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**NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
REGISTRATION FORM**

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (National Register Bulletin 16A). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the information requested. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items.

1. Name of Property

historic name Procter & Gamble Baltimore Plant
other names/site number B-1009

2. Location

street 1422 Nicholson Street
not for publication n/a city or town Baltimore vicinity n/a
state Maryland code MD county independent city code 510 zip code 21617

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1986, as amended, I hereby certify that this x nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property x meets does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant nationally statewide x locally. (See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of certifying official

9-28-99

Date

In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria. (See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of commenting or other official

Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

=====
6. Function or Use
=====

Historic Functions (Enter categories from instructions)

Cat: INDUSTRY Sub: manufacturing facility

Current Functions (Enter categories from instructions)

Cat: VACANT/NOT IN USE Sub: _____
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7. Description
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Architectural Classification (Enter categories from instructions)

MODERN MOVEMENT

Materials (Enter categories from instructions)

foundation Concrete

roof Built-up tar & gravel

walls Brick

other _____

Narrative Description (Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

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8. Statement of Significance
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Applicable National Register Criteria (Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing)

- A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
 B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
 C Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
 D Property has yielded, or is likely to yield information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations (Mark "X" in all the boxes that apply.)

- A owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
 B removed from its original location.
 C a birthplace or a grave.
 D a cemetery.
 E a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
 F a commemorative property.
 G less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Areas of Significance (Enter categories from instructions)

INDUSTRY

Period of Significance 1929-1949

Significant Dates 1929; 1949

Significant Person (Complete if Criterion B is marked above)

Cultural Affiliation n/a
Architect/Builder Henry Manley, engineer

Narrative Statement of Significance (Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

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9. Major Bibliographical References

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(Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets.)

Previous documentation on file (NPS)

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____

Primary Location of Additional Data

- State Historic Preservation Office
- Other State agency
- Federal agency
- Local government
- University
- Other

Name of repository:

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10. Geographical Data

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Acreage of Property approximately 10 acres

USGS quadrangle Baltimore East, MD

UTM References (Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet)

	Zone	Easting	Northing	Zone	Easting	Northing	
A	18	<u>362840</u>	<u>4348370</u>	C	18	<u>362580</u>	<u>4348250</u>
B	18	<u>362750</u>	<u>4348180</u>	D	18	<u>362660</u>	<u>4348420</u>

See continuation sheet.

VERBAL BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION

The nominated property consists of approximately 10 acres bounded by the Northwest Branch of the Patapsco River on the north, Hull Street on the east, and Nicholson Street on the south. The western boundary consists of a slip extending from the Northwest Branch, and the existing property line.

BOUNDARY JUSTIFICATION

The boundaries encompass the full extent of the historic Procter & Gamble property north of Nicholson Street. The National Register property includes northern portion of property Procter & Gamble developed in 1929 as well as contiguous property purchased and developed within the resource's period of significance. The Procter & Gamble property on the south side of Nicholson Street and the railroad tracks has not been included. Occupied by an enormous ca. 1960s warehouse and separated from the northern half of the site by a roadway and railroad tracks, this parcel is physically and visually distinct from the historic portion of the site.

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11. Form Prepared By
=====

name/title Betty Bird; Heather Ewing
organization Betty Bird & Associates date April 30, 1999
street & number 2607 24th Street, NW, Suite 3 telephone (202) 588-9033
city or town Washington state DC zip code 20008
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Additional Documentation
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Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets

Maps

A USGS map (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.

A sketch map for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources.

Photographs

Representative black and white photographs of the property.

Additional items (Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items)

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Property Owner
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(Complete this item at the request of the SHPO or FPO.)

name _____
street & number _____ telephone _____
city or town _____ state _____ zip code _____
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Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18.1 hours per response including the time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reduction Project (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.

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Baltimore Plant
Baltimore city, MD

Description Summary

The Procter & Gamble Baltimore Plant is a compact industrial complex comprised of five major buildings spread over a 10 acre site on the Northwest Branch of the Patapsco River. New York engineer Henry Manley's design for the four 1929 buildings articulated a progressive corporate image for Procter & Gamble that the company maintained when they constructed the Tide Building in 1949. Land use in the Locust Point area is characterized by large industrial plants along the Patapsco and rowhouse neighborhoods inland (south) from the tracks and Nicholson Street. Major buildings on the Procter & Gamble site include the Process Building (1929), the Soap Chip Building (1929), the Bar Soap Building (1929), the Warehouse (1929), and the Tide Building (1949). The 1929 Power Plant, hidden from view in the southwest corner of the site, was demolished in recent years. A second 1929 warehouse, situated across Nicholson Street and the railroad tracks from the site, was partially demolished and subsumed within an enormous warehouse constructed in the mid-1960s.

The three-story brick buildings, which are all connected by upper floor bridges, display pier and spandrel construction characteristic of industrial structures that date to the first half of the 20th century. As is common for industrial sites in continuous use, all of the buildings have been altered. In addition, Procter & Gamble removed much of the plant's equipment when they sold the site. The size, scale, and uniform massing of the buildings easily overcomes the impact of these changes as well as the demolition of the Power Plant and second warehouse. While the buildings' industrial steel sash windows were replaced in the 1970s, the original form, construction, and interrelationship of the buildings can still be clearly read. In addition to these major buildings, a small brick pumphouse (1929) situated in the northwest corner of the site also contributes to the significance of the complex. Non-contributing buildings include small structures like the gatehouse, scale house, and fire pump house, all of which were constructed after the period of significance.

General Description

The Procter & Gamble Baltimore Plant is an early 20th century industrial complex comprised of a warehouse and buildings that housed Procter & Gamble's soap-making operations. The 10 acre site at Locust Point extends south from the Patapsco River and is bounded by Hull Street (east), the Patapsco River (north), a long slip and the Domino Sugar Plant (west), and

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Nicholson Street and the railroad tracks (south). There is an approximately 12 ft. change in grade from the south end of the site to the north end on the water. Large industrial operations line the banks of the Patapsco to either side of the Procter & Gamble property. The Domino Sugar Plant with its landmark sign is located adjacent to the Procter & Gamble slip on the west; Maryland Port Authority storage tanks are located across Hull Street to the east of the Procter & Gamble site. With the exception of Procter & Gamble's massive ca. 1965 warehouse (not included in nomination), the area south of Nicholson Street and the railroad tracks consists of blocks of low-scale, 19th century rowhouses.

The Procter and Gamble site consists of five major brick buildings all three stories high. The Process Building, the Soap Chip Building, Bar Soap Building, and Warehouse Building were constructed in 1929; the Tide Building was constructed in 1949. All but the Warehouse Building are parallel to one another, extending south from the water. The Warehouse Building is sited perpendicular to the Soap Chip and Bar Soap Buildings, adjacent to the railroad tracks at the southern boundary of the site. Internal roadways extend between the major buildings, which are all interconnected by bridges. Loading docks for trucks are located on the north side of the Warehouse Building and the south side of the Tide Building. There are also four minor buildings: a Guard House (ca. 1970), a Pumphouse (1929), a Scale House (ca. 1970), and a Fire Pump House (ca. 1955). There are rail sidings along the slip at the west side of the site and rail sidings on the east side of the site adjacent to the Tide Building. The rail siding along the slip is supported by a concrete trestle. Tanks and tank platforms are located south of the Process Building and north of the Tide Building and Bar Soap Building. The site is enclosed by an iron fence between brick piers as well as sections of chain link fence. The entrance to the complex situated east of the Warehouse Building, formerly Haubert Street before it was closed, was the original entrance to the site. There is a second entrance immediately east of the Guard House, which is now the primary entrance. With the exception of landscaped areas around the foundations of the buildings, the site is paved.

Despite their different functions, structural systems, and 20 year age difference, the major buildings share similar scale, height, materials, facade articulation, and fenestration pattern. The three-story brick buildings are all characterized by a brick pier and spandrel veneer, flat roofs or flat roofs with clerestories, concrete sills, and shallow concrete bases. The roofline and corners of the buildings provide the only

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decorative features. A concrete coping and sawtooth brick between piers serves as the cornice for all of the buildings. The uppermost floor is highlighted by a wide band comprised of concrete lintels contrasted with brick bordered by concrete on the piers, extending around the top of each building. Raised parapets displaying the Procter & Gamble moon and stars trademark denote the location of pedestrian entrances, fire stairs, and freight elevators. For the most part, these elements form towers that anchor the corner bays of the buildings and the center of the Soap Chip Building. A number of these towers also provide access to roofs, which house equipment and piping. For the most part, the interiors of the buildings consist of open plan space. Brick walls enclose stairs and elevators; brick fire walls bisect the Process Building and the Soap Chip Building.

All of the buildings have been altered over the years as industrial processes changed and the plant was expanded. However, the size, scale, and uniform appearance of the buildings minimizes the impact of these alterations. Typical alterations include infilled openings and small additions housing stairs or equipment. In the 1980s, all but three of the original industrial steel sash windows were replaced with contemporary aluminum sash. When Procter & Gamble sold the site in 1996, the company removed much of their equipment from the site. The Procter & Gamble trademarks on parapets and towers were chipped and painted red, presumably by A&E Corporation, who purchased the property from Procter & Gamble.

Process Building (Glycerin House)

The Process Building is a three story rectangular steel frame brick building constructed in 1929. Unlike the other buildings, the level grade at the Process Building results in a concrete base of uniform height. A brick firewall bisects the structure and extends above the roof line of the building. The building features a two-level clerestory roof clad in asphalt shingles and lit by recent 1-over-1 aluminum sash. Large tanks obscure the south wall of the building; three smaller tanks block part of the north side of the building. A railroad trestle extends along the west side of the building, between the building and the slip. There is a heavily altered loading dock between the Process Building and the trestle. A roadway runs between the Process Building and the Soap Chip Building to the east. A glazed steel-frame bridge at the north end of the building over the roadway connects the Process Building to the Soap Chip Building. With the exception of the northeast corner of the building, which connects to the bridge, towers emphasize the corners of the building. The tallest

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tower, on the northwest corner, provides access to the roof. There are pedestrian doors and loading bays on the east side of the building. All of the walls exhibit infilled openings. Catwalks from exterior tanks lead to doors on the upper floors of the building.

The interior of the building consists of open plan space divided by a fire wall. The upper floor of the building is framed in wood with a wood truss supporting the complex clerestory roof. Although the windows have been replaced and the loading platform on the west side of the building reworked, the Process Building retains integrity of location, design, setting, workmanship, feeling, and association. The Process Building helps establish the sense of time, place, and historical development of the Procter & Gamble Baltimore Plant and contributes to the significance of the resource.

Soap Chip Building

The Soap Chip Building is a three-story, seven bay by 18 bay rectangular brick building sited between the Process Building and the Bar Soap Building. The massing of the steel frame Soap Chip Building is more distinctive than other buildings on the site. As the central building in the 1929 plant, the Soap Chip Building was highlighted by a two-story central tower rising above the parapet of the central bay of the north facade. This treatment would have provided the 1929 complex with a symmetrical appearance from the water. There is a large, two-level clerestory to either side of the tower. The three visible sides of the tower parapet are embellished with the Procter & Gamble logo. The regularity of the north facade is not maintained on the less public facades of the building. The tower at the southeast corner of the building housing a built-up stair and elevator is of more utilitarian appearance. A fire wall with a large stepped gable that projects above the roof divides the Soap Chip Building into two sections. The differing floor levels of the two sections are articulated on the exterior of the building. The three stories of the southern portion of the building are of more or less equal height; the height of the 1st story and 3rd story of the northern portion are reduced to create a double-height 2nd floor. Four bays project from the east wall of the north section. The east facade of the building has been heavily reworked. An additional projecting bay clad in metal box siding has been added to the southern end of the four projecting bays and a number of openings have been infilled. There are four loading bays against the south wall of the building; additional loading bays are situated on the east wall. The westernmost loading bay on the south facade has been

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infilled with brick. Windows on the north facade have also been blocked in. Exterior stairs and catwalks provide access to doors on the 2nd floor.

The interior of the building consists of open plan space to either side of the brick fire wall. A frame truss provides the structure for the clerestory, which has been reglazed with aluminum sash in recent years. Although the windows have been replaced and a metal addition added to the east side of the building, the Soap Chip Building retains integrity of location, design, setting, workmanship, feeling, and association. The Soap Chip Building helps establish the sense of time, place, and historical development of the Procter & Gamble Baltimore Plant and contributes to the significance of the resource.

Bar Soap Building (1929)

The Bar Soap Building is a three-story rectangular steel frame brick building that originally faced onto Haubert Street. (Haubert Street was subsequently closed after Procter & Gamble acquired the property east of Haubert.) The building exhibits the only detailed entry feature found in the 1929 buildings. A double entrance set within a simple terra cotta surround is situated in the third bay from the south on the east facade. A parapet with the Procter & Gamble logo rises above this entrance. A secondary entrance of more utilitarian appearance is set below a similar parapet in the third bay from the south on the west facade. This entrance features a single door below a stylized brick jack arch. An additional pedestrian entrance inserted below a recent canopy is situated against the south facade. A ca. 1965 bridge 3-1/2 bays wide connects the 3rd floor of the Bar Soap Building with the Tide Building. Construction of the bridge altered the top of the terra cotta entrance. Two glazed bridges dating to 1929 connect the Bar Soap Building with the Soap Chip Building. Elevator shafts are located in the two corner towers at the north end of the building. The Soap Chip Building retains three industrial sash windows on the west facade, the only original windows surviving the whole-scale window replacement of the 1980s. There is also a one-story concrete block addition attached to the west side of the building. Like the other buildings, openings have been infilled and areas between piers reworked, particularly on the east side of the building.

The interior of the building consists of open plan space with wood floors on the upper levels and an exposed structural system. Although the original entry has been altered, the Bar Soap Building retains integrity of

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location, design, setting, workmanship, feeling, and association. The Bar Soap Building helps establish the sense of time, place, and historical development of the Procter & Gamble Baltimore Plant and contributes to the significance of the resource.

Warehouse (1929)

The Warehouse is a three-story, six bay by fourteen bay rectangular brick building. In contrast to the other buildings on the site, the long axis of the Warehouse runs east to west. Parapets with the Procter & Gamble logo emphasize the corner bays of the building. Loading bays extend along the north facade. Bridges on the north facade connect the Warehouse with the Bar Soap Building and the Soap Chip Building. A third bridge extends over the railroad tracks to connect the Warehouse with Procter & Gamble facilities south of Nicholson Street.¹ The original loading dock on the south side of the building has been enclosed with brick. The shadow of the original canopy is still visible at the east end of the south facade. A one-story brick addition was added south of the enclosed loading dock. A new brick stair tower and a small one-story concrete block addition are attached to the north facade, east of the bridge to the Bar Soap Building. A post-1950 exterior stair covered with corrugated metal extends down the side of the north facade. Openings have been infilled and smaller windows have been inserted on the west facade.

The interior of the Warehouse Building is open plan space with wood floors and an exposed structural system. Although the loading docks have been enclosed and small additions added on the north, the Warehouse retains integrity of location, design, setting, workmanship, feeling, and association. The Warehouse helps establish the sense of time, place, and historical development of the Procter & Gamble Baltimore Plant and contributes to the significance of the resource.

Tide Building (1949)

The Tide Building is a three-story, ell-shaped reinforced concrete building faced with brick. There are loading bays on the south and east facade. The elevator penthouse and stair tower rise from the second bay from the south on the west facade. A second stair at the juncture of the ell is expressed on the exterior of the building. A wide bridge north of the

¹Architectural drawings show that there was always a bridge connecting the Warehouse with property across the tracks.

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elevator and stair core connects the 2nd floor of the reinforced concrete Tide Building with the 3rd floor of the Bar Soap Building. The present arched entry feature was probably constructed in the 1980s. The rear ell of the building once supported massive equipment used to produce synthetic detergent, rising to the height of eight stories, removed when Procter & Gamble sold the plant.

The interior of the upper floors of the Tide Building was remodeled for office use in the 1970s. The 1st floor remains open plan space with exposed mushroom columns. The Tide Building retains integrity of location, design, setting, workmanship, feeling, and association. Through its association with synthetic detergents, the building helps establish the sense of time, place, and historical development of the Procter & Gamble Baltimore Plant and contributes to the significance of the resource.

Bridges (1929-ca. 1965)

Original architectural drawings show that all of the bridges connecting the 1929 buildings as well as the bridge over the railroad tracks are original to the complex. While original concrete bases and steel structure remains, all appear to have been reclad and reglazed. The two bridges between the Process Building and the Soap Chip Building are almost entirely glazed with recent aluminum sash. The other bridges are more closed. The brick bridges from the Warehouse to the Bar Soap Building and the Soap Chip Building feature brick panels with herringbone brick over ca. 1970s aluminum windows. The bridge from the Bar Soap Building to the Tide Building, shown in the 1951 Sanborn Map, appears to have been widened and reclad in the late 1960s. Historic photographs from 1955 depict a narrower brick bridge with corbelling at the cornice line and window openings topped with diagonally laid brick and framed by a soldier course. This Tide Building/Bar Soap Building bridge was glazed with industrial steel sash.

Pump House (1929)

The pump house is a small, one-story rectangular brick building situated at the northwest corner of the site between the Process Building and the water. The simple building is topped with a flat roof delineated with a concrete coping. Punched window openings are glazed with replacement aluminum sash. The interior of the small building consists of open plan space. The Pump House was constructed within the period of significance of the complex and contributes to the historic significance of the property.

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Gate House (ca. 1955)

The Gate House is a square, one-story brick building with a flat roof situated at the southeast corner of the property. The building has storefront doors on the north, south, and west facades. Its wide aluminum windows with tinted plate glass appear to date to the 1980s. The building is not shown in the 1951 Sanborn Map; a later survey shows a volleyball court on the site of the present Gatehouse. Soldier courses at the base, cornice, and lintels suggest that the building may have been constructed in the mid-1960s when the site was altered in the wake of street closings. Because of its date, the building does not contribute to the historic significance of the Procter & Gamble complex.

Fire Pump House (recent)

The Fire Pump House is a one-story brick building situated southwest of the Warehouse on the property line by the rail tracks. The 1951 Sanborn Map and 1962 aerial photographs show a water tower in this location. Because of its date, the building does not contribute to the historic significance of the Procter & Gamble complex.

Scale House (recent)

The Scale House is a small, square brick building with aluminum sash situated in the southwest corner of the property along the rail spur. The 1951 Sanborn Map, historic photographs, and survey maps show that Procter & Gamble always had a Scale House in this vicinity. Historic documentation, however, depicts a larger building more rectangular in configuration than the present structure, which appears to postdate 1970. Digital equipment within the open plan Scale House suggests that the building may have been constructed when the digital equipment came into use. Because of its date, the Scale House does not contribute to the significance of the Procter & Gamble Complex.

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Significance Summary

The Procter & Gamble Baltimore Plant, constructed in 1929 and expanded in 1949, provides an important reminder of Baltimore's strengths as an industrial location in the early 20th century. As a sophisticated, major national corporation, Procter & Gamble was drawn to Baltimore because the city's transportation infrastructure, Atlantic seaboard location, and long-standing industrial culture offered competitive advantages for delivery of raw materials and distribution of products. Its Locust Point location on the Northwest Branch of the Patapsco River demonstrates the importance of cargo ships to industry during the first half of the 20th century. The size of the Procter & Gamble Plant and the timing of its opening in the early years of the Depression made the plant an important local source of employment and economic stability. The Procter & Gamble Plant meets National Register Criterion A as a facility emblematic of the synergy fueling Baltimore's industrial development in the early 20th century and as a local center of economic strength during the early years of the Depression.

Narrative History

Procter & Gamble's late 1920s decision to locate its second east coast soap manufacturing plant in Baltimore reflects the strengths of Baltimore's industrial infrastructure in the early 20th century. Their choice of sites is particularly telling in light of Procter & Gamble's unique strengths as a corporation. Founded in 1837 as a family partnership, Procter & Gamble by the beginning of the 20th century had developed into a major U.S. corporation. Procter & Gamble pioneered practices such as radio and television advertising, application of technology developed by in-house laboratories, market research, brand-management systems, promotion from within the organization, employee profit-sharing, and rationalized production schedules. The company has long been known as an innovative, well-run entity that developed and refined methods that defined mid-20th century American corporate culture.(1)

Three aspects of Procter & Gamble are particularly relevant to their choice of Baltimore. First, as a company that achieved success by producing low-cost, branded products driven by consumer needs, Procter & Gamble was particularly attuned to the fine points of their market and to the logistics of product distribution. Second, the soapmaking process depended on a steady and reliable source of raw materials, and threw off unending

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byproducts. Over the years Procter & Gamble made a science of salvaging and reselling such byproducts of soapmaking as glycerin and heavy fats. Consequently, the company was as concerned with commodity cycles and salvage strategies as it was with soap production and distribution. Third, Procter & Gamble boasted an ingrained corporate tradition of long range strategic planning.

The success of Procter & Gamble and its evolution into an exemplar of the 20th century multi-national American corporation are due in no small part to the acute business instincts and broad vision exhibited by three generations of the Procter family. The seeds of most of the important aspects of this corporate culture -- from strategic planning to branded products -- can be found in Procter & Gamble's 19th century operations. Impoverished immigrants who came to Cincinnati by flatboat, William Procter, a British grocer who became a candlemaker, and James Gamble, an Irish soapmaker, were married to two sisters. Their common interest in securing adequate supplies of animal fat joined the two men together in business in 1837.

The traditional practice of soapmaking involves cooking rendered animal fat and lye produced from leaching water through wood ashes. Cincinnati was an ideal location for both soapmaking and candlemaking, which required beef tallow and lard. Both processes demanded stearic acid, the waxy, fatty acid derived from tallow (beef fat) and lard (hog fat.) Cincinnati's hog slaughtering industry and packing houses insured continuous supplies of raw material. Rosin derived from pine tar was also available on flatboats coming up river from New Orleans. Starting with capital of \$7,000, the partners began operation by bartering cakes of soap, which were used for everything from laundry to washing, for meat scraps and ashes. Ever thrifty, they sold the oil that was a byproduct of boiling hog fat as lamp oil. The devout partners adhered to high ethical standards in their dealings with suppliers and eschewed the hyperbolic product claims that characterized 19th century advertising. They concentrated on maintaining product quality, rather than changing the product to accommodate fluctuations in raw material prices. Their reputation enabled them to sign notes to suppliers and distinguished their products from their competitors. As their operations expanded, they became acutely aware of their dependence on commodities and began storing materials for future use, going so far as traveling to New Orleans to buy all available rosin on the eve of the Civil War.(2) Ever conscious of the role technology played in their business and the commercial importance of reusing byproducts, in 1858 Procter & Gamble licensed the new Tilghman process for recovering pure glycerin from the

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waste water created by lye production. James Gamble soon found a way of refining lard stearin into kitchen lard, laying the early foundation for the company's introduction of Crisco in 1911.

Procter & Gamble consciously embraced change, forming a symbiotic relationship with the emerging consumer culture. As candle use declined, the company focused on the growing market for soap. An expanding population, public waterworks, indoor plumbing, and a growing concern about hygiene increased the demand for soap bars, which were used for everything from bathing to laundry to general cleaning. Different types of soap were manufactured for different purposes. By the 1870s, kitchen lard, lard oil, and candies constituted 75% of Procter & Gamble's business, with soap providing only 25%.⁽³⁾ The introduction of Ivory soap in 1878 would transform the company-

In the 1870s, Procter & Gamble established one of the first industrial laboratories in the country to develop a formula for a soap that would rival expensive European castile soaps made from olive oil.⁽⁴⁾ In 1878 the company succeeded in formulating a white soap from tallow, coconut oil, palm oil, and cottonseed oil. This pure soap could be used for a wide range of uses, from bathing infants to laundry. The company struggled for months to develop a name that would distinguish this new product. In 1879 Harley Procter, William Procter's son, heard Psalm 45 read in church, "All thy garments smell of myrrh and aloes and cassia, out of the ivory palaces whereby they have made thee glad." Later that same year a technician tending a crutcher, the machine mixing ingredients, neglected to stop the machine when he went to lunch. The aerated mixture frothed up, overflowing the kettle. Because the ingredients were unchanged, the soap remaining in the kettle was hardened and cut, packed, and shipped. Several months later customers soon began clamoring for "floating soap." Management later traced the soap back to the accident in production and the rest is history. In 1882, Harley Procter convinced the then-strapped company to commit the unheard of sum of \$11,000 to inform the public about Ivory, establishing Procter & Gamble's long association with consumer products advertising.⁽⁵⁾

Harley Procter exemplifies the striking vision and capability of successive generations in this family business. A marketing genius, he established the importance of branding and consumer advertising that has been Procter & Gamble's hallmark. Harley Procter developed advertising innovations like commissioning paintings that could be reprinted from artists like Maxfield Parrish. These reprints could then be redeemed for soap wrappers. He offered money to consumers for new uses for Ivory soap, which he then

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published in information booklets that would increase demand for the product. Harley Procter's emphasis on advertising would later culminate in Procter & Gamble's creation of daytime radio and television programming -- the soap opera.

As Harley Procter refined the use of advertising to promote branded products, William Cooper Procter, Harley's nephew and grandson of William Procter, exhibited enlightened self-interest in developing pioneering labor practices. By 1883, the rapid growth of the business created by Ivory's success and the increasing use of national advertising for Procter & Gamble's other products led his father to summon Cooper Procter home from Princeton to join the business. The 24-year-old worked at every level on the factory floor. Adamantly opposed to unions and convinced that a business could not survive unless management and labor shared a common interest, Cooper Procter introduced labor practices that are now standard in American industry. On the principal that costs could be lessened by increasing production, Cooper Procter initiated half days on Saturdays (1885), profit-sharing for plant workers (1887), a stock purchase plan with guarantees against loss (1896), profit-sharing stock purchase with employee match (1903), a sickness/disability plan (1915), the Employees' Conference Plan as a communications device between labor and management of each plant (1918), (6) the eight hour work day (1918), and guaranteed employment for factory workers (1923).

The rapid growth of the business resulted in a major expansion. The completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 opened new markets to the burgeoning national company. In 1886 the company opened its Ivorydale plant, which Procter & Gamble had constructed on the outskirts of the Cincinnati near major rail lines. The new Ivorydale Plant revealed Procter & Gamble's early attention to corporate architectural imagery. The plant incorporated gray limestone with brick trim. Lawns, flower beds, and trees bordering the factory gave contemporary writers the impression that Procter & Gamble was "a nice place to work." (7) In July 1890, the Procter & Gamble Company incorporated to facilitate obtaining capital for future expansion. They also had the foresight to issue preferred stock at the rate of 6% in 1927, which provided them with capital to add additional capacity during the Depression.

By the early 20th century, soap and glycerin were the Procter & Gamble products with the highest growth rates. Even with expansion, the plant at Ivorydale could not meet nationwide sales demand. The 1911 introduction of Crisco, a vegetable shortening resulting from Procter & Gamble's long

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experimentation with hydrogenation processes, required additional plant capacity.(8) Procter & Gamble proceeded to expand by constructing additional plants and by purchasing existing businesses, taking over their plants and product lines.

In 1903, Procter & Gamble constructed its first branch plant in Kansas City, a rail hub with a large meat packing industry at the geographical center of the country. To meet east coast demand, the company broke ground for Port Ivory on Staten Island in 1906. In the first decades of the 20th century, Lever Brothers, the giant British soap manufacturer, began to consolidate formerly independent Canadian soap manufacturers. Procter & Gamble, in response to this threat to their dominance of North American markets, constructed their first foreign factory in 1914 in Hamilton, Ontario to produce both soap and Crisco. The Baltimore Plant, constructed in 1929, was Procter & Gamble's third U.S. branch plant, followed shortly by its first west coast plant in Long Beach, California. With the exception of Kansas City, all of the plants were situated at major ports. Clearly the opening of the Panama Canal to commercial traffic in 1914 altered Procter & Gamble's traditional dependence on railroads and inland waterways.(9)

New products and changes in retail distribution transformed Procter & Gamble's corporate practice during the first decades of the 20th century. The introduction of Crisco in 1911 was followed by a host of new products after World War I including Ivory Flakes (1919), Chipso soap flakes (1921), and Camay soap (1923). Procter & Gamble introduced Camay, a hard-milled, perfumed toilet soap, to compete with rival companies' products like Lux, Palmolive, and Cashmere Bouquet. While Procter & Gamble may have been best known for their soap bars, heavy-duty cleaning represented their largest volume of sales. The introduction and more widespread acceptance of institutional and home washing machines made laundry soaps like Ivory Flakes and Chipso a growth area. By the mid-1920s, Procter & Gamble refined the process for producing Chipso. Liquid soap, similar to that hardened into bars, was sprayed through a drying tower, creating soap granules. In 1929 Procter & Gamble consolidated these improvements into a new, improved Oxydol, a soap granule product they acquired from another manufacturer in 1927.

The introduction of new products and production methods pales in comparison with the way in which Procter & Gamble turned retail distribution inside out, irrevocably altering their production methods. In the early 20th century, consumer products were distributed by wholesalers who bought directly from manufacturers and then resold goods to the small, independent

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retailers that characterized commerce in the 19th and early 20th century. Shrewd wholesalers kept abreast of the commodities market and would stockpile goods in anticipation of price increases, exacerbating boom and bust cycles at the production level. Countering a situation ripe for abuse, Procter & Gamble forbade its wholesalers from favoritism, insisting that they give discounts to retailers only for exceptionally large orders or for prompt payment. Procter & Gamble also required that these discounts be available to all retail customers without favoritism. A 1910 Supreme Court decision outlawed this practice as price fixing, resulting in price-cutting wars driven by retail grocers. Price-cutting was particularly acute in the New York area, where Procter & Gamble had recently opened its Port Ivory Plant on Staten Island. The company made the unprecedented decision to sell directly to small retailers in New York, requiring major increases in warehouse space and office force. Direct selling was extended to New England after World War I. In 1920 Procter & Gamble took direct selling national, offering the same prices to wholesalers and retailers.

While this new practice resulted in increased costs on the distribution end, it ultimately resulted in more efficient production. Procter & Gamble realized that while commodity supply and economic recessions may be cyclical, demand for consumer products that are quickly used is not. Procter & Gamble could address the cyclical nature of commodities by stockpiling raw materials and developing alternative production methods. They could not, however, control hoarding and price gouging at the wholesale distribution level. Direct selling provided the corporation with the means of rationalizing the demand side of their business. Warehouse capacity enabling them to store raw materials and to stockpile finished products helped Procter & Gamble rationalize typical boom-and-bust cycles. Calming the cyclical nature of the business enabled Procter & Gamble to run factories on a year round basis, guaranteeing job security for their employees. In 1923, Cooper Procter announced that the company would guarantee at least 48 weeks of work per year to all of its employees at the Ivorydale, Kansas City, and Port Ivory plants.

Baltimore could not have hoped for a more suitable national corporation to help the city through the early years of the Depression. The Industrial Board of Baltimore's Association of Commerce worked closely with Procter & Gamble to secure a plant for the city. On April 21, 1928, the Association of Commerce issued a press release announcing that the plant represented the largest expenditure in the city since 1923.(10) Constructed at a cost of \$5,000,000, the Procter & Gamble Baltimore Plant was a key element in the company's strategy for expansion. As with Procter and Gamble's earlier

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plants in Ontario, Kansas City, and Staten Island, important sales territories helped determine location. Procter & Gamble chose Long Beach, California and Baltimore, both cities with ports accommodating ocean-going vessels, as the locations for their new plants.(11)

Baltimore offered the company a number of competitive advantages. Situated in the heart of the mid-Atlantic region, Baltimore provided the company with excellent rail service and a network of major roads leading inland and up and down the coast. The opening of the Panama Canal renewed the activity of Baltimore's port and allowed Procter & Gamble to receive large shipments of copra and tropical oils from the Philippines. Locust Point, an industrial waterfront since the mid-19th century, could accommodate ocean-going vessels and was well served by both roads and rail lines. Procter & Gamble's steamship, Camor, plied the coast, stopping at Staten Island, Baltimore, and south to Portsmouth, where Procter & Gamble had acquired a refinery making edible oils in 1931.(12)

Baltimore's vital industrial synergy contributed to Procter & Gamble's interests. The city boasted an enormous meat packing industry, supplying a ready source of fats essential to soapmaking. It also housed crushing mills, like the Oil Seed Crushing Corporation in Canton that Procter & Gamble acquired to supply oil for its eastern operations in 1931.(13) Moreover, Baltimore's varied industrial base, particularly its chemical industry, gave Procter & Gamble a local market for glycerine and other byproducts for soap manufacture as well as a ready source of caustic soda and other chemicals. The company also found the expanding market area and Baltimore's "able, adept employees" attractive.(14)

The Procter & Gamble Baltimore Plant appears to have been designed by Henry Manley (ca. 1880-1949), a civil engineer with offices on Madison Avenue in New York.(15) The only surviving original drawings, a detailed site plan and an elevation with a window schedule, appear on Manley's title block. While utilitarian in nature, the appearance of the compact plant revealed a concern with appearance and corporate image. Despite the different functions the buildings housed, they share uniform massing, materials, height, and fenestration pattern. The three production-related buildings were sited perpendicular to the water to create a composition whose symmetry was reinforced by the central tower on the Soap Chip Building. Terra cotta medallions bearing the company's moon and stars logo identified the plant with Procter & Gamble. In keeping with the image established in Cincinnati, architectural plans show grass beds and plantings around the buildings. In terms of architectural style, the buildings conform to what

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noted architectural historian Henry-Russell Hitchcock termed the "new traditionalism."

In 1928 Hitchcock published an article in the Architectural Record in which he set forth three mainstream approaches to architectural design: traditionalist, new traditionalist, and new pioneer. New pioneers included more radical, International Style practitioners like Le Corbusier and Walter Gropius. New traditionalists, who dominated articles on progressive European architecture in the architectural press, while also modern, were less radical. Their buildings still paid homage to traditional notions of weight and support, incorporating symmetry and other time-honored compositional devices. Their buildings were distinctly modern in their simplified ornament and their departure from specific architectural precedent. 16 The Procter & Gamble Baltimore Plant falls within the parameters of the New Traditionalist approach. Its expressed pier and spandrel construction contrasts with curtain wall factories, giving the buildings solidity and weight that is further emphasized by their solid comers. Devices like paired corner towers, the central tower on the Soap Chip Building, and the paired parapets on the Bar Soap Building use symmetry as an organizing principle for design. The spare quality of the facade articulation, the simple coping and brick detailing at the cornice, and uniform massing of the buildings are progressive in their approach to design.

Both the construction and operation of the plant provided important employment opportunities at the beginning of the Great Depression, when Baltimore faced its greatest economic struggle. Many of the local workers who erected the plant signed on as laborers when the plant opened. The Baltimore Plant began production on August 20, 1930. Along with the Long Beach Plant, which also became operational in the early years of the Depression, the Baltimore Plant made Procter & Gamble's production capacities greater than any other soap concern in the world.(17) Its 225 employees manufactured Ivory Soap, Ivory Flakes, Chipso, and Naptha, a yellow laundry soap. In 1931 Ivory Snow was added, and Camay equipment was installed in 1932. By 1933 the plant was in full production.(18) The Baltimore Plant had a capacity for boiling nine million pounds of soap at a time, dwarfing the 250,000 pound production capacity of the Hecker Company's Canton plant. Even after rival Lever Brothers purchased and expanded the Hecker plant, its production capacity was 900,000 pounds of soap, less than 10% of Procter & Gamble's designed capacity.(19)

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Procter & Gamble's benefit to Baltimore during the early years of the Depression was not limited to direct employment. The Baltimore Plant's huge production was packed into plastic and paper containers manufactured in Baltimore and shipped by Kane Trucking, a local concern. (20) Procter & Gamble's characteristic secrecy leaves little direct contemporary evidence. Later material published in 1955 and 1964 provides an indication of the company's impact and operations. On the occasion of their 25th anniversary in 1955, Procter & Gamble placed an advertisement that touted the company's impact on Baltimore:

Better Business!

Most of the dollars that Ivory brings to Baltimore in P & G Payroll and plant-operating expenditures are quickly passed on to local business. Whenever possible Procter & Gamble buys the supplies and services it needs here in town.

Better Jobs!

Employees at Procter & Gamble are able to help make better jobs for others because they enjoy unusually steady jobs themselves -- are year-round customers for local business of all kinds. Procter & Gamble's famous employment plan guarantees eligible employees 48 weeks' work each year -- in addition to profit-sharing and pension benefits.

Better Living!

Tax money paid by P & G and other leading local industries benefits the entire community. It helps provide better schools and parks, greater fire and police protection ... (21)

Technology for producing synthetic soaps was developed in the mid-1930s. Procter & Gamble introduced Dreft, the first synthetic detergent for home use, in 1933. Drene, a synthetic shampoo that would foreshadow Prell, was on grocery shelves the following year. Anticipating the expansion of their product line, by the late 1930s Procter & Gamble began purchasing additional property in Locust Point to expand their warehouse capacity in the area across the tracks at Nicholson Street. In 1938 they bought the nearby P & H and Hughes Furniture Company warehouses, followed by the

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Hughes Furniture Manufacturing Company in 1940. One of the country's largest producers of glycerin during World War II, Procter & Gamble by 1944 had acquired the fertilizer plant across Haubert Street from the property, providing land on the water to expand the plant's production capacity.

Synthetic detergents resulted in three major post-war expansions of the Baltimore Plant.(22) In 1947 Procter & Gamble introduced Tide, a synthetic detergent that was to revolutionize the process of doing laundry. Fueled by the growth of the automatic washing machine and the creation of post-war suburbs, Tide became the top selling laundry detergent by 1949. That same year in Baltimore, Procter & Gamble constructed the Tide Building across Haubert Street on the former fertilizer company site. Reputed to be the largest producer of Tide detergent in the country, the Baltimore Plant featured a large "Detergent Tower," refinery-like machinery that rose several stories above the Tide Building.(23) Post-war America's obsession with cleanliness resulted in the highest per capita consumption of soap in the world. "The civilized world today insists on cleanliness, which is a basis of civilization, and Americans are doing the most to supply that cleanliness, to the world as well as themselves."(24)

In 1962, the Procter & Gamble Baltimore Plant underwent a \$2 million expansion. The company acquired Marriott and Decatur Streets, two Locust Point streets that terminated at the railroad tracks at Nicholson, from the City of Baltimore. This acquisition enabled the company to enlarge their warehouse space by 52,000 sq. ft., engulfing their original 1929 warehouse south of Nicholson Street.

By 1964 the plant employed 500 workers and ran continuously producing 50 boxcar loads of goods per day.(25) The plant produced enough Ivory Soap in one day alone to stretch from Baltimore to Washington. In addition to Ivory, the Baltimore plant produced Ivory Snow, Liquid Ivory, Duz, Dreft, Camay, Tide, Cheer, Oxydol, Ivory Flakes, Joy, Spic and Span, and Downy fabric softener. The plant also manufactured ACE, a detergent formulated for the South and Central American market. By-products like animal feed supplement and glycerin also left the plant by the car load. Tank cars, tank trucks, trucks and ships brought in raw material such as tallow from local beef renderers, caustic soda from chemical companies, and coconut oil from the Philippines. A hydrolizer used a catalyst to separate glycerin and water from the fatty acids in the oil and tallow. The glycerin was then distilled and bleached for use in cosmetics, sulfa drugs, inks, cigarettes, dynamite, and munitions. Fatty acids were further distilled to remove heavy material, which was then used as animal feed supplement, and put through a saponification process where alkali (the chemical substitute for lye) was

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added to create soap. The soap was then hardened into bars or pumped to a spray drying tower to create detergent granules like Ivory Snow and Duz.

Synthetic detergents were manufactured using a different process. Fatty alcohol and alkyl benzene were sulfonated by complex equipment to create a paste, to which phosphates and other builders were added. Blowing the paste through a tower then created soap granules used to make Tide, Cheer, Oxydol, Dreft, Duz, and ACE. Products then moved to packing rooms located on lower floors, and conveyors transferred packages to Procter & Gamble's warehouses. The warehousing operation also housed Procter & Gamble products not made at the Baltimore Plant that were slated for Baltimore area distribution. Tasks were classified by gender, with men as supervisors and plant operators and women as inspectors, packers, and packing machine operators. (26)

By 1990, the Procter & Gamble Baltimore Plant was producing only soaps like Ivory and Camay, and synthetic liquid detergents like Joy, Dawn, and liquid Cascade. (27) In 1993, Procter & Gamble set aside reserves to fund a major restructuring of the corporation, including plant consolidation. On January 13, 1994, they announced that the Baltimore Plant was one of four that would be closed. The Baltimore Plant ceased production in 1995. A&E International, a Korean concern that proposed to manufacture a specialty liquor for shipping to the Far East, purchased the property in 1996. Forced to abandon their plans because of the Asian financial crisis, A&E sold the plant to Struever Bros. Eccles & Rouse, Inc. in 1999.

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HISTORIC CONTEXT

MARYLAND COMPREHENSIVE HISTORIC PRESERVATION PLAN DATA

Geographic Organization:	Piedmont
Chronological/Development Period(s):	Modern
Prehistoric/Historic Period Theme(s):	Economic (Commercial and Industrial)
Resource Type:	
Category:	Buildings
Historic Environment:	Urban
Historic Function(s) and Use(s):	Industry/Manufacturing
Known Design Source:	Henry Manley, engineer

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Notes:

1. Material on Procter & Gamble history has been drawn from Oscar Schisgall, Eyes on Tomorrow; Albert Lief, It Floats; and the International Dictionary of Company Histories.
2. As their rosin supplies dwindled toward the end of the war, Procter & Gamble experimented with substitutes like silicate of soda. This chemical experimentation eventually led to the use of caustic soda, a critical ingredient in modern soaps and detergents. (International Dictionary of Company Histories, Vol. 111, p. 51.)
3. Oscar Schisgall, Eyes on Tomorrow, pp. 22-23.
4. By 1890, Procter & Gamble established a full-fledged analytical laboratory at their Ivorydale Plant.
5. The slogan "It Floats" was not used extensively until 1891 (Schisgall, p. 34). The folklore surrounding the overflowing mixture is so powerful that the incident has been associated with many Procter & Gamble plants, including Baltimore.
6. The National Labor Relations Act of 1935 forbid this practice and independent unions were formed at individual plants.
7. Oscar Schisgall, Eyes on Tomorrow, p. 41.
8. Crisco combined liquid cottonseed oil with cottonseed oil solidified through hydrogenation. Launched with strong national advertising, the product became an immediate success. The product offers a superb example of how Procter & Gamble's production and market strategies led to their corporate growth and competitive success. As the scale of their operations increased, Procter & Gamble took steps to insure the supply of commodities they needed for production. Lard supply varied with both the success of feed crops and hog supplies. When meat packing concerns like Armour began manufacturing lard, they retained vital raw material required to produce stearic acid. When meat packers also became competitors for limited supplies of cottonseed oil, a major component of Ivory soap, Procter & Gamble developed a two-fold strategy to insure adequate supplies. First, it guaranteed supplies and thwarted competitors by purchasing existing cottonseed oil plants, then it developed laboratory processes to create substances that would

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- serve as chemical substitutes for cottonseed oil. The company then took this strategy one step further by using their process technology to develop Crisco, which was then heavily advertised to compete with lard.
9. Procter & Gamble would have long anticipated the completion of the canal since they supplied the candles required to excavate it.
 10. "Procter & Gamble's 25 Years in Baltimore," Baltimore, Sept. 1955. Procter & Gamble Vertical File, Enoch Pratt Free Library.
 11. Albert Lief, It Floats, pp. 165-166. The Long Beach plant enabled the company to ship copra and coconut oils by rail from Long Beach rather than shipping commodities through the Panama Canal to New Orleans, where they would then be shipped by rail to other plants.
 12. Albert Lief, It Floats, p. 193.
 13. Power Pictorial No. 20, Sept. 1931.
 14. "Procter & Gamble's 25 years in Baltimore," Baltimore, Sept. 1955. Procter & Gamble Vertical File, Enoch Pratt Free Library.
 15. Research has failed to provide information on Manley beyond a small obituary. His father, Henry Manley, was a noted Boston civil engineer with expertise in public waterworks, docks, bridges, and transportation systems. The younger Manley may have become involved with Procter & Gamble in the construction of their Staten Island Plant. Expertise in reinforced concrete docks, which was particularly well-developed in New York, would have been important to Procter & Gamble, especially in their Long Beach plant.
 16. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, "Modern Architecture: The Traditionalists and the New Tradition," Architectural Record, pp. 337-349.
 17. "Local Plant to Employ 1,000," Procter & Gamble Vertical File, Enoch Pratt Free Library, n.d.
 18. "Moonbeams Salutes Baltimore Plant's 25th Anniversary," Moonbeams, October 1955.

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19. Alfred Lief, It Floats, p. 166 and "Baltimore: City of Tradition and Progress," p. 13. Lever Bros. Canton Plant, formerly owned by Hecker Products, was the only comparable operation in Baltimore. In 1926 the Hecker Products Company constructed a plant in Canton to produce Gold Dust Twins and Silver Dust Twins detergent. No doubt spurred by Procter & Gamble's east coast expansion, Lever bought the Hecker Company in 1939 and subsequently enlarged the plant. (Stacie Knable, "Lever Bros. plans new facility at local plant," Evening Sun, Dec. 3, 1981.)
20. "Inside Procter & Gamble," News American, May 7, 1964.
21. Advertisement, Evening Sun, Oct. 4, 1955.
22. "Procter & Gamble's \$2 million expansion," Baltimore, June 1962. Procter & Gamble press releases did not distinguish between expansion of facilities and revamping processes and equipment. An expansion immediately after World War II appears to have had little impact on the appearance of the plant. The 1949 expansion, which resulted in the Tide Building, and the 1962 expansion, which enlarged the warehouse across Nicholson Street, had more impact on the facility itself.
23. When the Baltimore Museum of Industry conducted its survey of Baltimore's industrial sites, Plant Manager William Burrows told Dennis Zembala that the Baltimore Plant produced more Tide than any other plant. (Telephone conversation with Dennis Zembala.)
24. "It's 'One Big Family' at Lever Bros. New Canton Wonder Plant," Baltimore American, May 13, 1954. Vertical Files, Enoch Pratt Free Library.
25. Procter & Gamble's labor practices paid dividends in the retention of their Baltimore workforce. By 1964, the average length of service of the 500 plant employees was 15 years. Many treated employment as a family affair, with children and siblings also working at the Baltimore Plant. (Tony Evans, "Inside Procter & Gamble -- Part 2: Plant Turns Out 50 Boxcars of Cleaning Products a Day," News American, May 8, 1964.)
26. Tony Evans, "Inside Procter & Gamble -- Part 1: 500 Baltimoreans Help to Wash Away World's Dirt," and "Inside Procter & Gamble -- Part 2:

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Plant Turns Out 50 Boxcars of Cleaning Products a Day," News American,
May 7 and 8, 1964. Vertical Files, Enoch Pratt Free Library.

27. Maryland Dept. of Economic Development Press Release, February 9, 1990

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Amy Fischer, Procter & Gamble Archivist

Nancy Perlman, Director of Archives and Research, Baltimore Museum of Industry

Dennis Zembala, Executive Director, Baltimore Museum of Industry

Robert Vogel, Curator Emeritus, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution