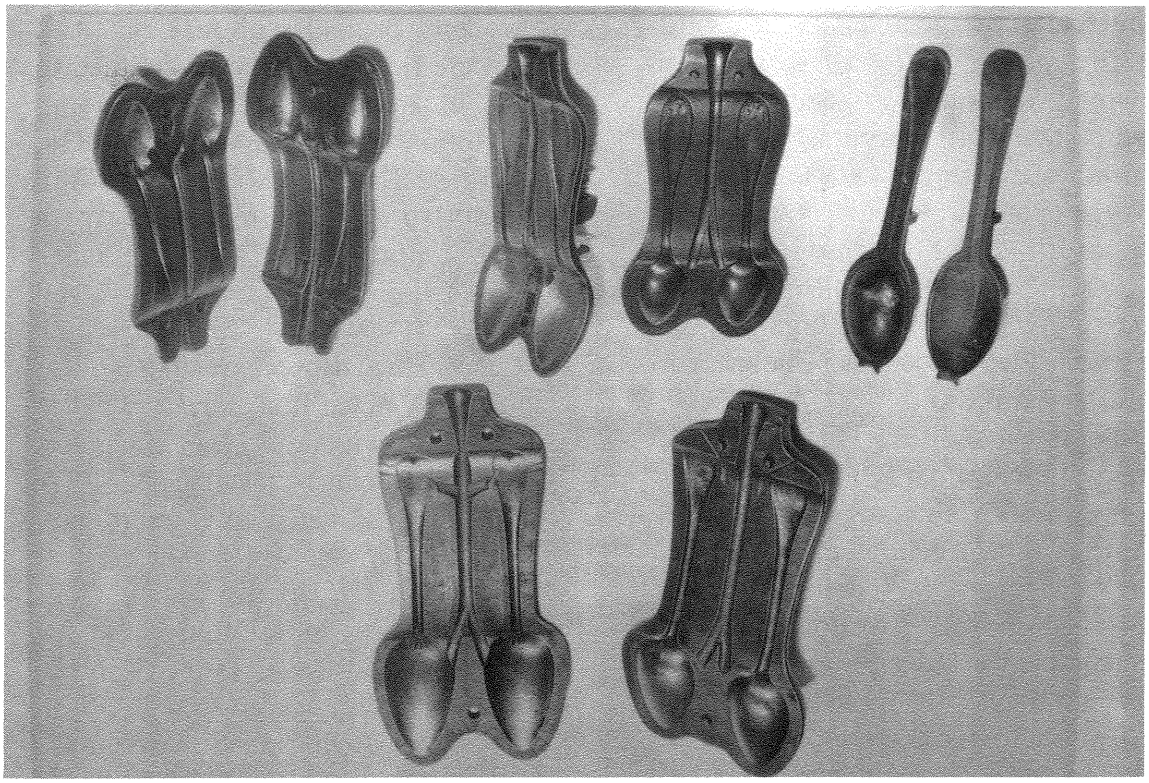
In addition, I was able to obtain personal information from local historians, and from a key relative of Luther's: his great-great-grandson, Curtiss Johnson, Jr., whose personal information and family collections I shall refer to subsequently in this monograph.

Primarily, however, the key element in the achievement of this effort was provided by Mary Irvin, whose late husband, William F. Kayhoe, past P.C.C.A. president (d.1986), had written a first draft of a 150 page manuscript entitled: *Luther Boardman, The Connecticut Spoonmaker.* He also conducted extensive research which, at the time, exceeded the resources that I was able to review. In addition he obtained contemporaneous photographs and lithographs showing the Boardman family, their residences and the Company buildings as well as examples of Boardman's tools and products. During the period of time that William Kayhoe originally compiled his data (late 60's - early 70's) he had access to information from personal sources and descendants, some of whom are now deceased or no longer traceable. He reviewed documents and artifacts that are lacking as they have subsequently been dispersed at auctions and private sales. Of special interest were some of the artifacts in the International Silver Co. collections: specifically, the Hartford Tercentenary Exposition display case of L. Boardman & Co.'s tableware, circa 1855 (W.G.S.), whose present location is unknown. In 1965, with the assistance of Carl Jacobs, he also purchased (*Figures 1a and b)* a considerable portion of the spoon molds and tools that were used by the L. Boardman & Son enterprises. William F. Kayhoe's manuscript was donated to the Connecticut Historical Society. Thanks to Mary Irvin's cooperation, and with her permission, I now have access to and am able to quote from it.

In addition, I must acknowledge information found in related Bulletin articles written by P.C.C.A. members, as well as references to Luther Boardman's products and output, places, dates and marks available in texts by John Carl Thomas, Ledlie I. Laughlin, and Charles F. Montgomery. A great deal of this data was based on the work of Wm. F. Kayhoe (W.F.K.) and on the research and knowledge of Wendell Hilt (W.H.) who, with Wayne Hilt (W.A.H.) has now also assisted me immeasurably with this presentation.

The research that was done for this article included the examination of most of Luther Boardman's 32 account books and diaries dating from 1834 through 1888 (LBAB) as well as Ashbil Griswold's 5 account books (AGAB), dating from November, 1807 to 1852. The two other diaries ascribed to Ashbil Griswold were those of William W. Lyman (Mer. H.S.). William F. Kayboe's data will be used frequently. Due to this extensive bibliography, and the fact that portions of these hand written accounts are located in so many resource centers, I beg your academic indulgence by referring to these sources by abbreviations (above) that should be obvious. Other sources, such as articles in the P.C.C.A. Bulletins and texts will be referred to in the normal fashion. Genealogical sources (GEN) will be listed in the References.





Figs. 1 a,b. Photos of Wm. F. Kayhoe collection of Luther Boardman's molds and tools.

Apprenticeship: December 1829 - May 1834

Luther Boardman, the youngest son of Jason Boardman, a sea captain, and fourth cousin of Thomas Danforth Boardman, was born in Rocky Hill, CT, on December 26, 1812 (GEN). At the age of 16, after attending school in Meriden, CT, he was apprenticed to Ashbil Griswold commencing on December 6, 1829. He was to work in his shop until the age of 21, December 25 (sic), 1833[2]. Griswold was, although 28 years older than Luther, his first cousin. Luther's aunt, Rebecca Boardman was Ashbil's mother. There were frequent payments of cash to Luther from June through November, 1833 noted in Griswold's account book. Although the signed agreement provided for $25.00 per year in lieu of clothing, and $25.00 in "goods" when he attained the age of 21, these payments appear to have been made for extra work done in Griswold's shop just before his scheduled indentured period was over.

South Reading, Massachusetts: June 1834 - Aug. 1837

After leaving Meriden, Luther moved to S. Reading, Ma. (now Wakefield), and, beginning in June of 1834, he was in the employ of Burrage Yale, a tinware manufacturer and merchant who owned but did not operate a "Block Tin (pewter) Manufactory". The evidence for this later date (previous references list Luther Boardman's starting date in 1833) rests on, three findings. One is the date of the *first* listing in Luther Boardman's account book, titled: "S. Reading", which is dated June 9, 1834 and states: "Luther Boardman Commences board, at Wm. Smith's at 12 o'clock". Another daybook listing (June 27, 1834) states: "Luther Boardman commences casting in B. Yale's shop". The third finding is revealed in a series of notations in Griswold's account book #5 (Mer. H.S.) showing that Boardman was also paid for work done from the end of 1833 until May 2, 1834. Luther obviously continued to work for Griswold in Meriden for a few months after his apprenticeship. Upon working for B. Yale, Boardman almost immediately assumed the role of foreman of the Block Tin Manufactory. He states in his account book that he acquired his own "hands" (5 workers) beginning on June 24, 1834. There are retroactive entries credited to Luther Boardman, listed under varying dates from March through June of 1834, indicating that he had acquired and brought to S. Reading molds from Josiah Danforth, Ashbil Griswold, Jabez Adams and himself, as well as tools and lathes for the sum of $316.53½ *(Figure 2)*. He also itemized purchases (some also retroactively noted from June 3, 1834 to August 8, 1834) listing 14 pages of supplies, staples and equipment, totalling $355.78¼. As foreman, he listed an extraordinary range of purchases which indicate that Burrage Yale's Block Tin Manufactory lacked much essential equipment for production, and it was Luther's job to acquire what was needed to re-establish the business. Interspersed between the standard necessities, he purchased and debited to Burrage Yale: files, casting

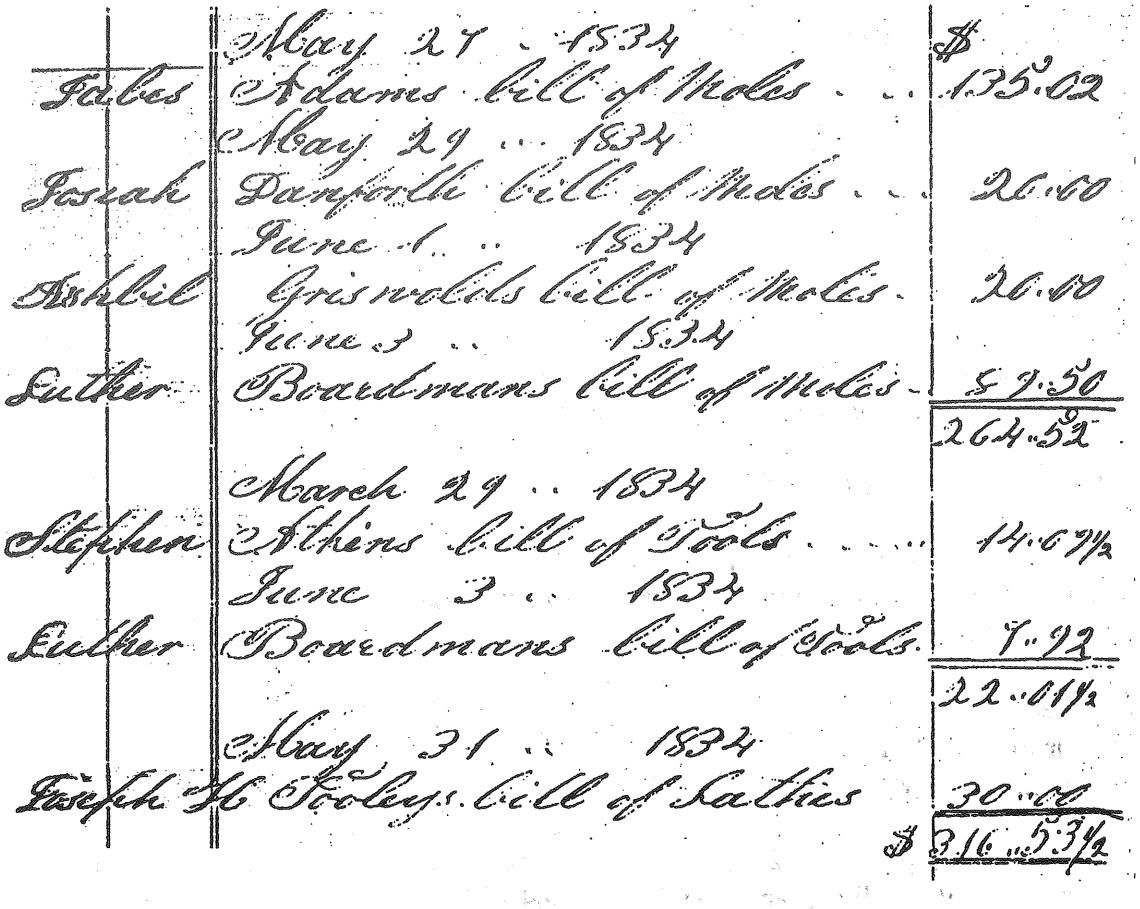


Fig. 2. Ledger notation of Luther Boardman's set of molds and tools that he acquired and billed to Burrage Yale upon assuming responsibility of the Block Tin Manufactory.

saw, bellows, "furnis", blow pipes, wood patterns, lamp black, soap stone and "turkey" stone, sandpaper, casting sand, "calcine plaister", rotten stone, "vice", 1 lathe, coal, leather, copper solder, "salmonac", "rosen", copper and copper hardening, brass, Japan blacking, tin, dirt metal and castings, a scale and weights, and #14 wire, as well as barrels, "rapping paper", hay, battens and nails (notations showed teapots were shipped in barrels). And, perhaps of significance, on June 14, 1834 he bought a "Stamp" for $5.00 (standard word for mark or touch per W.F.K. and, W.H.), and on August 4, 1834: "by 29 Letters ... 12½ (? size number)..3.62½". In that first year, from July, 1834 through July, 1835 he states that he made the following: tumblers, 633 doz.; wine pint porringers, 52½ doz.; beer half pint porringers, 47½ doz.; gill porringers, 104$^{7}/_{12}$ doz; and 12,158 teapots indicated as #1, #1 with "improved bottoms", 2, 3, and 4. The increasing numbers correlated with increasing weight. During that same period of time he made and delivered a total of 386$^{10}/_{12}$ gross of spoons using the following formula, dated July 18, 1834 in his day book:

"Stock to be cast into spoons

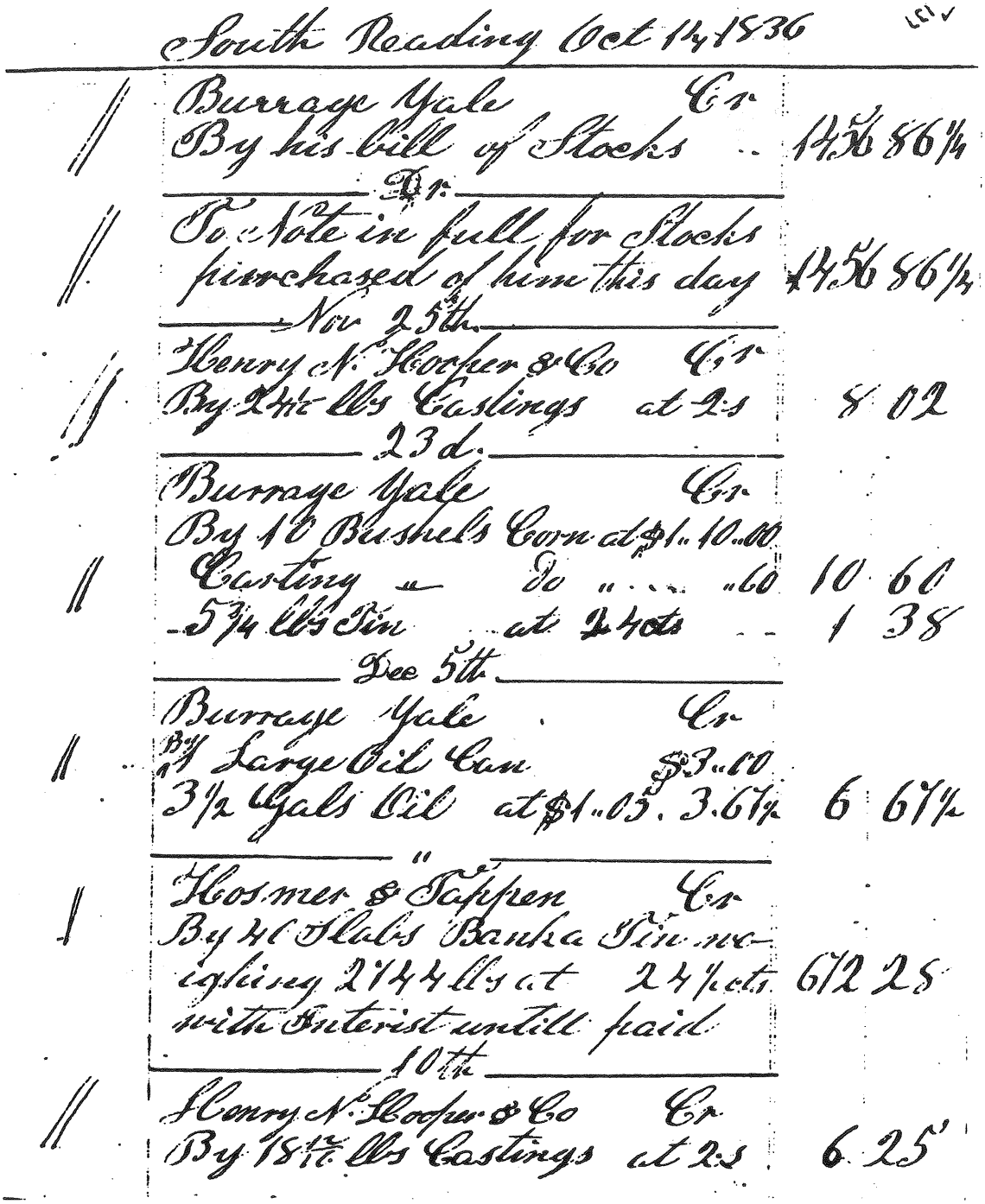
Tin	68 lbs.	8 oz.
Pewter (reclaimed?)	20 lbs.	0 oz.
Antimony	11 lbs.	0 oz.
Lead	3 lbs.	0 oz.
Spelter (zinc)	0 lbs.	4 oz.
Wastedge (sic) per hundred..	10 lbs.	6 $^{58}/_{737}$ oz. (!) " .

Old teapots were purchased and melted down by the hundreds of pounds, and refining "dirt" metal into pigs was done on site. When tin slabs were brought in "from the barn", their weight was noted on the recently purchased scale and weights.

An interesting set of notations, first dated March 11, 1835:

> "Mr. T.H. Butler has laboured from July 8, 1834 to Mar 11, 1835, inclusive 8 mo & 4 days, at $25 per mo is... $227.734. Deduct 9 ½ days of time. 9:48 ¼
>
> board 3:03 12.81¼
>
> Net amount of labour $214.92
>
> Dr Rcd of Mr. L. Boardman $130
>
> ball.....due Mar 11 ..... 84.92
>
> $214.92"
>
> "South Reading, April 2, 1835 Recd of Luther Boardman by hand of Burrage Yale, in full of all demands to this date, $84.92." Signed: Thomas H. Butler (in Luther Boardman's handwriting, as were a number of these entries).

On January 12, 1837 he purchased insurance, again credited to Yale: "By Insurance on $3500 property in Buildings LXM on plan being the Block Tin Manufactory, $21.00". From June 9, 1836 through August 4, 1837 he credited B. Yale for "Rent of the Block Tin Manufactory at the rate of $225 per year". This was the last entry for rental of the Manufactory. Earlier, on October 14, 1836 he incurred, a significant debt, for he writes, under "Burrage Yale": "To Note for stocks purchased of him this day... $1,456.86¼" *(Figure 3)*. Subsequently, from January to August 1, 1837 his listed products expanded to include teapots # 5 and 6; double tube lamps, #1, 2, and 3; coffin plates, size 1, 2 and 3; plates 1, 2 and 3; shaving boxes and coffeepots #1 and 2 (Rath. F.L.). He purchased a cast iron mold for $1.25 on November 28, 1836, and on January 4, 1837 Luther enters: "Cash paid to Mr. B. Skinner for carting moulds, 25¢. He paid $2.26 to Henry N. Hooper & Co., "by casting joint mold" on February 6, 1837. On April 21, 1837, he purchased 500 "lamp screws" from James Eames for 5½¢/100. Near the end of his stay in S. Reading, in 1836 and 1837, he mended, made and sold most of his wares to Yale (mostly hundreds of teapots), having this work credited against his debt in increments of $25 - $50 (January 1837), as well as receiving payments in cash.



South Reading Oct 14 1836

Burrage Yale Cr.
By his bill of Stocks .. 1456 86¼

Dr.

To Note in full for Stocks
purchased of him this day 1456 86¼

Nov 25th

Henry N. Hooper & Co Cr.
By 2¼ Cwt Castings at 2 s 8 02

23d.

Burrage Yale Cr.
By 10 Bushels Corn at $1.10.00
Casting " Do " .... " 60 10 60
5¾ Cwt Tin ... at 24 cts .. 1 38

Dec 5th

Burrage Yale Cr.
By 1 Large Oil Can $3.00
3½ Gals Oil at $1.05 3.61½ 6 61½

"

Kosmer & Tappen Cr.
By 46 Slabs Banka Tin more
especially 2744 lbs at 24½ cts 672 25
with Interest untill paid

10th

Henry N. Hooper & Co Cr.
By 18¼ Cwt Castings at 2 s 6 25

Fig. 3. Notation by Boardman in his account book of his note to purchase stock for $1456.86¼ from Burrage Yale, October 14, 1836.

An interesting set of notations on July 2, 1835: "Stock remaining in the Block Tin Manufactory...5335¼ lbs.", and on October 14, 1836 (the same day Luther incurred his debt): "Stock remaining in the Block Tin Manufactory ... 2189 (lbs.) ... carried out by B. Yale ... 336 lbs.". On the prior day, October 13, 1836, he states: "Luther Boardman's labour ending inclusive", indicating he was now working for himself.

Burrage Yale constantly needed block tin journeymen. It has been mentioned that Luther and those who preceded him, i.e., G. Richardson, were permitted to mark their products with their own dies. Richard L. Bowen[3] assumed Richardson worked for Yale in the same capacity as Boardman, based on the recording of the birth of Richardson's son in S. Reading on January 7, 1832. Richardson is assigned the dates of 1829-33 in that role, marking his teapots with his small 28 x 3½ mm. straight line mark. This may be a valid deduction, but unfortunately I found nothing that provided any corroborating information in the S. Reading books. Often there are notations of payments to previous workers for work done when the stock was sold many months later, but G. Richardson was not mentioned in Luther's accounts. Certainly, when Luther arrived, Yale's Block Tin Manufactory not only lacked equipment, but it may have been dormant for a long while.

Under Boardman's management, there subsequently was a significant output of pewter of good variety. Although there is evidence in Luther Boardman's books that he had a die made, he never indicates when it was used. But few teapots (only #4 and #6) of his range of teapots were made by Boardman after he left S. Reading (LBAB). And there have been very few pots and no other forms found that are marked with his Eagle die.

We do find that Asa F. Flagg, another journeyman from England, was hired by Boardman while in S. Reading for block tin work (including "blacking tumblers") from Jan. 9, 1836 until April 17, 1837, at which time Luther entered the accounting of: "$101.21¼ balance in full". He was noted to have been paid 10¢ for making a coffeepot on May 9, 1836 (LBAB). Asa Flagg's subsequent Cincinnati connection is well documented.

The last entry in S. Reading, MA, is on August 11, 1837, when the last notation on rental was dated, and Luther delivered $500.64 worth of teapots to Burrage Yale.

The Meridan Years: October 1837 - June 1839

The next entry of significance in the Boardman account books refers to his boarding with James A. Frary on October 13, 1837 in Meriden, CT. Boardman worked with Frary under the firm name listed as "Frary & Boardman". The first reference to this association was on January 30, 1838. He states in his day book that "J. A. Frary and L. Boardman Commence work in Ira Twiss' factory in Prattsville", a section of Meriden, CT, on February 6, 1838. The total number of hired hands never exceeded five from February, 1838 to September, 1838. On December 6, 1838, Boardman states: "To settle account of Frary & Boardman $21.51". No known pewter has been found with their combined mark. The only production I can find listed in his account book is for spoons. However, listed in Griswold's account book was a notation (Feb. 9, 1838) of payment to Boardman for making 276 No 1+ coffeepots for $51.52, and 84 #1 coffeepots for $12.32. He was paid 18²/₃¢ each for the #1+ and 14²/₃¢ each for the #1 pots. From Oct. 15, 1838 to March 1, 1839, however, Boardman was still making pots for "Griswold & Couch" *(Figure 4)*, but note his confusion in writing the name of this firm, and the changes in reference to Griswold. alone or the partnership name during 1838 and 1839.

All was not for naught in Meriden, however, as Luther married J. A. Frary's sister, Lydia Ann, on October 18, 1838 (Ira Couch's sister-in-law). After leaving board with Frary on the 17th, and marrying on the 18th, he and his bride commenced board with Ira Couch on the 19th (LBAB). Couch, Frary, and Boardman were now brothers-in-law, and Luther was now Griswold's nephew, as Griswold had married J. A. Frary's aunt (GEN). Luther Boardman was only listed on the Meriden tax lists in 1838 and 1839. He owned no house or land. He was assessed $20.48 for a watch and poll tax.

For the remainder of Luther's stay in Meriden, it appears he worked for Griswold and/or Griswold & Couch and he continued to list accountings with each for work being done as well as for Griswold's assistance with Luther's debts. Boardman continued to supply the partners with block tin goods, and they supplied Luther with the raw materials needed. There are entries in February of 1838 of cash paid to T. D. & S. Boardman and Boardman and Hart for purchases of supplies (LBAB). From October, 1838 until April, 1839 *(Figure 4)*, he listed the following work in large quantities, and was paid $169.13¾: "turning moulds, completing coffeepots, #s 1, 1+ and 2, and concave pots(?) # 1 and 2, soldering, paleing in bottoms and making joints". On April 11, 1839 (LBAB) Luther's debts with Griswold were balanced out for the sum of $227.32 3/4. On June 10, 1839, Boardman states, "Luther Boardman and Lady left boarding with Ira Couch".

Ira Couch and Ashbil Griswold were listed as partners in Griswold's account books (Mer.H.S.) as well as in listings in various State Directories as early as 1826. Griswold states in 1833: "Sundries for my shop which is under the supervision of Ira Couch and James A. Frary" (AGAB). It appears that Griswold attended to the business aspects and made little, if any, pewter for the partnership after about 1830. The partnership settled their accounts and sold their property and stock from 1843 to 1844 (AGAB). Frary and Lyman bought their molds. Griswold and the partnership were no longer listed in an 1845 Census of CT Manufacturers (CT St. Libr.). J. A. Frary entered into partnership with Morris Benham, now his brother-in law, in 1849 (W.F.K.). It is of interest to note that Morris Benham was a worker for Frary and Boardman in July and August of 1838.

Fig. 4. Boardman's notations in 1838-39, illustrating confusion in assigning his work to Griswold or Griswold & Couch, as well as a note at the Meriden Bank endorsed by Ashbil Griswold.

Meanwhile, Burrage Yale wrote to Boardman in Meriden on Mar. 9, 1839[4] to remind him that the whole of his "property" (? stock and/or molds and tools) remains unsold and is taking up valuable space. He entreated him to either return to S. Reading and re-establish the Manufactory or to remove the "property". He also offered Boardman the option of selling the "molds and coal" to another block tin worker whom Luther could train for the Manufactory. Yale states he still had coal and "Ban(k)ca and Spanish tin" slabs for sale at a reduced price. The effect of this letter can be conjectured, as Luther then subsequently moved to Chester, CT. It would be of interest to know if and how much of Boardman's property consisted of finished products and/or tools, molds, and supplies. We know from a previously noted entry that on October 14, 1836, B. Yale took 336 lbs. of "stock" from the Manufactory. This could be finished products, but words such as "stock" and "property" had different meanings at different times in those days.

The Chester Years: June 1839 - May 1842

Less than 4 mos. later, on July 2, 1839, Luther writes: "Boardman commences work on moulds for Luther Boardman & Co. Chester, Ct." after a notation on payment of "25¢ for freight on moulds" the day before. However, a letter was found by Robert G. Smith dated June 22, 1839 from a former worker of Luther's in S. Reading. It was addressed to Boardman in Chester, requesting a job there. This indicates that his plans for moving to Chester were well known before he left board with Ira Couch on June 10, 1839 and that he moved directly to Chester after that date. Upon starting his shop in Chester, Boardman was assisted financially by A. Griswold, who endorsed many bank notes for hundreds of dollars in loans at the East Haddam Bank in 1839, 1840 and 1841 (Mer. H.S. and Rathbun F.L.). Laughlin (Vol.II) states[5] that in 1838 Luther worked with Russell & Beach in Chester. This misinformation was found in a news article printed after his death (E.H.H.S.). However, in Vol. III[6] Laughlin corrects this, based on information found by Wm. F. Kayhoe in Luther's newly researched account books. Personal communication in 1972 between Wm. F. Kayhoe and Bob Carlson, a Chester historian, reveals that Russell & Beach was in the business of casting ironworks. Marked examples of doors for "Dutch" ovens are found in the area. L. Boardman's books show numerous entries of items purchased or loaned from them. On June 22, 1840 is noted the purchase of 6 turning blocks and use of a "joint mold" (LBAB). It appears they had the type of equipment he needed to assist him in starting his own shop. Mr. Carlson states that Boardman was occupying the building of Wm. D. Clark, a "small shop by the brook" (W.F.K.). In any event, Luther was now in business by himself, occupying his own factory. Here, he printed his first Trade Card[7] (a copy of which is owned by Wendell Hilt, and another is in the Chester H.S.), listing his wares as coffeepots, teapots, castors, lamps, shaving boxes, tumblers, porringers and coffin plates, as well as "Buff Spoons". However, *Figure 5* lists his limited output near the end of 1839 in Chester, consisting of only pots #4 and 6, one style of a lamp, tea and tablespoons and a cheap and a best tumbler.

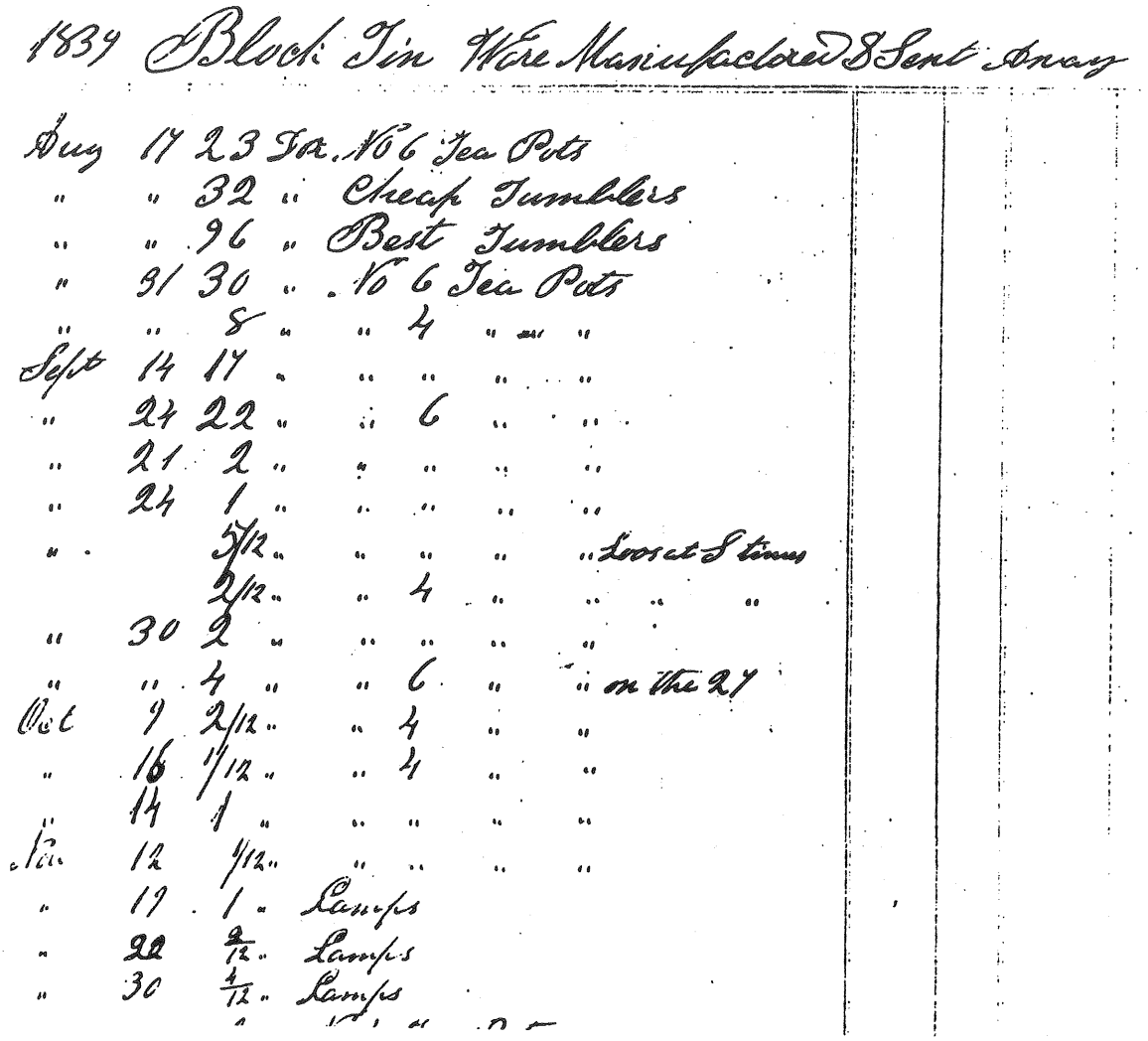
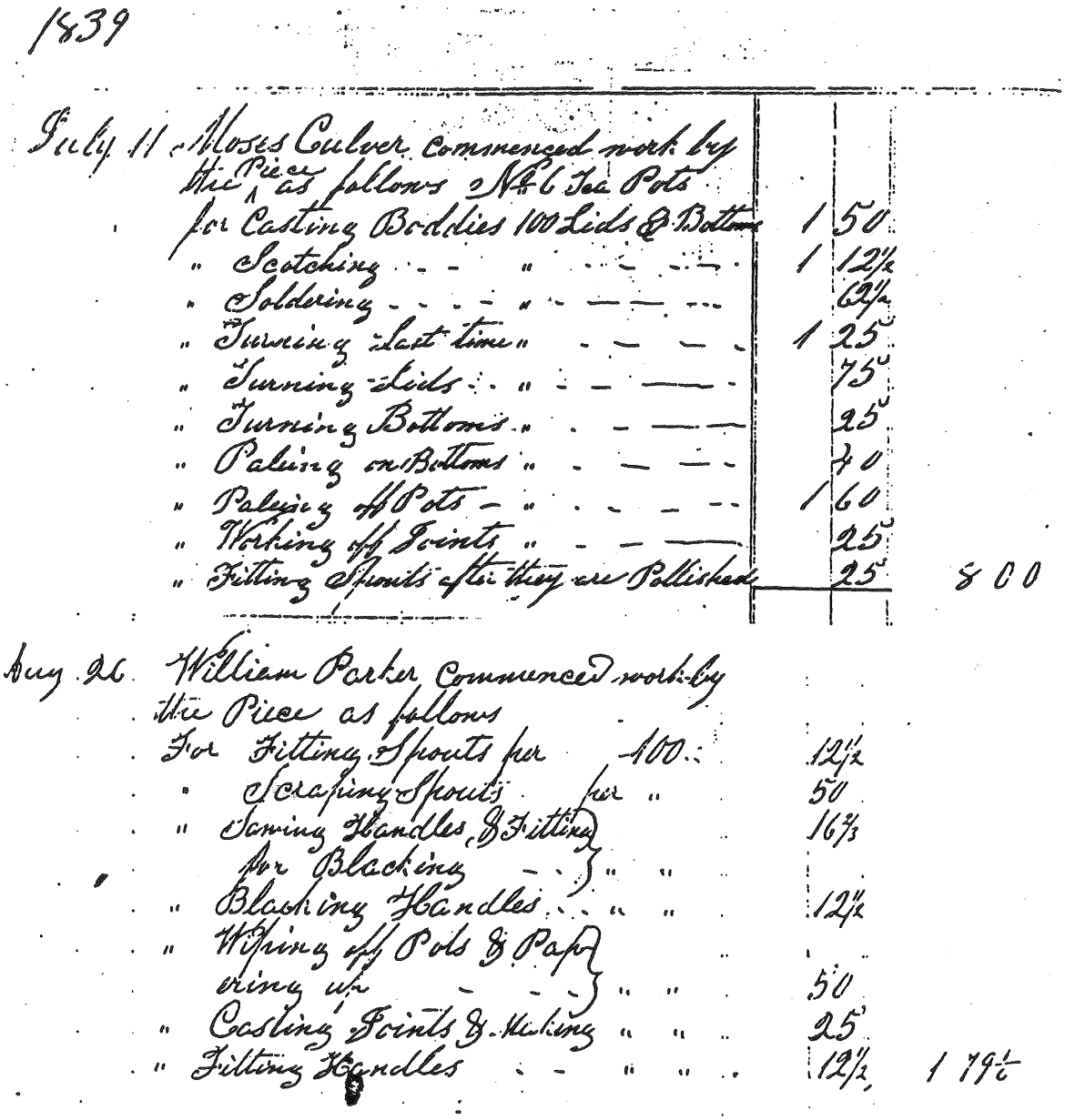


Fig. 5. Summation of paucity of Block tin "made and sent away" while in Chester, August through November, 1839.

The most exciting revelations are demonstrated in *Figure 6 a,b*, listing terms referring to labor on and assembly of pots by various workmen he hired and his payment to them for each task. These entries on July 11, 1839 and August 26, 1839 list: "casting boddies, lids and bottoms; scotching,; turning; paleing in bottoms; paleing off pots; scraping spouts; fitting spouts after they are polished; sawing handles and fitting for blacking; blacking handles and wiping off pots and papering up; casting and "working off" joints (? hinges) and making (same); and trying pots". With respect to work on spoons (October, 1839), included in casting and finishing was noted: "trimmings and dirt: washing out same and burning; burning out dross". Some of these terms are familiar but others defy definition; but they indicate the steps taken in the production of a teapot in contemporary terms. Few account books list this information in such depth. Despite the typical spelling irregularities of the day, Luther, in his dedication to detail, reveals the contemporaneous language of the pewterers of the era.



1839

July 11 - Moses Culver Commenced work by the Piece as follows No 6 Tea Pots

for Casting Boddies 100 Lids & Bottoms	1	50	
" Scotching "	1	12½	
" Soldering "		62½	
" Turning Last time "	1	25	
" Turning Lids "		75	
" Turning Bottoms "		25	
" Paleing on Bottoms "		40	
" Paleing off Pots "	1	60	
" Working off Joints "		25	
" Fitting Spouts after they are Pollished		25	8 00

Aug 26 William Parker Commenced work by the Piece as follows

For Fitting Spouts per 100		12½	
" Scraping Spouts per "		50	
" Sawing Handles & Fitting for Blacking " "		16⅔	
" Blacking Handles " "		12½	
" Wiping off Pots & Papering up " "		50	
" Casting Joints & Making " "		25	
" Fitting Handles " "		12½	1 79½

Fig. 6 a,b. List of terms in the casting and assembly of teapots, detailed in Boardman's account books for two workers in Chester, 1839.

Evidently the previous rental in Chester was deficient in space or power and we find an entry dated March 25, 1840: "commenced work in Miller Brooks & Co. factory at $50/yr., or at that rate when there is water" (LBAB). He is now buying Ban(k) ca and English tin for 18 cents/lb., as well as antimony and bismuth from Phelps, Dodge & Co., Hosmer & Tappan and Boardman and Hart, N.Y. The tin was supplied in slabs or pigs; "French" antimony and bismuth by the pound or in cakes or barrels, and zinc, or spelter in sheets.

As previously stated, Luther Boardman's marked block tin goods are scarce. In Meriden it appears that Luther accepted work as a journeyman for his associates and relatives in the trade, likely using their molds as well as his. Most, if not all of his products made for them must have been unmarked, and we may presume that A. Griswold and others were placing their dies on his pots. William Kayhoe came to this same conclusion in his notes. I am aware of only 13 known marked teapots, one illustrated in Kerfoot[8], and four marked coffeepots, one documented in the Bulletin[9]. Those pots that were found match the numbers and weights listed in S. Reading (later, he only notes teapots #4 and #6 and coffeepots). No other forms have been found marked. Because the teapot style numbers and all other forms documented in S. Reading were referred to by weight, I felt that listing these average figures may help in identifying some of his teapots by number:

Number 1,	"light"	1.30 lbs.
Number 1,		1.37 lbs.
Number 1+	"Improved bottoms"	1.42 lbs.
Number 2,	"light"	1.52 lbs.
Number 2,		1.70 lbs.
Number 3,	"light"	1.76 lbs.
Number 3,		1.95 lbs.
Number 4,	"light"	1.97 lbs.
Number 4,		2.25 lbs.

Numbers 5 and 6 not listed. Margin of error up to .05 lbs. I did not tabulate the weights of his other forms. Until one is found marked, it would be of no practical use.

Luther and Lydia had a son, Norman Sweet, born on August 5, 1840 and died on July 31, 1905 (GEN).

At this point in his account book, we note no more block tin products made after July 31, 1840 (5 # 6 teapots for $2.92). He sold 11 dozen shaving boxes to Boardman and Hart on August 17, 1839 (LBAB), consigned 3 cases of shaving boxes each to Pratt & Sprague on Aug. 31, 1839, and to Beckley & Shipman on October 14, 1840, and 12 gross each of tea and tablespoons to Shinmetz & Justice. From 1841, and for the remainder of his business years, he made only spoons. On April 23, 1841, he adopted style numbers for the first time on tablespoons. Then, on August 21, 1841, there were style numbers on teaspoons, and the prices varied by styles: $2.50 per gross for teaspoons and between $4.75 - $7.25 per gross for tablespoons (W.F.K.).

Either because be lacked. a full complement of molds, or he was unsuccessful in selling block tin ware, Luther made a decision that was financially sound. Spoons were the first high volume disposables of the time, and adaptable to efficient business practices. Luther Boardman now becomes a "Spoonmaker".

The East Haddam Years: May 1842 - August 1907

According to Luther's account book, he moved his shop from Chester to East Haddam on May 3, 1842. On May 5, 1842, he notes that he "moved into Joseph Goodspeed's house" (in E. Haddam), which he later purchased in 1850. Joseph Goodspeed became a valuable friend, as he endorsed several notes for Luther for $500 at the E. Haddam Bank from August to December, 1843. Loans were also endorsed by Boardman's larger suppliers and customers.

From this point on, Luther demonstrates his manufacturing and business acumen, having started as an active block tin worker and spoonmaker and eventually building his enterprise into one of the largest and most successful in its time. He expanded his financial and political interests into other ventures that gave him fame and fortune, not only locally but nationally. In East Haddam he shows himself as one who has learned from his past experiences and ventures. And he acquired astute business experience from Burrage Yale and Ashbil Griswold.

He had always been a methodical accountant and organizer. As early as 1839 he designed the dimensions of spoon boxes for shipping in lots of 6 and 12 gross, based on the measurements of each spoon pattern. In 1843, he actually broke down the cost of every operation in his plant according to each step in the manufacture, packing and shipping of each style of spoon in fractions of cents - thus allowing him to determine the true cost and profit from every spoon that he sold. It cost him, depending on the style, between 60¢ - $1.14 per gross for tablespoons, and 46¢ - 68¢ for teaspoons.

Although he was not the largest manufacturer of spoons - Charles Parker, in Meriden, outranked him in yearly volume (but not in years of production). Parker (who also produced hardware and shotguns) ran two factories for spoons, one in E. Meriden and one in Yalesville. As noted in the 1860 Census, Parker produced 46,000 gross of britannia spoons in that year, hiring 450 men and 50 women for all of his products. In the same Census year Boardman produced 18,000 gross with 65 employees. But it has been estimated that Boardman alone, in a 20 year period (1850 - 1870) produced 40 million spoons[10]. From 1842 to 1850 he sold britannia spoons to such familiar names as Smith & Co.; Boardman & Hall; Hall, Boardman & Co.; Boardman & Hart; Wm. McQuilkin; Simpson & Benham, and Benham, Johnson & Co. During his peak years from 1850 to 1860, he sold britannia spoons by the thousands of gross/yr. to firms in 47 cities in the U. S. and in Montreal.: Benham & Whitney, N.Y.; H.C. Wilcox & Co., Meriden; F. Curtis & Co., N.Y.; Russell & Irwin Mfg. Co., Phila. and N.Y.; Frary & Starkey, W. Meriden; Lucius Hart, N.Y.; Sears, Andriance & Pratt, N.Y.; Hall & Boardman, Phila.; Ellis, Hunt & Ellis, N.Y.; Way Bros. & Co., Hartford;

Morey & Smith, Boston; Curtis Storrs & Co., N.Y.; and Meriden Britannia Co., Meriden. These companies were the larger buyers. The account books list numerous others.

Many of these firms persisted in using his pattern names and numbers in their catalogs without crediting his company as the maker. Although it has been assumed that he purchased britannia spoons from other makers in his patterns, I found no evidence of this in his books (LBAB). The purchases that were listed, however, starting in 1856, consisted of finished nickel and german silver tableware in his patterns ten years before he was able to manufacture his own in his new factory in 1866 (W.G.S.). There were notations that he loaned these companies his dies (W.G.S.). After 1866, despite his own production ability, he continued to purchased plated nickel silver finished products in his pattern designs from other manufacturers, i.e., Meriden Britannia Co. and Hartford Plate Co. James T. Morgan, a former employee who worked in E. Haddam supplied Boardman with finished brass spoons beginning in 1867.

On March 24, 1842, while in Chester, he purchased his first property in E. Haddam at court auction: two buildings and ½ acre of land including the brook (Succor) for $280.00 (W.F.K.). This is the shop he occupied on May 3. In 1844, when the water power proved insufficient in the summer months, he rented additional space in Smith's factory in nearby Moodus Village (later incorporated into E. Haddam) using the power of the Moodus River, a more reliable but still insufficient source. He added horsepower in 1845, and in the same year, he rented space in the Brownell factory in Moodus, then bought and operated a 16 HP steam engine in 1850. His power needs still unmet, he moved all of his operations, (December 16, 1851) back to East Haddam and bought the land, buildings and water rights at Sears grist mill for $250.00, enlarging the dam and ponding 80 acres of land. As his business grew, he constructed new buildings; each designated for different products. He also provided housing for his employees and he either paid them a daily sum or piecework wages, meticulously calculated to ¼ cent in his accountings. He deducted board and absent days, and sometimes paid with credit at the local retailers, to whom he sold goods in return. In E. Haddam he introduced assembly line methods, hiring employees to perform a single step in the production of his spoons. In 1868, for example, he had 10 men who were buffers, and paid them $1.25 per day (W.G.S.). Earlier, in 1843, he often paid cartage fees to ship stock and obtain tin overland to and from New London, CT But he now used the Goodspeed Landing on the Connecticut River (about ¼ mile away) for most of his shipping, as it was capable of deep water transportation and access to all of the major ports on the East coast *(Figure 7)*. From 1850 until he died in 1887, he initiated, managed and/or owned various enterprises: in 1852 he became a stockholder for the Connecticut and Long Island Steamboat Co.; in 1855 he was one of the organizers and owners of the

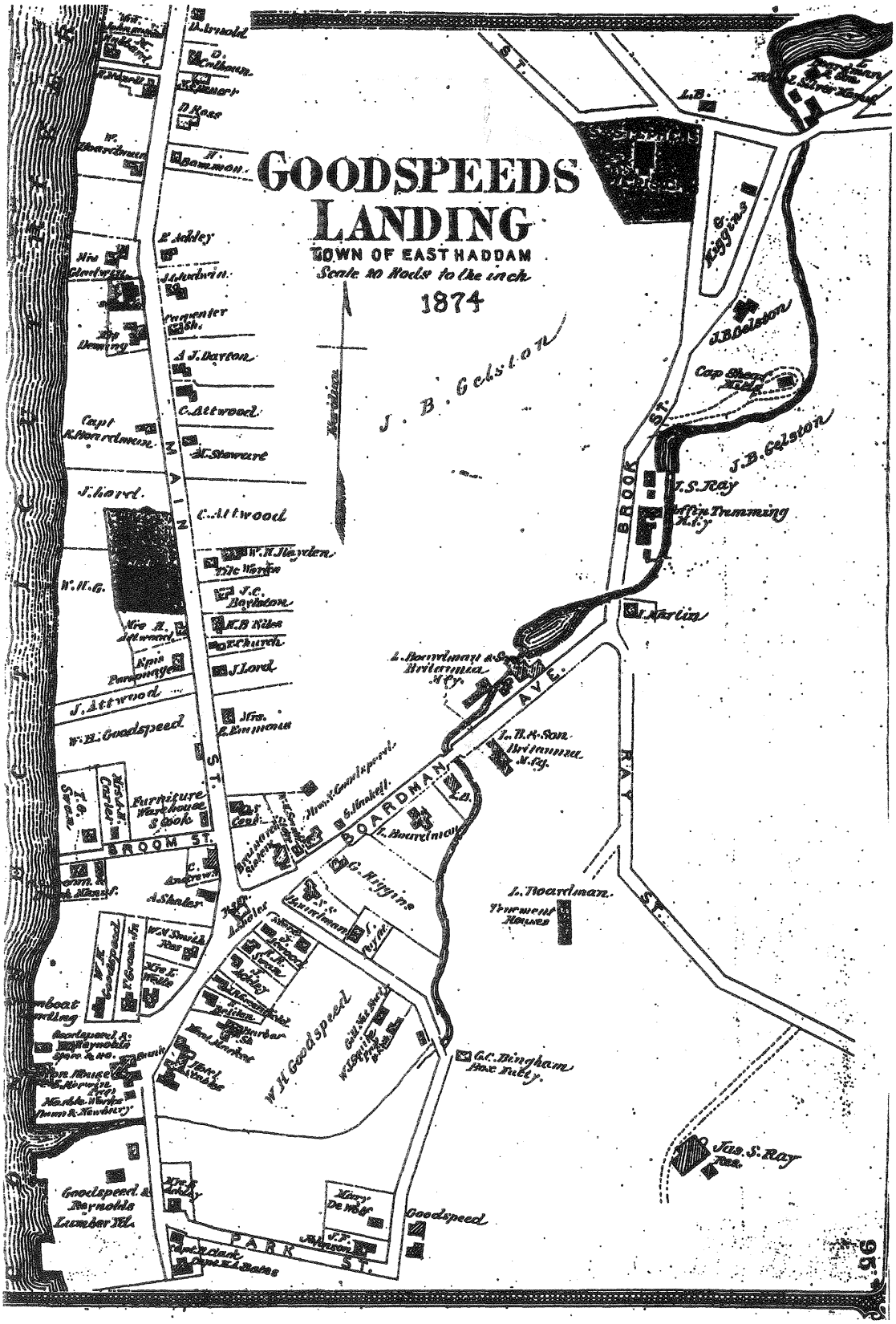
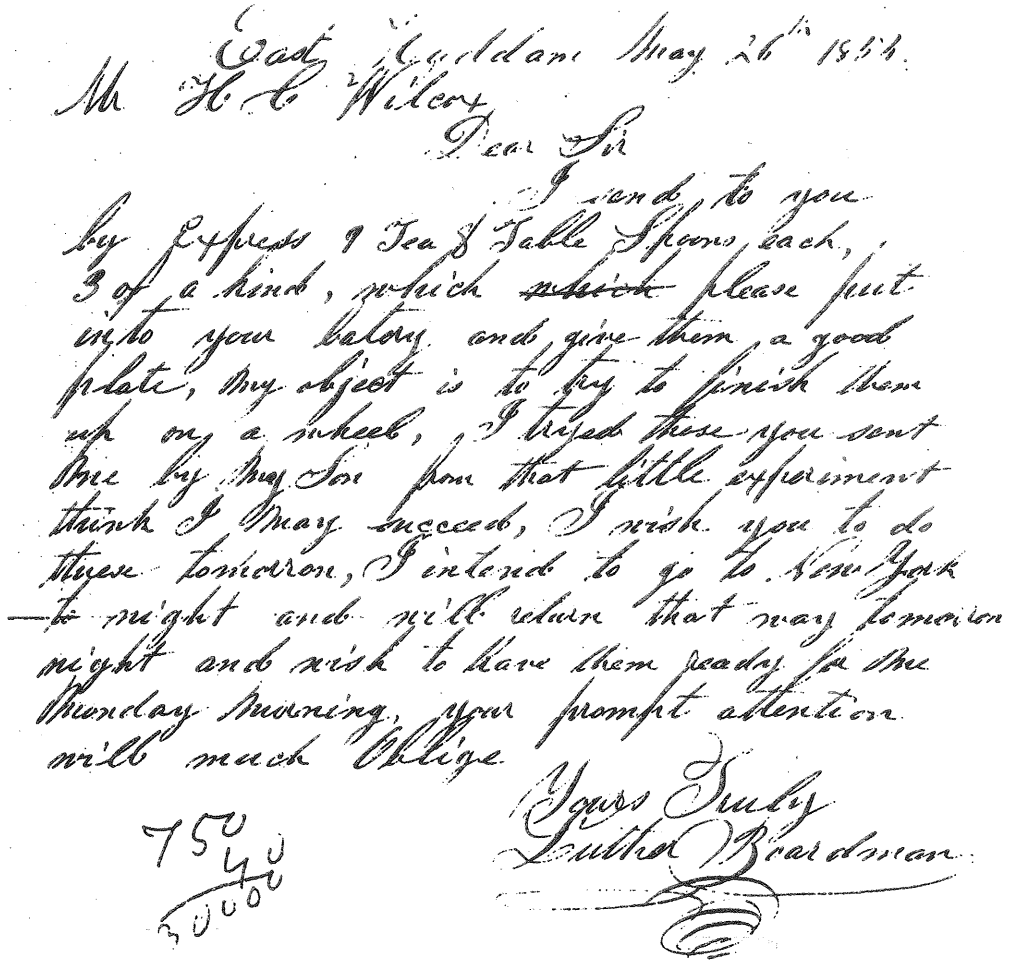


Fig. 7. 1874 map of East Haddam, CT, showing layout of buildings, ponds, and dams of Boardman's complex, as well as Goodspeed's steamboat landing.

Hartford and Long Island Steamboat Co. and, subsequently, other Steamboat lines, and owned a number of individual Steamboats that ran from Hartford to New London and Sag Harbor, N.Y.; in 1871 he initiated, then owned the Connecticut Valley R.R. All of these ventures provided much profit as well as convenience in shipping his products. He was also a founder and director of the Bank of New England, established in 1853. He was twice (1864 and 1865) a member of the State Legislature.

In 1852, a former employee, J. S. Ray, occupied a building upstream and commenced the production of pewter "coffin trimmings", i.e., handles and plates. Apparently, he and Luther cooperated in this venture, for, when Luther expanded his holdings further upstream, he helped Ray expand his enterprise as well. I assume Ray acquired the coffin plate molds that Boardman used during his block tin years.



East Hartford May 26th 1854.

Mr H. C. Wilcox

Dear Sir

I send to you by Express 1 Tea & Table Spoons, each, 3 of a kind, which please put into your battery and give them a good plate, my object is to try to finish them up on a wheel, I hope these you sent me by Express from that little experiment think I may succeed, I wish you to do these tomorrow, I intend to go to New York to night and will return that may tomorrow night and wish to have them ready for the Thursday Morning, your prompt attention will much Oblige

Yours Truly

Luther Boardman

75 40

3000

Fig. 8. Letter from L. Boardman to H. C. Wilcox, partner in the Meriden Britannia Co., requesting electroplating of his spoons.

Initially, Boardman produced only unplated britannia spoons, retaining the patterns and numbers from Chester and subsequently adding new patterns each year. The spoons were described as "plain", "metallic strengthened" (1848) and "wired" (1851). With each modification, the pattern was assigned a separate number. To keep up with fashion and the competition he began to silver plate his spoons, perfecting his product by using the expertise in silver electroplating from the Meriden Britannia Co., who had been plating since 1853. On May 26, 1854 he sent a letter to this firm *(Figure 8)* instructing them to silver plate nine each of his tea and tablespoons. He would personally pick them up two days later. He wished to see if his finishing methods (buffing) would be satisfactory for silver plate. Subsequently, L. Boardman & Co. began to sell their own silver plated spoons in 1856, with 6,294 gross of plated spoons sold in that year. Unplated, a gross of teaspoons cost $3.50, and tablespoons, $6.50. Plated, the price was $12.00 a gross for teaspoons and $24.00 a gross for tablespoons, depending upon the pattern.

Until 1842, all of his spoons were cast in standard bronze single spoon molds. Because of advances in the development of steel molds, he switched to this method of casting. After initially using Woodruff & Beach in Hartford, he then employed W. H. Green from Meriden in 1867 to cut double spoon molds for him in steel. This die maker and inventor also made molds for the Meriden Britannia Co.

Luther devised a double mold, permitting the casting of two spoons at the same time, with a central gate that fed both cavities from the bottom *(Figure 9)*. In his accompanying description on the patent application he stated that the central gate would accumulate the "scoria" (dross), resulting in finer quality spoons. This patent, No. 2,802, was obtained on October 7, 1842 and it doubled his productivity. The patent was renewed, but his competitors, G.I. Mix and C. Parker were already using another form of double spoon mold (W.H.). On December 15, 1843 he obtained patent No. 3380 for a leather buffing wheel, where multiple pieces of leather were stitched together, resulting in a larger and more stable surface for buffing the spoons at the end of the polishing process. Although he was not the first to patent wired spoons (a length of steel wire was inserted by hand within the mold at the handle of the spoon, which is its weakest point), he improved on the original patents. There were earlier patent holders for this process: Joel Hall "2nd",

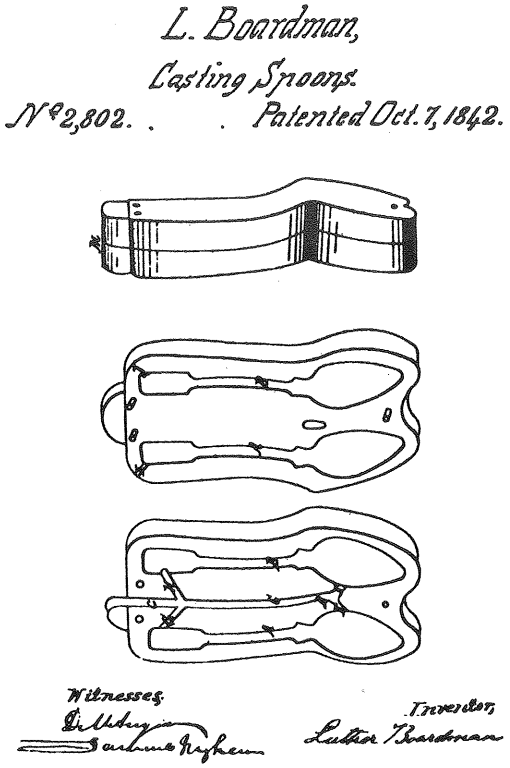


Fig. 9. Illustration from original patent for double spoon mold, 1842.

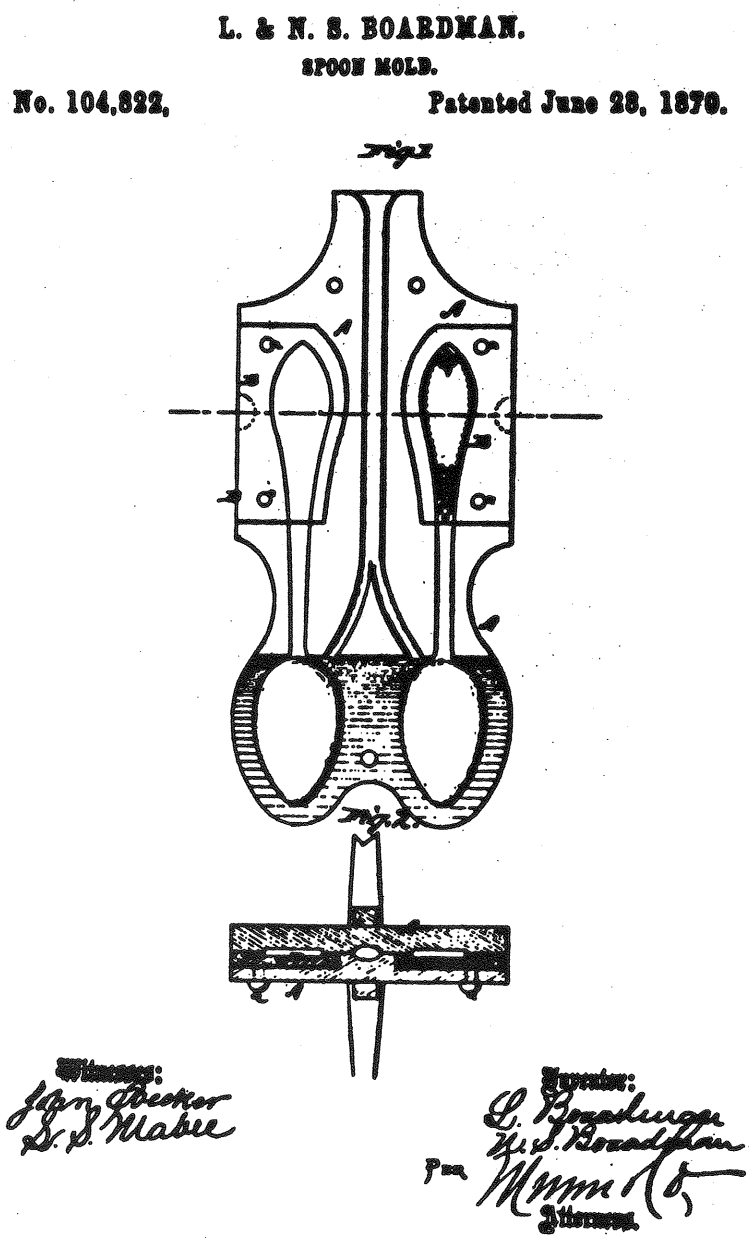


Fig. 10. Illustration from original patent for removable "cheek" mold, 1870, by both Luther and Norman S. Boardman.

who obtained a patent in 1846 and Wm. Mix who obtained patent No. 6413 on May 1, 1849. Mix's patent was later assigned to Charles Parker in 1850 by his brother, Elias Mix (Mer. H.S.), and the assigning of the patent was reissued to C. Parker by Wm. Mix in 1857. Boardman obtained patent No. 8102, an improvement that fixed the wire to the mold with clips, speeding up the process and eliminating the exposed ends of the wires. The distal clip was then punched into the spoon with the striking of the mark. This explains why many marks are distorted. This was obtained in 1851. Finally, in order to facilitate the changing of patterns in casting spoons of various designs, he obtained patent No. 104,822 *(Figure 10)* in 1870 that allowed the worker the ability to slide in and

out the "cheek" of the spoon handle, changing patterns on either side, without using another mold. All later britannia spoons were cast in these steel molds, examples of which rest in numerous historical society museums. The best illustrations are shown in relevant texts[11,12] and shown here in *Figure 1a and b.*

On Jan. 1, 1864, his son, Norman, became a partner in the firm and the name was changed to L. Boardman & Son. (GEN). There is no evidence in the diaries that the firm was ever called L. & N. S. Boardman Co., although both names were listed on the patent application illustrated in *Figure 10.*

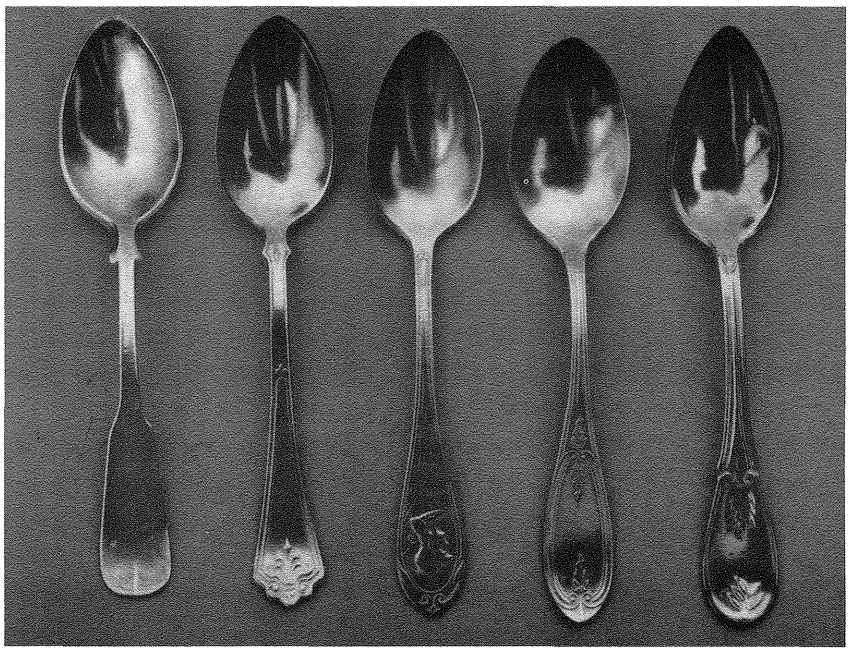


Fig. 11. Copy of some common britannia spoon patterns and prices, from a catalog of unknown date.

While in Chester Luther had 5 patterns of britannia spoons. However, by 1855, he had "Trade Marked" over 36 patterns (W.F.K.). *Figures 11 and 12* illustrate the more common patterns used, especially in the early years. There were 4 qualities of britannia available, based on the alloy used: *First Quality*: 100 lbs. of tin, 16 lbs. of antimony; *Second Quality:* 70 lbs. of tin, 39 of lead, 10 of antimony, and 10/16 lb. of copper; *Third:* 10 lbs. of tin, 100 of lead, 14 of antimony and ½ lb. of copper; and *Fourth,* or "Cheap": 4½ lbs. of tin, 100 of lead, 18 of antimony, and 1.0 lb. of copper (W.F.K.). In his catalogs he advertised his *First Quality:* 'These spoons we warrant of the best Britannia Metal that is produced, containing no lead, and superior to those of any other kind made...".

FIRST QUALITY BRITANNIA SPOONS.

(Warranted to contain no Lead.)

PATTERNS IN BRITANNIA SPOONS.

OLIVE.

BISMARCK.

BRUNSWICK.

ALBATA.

TIPPED.

NO. 22. TEA.
TOY SPOONS, 4 INCHES LONG.

Fig. 12. Photograph of similar common spoon patterns in the author's collection: from left to right: Brunswick, Olive, Medallion (1867), Bismarck, and Tipped.

FIRST QUALITY BRITANNIA SPOONS.

(Warranted to contain no Lead.)

CASE LOTS.

Tables, 6 Gross; Teas, 12 Gross. Patterns assorted, if desired, to make the Case quantity.

OLIVE PATTERN.

No. 2984.	Table (in packages of one-fourth Gross),	- -	Per Gross,	$22.00
No. 1492.	Tea, " one-half "	- -	"	12.00

BISMARCK PATTERN.

No. 6262.	Table (in packages of one-fourth Gross),	- -	Per Gross,	$23.00
No. 3131.	Tea, " one-half "	- -	"	12.00

BRUNSWICK PATTERN.

No. 6960.	Table (in packages of one-fourth Gross),	- -	Per Gross,	$24.00
No. 3480.	Tea, " one-half "	- -	"	13.00

ALBATA PATTERN.

No. 6580.	Table (in packages of one-fourth Gross),	- -	Per Gross,	$23.00
No. 3290.	Tea, " one-half "	- -	"	12.50

TIPPED PATTERN.

No. 60.	Table (in packages of one-fourth Gross),	- -	Per Gross,	$22.25
No. 50.	Tea, " one-half "	- -	"	11.50
No. 12.	Table, " one-fourth "	- -	"	20.50
No. 12.	Tea, " one-half "	- -	"	11.50
No. 10.	Table, " one-fourth "	- -	"	19.00
No. 10.	Tea, " one-half "	- -	"	10.50
No. 1210.	Dessert, " one-fourth "	- -	"	17.00
No. 22.	Toy, " one "	- -	"	8.00

No. 22 Toy Spoons in 1 gross packages, containing 12 boxes of 1 dozen each.

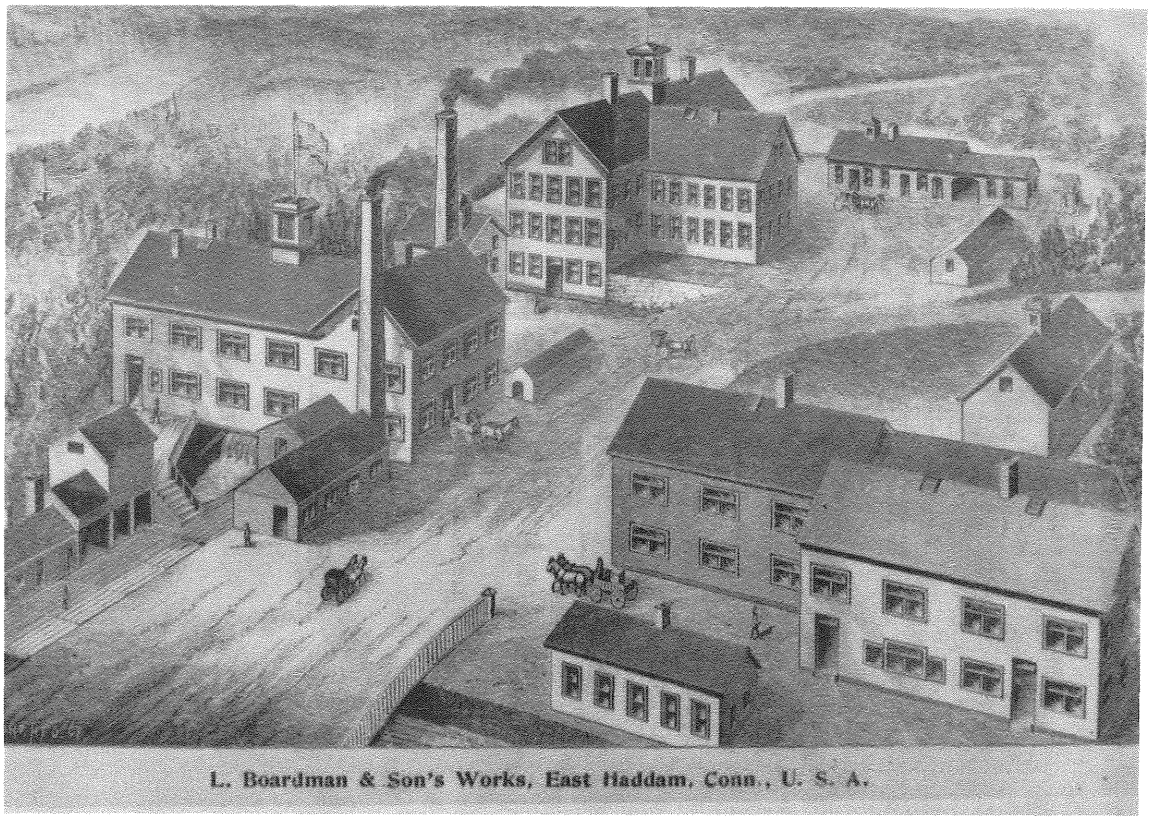


Fig. 13. Lithograph of L. Boardman & Son's complete factory complex in E. Haddam, CT, date unknown.

In 1865 he built a new factory of three stories in height, and 100 x 40 feet in size, adding a 30 HP steam engine to supplement his water power. A lithograph of the complete complex is illustrated in *Figure 13*. This factory was designated for the production, in 1866, of nickel silver plated goods which were formed from blanks by the drop forge method on dies made in his patterns. After silver plating britannia, he found that nickel silver would accept a finer plate, as well as result in a more sturdy utensil. He offered nickel and German silver products separately. Although britannia forks were also made, they proved to be less durable than those made of these newer alloys. German and nickel silver were ideally suited to be fashioned into other forms of fancy tableware. And progress demanded more sophisticated utensils to fit the lifestyles of the Victorian housewife. He gradually expanded his line to include both, as well as brass, plated or unplated. *Figure 14* illustrates the list of spoons and other tableware designed for the various uses of the period, as well as other goods and services. Although nickel and German silver are chemically identical (15% nickel, 60% copper, and 25% zinc), he required that his suppliers send him nickel silver blanks of 18% nickel, perhaps justifying the two product names. In 1864, all nickel silver "full weight" plated tableware was marked with the company name + A1* *(Figure 15)*.

SPECIAL DISCOUNTS.

Plated Nickel Silver Spoons, Forks, &c., - - - - - -
Plated German Silver Spoons, Forks, &c., - - - - -
18 per cent. Nickel Spoons and Butter Knives, - - - -
Replating Old Work, - - - - - - - - -
Morocco Cases, - - - - - - - - -
Brass Spoons and Forks, in Metal, - - - - - -
Brass Spoons and Forks, Plated and Burnished, - - - -
Nickel Silver Ware, for Plating, - - - - - -
Britannia Spoons, - - - - - - - - -
Plated Britannia or Argentine Spoons, - - - - -
Britannia Spoons, 2nd quality, - - - - - - -
Plated "Franconia" Spoons, - - - - - - -
"Cheap Metal" Spoons, - - - - - - - -

All Bills subject to Draft after days, at ..... days' sight.

Yours, very truly,

I. HOARDMAN & SON.

We shall, from time to time, make such changes in prices and discounts as the market requires.

Fig. 14. List of goods and services available in 1870 catalog.

Fig. 15. L. Boardman & Son mark on nickel silver plated ware. One utensil (not shown) was marked: L. B. & Son Al.

By 1867, nickel and German Silver spoons increased in sales, and britannia sales dropped. Boardman heavily discounted his silver plated britannia spoons, prompting a series of letters and discussions among the leading britannia spoon makers of the area. An interesting letter to G. I. Mix & Co., N.Y., dated December 2, 1866 states:

> "Gentlemen:
> Yours of the 18th inst. is at hand and
> contents noted. Enclosed please find our
> price for January 1, 1867, viz., 5 - 10% cash.
> To Protect Our Trade
> Luther Boardman & Son. (EHHS)".

In reply to a letter from the Meriden Britannia Co. (August 16, 1867) he agreed to meet the prices of the other large producers. At the same time, he took the opportunity to issue a warning that these companies were infringing on his "Trade-Mark" by packaging identical spoons using his pattern numbers and names in identically marked and decorated boxes. Meriden Britannia had purchased $138,000 of his spoons from 1853-1867; in 1866 they began to manufacture their own (W.G.S.). In 1868 he requested a court injunction against the Meriden Britannia Co. and in February, 1869 his request was granted, assigning him a sum of $10,000 in damages - which he refused to accept[13]. Instead, he wrote to all of his competitors reminding them of the court decision and threatening them with like legal action. A copy of the court order was included in all of his subsequent catalogs. Despite these efforts, I found that these same infractions persisted in the last catalog that the Manning Bowman Co. issued in Middletown in 1871 before the firm moved to Meriden (Russell Lib., Middletown). They had been purchasing his britannia spoons since 1866.

As all of his spoon designs were now protected by a trademark, he carried his pattern names and designs from his britannia spoons into the more expanded selection of nickel silver plated tablewares. *Figure 16* shows an example of the Boardman spoon boxes designed for the trade (Mer. H.S.). Note the mysterious "Boardman Lion" logo that he used in no other way in his business activities.

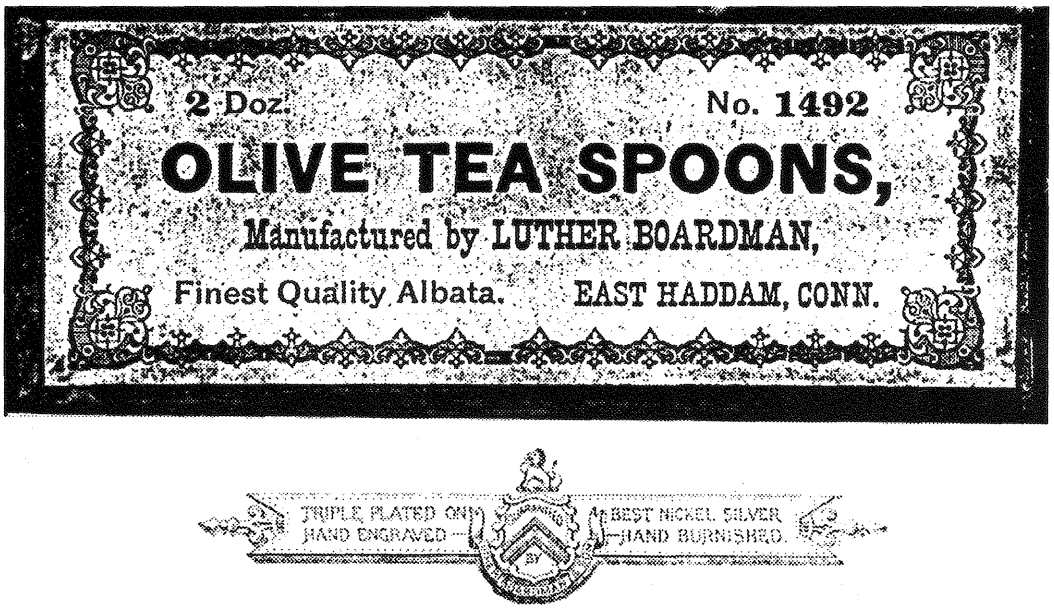


Fig. 16. Top view of portions of a teaspoon box label, illustrating the Boardman Lion mark (Meriden H. S.).

He opened three sales offices in 1867 and 1868: one in Philadelphia, another in Chicago and one in New York City. The first two outlets soon failed, but the N.Y. office, first on 60 John St., then 82 Chambers St. survived until 1908 - long after the company closed in East Haddam. It is of interest that he failed to sell his spoons to Homan & Co. of Cincinnati, despite lengthy negotiations, as his competitors, C. Parker and Meriden Britannia Co. underbid him (1868).

In 1865, a son was born to Norman S., named Eugene, who entered the business with his father on January 1, 1900 (GEN).

By 1880, the demand for iron tinned spoons seriously hurt the sales of cheap britannia spoons (EHHS). Although britannia spoons were listed in the catalogs until the final years of the company (EHHS), most of L. Boardman & Son's production and sales consisted of nickel silver electroplated tableware. In 1875 (Mer. H.S.) one catalog additionally listed hollow-ware, castors, candlesticks and flagons that were available for the trade. They were probably consigned to L. Boardman & Son for a brief period by an unknown maker.

Luther Boardman & Co. and L. Boardman & Son annually issued catalogs only to the "Trade". They were comprehensive, separating the britannia spoons from the other wares, with drawings of each piece of tableware accompanied by pattern numbers and price per gross. They listed other services noted in *Figure 14*. These catalogs, which began about 1853, were initially single sheet price lists. They then evolved into elaborately bound and lithographed volumes and were printed well into the 1890s, still listing britannia spoons separately. Thomas' *Register of American Manufacturers* listed L. Boardman and Son as britannia makers well after 1900 (W.H.).

The Boardmans seriously considered the cheap tinned iron spoons a threat to the survival of the company, and they realized that they had to introduce them into their product line. In March of 1876, Norman S. visited a factory in Middletown, CT, the Wilcox, Crittenden & Co., manufacturers of brass and iron marine hardware castings. There he indiscreetly inquired of two workers their methods for tin plating, implying he would hire them away from their jobs to institute the tinning of spoons in his factory. The workers promptly reported this to their boss, resulting in a scathing letter to Norman, questioning his honor and lack of "good sense" (CT H.S.).

Luther Boardman passed away on March 29, 1887 of pneumonia at the age of 75 years.

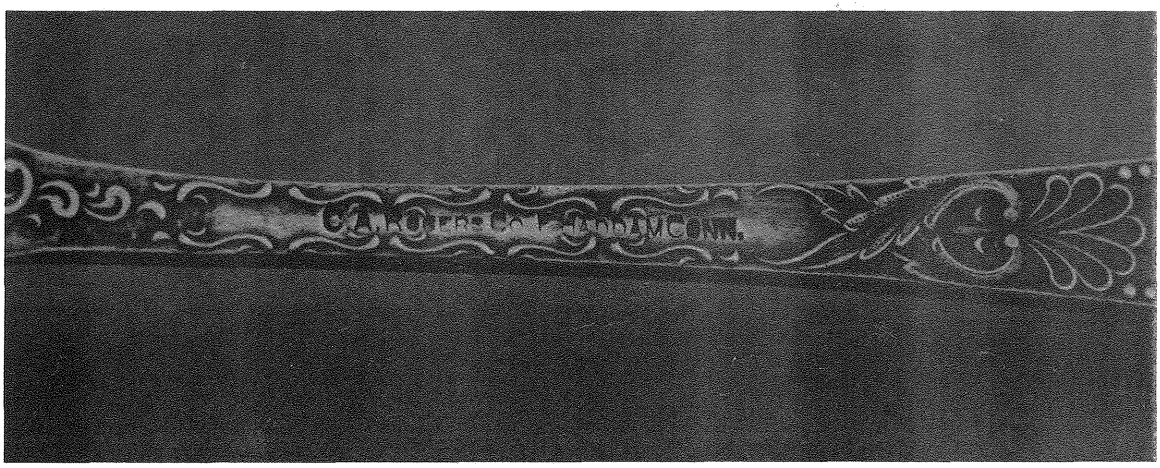


Fig. 17. Rare, and never distributed mark of C. A. Rogers, E. Haddam, CT

The increasingly unprofitable venture was leased to C. A. Rogers Co. of N.Y. in May of 1907, who retooled and upgraded the buildings and hired 40 hands. In August of that same year, after initiating production but shipping no tableware as yet, the main building was destroyed by fire, with the complete loss of stock, tools and machinery. Their extremely rare mark is illustrated in *Figure 17* on a fork found at the site. There was no insurance, and the partners convinced another firm, the Melrose Silver Co. of Hartford to lease the remaining buildings in 1907, but there is no evidence that they ever commenced production (EHHS). And thus, the enterprise of Luther Boardman and Son became history.

The buildings that remained soon were vandalized and deteriorated to the point of necessitating demolition. I was fortunate in obtaining an interview with Curtiss Johnson, Jr., the great-great-grandson of Luther Boardman. He remembers that, in 1948, when the last office building was to be demolished, his grandmother invited him to wander about the site. He found a locked attic door, and, after obtaining the key, opened it and found, in a roll top desk, dozens of examples of tableware. Some were, made and marked by competitors, but most of the tableware consisted of finished and unfinished Boardman products. A sampling of these late Boardman samples are illustrated in *Figure 18*. In, addition, he found another account book dating from 1834-1839, as well as later books and catalogs.

After the demise of L. Boardman & Son, all that presently remains of the complex along Boardman Road are the two elegant Victorian houses that were occupied by Luther and Norman, both with the characteristic "Widow's Walk" on the roof. Up the road there is a wooden building that housed workers, and, initially, the foreman; and there is a small brick building that was erected by Norman about 1900. Scattered between the buildings along Succor brook are the remains of free-standing and mortared dams and foundations.

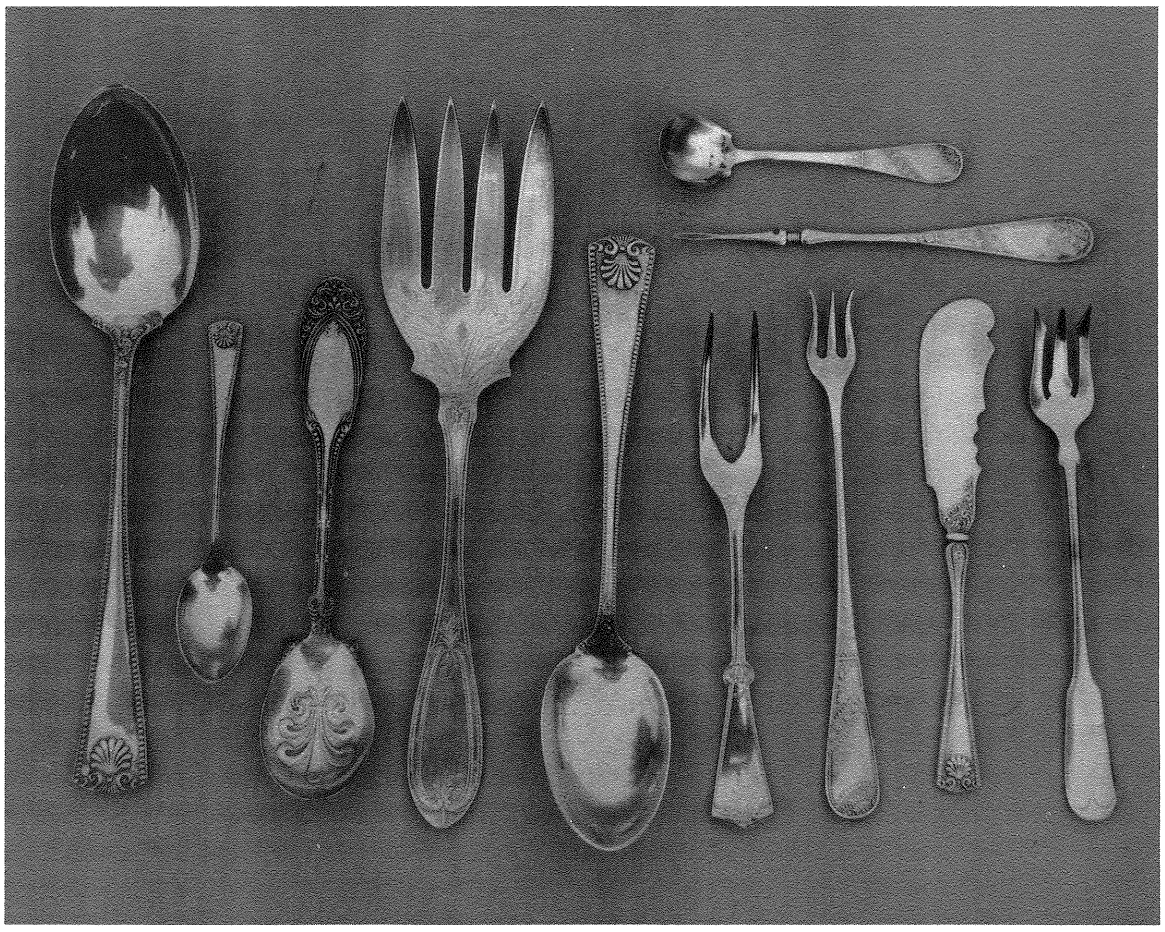


Fig. 18. Cluster of nickel silver plated ware found in the attic of the last office building before demolition, all marked L. Boardman & Son Al* (collection of Curtiss Johnson, Jr.).

Discussions and Observations

As with all research projects where the information is overwhelming, the answers are few and the questions many. With respect to his block tin products, why are there so few marked pieces and where and when were they made and marked? Why were only the tea and coffeepots marked? Was there a Richardson-Boardman "connection" in S. Reading[14]? Had Boardman taken with him some or all of the molds and tools when he left S. Reading, after having settled his debt? What did he do about the "property" that was left with Yale?

Fig. 19. Type 2 teapot with eagle mark (collection of Curtiss Johnson, Jr.).

Fig. 20. Type 4 light teapot with eagle mark (collection of Curtiss Johnson, Jr.).

Let us address the possible Richardson-Boardman similarities first. The matching progression of forms that are so similar, and, in some design characteristics, virtually unique, illustrates that Boardman's forms were either acquired or copied from Richardson. Richardson was in Boston for 16 years before Boardman arrived in S. Reading, and was making teapots during that time. Since the clues not only lie in a comparison of forms, but more accurately, with direct comparisons of individual pots, I have endeavored to ascertain the numbers that exist that can be documented, and to obtain photographs, weights and dimensions from the owners, where available. I also personally attempted to examine and compare Boardman's forms with those of Richardson. This last effort achieved only moderate success because of the limited numbers and limited forms available.

As I stated, I have located or traced 13 known teapots and 4 known coffeepots, one of each already published. A few still exist in private collections. Curtiss Johnson, Jr. acquired two marked pieces: *Figure 19* is a potbellied teapot with an angular handle, whose weight is consistant with a #2 pot, 1.57 lbs., and *Figure 20*, is a globular pot with a "Rugged C" handle, whose weight, 2.06 lbs., is consistent with a # 4 Light pot. I have an identical pot, weighing 2.06 lbs., with virtually identical measurements. These "C" teapots closely resemble the teapot illustrated in Kerfoot (8). *Figure 21* shows another teapot owned by Stanley B. Rich, weight unknown, which is 7" H. It exhibited an external seam.

Fig. 21. Probably type 2 teapot, eagle marked, (collection of Stanley B. Rich).

William F. Kayhoe had an illustration of a teapot owned by another descendant, whereabouts unknown. I saw an 'inverted mold straight-sided marked teapot without a lid in a private collection. Celia Jacobs Stevenson illustrated a pear shaped marked pot in her Fall 1983 catalog, most likely acquired by William Kayhoe. Wendell Hilt remembers a coffee pot for sale many years ago that was purchased and sold by Thomas D. Williams. Robert G. Cassens acquired another in central Wisconsin. His photo and height measurement show it to be identical, except for the incised lines. I have a coffeepot similar to Richard Bowen's[9] that is illustrated in *Figure 22*. John Carl Thomas states he has seen some marked pear shaped teapots with an extended base, of the type that is typically found in the Boston area and known to have been made by Richardson- and others. Mary Irvin has six teapots collected by her late husband, William Kayhoe: two pear shaped, both with extended bases. The bases are approximately 3/8" - 1/2" in height, and their overall height is 7". One is illustrated in *Figure 23*. The remainder of her pots are variations of the potbellied type, 7 1/2 - 7 3/4" H., all with angular handles (Bowen type 2). A composite photo of her collection is illustrated in *Figure 24*.

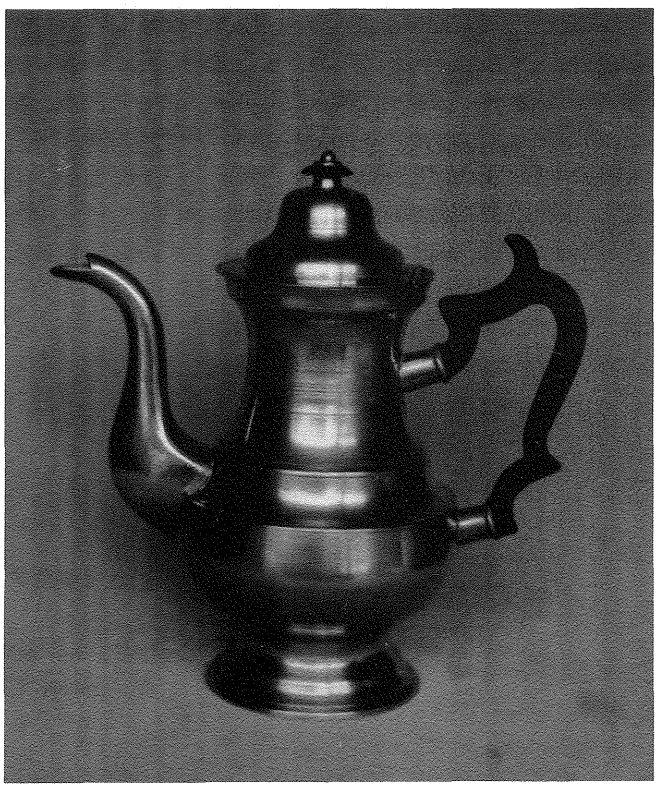


Fig. 22. Luther Boardman marked coffeepot in the author's collection.

Fig. 23. Pear shaped teapot, 7" H., with extended base. (Julian and Mary Irvin collection).

Fig. 24. Composite photo of all of the marked L. Boardman teapots in the Julian and Mary Irvin collection.

Wayne Hilt and I carefully examined three "C" handled globular pots, one by Luther Boardman (#4 light), one with a plain G. Richardson mark, and another G. Richardson with the No. 4 "Glennore" full mark. The dimensions are tabulated below:

Dimensions	L. B. "C" #4	G. R. " C "	G.R. "C" Glen. No.4
Total Ht.	8"	7 7/8"	8"
Body Ht.	6"	5 15/16"	6 1/16"
Bottom Diam.	4 7/16"	4 7/16"	4 1/2"
Body Diam.	5 3/4"	5 3/4"	5 7/8"
Top Diam.	4 1/4"	4 1/4"	4 5/16"
Lid Diam.	3 3/4"	3 3/4"	3 7/8"
Capacity to brim	3 pints	3 1/4 pints	3 1/4 pints
Weight	2.06 lbs.	2. 00 lbs	2. 00 lbs.

The "C" handle in the Boardman pot was 1/8" narrower, from 3/4" down to 5/8". Direct comparisons of the lengths revealed that it was 1/4" shorter from the top of the thumbrest to the bottom of the lower ring. Although this measurement is not reliable, as handles were often bent to fit the contour of the"pot, the contours and fittings were virtually identical in each pot. Since the spouts and lids differed, no comparisons were made. The rim of the Boardman pot was thickened and neatly beveled.

It must be more than coincidental that the weights and forms of the Boardman #4 pot and the Richardson plain and No. 4 pots are virtually identical. These striking similarities are noted in *Figure 25*, with variations in lids and spouts which resemble described molds used by Richardson. However, despite minor differences in dimensions, there were enough differences in mold shapes to indicate that these molds were duplicated from Richardson rather than acquired by Boardman in S. Reading (W.A.H.). Primarily, we must remember that Richardson continued to produce teapots with these molds with varying combinations of spouts, lids and handles long after he left Boston before 1836. In Cranston, he numbered these pots with dies: No.s 2, 3 and 4. Richard Bowen[14] traced the molds on the numbered pots back to Boston, and provided capacities and weights for each number, as well as for the pear shaped pots. Now, if we assign No. 1 to the pear shaped pots, and average-out the weights (which also increased by number) of each pre-Cranston pot, we find a striking number - weight correlation between the same numbered pots of both makers: #1 plain base, 1.43 lbs.; #1 extended base, 1.27-1.32 lbs.; #2, 1.72 lbs.; #3, 1.89 lbs.; #4, 2.00 lbs. Richard Bowen's articles on G. Richardson[3,14] illustrate the form similarities, weights and capacities and must be referred to for lid and handle types *(Figure 26)*, as well as spouts.

Fig. 25. Comparison photo of L. Boardman (L) and G. Richardson (R) "Rugged C" handle type 4 teapots.

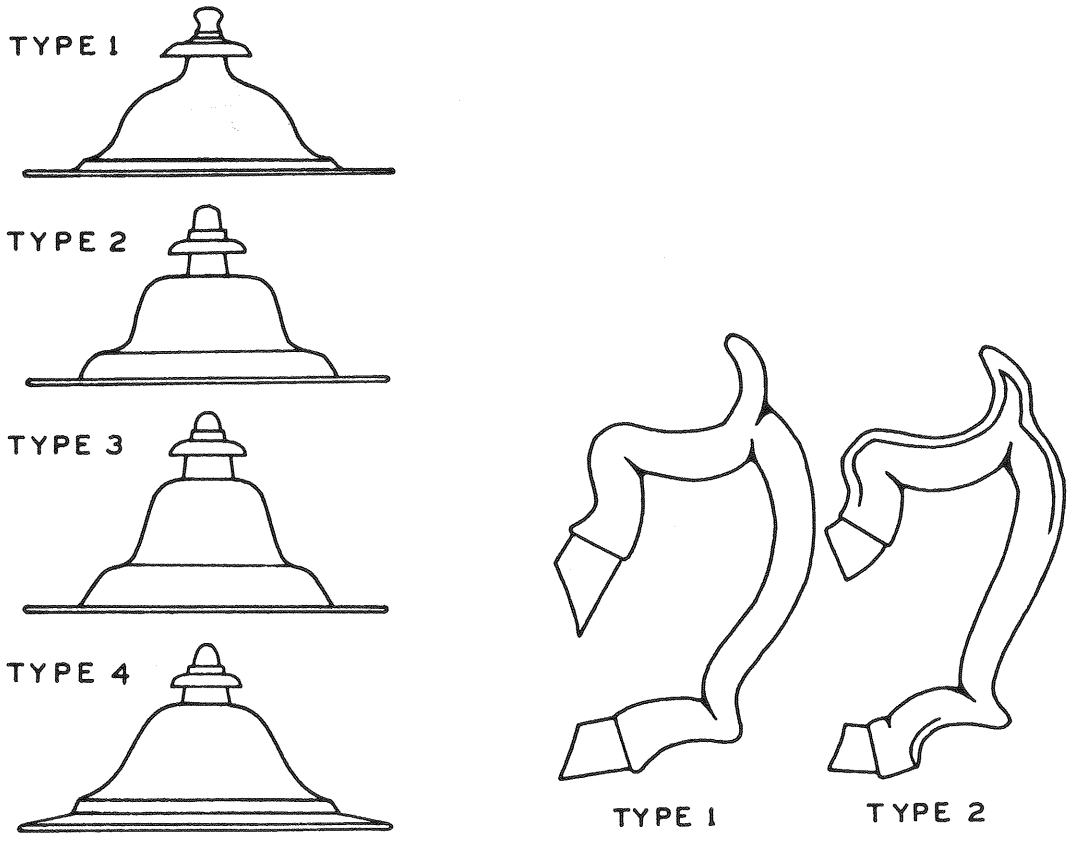


Fig. 26. Illustration of lid and handle types from Richard L. Bowen's article on G. Richardson (14) p. 112.

Copying molds was common practice: Richardson copied molds from Josiah Danforth and Smith & Co. copied those of Richardson[14]. Luther Boardman obviously had the ability to make molds. He had turned molds for Ashbil Griswold and bought turning blocks in Chester. He also purchased wood patterns, plaster, calipers, casting sand, copper and copper hardening in large quantities in S. Reading and Meriden. All of these items indicate mold production (W.A.H.). It would be easy and more economical for him to disassemble a pot that he found in the Manufactory that was part of the "stock" left by Richardson, if available, or purchase pots in the nearby communities where they were found. He then could make patterns from wood or plaster, impress each side into casting sand, and produce his own bronze molds. Wayne Hilt states that when an existing part from an old mold is used as a pattern for a new bronze mold, the resulting new mold is reduced in size from the original part, exhibiting shrinkage of as much as 10% in the new mold. This occurs when the new bronze casting cools. In addition, if a mold were to be created for a spout or handle by using the actual part as a model to produce a mold pattern, the part would have to be cut in half. This cut could result in a loss of size of up to a 1/16th of an inch: the width of a saw. The combination of these changes would yield a finished part approximately 10% smaller than the original. This reasonably accounts for the diameter differences in the "C" handles used by both makers.

While in Boston, Richardson produced many other forms that Boardman did not use. And Boardman had molds of his own that he brought with him from Connecticut. This similarity of forms applies only to teapots, which Luther Boardman made in the range of styles and in quantities that he was able to make primarily in S. Reading. When Richardson left, he obviously took his molds and tools with him[14]. As there was a ready market for these pots, Burrage Yale may have insisted that Boardman continue to produce these styles, hence the copies, which Boardman had the ability to provide.

Therefore, at this point, two of the questions can be addressed: Yes, it is very likely that there was a S. Reading Richardson to Boardman "appropriation" and, secondly, it is certain that Boardman marked his teapots primarily in S. Reading. The illustration of the coffeepot on the trade card in Chester certainly indicates it was made and marked there. However, coffeepots were first mentioned in S. Reading on May 9, 1836, and in Meriden while working for Griswold & Couch, where he made coffeepots #s 1, 1+ and 2, as well as the intrigueing "concave pots #1 and #2", (This term is certainly descriptive of the the coffeepots found marked). Only teapots #4 and #6 were made in Chester. Teapot #6 was not described by weight (LBAB), and to date none have been found. Although his output in Chester was meager, the presence of a teapot with an external seam could indicate production at a later date, or a worker with the ability to use this method.

I found that the bottom portion of his "Chester Trade Card" coffeepot illustrated in *Figure 22* was made from the same mold used for the bottom half of teapot #4. The dimensions and form are identical. And since he continued to refer to production of teapot #4 in Meriden and Chester, teapot #4 could have been marked there, also. This adds credibility to the possibility that he did take some of his molds with him from the Manufactory. From a realistic point of view, however, since his range of forms were more limited thereafter, whatever he took from S. Reading was not comprehensive.

All of Boardman's pots were cast; the bottom half not integrally with the base, as there was evidence of a seam where the base joins the body. And casting "bottoms" was listed in Boardman's job descriptions (LBAB). All but one of those that I examined had an internal seam with a linen mark. These seams were made by fusing the thickened or overlapping edges of the pot's upper and lower halves directly with a hot soldering iron (W.A.H.). Many of the bottoms exhibited a deep central indentation (possibly from a defect in the mold, or more likely by skimming too heavily in the center), hence the weak strike of the eagle in most of the samples examined. A good L. Boardman Eagle/Warranted mark is illustrated in ***Figure 27.***

The author's Boardman coffeepot as illustrated in *Figure 22*, has a mark without the central concavity, and has the following dimensions: overall Ht.: 10 7/8"; body Ht.: 8 1/2"; body diameter: 5 3/4"; top diameter: 4 1/4"; lid diameter: 4 3/8" lid height: 2 1/4"; bottom diam.: 4 7/16"; capacity: 4 pints. It has a five part hinge in comparison to the teapots which all have three part hinges.

Luther Boardman's terminology in his notes raise more questions than they resolve. There are a number of terms and issues brought out by the findings in these account books, and we should address them one by one.

Fig. 27. L. Boardman Warranted Eagle mark.

An issue that appeared unresolved was the term: "Metallic Strengthened". Robert G. Smith found that Robert Wallace, of North Haven, CT, obtained patent No. 5470 on, March 14, 1848 that inserts a strip of curved tin plated metal within the handle portion of the mold that is adapted with four lateral braces on the sides, "resting in mortisses in the mold". These are to be cut off in the finishing of the spoon. It appears that the term referred to this or similar methods and not to wire reinforcement.

I have been able to determine the source of the "Spanish" tin mentioned in S. Reading. Spain had some tin mines in the mountains that border Portugal (W.H.). Ban(k)ca tin came from the Island of Bangka in the Straits of Malacca, Indonesia. This source was controlled by the Dutch since the mid 17th Century.

Wendell Hilt states that the term "Block Tin" refers to the use of raw pigs or slabs of tin in the production of pewter objects, rather than old pewter. This term is used on Continental pieces as a quality mark, using "London" or "English Block Tin" or variations thereof in their marks. The term "trying" pots refers to testing for leaks (W.H.). Dirt metal consists of the end-of-the-day floor sweepings, subsequently recovering the pewter by burning off the dirt. Wastage refers to trimmings and sprues, and possibly, dross. Scotching means making incised lines, and paleing in "boddies and bottoms" may mean cutting in a shallow shelf or rabbet on the bottom casting, upon which to seat the base of the body in preparation for soldering (W.A.H.). Casting and making joints refers to hinges, and # 14 wire was used for hinge pins (W.A.H.). The purchase of copper hardening (zinc or tin) indicates that Luther was prepared to make or have made molds of brass or bronze (W.H.). Luther purchased copper hardening while in S. Reading and Chester. Cartage fees were based on 1¢, per mile, or by weight (W.H.). "Turkey stone" is a silicious slate stone from Turkey, used for honing. The term "salmonac" meant sal ammoniac, or ammonium chloride, used in flux.

I had always been intrigued by Luther Boardman's scrupulous notations listing not only pots by weight, but spoons, tumblers and various porringers. This practice first appeared in his account books in S. Reading and may have been standard business practice there. There are frequent notes of the number of pounds of tin "brought in from the barn". The volume of tin purchased there was impressive. For example, (and there were many similar notations) on February 16, 1837, Hosmer & Tappan sold Luther 100 slabs, weighing 6,792 lbs. At 23¢ per lb., that came to $1,562.16. After S. Reading, this practice was not noted in the account books with respect to block tin ware. However, it resurfaced during the manufacture of spoons in an even more meticulous fashion. Obviously, the cost of an item depended on the amount of tin and other metals used, plus materials required for finishing. In the account books, all were listed by the price per pound, hence the product's cost is almost directly related to the weight of tin and other metals and materials used per piece. When you combine this with such notations related to calculations for "wastedge", along with such recovery practices as refining dirt metal, and then factor in the labor costs to the ¼¢ for each stage in the production process, we have the figures for price and profit margin. It appears that these meticulous practices may have been essential in the operation of a successful business, especially where the competition is asintense as it was during the spoon years.

Finally, after having had dozens of marked "LB" spoons pass through my hands, I found that there are five separate marks used by L. Boardman on his britannia spoons *(Figure 28, a-e)*. It is obvious that, with thousands of spoons requiring marking daily, there had to be more than one die. There could be and probably were duplicates of the same die, but I found that there are four separate "LB" marks, one of which lacks serifs, as well as the single mark "WIRED". I have decided that this "WIRED" mark is Boardman's because I have found the mark in two batches of "Brunswick" spoons, all from identical molds, accompanying spoons with the normal "LB" mark. I have also noted slight changes in mold patterns in the same "Brunswick" style *(compare Figure 28, d and e)*, indicating he had more than one mold for his popular styles, which is to be expected, considering his large daily output.

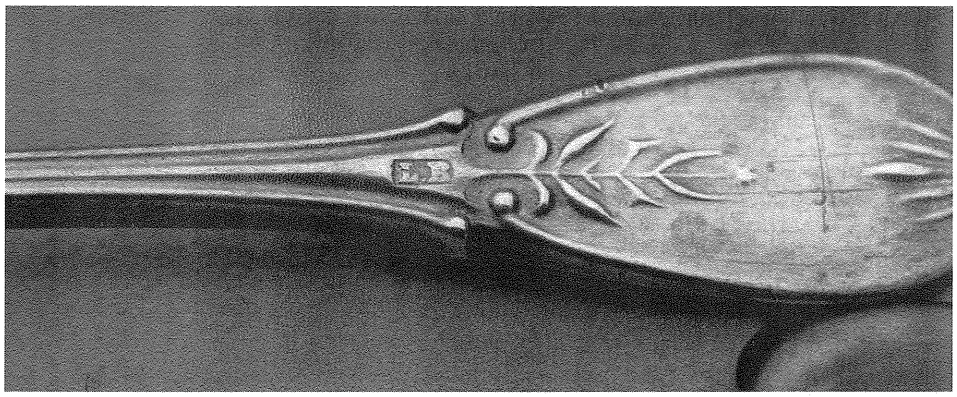


Fig. 28a

Fig. 28b

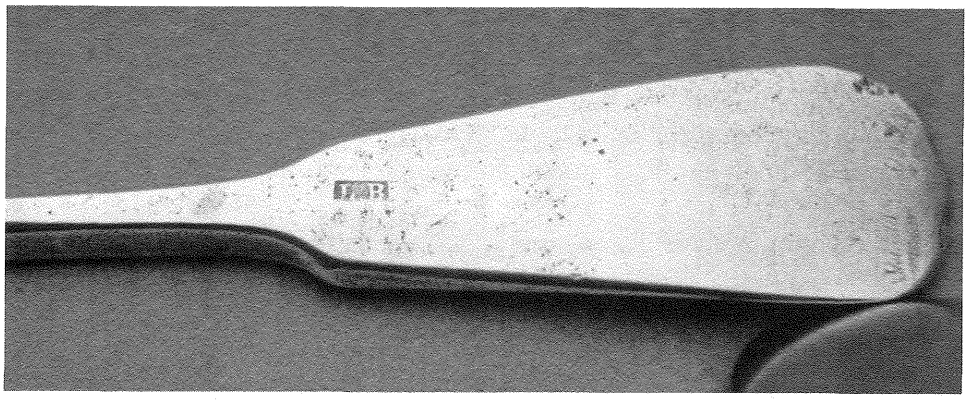


Fig. 28c

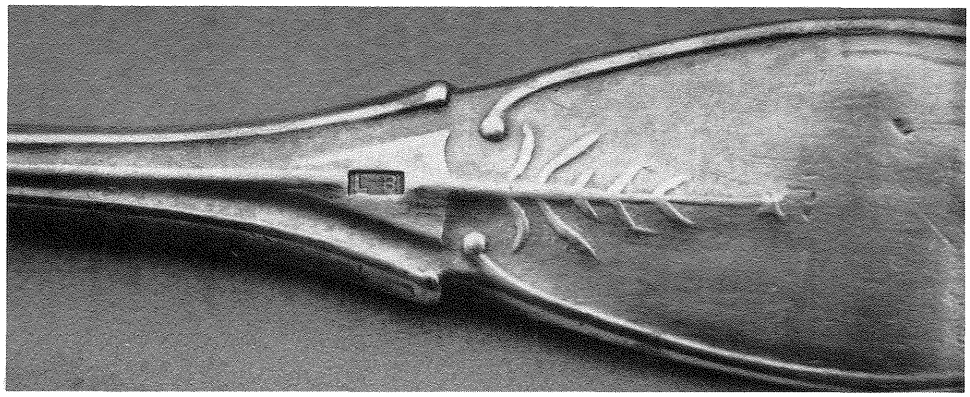


Fig. 28d

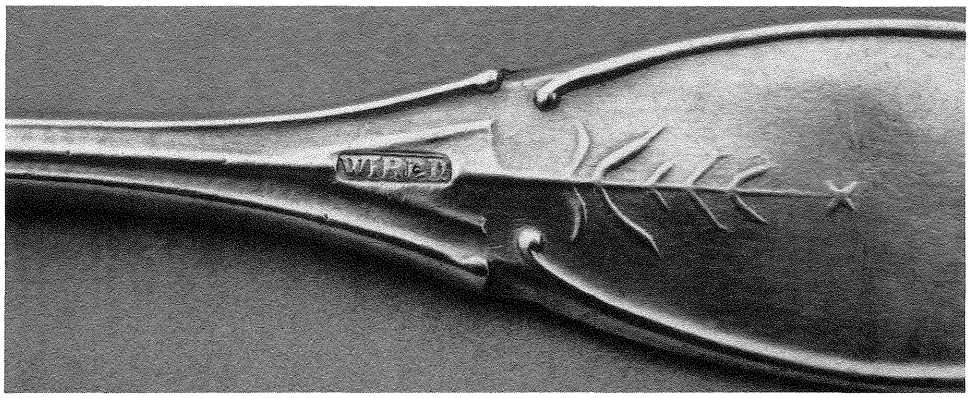


Fig. 28e

Figure 28, a-e. Series of intaglio marks on Luther Boardman's britannia spoons: a) most common and probably earliest of LB serif marks, upstroke of L slopes downward to left, near base: 4 x 2 mm.; b) upstroke of L high, serif slants downward to right: 4 x $^1/_2$ mm.; c) serifs similar to a), but letters smaller and thinner, size: $3^1/_2$ x $1^1/_2$ mm.; d) letters lack serifs and dot between them: $3^1/_2$ x $1^1/_2$ mm.; e) "WIRED" mark, size: $7^1/_2$ x $1^1/_2$ mm.; often distorted by wire end or clip, where it was usually struck.

Again, I wish to thank all who generously assisted with advice and examples, photos and dimensions. I was not able to personally examine all of the pots in the private collections, and this study should be pursued with every marked Boardman pot. New questions and information continually surfaced that mandated a more detailed revaluation and revisit to each marked Boardman and Richardson pot, which I was not able to do.

With all of the voluminous and sometimes conflicting data, I expect some errors to surface, and for that, I apologize. But I also expect much debate as well as renewed interest in research involving other makers of the era; how they worked and how they interrelated.

Primarily, I hope that this monograph inspires all pewter collectors to remember that Luther Boardman was not just a spoonmaker, but also a pewterer for eight years who was taught old-school methods by a fine teacher. His pots were heavy, and the quality of workmanship excellent. This monograph shows that his "Block Tin" products were significant in number, but his marked pieces are to be added to the list of those of a higher degree of scarcity.

Addendum: I would like to dedicate this article to William F. Kayhoe (1919-1986), who first appreciated the rich source of information available in Luther Boardman's writings and nearly achieved his goal of publicizing his life and works. This modest article may help to bring his efforts and wisdom to the light of public knowledge and appreciation. A. F. T.

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