SWEET HISTORY: DORCHESTER AND THE CHOCOLATE FACTORY



Pierce Mill, Dorchester, 1876 (postcard). BAKER'S® is a registered trademark of KF Holdings and is used with permission.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1765 John Hannon, with financier James Baker, began making one of the first chocolate products in America, in a saw mill powered by the Neponset River, just outside Boston in Milton, Massachusetts. A few years later Baker bought out Hannon's share of the business and created the first products known as Baker's Chocolate. James Baker, and later his son Edmund, expanded the business, and Edmund moved it across the river to Dorchester. But it was not until the late 19th century, under the leadership of Henry Pierce, that Baker's Chocolate became the brand consumers and collectors still recognize today.

We invite you to learn more about Baker's Chocolate, its workers, and the community it transformed, through this online exhibition. You can examine a wide selection of photographs, advertisements, and artifacts by taking a guided tour of the exhibition using the "Next Page" arrows near the top right of each page. Or, navigate to only those topics that interest you by using the drop down menus. In the Resources section you'll find a chronological history of Baker's Chocolate, a walking tour of the Baker's mill area, and, for serious researchers, a downloadable copy of the entire exhibition text with footnoted sources.

The Bostonian Society is grateful to the Dorchester Historical Society, the Milton Historical Society, and Kraft Foods for their support of this exhibition and the use of their collections.

COMPANY OWNERSHIP

Although the business that became Baker's chocolate began with John Hannon in 1765, it was the Baker family that made that company into a household name. From 1780 to 1895, for 115 years Baker's Chocolate remained, in one form or another, within the Baker family. The long company history began with James Baker in 1780. When James retired, he passed the business along to his son Edmund in 1804. After growing the company for over twenty years Edmund turned over chocolate making to his son Walter in 1823. For almost thirty years Walter Baker expanded production and made Baker's Chocolate a recognizable name across the country. Walter did not have a son involved in the chocolate business, so when he died the company was passed along to his brother-in-law and long-time assistant, Sidney Williams. Unfortunately Sidney died suddenly after only two years. Walter Baker's step-nephew, Henry Pierce, then took over the company. For over forty years Pierce grew the company and increased production capacity to make Baker's Chocolate known world-wide. When Pierce decided to incorporate the company in 1895, Baker's Chocolate ceased to be a family business.

Due to multiple marriages, the connections between owners of the company can be difficult to decipher. See the charts below to understand the family relationships.

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Owner	Relation	Years
John Hannon		1765-1779
James Baker		1780-1804
Edmund Baker	James's Son	1804-1823
Walter Baker	James's Grandson	1823-1852
Sidney Williams	Walter's Brother-in-Law	1852-1854
Henry Pierce	Walter's Step-Nephew	1854-1895

JOHN HANNON

Legend has it that in late 1764 a young, out-of-work, Irish immigrant named John Hannon approached local mill owners James Boies, Edward Wentworth, and Henry Stone with a proposal to start a new business venture. If he could use part of their Milton saw mill for water power he would be able to set up a small chocolate-making enterprise. Hannon learned the technique of making chocolate in London, and with a little help he felt he could develop a successful business in Dorchester and Milton. James Baker saw the potential in this business opportunity and apparently helped John Hannon get started. On March 8, 1765, John Hannon, financed by Baker, began producing one of the first North American-made chocolate products using water power.¹

Three years later John Hannon moved from Dorchester to nearby Boston after Boise, Wentworth and Stone sold their saw mill. He talked Edward Preston into installing some chocolate-making equipment for him in his fulling mill. Preston agreed and began making small batches of chocolate that Hannon probably sold while in Boston.²

It is not known what type of business relationship John Hannon and James Baker had, but they at least worked for each other from time to time. In 1772 Baker ground chocolate for Hannon, and when Hannon moved back to Dorchester he made at least one delivery of chocolate on Baker's behalf in 1774.³

¹ Bruce Millar, ed., A Calendar of Walter Baker & Company, Inc. and Its Times: 1765-1940, (New York: General Foods Corporation, 1940) 2; James B. Hedges, *The Browns of Providence Plantations: Colonial Years* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952) 8-9; Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society, *History of the Town of Dorchester, Massachusetts* (Boston: Ebenezer Clapp, Jr., 1859) 618-619, 635.

² Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society, History, 627.

³ Invoice from James Baker to John Hannon, dated 11 June 1773, Folder 16 : 1773, James Baker Business Records, 1761-1823, Mss "B," Manuscript Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA; *Receipt of Delivery*, dated 24 Mar 1774, Folder 17 : 1774, James Baker Business Records, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA.

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Hannon moved to another of James Boise's mills in 1775 and took on Nathaniel Blake as an apprentice, after Edward Preston's mill burned down. It appears that business was going well for Hannon in 1777, based on surviving advertisements from that year.⁴

Tales differ on what happened to John Hannon in 1779. In one version, he sails to the West Indies to buy cacao beans; another story suggests that he took a ship to England to escape his unhappy marriage. In either case, Hannon apparently perished at sea. No one knows what really happened to him, and he was never heard from again in Dorchester.⁵

Hannon's widow, Elizabeth, attempted to continue her husband's chocolate trade with Nathaniel Blake, but with no success. Some accounts claim that Elizabeth's difficult disposition drove away Blake, just as it drove Hannon from his home. Blake made chocolate with James Baker in Daniel Vose's paper mill until 1780, when Baker bought out John Hannon's widow, took over full ownership of the business, and produced the first known chocolate branded as "Baker's." ⁶

JAMES BAKER (1780-1804)

In the early 1760s James Baker ran a small general store from his home on the corner of Washington and Norfolk streets in Dorchester. His first introduction to the chocolate business came from John Hannon in 1764 when James supposedly helped finance Hannon's chocolate-making venture. How much Baker learned about chocolate from Hannon is not known, but the enterprise must have intrigued James greatly. On May 16, 1771 Baker prepared to go into the chocolate business on his own and bought what is believed to be his first order of cocoa beans.⁷

Still operating his general store, James Baker rented out part of Jeremiah Smith and Daniel Vose's paper mill to set up manufacturing the following year. Business accounts record the first known sale of Baker-made chocolate on July 2, 1772.⁸

Through the 1770s as relations between America and England deteriorated, James faced trade embargoes but continued to buy cocoa from merchants in Boston, Marblehead, Salem and Newport, often grinding cocoa for them in exchange for other goods. He even did some business with John Hannon, grinding chocolate for him during 1773, with Hannon

⁸ Receipt of Delivery - from James Baker for Delivery to Jonathan Shirtleaf, dated 2 July 1772, Folder 14 : 1772 May-Aug, James Baker Business Records, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA.

⁴ Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society, *History*, 635-636; Millar, *Calendar*, 7.

⁵ Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society, *History*, 636.

⁶ Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society, History, 636-637; Millar, Calendar, 8.

⁷ Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society, *History*, 529; Millar, *Calendar*, 2; *Receipt of Purchase*, dated 16 May 1771, Folder 11 : 1771 Jan-June, James Baker Business Records, Manuscript Collection, American Antiquarian Society.

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returning business by making a chocolate delivery for Baker in 1774. Over the years, Baker's chocolate business increased with cocoa purchases gradually dominating his business records. For a time it appears that even his brother John became involved by carting materials to and from Boston as well as helping to make and deliver chocolate. Prior to and during the American Revolution, smuggling cargo became quite common-place for many businessmen, and most likely James was no exception. Despite a possible lull in the chocolate business during 1777, operations were soon back in early 1778.⁹

In 1779 John Hannon set sail on a trip to the West Indies and was never heard from again. The following year, James Baker took a pivotal step to shut the doors on his general store and go into chocolate production full time. Company lore maintains that in 1780 James bought out Hannon's widow and obtained full ownership of Hannon's business to produce the first chocolate branded as "Baker's." ¹⁰

Through the 1780s ad 1790s James expanded his business by making chocolate in different local mills, including the fulling mill of Edward Preston's (his brother-in-law's) and Daniel Vose's paper mill. Baker might have even rented a small store front in downtown Boston to sell some of his goods. More and more of his business relied on a barter system, where he traded supplies with other merchants in exchange for ground cocoa. Business continued as a family affair when James's son Edmund began delivering finished chocolate to customers at the age of sixteen. Several years later in 1791, at the age of twenty one, Edmund became business partners with his father. James finally retired from chocolate making in 1804, at the age of sixty-five, leaving the business in Edmund's hands.¹¹

EDMUND BAKER (1804-1823)

In 1791, at the age of twenty-one, Edmund Baker went into partnership with his father James. He quickly became an integral part of the family chocolate business by developing trade networks outside the Boston and New England area as early at 1795. That year the first recorded chocolate shipment was made to merchants Wales & Clopper in Baltimore, Maryland. This shipment was the first of a growing network of Baker's chocolate sales to

⁹ Folders 11 : 1771 thru 19 : 1779, Sampling of the receipts in these folders lists a variety of ports where cocoa beans were bought; *Invoice from James Baker to John Hannon*, dated 11 June 1773, Folder 16 : 1773; *Receipt of Delivery*, dated 24 Mar 1774, Folder 17 : 1774; *Invoice from John Baker to James Baker*, dated 13 March 1774, Folder 17: 1774; *Folder 18 : 1775-1776*, *1778*, James Baker Business Records, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA. It is not known if all chocolate production ceased during 1777 or if records are missing. The gap in James' business receipts range from 25 Nov 1776 to 1 Apr 1778.

¹⁰ Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society, *History*, 529; Millar, *Calendar*, 8.

¹¹ Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society, *History*, 614; *Invoice from James Baker to John Hannon*, dated 17 Mar 1787, Folder 27: 1786-1787, James Baker Business Records, Manuscript Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Examples throughout James Baker's business records show receipts and bills on what items were traded for cocoa; Millar, *Calendar*, 14, 18.

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merchants in ports along the eastern seaboard. By 1809 the network included Philadelphia, Norfolk, Richmond, and New York.¹²

James Baker took leave of the business in 1804, passing all operations to Edmund, and almost immediately Edmund implemented plans to increase production. In 1806, one year after he took full control of the company, he bought out Samuel Leeds's grist mills and built the first Baker's mill outfitted for chocolate, grist, and cloth production. This mill was operated by the first tub-wheels known to have been used in the region. Three years later Edmund bought Benjamin Pierce's fulling mill in a nearby building.¹³

In 1807, with tight trade embargoes and an impending war, Edmund faced the same economic problems his father did prior to the American Revolution. During this time smuggling cargo into American ports or through other routes was a way of life for many businessmen, and most likely Edmund was no exception. Edmund's chocolate business had become quite prosperous, but the War of 1812 slowed production and business outside of New England dried up. Surprisingly, the war did not force Edmund to shut down chocolate production completely. He either rationed his cacao stock or received cacao from different ports through illegal means. Whatever his methods, Edmund managed to keep the chocolate business operating, although alternate sources of income became a necessity.¹⁴

In 1813 Edmund razed the mill he built in 1806 as well as Pierce's old fulling mill to make a larger, three-story granite-block mill that initially produced profitable woolens and satinet in addition to chocolate. After peace was declared in 1815, cloth production ceased in that part of the mill although later it housed an area for carding wool and spinning yarn. This additional manufacturing continued for a few more years until the family's chocolate business regained strength and once again became a major source of income.¹⁵

Edmund's twenty-six year-old son, Walter Baker, joined the family company in 1818, initially manufacturing woolen broadcloth and satinets in the Baker mill. By 1820 Walter took on a more active roll and began recording accounts, pricing different chocolate products, keeping inventory, and tracking purchases. Then in 1823, at the age of fifty-three, Edmund Baker retired and handed over the business to Walter.¹⁶

¹⁶ Day Book-Jan 1814-Dec 1827, B-1, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School. Pages covered are sampled after 1820 which begin on page 97.

¹² Edmund Baker, *Account Book*, *1792-1822*, The Winterthur Library: Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, no. 74x333, Winterthur, DE. Merchants, ports and dates are listed variously through account book beginning December 1795.

¹³ Millar, Calendar, 22; Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society, History, 605.

¹⁴ Edmund Baker, *Account Book, 1792-1822*. The Winterthur Library. Entries several yeas prior to and after 1812 were analyzed for production fluctuation as well as how trading changed with merchants around the region and outside of New England.

¹⁵ Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society, *History*, 605-606.

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WALTER BAKER (1823-1852)

Walter Baker, the eldest son of Edmund Baker, tried to establish himself in a few different careers before settling down to manage and run the chocolate business that would eventually bear his name. As an 1811 graduate of Harvard, Walter had studied law. He soon left that profession and went into the very profitable woolen cloth business after war with England was declared in 1812. When the war ended three years later, Walter ventured south to teach and occasionally trade cloth in New Orleans, Louisiana. In 1818 Walter returned to Dorchester to become a partner in the family chocolate business.¹⁷

Walter took his job seriously, making sure the business ran smoothly and accurately. He took an aggressive approach to tracking his correspondence and made copies of all his letters. Walter's business acumen and attention to detail might be part of the reason Edmund decided to retire in 1823, leaving Walter to take full ownership that same year. Walter renamed the family business Walter Baker and Company, and by 1827 he started branding his chocolate "W. Baker," replacing his father's "E. Baker" brand. In the early 1830s Walter established relationships with more merchants up and down the east coast. And by 1840 Baker's was shipping goods to clients as far north as Halifax, Nova Scotia, and Portland, Maine, and also to Philadelphia, Baltimore, and multiple ports in Virginia, Georgia, and as far south as New Orleans.¹⁸

Walter Baker was a prolific letter writer and personally kept in contact with distributors, retailers, and occasionally even individual customers. He was concerned about the quality, reputation, and advertising of his chocolate products and looked for ways to develop the company and strengthen customer loyalty. He corresponded with distributors about marketing ideas, noting how attractive the foil wrapping of Baker's Spiced Cocoa Sticks would look in store windows, or how chocolate tins could be reused for storage. Walter was very involved in how his products were advertised, and personally kept tabs on regional advertising campaigns. With one wholesale grocer in particular, Walter had concerns about a lack of ads and stated, "I do not see any advertisements of yours, although, perhaps, I may not look in the right newspapers. In what newspapers do you advertise? Advertising, I conceive, at proper seasons is the best mode of reaching both city and country traders."¹⁹

¹⁷ Day Book - Jan 1814-Dec 1827, B-1, Walter Baker Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School. First several pages of entries in Day Book dedicated to inventory and sales related to cloth business; *Notes and Letters*, L-1, Walter Baker Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School. 1813 entries discuss woolen cloth business including activities such as carding and dying wool. Curiously one section of the book of letters is written upside down with legal writings. It appears to have been a notebook to record some of his legal studies in Litchfield, CT. Chapters are copies and note on lectures titled "Public Wrongs;" Millar, *Calendar*, 23-27.

¹⁸ Letter from Walter Baker to James Brundige, dated Feb 23, 1827, Walter Baker Notes and Letters, L-1, Walter Baker Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School. The letter states "...I have shipped you some more No. 1 & No. 3. Some of the Boxes are branded 'W. Baker' instead of 'E. Baker' as formerly, in consequence of my having obtained new brand irons, & I thought it most proper to substitute my own initial W. for my fathers, who surrendered the Choc business to me four years since;" *Ledger 1834-1841*, A-1, Walter Baker Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School. Sampling of merchants and locations taken throughout ledger.

¹⁹ Millar, Calendar, 32, 41, 45.

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The 1840s proved to be full of many "firsts" for Baker's. Walter headed up the introduction of new chocolate products, such as Spiced Cocoa Sticks, Homeopathic Chocolate, French and Spanish Chocolate, and Caracas chocolate. Baker's Chocolate was delivered for the first time by train in 1843. And Walter established trade relationships in San Francisco at the same time people were making the rush to the California gold mines in 1849.²⁰

Closer to home, the 1840s brought additional family members into the company. One of Walter's new hires was his brother-in-law, Sidney B. Williams, as a clerk in 1843. Walter's plan was to groom Williams in all areas of the company so that Walter retired, Williams could easily become his successor. In May 1848 the old 1813 Baker mill built by Walter's father Edmund burned. The interior was destroyed, and damage to the outer stone was so severe that it was necessary to take down the mill and rebuild. A surprising seven months later, the new mill, made of granite, was erected. It contained many fire-prevention features as well as new, prominently displayed signage advertising "W. Baker & Co., Established 1780." Soon business was back to normal and Walter hired his step-nephew Henry L. Pierce as a clerk to both himself and Sidney Williams.²¹

After thirty-four years of running Baker's Chocolate, Walter Baker died at the age of fifty-nine on May 7, 1852. In accordance with his will, the trustees of his estate leased the company to Sidney Williams who continued operations under the name of Walter Baker & Company.²²

SIDNEY B. WILLIAMS (1852-1854)

Sidney B. Williams, the brother of Walter Baker's second wife Eleanor, came from Philadelphia to begin working at Baker's Chocolate in 1843. Williams had communicated to his sister that his work in Philadelphia was "extremely dull," since his employers gave him little to do. At the time, Walter Baker found himself without a clerk, so he hired Williams initially as his personal assistant and replacement clerk. Walter's plan for Williams was for him to learn everything about the company from the ground up so that he could manage the entire operation without Walter present. The agreement between Williams and Walter Baker began with \$200 plus room and board for the first year, which gradually increased to \$2,000 by the fifth year, and then one third of the company's net profits after Walter retired. The only expectation in return was that Williams would pay Walter \$15,000 if he ever decided to leave Baker's in order to start a chocolate business on his own. This restriction resulted from a painful lesson Walter learned when he suspected his former clerk, John Mott, was collaborating with the Webb & Twombley

²⁰ Millar, Calendar, 32, 36-37, 43; Letter from Walter Baker to Messrs. Levering & Gay, San Francisco, dated Nov 27 1849, Letter Book 1846-1850, LA-2, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.

²¹ Millar, Calendar, 34-35, 41-42.

²² Millar, Calendar, 46.

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Chocolate company. By all accounts, Williams quickly accepted Walter's offer and began working for him a few weeks later.²³

Nothing is known of how Sidney Williams conducted business during his time working for Walter Baker. His near decade of experience was put to the test, however, when Walter Baker died suddenly on May 7, 1852, at the age of fifty-nine. Under the terms of the will, the mills were turned over to the trustees of Walter Baker's estate, who then leased the management of the company to Williams. Under the terms of the lease agreement Williams was to continue operations under the name of Walter Baker & Company.²⁴

Unfortunately, two years later on July 4, 1854, Sidney Williams died while on business in Montreal, Canada. The trustees then leased the company to Walter Bakers' step-nephew, Henry L. Pierce, who had only worked at the company for a few years.²⁵

HENRY L. PIERCE (1854-1895)

In 1849, at the age of twenty-four, Henry L. Pierce and his family moved from nearby Stoughton, Massachusetts, to the Lower Mills area of Dorchester. That same year Pierce began work at the chocolate mills as a clerk for his step-uncle, Walter Baker, as well as Sidney Williams, earning \$3 per week.²⁶

Pierce did not stay at Baker's very long. He found it difficult to work for Walter and left his job the following year because of differing political opinions. Walter was a conservative Webster Whig and Pierce's support of the Free Soil party greatly irritated Walter, quite possibly when the topic of slavery surfaced. Walter's personal views are not known, but the Webster Whigs believed that slavery was "a matter of historical reality rather than moral principle," and while it should not expand into new territories, slavery could not be removed from where it already existed. Conversely, Pierce was a staunch supporter of the anti-slavery movement and was active and vocal for the cause.²⁷

²³ Millar, *Calendar*, 34-36. This letter is transcribed in the *Calendar* and might possibly be a letter to Sidney Williams from Walter Baker located in the *Letterbook 1839-1845*, LA-1, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School. The date in the *Calendar* is stated as Jan 21, 1843 but due to the difficulty in reading the faded carbon copied letters within this book, the actual source has not currently been confirmed.

²⁴ Millar, Calendar, 46.

²⁵ Millar, Calendar, 46.

²⁶ James M. Bugbee, "Memoir of Henry Lillie Pierce," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, vol XI 1896-1897 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1897) 389; Frederick Clifton Pierce, Esq., *Pierce Genealogy* (Worcester, MA: Charles Hamilton, 1880) 208.

²⁷ Robert C. Byrd, "Daniel Webster: The Consitution and the Union," Classic Senate Speeches, U.S. Senate reprinted from The Senate, 1789-1989: Classic Speeches, 1830-1993, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1994 [online]; available from http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/generic/Speeches_ Webster_7March.htm; Internet, accessed 1 Nov 2005; Wikipedia, "Free Soil Party," Wikipedia, the Free Enclyclopedia [online]; available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Free_Soil_Party; Internet, accessed 1 Nov 2005; Bugbee, "Memoir," 390; Pierce, Pierce Genealogy, 208.

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After leaving Baker's in 1850, Pierce went west to Milwaukee to find work at a newspaper. He was unsuccessful and returned home to Dorchester the following year, and, at the request of Sidney Williams, returned to Baker's. Rather than work in the Dorchester offices, Pierce was put in charge of the Boston counting rooms at 32 South Market Street and paid \$800 per year.²⁸

Within two years Sidney Williams died, leaving Pierce in charge of the chocolate company. In 1854, Pierce leased the business from the Baker trustees for \$6,000 per year, with an additional \$3,000 annual payment to Walter Baker, Jr. to use the brand name "Baker." This \$9,000 was in addition to the annual cost of running the mill. Due to Pierce's limited time at Baker's, the trustees needed to know if he could rise to the challenge and continue to grow the company, so the agreement initially covered the first two years of a standard ten-year contract.²⁹

Pierce quickly proved himself to the trustees. His accomplishments ranged from absorbing his competitors and expanding the Lower Mills complex, to developing awareness of Baker's chocolate world-wide, to creating a company trademark and expanding advertising efforts, and even to running for political office. Over forty-two years Pierce established a significant presence for Baker's, leaving behind a legacy for both the company and himself in Dorchester.

There were three chocolate makers operating in Dorchester when Pierce began expanding Baker's. In 1860 he bought Preston's chocolate mill, leaving only one other competitor, Webb Chocolate, which he bought out in 1881. As business grew Pierce built larger mills that could handle greater production capacity. In 1868 he constructed his first mill with underground cooling rooms, allowing for summer chocolate production for the first time in 103 years. Buildings added under the watch of Pierce were the Pierce Mill (1872), Webb Mill (1882), Adams Street Mill (1889), and finally Walter Baker's 1848 stone mill was razed to make the new Baker Mill in 1895.³⁰

This increase in business opened Baker's to competition both in America and in Europe. To compete in a larger market, Pierce displayed his chocolate at world's fairs and expositions. Beginning in 1867 Baker's Chocolate and Cocoa became known world-wide when it won a Silver Medal at the Paris Exposition. In 1873 Baker's won the highest award at the Vienna Exposition and again in 1876 at the Philadelphia Centennial. Pierce's tradition of involvement at world's fairs continued well into the early twentieth century.³¹

²⁸ Bugbee, "Memoir," 390; Millar, Calendar, 46.

²⁹ Millar, *Calendar*, 46; Edward Pierce Hamilton, *Chocolate Village. The History of the Walter Baker Chocolate Factory* (Milton, MA: Milton Historical Society, 1966) 11. This small publication was originally prepared as a lecture at the Milton Historical Society.

³⁰ Millar, Calendar, 48-53.

³¹ "The Paris Exposition–Official List of Awards to American Exhibitors," *Scientific American*, 17, no 2 (22 July 13 1867): 2 [online] Cornell Library "Making of America," *Cornell University Library*, available from http://cdl.library.cornell.edu/moa/; Internet, accessed 22 July 2005;; Millar, *Calendar*, 51.

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Pierce also expanded advertising at Baker's. He oversaw plans to increase exposure in grocery stores, in magazines, and on book covers, as well as marketing campaigns directed to homemakers. The most significant advertising contribution Pierce made was his decision in 1877 to develop a company trademark based on the painting of a young chocolate girl. La Belle Chocolatière became the inspiration for one of America's best-known, and oldest, trademarks still in use today.³²

By relying heavily on Baker's manager H. Clifford Gallagher (who later became president of Baker's in 1896), Pierce was able to create a political presence not only in Boston but also in Washington, D.C. His passion for public affairs and politics led to four terms as a representative in the Massachusetts General Court, starting in 1860. He later served as a Boston alderman from 1869 to 1870, Mayor of Boston from 1872 to 1877, and as a member of Congress from 1873 to 1877.³³

After running the company for thirty years, Pierce purchased Baker's from the Baker estate trustees in 1884. The original 1854 lease included the 1848 stone mill building, a store house, a cooling house, and some out-buildings. Under this contract a certain percentage of money was paid to Walter Baker's widow. The lease was to terminate when either Mrs. Baker or Pierce died, but new arrangements must have been made since Pierce acquired full ownership seven years prior to Mrs. Baker's death.³⁴

In 1895 Pierce incorporated the chocolate company as Walter Baker & Company, Ltd. ending a 115-year legacy as a family-owned and operated company. Only one year later, Pierce died in Boston on December 17, 1896. In ill health, and preparing for a curative vacation, he was stricken by a paralyzing stroke and died a few days later. Because he was a prominent and well-known figure in Dorchester as well as Boston, his funeral was a major event. Shortly after his death, the intersection of Dorchester Avenue with Washington and Adams Streets, at the north end of the mills, was renamed Pierce Square in his honor.³⁵

CORPORATE OWNERSHIP (1895-PRESENT)

In 1895 Henry Pierce officially incorporated the company as Walter Baker & Company, Ltd. After one hundred and fifteen years Pierce said, "The die is cast. Walter Baker & Company [is] now a corporate body. They say corporations have no souls, but they outlive men, and I have done what I think best for the business and for everyone." J. Frank

- ³⁴ Millar, Calendar, 46; Hamilton, Chocolate Village, 10-11.
- ³⁵ Millar, Calendar, 55-56; Boston Daily Globe, 18 Dec 1896.

³² Walter Baker & Company, listed as Registrant, "Trademark", Registration Number 0044431, U.S. Patent and Trademark Office [online]; available from http://www.uspto.gov; Internet, accessed 14 September 2005; Trademark search indicates the image of La Belle was first used in commerce in 1877.

³³ Millar, *Calendar*, 50-51, 56; Dr. Robert A. Matthai and Laura Greenberg, *Draft Report, Phase 1 Historic Research and Documentation, Lower Mills Heritage State Park* (Larchmont, New York: Leone Design Group, Inc., 1985) 120.

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Howland was quickly elected as first president, and long-time company manager H. Clifford Gallagher as vice president. Gallagher then became president the following year.³⁶

After forty-two years of leading Baker's, Henry Pierce died on December 17, 1896. One year later the Baker's business and property were bought by a conglomerate of Boston capitalists, informally called the "Forbes Syndicate." John Malcolm Forbes, a high-powered Boston businessman, headed the group that purchased Baker's for 10,000 shares at \$475 each, for a total of \$4.75 million. The syndicate implemented new technology, such as new cooling systems and air conditioning, and electric and gasoline powered delivery trucks. Baker's advertising, marketing, and promotions expanded; new mills were built, including the Ware, Preston, and Forbes Mills; and a new production facility was created in Montreal, Canada, in 1911.³⁷

In 1927 Postum Cereal Company acquired Baker's from the Forbes Syndicate for approximately \$11 million. Baker's chocolate became one of several food brands owned by Postum, in addition to Jell-O gelatin and Maxwell House coffee. Restructured as a product division rather than a separate company, Baker's continued to survive through a variety of company changes, including Postum's name change to General Foods in 1929, and the 1965 move of the Baker's production facility from Dorchester to Dover, Delaware. Philip Morris Companies acquired General Foods in 1985, and Kraft, Inc. in 1988. Phillip Morris merged the two to form Kraft General Foods in 1989 and then renamed the company Kraft Foods in 1995. Today, Baker's remains a division of Kraft Foods and, after many years of production in Dover, Delaware, Baker's Chocolate is produced for Kraft Foods by a co-manufacturer at a facility in Quebec.³⁸

LOWER MILLS BUILDINGS

Chocolate manufacturing was in its infancy in late eighteenth-century America. As the industry expanded, the Baker family and their successors gradually moved out of rented mill space along the Neponset River in Dorchester, into permanent buildings solely dedicated to the production of chocolate. As Baker's became more established, competitors were bought out; new buildings were added to gradually form a large, well-designed industrial complex. By the early 1900s, Baker's Chocolate was *the* industrial center in the Lower Mills area of Dorchester.

³⁶ Millar, *Calendar*, 56; *General Foods Magazine: Walter Baker & Company 150th Anniversary*, Walter Baker Chocolate Company Archives, General Collection, 54A, Milton Historical Society, Milton, MA, 3.

³⁷ Millar, *Calendar*, 57; Wikipedia, "John Malcolm Forbes," *Wikipedia the Free Encyclopedia* 2005 [online]; available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Malcom_Forbes; Inernet, accessed 1 Nov 2005; Millar, *Calendar*, 60.

³⁸ New York Times, Jul 20, 1927. Wikipedia, "Post Cereals," Wikipedia the Free Encyclopedia 2005 [online]; available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Postum_Cereal_Company; Inernet, accessed 1 Nov 2005; Statement about Quebec facility received directly from Kraft Foods dated 3 Nov 2005.

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Early Mill Buildings

The earliest mills producing chocolate in Massachusetts were also wool, grist, paper, or saw mills that relied on water power from the Neponset River to operate their machinery. Because chocolate could only be made in colder weather, mills diversified in order to survive economically. Space was either rented to an individual chocolate maker, or a mill owner established a small chocolate grinding operation to enhance his own business.

John Hannon ground his first chocolate in Boies, Wentworth, and Stone's Milton sawmill in 1765. Later, Hannon moved his operation to the Dorchester fulling mill owned by Edward Preston (James Baker's brother-in-law). In 1772 James Baker began his own chocolate production in part of a paper mill. As their chocolate business increased, James Baker and his son Edmund continued renting out mills until Edmund built the first Baker family mill in 1806. Even this mill continued to work cloth and grist in addition to chocolate for a time.³⁹

Factory Buildings

The history of Baker's mill complex is one of adaptation and innovation. Through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries buildings were reused and rebuilt to serve the particular needs of a growing industry. The architecture complemented the topology of the river, adjusting to the steep, irregular banks and swift waters of the Neponset. Over time sturdy brick buildings replaced earlier wooden ones as mills burned or needed updating. By 1941 fourteen major structures made up the Baker's complex, most designed by the Boston architectural firm of Bradlee, Winslow and Wetherell. Many of the buildings, including the Pierce Mill, which dates from 1872, are still standing today.⁴⁰

Adams Street Mill

Built:	1888-1889 - Original
Designed by:	Winslow and Wetherell
Named for:	Its location along Adams Street
Style:	Romanesque Revival
Construction:	Six-story, brick, flat roof, curved facade
	hat connects to the Pierce Mill
Original Cost:	\$250,000

Prior to the building of the Adams Street Mill, the Adams Street Store House stood on the same site. Here, cocoa bean shipments were received and raw stock and finished goods were stored. In 1889, Henry Pierce began making a variety of chocolate products at the Adams Street Mill. This mill helped manufacture five tons of chocolate a day at the height of Baker's production in Dorchester.⁴¹

³⁹ Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society, *History*, 619-620, 635; Millar, *Calendar*, 4, 22.

⁴⁰ National Register of Historic Places Inventory, Nomination Forms for Dorchester/Milton Lower Mills Industrial District, prepared by Candice Jenkins, Massachusetts Historical Commission, 1979.

⁴¹ National Register, Nomination Forms for Dorchester/Milton Lower Mills; Matthai and Greenberg, *Draft Report*, 119. 188.

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Baker Mill Built: 1891 - Rebuilt Designed by: Winslow and Wetherell Named for: the Baker Family Style: Romanesque Revival Construction: Six-story, brick, flat roof Original Cost: \$135,000

The evolution of this particular mill site goes back to Dorchester's early history. Israel Stoughton built one of New England's first water-powered grist mills here in 1634. Over the decades it remained a grist mill until it was torn down in 1803. Edmund Baker bought the property and built the first Baker family chocolate, grist, and cloth mill here in 1806. This was the first mill on the Neponset River to use tub wheels.⁴²

Edmund replaced his 1806 wood-frame building with a granite-block one in 1813. This 40-foot square, three-story mill manufactured woolen cloth and satinette (a satin-like cloth) in addition to chocolate. A fire in 1848 damaged the building so severely that Edmund's son, Walter, reconstructed it from Quincy granite. Rebuilt with additional interior safeguards against fire, this new mill advertised the Baker's brand with a prominent sign that read "W. Baker & Co., Established 1780." Usually referred to as the Old Stone Mill, it remained predominantly a cacao roasting mill until it was torn down and replaced by the Baker Mill, the fifth mill to occupy the site, in 1891.⁴³

Forbes Mill

Built:	1911 - Original
Designed by:	Winslow and Wetherell
Named for:	J. Malcolm Forbes, who headed the Boston
	investment syndicate that bought Baker's in 1897
Style:	Romanesque Revival
Construction:	Six-story, brick, flat roof

Designed by the same architects that built the Baker Mill, the Forbes Mill shares the same scale and style as its companion on the other side of Baker's Court. The "Forbes Syndicate" purchased Walter Baker & Company in 1897 and further expanded the chocolate operation. In 1911, the Forbes Mill became the last of four structures built during this expansion phase and one of the last major buildings constructed in the Baker's complex.⁴⁴

⁴² Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society, *History of the Town of Dorchester*, 600; Matthai and Greenberg, *Draft Report*, 41,189.

⁴³ National Register, Nomination Forms for Dorchester/Milton Lower Mills; Millar, *Calendar*, 24, 41-42; Matthai and Greenberg, *Draft Report*, 188.

⁴⁴ National Register, Nomination Forms for Dorchester/Milton Lower Mills; Matthai and Greenberg, *Draft Report*, 188; Millar, *Calendar*, 60.

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Pierce MillBuilt:1872 - OriginalDesigned by:Bradlee and WinslowNamed for:Henry Lillie Pierce, fifth owner of Baker's
Style:Style:Second EmpireConstruction:Three-story, brick, mansard roof

Henry Pierce built the Pierce Mill (also called the Main Building or Mill No. 4) to expand all areas of production. This massive building, with its 20-inch-thick brick walls, originally included a basement to cool and pack chocolate, a floor for cocoa mixing and preparation, a packaging and storage area, a shipping office, and the large tower that housed Henry Pierce's office. Directly behind the Pierce Mill stood the Steam Mill (sometimes called the Boiler House). The five-story, brick Steam mill, completed in 1868, housed the first steam engine used at Baker's. Up until this new invention, mills relied on the power harnessed from water wheels.⁴⁵

Power House

Built:1906Designed by:Winslow and BigelowStyle:Romanesque detailing with
Neo-Classical proportionsConstruction:Two- and four-story, brick

Built along the Neponset River behind the Baker Mill, the Power House consolidated all electrical power for the mills. The building, with its distinctive 200-foot smokestack, contained three boilers and two generators that replaced the steam engines Baker's used in the late nineteenth century. The change in power source ultimately allowed for air conditioning and refrigeration installation throughout the mills. This made it possible to extend chocolate production through the summer months.⁴⁶

Preston Mill

Built:1903Designed by:Winslow and BigelowNamed for:James Baker's brother-in-law, Edward PrestonStyle:Georgian RevivalConstruction:Three-story, brick, flat roof

Baker's Preston Mill was built on the site of an old fulling mill owned by the Preston family. The site was made up of several small buildings: the original Preston Mill, the Middle Mill, and a Store House. Over time the building expanded and absorbed all three structures. Early manufacturing in these buildings included roasting, mill rooms, cocoa picking and sorting,

⁴⁵ National Register, Nomination Forms for Dorchester/Milton Lower Mills; Matthai and Greenberg, *Draft Report*, 117-119, 193; Millar, *Calendar*, 49.

⁴⁶ National Register, Nomination Forms for Dorchester/Milton Lower Mills; Matthai and Greenberg, *Draft Report*, 190.

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and an area for storage. Rebuilt in 1903, the larger Preston Mill was the companion building to the Ware Mill located on the Milton side of the Neponset River.⁴⁷

	Ware Mill
Built:	1902 - Rebuilt
Designed by:	Winslow and Bigelow
Named for:	Dr. Ware's mill which stood on the same site
Style:	Georgian Revival
Construction:	Three-story, brick, flat roof

Three mill buildings have occupied this site, on the Milton side of the Neponset River, over time. The first paper mill in the Massachusetts Bay Colony was erected here in the early eighteenth century. Then in 1840 the original Ware Mill was built by Dr. Jonathan Ware. Ware set up two grinding wheels, one for grist and one for chocolate. In 1843, Josiah Webb and Josiah Twombly began making chocolate in this mill and continued until 1850. They became the third significant chocolate makers along the Neponset River. Baker's probably began using this mill in 1881 after Henry Pierce bought out the Webb Chocolate Company. Early manufacturing in the Ware Mill consisted mainly of a mill room, a roasting area, and packing rooms. The new Ware Mill replaced the earlier wood-frame building that was destroyed by fire in 1901.⁴⁸

Webb Mill		
Built:	1882 - Rebuilt	
Designed by:	Bradlee and Winslow	
Named for:	Webb Chocolate Company	
Style:	Romanesque Revival	
Construction:	Four- and five-story, rough-faced	
	brownstone, flat roof	

Chocolate competitors Josiah Webb and Josiah Twombley moved to this mill location in 1850. Henry Pierce purchased Webb's chocolate company in 1881, and one year later, he built a new Webb Mill to replace the original building. During the 1880s the Webb Mill probably produced the No. 1, 2, and 3 chocolates. The main building contained cocoa bins, steam roasters, a mill room, and chocolate production rooms. The secondary building worked mainly as a power house, running engines, a mill, pumps, and boilers.⁴⁹

Just slightly to the east of the Webb Mill stood Baker's Eliot Mill. One half of the Eliot Mill was used for storage. The other half contained a cocoa picking and sorting department, a place

⁴⁷ National Register, Nomination Forms for Dorchester/Milton Lower Mills; Matthai and Greenberg, *Draft Report*, 117-119, 189-190.

⁴⁸ National Register, Nomination Forms for Dorchester/Milton Lower Mills; Matthai and Greenberg, *Draft Report*, 117-119, 189; Millar, *Calendar*, 52; Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society, *History*, 617, 620.

⁴⁹ National Register, Nomination Forms for Dorchester/Milton Lower Mills; Matthai and Greenberg, *Draft Report*, 117-119. Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society, *History*, 617; Millar, *Calendar*, 46, 52.

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for grinding and mixing sweet chocolates, and a basement for cooling chocolate. Some time around 1900 the Webb Mill absorbed the Eliot Mill to expand its production capacity.⁵⁰

Other Buildings

Administration Building

Built: 1918-1919 - Original Designed by: George F. Shepard Style: Georgian Revival

The Administration Building housed Baker's executive offices, exhibition rooms, a small chocolate museum, and a large-scale reproduction of the Baker trademark, *La Belle Chocolatière*, by Jean-Étienne Liotard. The angle of the Administration Building, its location within the mills, as well as its large "Walter Baker" neon sign, created a strong impression and focal point within the Baker's complex.⁵¹

Grain Elevator and Silos

Built: 1941 Construction: Concrete

A large grain elevator and nine pairs of concrete silos, originally located behind the Forbes Mill, stored cocoa beans for many years. The silos were built in response to the outbreak of World War II, when there was a high demand to supply chocolate rations for soldiers. Baker's stepped up its production because "there must be no shortage of chocolate, which is a chief essential of emergency rations for an army in the field." ⁵² The location of the silos near the Forbes Mill centralized roasting operations, simplified the manufacturing process, and saved on space and man power. The "Baker Chocolate" painted silos remained a landmark in the Lower Mills for decades. They were torn down in 1987.⁵³

Storehouses

Built: 1888-1890 Style: Queen Anne and Romanesque Revival Construction: Two-story, brick

These two storehouses were built near the Old Colony Railroad (now MBTA) right-of-way on the Milton side of the Neponset River. The rail lines, built in the mid-1840s, once

⁵³ *Hyde Park Gazette-Times*, 30 October 1941; Matthai and Greenberg, *Draft Report*, 194; David Arnold, "Scents of the City, From Sweet to Sour, *Boston Globe*, 28 November 1987.

⁵⁰ National Register, Nomination Forms for Dorchester/Milton Lower Mills; Matthai and Greenberg, *Draft Report*, 117-119.

⁵¹ National Register, Nomination Forms for Dorchester/Milton Lower Mills; Matthai and Greenberg, *Draft Report*, 190-193.

⁵² Hyde Park Gazette-Times, 30 October 1941.

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connected Plymouth to Boston via the Neponset Depot. These buildings stored raw materials and final products in addition to old machinery and equipment.⁵⁴

Houses in Lower Mills

Over time the area of Lower Mills developed as neighborhoods with architecturally diverse structures. Both owners and employees lived near the factories for decades, residing in homes spanning a variety of styles. Most employees rented rooms or apartments in multi-family dwellings, few owned their own homes. Many of these houses still exist and can be seen in the neighborhoods near Lower Mills.

Owner's Houses

James Baker House

James Baker built his house in the late 1760s on the corner of Washington and Norfolk Streets. He ran a small apothecary shop and later a general store from his home. The location was known for years as "Dr. Baker's Corner," and it is now a part of Codman Square in Dorchester.⁵⁵

Edmund Baker House

Little is known of Edmund Baker, Sr.'s house, which was originally located on the corner of Washington and Richmond Streets. In 1872 his son Edmund J. Baker demolished this house to erect a large mansion on the site.⁵⁶

Walter Baker House

Built in 1737, near the corner of Washington and Park streets, by Massachusetts Lieutenant Governor Andrew Oliver, this house went through several owners prior to Walter Baker. Colonel Benjamin Hichborn used it as a summer house until 1817, and James Penniman used the parlor as a school room prior to the opening of the Dorchester Academy in 1831. Walter Baker came into possession of the residence in the 1830s and lived there until his death in 1852. After Walter's widow Deborah died in 1891, the house was occupied by the Bichloride of Gold Institute, and later became the Colonial Club of Dorchester. In 1937 the building was finally replaced by the Lucy Stone School.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Matthai and Greenberg, Draft Report, 193.

⁵⁵ New England Historic Genealogical Society, *The New-England Historical and Genealogical Register* (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1889) 287; Clifford K. Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*. *Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College in the Classes 1756-1760* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1968) 550.

⁵⁶ New England Historic Genealogical Society, *Genealogical Register*, 287; *American Series of Popular Biographies. Massachusetts Edition* (Boston: Graves & Steinbarger, 1891) page unknown. Transcription of text provided 5 July 2005 by Earl Taylor, Dorchester Historical Society.

⁵⁷ William Dana Orcutt, *Good Old Dorchester. A Narrative History of the Town 1630-1893* (Cambridge, MA: The University Press, 1908) 401, 404-405. Dorchester Atheneum, "No. 8: Walter Baker House," *Dorchester Atheneum* [online]; available from http://www.dorchesteratheneum.org/search.php?searchterms=8&submit=Go; Internet, accessed on 9 Aug 2005.

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Henry Pierce House

Built around 1800, the Federal-style house at 1133 Washington Street was bought by Henry Pierce's parents, Jessie and Elizabeth, in 1849. Located close to the Baker's complex, Henry lived here to remain near company operations.⁵⁸

Employee Housing

In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, most of Baker's employees lived close to the mills. The neighborhoods of Lower Mills East and Lower Mills West housed many of the people working at Baker's, and were characterized as middle class and working class, respectively. While most workers rented rooms for themselves or multi-unit houses for their family, some employees eventually owned their homes. Many of the two-story houses that employees lived in still survive. The greatest concentration of buildings still standing today can be found just northwest of the mill buildings on Sanford, Sturbridge, Monson, Temple, Old Morton, River, Cedar, Idaho, and Groveland Streets.⁵⁹

In the 1920s approximately 1,000 people worked in the Baker's mills, and many lived near the mills in neighborhoods east and west of Dorchester Avenue and Adams Street. The structures colored in blue in the lower right corner indicate the Baker's mill complex. Those marked in red show where, in 1920, many employees lived.⁶⁰

The Architects

As Baker's Chocolate expanded their operations, new mill buildings were erected to house more facilities. The unified look of the Baker's complex in the Lower Mills, despite the use of different architectural styles, derived from a long-term relationship with the architectural firm of Nathaniel J. Bradlee, Walter Winslow, and George H. Wetherell. After Bradlee died, Henry F. Bigelow joined the practice. Located in Boston, the firm's credits initially revolved around Bradlee's reputation for his commercial downtown buildings as well as row houses in the South End and Back Bay neighborhoods. As the firm evolved, their portfolio expanded to include prominent Boston buildings such as the Parker House Hotel, the Hotel Touraine, the Board of Trade building, and the Shawmut

⁵⁸ Society of Architectural Historians (New England Chapter) et. al., "An Architectural Tour of the Roxbury and Dorchester Lower Mills Heritage State Parks and Their Neighborhoods," 14 April 1985, 7; Boston Landmarks Commission, "Lower Mills West Area Form," May 1995, copy posted at *Dorchester Atheneum* [online]; available from http://www.dorchesteratheneum.org/page.php?id=627; Internet, accessed on 9 Aug 2005.

⁵⁹ Anthony M. Sammarco, "Victorian Boston's Chocolate Village," *Victorian Walking Tours Today: Twelve Walking Tours*, ed. Mary Melvin Petronella (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004) 199; 1920 U.S. census, Suffolk County, Massachusetts, population schedule, town of Boston, enumeration districts [ED] 522, sheets 1B-7A, ED 523, sheets 1A-16B, ED 524, sheets 1A-12A, ED 525, sheets 1A-9A, National Archives micropublication T625, roll 739.

⁶⁰ 1920 U.S. census, Suffolk County, Massachusetts, population schedule, Boston, EDs 522-525, National Archives micropublication T625, roll 739.

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Bank building. The firm's ability to successfully mix different architectural motifs over many decades created a visual consistency within the Baker's Chocolate complex.⁶¹

TECHNICAL IMPROVEMENTS

During the eighteenth and much of the nineteenth century, chocolate manufacturing was a seasonal affair. Production could only happen during the cooler months, so chocolate was often a secondary product for wool, paper, or grist mills. In the Dorchester area, most early technology literally revolved around the Neponset River. It was the river's water flow that provided power for the mills. As technology improved, new forms of energy made it easier to produce chocolate all year. Steam and electrical power gradually influenced grinding technology and improved cooling within the mill buildings. Innovations in transportation increased shipping and receipt of materials to the mills and enhanced local distribution. But ultimately it was the railroad that helped Baker's gain national attention as trains began transporting chocolate across the country.

Power Sources

The earliest chocolate mills in Dorchester and Milton operated in tandem with paper, grist, and saw mills. The water flow from the Neponset River powered wheels that moved grinding stones for all types of materials. The mills John Hannon and James Baker worked in most likely used large "overshot" wheel mechanisms to obtain power.

By 1806 Edmund Baker installed the first known "tub" wheel in the area. Tub wheels, early versions of turbines, were probably located within the mill or protected by an exterior wooden structure to prevent ice forming on the wheels.⁶²

For most of the early years, the mills relied entirely on water power. In 1868, Henry Pierce installed the company's first steam engine and over time each mill created and used its own steam power. It was not until 1906 that Baker's finally built a stand-alone, 3,000 horse power, central power house to permanently serve all the mills. It contained three boilers and two generators that brought electricity to each building, allowing electric lights and motors to be installed throughout the complex. The use of coal to generate power was replaced in 1921 when the central power house switched to cleaner-burning fuel oil.⁶³

Grinding Chocolate

Before water-powered mills, cacao was ground by hand with a *manos* and *metate*, mortar and pestle, or small hand mills. This change from hand grinding to the use of water-powered grinding stones allowed for larger volume production. Rough mill stones, like

⁶¹ Matthai and Greenberg, *Draft Report*, 185; National Register, Nomination Forms for Dorchester/ Milton Lower Mills.

⁶² Matthai and Greenberg, Draft Report, 41, 102.

⁶³ Millar, Calendar, 49, 59, 62; Joe M. Chapple, "The House That Baker Built," The National, June 1906.

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those that ground corn, gradually became finer-grained and were eventually replaced by large steel rollers. Each change in material not only created a smoother product, but produced more chocolate in a shorter period of time.⁶⁴

Early chocolate grinding stones were similar to those that ground grains, and they provided enough heat during grinding to melt the chocolate. The surfaces of the stones had to be manually retooled or "dressed" with chisels on a regular basis. In 1898 the mill stones at Baker's were dressed using pneumatic cutting tools. Cylindrical rollers ultimately replaced flat grinding stones. Then the slower granite rollers were gradually replaced by marble, and by 1916 steel rollers were being used to grind sweet chocolate to a finer consistency. Computer controlled machinery meant the streamlining of production and increased product consistency.⁶⁵

Cooling Systems

Chocolate could not be produced in warm weather because it melted too quickly. By 1868, cooling rooms could be found below-ground in the mills. As technology advanced, artificial systems became more sophisticated. Soon these underground rooms had concrete floors with encased pipes circulating brine. The brine kept the temperature cool and constant, helping to extend chocolate making into the summer months.⁶⁶

In 1907 air conditioning came to Baker's mills. The first installation of an industrial air conditioning system at Baker's was designed, manufactured, and installed by B.F. Sturtevant Company of Hyde Park, Massachusetts. Air conditioning allowed chocolate manufacturing to continue year-round by improving the environment for the chocolate as well as the employees. The cooling system expanded in 1940 to include modern refrigeration in the warehouses as well.⁶⁷

Transportation

In 1830 the first steam-powered locomotive operated along the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Rail transportation expanded quickly and soon Baker's took advantage of this new distribution mode. The first mention of a shipment of Baker's chocolate via railroad occurred in 1843 along the Western Railroad. This line opened in 1839 between Worcester and Springfield, Massachusetts, and only two years later continued on to Albany, New York. The factory's close proximity to the rail lines also helped Baker's receive raw materials efficiently and ship finished products directly from their warehouses. Thirty years later, in 1869, the Transcontinental Railroad finally connected the East and West

⁶⁷ Millar, *Calendar*, 59, 65; Vincent Tocco, Jr., "History," *B.F. Sturtevant/Westinghouse-Sturtevant Historical Website*, 2005 [online]; available from http://www.sturtevantfan.com/; Internet, accessed 12 July 2005.

⁶⁴ Matthai and Greenberg, Draft Report, 76; Millar, Calendar, 61.

⁶⁵ Millar, *Calendar*, 57, 61.

⁶⁶ Millar, Calendar, 49; Chapple, "The House That Baker Built," The National.

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coasts. Baker's chocolates could now be transported quickly, easily, and economically to all major cities across America.⁶⁸

Baker's also took advantage of some of the earliest electric vehicles as delivery trucks. The first electric truck, purchased in 1909, was used mainly on the company grounds, and within five years five more trucks went into service. In 1914 the first gasoline truck became part of the fleet, gradually replacing the company horses and wagons. Over the next decade, horses were assigned minimal work and by 1928 the last team of horses was sold. ⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Wikipedia, "Baltimore and Ohio Railroad," *Wikipedia the Free Encyclopedia* 2005 [online]; available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baltimore_and_Ohio_Railroad; Internet, accessed 16 Sept 2005; Millar, *Calendar*, 36; Edward Appleton, "History of the Railways of Massachusetts," *The Railroad Enthusiasts, Inc.*, no. 1, 1871, reprinted on *Catskill Archive* [online[; available from http://www.catskillarchive.com/rrextra/abnere1.Html; Internet, accessed 16 Sept 2005.

⁶⁹ Millar, Calendar, 59-60, 62.

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THE CHOCOLATE

BAKER'S CHOCOLATES

During the early years of chocolate making in America there were few choices in the types of chocolate available. As knowledge and expertise improved, broader possibilities for new products emerged. Baker's gradually expanded from their standard, unsweetened chocolate line to powdered cocoas, sweet eating chocolate, chocolate for candy-making, and eventually flavored chocolate bars. Occasionally the company made short-term products for specific events or targeted markets. Baker's developed a large variety of chocolates, most during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but many did not last the test of time.

The products presented here represent a fraction of the products developed by Baker's over the last 225 years, but these are the most curious, notable or popular.

Unsweetened Chocolate

James Baker made chocolate for several years prior, but 1780 was the year when the first chocolate branded as "Baker's" was introduced. This first, pure, unsweetened chocolate later became known as No. 1 Premium, a cornerstone Baker's product that has survived into the twenty-first century.⁷⁰

In addition to the No. 1 Premium Chocolate, Baker's sold No. 2 and No. 3 varieties as well. No. 1, originally unnamed, was later called Best Chocolate after a lesser grade of chocolate was developed. No. 2 (Common Chocolate) was introduced in 1798, followed by No. 3 (Inferior Chocolate) in 1803. No. 2 and No. 3 were of lesser quality and No. 3, prior to 1865, was mainly supplied to slaves in the southern United States and the West Indies. This chocolate, which sold at almost half the price of the No. 1, contained so much ground rice that it produced a very thick and muddy chocolate drink.⁷¹

Other earlier and less expensive chocolate products included cacao shells and cracked cacao beans. Cacao shells, the outer covering of the beans, created a mild-tasting and very low-cost chocolate drink. The cracked cacao, or "nibs," was bought if individuals wanted to grind their own beans for an aromatic, full-flavored, economical drink.⁷²

⁷⁰ Kraft Foods, *Baker's Cocoa and Chocolate: Historical Chronology*, (Tarrytown, NY: Kraft Food Archive, 2003) 1; Miss Parola, *Chocolate and Cocoa Recipes* (Dorchester, MA: Walter Baker & Co, Ltd., 1916) 58.

⁷¹ Edmund Baker, *Account Book, 1792-1822*, entries dated 18 Dec 1798 and 24 May 1803, The Winterthur Library, Winterthur, DE; Millar, *Calendar, 33; Day Book Jan 1814-Dec 1827*, B-1, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School, 131, 179, 235. Averaged the wholesale prices of No. 1 and No. 3 chocolates over several years in 1820s.

⁷² Millar, Calendar, 52; Day Book, B-1, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library, 131.

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Breakfast Cocoa

In 1828 Coenraad van Houten developed a hydraulic press that could separate cocoa butter from chocolate liquor. The remaining de-fatted chocolate was then ground into a fine powder, known as "cocoa," which could be mixed into liquid much easier and faster.⁷³

It is not known exactly when Baker's first introduced their Breakfast Cocoa, but a mention of a Prepared Cocoa (or "Pd Cocoa") is found in 1835, along with a W. Baker's Powdered Cocoa in 1847. Over the years it was touted as a pure, healthful, and strengthening drink. No chemicals were used in its preparation and its easy digestibility made it palatable for "invalids as well as persons in health." Breakfast Cocoa became one of Baker's best-selling products and remained popular until 1952, when it was discontinued and replaced by a different cocoa mix.⁷⁴

Sweet Chocolate

In 1847 the first sweet, *eating* chocolate bar was developed by J.S. Fry & Sons in Bristol, England. Walter Baker followed quickly in 1849 with his own sweet chocolate brand, Caracas, which was the same name as one of the highest quality cacao beans available on the market at the time. It is not clear if the earliest version of the Caracas chocolate bar was made specifically for eating, but it ultimately enjoyed a long life as one of Baker's most popular sweet chocolates for eating and drinking well into the twentieth century.⁷⁵

One of Baker's best known but also most confused products is German's chocolate. The confusion surrounding the German's Chocolate name goes all the way back to its creation in 1852. German's Sweet Chocolate was named after its creator, Samuel German, not in reference to the country of Germany. Samuel German, an Englishman and Walter Baker's former coachman, became a senior chocolate maker during his years at Baker's. The chocolate German developed, advertised as a favorite with children, became one of the most popular eating and baking chocolates available. Samuel German's chocolate has truly lasted the test of time and can be bought in stores today still under the name Baker's German Chocolate. Over the years, the name "German's runed into "German," The origin of "German Chocolate Cake" comes from the use of this chocolate in the recipe.⁷⁶

⁷³ Sophie D. Coe and Michael D. Coe, *The True History of Chocolate* (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 1996) 241-242.

⁷⁴ Ledger 1834-1841, entries in 1835, A-1, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School, 45; Millar, *Calendar*, 39; Kraft Foods, *Historical Chronology*, 1, 3; Miss Parola, *Chocolate and Cocoa*, 58.

⁷⁵ Coe and Coe, *The True History of Chocolate*, 243; International Cocoa Organization, "In Which Country Were the First Chocolate Bars Made?" *International Cocoa Organization*, 19 Sept 2000 [online]; available from http://www.icco.org/questions/history5.htm; Internet, accessed 22 July 2005; Bruce Millar, ed., *Calendar*, 43; Miss Parola, *Chocolate and Cocoa Recipes*, 59.

⁷⁶ Millar, *Calendar*, 46; Miss Parola, *Chocolate and Cocoa Recipes*, 59; Barbara Mikkelson, "Germanely Chocolate Cake," *Snopes: Urban Legend Reference Pages*, 31 Dec 1998 [online]; available from http://www.snopes. com/business/names/cake.asp; Internet, accessed 22 July 2005.

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Some of Baker's other sweet chocolate brand names included Eagle Chocolate, Vanilla Chocolate, and French Chocolate. Uncharacteristically slow on development, Baker's finally introduced its first milk chocolate in 1928, forty-nine years after the first milk chocolate was created in Switzerland by Daniel Peter and Henri Nestlé.⁷⁷

Confectionery Chocolate

In 1880 Baker's developed a method of making chocolate coatings to be used with candy or other confections. These chocolates were either already in a liquid form or advertised as a solid cake of chocolate that would melt quickly and easily.⁷⁸

The earliest brand, Dot Chocolate, was of high-quality chocolate specifically formulated to melt down for home-made candies. Later, Falcon Cocoa and Soluble Chocolate became key ingredients in making chocolate syrup for hot and cold sodas, and chocolate liquors for candy coatings.⁷⁹

Current confectionery products consist of Baker's Chocolate Chunks, which replaced the smaller Chocolate Chips in 2001. These bite-sized pieces are often used in cookies, but they also quickly melt down for puddings, chocolate coatings, and dipping. The most recent addition to the Baker's product lineup, introduced in 2002, is individually packaged Dipping Chocolate: small tablets of chocolate that melt in a microwave-ready cup.⁸⁰

Candy Products

Vanilla Tablets, an early candy, were small pieces of chocolate, each wrapped in foil. They were made specifically as a quick, easy-to-share snack or dessert, not as something to melt down or bake with. ⁸¹

1940 ushered in a whole new line of products that included Jubilee Mint Wafers, Jubilee Rum and Butter Wafers, Jumbo Almond Bars, Mocha-Milk Chocolate Bars, Coconut-Cashew Bars, Malted Milk Crunch Bars and Peanut Jumbo Bars. All of these products were discontinued within a short period of time. ⁸²

Specialty Chocolates

Baker's special, short-run chocolate brands included Century Sweet Chocolate, which debuted in 1900, to celebrate the turn of the century. Other specialty chocolates helped with war efforts. Baker's has a history of producing chocolate specifically for United

⁸⁰ Baker's Chocolate "Baker's Brands," *Kraft Foods* 2005 [online]; available from http://www.kraftfoods.com/ BakersChocolate/BakersBrands.htm; Internet, accessed 28 Oct 2005.

- ⁸¹ Miss Parola, Chocolate and Cocoa Recipes, 61.
- ⁸² Kraft Foods, *Historical Chronology*, 3.

⁷⁷ Promotional Card showing Exposition Awards and Products, dated 1 Dec 1875, Advertising-Circulars-Labels-Clippings-Etc. Folder, Unbound Material, K-1, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School; Kraft Foods, *Historical Chronology*, 3; Coe and Coe, *The True History of Chocolate*, 250.

⁷⁸ Kraft Foods, *Historical Chronology*, 2; Miss Parola, *Chocolate and Cocoa Recipes*, 60-61.

⁷⁹ Miss Parola, *Chocolate and Cocoa Recipes*, 60-61; *Sample Label of W. Baker & Co, Soluble Chocolate*, Advertising-Circulars-Labels-Clippings-Etc. Folder, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library.

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States and allied soldiers at war. During World War I, in 1917, they focused a large portion of their production on creating the W.T.W. brand, which stood for "Win The War" As part of troop rations.⁸³

Health Benefits

For centuries chocolate has been touted for its health benefits. Promoters cited its medicinal uses and even praise it as a "perfect food." Early on, Baker's advertised their chocolates as pure and healthful products that were often supported by physicians as well as medical journals.⁸⁴

While all of Baker's chocolates enjoyed medical endorsements, Walter Baker took pride in the products specifically marketed for those suffering from illness. The earliest specialty chocolate was sold in 1844 as Walter Baker's Homeopathic Chocolate. By 1849 Baker's Broma and Cocoa Paste, another product for health purposes, began distribution. It is not clear if these were two variations of the same product, because Broma and Cocoa claimed the same nutritional benefits. He considered his Broma and Cocoa Paste, made from a secret recipe purchased in England, to be highly beneficial nourishment for invalids. It was touted as a nutritious and welcomed change from the typical rice, starch, and barley concoctions hospital patients usually ate. Many doctors even provided written endorsements for Baker's products and recommended the use of Broma and Cocoa Paste.⁸⁵

Product Quality and Purity

From the beginning, chocolate quality was a central issue for Baker's. Even John Hannon, in 1777, advertised his product as pure along with a guarantee that "if the chocolate does not prove good, the money will be returned."⁸⁶ Walter Baker made the first strides to actively establish the quality of his products and to keep Baker's reputation intact. In 1842, Baker's began the practice of having any products that were "the worse for age" returned to the factory at the company's expense. Walter Baker felt that if a customer's experience with his chocolate was bad, it would reflect poorly on the company, ultimately being "more injurious to me than its return."⁸⁷

At the hands of one of Baker's 19th-century presidents, maintaining quality even won over the chance to save a penny. This president (probably H. Clifford Gallagher) questioned whether or not a thin, final coating on their No. 1 Premium was really necessary and cost effective. After personally experimenting, he found the coating did not change the flavor of the chocolate and actually helped keep the product in good condition over time.

⁸³ Millar, *Calendar*, 57, 61.

⁸⁴ James M Bugbee, *Cocoa and Chocolate: A Short History of Their Production and Use* (Dorchester, Mass.: Walter Baker & Co. Ltd., 1899) 30.

⁸⁵ "Miscellaneous" *Scientific American* 5, no. 15 (29 Dec 1849): 114 [online] Cornell Library "Making of America," *Cornell University Library*, available from http://cdl.library.cornell.edu/moa/; Internet, accessed 22 July 2005; Millar, *Calendar*, 37, 44.

⁸⁶ John Hannon Best Chocolate Advertisement or Wrapper, Miscellaneous Collection, Box 54F-2, Walter Baker Chocolate Company Archives, Milton Historical Society, Milton, MA.

⁸⁷ Bruce Millar, Calendar, 34.

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He concluded that "although a great saving to the manufacturer might be made, I believe if this preparation were left off it would be a serious detriment to the good keeping qualities of the goods." ⁸⁸

Tracking the consistency and quality of the chocolate-making process had been part of Baker's procedures for decades, but in 1934 the company officially established a quality control laboratory. This lab developed a series of codes to mark products so they could be quickly identified in case of a customer inquiry.⁸⁹

Baker's Breakfast Cocoa gained popularity not only because of its purported healthy benefits, but also the purity of its ingredients. The easy-to-prepare Breakfast Cocoa competed against the Dutch Cocoa other companies were advertising. The process of creating Dutch Cocoa involves the use of chemicals that help make the chocolate milder, and much quicker to make. In order to compete in the market, Baker's condemned the dutching process and promoted the *purity* of their chocolate to separate Baker's from the competition. Magazine advertisements stated that "for more than one hundred years this establishment has made its cocoa preparations absolutely pure, using no patent process, alkalies, or dyes." By the 1880s they also used chemical analysis and chemist's testimonials in addition to doctor's endorsements to help prove their claims.⁹⁰

LA BELLE CHOCOLATIERE

The familiar image of *La Belle Chocolatière* (the beautiful chocolate girl) has graced Baker's product packaging and advertisements for nearly one hundred and thirty years. The legend of Baker's well-known trademark – *La Belle*, as she is affectionately known – began in the 1870s. Inspired by a painting and a romantic tale of a young eighteenth-century Austrian woman, this legend, as with most, is hard to verify.

Yet fact or fiction, because *La Belle*'s image has successfully survived in a variety of forms for over a century, the story of the painting, the artist and how *La Belle* came to represent Baker's Chocolate deserves to be told.

⁸⁸ Letter Discussing Premium No. 1 Chocolate Coating, unsigned and undated, Miscellany-Historical Notes Folder, Unbound Materials, K-1, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School. This letter is believed to have been written by H. Clifford Gallagher based on the date he states to have entered the chocolate business.

⁸⁹ Bruce Millar, *Calendar*, 63.

⁹⁰ Coe and Coe, *The True History of Chocolate*, 242. International Cocoa Organization, "What is 'Dutching?" *International Cocoa Organization*, 26 May 1998 [online]; available from http://www.icco.org/questions/ dutch.htm; Internet, accessed 22 July 2005; *Advertisement titled "The Effect on the Human System" clipped from Northwestern Medical Journal*, circa 1890, page 16, Advertising-Circulars-Labels-Clippings, Etc. Folder, Unbound Materials, K-1, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.

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About La Belle

The use of *La Belle* as the company trademark originated with Baker's fifth owner, Henry Pierce. During a European trip in the late 1870s, Pierce saw the original pastel painting, *La Belle Chocolatière de Vienne* by Jean-Étienne Liotard, hanging in the Dresden Gallery in Dresden, Germany. He was so taken with the image of a beautiful young woman serving chocolate, that he arranged to have a large-scale replica painted for display at the Baker's offices in Dorchester.⁹¹

In 1877 Henry Pierce first used an image of *La Belle* on packaging and in advertisements. He also applied for a trademark. Approval was given five years later and *La Belle* became Baker's official company trademark in 1883. *La Belle* has gone through many stylistic variations over the decades, but the essence of her original form is still in use today.⁹²

In 1919 the large painting of *La Belle* commissioned by Pierce moved to a distinguished place in the recently completed Administration Building at the Baker's complex. It hung on the first floor landing, in direct view of the front door, until 1965 when General Foods moved Baker's to Dover, Delaware. While some sources report the painting hanging in the General Foods corporate offices in Dover after the move, it appears that it actually never left Dorchester. In the late 1970s it was found still hanging in the Administration Building, hidden by many layers of industrial paint.⁹³

Local art restorer Bob Albert was called in to bring *La Belle* back to her former glory. The painting had suffered extensive damage, and was missing paint on parts of *La Belle's* right arm, tray, and dress. There was even a hole punched through the canvas to hang a clock. After much work, the restored painting was unveiled in 1980 and once again hangs prominently on the first-floor landing of the Administration Building.⁹⁴

The Story Behind the Painting

There are often conflicting accounts associated with legends, and Baker's *La Belle* is no exception. While there is clear evidence that Henry Pierce drew on Liotard's pastel in creating Baker's famous trademarkk, verifying who *La Belle* was and how she came to be the subject of Liotard's work in the first place is another matter entirely. Contradictory

- ⁹³ White, Dorchester Community News.
- ⁹⁴ White, Dorchester Community News.

⁹¹ Koneta Roxby, "La Belle Chocolatière." *Yankee*, June 1965, 77; Jeanne F. White, "Baker Chocolate Girl Restored," *Dorchester Community News*, May 28, 1980, McGrath Collection, Walter Baker Chocolate Company Archives, Milton Historical Society, Milton, MA. There are many conflicting time frames for this European trip. Some dates are as early as 1862, others as late as 1881. Most likely it would have been around 1877 since Walter Baker & Company applied to use *La Belle* as a trademark in 1877.

⁹² Walter Baker & Company, listed as Registrant, "Trademark", Registration Number 0044431, U.S. *Patent and Trademark Office* [online]; available from http://www.uspto.gov; Internet, accessed 14 September 2005; Trademark search indicates the image of *La Belle* was first used in commerce in 1877; *Memo of Advertising by Walter Baker & Co.*, Advertising Memos Folder, Unbound Materials, K-1, Walter Baker Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School. This document provides 1878 as the year *La Belle* was first used as the image for Baker's. The memo provides no additional sources for the information listed in it. It is undated, but based on its contents, it could be dated around 1898.

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stories revolve around the origin of the beautiful chocolate girl, and Henry Pierce might also have presented an embellished version to make the image more marketable.

The story of *La Belle* promoted by Baker's involves Anna Baldauf, a young woman from Vienna, Austria. Legend has it that she was the daughter of Melchior Baldauf, a knight living in Vienna during the 1760s. Anna may or may not have earned her living as a chocolate server, but the story claims that a Prince Dietrichstein entered a chocolate shop on a cold day and noticed her beauty. They fell in love and soon married, despite their different social classes. Liotard was traveling through the city drawing portraits of Austrian royalty when Dietrichstein asked him to capture Anna's likeness as a wedding gift.⁹⁵

As romantic as this tale sounds, there are some problematic discrepancies. Other versions of the legend place Liotard in Vienna in 1745 long before Prince Dietrichstein was born. Indeed, written documents show Count Algarotti, an art buyer, purchasing the piece in Venice, Italy on February 3, 1745. He bought the pastel, titled "Stoubenmenche" (possibly "Stubenmädchen" or chambermaid), describing it as "from the famous Liotard a pastel of about three feet high...which represents a young German chambermaid carrying a tray on which is a glass of water and a cup of chocolate." Algarotti bought the piece on behalf of Augustus of Saxony, the King of Poland, who hung it in the Dresden Gallery. It has remained there ever since, except for a period during World War II when it was removed for safe keeping.⁹⁶

The Dresden Gallery provides additional details suggesting the existence of *two* women by the name of Anna Baldauf, living fifty years apart. The 1965 Schäfer guidebook for the Dresden Royal Portrait Collection states, "She was born around 1730 in Vienna, was named Anna Baldauf, and was famous as the 'beautiful nursemaid.' But she is not to be confused with the Viennese Anna Baldauf who was married to Prince Johann Baptista Karl Walther von Dietrichstein on July 23, 1802."⁹⁷

The Artist

Born in Geneva, Switzerland in 1702, Jean-Étienne Liotard demonstrated a talent for drawing at a very early age. Initially trained in oil painting, he refined his delicate style by creating miniatures. He later applied his skill for fine detail to the pastel medium, for which he is best known. In his twenties he moved to Paris and studied in a prominent studio, but left for Italy after a rejection from the Académie Royale. Painting portraits along the way, he traveled through the Mediterranean, finally settling for several years in Constantinople. By adopting the native dress, and growing a substantial beard, he earned the nickname of "the Turkish painter" while he made portraits of prominent British colonists in Constantinople. Liotard spent the rest of his career traveling throughout

⁹⁵ Miss Parola, Chocolate and Cocoa Recipes, 3.

⁹⁶ Roxby, Yankee, 77, 154; Frank Davis, "A Page for Collectors: Message to America." *The Illustrated London News*, date unknown, General Collection, Walter Baker Chocolate Company Archives, Milton Historical Society, Milton, MA.

⁹⁷ Roxby, Yankee, 155.

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Europe creating pastel portraits, and was quite well-known and admired during his lifetime. At the age of eighty-seven, Liotard died in Geneva in 1789.98

ADVERTISING, MARKETING AND PROMOTION

Every business needs to advertise to make consumers aware of its products. In the 1840s Walter Baker took an early interest in newspaper advertising to market his chocolate to a wider audience. As the Baker's brand grew over the decades, advertising and marketing efforts expanded dramatically. Beginning in the 1870s owner Henry Pierce developed additional marketing strategies that included magazines, billboards, store displays, recipe books, and even international exhibits at World's Fairs.

Along with an increase in public awareness came competition. Some companies attempted to cash in on Baker's success and deceive consumers by using similar packaging and product names. But Baker's remained vigilant and launched new advertising plans to ensure the public knew how to distinguish their chocolate from the competition. They also developed marketing strategies that educated as well as entertained those buying Baker's products. New recipe books, public factory tours to students and clubs, and a wide array of promotional items all kept the name of Baker's Chocolate firmly in the minds of consumers well into the twentieth century.

Newspapers

In the early 1840s Walter Baker began to actively advertise his products in local newspapers and by 1848 he employed a Mr. Palmer, an advertising agent in Boston, to place ads nationally. Subsequent owner Henry Pierce continued the trend by hiring Stephen R. Niles of Boston to take over Baker's advertising in 1872. At the time ads were running in over 150 regional newspapers, focusing mainly in the New England area. The ad campaigns proved so successful that by 1888 Baker's chocolate ads were found in 530 daily, weekly, and monthly papers across the country. The focus of the advertisements changed by 1896 when the Niles started targeting housewives in 8,000 national newspapers.⁹⁹

Magazines and Books

By incorporating magazines into the advertising plan and focusing on the purchasing power of homemakers, Baker's expanded its presence in the chocolate business. More women were exposed to Baker's Chocolate during the 1890s because of ads placed in magazines such as *Harper's*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Godey's* and the *Atlantic*. Sometimes ads ran next to special interest articles for homemakers in magazines like *Ladie's Home Journal*,

⁹⁸ The J. Paul Getty Trust, "Jean-Étienne Liotard," *Explore Art, Getty Museum*, 2004 [online] available from http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/bio/a548-1.html; Internet, accessed 14 September 2005; Encyclopedia Britannica Article, "Liotard, Jean-Étienne," *Encyclopedia Britannica Online* [online] available from http://www.britannica. com/eb/article-9048432; Internet, accessed 14 September 2005; Davis, *The Illustrated London News*.

⁹⁹ Millar, *Calendar*, 41; *Memo of Advertising by Walter Baker & Co.*, Advertising Memos Folder, Unbound Material, K-1, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School; Matthai and Greenberg, *Draft Report*, 168. Matthai and Greenburg suggest that Mr. Palmer might be Volney Palmer who is considered to be "America's first advertising agent" according to Stephen Fox in *The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertising and its Creators*.

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Harper's Bazaar, New York Weekly Tribune, and the *Youth's Companion*. Between 1891 and 1898, full-page ads appeared on the back covers of over six million fiction books. This high volume of print advertising brought Baker's Chocolate into the minds of millions of people and ultimately into their kitchens as well.¹⁰⁰

Posters and Billboards

By the 1870s the company began producing and distributing lithographed cards and signs for use in grocery stores around the country. They purchased space for larger posters that hung inside streetcars and streetcar stations in major cities around the country, including New York, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and St. Louis. As railroad travel became more popular, they also erected billboards along main train routes near large cities.¹⁰¹

Costs

Just as with advertising today, promoting a product in the late nineteenth century was an expensive venture. Between 1891 and 1898 Baker's Chocolate spent nearly \$1.5 million on advertising around the country, an average of \$181,000 each year. The 2005 equivalent for these annual advertising costs would be approximately \$3.7 million. This same aggressive advertising trend happened all across the country between the 1860s and 1890s as national expenditures skyrocketed from \$50 million to \$500 million.¹⁰²

Early Competition

If imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, then many chocolate makers must have thought very highly of Baker's. As Henry Pierce marketed the Baker's brand nationally, several competitors took advantage of not only the company name but also product names. As a deterrent, Baker's actively educated their customers in product packaging so buyers would not accidentally purchase a competitor's chocolate.

Some competitive brands creatively employed similar naming techniques. Winthrop M. Baker in Boston promoted his product as "Baker's" and also used an image of a woman in his advertisements. Brooks' Chocolate of New York used similar product names including Brooks' Premium No. 1 Chocolate, German American Sweet Chocolate, and French Sweet Chocolate. In 1876, Henry Pierce sued Henry Maillard for trademark violations because he used the name German Sweet Chocolate. Pierce won and Maillard had to destroy all labels, wrappers, packaging and advertising associated with that product.

As you can see, one competitor, Chicago's Englehard Brothers Garden City Sweet Chocolate, even packaged its product almost exactly like Baker's German's Chocolate.

¹⁰⁰ Memo of Advertising, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library.

¹⁰¹ Memo of Advertising, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library.

¹⁰² Memo of Advertising, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library; Matthai and Greenberg, Draft Report, 169.

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The name is different, but an undiscerning eye could be deceived because of the slight variation in coloring of the package.¹⁰³

World's Fairs and Expositions

In 1851 the first World's Fair was held in London. World's Fairs were, and continue to be, venues for displaying new technologies and ideas, both commercially and culturally, from nations around the globe. Owner Henry Pierce quickly saw the value of these expositions as exciting new ways to market Baker's Chocolate to a much broader audience. Walter Baker & Company made its World's Fair debut at the 1867 Paris Exposition and won a silver medal. This began a tradition of Baker's Chocolate and Cocoa being served at World Fairs and Expositions for many years to come.¹⁰⁴

By 1916 Baker's Chocolate had received 57 high awards in both the United States and Europe. Some of the more notable fairs and expositions were held in Vienna (1873), Philadelphia (1876), Paris (1878 and 1900), Chicago (1893), Buffalo (1901), and St. Louis (1904). Over the years Baker's consistently gained high reviews at these venues by winning many gold medals.¹⁰⁵

Recipe Books

The distribution of recipe booklets began with a 24-page, chocolate preparation pamphlet in 1876 at the Philadelphia Exposition. By 1880 the first of the 40-page *Choice Recipes* booklets were produced. Designed to broaden the homemaker's cache of chocolate recipes, a million of these were distributed over a five-year span. Just six years later, a larger 179-page book included not only recipes but also a history of the production of cocoa and chocolate. In 1893 Miss Maria Parola, a famous local cooking instructor and cookbook author, began her long involvement with Baker's cookbooks by including cooking suggestions and tips along with recipes. Over the years additional women contributed a wide variety of mouth-watering desserts, drinks, and confections using the different varieties of chocolate Baker's offered. Gradually, these new cookbooks included illustrations along with more sophisticated cooking, baking, decorating, and time-saving techniques to assist homemakers.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Copy of Decree: Henry L. Pierce against Henry Maillard in the Supreme Court of the State of New York, dated 23 December 1876, Miscellany-Sq. Ft. of Flooring-Legal Documents-1876 Folder, Unbound Material, K-1, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School; Englehard Bros. Garden City Sweet Chocolate product label, Advertising-Circulars-Labels-Clippings-Etc. Folder, Unbound Material, K-1, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School

¹⁰⁴ Urso S. A. Chappell, "History Overview," *Expo Museum: The World of World's Fairs*, 2005 [online]; available from http://expomuseum.com/history/; Internet, accessed 18 July 2005.

¹⁰⁵ Walter Baker & Co. Ltd., *Description of the Educational Exhibit of Cocoa and Chocolate* (Dorchester, MA: Walter Baker & Co. Ltd, 1916) frontispiece.

¹⁰⁶ Memo of Advertising, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School; Walter Baker & Company, Inc., Famous Chocolate Recipes. Selected by Frances Lee Barton, (New York: General Foods Corporation, 1936); Michigan State University, "Miss Parola," Feeding America: The Historic American Cookbook Project, February 23 2003 [online]; available from http://digital.lib.msu.edu/projects/cookbooks/html/ authors/author_parloa.html; Internet, accessed 1 August 2005.

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During the two World Wars, product rationing was a daily part of life and basic food staples such as flour, butter, and sugar were in limited supply. A recipe book insert titled *Changing the Cook Book to Meet War Conditions* was handed out to adapt recipes for wartime rationing. They provided creative substitutions, such as rice, corn, or rye flour in place of white flour; vegetable oils or margarine for butter; and maple sugar, honey, or corn syrup for sugar. Because these items were such an integral part of cooking and baking with chocolate, Baker's willingness to provided suggestions on how to adapt recipes probably helped consumers to better cope with wartime rationing restrictions.¹⁰⁷

Product Giveaways

In tandem with the recipe booklets, Walter Baker & Company used promotional items to keep the name of Baker's Chocolate fresh in people's minds. Third-generation owner Walter Baker displayed promotional genius when he came up with a creative packaging idea for miners during the 1849 California Gold Rush. Not only were his spiced Spanish and sweet French chocolate beverages quick and easy to fix in the field, but "the tin boxes, after they are emptied...would be good for gold dust." ¹⁰⁸Baker's later adapted this idea to its Breakfast Cocoa tins. In 1881 the company began offering decorative tins "that will prove very useful to the housekeeper after being emptied of its original contents." ¹⁰⁹

It is not known when Baker's first developed its product giveaway strategy for the public, but over the years they used a wide range of items for promotion, just as many food companies do today. Giveaways included: trade cards, cups and saucers, serving trays, bookends, spoons, pencil sharpeners, tins, jars, cake stands, chocolate molds, playing cards, chocolate sets, and toy trains. The list is long and includes many useful as well as entertaining items. Today, Baker's Chocolate memorabilia is actively sought after by food and chocolate collectors alike.

Factory Visits

As with many product manufacturing companies, Baker's often gave tours of the mills to the public, mainly through school groups and clubs. In the 1920's, for example, most visitors were girl's and women's groups, local high schools, and colleges such as Milton Academy Girl's School and Radcliffe College. Local "domestic science" colleges such as Worcester Domestic Science School and the Trade School for Girls also visited to see the manufacturing process. Groups of men most often came with their chemistry classes or clubs from schools such as Harvard Medical School, Harvard School of Public Health, the MIT Chemical Society, and the Plant Engineer's Club. ¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Alice Bradley, *Changing the Cook Book to Meet War Conditions*, undated insert placed into front cover of a Miss Parola, *Chocolate and Cocoa Recipes*. 1916 version of recipe book originally owned by Helen Coolidge von Sneidern, currently in the possession of Peter von Sneidern.

¹⁰⁸ Letter from Walter Baker to Messrs. Levering & Gay, San Francisco, dated Nov 27 1849, Letter Book 1846-1850, LA-2, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.

¹⁰⁹ Letter from Walter Baker & Company to Gentlemen [general stores], dated Jan 10 1881, Advertising-Circulars-Labels-Clippings-Etc. Folder, Unbound Material, K-1, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.

¹¹⁰ Visitor's Book 1916-1932, Scrapbooks, H-7, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.

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Demonstrations and Lectures

Baker's also promoted their products through cooking demonstrations. Expositions and fairs reached the largest amount of people, but even small local grocery stores made an effort. Not only did the grocers benefit from the demonstrations by selling more products, but customers learned new techniques and recipes so they could enjoy chocolate drinks and baked goods more often. ¹¹¹

For many years Baker's actively promoted the purity of their chocolate and cocoa. To increase consumer knowledge, pamphlets titled *Some Notes on the Adulteration of Food* were distributed free to doctors, teachers, and homemakers to educate the public on Baker's chocolate products. Small sample boxes were distributed to help with educational demonstrations in schools. Students learned what cocoa beans looked like, what products came from processing the beans, and saw small samples of the brands Baker's sold. ¹¹²

In the 1890s a man named E.B. Worrell gave lectures around the country discussing the food value of cocoa and chocolate. It is not known what kind of relationship Mr. Worrell had with Baker's Chocolate, but it would not be surprising if he was a paid spokesman, since his lectures included product endorsements for Walter Baker & Company chocolates. ¹¹³

Distributing Baker's Products Distributors

When James Baker first started making chocolate in the 1770s, much of his trade was based on a barter system. In exchange for goods and supplies, James ground cocoa for local merchants in Dorchester and Boston who would then sell the final product. James's son, Edmund, began shipping products outside of New England as early as 1795, his first shipments going to merchants in Baltimore, Maryland. Business connections were made in Richmond and Norfolk, Virginia in 1800, followed by Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in 1802.¹¹⁴

As transportation improved it became easier and cheaper to ship products further from New England. By the 1830s, third-generation owner Walter Baker shipped his products all along the Atlantic Coast from Halifax, Nova Scotia, and Portland, Maine, to Savannah, Georgia, and New Orleans, Louisiana. With the advent of the railroad, Walter Baker was able to expand business by shipping goods and employing sales agents in large cities around the country. These regional agents took care of all the sales and distribution of

¹¹¹ Memo of Advertising, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.

¹¹² Memo of Advertising, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School; Education Exhibit: Cocoa and Chocolate, Miscellaneous Collection, Box 54F-3, Walter Baker Chocolate Company Archives, Milton Historical Society, Milton, MA.

¹¹³ Memo of Advertising, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.

¹¹⁴ James Baker, *Business Records 1761-1823*, Manuscript Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA; Edmund Baker, *Account Book, 1792-1822*, entry dated Dec. 1795, The Winterthur Library: Winterthur, DE. Wales & Clapper was the Baltimore merchant listed in Edmund's account book. They did business with Edmund Baker into the early 1800s.

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Baker's products into their local markets. By 1925 key regional offices were located in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Montreal, and Winnipeg.¹¹⁵

Grocery Stores

Walter Baker encouraged the development of in-store displays early on with the introduction of "Spiced Cocoa Sticks." In 1840, Baker wrote to a distributor stating he wanted good tinfoil used for the wrapping of his product. He explained that "the grocers generally pile it up crossways on their counters in their windows or in triangles, and it is an attractive object to the eye." ¹¹⁶ He wanted to make sure that grocers sold more chocolate by creating noticeable displays for their clientele.

Vending Machines

In 1891 Baker's began selling its chocolate bars from early coin-operated vending machines made by Williams Automatic Machine Company. These machines probably dispensed Baker's sweet chocolate bars such as Caracas, German's, and Century Sweet. The small size of these machines enabled chocolate to be sold in single quantities, in a wider variety of locations anywhere around the country. No longer would one be limited to buying chocolate bars in the grocery stores.¹¹⁷

HOW CHOCOLATE IS MADE

The scientific name for the cacao tree (also called cocoa) is *Theobroma*, which means "food of the gods." For anyone who loves chocolate, eating it can certainly be a heavenly experience. The process cacao beans endure to become chocolate is part artistry, part science, and part patience. This process also lies at the heart of an industry with global, economical and political significance.

Introduction to the Chocolate Industry

From its origin in South America to the tables of Europe and America, chocolate has a long history. As European countries colonized different areas of the world, they established cacao to ensure a constant supply of chocolate. Cacao trees only grow in tropical climates and they require a labor-intensive process to harvest. Consequently, plantation owners turned to the slave trade as a means of supplying cheap labor.

As the popularity of chocolate soared, new production processes developed. These innovations helped turn chocolate into an inexpensive luxury people of all social classes

¹¹⁵ Ledger 1834-1841, A-1, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School. Sampling of shipping destinations throughout ledger; *Letterhead*, letter dated 12 September 1925, Advertising-Circulars-Labels-Clippings-Etc. Folder, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School. Letter used to reference all the regional offices printed the standard letterhead only, does not refer to the content.

¹¹⁶ Millar, Calendar, 32.

¹¹⁷ Millar, *Calendar*, 54; John A. Williams assignor for the Williams Automatic Machine Company, "Automatic Vending-Machine," Patent No. 430,499. *U.S. Patent Office* [online]; available from http://www.uspto.gov; Internet, accessed 18 July 2005; Kraft Foods, *Historical Chronology*, 1-2.

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could enjoy. Today cacao is still grown in many of the same regions as generations ago, and it is consumed by people throughout the world.

Origins

The ancient Maya are believed to be the first people to make chocolate, over 2,000 years ago. Cacao trees, native to Central and South America, provided the beans used to make a bitter, spicy chocolate drink. In the fourteenth century the Aztecs dominated Central Mexico and they developed a sophisticated trade network of cacao until the Spanish conquered the region in 1521. Conquistador Hernán Cortés is often credited with introducing cacao to Spain in 1528, but no one truly knows when and how cacao traveled to Europe.¹¹⁸

Cacao Trade

Spain could not keep chocolate a secret for very long and the rest of Europe quickly fell in love with the drink. By the seventeenth century, as Britain, France and the Netherlands colonized countries around the world, they established cacao plantations in tropical locations such as Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Venezuela, and the West Indies, respectively. These equatorial areas were critical to developing cacao production because cacao trees thrive in tropical regions, which provide continual moisture and a temperate climate. ¹¹⁹

Once a trade network was established to keep Europe well-supplied in chocolate, European land-owners in the Caribbean looked to Africa for their workforce. For over two hundred years cacao plantations relied on enslaved Africans for labor. Cacao was one of many products in the triangular trade network between Europe, West Africa, and the Caribbean.¹²⁰

Chocolate Consumption

Originally chocolate was exclusively consumed as a drink. Because Europeans did not like the bitter taste, they added sugar and cinnamon. Gradually chocolate was mixed with milk instead of water to produce a much lighter and smoother drink, and in 1657 the first known chocolate house opened in London. Like taverns, and later coffee houses, chocolate houses were comfortable places for socializing.¹²¹

Until the mid-eighteenth century chocolate was an expensive drink, a luxury reserved for the wealthy. The main reason for the high cost was that cacao was ground by hand. The

¹¹⁸ International Cocoa Organization, "Information on the Origins/History of Cocoa and Its Spread Around the World," *International Cocoa Organization*, 17 April 1998 [online]; available from http://www.icco.org/ questions/origin2.htm; Internet, accessed 25 October 2005; The Field Museum, "Chocolate: A European Sweet-1521-1600," *Chocolate: The Exhibition*, 2002 [online]; available from http://www.fieldmuseum.org/chocolate/ history_european 2.html; Internet, accessed 25 October 2005; The Field Museum, "Chocolate: A Mesoamerican Luxury-250-900 C.E.," *Chocolate: The Exhibition*, 2002 [online]; available from http://www.fieldmuseum.org/ chocolate/history_ mesoamerican4.html; Internet, accessed 25 October 2005; Coe and Coe, *True History*, 129.

¹¹⁹ The Field Museum, "Chocolate: A European Sweet-1600-1750," *Chocolate: The Exhibition*, 2002 [online]; available from http://www.fieldmuseum.org/chocolate/history_european8.html; Internet, accessed 25 October 2005; Coe and Coe, *True History*, 19; International Cocoa Organization, "Where is Cocoa Produced?" *International Cocoa Organization*, March 2000 [online]; available from http://www.icco.org/questions/production 2.htm; Internet, accessed 25 October 2005; Wikipedia, "Triangular Trade," *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia* [online]; available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Triangular_Trade; Internet, accessed 27 October 2005.

¹²⁰ The Field Museum, "Chocolate: A European Sweet-1600-1750," Chocolate: The Exhibition.

¹²¹ The Field Museum, "Chocolate: A European Sweet-1600-1750,".

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use of powered machinery began, not in Europe, but in the American colonies, after New England began trading cacao from the West Indies in the 1750s. The earliest known machine-powered chocolate producers were Obadiah Brown of Providence, Rhode Island, in 1752 and John Hannon of Milton, Massachusetts, in 1765. Water-powered mills were able to mass-produce chocolate at a much faster pace and in greater quantities. This early industrialization dramatically reduced the cost of the final product and chocolate became affordable to the general public. ¹²²

The world continues to consume great quantities of chocolate. Statistics calculated in 2002 average the world's yearly chocolate intake of approximately 1.2 pounds per person. The average European consumes just over four pounds per year. The Americas come in second at 2.6 pounds per person, with Africa at a third of a pound, then Asia and the Pacific islands at just under a quarter pound per year.¹²³

Today's Cacao Producing Regions

Today cacao is grown in the Ivory Coast, Ghana, and Indonesia, with Nigeria and Brazil rounding out the top five countries. Many of the cacao regions established centuries ago still grow the beans today, along with dozens of new regions located along the equator. The Netherlands, the United States, Ivory Coast, Brazil, and Germany are the top five importers of cacao beans.¹²⁴

Harvesting Cacao

When the cacao pods are ready for harvest, they are taken from the trees, opened, washed, and collected for fermentation. This process turns the beans a rich, brown color and gives the beans their chocolate flavor. After fermentation, the beans must dry to remove moisture for shipping.¹²⁵

Preparing Cacao

When the manufacturer receives the cacao beans, they must be cleaned before roasting begins. In modern chocolate production, machines help to remove dust and debris that may have attached to the beans during fermentation or shipping. This is also the time

¹²² The Field Museum, "Chocolate: A Contemporary Confection-1750-1910," *Chocolate: The Exhibition*, 2002 [online]; available from http://www.fieldmuseum.org/chocolate/history_contemp2.html; Internet, accessed 25 October 2005; Hedges, *The Browns of Providence*, 8-9.

¹²³ International Cocoa Organization, "World Cocoa Consumption," *International Cocoa Organization*, September 2003 [online]; available from http://www.icco.org/questions/world.htm; Internet, accessed 1 November 2005.

¹²⁴ International Cocoa Organization, "Main Cocoa Producing Countries and Their Cocoa Bean Production," *International Cocoa Organization*, September 2003 [online]; available from http://www.icco.org/questions/production. htm; Internet, accessed 25 October 2005; International Cocoa Organization, "Main Cocoa Grinding Countries and Their Grindings of Cocoa Beans," *International Cocoa Organization*, September 2003 [online]; available from http://www.icco.org/questions/grindings.htm; Internet, accessed 25 October 2005;

¹²⁵ The Field Museum, "Harvesting Cacao," *Chocolate: The Exhibition*, 2002 [online]; available from http://www. fieldmuseum.org/chocolate/making_harvest.html; Internet, accessed 10 June 2005; Charles S. Telly, "Chocolate–Its Quality and Flavor (Which is the World's Best Chocolate?)," *Chocolate: Food of the Gods*, ed. Alex Szogyi (Westport, Conn.: Greewood Press, 1997) 168-168.

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when the different types of cacao are sorted and weighed to be mixed into special formulas.¹²⁶

The cleaned beans are then roasted. Roasting is a very critical stage in chocolate making. Much care is taken because the flavor of the chocolate ultimately depends on how the beans are roasted. The flavor will not develop properly if the beans are under-roasted, and if too much time is spent in the roaster, they can taste bitter.¹²⁷

After the roasted beans cool, they are cracked to remove the tough, outer shells for easy winnowing. Winnowing separates any shells and husks mixed in with the cacao fragments, or "nibs." ¹²⁸

Making Chocolate

Cacao nibs are made up of nearly half cocoa butter and half cocoa solids. The nibs are ground, which creates enough heat from the pressure and friction to thoroughly melt the cocoa. The result is a finely-textured, thick, liquid mass called "chocolate liquor." ¹²⁹

Depending on the final product, the chocolate liquor is either poured directly into molds to make baking chocolate, pressed to remove the cocoa butter to make cocoa powder, or mixed with other flavors and sweeteners to make eating chocolate.¹³⁰

If the chocolate becomes a sweet, eating chocolate, steel rollers grind the mixture further to create a smooth, even texture.

The next step is "conching." This process continually agitates and aerates the mixture to create a mellower flavor and smoother texture.¹³¹

Tempering is the final stage. This cycle of heating and cooling reduces surface dulling and cracking, and creates a more stable product with heat resistance and a longer shelf-life.¹³²

¹³¹ The Field Museum, "Manufacturing Chocolate," Chocolate: The Exhibition.

¹³² International Cocoa Organization, "Crystallization of Cocoa Butter," *International Cocoa Organization* Dec 1999 [online]; available from http://www.icco.org/questions/crystal.htm; Internet, accessed 25 Oct 2005.

¹²⁶ The Field Museum, "Manufacturing Chocolate," *Chocolate: The Exhibition*, 2002 [online]; available from http://www. fieldmuseum.org/chocolate/making_manuf2.html; Internet, accessed 10 June 2005; James M. Bugbee, *Cocoa and Chocolate: A Short History of Their Production and Use* (Dorchester, Mass.: Walter Baker & Co. Ltd., 1899) 49-50.

¹²⁷ Bugbee, Cocoa and Chocolate, 50.

¹²⁸ The Field Museum, "Manufacturing Chocolate," *Chocolate: The Exhibition*; Bugbee, *Cocoa and Chocolate*, 50.

¹²⁹ Telly, "Chocolate–Its Quality and Flavor," 172.

¹³⁰ The Field Museum, "Manufacturing Chocolate," *Chocolate: The Exhibition*; Telly, "Chocolate–Its Quality and Flavor," 172.

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Chocolate Varieties

Baking Chocolate

This is the simplest form of chocolate, since it is made from pure, unsweetened chocolate liquor. Also called bitter or baker's chocolate (not to be confused with the brand name Baker's), it is used most often in cooking and baking, but historically also for drinking. When prepared as a beverage, the chocolate is combined with an equal weight of sugar into a milk and water mixture and boiled until entirely dissolved.¹³³

Cocoa Powder

Cocoa powder is what remains after the cocoa butter is pressed and separated out of chocolate liquor. How much of cocoa butter remains, usually between 10%-24%, determines whether the chocolate is best used for baking or as a beverage.¹³⁴

Cocoa Butter

Cocoa butter is the fat within the cocoa beans. Its low melting point helps to liquefy the chocolate during grinding, and is why chocolate melts so wonderfully in your mouth. After cocoa butter is separated from the cocoa solids, it can be used to make white chocolate or added back into the chocolate liquor when making sweet chocolate bars.¹³⁵

Dutch Chocolate

In 1828, Dutch chemist Coenraad van Houten invented the "dutching" process for chocolate. This technique uses alkaline salts to treat the chocolate liquor or cocoa powder. The outcome gives the chocolate a darker appearance, a milder flavor, and better dispersability in liquid. Dutched chocolate is quicker to make and easier to digest.¹³⁶

Milk Chocolate

Milk chocolate consists of chocolate liquor, milk, sugar, cocoa butter, and flavorings. Most often a certain minimal percentage of chocolate liquor and whole milk is needed for a product to be called milk chocolate. In the United States the minimum standard is 10% chocolate liquor and 12% milk.¹³⁷

Dark and Semi-Sweet Chocolate

Darker chocolates usually contain similar ingredients as milk chocolate, only in different ratios. A dark, sweet chocolate will have 15%-35% chocolate liquor, less than 12% milk, sugar, cocoa butter and flavorings, and sometimes condensed milk. Semi-sweet chocolate

¹³³ The Field Museum, "Manufacturing Chocolate," *Chocolate: The Exhibition*.

¹³⁴ The Field Museum, "Manufacturing Chocolate," Chocolate: The Exhibition

¹³⁵ The Field Museum, "Manufacturing Chocolate," Chocolate: The Exhibition.

¹³⁶Coe and Coe, True History, 242.

¹³⁷ The Field Museum, "Manufacturing Chocolate;" World Cocoa Foundation, "The Tastes of Chocolate." World Cocoa Foundation, 2005 [online]; available from http://www.worldcocoafoundation.org/Process/Facts/choc_ tastes.asp; Internet, accessed 25 Oct 2005.

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will have a minimum of 35% chocolate liquor in addition to the other ingredients, and is the darkest eating chocolate available.¹³⁸

White Chocolate

No chocolate liquor is used in the making of white chocolate and it is often not classified as chocolate at all. This "cocoa butter confectionery" obtains its chocolate flavor by mixing only cocoa butter to milk, sugar and flavorings.¹³⁹

Chocolate Coatings

Rather than using cocoa butter, vegetable fats are combined with cocoa powder, sugar, and other flavorings to produce these less expensive products. There is no tempering required and chocolate coatings can often be easier to work with for confectionary than the regular chocolates with high cocoa butter content.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ World Cocoa Foundation, "The Tastes of Chocolate."

¹³⁹ World Cocoa Foundation, "The Tastes of Chocolate."

¹⁴⁰ World Cocoa Foundation, "The Tastes of Chocolate."

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THE VILLAGE

LOWER MILLS HISTORY

Founded in 1630, Dorchester began as a separate community, six miles south of Boston, with its own economy and local government. The land that now makes up Milton, on the south side of the Neponset River, was originally part of Dorchester, but as transportation and trade routes improved in eastern Massachusetts, Dorchester and Milton developed their own identities. Milton separated from Dorchester in 1662.

Through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Dorchester grew in industrial importance and population. So did Boston. In 1804 Boston began annexing portions of Dorchester, a process that was completed in 1870. Trolly lines were built to Dorchester in 1900 and it quickly became a well-established residential suburb of Boston. Today, it is Boston's largest neighborhood. Milton has remained a separate town, although it is now considered part of the greater Boston metropolitan area.¹⁴¹

History of the Neponset River and the Lower Mills of Dorchester and Milton

The first European settlement in the area of Dorchester and Milton began in 1630. These colonists shared the land with the local Neponset Indians, one of several Native American groups in New England. The colonists quickly realized the power of the Neponset River, and the first water-powered mill on the river was built in 1634 by Israel Stoughton to grind corn. Stoughton also constructed the first bridge across the Neponset, connecting the two shores. The bridge helped to expand settlement further south and made trade and land travel between Boston and Plymouth much easier.

Forty years passed before another mill was built on the river. This gunpowder mill, constructed in 1674, was quickly followed by other mills that processed wool cloth (fulling), sawed lumber into boards, made paper, and by 1765 ground cacao beans into chocolate. These mills initially made products for the local market, but gradually expanded to become an important regional industrial center that helped paved the way for America's independence from Britain.

Eventually there was little room left to support so many mills in Dorchester and Milton, and most were bought up and consolidated into larger companies. By the turn of the twentieth century, Baker's became the dominant business occupying the mills along the Neponset.

¹⁴¹ Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *Streecar Suburbs. The Process of Growth in Boston (1870-1900)*, 2d ed., (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1978) 163; Heart of the City, "Places : Neighborhoods : Dorchester" *Database of Greenspaces and Neighborhoods in the Heart of Boston* [online]; available from http://ksgaccman.harvard. edu/hotc/displayplace. asp?id=11514; Internet, accessed 1 Nov 2005.

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Early History and European Settlement

The Massachusetts Indians were one of several Native American groups living in southern New England prior to the first European explorers and settlers. The Neponsets, a sub-group of the Massachusetts, moved seasonally in areas around Milton, Quincy, and Dedham, and may have favored the falls along the river near Milton and Dorchester, which they called "Unquity-Quisset." European explorers began mapping and describing the area in the early sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and Englishman John Smith coined the term "New England" during a 1614 visit. ¹⁴²

Although a few earlier Europeans passed through the area in search of fish and fur, the initial wave of one hundred and forty men and women that settled permanently near the Neponset sailed from the Dorset area of England on the *Mary and John* in 1630. In September of the same year, their settlement was named Dorchester, though its boundaries were not well-defined. By 1633 another eighty individuals arrived to make their homes in the new town.¹⁴³

The Influence of the Neponset River

The Neponset River was large enough to make crossing difficult, so its banks remained the southern-most limit to the Massachusetts Bay Colony for several years. The narrow shores of the river, however, and the height and layout of its falls, ultimately made Dorchester an increasingly important area for water power.¹⁴⁴

Israel Stoughton, one of Dorchester's first settlers, saw the river's potential. There were two falls, one about seven feet in height and the other about four feet, in close proximity to each other. Stoughton secured permission from the town of Dorchester and the Massachusetts General Court to build a grist mill at these "lower falls" (the "upper falls" were a few miles up-river at Mattapan). In exchange, the town required Stoughton to build and maintain a bridge across the river.¹⁴⁵

Stoughton built Dorchester's first mill in 1634 and brought an important trade to the area. At this time, the closest grist mills were in Roxbury, and Saugus. The bridge and road to the south side of the river were close to the present-day Adams Street bridge. With a public road built between Braintree and Roxbury by 1655, settlement quickly developed on the other side of the Neponset and ultimately the road connected Boston to Plymouth to the south. In 1662 Unquity (Milton) separated from Dorchester and the Neponset became the dividing line between the two towns.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴² Matthai and Greenberg, Draft Report, 18, 20, 22.

¹⁴³ Matthai and Greenberg, Draft Report, 23-24. Maude Pinney Kuhns, The "John and Mary," The Story of the Founding of Dorchester, Massachusetts, 1630 (Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1971) 1.

¹⁴⁴ Edward Pierce Hamilton, A History of Milton (Milton, MA: Milton Historical Society, 1957) 63.

¹⁴⁵ Matthai and Greenberg, Draft Report, 29, 35.

¹⁴⁶ Hamilton, History of Milton, 63-64; Matthai and Greenberg, Draft Report, 29.

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Development of the Lower Mills Area

For much of their early history, Dorchester and Milton were primarily agricultural communities. European settlers brought cattle and seed for crops, and learned to grow corn from the Naive Americans. There were also a few shipbuilding operations making small crafts and a local fishing industry. Israel Stoughton's grist mill, known as the Neponset Mill, stood alone along the river for forty years. In was not until 1674 that another mill, one to make gunpowder, was erected slightly down-river on the Dorchester side.¹⁴⁷

Gradually small dams were introduced to control the Neponset's flow and more effectively maintain water power during dry periods. These dams became important over the next century as more mills were built on both sides of the river to saw wood, manufacture woolen cloth, and to make paper, snuff, and chocolate. By the Revolutionary War, the growing Neponset Village (Lower Mills area) was quite an industrial center, keeping the communities supplied in bread flour, lumber for shelter and ships, wool for clothing, and gunpowder for hunting and protection.¹⁴⁸

Growth of the Lower Mills as an Industrial Center

The first mills in the area made products that were intended for local consumption. As more mills introduced specialized goods, the range of commerce broadened to make the Lower Mills area an important manufacturing site. By 1728 the Lower Mills was one of the most notable, long-lasting industrial centers on the continent. As times and technology changed not all mills survived. Gradually Baker's bought up other mills to expand the company's capacity for chocolate making, by the turn of the twentieth century Baker's was a prominent industry in the Lower Mills.¹⁴⁹

Following are brief descriptions of the different types of industrial mills located on the Neponset in Dorchester and Milton over the centuries.

Grist Mills

Before the mills were built, the New England staple of Indian corn was ground by cracking the kernels in a mortar to make hominy grits. This coarser product was only suitable for cooking, not baking. Grist mills ground corn more efficiently and to a finer consistency to produce corn meal for baking bread.¹⁵⁰

To grind corn, two large millstones were set on top of each other, slightly apart, and could be adjusted for the required coarseness. The top stone, or runner stone, had a hole in it where whole corn kernels were dropped in. The grinding faces of the stones had spiral grooves to help in the grinding process and move the finer corn meal away from the center of the stones. When the meal was at the desired consistency, sifters removed any husks and the corn meal was ready for use.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ Hamilton, *History of Milton*, 65, 68; Matthai and Greenberg, *Draft Report*, 30.

¹⁴⁸ Hamilton, *History of Milton*, 71, 75; Matthai and Greenberg, *Draft Report*, 35.

¹⁴⁹ Hamilton, History of Milton, 71.

¹⁵⁰ Hamilton, *History of Milton*, 64; Matthai and Greenberg, *Draft Report*, 37.

¹⁵¹ Hamilton, *History of Milton*, 64; Matthai and Greenberg, *Draft Report*, 37, 62.

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Gunpowder Mills

The gunpowder mill built in Dorchester in 1674 was the first in New England and quite possibly the first in America. Two years later an English royal agent named Edward Randolf reported on the mill, claiming the gunpowder produced in Dorchester was "as good and strong as the best English powder." ¹⁵² There was a constant need for gunpowder in European settlements along the Neponset for hunting and occasional skirmishes with Native Americans. A local supply became even more desirable at the outbreak of local wars, including King Phillip's War in 1675-1676 and the pivotal Revolutionary War beginning in 1775.¹⁵³

The manufacturing process was simple. Ingredients consisting of charcoal, sulphur, and saltpeter were ground and mixed together while wet, then left to dry into cakes. These were then broken, sifted, and sorted in different sizes. The coarsest gunpowder was used for cannons and the finest was used for muzzle-loaded flintlock guns. Powder mills were quite dangerous operations and inevitably, in 1744, the Neponset powder mill blew up, taking a neighboring fulling mill with it.¹⁵⁴

Fulling Mills

When woolen cloth came off the loom it was similar to burlap in texture, with separating threads and little bulk. The process of fulling shrinks and compacts the cloth to make it denser. Instead of the labor-intensive method of treading on the cloth in water with bare feet, Dorchester's first fulling mill, built in 1688, powered wooden mallets to pound the cloth in large tubs filled with soapy water that removed dirt and oil. This agitation shrinks the wool, tightening up the fibers to make a smoother material. Raw cloth might be fulled for several days, resulting in the cloth shrinking to almost half its original size. After the fulling, the cloth was stretched and dried on frames.¹⁵⁵

The operator of a fulling mill, often called a clothier, would usually dye and finish the cloth beyond the basic fulling operation. After drying and dying the wool, the clothier would raise the nap on the cloth with a brush and trim the excess fibers with long scissors. This process resulted in a smooth, finished fabric ready for use in making garments.¹⁵⁶

Saw Mills

The first saw mill along the Neponset was built on the Milton side of the river in 1706. Most likely this, and subsequent early sawmills, housed a six-foot long, straight blade attached to a vertical frame operated up and down by the water wheel. Iron "dogs" were used to hold the log in place on a narrow sliding carriage while sawing. It was not until 1840 that circular saws were introduced. In 1765 Edward Wentworth and Henry Stone

154 Hamilton, History of Milton, 66.

¹⁵² Hamilton, *History of Milton*, 65.

¹⁵³ Hamilton, *History of Milton*, 66; Matthai and Greenberg, *Draft Report*, 37-38.

¹⁵⁵ Hamilton, *History of Milton*, 67.

¹⁵⁶ Hamilton, History of Milton, 67-68.

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finished construction on their Milton saw mill, which included an addition that would be suitable to house John Hannon's first chocolate works.¹⁵⁷

Paper Mills

New England's first paper mill began operation in 1728 on the Neponset in Milton. Early paper was made of linen and cotton rags that were cleaned, cut, moistened and allowed to decay for a period of time. The softened material would then be submerged in water and pounded into a pulp by large water-powered wooden hammers. Gradually the fibers would separate and remain suspended in the water, creating a thick, soupy consistency. A screen frame would be dipped into this material, gathering the pulp and letting the water drain through, leaving only the rag fibers behind. After several applications of this method the paper was left to dry.¹⁵⁸

Chocolate Mills

The first-known American water-powered chocolate mill was built and operated in Providence, Rhode Island, by Obadiah Brown in 1752. Massachusetts' first chocolate mill was housed in a saw mill constructed by Edward Wentworth and Henry Stone in 1765 in Milton along the Neponset River. Because chocolate could only be produced in cold weather due to its low melting temperature, it was often a secondary source of income for mills during the winter months. More and more mills took on chocolate grinding but few dedicated themselves entirely to its production.¹⁵⁹

James Baker took over John Hannon's chocolate business in 1780 and dedicated most of the year to making chocolate in multiple mills. Space along the Lower Falls of the Neponset River was limited and gradually became scarce as more mills were built. Beginning in 1805 Edmund Baker began buying out owners of neighboring mills for the purpose of expanding his chocolate business. Over the next century, Baker's purchased additional grist mills, paper mills, and even other chocolate mills. Baker's became a dominant industry in the Lower Mills, shipping their chocolate all around the world.¹⁶⁰

OTHER CHOCOLATE MAKERS

A number of mills in Dorchester and Milton made chocolate at one time or another. To supplement their income, most either rented out space or were hired by chocolate makers to grind cacao beans. While there were many people who had their hands in the manufacturing, only a handful of mills produced chocolate as their primary venture. The

¹⁵⁷ Hamilton, History of Milton, 73-74.

¹⁵⁸ Hamilton, History of Milton, 69-70.

¹⁵⁹ Hedges, *The Browns of Providence* 8-9. Hedges quotes from Obadiah Browns' *Manuscript Letter Book*, *1751-1752*, at the Rhode Island Historical Society: "I have been at considerable charge to git a chocklit mill going by water which have now completed." Hedges also states from Brown's Day Book, that Brown ground over 400 pounds of chocolate for Newport, RI merchants in 1753; Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society, *History*, 635.

¹⁶⁰ Matthai and Greenberg, Draft Report, 39.

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Preston family, beginning with Edward in 1770 was Baker's main rival until Josiah Webb and Josiah Twombly began making chocolate in 1843. Gradually, Baker's bought out its competitors along the Neponset River, and built a presence in the Lower Mills that some would argue remains today.

Preston Mills

Edward Preston set up a chocolate mill next to his fulling mill in Dorchester in 1770 and manufactured chocolate for John Hannon for five years until his mill burned down. He waited another five years before resuming chocolate making with James Baker between 1780 and 1787.¹⁶¹

Edward Preston's son John continued with the family business of a combined grist, chocolate and fulling mill, after his father's death in 1793. Several years later John Preston abandoned the life of a fuller and clothier to focus on developing the chocolate business. By 1835 the Preston Mill became a strong competitor to Baker's, making about 750 pounds of chocolate per day, with Baker's making only slightly more.¹⁶²

After John Preston Sr.'s death in 1854, his sons, John A. and Walter Preston, took over the company producing chocolate full-time. Their venture only lasted another five years in Dorchester and in 1859 they sold the mill to Boston merchant H.D. Chapin. Chapin quickly turned over the property and sold the mill to Baker's owner, Henry Pierce, the following year. John Preston Jr. remained in the chocolate business into the mid-1870s, selling chocolate from a Boston address located surprisingly close to the downtown office of his former Dorchester competitor and neighbor, Walter Baker & Company.¹⁶³

Webb & Twombley Mills

In 1843, Josiah Webb and Josiah Twombley began manufacturing chocolate in Jonathan Ware's Milton mill. Walter Baker did not take kindly to the competition since he suspected one of his employees or close business relations taught Twombly the Baker's chocolate making secrets. Webb and Twombly rented Ware's Mill for seven years and then moved into a mill built for them by the Dorchester Cotton and Iron Company. In 1855 Webb and Twombley bought the mill and continued making chocolate and grinding grain until 1861 when Josiah Twombly sold his half of the business to Webb. Baker's owner Henry Pierce bought Webb out in 1881 and obtained one of Webb's employees, H. Clifford Gallagher, who was made assistant superintendent of the plant and remained with Baker's for decades, later serving as the second president after Henry Pierce incorporated Baker's in 1895.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ Millar, Calendar, 6, 8, 13; Edward Pierce Hamilton, History of Milton, 74-75.

¹⁶² Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society, *History*, 627; Millar, *Calendar*, 30.

¹⁶³ Dorchester, History, 627-628; Millar, Calendar, 47-48

¹⁶⁴ Dorchester, *History*, 617, 620; Millar, *Calendar*, 36, 48, 52, 55.

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LOWER MILLS TODAY

When the Baker's operations moved to Dover, Delaware, in 1965, over fourteen acres of land and buildings emptied. Some of the mills housed small manufacturing companies and commercial activities in the years that followed, but many of the mill buildings stood empty or underused for decades. The 1980s brought new hope for the Baker's complex. The buildings gained National Register status, ambitious plans were initiated to revitalize the entire Lower Mills industrial center, and the Adams Street Mill was redeveloped into apartments. Due to the difficulty in funding a wide range of projects, not all of the proposed improvements came to fruition. Some projects were abandoned, some redefined, and some delayed. But today, the characteristic Baker's buildings that have dominated the Lower Mills for over two centuries are starting to have new life, even as they continue to represent Dorchester and Milton's industrial past.

When Baker's Left Dorchester

In 1960 the General Foods Corporation proposed consolidating four northeastern plant operations into one major food division in one East Coast location. Even though Baker's had a long established history in Dorchester, it was one of the companies considered for integration. The plan was to bring together several brands into one, modern facility to streamline production and increase profits.¹⁶⁵

In 1962 General Foods decided on Dover, Delaware, as the new location for consolidated operations, due to Dover's lower property and employment tax rates, its close proximity to major shipping ports and New York businesses, lower wages, and low utility and operating costs. Baker's was chosen for consolidation, and plans to transition the company began. Out of the four brands moved to Dover, Baker's proved to be the most difficult. The move had to be done in three phases; otherwise, not enough chocolate inventory could be stored to buffer the lag time during a shutdown-and-move period. In 1963 phase one began and new machinery was installed in Dover while the Dorchester factory kept operating. Over the next two years phase two cut Dorchester's annual production in half while the Dover plant started up production. The final phase, in 1965, transferred all remaining operations to the Dover site. The entire move took a surprising 180 full truckloads of equipment to complete. Baker's Chocolate would never be made in Dorchester again.¹⁶⁶

With the move to Delaware, Baker's became part of the General Foods Jell-O division. The new Dover facility was expected to employ a total of approximately 1,600 people and Baker's workers were given the option of transferring to Dover. Those who chose to stay in Dorchester received financial "termination" allowances and job-placement assistance. Of the 825 employees at Baker's in 1962, only 187 transferred to Dover, 11 went to other

¹⁶⁵ Edmund S. White and W. James Schmidt, *Plant Relocation: A Case History of a Move* (New York: American Management Association, 1966) 5, 16.

¹⁶⁶ White and Schmidt, Plant Relocation, 42-46, 80, 83-84.

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General Foods facilities, 293 took advantage of the termination allowances, and 455 either retired or resigned.¹⁶⁷

Although the Baker's move from Dorchester did not have a significant effect on the economy of the greater Boston area, it did impact the local economy, as well as the cultural identity, of the Dorchester Lower Mills. While neighborhood newspapers mourned the loss of an institution that had been a source of pride for the community, the larger economic issue was what to do with the empty mill buildings that dominated the landscape of the Lower Mills. Not surprisingly, many buildings were left vacant for months and years. Eventually some housed light manufacturing, while others were used for storage. It would be fifteen years before a large-scale plan was developed to successfully reuse the mill buildings.¹⁶⁸

Early Revitalization Efforts

In 1978 a vision was proposed to revitalize the Lower Mills. The Boston Redevelopment Authority commissioned a plan, a year in the making, to turn Lower Mills into an Industrial Heritage State Park. The planners believed that by reinvigorating the entire neighborhood rather than renovating a few buildings, by focusing on the rich history of the Lower Mills, and by introducing more diverse activities and businesses, "families and firms, the home-owners and small businessmen will feel more confident about the future of their personal and financial investment in the neighborhood." A step in bringing the community together in this task was the 1978 nomination by the Massachusetts Historical Commission of the Lower Mills Industrial District, which included Baker's Mills, for the National Register of Historic Places. In 1980 the nomination was accepted.¹⁶⁹

While the community wanted to redevelop the area around the mills, the three owners of the fourteen acres where Baker's once stood were divided. Two owners, the Fabreeka Manufacturing Company and Berger Manufacturing Company, had no interest in renovating and reusing the buildings they owned. The third, Bertram Paley, who owned 61% of the property, was willing to work with the Boston Redevelopment Authority. By 1979 plans to develop the mill complex revolved around a mix of private reuse, such as housing and small businesses, and public recreational use, envisioned as a Heritage Park with a visitor's center, a history museum, parks, waterfront paths for walking and bike riding, and docks at the river's edge.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ White and Schmidt, Plant Relocation, 97, 115; New York Times, 6 September 1962, 6 May 1965,

¹⁶⁸ White and Schmidt, *Plant Relocation*, 127.

¹⁶⁹ Boston Redevelopment Authority, *Dorchester Lower Mills. An Urban Village in the 1980's: A Revitalization Strategy*, prepared for BRA by Harrington, Keefe & Schork in association with Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill (Boston: City of Boston, 1979) 3; Ann Armstrong and Joyce Bruckner, and others, *Future Directions for Lower Mills*, (Dorchester, MA: privately printed, 1980) 11. Self-published booklet located at Boston Public Library, Lower Mills Branch, Dorchester, MA.; National Register of Historic Places, "National Register Information System," *National Park Service* [online]; available from http://www.nr.nps.gov/; Internet, accessed 6 Nov 2005.

¹⁷⁰ Argus, 16 August 1979. Newspaper clipping from Argus in anonymous scrapbook in the collections at the Boston Public Library, Lower Mills Branch, Dorchester, MA; Boston Redevelopment Authority, Dorchester Lower Mills, 32.

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The Boston Redevelopment Authority's strategy for the Lower Mills included specific new uses for each Baker's building. Below are the ideas proposed in 1980 for renovating the entire Baker's complex.

Administration Building

This key building would be the site of the Heritage Park Visitor's Center, which would include a museum of the history of the Lower Mills. Just northwest of the building, adjacent to Pierce Square, a specialized landscaped garden dubbed Hannon Park would provide benches, structured walkways, trees, and a sculpture of Baker's trademark *La Belle Chocolatière*.¹⁷¹

Adams Street, Pierce, Preston, and Webb Mills

These mills were targeted for housing on the upper levels, including both rental apartments and condominiums. The street level would contain retail and office space, with the exception of the Webb Mill, which was envisioned as restaurant space due to its exceptional view of the upper dam and its falls.¹⁷²

Baker and Forbes Mills

Light industry and small manufacturing companies were already located in these two mills. The plan was to consolidate such businesses in one area, and to encourage high-tech businesses there as well. Parking was not a problem since there was a large open area behind these mills.¹⁷³

Ware Mill and Storehouses

After the pedestrian footbridge across the Neponset River was repaired, the Ware Mill would house a restaurant and meeting rooms, and the frame building next to it would provide space for storing landscaping and maintenance equipment. A recreational and fitness facility was suggested for one storehouse, while the one closer to the subway line would be used for an entrance to the large park along the river, as well as a museum demonstrating the chocolate making process.¹⁷⁴

Power House

The Power House had two very different possibilities for reuse. The most straightforward was to use the site as a restaurant. The other was to reuse the Power House for its original purpose: generating power. Rebuilding a hydro-electric generator would provide power to the Lower Mills complex with the possibility of producing additional power for the community of Dorchester.¹⁷⁵

- ¹⁷³ Armstrong, Bruckner, and others, *Future Directions for Lower Mills*, 40.
- ¹⁷⁴ Armstrong, Bruckner, and others, Future Directions for Lower Mills, 39-40.

¹⁷¹ Boston Redevelopment Authority, *Dorchester Lower Mills*, 42; Armstrong, Bruckner, and others, *Future Directions for Lower Mills*, 39.

¹⁷² Armstrong, Bruckner, and others, *Future Directions for Lower Mills*, 39-40.

¹⁷⁵ Boston Redevelopment Authority, *Dorchester Lower Mills*, 36; Armstrong, Bruckner, and others, *Future Directions for Lower Mills*, 40.

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Grain Elevator and Silos

The planners considered, the silos to be a piece of sculpture rather than an eye-sore. They believed that while the re-use of the silos would be financially challenging, they were a Lower Mills icon and that should remain intact. However, all the silos were demolished in 1987 to make way for a nine-story complex of 76 one- and two-bedroom condominiums and a multi-level parking garage. Although the silos came down, the proposed building was never constructed.¹⁷⁶

Lower Mills Today

During the late 1980s Massachusetts underwent state-wide budget cuts and could no longer provide the funding assistance needed to get the Heritage Park projects off the ground. Two buildings were renovated in the early 1980s, but it would be another ten years before the next wave of revitalization efforts for these mills would take place. Continued historic property tax incentives have brought yet another phase of redevelopment and some long-need attention to the two remaining empty mill buildings.

Adams Street and Pierce-Preston Mill

Restored to its original red-brick facade, the Adams Street Mill was the first to undergo redevelopment. The mill was turned into 53 apartments that opened in September 1983. The Pierce and Preston mill buildings were combined into one large structure with 80 apartments that opened in November 1985. Keen Development Corporation and The Architectural Team combined forces to redevelop both of the projects.¹⁷⁷

Administration Building

When Baker's moved to Delaware in 1965, this building sat vacant for decades. In 1978 it briefly housed the Commonwealth of Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare. It was bought by the Commonwealth's Department of Environmental Management (DEM), to become the visitor's center for the planned Industrial Heritage State Park that fell through after state-wide budget cuts. After working closely with the community, the DEM, in cooperation with Keen Development Corporation and The Architectural Team, converted the building into thirteen artist lofts that opened in 2002. The central atrium displays the restored reproduction of *La Belle Chocolatière* in her original location. There are several community rooms and gallery spaces, and the roof still displays the large "Walter Baker" sign, although the neon light is no longer illuminated.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ Boston Globe, 28 November 1987; Armstrong, Bruckner, and others, Future Directions for Lower Mills, 40; Architectural Drawings made for the Baker Chocolate Limited Partnership, Baker Mills (Boston, 1987) drawings VI 100-101. Original drawings in the collection of Boston Public Library, Lower Mills Branch, Dorchester, MA.

¹⁷⁷ Boston Globe, 16 May 1986; Keen Development Corporation, "Adaptive Reuse: Baker Chocolate Factory," *Keen Development Corporation* [online]; PDF download of promotional sheet available from http://www. keencorp.com/Adaptive.htm; Internet, accessed 30 Oct 2005.

¹⁷⁸ Keen Development Corporation, "Adaptive Reuse: Baker Chocolate Factory;" The Architectural Team, "Baker Chocolate Lofts," *The Architectural Team* [online]; available from http://www.architecturalteam.com/portfolio/ residential/apartments/bakerloft.shtml; Internet, accessed 29 Oct 2005; Commonwealth of Massachusetts Executive Office of Environmental Affairs, *Partners Celebrate Grand Opening of Walter Baker Lofts* (12 September 2002), by Doug Pizzi, press release.

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Forbes Mill and site of Silos

The Forbes Mill and adjoining machine shop were converted into the Baker Square Condominiums, a 98-unit condominium complex built in the mid 1990s. A parking lot for the residences of the condominiums was built on the site of the silos that were taken down in 1987.¹⁷⁹

Other Occupied Buildings

Reuses of the mill buildings and storage facilities on the Milton side of the river have taken a less costly route for reuse. They house a variety of businesses. The Ware Mill is occupied, and next door the old storehouses have become storage areas for public rental. On the opposite side of Adams Street, the Webb Mill houses property and contractor offices, a tax specialist, a fitness gym, and a tanning salon.

Empty Buildings

The Baker Mill and Power House are the last remaining structures in need of redevelopment. Today, both are empty. Boston-based Winn Development bought the vacant properties in 1997. After many delays and financial setbacks, they are now one of the first projects in the state to apply for and receive the Massachusetts Historic Rehabilitation Tax Credit to renovate the Baker Mill and Power House. Plans for 61 condominium units in the Baker Mill and a parking garage in the Power House are scheduled to begin in late 2005. Under the tax credit, the units will be rentals for the first five years then turn over to condominiums for purchase.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ Bill Forry, "Condos Add to Lower Mills Boom," *Dorchester Reporter*, 31 July 2003 [online] available from http://www.dotnews.com/condo.html; Internet, accessed 6 Nov 2005.

¹⁸⁰ Doug Kelleher, "Winn Development's Baker Square Project-Massachusetts Historic Tax Credits at Work," *High-Profile Monthly* Feb 2005 [online]; available from http://www.high-profile.com/2005/feb/article.html; Internet, accessed 6 Nov 2005; Bill Forry, "Developer: Historic Baker Square Build-Out to Renew in Fall," *Dorchester Reporter*, 19 May 2005 [online] available from http://www.dotnews.com/bakerchocolatedevelopment.html; Internet, accessed 6 Nov 2005.

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THE PEOPLE

WORKING AT BAKER'S

The work environment at Baker's changed dramatically over the centuries, from the earliest seasonal work crafting a handful of products, to a year-round, air-conditioned environment developing a multitude of chocolates. The chocolate business in the late eighteenth century was quite unpredictable and the Baker family hired workers only as-needed. Business grew and technology improved in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and employment not only expanded but specialized as new workers brought different skills to the factory.

For decades, Baker's employees lived within close range of the mills, creating a community that extended outside the factory walls. Making chocolate was often a family affair and the mills were full of brothers, sisters, sons and daughters. Follow the links to find out more about Baker's employees: who they were, where they lived, what kinds of jobs they performed, and what life was like inside the Baker's mills.

Seasonal Workers

The earliest recorded Baker's "employee" was James Baker's brother John, whose invoice lists his working "one day in chocolate mill" sometime between 1772 and 1773. James had other people occasionally working for him, building and fixing equipment, providing day labor, or hauling materials, but regular employees do not emerge in company records until James's son Edmund joins the business in 1791.¹⁸¹

Beginning in 1793, Seth Blake appeared in Edmund Baker's account books, collecting £1.10 cash on a monthly basis for several years. It is not known specifically what type of work Blake did, but he is the earliest documented employee to return for many seasons.¹⁸² The chocolate business proved to be unpredictable. Edmund Baker hired workers depending on how busy he was in a particular year. Several men appeared regularly on Edmund's payroll, including Elisha Lapham, who started working at Baker's in 1811 and remained with the company for decades. Third-generation owner Walter Baker even named a lower-priced chocolate "Lapham" after Elisha.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ Invoice from John Baker to James Baker, dated 13 March 1774, Folder 17: 1774, James Baker Business Records, Manuscript Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA.

¹⁸² Edmund Baker, *Account Book*, *1792-1822*, entry dated 7 Sept 1793, The Winterthur Library. The amount of money on Seth Blake's first entry is illegible. The second entry found for 26 Dec 1793 notes Seth earning £1.10. In November of 1795 accounts were switched from the English Pound to American Dollar. Subsequent entries for Seth are listed as him earning \$5.00 for approximately one month of work. Because of the surname and close proximity of time, there is a possibility Seth Blake was related to Nathaniel Blake, John Hannon's and James Baker's apprentice.

¹⁸³ Edmund Baker, *Account Book, 1792-1822*, entry dated 26 Jan 1811, The Winterthur Library. The first two entries notes Elisha earning \$10-\$15; Millar, *Calendar*, 30.

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In 1834 Walter Baker hired the first women to work in the chocolate mills. Two sisters, Christine and Mary Shields, are believed to be the first, but Mary Ann Barker, Abigale Delano, and Betsey Sanborn are also on record as employees at Baker's in 1834. Many women returned for a few months every year and by 1841 a total of twelve women worked for Baker's at various times. Only four of these women worked all season for many years. By 1846 there were "two men, two apprentices, six girls and a forelady" regularly employed in the Baker's mills.¹⁸⁴

Year-Round Employees

1868 marked the year Baker's first used a cooling system that allowed for limited chocolate production in the summer months. The company began hiring year-round employees, although the payroll still peaked in the winter months. The difference could be as drastic as 275 people employed during the winter with 50 remaining in the summer; only 18% worked year-round. It was not until 1907 when Baker's installed an air conditioning system that most employees worked full-time, all year.¹⁸⁵

Beginning in the 1870s, the Baker's work force roughly doubled in size every ten years. In 1868 forty-eight people (twenty-five men and twenty-three women) ran most of the operations in the mills. By 1911, forty-three years later, the workforce had expanded to 822 people with a significant percentage of women still active in all areas of production and operations.¹⁸⁶

Types of Jobs and Pay

As production increased, different jobs required different skills, and there was a clear division between men's and women's responsibilities. Only men worked in the roasting and grinding rooms, and men were most often in key leadership roles or overseeing chocolate production. There were also more non-production related positions for men, such as teamsters, clerks, watchmen, mechanics, engineers, machinists and the heavy work of packing and shipping.¹⁸⁷

Most of the women's jobs involved speed and dexterity. Picking and sorting through cocoa beans prior to roasting required not only a keen eye but also small hands. Quick fingers were also helpful in the wrapping rooms where women worked wrapping and packaging the different chocolate brands. There were few forewomen, and those who

¹⁸⁷ Pay Rolls 1868-1918, E-1 thru E-4, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School. Sampling of payroll records over time list employee names and job titles.

¹⁸⁴ Ledger 1834-1841, A-1, Walter Baker Collection Baker Library, Harvard Business School. Various pages through ledger show employees beginning on page 37; Millar, *Calendar*. 30, 39.

¹⁸⁵ Matthai and Greenberg, Draft Report, 118-120.

¹⁸⁶ Millar, *Calendar*, 49, 60; Rev. Webster H. Powell, "A Lesson in Christian Business," *Zion's Herald*, 3 May 1911, 546, Advertising-Circulars-Labels-Clippings-Etc. Folder, Unbound Material, K-1, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School; *Pay Rolls 1868-1876*, E-1, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School. The payroll records for 1868 list approximately double the employees, but this might be due to the fact that many people worked for a month or two at a time, inflating the count artificially.

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did rise to the position were usually long-time employees. Women also held jobs in the sewing department, some in shipping, and later women worked as clerks, stenographers, on-site nurses and with chemists in the quality control departments.¹⁸⁸

As with variations in work, pay differed significantly between men and women. In 1868 for a standard six-day work week, at ten hours per day, men typically earned \$2.00 per day while women earned an average of \$0.83. Wages changed depending on time with the company, skills, jobs performed, and overtime. Pay gradually increased over the years and by 1918 the average daily wage for men was \$3.00 and women, \$1.75. Men, more often then women, received regular pay increases, and there were more opportunities for men to move from one department to another. Regardless of gender, many Baker's employees stayed with the company throughout their working lives.¹⁸⁹

Baker's War-Time Support Efforts

World War I

On April 6, 1917, the United States declared war on Germany. In response, many young men from Baker's joined the armed forces to contribute to the war effort. The company hired older men and additional women to replace those who enlisted. During the war, a great deal of Baker's production centered on making the "WTW," or Win The War, chocolate brand for the allied armies. In 1919, Bakers held a reception and dance for returning soldiers. At this event a bronze plaque inscribed with sixty-nine names was presented and hung in the Administration Building in honor of those who served.¹⁹⁰

World War II

As a division of General Foods during the 1940s, Baker's was one of many affiliate companies to contribute to the war efforts by providing chocolate rations for the Army and Navy. Baker's developed a special Ration "D" Bar to stand up better in heat. It was used as a regular dessert and an emergency ration, and was given to the Red Cross for distribution to prisoners of war.¹⁹¹

In support of their own, \$7,000 was raised between 1943 and 1944 for the Baker's employees who fought in the war. Seven did not return and were later honored in 1948 during a ceremony that celebrated the contributions of all those who served.¹⁹²

¹⁹¹ General Foods, *GF Newsletter* 4, no 7, July 1943, Kraft Foods Archives, Tarrytown, NY, 4; General Foods, *GF Newsletter* 5, no 8, Aug 1944, 8.

¹⁹² General Journal Jan 1936-Sept 1945, entries dated 1943 and 1944, B-34, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School; General Foods, *GF Newsletter* 9, no 7, July 1948, 7.

¹⁸⁸ Millar, *Calendar*, 55, 62; Joe M. Chapple, "The House That Baker Built," *The National*, June 1906, actual page unknown, page 6 in photocopy provided by the Dorchester Historical Society; *Pay Rolls 1868-1918*, E-1 thru E-4, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School. Sampling of payroll records over time list employee names and job titles.

¹⁸⁹ Pay Rolls 1868-1918, E-1 thru E-4, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School. Sampling of payroll records over time list employee names, job titles, hours worked, overtime, and pay received.

¹⁹⁰ Millar, Calendar, 61.

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During WWII, a great deal of Baker's production went to supplying allied soldiers with chocolate rations. Starting in 1940, government representatives were stationed in the mill buildings to keep watch over production. They were posted there to make sure chocolate going to soldiers was not tampered with. As a precaution, Baker employees were required to wear identification badges with their names and photographs.¹⁹³

In 1949 Baker's was one of several candy manufacturers donating to the ten tons of candy collected for the Berlin Airlift. President Harry Truman sent airplanes daily to drop food and supplies to Berliners cut off by the Soviets after WWII. Although Baker's gave the chocolate, employee Marshall Ross took it one step further. A scoutmaster, his Boy Scout Troop 15 assembled small parachutes on chocolate bars being dropped especially for the children of Berlin.¹⁹⁴

The Baker's Community

The Baker's Mills dominated the area of Lower Mills in Dorchester and Milton. Most who worked at Baker's lived to the north of the factories, renting or owning houses on streets such as Sanford, Sturbridge, Monson, Temple, Morton, River, Cedar, Idaho, Groveland, Bearse, Medway, Richmond, and Vose.¹⁹⁵

Often, several members of the same family worked in the factories together. Many of the same surnames appear in payroll records over the decades, indicating that multiple generations of families and extended families made Baker's chocolate their livelihood. Single workers often lodged with fellow employees in boarding houses or rented rooms from coworkers, so for many, time at the mills and time at home involved the same people.¹⁹⁶

Most Baker's employees were born in New England, mainly in Massachusetts with some from Maine, Vermont, and New Hampshire. But a large population of immigrants also worked at Baker's, with the most prevalent group being Irish. Other immigrant groups included a high percentage of Canadians (mainly from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia), along with English, Scottish, a few Germans, and a handful of Swedes. This ethnic mix

¹⁹³ Hyde Park Gazette-Times, 6 Nov 1941, 4.

¹⁹⁴ D.M. Giangreco and Robert E. Griffin, "The Berlin Airlift," *Truman Presidential Museum and Library* [online]; available from http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/berlin_airlift/large/ docs.php?actopm=oh; Internet, accessed 15 Aug 2005. Material used on the site from Giangraco and Griffin's book *Airbridge to Berlin – The Berlin Crisis of 1948, its Origins and Aftermath*, 1988; General Foods, *GF Newsletter* 10, no 3, March 1949, Tarrytown N10.

¹⁹⁵ 1920 U.S. census, Suffolk County, Massachusetts, population schedule, town of Boston, enumeration districts [ED] 522, sheets 1B-7A, ED 523, sheets 1A-16B, ED 524, sheets 1A-12A, ED 525, sheets 1A-9A, National Archives micropublication T625, roll 739; 1920 U.S. census, Norfolk County, Massachusetts, population schedule, town of Milton, ED 206, sheets 6B-24A, ED 207, sheets 11A-19B, ED 208, sheets 2B-25A, ED 209, sheets 3A-7B, 22B, National Archives micropublication T625, roll 722.

¹⁹⁶ Pay Rolls 1868-1918, E-1 thru E-4, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School; 1920 U.S. census, Suffolk County, Massachusetts, population schedule, Boston, ED 522-525; 920 U.S. census, Norfolk County, Massachusetts, population schedule, Milton, ED 206-209. Names taken from payroll records are checked against census records to find and verify familial relations.

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at Baker's remained relatively consistent from the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. It represented not only the company's makeup but also the demographics of Dorchester and Milton as a whole.¹⁹⁷

Remembering Baker's Employees

For decades, Baker's employees lived within close range of the mills, creating a community that extended outside the factory walls. Making chocolate was often a family affair and the mills were full of brothers, sisters, sons and daughters.

The pages that follow are about former Baker's employees. Learn more about who they were, what kinds of jobs they performed, and what life was like inside the Baker's mills.

If you have a story you would like to share about your own or a family member's experience a Baker's Chocolate send it in an email to bakers@bostonhistory.org.

John Beam

From *The Chocolate Press* - July 17, 1926:

"John Beam is still captain of his ship, although now, instead of a coasting steamer or smart yacht, it happens to be the Cocoa Department of the Baker and Forbes Mills.

"John was born in Machias, Maine, on August 22, 1855. He went to sea at the age of 18 for two years, gave it up for four years, but returned again to be mate on coasting steamers, and later pilot on steamers from Boston to Nahant. John was married in 1881, and like many others, gave up the sea soon after. On December 17, 1888, he came to work with Walter Baker & Co., Ltd., spending the first years with Horace Plummer in the Breakfast Cocoa Department.

"In 1895 Mr. H. L. Pierce commissioned Mr. Andrew J. Burnham, Ex. United States Inspector of Steamers, to buy a yacht for him. The result was the steam yacht 'Stellar,' 86 feet long, 12 1/2 feet beam and 6 feet draft. There were several applicants for the position as Captain of the yacht, and among them was John Beam. His papers and licenses had expired, but in due course, he presented himself for examination to Mr. Burnham, and was chosen for the position. This work only took him away from the Mill in the summer months. Mr. Pierce died in 1896 and the yacht was sold. In the summers of 1905 and 1906 Mr. Beam was in command of 'The Bethulia,' a yacht 104 feet long. 16 1/2 feet beam and drawing 7 feet of water, which belonged to Talbot Aldrich. Here John served his last bit of sea duty.

"On January 17, 1914, Mr. Beam was made Foreman of the Baker Mill Breakfast Cocoa Department. Since that time his department has grown until it has almost doubled in size. He is always on the job and keeps his department functioning perfectly." ¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷ 1920 U.S. census, Suffolk County, Massachusetts, population schedule, Boston, ED 522-525; 920 U.S. census, Norfolk County, Massachusetts, population schedule, Milton, ED 206-209; Dorchester, Massachusetts, *Annual Report of the Finances of the Town of Dorchester*, vol. 1, 1853 (Boston: Albert Morgan, 1840) 37.

¹⁹⁸ The Chocolate Press, 17 July 1926, Miscellaneous Collection, 54F, Box 1, Walter Baker Chocolate Company Archives, Milton Historical Society, Milton, MA.

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Grace E. Bolster

47 years with Baker's (1899-1946)

In October 1899 eighteen year-old Grace Bolster joined the company wrapping chocolate along side her sister Addie. Over the years she became active in the social functions at Baker's and was part of the 1928 Outing Committee that organized the 11th Annual Employee Summer Outing. From 1930 until her retirement she worked as a laboratory quality control technician, measuring the fineness of cocoas and chocolate liquors. Occasionally she assisted the analytical chemists with other quality control processes. In 1941 Bolster and seventy-two other Baker's employees were honored for their long service of twenty-five years or more. She retired in 1946.¹⁹⁹

Gladys (Delano) George

23 years with Baker's (1932-1955)

From a 1975 letter from Gladys George:

"I worked there for 23 years as secretary to the director of Purchases, (Lockett Coleman). A teletype machine was installed beside my desk, connected directly to Scarburgh company of New York, the Cocoa Bean Exchange. For 5 years I sent and received all the messages regarding the cocoa bean purchases, etc. It was a busy machine and noisy.

"Mr. Coleman had taken 2 trips to Europe and south America to purchase cocoa beans, and was to take a third trip, which he really did not want to take. On each trip he took out a \$100,000 policy costing \$100. This was approximately the latter part of 1950. Three men were in the party. In Brazil, the last lap, they were ready to fly home. One of the party did not want to fly and wired for permission to come home by boat. He was grudgingly given permission to do so, as he would be delayed several more days.

"Over the Brazilian Jungle, the plane crashed with no survivors. I received a call from one of the Boston newspapers asking me where Mrs. Coleman lived. I asked him why he wanted to know, and he told me about the accident. I asked him to wait and I got in touch with the President of Walter Baker's, told him the story, and had the called transferred. The paper, of course, was not given the information. The President and the Asst. Purch. Agent went to Brookline and told Mrs. Coleman about the tragedy personally.

"It was impossible to remove the remains, so a special service was held for them. I believe this took place in Panama. Walter Baker had a special service for Mr. Coleman at the Episcopal Church on Randolph Avenue in Milton.

"The crash gravely affected the man who came home by boat and he passed away exactly one year from the date of the crash.

"For 1-1/2 years we did not have a Director of Purchase. When one was appointed, a Mr. Truax (he was the brother of the movie actor by the same name), he told me all he wanted to do was put his feet on the desk and think. I put up with it for 6 months and moved from

¹⁹⁹ File Folder with Various Newspaper Clippings of Walter Baker Chocolate Company and Grace Bolster, George Collection, Walter Baker Chocolate Company Archives, Milton Historical Society, Milton, MA; Charles Bolster household, 1900 U.S. census, Suffolk County, Massachusetts, population schedule, town of Boston, enumeration districts [ED] 1528, sheet 8B, dwelling 145, family 175; National Archives micropublication T623, roll 687.

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Medfield to Uxbridge in July 1955. Bob Land who worked beside Mr. Truax left 2 months after I did, and the new Director was fired 6 months later. I would say he was in his 40s and he went south to work in another chocolate company. I heard that he passed away several years later.

"Walter Baker was purchased by General Foods, along with other companies, Minute Tapioca, Jell-o, etc. all were transferred to Dover, Delaware.

"They gave up making chocolate bars, cocoa and the 20# [20 pound] cakes for dipping. (I sure did love the 20# Mayflower chocolate.) We could buy them. I believe they only make Baker's cooking chocolate and German Sweet Chocolate now. I am not sure about the Caracas which men seem to enjoy.

"I grew up on Walter Baker Chocolate. I very seldom eat anything but chocolate. (I wonder why?)

"Everyone driving through the square could smell the chocolate except us (the people who lived around there.) When I go to Dorchester...it is hard to believe the change that has taken place in the numerous buildings which comprised the Walter Baker Company. My Mother, 2 Aunts and Uncle all worked in Bakers during the years. Also, on the opposite corner from the office is a large 5-story apartment house for the elderly. (To me, it looks so out-of-place.) ²⁰⁰"

Watson Wesley Kilcup

48 1/2 years with Baker's (1901-1950)

From Kilcup's personal account:

"Saturday, November 30, 1902 – I was told to report to Mr. Fuller at office of Walter Baker & Co. Ltd. At 7 AM Monday morning December 2, 1901. Being a boy of 17 years, 4 months old, I felt quite proud of myself, and of course told the boys about my good luck. Reporting Monday morning to Mr. Fuller, who was paymaster, was sent to Mr. Bater, Foreman of one of the molding rooms. At that time there were two molding rooms. These were also called the shaker rooms. Each man would have one machine to run. These machines were about 3 ½ feet long and 2 ½ feet wide and would hold 8 ½-lb or 24 ¹/₄ -lb. molds. And the usual running time would be 9 to 10 minutes. And the molds would be ready to go to cooling room where pans would be put on stone floor to cool. When chocolate was hardened would be picked up by hand and taken to girls' room to be hand wrapped. The eating chocolate that was made there was very heavy like a paste and could be worked by hand whereas today's chocolate is made very thin and will run over a large pot. The chocolate made in those days had a very good flavor, made only of a good mixture of the best cocoa beans and pure vanilla beans which would be cut up and ground into a powder, and $\frac{1}{4}$ - $\frac{1}{2}$ oz of vanilla was plenty to use in a 100 lb. of some of the best chocolate.

²⁰⁰ Gladys George's Personal Account at Baker's Chocolate, from a typed letter dated Feb 1, 1975, located inside a copy of Bruce Millar's *A Calendar of Walter Baker & Company, Inc. and Its Times: 1765-1940,* George Collection, Box 54B-3, Walter Baker Chocolate Company Archives, Milton Historical Society, Milton, MA.

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"After working 10 days, I received my first pay of \$12.00 for 6 days or 58 hours of work. 3 days pay was held back because Wednesday was pay day. Feeling quite big, I took my money home to Mother where I turned over \$12.00 each week and was given \$1.00 for myself, for money was needed for house. I was in this room for one year and 3 months when I was sent to Shipping Department working at all jobs, loading teams, shopping cases, piling bags of cocoa beans, etc. until I became a regular loader with a helper. I worked at this work for about five years. I was their clerk in shipping office making out loads for teams for Boston and far loads, taking inventory each week of manufactured goods. There moved to outside office taking care of returned goods, selling chocolate, taking visitors around the plant explaining the process from raw cocoa beans to finished goods, answering all questions. Have taken classes around with 26 countries represented. Twice these students came from Harvard with Professor Jones. Did this kind of work until 1919 where new office in Forbes Mill was made for me for receiving parcel post and selling chocolate. And then had a few additions of factory supplies to take over. Was also assistant to paymaster in paying help, bringing money from bank for Mr. Kelly to make up payroll. Was factory inspector of hazards – fire – housekeeping, assisting in Personnel work at night until 9 PM. Was their production assistant also in charge of Personnel work and all inspectors. Had all stock accounts, Shipping safety meetings, etc for about seven years. Was Foreman of Shipping Dept. with 22 men July 193_ - back to office in Traffic Dept – there to Order and Billing Dept. pretty soon where I started from and there OUT." 201

Joseph Layton

From The Chocolate Press - June 5, 1926:

"'Hello, man!'

'Hello, Joe, you'll catch cold crossing the street dressed like that.'

'Oh, no, I never move fast enough to catch anything.'

"Joe Layton, one of the High Hat victims of this week's issue, is an old timer. Born in Falmouth, Nova Scotia, on July 24, 1854, he was caught by the spirit, which moved so many of his people here, and settled in Dorchester Lower Mills in 1880. He worked for some time as a carpenter for Fred Severance and James Pope, but in 1883 entered the employ of Walter Baker & Co., Ltd. He has been on the payroll ever since and singularly always in the Shaker Room. Forty-three years of patient, willing service, a record of which he is proud.

"During that period Joe has taken but one vacation. It was while he was working on an extractor, something went wrong and Joe, in trying to fix it, lost one of his fingers. Mr. Gallagher, who was then Superintendent, cared for him until the doctor arrived. Six weeks passed before Joe came back to work.

²⁰¹ Watson Kilcup's Personal Account at Baker's Chocolate, electronic transcript provided by Linda Cooper. Electronic document received via email 16 Sept 2005. Original with Linda Cooper, Watson Kilcup's granddaughter, in California.

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"Of course we all know Joe's poetical talents, but aside from that he is somewhat of a philosopher. He maintains that 'people are no better than they want to be.' There is no doubt but that Joe lives according to that philosophy and there isn't another man in the employ, who by actual performance has served the company's interests to any better degree."²⁰²

Hugh McCue

From *The Chocolate Press* - June 19, 1926:

"Billboards were becoming a nuisance in Milton. Many people were disturbed about them, and President Wm. B. Thurber, representing the town, received a call from a New York lawyer, who was prepared to present the billboard company's case. During the call Mr. McCue appeared in the office and Mr. Thurber, knowing his love of Milton, and his ready wit, called him in and introduced him to this very important looking gentleman, with a work of explanation about is billboard business. Hugh looked the gentleman over and said, "I am glad to meet you,–a fine looking man to be in such a rotten business." Needless to say, the lawyer was taken off his guard, and Mr. Thurber followed his advantage.

"Hugh was born in Dorchester, Mass., October 21, 1861. His father soon moved to Milton and there Hugh has lived all his life. His present home is located on the old farm owned by his father.

"After graduating from the Milton High School, Hugh learned stone cutting. This trade he followed for several years, until he tired of working here and there, all over the country. In February, 1887, he went to work in No. 1 Department, where he remained for some time, running ten mills, which were located on the second floor of the Baker Mill, where there are now fifty. It was not long before he was put in charge of the grinding in the Preston Mill. Here he worked alone until the manufacture of the goods was extended to the old Ware Mill, which was also put under his supervision This old Ware Mill burned down in 1901, and Hugh found himself in charge of the fine brick mill, which replaced it in name and location. Here he has been for 25 years.

"When the Plant was opened at Montreal, Hugh made three trips to instruct in the manufacturing of liquors from the raw bean. While there, he must have had only two shirts, because each night he found it necessary to go to the laundry. It was thought Mr. Thurber could solve this mystery, and when asked, he replied: 'It seems to me the solution was a case of patronizing a wet wash. However, there are many more stories I could relate about his past, but it seems hardly fair.'

"In a more serious strain Hugh is an earnest and willing contributor to the Chocolate Press. He also is quite active in Town affairs, at present being Secretary of the Milton Board of Public Welfare. As president of the Ware Mill he greets his callers with a smile and a bit o' mirth -- and there is no doubt many leave his portals wishing they knew his receipt for joviality." ²⁰³

²⁰² The Chocolate Press, 5 June 1926, Miscellaneous Collection, Walter Baker Chocolate Company Archives, Milton Historical Society.

²⁰³ The Chocolate Press, 19 June 1926, Walter Baker Chocolate Company Archives, Milton Historical Society.

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George F. Savage

From The Chocolate Press - June 19, 1926:

"George F. Savage, Master Mechanic, was born in Newmarket, N.H., on Christmas Day, 1856. After attending the public schools of that town and those of Portsmouth, N.H., he studied the trade of Millwright under the tutelage of his father in the Newmarket mills. A year or so here, another at Manchester, N.H., and he was found back at Newmarket as foreman of the Millwrights. This position he left to come with the Walter Baker & Co., on April 6, 1886. At this time the Plant consisted of the Pierce, Adams and Webb mills. Each mill had its own Engine and Boiler Room, the driving of machines being all accomplished by belt or rope drives. Then came the addition of Mills, Repair Shop, Storehouses, Power Plant, Mechanical Refrigeration, Gas and Electric Trucks, and innumerable new machines. All these changes and installations created a great deal of work for the Machine Shop, not to mention the office of the Master Mechanic. The shop grew from two men until now there are over sixty men in that department. When the Company purchased a new plant in Montreal, Canada, Mr. Savage was in charge of the installation of the machinery.

"During Mr. Savage's forty years of service in this concern he has supervised and installed many innovations, not to mention the countless repairs. His record during that length of time has been spotless, except for one occasion, when at a banquet with some of his fellow workmen, a quart bottle of alleged liquor was removed from his person. The removal of the bottle likewise removed the stain upon his spotless record. In brief Mr. Savage might worthily be summed up in one word–INTEGRITY–for in the opinion of us all, he is the personification of the synonym, Rectitude." ²⁰⁴

John Swift

From *The Chocolate Press* - June 19, 1926:

"Few men will leave a record of faithfulness to their families, their business, and their community as did John Swift, whose death occurred on Friday June 4th, at his residence 112 Central Ave., a record which leaves a lasting influence, not only upon those of us, who were associated with him in the business world, but upon all those who came in contact with him.

"'Uncle John,' as he was generally known in the community, lived a wonderfully active and full life. He was born in Horton, King's county, Nova Scotia, July 4, 1850. At the age of 18 he came to the United States and settled in Milton. On November 9, 1869, he was hired by the late Henry L. Pierce, then owner of Walter Baker & Co. For several seasons Uncle John took men to the farm of Mr. Pierce at Ponkapog to gather his hay. It was here that Mr. Pierce saw his ability as a leader and put him in charge of the then new Sweet Chocolate Department. Mr. Pierce's judgment was correct, as Uncle John played a great part in the development of this side of the business. His department was always a model of cleanliness and activity. With all the years of regular routine he remained progressive, and possessed a great initiative to carry out his ideas. Nor were Uncle John's interests confined wholly to the Plant. He was a Republican, and a member of the Republican Town Committee. He served many years as registrar of voters, was on the Warrant

²⁰⁴ The Chocolate Press, 19 June 1926, Walter Baker Chocolate Company Archives, Milton Historical Society.

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Committee, and during the World War Period was Fuel Conservator, and a member of almost every Liberty Loan, Red Cross and other War Work Committee. He was a Mason, A member of Macedonian Lodge, Dorchester Chapter, and the Joseph Warren Commandery Knights Templars. He was also prominent in the Odd Fellows, being a Past Master of the Dorchester Lodge. He was Vice President of the Shawmut Co-operative Bank.

"Uncle John was twice married. His first wife was Miss Mary Thompson of Prince Edward Island. He later married Charlotte L. Morton of Centerville, Digby county, N.S., who survives him. He was the father of ten children, of whom nine survive. They are Mrs. Walter Hebberd of Wellesley Hills, Mrs. Hattie M. Bater of New York City, John O. Swift of Dorchester, Russell Swift of Milton, Mrs. Warren H. Duley of Rochester, N.Y., Mrs. Frederick Ames Coates of Wollaston, Miss A. Hazel Swift of Washington, D.C., D. Morton Swift of Milton. There are sixteen grandchildren, and one great grandchild." ²⁰⁵

Ariel "Bob" Wills

From *The Chocolate Press* - June 5, 1926:

"From 1873-1926 and going strong! How many of us will be able to be right on the job, as Bob Wills puts it, in 1979?

"Very few of us, my friends, I'll wager, but Ariel E. Wills, who has a service record of 53 years is still going strong. He was born in 1846 at East Randolph, Vermont, and was the youngest of ten children. During his fifteen years of boyhood in East Randolph, nobody ever called him Ariel, no, everybody called him Bob, and so it was Bob, who came to Boston, who drove horse-cars in South Boston, it was Bob, who was hired by Mr. Josiah Webb to drive that single team to and from Boston, it was Bob who finally came to work for the Walter Baker Co. and took charge of the stable, and it still is Bob who has become another victim for our mysterious camera man." ²⁰⁶

EMPLOYEE RELATIONS

While Baker's wasn't necessarily innovative in its management practices, by all accounts it was a good place to work for much of its long history. Employee-friendly policies began in earnest under owner Henry Pierce in the late nineteenth century, and continued through the twentieth century, when Baker's became a division of General Foods and some of the most significant changes to employee policies took place. These changes include revised work hours, company-wide health insurance, bonuses, and retirement plans. In addition to employee benefits, Baker's management worked to develop a sense of community at the factory by publishing internal company newspapers and planning yearly summer events for all employees and their families.

²⁰⁵ The Chocolate Press, 19 June 1926, Walter Baker Chocolate Company Archives, Milton Historical Society.

²⁰⁶ The Chocolate Press, 5 June 1926, Walter Baker Chocolate Company Archives, Milton Historical Society.

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Employee Appreciation

Henry Pierce was probably the most generous of Bakers' owners. When he died on December 17, 1896, his will bequeathed a significant sum of money to his loyal employees. According to the terms of his will, fifteen men who helped Pierce grow the company received between \$20,000 and \$100,000. All other employees who had worked at Baker's at least a year received \$100 each. All told, Pierce bequeathed a total of \$43,300 to Baker's employees.²⁰⁷

In a company-wide ceremony held the following year, all 425 employees were personally thanked by the company president and handed their \$100. As a token of their appreciation, Walter Brown, a department foreman, spoke on behalf of the workers. He expressed the admiration and confidence they had in Pierce because of his respect for them. Pierce was committed to a fair and honest wage in return for an honest day of work. Brown believed that was why "no murmuring of discontent was ever heard among the help in his mill," even when many other companies suffered through labor problems and strikes.²⁰⁸

More than a decade later, while dedicating the new Forbes Mill in 1911, employees planned a banquet in honor of President H. Clifford Gallagher and the Board of Directors as a "thank you" to the company.

After two months of planning, 822 men and women who worked at Baker's gathered for "an evening of joy, enthusiasm, and good fellowship." Gallagher, who worked at Baker's for many years prior to becoming company president, knew most of the people there. He spoke with gratitude, for Baker's had good employee relations, even in a company as large as theirs. In appreciation, he announced that every year employees would find a 10% bonus in their pay envelope, and that the company would match, dollar for dollar, donations made to the Walter Baker Benefit Association for the sick and disabled.

The Walter Baker Benefit Association was an early form of health insurance. Similar to nineteenth century benevolent societies, such as the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks or the Odd Fellows, employees paid into a general fund and in return the association financially came to the aid of a member who could not work due to sickness or injury.²⁰⁹

Employee Benefits

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, employee benefits such as retirement plans or employer-provided health insurance were virtually unheard of in the United States. While Baker's had no formal benefit policies until the twentieth century, the management often

²⁰⁷ The Employees of Walter Baker & Co., Ltd. Receive Their Bequests Under the will of Henry L. Pierce, General Collection, 54A, Walter Baker Chocolate Company Archives, Milton Historical Society, Milton, MA; Millar, Calendar, 56.

²⁰⁸ The Employees of Walter Baker, General Collection, Walter Baker Chocolate Company Archives, Milton Historical Society; Invitation for the Opening of the New Baker Mill, located on the inside cover on a Chocolate and Cocoa book, Miscellaneous Collection, 54F, Box 1, Walter Baker Chocolate Company Archives, Milton Historical Society, Milton, MA.

²⁰⁹ Rev. Webster H. Powell, "A Lesson in Christian Business," *Zion's Herald*, 3 May 1911, 546, Walter Baker & Company Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School; *The Chocolate Press*, 17 July 1926, Walter Baker Chocolate Company Archives, Milton Historical Society.

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provided for workers on an informal basis, finding light jobs for elderly employees, for example. In the twentieth century, the company gradually added a range of benefits for its employees. Below is a chronological list of some of the benefits Baker's introduced to their workforce over time.²¹⁰

- 1904: Each employee who works for Baker's at least one year is offered one week's salary as an annual bonus.
- 1909: The work week is reduced from 58 hours per week to 56 hours per week, two months before Massachusetts required it by law.
- 1922: Co-operative group life insurance plans are offered.
- 1924: A new medical department is established on-site with a full-time registered nurse.
- 1934: A co-operative retirement plan goes into effect.
- 1936: An industrial relations department is established.
- 1936: Vacation pay is provided for regular employees.
- 1937: A sickness benefit plan is introduced.
- 1938: Federal Labor Union No. 21243 of Dorchester Lower Mills is created.
- 1939: Life and health insurance are expanded by Group Life Insurance

Company Newspaper

In 1926 a small company newspaper for employees named *The Chocolate Press* was started. It is not known how long *The Chocolate Press* was produced, but this publication covered internal activities, company events, and employee biographies. These biographies highlighted the lives and careers of Baker's older employees and recognized their hard work and loyalty to the company.²¹¹

Company Outings

The first of the annual company picnics, or outings, was held in July 1918 at Houghton's Pond in south Milton. Other years the event was held in local venues such as Cunningham Park in Milton, Norumbega Park in Newton, or Mayflower Grove in Bryantville. Every year employees formed a committee to plan the event. ²¹²

The company paper, *The Chocolate Press*, reported on the activities for the 1926 summer outing. The paper encouraged employees to participate in the day-long celebration by entering competitions such as baseball games, track and field, bowling, horseshoe, and billiard and tennis tournaments. Follow-up issues reported outing details and posted the winners of the contests, including the men's and women's pie eating competitions.²¹³

²¹³ The Chocolate Press, 5 June 1926, 2, Walter Baker Chocolate Company Archives, Milton Historical Society.

²¹⁰ Millar, Calendar, 58-65.

²¹¹ The Chocolate Press, 5 June 1926 - 17 July 1926, Walter Baker Chocolate Company Archives, Milton Historical Society.

²¹² The Chocolate Press, 5 June 1926, 2, Walter Baker Chocolate Company Archives, Milton Historical Society; *Photographs of 2nd and 4th Annual Field Days*, 1919 and 1921 respectively, Miscellaneous Collection, 54F, Box 2, Walter Baker Chocolate Company Archives, Milton Historical Society, Milton, MA

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RESOURCES

BAKER'S CHOCOLATE CHRONOLOGY

- 1765 James Baker finances John Hannon's chocolate business.
- 1772 James Baker sets up his own chocolate mill in Daniel Vose's paper mill, and on July 2, 1772, James Baker makes his first recorded sale of chocolate (later known as Best Chocolate and Premium No. 1).
- 1779 John Hannon disappears at sea.
- 1780 James Baker takes over John Hannon's business to produce the first "Baker's" brand chocolate.
- 1791 James Baker brings his son Edmund in as a business partner.
- 1793 Seth Blake becomes Baker's first documented, long-term employee, earning \$5 per month.
- 1795 Baker's first chocolate shipment outside of New England delivers \$1,250 worth of chocolate to merchants Wales & Clapper in Baltimore, Maryland.
- 1798 No. 2 (Common Chocolate) is introduced.
- 1803 No. 3 (Inferior Chocolate) is introduced.
- 1804 James Baker retires, leaving business to Edmund.
- 1806 Edmund Baker builds first Baker family mill for chocolate, grist, and cloth. This mill contains first tub wheels used in the area.
- 1813 Edmund Baker dismantles his 1806 mill and replaces it with a three-story, fortyfoot square, granite building for making chocolate, woolens, and satinets.
- 1818 Edmund Baker makes his son Walter a business partner.
- 1823 Edmund Baker retires, leaving the business to Walter.
- 1827 Walter Baker begins branding his chocolate "W. Baker," replacing his father's "E. Baker" brand.

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- 1830 Baker's introduces low-priced Lapham chocolate,named after long-time employee Elisha Lapham.
- 1834 Baker's employs its first women workers, including sisters Christine and Mary Shields, Mary Ann Barker, Abigale Delano, and Betsey Sanborn.
- 1835 Baker's is producing over 750 pounds of chocolate per day. Local competitor Preston Mill, is making nearly the same quantity.

First mention of Prepared Cocoa, probably an early version of Breakfast Cocoa.

- 1840 Spiced Cocoa Sticks are introduced
- 1843 Walter Baker hires his brother-in-law Sidney B. Williams as his clerk.

First known shipment of Baker's chocolate made by train via the Western Railroad.

- 1844 First mention of Baker's Homeopathic
- 1846 Baker's has eleven people-two men, two apprentices, six women and a foreladyconsistently employed.
- 1848 The 1813 mill built by Edmund Baker is severely damaged by fire. Walter Baker rebuilds, and erects a sign on the mill that reads "W. Baker & Co., Established 1780."
- 1849 Walter Baker hires his half nephew, Henry Pierce. Pierce works as a clerk for both Baker and Sidney Williams for \$3 per week.

Caracas chocolate is introduced.

Tins of sweet, spiced, French, and Spanish chocolates are shipped to San Francisco for sale to gold miners.

- 1850 Henry Pierce quits, citing political differences with Walter Baker. Pierce is a liberal Democrat while Baker is a conservative Webster Whig.
- 1851 Henry Pierce returns at the request of Sidney Williams.
- 1852 German's Sweet Chocolate is developed by Baker's employee Samuel German.

Walter Baker dies. In accordance with Baker's will, the trustees of the estate appoint Sidney B. Williams to continue running the business under the name Walter Baker & Company.

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- 1854 Sidney Williams dies while on business in Montreal, Canada. The trustees appoint Henry Pierce to run the company, with a ten-year contract that includes an initial two-year trial period.
- 1856 Henry Pierce renews lease with the Baker estate trustees for the remaining eight years of his ten-year agreement.
- 1860 Henry Pierce buys out the Preston chocolate mill.
- 1864 Walter Baker estate trustees renew lease of the business to Henry Pierce for a second ten-year term.
- 1867 Baker's Chocolate and Cocoa wins a silver medal at the Paris Exposition.
- 1868 48 employees are on the payroll, 23 of whom are women. Men are paid up to \$48 for 24 days of work, while women receive \$20 for the same 24 days.

The first Baker's brick mill is constructed. This mill contains underground cooling rooms, which allow for limited chocolate production in the summer months.

Henry Pierce installs the company's first steam engine to power the mills.

- 1872 The Pierce Mill is built.
- 1873 Baker's Chocolate and Cocoa wins highest prizes at the Vienna Exposition.
- 1874 Walter Baker estate trustees renew lease of the business to Henry Pierce for a third ten-year term.
- 1875 95 employees are on the payroll, 42 of whom are women. In a 24-day period. men are paid up to \$72, while women receive \$24.
- 1876 Baker's Chocolate and Cocoa wins highest prizes at the Philadelphia Centennial.
- 1877 Baker's begins distributing lithographed chocolate advertisements at grocery stores.

The image of *La Belle* Chocolatiere is used for the first time on packaging and advertisements.

- 1881 Henry Pierce buys the Webb chocolate mill. The company hires H. Clifford Gallagher who later becomes president of the company.
- 1882 The new Webb Mill is built.
- 1883 La Belle becomes Baker's official company trademark.

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- 1884 Henry Pierce obtains full ownership of Walter Baker & Company from Baker estate trustees.
- 1888 Construction begins on the Adams Street Mill begins and is finished one year later.
- 1889 Baker's begins advertising on the back covers of novels.
- 1891 The new Baker Mill is built on the site of the 1848 mill.

Baker's begins selling its chocolates in some of the country's first coin-operated vending machines.

1895 Henry Pierce incorporates the company officially as Walter Baker & Company, Ltd.

J. Frank Howland is elected first president of the company.

1896 Henry Pierce dies, leaving between \$20,000 and \$100,000 to the fifteen associates most influential in building the company, and \$100 to everyone employed at the mills at the time of his death.

H. Clifford Gallagher becomes next president of the company.

1897 Baker's business and property is bought by the "Forbes Syndicate" for \$4.75 million.

Baker's has over 400 employees.

- 1900 Century Sweet Chocolate is introduced.
- 1901 The old Ware Mill burns down.
- 1902 The new Ware Mill is built.
- 1903 The Preston Mill is built.
- 1904 Each employee working for Baker's at least one year is offered one week's salary as an annual bonus.
- 1906 The 3,000 horse power, central Power House is built, consolidating the electrical power for all the mills.
- 1907 The first air conditioning system is installed at the mills by the Sturtevant Company.
- 1909 The work week is reduced from 58 hours to 56 hours, two months before Massachusetts required it by law

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Baker's purchases its first electric truck.

- 1911 The Forbes Mill is built.
- 1914 Baker's purchases its first gasoline-powered truck.
- 1916 Steel rollers are first used instead of granite, to grind sweet chocolate to a finer consistency.
- 1917 Baker's produces a "W.T.W." (Win The War) chocolate for allied armies fighting overseas in World War I.
- 1918 Construction begins on the Administration Building and finishes in 1919.

The first annual company outing is held at Houghton's Pond in south Milton.

- 1921 The Power House switches from coal to a cleaner-burning fuel oil.
- 1922 Co-operative group life insurance plans are offered.
- 1924 A new medical department is established on-site with a full-time registered nurse.
- 1926 A small company newspaper, *The Chocolate Press*, is first published.
- 1927 Baker's becomes a division of Postum Cereal Company (later named General Foods).
- 1928 Baker's introduces its first milk chocolate.
- 1934 A co-operative retirement plan goes into effect.
- 1936 An industrial relations department is established.
- 1936 Vacation pay is provided for regular employees.
- 1937 A sickness benefit plan is introduced.
- 1938 Federal Labor Union No. 21243 of Dorchester Lower Mills is created.
- 1939 Life and health insurance are expanded by Group Life Insurance.
- 1940 The cooling system is expanded and modern refrigeration is installed in warehouses.
- 1941 The concrete Grain Elevators and Silos are built.

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- 1944 Baker's develops a special "Ration D Bar" for armed forces overseas fighting in World War II. These are also used as emergency rations and distributed to the Red Cross for prisoners of war.
- 1949 Baker's is one of several candy companies to donate chocolate for the Berlin Airlift.
- 1962 General Foods consolidates four plant operations, including Baker's, into one. Plans would move Baker's to a new 1,600-person facility in Dover, Delaware. Baker's is now part of the General Foods' Jell-O division.
- 1965 Baker's moves from Dorchester to Dover, Delaware.
- 1978 Discussions begin on the first stages of the Lower Mill revitalization.
- 1980 Lower Mills Industrial District, which includes the former Baker's mill complex, is accepted to the National Register of Historic Places.
- 1983 The redeveloped Adams Street Mill opens which houses fifty-three apartments.
- 1985 Philip Morris acquires General Foods.
- 1985 The Pierce and Preston mills are combined into one large residential structure. Opens with eighty available apartments.
- 1987 The Grain elevators and silos are torn down. Initial plans for the site include apartments with a multi-level parking garage. The site is now a parking lot for residents of the Baker Square Condominiums Forbes Building.
- 1988 Philip Morris acquires Kraft.
- 1989 Philip Morris merges General Foods and Kraft to form Kraft General Foods.
- 1995 Kraft General Foods is renamed Kraft Foods, Inc.
- 2002 The Administration Building opens as residential housing with thirteen artists' lofts.
- 2005 Plans to redevelop the Baker Mill and Power House into condominiums are underway.

Baker's Reserve 225th Anniversary Bar is introduced in celebration of a Baker's milestone year.

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