

Res Pap
LB2322 .A9x R-6
v. 2
Martin, Elinor Hach.

A study of Clarksville
tobacco and tobacconists /

Res Pap
LB2322 .A9x R-6
v. 2
Martin, Elinor Hach.

A study of Clarksville tobacco and tobaccoists /

4-11-00

~~Red: Red~~
~~Blue: Blue~~
~~White: White~~

A STUDY OF CLARKSVILLE TOBACCO AND TOBACCONISTS AFTER
THE CIVIL WAR AND DURING THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

A Problem

Presented to

Dr. Harold Pryor

The Department of Education

Austin Peay State College

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts in Education

by

Elinor Hach Martin

July 1961

To My Committee

In Appreciation

I cannot thank you as I would
For all you've done for me;
I cannot find the words I should
To tell you fittingly.

Your kindness has meant so much
That only One I know
Can e'er repay a service such
As this one here below.

Therefore to Him I delegate
What I cannot express.
May God repay you—early, late,
For all your kindness.

Umar Hach Martin

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	i
CHAPTER I	
AFTERMATH OF CIVIL WAR 1860-1890	1
Economic Conditions in Clarksville	
European Tobacco Trade	
Upsurge in Tobacco Industry	
CHAPTER II	
TURN OF THE CENTURY	38
Tobacco Picture of the 1900's	
Night Rider Days	
Effect of Pre-War Days	
CHAPTER III	
TOBACCO SCENE IN FOCUS 1920-1930	80
Conditions After World War I	
Advance of Burley	
CHAPTER IV	
TOBACCO NOW AND IN THE FUTURE 1930-196_	89
Prevalent Circumstances	
A Few Conclusions	
APPENDIX	96
BIBLIOGRAPHY	112



Autumn in Tennessee -- Golden Maples, Red Sumacs, Blue October Skies
and Tennessee Dark-Fired Curing in the Barns !

Aftermath of Civil War 1863 - 1900

The four short years of the Civil War were like an ugly chapter in a book -- unavoidable, inopportune, evil-filled. The peaceful, profitable, growing community of Clarksville, Tennessee accepted the war as a necessary catharsis of life. The war took a



heavy toll of lives and property. The war was a time of great suffering and loss. The people of Clarksville were not immune to the hardships of the war. The war was a time of great suffering and loss. The people of Clarksville were not immune to the hardships of the war. The war was a time of great suffering and loss. The people of Clarksville were not immune to the hardships of the war.

Chronicle during the week of June 27, 1863 relates the final chapter of the old Kropp House in Clarksville where the city is said to have been actually delivered into General U.S. Grant's hands.

General Grant and his staff immediately took up headquarters in Clarksville and in this old home Mayor Smith and Cave Johnson, former Confederate general, formally surrendered Clarksville to the Federal forces. Grant continued to make his headquarters in the old house until he moved on to Corinth, Mississippi.

Sublime tobacco ! Which from east to west
Cheers the tar's labour or the Turkman's rest.

-Byron

Clarksville Bicentennial Historical Book, 1784-1934.
Clarksville, Tennessee, 1934.

PREFACE

Ironically, former Governor A.V. Brown (1845-1847), as guest speaker at the Tennessee State Fair on Tuesday, October 13, 1858 had closed his address with the following significant lines:

Our union of lakes and union of lands,
Our union of States none shall sever,
Our union of hearts and union of hands,
And the Flag of our Union forever.

But his inspired idealism was not impregnable, and within two years, four months, and two days, Fort Sumter was fired upon, and the war between the South and the North was propelled into a force of such devastation that the economy of the South would be stale-mated until the conclusion of the conflict years later.

As early as 1849, when the State was approximately half a century old, Governor James K. Polk, its eleventh governor, who perhaps significantly also became the eleventh president of the United States, had concluded in his message to the State Legislature, that "Ours is essentially an agricultural State. Nineteen-twentieths of her population are cultivators of the earth, and the protection of their interests therefore, at the same time that the just rights of others shall not be impaired, should at all times be an object of paramount consideration."²

¹Louis D. Wallace, Editor, A Century of Tennessee Agriculture (Nashville, Tennessee: Tennessee Department of Agriculture, 1954), p. 211.

²Ibid., p. 179.

The pioneer citizens of the State of Tennessee were in complete accord with the opinion expressed by Governor Polk. In January of 1854, therefore, when the second session of the 32nd. Legislature convened, sixty-one citizens presented to the Senate and House of Representatives a petition for legislative action "to stimulate emulation in agricultural pursuits." It was the intention of the petitioners to accomplish this end through the organization, with legislative sanction, of a State Board of Agriculture.

So well was the proposal received that a Bill was drawn by Representative W.B. Dortch of Fayette County, creating "A State Agricultural Bureau together with County and District Agricultural Societies subordinate thereto in the State of Tennessee, and for other purposes." The first reading of the Bill was on January 6, 1854, and went successfully through the second reading on January 21. Strangely enough, it was on the recommendation of the chairman of the Agricultural Committee, Representative J.E.G. Harris, who reported the Bill, that it was rejected by a vote of 36 to 28. With slight changes in the Sections pertaining to provisions for Division and District Fairs, and to the financing of District Societies, the Bill was accepted by a final vote of 43 to 29, by the House of Representatives. The Senate concurred in supporting the Bill by a vote of 17 to 6.

The Act provided for a Bureau composed of the Governor and

eight members. Additional members, who would represent Fairs as they were established could be added later by a special provision included in the Act. Governor Andrew Johnson was the first ex officio president of the Bureau. The only salary authorized was that of the Secretary, and it was not to exceed \$600 annually.

The first elected Secretary was the Clerk of the Senate, Elbridge Gerry Eastman. Communities were eager for Fair charters, and the Secretary had issued charters to seventeen counties by 1855. The Bureau had not betrayed the confidence of the citizens who petitioned for its organization. Fairs promoted healthy competition among the farmers to produce the best crops in wheat, cotton, grass, corn , tobacco and many other items. Improvement in methods of crop cultivation, growth, harvesting, and marketing resulted. Governor Isham G. Harris succeeded Governor Johnson in 1857. Secretary Eastman was re-elected. The Bureau did not meet during the years of the Civil War, and was not re-established until J.B. Killebrew promoted the organization of the Bureau again. One of its last official acts prior to the War was to accept the responsibility of the care of the home and grave of General Andrew Jackson at the Hermitage .Providentially, Secretary Eastman was spared the sorrow of the war years. He died November 23, 1859.

Undoubtedly the stress Tennesseans placed upon Agriculture as the greatest security for economic stability throughout the State, served to assist the inhabitants throughout the difficult

war years. The sound agricultural policies promoted through the Agricultural Bureau ~~were~~ the mainstay of the stricken families, who so heroically picked up the tattered threads of life to begin anew the campaign to make of their State a leader among States of the Union.

So successfully did the people of Tennessee adjust to the post-war era, that the nineteenth century ended on a note of prosperity and progress undreamed of during the arduous years of the conflict between the North and the South.

Subsequent trials which beset the citizens of the State, and in a very special manner our Clarksville community, would present new challenges to test the mettle of the local citizenry as never before. Thus the tobacconists weathered the storm of the Night Rider days, of depression, and of constant change in rapid and unending succession. The spectacular role played by "Clarksville type tobacco" and the tobacconists whose "life-blood" the golden leaf procured, maintained, and guarded, until the day when a diversification of interests would lessen the load of complete responsibility for economic stability shouldered by them for better than a century, is the theme of our dramatic study of Clarksville tobacco and Clarksville tobacconists through the challenging years.

Clarksville tobacco | which from east to west
 Cheers the tar's labour or the Turkmen's rest.

-Byron

Aftermath Of Civil War 1860 - 1900

The four short years of the Civil War were like an ugly chapter in a book -- unavoidable, inopportune, evil-filled. The peaceful, profitable, growing community of Clarksville, Tennessee accepted the war as a necessary katharsis of life. The war took a heavy toll of the manhood of Clarksville. The guns at nearby Fort Donelson which had resounded with a sinister reassurance were one day ominously still. Seventy years later Clarksvillians would reenact the scene of the young Confederate who staggered onto the Public Square and fainted on the Court House steps. "He was able to gasp out the story of the fall of Fort Donelson and the rapid approach of Federal troops. The chief citizens met hurriedly and decided to surrender on the best terms possible."¹ Thus the historian recounts the events leading up to the surrender of Clarksville to General Grant. An article appearing in the Clarksville Leaf Chronicle during the week of June 27, 1960 relates the final chapter of the old Kropp House in Clarksville where the city is said to have been actually delivered into General U.S. Grant's hands:

General Grant and his staff immediately took up headquarters in Clarksville and in this old home Mayor Smith and Cave Johnson, former postmaster general, formally surrendered Clarksville to the Federal forces. Grant continued to make his headquarters in the old house until he moved on to Corinth, Mississippi.

That Grant may have had more than a military interest in this

¹Clarksville Sesquicentennial Historical Book, 1784-1934, Clarksville Chamber of Commerce, Clarksville, Tennessee, 1934.

tobacco city may be concluded from the following brief excerpt from the two hundred year history of Lorillard tobaccos:

In the Civil War General Grant flourished a cigar stub like a baton when he captured Fort Donelson, and forthwith admirers showered him with a gift of cigars, estimated as high as 30,000.²

Needless to say these were not derived directly from Southern sources.

The war between the States may not have been purely a tobacco war, but it involved developments which had a direct bearing upon tobacco production and trade. Manufactured snuff had been the target of taxes as early as 1794, but the first non-sumptuary tobacco excise tax made its appearance in 1862 as the United States Government sought ways and means of raising funds for military operations. The earliest rates were five cents per pound on manufactured tobaccos, and forty cents per thousand cigarettes. Until 1913, with the levying of the income tax, tobacco taxes were the chief source of government revenue. The tax levied by Alexander Hamilton in 1794 on snuff was considered a luxury tax. Common tobacco -- the poor, the sailor, and the day laborer's tobacco -- was not to be thus burdened. A further consideration was the enforceability of the tax. Snuff manufacture could not be conveniently accomplished at home, while the other

²Lorillard and Tobacco, 200th Anniversary P. Lorillard Company, 1760-1960, Jersey City, New Jersey, 1960.

"common" forms of tobacco were more often home-made than not. In the same manner it was difficult to determine the extent of tobacco grown by each planter, but to estimate the tobacco handled by warehouses was comparatively simple. Thus the excise tax was levied on that tobacco which went through the factories also. Smoking and chewing products manufactured were the first so called "common" tobaccos highly taxed. Taxes fluctuated with the economy of the nation, and the role of tobacco would again play an important part in the development of the nation.³

During the war years, the Confederate Government discouraged tobacco growing, as it was hard pressed to feed its forces. All land which could be cultivated, it was felt, should be converted to the production of food crops. In addition, since the border states of the South were the chief tobacco growing regions, constant harassment by Federal troops made the cultivation of tobacco and its harvesting a near physical impossibility. Tobacco cultivation dropped so sharply from the 123,000,000 pounds in 1860 that five years after the Civil War, production had only reached 37,000,000 pounds -- just slightly over 25% of its pre-war stage. Warehouses in Tennessee, as in Virginia and the other tobacco growing states, became hospitals, prisons, and temporary quarters for the Yankee soldiers.

³Robert K. Heimann, Tobacco and Americans (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1960) p. 154-155.

Many problems beset the tobacconists during the war years. People, transportation facilities, and domestic animals to pull the heavy staple to a dwindling market were lacking. Nevertheless, farmers aided by the slaves too old, too loyal, and too dependent upon the "Massa" to change their ways, and the faithful wives who became jacks-of-all-trades, continued to plant, cultivate, harvest, cure, and market tobacco. For inevitably the taste for tobacco, far from being destroyed by war, seems to control the morale of soldiers in proportion to their ability to satisfy it. So strongly did tobacco affect the morale of the soldiers that the Confederacy authorized a tobacco ration in 1864 to its enlisted men. In the absence of a stable currency, tobacco again appeared as the medium of exchange for the necessities of life, as it had done in the almost forgotten days of colonial settlers. Country folk purchased what small supplies were to be found in the deserted stores with the tobacco they managed to harvest from the abandoned fields. An export-import business developed over the front lines. The "Grays" exchanged their golden leaf with the "Blues" for their coffee. The Civil War marked not only a new era in the economy of tobacco with the introduction of the excise tax, but also presaged a change from the style of tobacco itself. Chewing and dipping "snuff" tobaccos, which dominated the consumer market during the first half of the nineteenth century, would gradually yield to the pressure of mechanization, giving way to the manufacture of cigars and cigarettes.



The Dark-Fired Planter's Pride
Clarksville Type 22

The many and varied complications facing the Clarksville tobacco-nists during the war years seemed not to register significantly among the buyers from the European markets. The successful 1855 crop which had established without benefit of a doubt the Clarksville Type tobacco throughout the tobacco world, created such an increase in demand for Clarksville tobacco that the exchange system of selling tobacco had been adopted. Prizing tobacco into hogsheads on the farm was an expedient to protect the fine leaf in its frequently hazardous transit from farm to warehouse, as well as to economize on shipping space. But with the increase in manufacturing requirements and leaf sales, the custom of the "breaks" soon became bothersome. Buyers and planters alike considered the process too time consuming, and sought more efficient measures. An exchange site took the place, temporarily, of the warehouses. Leaf samples were passed from hand to hand among the buyers in place of inspecting the whole hoghead in the former cumbersome manner. Although adopted before the war, Clarksville tobacco-nists were hard put to carry out the exchange system as they resumed their business in 1866.

Warehouses laid waste by neglect, pilfering of Yankee soldiers, pillage, and in some cases sheer old age, were not suitable locations for displaying the finest samples of the commissioners' hogsheads. It was a cinderella story -- this sale of millions of dollars' worth of the treasured leaf in lofts, sheds, cellars, in any available room cheap enough for the temporarily reduced to pov-

-erty warehousemen. It is perhaps the understatement of the age to say European buyers, little aware of the dire conditions faced by the planters and warehousemen alike during the war, were astonished at the places they were cordially invited into to examine the best the tobacconists had to offer.

The amazing tenacity of Tennessee farmers is shown in the statistics which reveal 40,000 acres of tobacco were again under cultivation in 1866. The crop season is listed for main planting as May 15 to June 15, and the harvesting for August 15 to September 15, in Tennessee tobacco-wise. Tennessee planters harvested 40,000 acres of tobacco resulting in a total production of all types of tobacco of 28,720,000 pounds, an average of 718 pounds per acre ! ⁴ Montgomery County which had led all other counties in total production in 1850 by better than a million pounds -- 3,454,745 pounds as opposed to the next county's 2,377,394 pounds--⁵ resumed its position of leadership with a total production of nearly 5,000,000 pounds. Tennessee, through tobacco alone, had stabilized its financial economy only one year after the Civil War⁶ fell of Fort Donelson by Federal troops, was in 1866 again in

⁴Agricultural Trends in Tennessee (Nashville, Tennessee: Department of Agriculture, 1958), p. 30.

⁵A Century of Tennessee Agriculture (Nashville, Tennessee: Department of Agriculture, 1954), p. 322.

⁶Tobaccos of the United States 1866 - 1945, United States Department of Agriculture (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1948), p. 80.

with a \$ 5,859,000 business. This was only the result of tobacco production. Imagination can supply the effect of such an industry upon manufacture and trade.

A partial explanation for the immediate recovery of the Clarksville market may well be the European demand for the particular type of tobacco grown in the Black Patch. Little affected by the problems of war among the States, the foreign markets were eager to resume trade which had been partially curtailed by the war efforts of the Southern States. Having weathered the war years more or less successfully with the supplies on hand, the English and European buyers were beginning to face a crisis unless their diminishing resources could be replenished. They were, therefore, ready and eager to establish contact with their Clarksville warehousemen just as soon as the latter could get the dark fired market on its feet again.

Nor did they have to wait long. The Elephant Tobacco Warehouse, corner of Front and Commerce Streets, occupied after the fall of Fort Donelson by Federal troops, was in 1866 again in operation by Messrs. Harrison and Shelby. As tobacco commission merchants these gentlemen operated a successful house, which they decided to turn over to Turnley and Weathers in the following year. In 1868 Mr. Weathers sold his interest to a Mr. Wooldridge. Robert Wooldridge is credited with giving the elephantine building its name. In 1869 the original owners, who had rented the building

to so many Clarksville tobacconists, sold the building outright to W.H. Turnley, W.J. Ely, and T.H. Puryear, terminating a fourteen year connection of Forbes and Pritchett with the famous old house. Turnley, Ely and Company conducted the business for two years, after which Mr. Puryear sold his interest to W.D. Merriweather. The company thus formed operated until 1876, when Mr. Merriweather sold to Mr. James T. Kennedy, and the firm became known as Turnley, Ely and Kennedy. Mr. Turnley withdrew in 1881. In 1884 Ely and Turnley terminated a fifteen year connection to sell their business to Mr. M.H. Clark and his brother, who used the famous old warehouse as a tobacco storage warehouse. Tobacco transactions in the history of the "Elephant" represented millions of dollars and the stories the walls of the old building could tell are legion.

One of Clarksville's most astute tobacconists, the late Norman Smith, Sr., has contributed materially to the written history of Clarksville's tobacco trade with several fine papers presented during his life time before the Philomathic Club.⁷ It is from this source we learn prior to 1870 all dark fired tobacco grown in Southern Kentucky and Northern Tennessee was marketed here, excepting small shipments to Louisville. A small market handling a sale of 2,476 hogsheads the first year was opened at this time in Hopkinsville, Kentucky to handle the shipments to Louisville.

⁶The Philomathic Club is an all male literary club of Clarksville.

The amount handled by the entire Hopkinsville market was only the equivalent of the tobacco handled by one warehouse alone in Clarksville, and was not considered a serious threat to Clarksville tobacco trade. Although Louisville was listed as the largest dark fired market, this was an erroneous evaluation. Total sales of tobacco in Louisville were larger as there were other types of tobacco sold there, but Clarksville was undisputedly the largest market for dark fired tobacco alone. Until 1878 Clarksville and Louisville maintained their positions as the only two markets in this section for the sale of tobacco in hogsheads. By 1875 some prized tobacco from dark tobacco grown in Kentucky, not as favorable in texture, nevertheless, acceptable, was handled on the Hopkinsville market. This latter area previously had handled only loose tobacco for English demands.

Mr. Smith attributes the erection of at least three of the large so-called stemmeries along the Cumberland to the demand of the English for the particular style of tobacco in which the stem is removed from the leaf and the strip is hung up and air dried for several months. Both the leaf and the strip found a profitable market in the English trade. The stemmeries, which will be discussed individually, answered the need of the English, until the growth of tobacco was extended westward. The English trade then opened additional stemmeries along the Ohio River. Paducah, Henderson, Owensboro and other markets entered the picture. Meanwhile the Clarksville-type tobacco was so in demand by Germany and other European

countries that English trade found the competition unattractive. Slowly the English demand for the Clarksville type diminished. By the end of the nineteenth century, it had largely disappeared.⁷

The old Central Warehouse, which had stood empty after the death of its owner, Mr. Joseph P. Williams, shortly after 1860, was sold at a sacrifice by the heirs. The purchasers, James E. Bailey and Matt Anderson, soon sold the old place broken down and all but destroyed by the circumstances of the war, to Samuel B. Seat and R.P. Bowling. Mr. Bowling continued the business for a year with a Mr. Kirby, another year with a Mr. Thomas, and finally sold out to J.J. McWherter. Not until the sale of the property to J.C. Kendrick, J.H. Pettus and W. P. Hambaugh in 1876 did the old landmark resume its rightful position as a leading factor in the Clarksville tobacco trade. From a business of four thousand hogsheads handled in 1876, the famous Central Warehouse increased its trade to ten thousand hogsheads in 1887. In 1878 Mr. Hambaugh sold his interest to Mr. Pettus, and George S. Irwin entered the business as a partner. At a later date Mr. John W. Shaw was admitted to the enterprise as a partner in only that portion of the business connected directly with the warehouse. This firm possessed a large capital for tobacco transactions. Its business was extensive, involving annually one and a half to two million dollars. Among its staff members were

⁷F. Norman Smith, Tobacco, Clarksville Tobacco Market And Its Demands (Clarksville; Tennessee: Philomathic Papers, June 1943, unpublished), p. 4.



A Tennessee Plant Bed Under Canvas

Captain Tom Mallory, auctioneer, William Dority, Lawrence Gold, Ambrose Gold, James C. Trice, Robert Rudolph, Clive Wilcox, and Putnam Wilcox, serving as clerks and floor managers. These young men became outstanding members of the community.

James C. Kendrick, partner in the Central Warehouse, was born in 1845 near Lafayette, Kentucky. He began his interest in the tobacco trade in the tobacco warehouse business in New Providence in 1872. John H. Pettus, born in 1843, began his career in tobacco when only fifteen years old. As a clerk in the firm of Oldham and Homer, Company, at Trice's Landing Warehouse, Mr. Pettus learned much of the tobacco trade which would stand him in good stead in later years. The residence he built in 1887 at College and Second Street (the present Edmondson home) still remains as one of the city's most attractive old houses.

The Messrs. Shaw and Irwin who joined the firm at a later date, came respectively from Cheatham County, Tennessee and Todd County, Kentucky. Mr. Shaw brought with him wide experience as a handler and prizer of tobacco. Mr. Irwin, a graduate of Eastman's Commercial College, Poughkeepsie, New York, entered the company as bookkeeper and cashier.

Another connection of the firm, not as a member in an official capacity, was Mr. E. B. Whitfield. Mr. Whitfield played such an important part in the development of the transportation facilities of Clarksville both by river and rail that he materially affected the course of Clarksville tobacco trade. He was Superintendent

of the Clarksville and Paducah Packet Company, operating a line of steamers on the Cumberland. His association with the railroad began as a clerk in the office of G.C. Breed, general freight agent of the Memphis, Clarksville and Louisville Railroad Company. In 1878 he became the agent of the Evansville and Terre Haute Railroad at Clarksville. This was a strategic position affecting tobacco traffic both by rail and water. Mr. Whitfield led the war on the Louisville and Nashville Railroad on reduced rates for tobacco. Using his position with the steamboat connections to Evansville, Mr. Whitfield was instrumental in getting rates reduced about seventy-two cents per hundred to an average of thirty cents during the season. These low rates attracted large orders, reaching about twenty-six thousand hogsheads in 1878, one of the most successful seasons Clarksville had ever experienced. Tobacco came from everywhere. Agents of the L and N even hauled the golden weed from Hopkinsville. The St. Louis and Southeastern Railroad consequently set rates in opposition to the L and N in an effort to control the traffic out of Hopkinsville. Savings to the tobacco interests as a result of the price-war between the railroads is estimated to have reached a hundred thousand dollars.

Two of the most prominent tobacconists of Clarksville were the Clark brothers already referred to in connection with the Elephant Warehouse which they purchased in 1884. Organized in 1855 as tobacco brokers, Micajah and Lewis Clark were the sons of a

famous Virginia surgeon whose wife was the daughter of a prominent tobacco merchant of Richmond. Mr. Clark's familiarity with Richmond proved invaluable during the war years when he served as President Jefferson Davis' chief and confidential clerk. Micajah Henry Clark married Elizabeth W. Kerr in 1861. Two children, Morris K. Clark and a daughter were born to the Clarks. The success Micajah and Lewis Clark met with as tobacco brokers in 1855 enabled them to establish the firm of Clark and Barker in 1858. Apparently the duties of the increased business became so pressing Micajah Clark found it necessary to resign his post as alderman on the city council. City council files record his resignation on November 15, 1859. In the war years Micajah Clark served his post as both soldier and statesman. He was a staff officer with the rank of Captain and served as Treasurer of the Confederacy under President Davis. The charming story is told of a visit of President Davis to the Clark home in Clarksville. Inadvertently Mr. Davis spilled wine upon the fine dinner cloth and requested some salt to remove the stain. Graciously Micajah Clark responded "No. This cloth with this stain will be one of our most treasured possessions."⁸

Following the war Mr. Barker decided to engage in tobacco planting and withdrew from the firm, whereupon Lewis Rogers Clark joined his brother as a partner. The Clark brothers handled an historic old warehouse was named, built the edifice with the Clark bro-

⁸Clarksville Sesquicentennial Historical Book, 1784-1934 (Clarksville, Tennessee: Chamber of Commerce, 1934) p. 27.

an average of eight thousand hogsheads of tobacco yearly for customers. So successful were they, reaching a high of ten thousand hogsheads in good years, that other brokers soon adopted the same form of business. Eventually, the majority of buyers of the Tobacco Board of Trade were brokers. Micajah Henry Clark was the first of the brokers to realize the need for suitable surroundings for the foreign buyers to view tobacco samples. He desired a setting befitting the enormous capital involved in the tobacco trade. It was at his suggestion that the elegant old Tobacco Exchange of Clarksville, proud monument of the nineteenth century, was erected. The story of the Clarksville Tobacco Board of Trade and the Tobacco Exchange merit further mention. To the Clark Brothers is also given the credit for developing the exchange system of selling tobacco. The Clark brothers have always been a source of pride to Clarksville citizens, not only for their immeasurable contribution to the tobacco business, but also because they were direct descendants of the famous George Rogers Clark from whom Clarksville derived its name. Lewis Rogers Clark was christened for the two well-known explorers who conquered the vast Northwest Territory. Both were relatives of his immediate family.⁹

High on the bluff over-looking the Cumberland still stands to-day the old Lockett Factory. Thomas D. Lockett, for whom the historic old warehouse was named, built the edifice with the Clark bro-

⁹W.P. Titus, Picturesque Clarksville, Past and Present, 1887.
(Clarksville, Tennessee: Titus Publisher, 1887)p. 343

thers. Eighty by one hundred and sixty feet in the clear, five stories high, constructed of brick, even to-day the old factory is an impressive sight. It seems to be veritably carved out of the red clay bank of the bluff city, overlooking the graceful bend of the river from a point strategic for river transportation. It has weathered the eighty-five years nobly, and is one of the few local warehouses to have borne the same name throughout the years. Built with a capacity to handle three to four million pounds of tobacco annually, the house originally employed one hundred and sixty hands, plus a large staff of departmental superintendents, receivers, buyers and clerks. One of the first warehouses furnished with complete heating apparatus, warming the building in winter, and providing the "drying room" with facilities to expedite drying out the tobacco in emergency situations, such as "hot bulks" or other damp misfortunes, as well as aiding in the process of bringing tobaccos too dry to handle in order, the Lockett could and does to-day keep employees at work regardless of the changing of the seasons.¹⁰ Originally the hanging department was in the third, fourth, and fifth stories. One thousand hogsheads of tobacco could be handled in tiers on these floors. Bulk rooms were located in the basement and cellar. Tables for fifty hands were arranged on the first floor for stemming the tobacco. The prizing room boasted

¹⁰ Tobacco produces heat of itself packaged in bulk. The drying machines controlled the temperature to avoid the scorching which resulted from the so-called "hot bulks".



Tender, Young Tobacco Plants

eleven "Old Virginia" presses. New innovations such as elevators, hand cars, and other appliances were the proud boast of the up-to-date company. Two and a half million pounds, an unprecedented amount of tobacco, were handled on its floors annually. The tobacco handled here was nearly as much as in all the other Clarksville warehouses combined during the '80's. Tobacco from its doors went to Germany, England, Austria and Italy to say nothing of lesser countries. So extensive was the business conducted here that the staves and hoops required as cooperage alone constituted a sizeable business for the woodmen of Clarksville in itself.

At the corner of Second and Commerce Street, opposite the Court House, stands another of the largest warehouses ever built in Clarksville. Built by Captain Frank P. Gracey in 1878, the Gracey fronted one hundred and twenty nine feet on Second Street and two hundred feet deep on Commerce Street. The building is one story high in the front and three stories in the rear, built on the accomodating slope toward the Cumberland. Constructed at a cost of twenty or twenty-five thousand dollars, the building had a storage capacity of two thousand, five hundred hogheads of tobacco. Several firms operated the house, until Smith and Anderson rented it from Captain Gracey in 1881.

A native of Eddyville, Kentucky, Frank Patton Gracey came to Clarksville as a young man. He established his home in Clarksville in 1861 after disposing of his business in Eddyville. He

served his State well throughout the four years of the Civil War. With the establishment of his tobacco business under the firm-title of F.P. Gracey & Brother (Matthew Gracey), Frank Patton launched upon a career that was to affect almost every philanthropic venture of the community until his death. As a young man Frank Gracey had served as a clerk on the steamer America, traveling from Nashville to New Orleans. This experience enabled the young man to see the part transportation played so heavily in successful tobacco transactions. With his brother Matt he established a wharf-boat, the only enterprise of this nature on the Cumberland. Dealing in coal, hay, corn, salt, and all other produce which could be successfully transported, the young brothers soon organized the Clarksville Transportation Company, and were in a position to contract with the L & N Railroad Company for the entire freight shipped over that road. While the competition of the railroads and the steamboat lines were in stiff competition, the brothers as agents of both were in a peculiar position to give satisfactory service to their customers from either method of transportation preferred.¹¹

The famous warehouse built in 1878 increased its business from 2,800 to 6,500 hogsheads of tobacco in a single year. The firm of Smith and Anderson were ably advised by the Gracey brothers in matters pertaining to marketing and transporting the tremendous volume of business. Nor did the success of the brothers terminate

¹¹ National Trade Review, Op. Cit., p. 69.

with tobacco and transportation as Frank Gracey also became a skillful real estate dealer. In 1857 Frank Gracey married Irene Cobb, a relative of Irvin S. Cobb, the famous Kentucky humorist. Julien Frank Gracey, a son of Frank and Irene Gracey, continued his father's outstanding career in the transportation business. Frank Patton Gracey died April 25, 1895.¹²

Aided and abetted throughout life by his beloved brother Matt, Frank Gracey served as a guiding light for the young man thirteen years his junior. The combination of the two young men was an ideal one. Both in business, social aspects, and in religion the young men seem to have been in complete accord. Matt Gracey married Marion G. Castner, thus linking the Gracey's with that pioneer tobacco family of Clarksville- the Beaumonts. Marion Castner was the daughter of Dr. W.G. and Mary Beaumont Castner. In sincere tribute the names of Matt and Frank Gracey appear time and again in the slim little volume of The First Hundred Years, a history of the Episcopalian Church they served so well during their life time, and from which Frank was buried April 29, 1895 and Matthew in 1905. Of the latter Bishop Thomas F. Gailor, vicar of the Episcopalian Church in Tennessee, said:

He was a good father, a good friend, and a good citizen. But what impressed me most was his simple, fearless, unostentatious and entire devotion to the Lord his God. He did not talk about what he believed, but tried to live up to it. As he lived so he died, in favor with his God and in charity with the world. His works do follow.¹³

¹²John Trotwood Moore, Op. Cit. p.38. ¹³A.E. Whittle, The First Hundred Years (Nashville, Tenn.:Baird-Ward Printing Co.1932) p61

The successful team of Smith and Anderson, who began the illustrious history of the successful tobacco ventures which have seen their beginnings in the Gracey from its erection in 1878 to the present day, were well qualified to embark on the undertaking which they embraced in 1881. Mr. Smith, a native Kentuckian, had behind him a vast background of tobacco experiences. Associated from the time he was nineteen with Turnley, Ely and Company, the Elephant Warehouse; Harrison and Shelby, the Old Clarksville Warehouse; and two years with Grintter, Young and Company, the Cumberland Warehouse; as well as the Grange Warehouse Association, his eleven years of intimate association with the leading tobacco companies of Clarksville saw him well prepared to conduct his own enterprise. His business acumen was recognized by his associates as he was elected president of the Farmers and Merchants National Bank in 1887. In 1886 he was also elected Mayor of Clarksville. And even in his children Mr. Smith exemplified the best. Of the three children born before 1887 (Thomas Polk, George Charlton, and James H. Jr.) James H. Jr. won the premium offered for the best baby at the grand reunion of farmers held annually at Dunbar's Cave in August of 1886. For a thirty-six year old citizen these accomplishments -- even viewed in the stepped-up age of our twentieth century modern progress-- stand as nothing short of sensational.¹⁴

Mr. Smith's equally enterprising young partner was William

¹⁴W.P. Titus, Op. Cit , p. 331.

B. Anderson. Born in Robertson County in 1854, Mr. Anderson at the age of fifteen had made his way to Memphis and Cleveland, Ohio, where he experienced excellent training as a bookkeeper for the New York Life Insurance Company. He came to Clarksville in 1878 well trained as a bookkeeper for Shelby, Hart and O'Brien, of the Gracey House. Three years later he would become the proprietor of the same house with Smith and Bell. In the same year he married Lula Poindexter. Mr. Anderson was one of Clarksville's most successful business men. The beautiful old home which now serves Clarksville as the Queen City Nursing Home, and for so many years was Clarksville's main hospital, was built by Mr. Anderson for his charming family.

Most heterogeneous of all the histories of Clarksville warehouses is that of the Grange. Covering nearly three acres of ground, the old warehouse was originally built as a planing mill by William M. McReynolds and James M. Swift about 1858. The original venture, however, did not meet with success. The failure of the venture may have been attributed to the vicissitudes of the approaching war. Even prior to the war, McClure and Courts, tobaccoists, converted the building into a storage and inspection warehouse. This became known as the Cumberland Warehouse. In the fall of 1865, Mr. McClure reopened the house as a tobacco commission warehouse. In the fall of 1867, Captain A.F. Smith and W. H. Turnley took it over. Turnley soon sold out his interest to D.B. Hutch-



MAR 60

ings. These were restless times, when men's minds and affairs were obviously still greatly disturbed by the hardships of the war. The young men returning from the war were hard pressed to adjust to the many changes brought about in the South. It was frequently difficult to find one's proper niche in the world again. And so these gentlemen soon in turn sold their interests to M.L. Killebrew and J. Logan Williamson. By 1873 Grinter, Young and Company organized a new company upon the retirement of Mr. Killebrew. Mr. Williamson remained with the new firm only for one year, at which time James H. Smith replaced him. In 1875 James T. Kennedy came into the business which then adopted the name of Smith and Kennedy. Mr. A.B. Harrison joined the firm as a silent partner. In 1876, however, the old company had its most historic epoch. A chartered organization made up of five hundred or more farmers purchased the historic building under the name of the Grange Warehouse Association. Captain Thomas Herndon was elected to superintend the business. Stock in shares of \$5.00 each were issued to create the necessary fund to buy, increase the size, and conduct the business of the house. This organization continued over nine successful years. Mr. Herndon served as its superintendent throughout the entire period. The house sold from ten to twelve thousand hogsheads annually. It was a profitable venture for all the stock holders, paying ten per cent dividend and a rebate of \$150 on each hogshead of tobacco shipped to the house, after it had set apart

a large reserve fund. However, human nature being the unpredictable creature it is, the Grangers decided in 1884 to retire from the trade. Captain Frank Gracey added the Grange Warehouse to his enterprises purchasing it for \$19,000 dollars at public auction from the Grangers. Herndon, Young and Company operated the house for two years at which time Mr. Hallums purchased the interest of Mr. Young. In the 1890 period this old house would again change hands.

Thomas Herndon and Charles Hallums operated the warehouse, which had a capacity for storing three thousand hogsheads of tobacco in the main building, and shed room for storing three thousand more. Its strategic position fronting on the Cumberland in the vicinity of the freight depot, placed it in a desirable situation for trade. Other members of this famous association -- whose descendants are active in Clarksville tobacco trade to-day -- are Jesse Thomas Edwards and Thomas Pendleton Major. Mr. Edwards, born in December 1846, came to Clarksville from Cheatham County. In 1883 after years of experience with the Ashland City tobacco companies, he moved to Clarksville and engaged in handling tobacco as an agent for the Grange. When Herndon, Young and Company took over the Grange in 1884, Mr. Edwards became a member of the firm. The Edwards family became one of the leading factors in the community of Clarksville.

Thomas Pendleton Major, another Kentuckian, came to the Queen City from Trigg County. Born on July 4, 1853, Mr. Major came

to Clarksville when only twenty-two years of age. He was first associated with Smith and Kennedy as bookkeeper and was a most valuable one.

One of the most fascinating and charming histories is that of Clarksville's delightful old People's Warehouse. Very early in the history of Clarksville, the prominence of its two well known hotels was spread abroad. Originally named the Tennessee House, standing in a highly profitable position over-looking the broad sweep of the Cumberland and its fertile valleys, outlined by graceful oaks and cottonwoods, the old hotel eventually changed its name to honor the famous Pennsylvanian, Benjamin Franklin. The old Franklin House possessed memories extending as far back as 1827. Its enviable reputation spread throughout the land, and river captains coming up and down the Cumberland watched for the old landmark far around the bends of the river. Many are the dramatic scenes which took place in the handsome old halls. It bore at different times the names of Cumberland House, Tennessee Hotel, Planter's Hotel, The National, and Scott's National Hotel. In the years from 1855 to 1865 a Mr. Spurrier became its proprietor. In this period of the famous old hotel's history, a new hotel vied for her popularity. Perhaps the tremendous surge of interest in Clarksville tobacco after the '55 crop encouraged eager business men to widen the social facilities to enhance the visits of their foreign buyers. Forthwith the old hotels became the scenes of many

famous banquets, and their ball rooms rang with the gaiety of the loveliest of Clarksville's young matrons and handsome squires. Be that as it may, history records "a strong syndicate of capitalists" formed a pool and erected a very fine hotel facing the old National at the opposite end -- the north side -- of the Public Square. To this imposing structure they gave the name of the Southern Hotel. Eeveryone feared the new hotel would put the old National completely out of business. However we are told "the old castle brushed up and came to the front in a new suit....the old landmark held her own and at last succeeded in breaking down at least half a dozen companies that attempted to bolster up the new rival."¹⁵ The old hotel went on for many years serving Clarksville with gracious hospitality for her foreign and national guests alike, unrivaled until the Arlington was built in 1892. Mr. R. W. Bringham became the proprietor of the historic establishment in 1875 and gave it the name it bore until its destruction many years later. The Franklin House "has seen the rise and fall of several formidable looking competitors for hotel honors and trade, but it has, so far, withstood all opposition and holds its own in spite of all." wrote the reviewer in the Trade Journal.¹⁶

The old Southern bowed her head in deference to her ancient rival, the National. But though bowed, she was not daunted. She took on new life as a member of the tobacco trade of Clarksville.

¹⁵Titus, Ibid.p.401. ¹⁶J.L. Bliss, Op. Cit. p. 57.

Her unsuccessful career in competition with the National terminated in 1884. Charles R. Hallums, that keen old business man of the Grange, bought the imposing structure in 1884, remodeled her impressive reception rooms into tall ceilinged, handsome offices, and added on a tremendous "bustle" for the old lady, a ninety-six by three hundred foot warehouse. The firm organized on November 1, was composed of Thomas R. ^Hancock, William I. Fraser, and William E. Ragsdale, with William J. Ely employed as bookkeeper originally, and later to become a partner. Developing a solid, stable business, these men are said to have enjoyed a sound reputation for "straight forward, honorable dealings with their customers." In three short years their business had enlarged to the handling of 5,000 hogshead of tobacco. Apparently the two old houses had signed a truce -- the Franklin reigning over the hotel business, the Southern destined to outlive the Franklin in her new guise as one of Clarksville's outstanding tobacco houses. In this she had no peer -- she was truly the People's Warehouse.

Thomas R. Hancock, a native of Virginia, was forty-two years of age when he ventured into the business of the People's Warehouse in the tobacco scene. He had already established himself with his partner, ^Mr. Ragsdale, in the Hopkinsville Market, where they operated a successful commission warehouse. Heirs of ^Mr. ^Hancock are still active in the Hopkinsville Market to-day. His varied career, interrupted only by his years of service in the Civil War, had



Setting the Young Plants in Rows

taken him from his early experience as a bookkeeper in New Providence with Captain Herndon's warehouse, to New York as a tobacco inspector, and to Hopkinsville as a commission warehouseman. He strengthened the ties of his association with his partner, Mr. Ragsdale, even further when he married Miss Rebecca Ragsdale in 1875.

William Ragsdale, a partner in the People's Warehouse, remained in Hopkinsville, in charge of the company's commission warehouse. The third partner, Mr. William Irvin Fraser was connected with ^Mr. Hancock in the Hopkinsville warehouse in 1883, and established the People's Warehouse with Hancock and Ragsdale.

William J. Ely was a native son of Clarksville whose mother was one of the pioneer citizens educated in an old log cabin near the Old Market House in 1809. His tobacco career began after the Civil War as a member of the firm of Turnley, Ely and Company. This association lasted until 1876, whereupon the firm became Turnley, Ely and Kennedy for eight years. Mr. Ely and Mr. Kennedy continued the firm for another year until 1885, when Mr. Ely sold his interest and started as a bookkeeper for the People's Warehouse. In the same year he became a partner in the new company.

Another tobacco storage and commission warehouse of this era was the relatively new Bailey Warehouse. Located at Hiter and Commerce Street, the Bailey Warehouse was built by Isaac Shelby and derived its name from Clarksville's famous old citizen, Dr.

C.W. Bailey. The son of Dr. Bailey was responsible during the Twentieth Century for the wide publicity attracted to Clarksville by the program known as the "Four Pillars of Income", which had such a wide-spread effect upon agricultural measures throughout the United States and other countries. Dr. Bailey owned the property upon which the Bailey Warehouse was built. Mr. Shelby conducted the business for a year by himself, and in 1882 was joined by Mr. William Rudolph. The Bailey Warehouse, still standing, is eighty by one hundred and fifty feet, and has shelter for about four hundred hogsheads, in addition to its enclosed capacity.

Isaac Shelby began his career in the tobacco trade with Mr. A.B. Harrison, in the Clarksville Warehouse at the corner of Commerce and Front Streets. He was connected with the Gracey Warehouse, after severing relations with the Clarksville Warehouse, until he ventured out on his own with the Bailey Warehouse. His years of experience proved highly beneficial in the conduct of his own enterprise.

Mr. Shelby was ably assisted by Mr. Rudolph. The Rudolph name is one that has become most prominently identified with Clarksville tobacco, and today is identified with some of the outstanding companies in the business. Mr. William Rudolph learned much of the trade literally from the ground up. He purchased a hundred and six acre farm when only twenty-two, which he managed so successfully that he soon enlarged his purchase to two hundred

and eighty acres of splendid tobacco land. He sold his farm in 1877, when he was thirty-three, and engaged in business in Clarks-ville. From 1882 he became a partner with Mr. Shelby in the Bailey Warehouse.

As the changing times brought with them changes in transportation facilities, the tobacco warehouses also shifted their patterns. The oldest houses still to be seen along the recently completed, broad and beautiful river highway, were gradually left to themselves as the young "upstarts" moved toward the city. The desirable locations within the city itself were soon used up; less and less space was available, and paradoxically warehouses became bigger and bigger, requiring even greater room for expansion. There was a gradual migration of the factories, newly constructed, toward the city limits.

This expansion was evidenced by the location of Adams and Gill in their warehouse on East Commerce near the passenger depot of the Louisville and Nashville railroad. The foresight of W.A. Quarles was well warranted as he petitioned the Mayor and Aldermen of the City Council at their weekly meeting on July 20, 1858 to open Commerce Street beyond Seventh Street, in spite of the rejection he had sustained. At the time Mr. Quarles had succeeded in obtaining authorization for 6,000 - 8,000 yards of dirt to make certain fills on streets contiguous to the railroad. Money derived from the sale of the dirt was to be appropriated for the construc-

tion of a bridge across the railroad at its crossing on Madison Street.¹⁷ Adam, Gill and Company began its operation in 1886 and within the first year handled an impressive five thousand and two hundred hogsheads of tobacco. The warehouse itself had a capacity for storing 4,000 hogsheads of tobacco. The ground surrounding the warehouse proper could accomodate up to ten thousand hogsheads.

John Adams, a North Irishman, came to Clarksville in 1844 as a boy of fourteen. He served illustriously in the War between the States, and spent some time in the merchandise business following the war. He engaged in the tobacco business after his merchandise business was the victim of a serious fire. In the Clarksville Warehouse with Mr. Gill, he became a highly successful tobacconist.

Benjamin Franklin Gill lived up to the distinguished name he bore. A kentuckian by birth and education, Mr. Gill moved to Montgomery County in 1870, living near Dunbar's Cave. In the same year he married Miss Mary Yancey. One of the six children born to the Gills became the wife of a distinguished Clarksville citizen, Mr. Dancey Fort. Mr. Gill's grandson, Josiah Fort, is the present president of Rudolph, Hach and Company, carrying out almost a century of tradition in the tobacco business.

Others in the firm of Adams and Gill were William H. Turnley, salesman, Edwin P. Turnley, bookkeeper, Major Robert Hicks, Matt Dunlop, and Louis Diffendorfer. Another partner in the enterprise

¹⁷Micro-filmed City Council Records, July 20, 1858. Clarksville.

was Mr. R.D. Moseley. Mr. Moseley served Clarksville for a long period of time as County Court clerk, in addition to assuming the responsibility of his tobacco interests.

At the corner of Spring and Washington Streets was erected the Planter's Warehouse occupied by R.H. Walker and Company in 1886. Not as large as some of the other factories, the Planter's was seventy-two by a hundred and ninety-two feet, housing seven hundred hogsheads. Mr. Walker came to Clarksville from Robertson County, and manifested his first interest in a facet of the tobacco trade by learning the cooper's trade. He was one of the boys in gray captured at the fall of Fort Donelson. He returned to New Providence in 1863 as a cooper, which practice he engaged in until 1874. He began his active participation in the tobacco trade in that year.

John C. Hambaugh, a partner with Mr. Walker, operated the warehouse of the company at New Providence, an establishment of sixty by two hundred feet, qualified to handle six hundred hogsheads of tobacco.

An innovation in this period of the conclusion of the nineteenth century was the large hoped-to-be fire-proof tobacco leaf factory. The building, large enough to accomodate approximately five hundred hogsheads, was completely covered with iron. Forty-two by one hundred and twenty feet long, and two stories high, it was conveniently located on Commerce Street between Front and



A Fertile Tobacco Field

First Streets. The company was operated solely in the name of Mr. M.B. Coleman, and was the only exclusive leaf rehandling house in the area.

Several changes in the various distinguished tobacco companies we have considered took place before the century was ended. Some of the most note worthy should be clarified. In 1893 Jack Crouch, who had literally cut his teeth on his father's business -- W. H. Crouch and Sons -- as a young man became associated as a partner in the brokerage business with the distinguished Clark brothers. Added to their many interests was a partnership with Mr. T.D. Luckett under the additional firm of T.D. Luckett and Company. Subsequently they purchased the R.R. Neal factory -- the old Kerr factory -- and also acquired branches at Russelville, Lewisburg, Adairville, and Hanson, Kentucky. It is estimated the total aggregation of the company's holdings could handle in one season 10,000,000 lbs. of tobacco.¹⁸ This company demonstrated the unusual nature of the tobacco business. Their trade included putting up "strips" for the English, Scotch and Welsh markets, "leaf" for the German, and "Bales" and "Africans" for the West Indian, South American, and African trade.¹⁹ The company bought direct from the planter, doing their own prizing, and avoiding the middle-man expense of the commissioner. Pay rolls for the organization averaged \$1,000 weekly, indicating the tremendous benefit of

¹⁸J.L. Bliss, Op. Cit., p. 40.

¹⁹Stemmeries were originally developed to handle the strip-

the company to the entire community.

The Grange Warehouse which in 1887 was occupied by Herndon and Hallums, in 1895 housed the company of Gill and Turnley. In the same year the upper portion of the Grange, at the time acknowledged to be the largest tobacco warehouse in the world, was occupied by the commission tobacco business of M.F. Day and J. Owen McKeage. Mr. McKeage's father was one of the early successful operators of a stemmery warehouse in the community. In 1895 the Planter's Warehouse was acquired by R.J. Ellis and J.D. Ellis from the former firm of Ellis, Major and Company. Another partnership, the outgrowth of previous tobacco experience, was that of Wood and Drane. Louis G. Wood and Wesley Drane had started a partnership in November of 1893 in the Grange Warehouse. After a year they transferred their business to the equally famous old Gracey Warehouse, but renamed the old house "The Queen City" Warehouse. Louis Wood was the son of one of Todd County's best known farmers. Identified with eighteen years of experience as a thorough tobacco man, Mr. Wood found a successful counterpart in Wesley Drane. The grading of tobacco. The product thus developed was known as "strips" and served the particular needs of the English market. The process has been described in detail in The Storage and Aging of Tobacco. Leaf tobacco is the most common form processed. Africans were a particular long leaf style of tobacco, packed five or six leaves in a box, especially sought after by the Gold Coast, from whence the name is derived. Bales supplied the demand of those manufacturers engaged in special types of manufacture such as the manufacture of chewing tobacco, who sweated the leaf and stored it in bales just as delivered by the growers.*N.B. p. 2-4.(U.S.D.A. Agricultural Marketing Service, Tobacco Division, Washington 25, D. C. 1960).

son of Dr. Walter Harding Drane, who had prized the first hogshead of "strips" in Clarksville, this young man had also inherited the talent of the men in his family for finances. In addition to the experience Mr. Drane had gained as a young man upon the farm, he had served an apprenticeship in the Northern Bank so that he came to the firm doubly qualified to render superior service. Mr. W. J. Ely served as bookkeeper for the company, and the Tobacco Board of Trade in the capacity of treasurer. Mr. J.W. Hayes was superintendent of the "breaks", and J.R. Pearson, solicitor for the firm.

The Central Warehouse so long operated by Mr. J.C. Kendrick, was organized under the firm of Kendrick and Runyon in 1891. In 1895 Mr. ^Kendrick was distinguished as having sold more hogsheads of tobacco in Clarksville than any man who had done a warehouse business in the city. Mr. C.D. Runyon was a buyer before he engaged in the warehouse business. Both men were public spirited representatives of the community. Mr. Runyon served as a member of the Public School Board, and Mr. ^Kendrick in 1895 was the president of the Tobacco Board of Trade. ~~the company.~~

W.H. Rudolph, formerly associated with Isaac Shelby, established a firm with his nephew R.S. Rudolph on Commerce Street in a warehouse to which they gave the name "The Red River Warehouse." In 1894 the firm moved its quarters to the corner of Main and the Public Square. The warehouse at that location comprised two floors, one hundred by one hundred and four feet in area, well lighted, and

conveniently located to the offices of the Clarksville buyers. This became immediately one of the most popular warehouses in the community. Both members of the firm were men of wide personal experience in tobacco and were particularly skilled in identifying the finest grades of tobacco.

Mr. Hancock of the People's Warehouse in 1893 formed a partnership with R.C. Wilcox, a former bookkeeper for the firm of Kendrick, Peters & Company. Mr. Wilcox had given up his position with the latter tobacco firm on account of ill health. President Harrison had appointed him postmaster for Clarksville for approximately three years. The partnership with Mr. Hancock was formed the day after he was relieved of these duties.

A comparatively new comer to the 1895 scene was the Union Warehouse. Organized in the fall of 1889 by farmers of the district, the Corporation elected A.V. Goodpasture president, W.R. Browder vice-president, C.P. Warfield superintendent, J.B. Allen agent, and L.E. Ladd bookkeeper. Col. W.F. Young served as the auctioneer for the sales of the company.

Finally, the stemmery of H.M. Dunlop's company, played an important part in the tobacco picture of the close of the nineteenth century. The three sons of Hugh Dunlop -- Matt, William, and Joseph -- formed the company with their father. The young Scotsman had come to this country as a boy of nineteen with scarcely any financial means at his disposal, but sufficient ambition to

offset this handicap. He started out to learn the tobacco business from the bottom. The sons of Hugh Dunlop proved to be outstanding business men. In 1897 Joseph Philip Dunlop, in addition to his tobacco interests, organized a milling and flour company with John T. Rabbeth. The company was operated for a period of twelve years when it was destroyed by fire. Mr. Rabbeth's death occurred before the fateful fire. The plant was rebuilt at a cost of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The mill had a capacity of twelve thousand barrels a day! The impressively beautiful home of Mr. and Mrs. J.P. Dunlop stands today at Madison opposite Academy Avenue.²⁰

Two of the most important factors of the nineteenth century history of Clarksville tobacco have been retained for the last, because they seem to sum up the total of the incomparable achievement of our nineteenth century tobacco giants. In 1878, realizing the magnitude of the business their combined efforts would bring to their city, the tobacconists of the Queen City obtained a State charter and organized the Tobacco Board of Trade. The membership of the board was comprised of the warehousemen and buyers, both agents and brokers, as well as stemmers and re-handlers. At the suggestion of the enthusiastic encouragement of Micajah Clark, steps were taken soon after the formation of the Tobacco Board of Trade to provide a building in which the tobacconists could display their

²⁰John Trotwood Moore, Op. Cit., p. 226.



Cutting the Ripe Leaf

samples with pardonable pride befitting the tobacco trade they had worked so ardently to create. In 1877, therefore, on November 22, it was agreed to form a stock company to raise the necessary funds to erect such a building. On January 2, 1878 it was resolved to build a house for \$5,000. A tax was agreed upon to be levied on each hogshead of tobacco -- ten cents per hogshead, five cents to be paid by the buyer and five cents by the warehousemen. On July 31, 1878 when the charter was presented to the board by Micajah Clark serving as secretary, additional plans were made for a site to be selected. On August 27, 1878 the site over-looking the Cumberland, (at present occupied by a contracting company) was chosen by ballot. On October 14, a decision was reached to increase the proposed cost of the building to \$17,000 and the tax levied on each hogshead was increased to forty cents. Although a subsequent increase does not seem to have been recorded, several sources establish the final value of the fine old building erected in 1879 at \$30,000. Nor is this estimate difficult to understand. The completed building contained nineteen rooms. An upper hall of fifty square feet became the frequent scene of splendid entertainment for the tobacconists and their friends. Two rooms contained fire and burglar proof vaults. The building was equipped with water, gas light, and steam heat. The remaining rooms were used as offices by the buyers. The sales room was used for many years, and many millions of dollars resulted from the transactions based upon decisions made as buyers sat in the well

ventilated, amply lit, comfortably furnished surroundings and passed the golden leaf from one buyer to the next. As Mr. Titus so aptly described it:

The tobacco boys keep house in liberal style, and their doors fly open hospitably to all comers. They deserve their fine house, the result of their own hard work and economy, and they deserve it the more as they are always foremost in aiding other enterprises of the town.²¹

One need hardly add more to the tribute thus paid by one who knew them so intimately.

The phenomenal accomplishments of the Clarksville tobacco-nists, following the bitter years of the Civil War which left such scars upon the entire community, made an era in the history of the dark-fired tobacco trade never to be forgotten. The century closed upon an unprecedented note of prosperity. Perhaps it was inevitable that the beginning of the twentieth century would herald an era of strife and discord even the most pessimistic tradesmen would not have predicted. The tobacco trade which picked itself up out of the bitter ashes of the Civil War to forge a fire of success whose brightness extended to the foreign shores of the entire world, would once again be seared by the burning flames of the torches and sharp flashes of the guns of the Night Riders, and another, even greater World War would once again unite the tobacco men -- planters, warehousemen, buyers -- in the greater cause for world peace.

²¹ W.P. Titus, Op. Cit. p. 392.

CHAPTER II

Turn of the Century 1890-1920

"Tobacco, divine, rare, super excellent tobacco, which goes far beyond all panaceas, potable gold, and philosopher's stones, a sovereign remedy to all diseases."²²

Robert Burton aptly expressed the feelings of millions of tobacco enthusiasts the world over. His description of the compelling nature of tobacco helps the student of tobacco to understand the demand for the world's production of the magic leaf. By the end of the nineteenth century tobacco production in the world had reached a phenomenal 2,600,000,000 pounds annually.²³ In Tennessee, men of vision realized the vast potential of Tennessee's agriculture. The State's population following the Civil War exceeded 1,250,000.²⁴ In the next quarter of a century it would increase by a third to reach 2,000,000 by 1900.²⁵ Although both cities and industries were growing, the stronghold of Tennessee, nevertheless, lay in her lush fields and fertile river bottoms. The Bureau of

²²Robert Burton, Anatomy of Melancholy (1577-1640) in Bartlett's Familiar Quotations, Christopher Morley, Editor (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1941).

²³J.B. Killebrew, Tennessee (Nashville, Tennessee: Tavel, Eastman & Howell, 1877) p. 14.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Louis D. Wallace, Editor, A Century of Tennessee Agriculture (Nashville, Tennessee: Tennessee Dept. of Agriculture, 1954), p.233.

Agriculture which had been organized prior to the Civil War was reactivated largely through the influence of Mr. J.B. Killebrew. If any one individual of the final quarter of the nineteenth century were to be singled out for outstanding contribution to the future of Tennessee's economic development through agriculture, that honor would undoubtedly be bestowed upon the Honorable J.B. Killebrew, who served as secretary for the Tennessee Bureau of Agriculture under three governors-- Governor John C. Brown, Governor James D. Porter, and Governor Albert S. Marks. For tobacco growers as well as tobacco handlers throughout the State, Mr. Killebrew undertook an amount of exhaustive research into the best methods pertaining to any and all phases of tobacco planting, cultivation, and marketing. The results of his assiduous pursuit of the subject -- Resources of Tennessee; Tennessee, Tobacco, Minerals, Livestock; and Grasses of Tennessee are still considered among the most authoritative studies ever yet to have been compiled for the benefit of the planter and tobacco handler alike.²⁶

Colonel Joseph Buckner Killebrew, A.M. Ph.D. was one of the most outstanding citizens ever to have come out of Montgomery County. An outstanding scholar, Mr. Killebrew practiced law in Clarksville after completing his college education at Chapel Hill, North Carolina. His interest in education led him to accept the responsibility of Commissioner, appointed by the Circuit Court, to organize a system of public schools for Montgomery County. His

²⁶ Ibid., p. 215.

success in this undertaking led to his appointment as Assistant State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Before Mr. Killebrew's appointment, the State of Tennessee ranked second in the nation in illiteracy. It was largely due to his efforts that an act to establish and maintain a uniform system of Public Schools was passed.²⁷

In 1876 Mr. Killebrew had written "Every decade shows a marked increase in consumption, and of all the products of the farm tobacco finds the readiest market."²⁸ United States tobacco in 1866 had averaged 11.6 cents per pound for a total income of \$36,829,000 for the nation. By 1892 production had reached an all time profitable high of \$67,284,000 for 756,845,000 pounds of tobacco grown on 1,039,000 acres of land throughout the United States' tobacco growing communities. Tennessee, which ranked fourth in the nation in production of tobacco, received particular attention from the world because of the Clarksville type tobacco sought after by the foreign markets.

²⁷

Ibid., p. 221.

²⁸

J.B. Killebrew, Tennessee, Tobacco, Minerals, Livestock (Nashville, Tennessee: Tavel, Eastman & Howell, 1877) p. 14.



The Clarksville Tobacconists

"The Old Guard"

Tobacco statistics by types of tobaccos were not recorded accurately until 1919. The student of tobacco history must be content, therefore, to deduct the significance of Clarksville type tobacco from general statistics of State-wide tobacco production during the post-Civil War period to the end of the century. These figures will be given for Tennessee Tobacco from 1866 to 1905 in the facing chart on page 42. The peak year of tobacco income will be seen to be 1905 in this particular period. However the year 1888 with an unprecedented cultivation of 66,000 acres resulting in 42,570,000 pounds which sold at an average of 8 cents per pound for a total income of \$3,406,000 brought about a significant event in Clarksville.

About 1877, after Clarksville had ruled the Dark Fired district for almost three-fourths of a century, a market was set up in Hopkinsville, as has been recorded. Competition from Hopkinsville and Louisville, and speculation among buyers as well as farmers brought about the tremendous yield of 1888. But in its wake were to follow dire consequences. Encouraged by such unheard of success, farmers over-planted, tobacco became inferior, and wild speculation took place. In 1890, in December, as a result, several large tobacco warehouse firms and the Franklin Bank, located approximately where Brenner's Furniture Company is now situated, met with failure. The Farmers and ^Merchants Bank also was forced to close its doors temporarily. The three remaining banks, however, managed to remain open, and have continued success-

1886	45,000	620	27,900,000	6.0	1,674,000
1887	44,000	330	14,520,000	10.5	1,525,000
1888	66,000	645	42,570,000	8.0	3,406,000
1889	51,000	530	27,030,000	5.2	1,406,000
1890	51,000	575	29,325,000	6.3	1,847,000
1891	58,000	610	35,380,000	6.7	2,370,000
1892	61,000	630	38,430,000	10.4	3,997,000
1893	70,000	612	42,840,000	8.8	3,770,000
1894	63,000	655	41,265,000	9.0	3,714,000
1895	71,000	725	51,475,000	7.0	3,603,000
1896	73,000	645	47,085,000	7.0	3,296,000
1897	70,000	585	40,950,000	11.0	4,504,000
1898	81,000	780	63,180,000	7.0	4,423,000
1899	72,000	684	49,248,000	11.0	5,417,000
1900	77,000	695	53,515,000	6.0	3,211,000
1901	85,000	785	66,725,000	6.0	4,004,000
1902	87,000	735	63,945,000	6.0	3,837,000
1903	105,000	790	82,950,000	7.5	6,221,000
1904	94,000	800	75,200,000	5.8	4,362,000
1905	95,000	805	76,475,000	7.5	5,736,000

Table 103.-Tobacco, Tennessee. Tobaccos of the United States (Washington, D.C.: USDA, July, 1948) p. 80.

TENNESSEE TOBACCO 1866-1905

Crop year	Acreage harvested	Yield per acre	Production	Price per pound	Value of production
	Acres	Pounds	Pounds	Cents	Dollars
1866	40,000	718	28,720,000	20.4	5,859,000
1867	37,000	710	26,270,000	13.7	3,599,000
1868	38,000	710	26,980,000	16.5	4,452,000
1869	38,000	565	21,470,000	12.8	2,748,000
1870	40,000	810	32,400,000	8.3	2,689,000
1871	31,000	620	19,220,000	10.9	2,095,000
1872	33,000	680	22,440,000	11.6	2,603,000
1873	35,000	680	23,800,000	6.0	1,428,000
1874	21,000	300	6,300,000	10.0	630,000
1875	64,000	665	42,560,000	7.2	3,064,000
1876	43,000	630	27,090,000	7.9	2,140,000
1877	56,000	725	40,600,000	5.2	2,111,000
1878	44,000	655	28,820,000	6.0	1,729,000
1879	42,000	707	29,694,000	5.0	1,485,000
1880	40,000	620	24,800,000	9.0	2,232,000
1881	41,000	400	16,400,000	7.6	1,246,000
1882	43,000	740	31,820,000	6.7	2,132,000
1883	41,000	575	23,575,000	6.0	1,414,000
1884	41,000	710	29,110,000	7.0	2,038,000
1885	44,000	585	25,740,000	7.0	1,802,000

fully to the present day.²⁹

For the next three years tobacco prices were below the tax assessment levied in 1872 by the Federal Government on natural leaf of 6 cents per pound. Perhaps the low price partly brought about by over-production, partly by inferior tobacco was in a measure responsible for the fraudulent manipulation of samples which began to appear between the time of sampling and offering the tobacco for sale at the Tobacco Exchange in Clarksville.³⁰ Whatever the cause, on the demand of customers sales were once again made at the warehouses or even at the barns, from the stripped hoghead immediately after sampling or in the barn while still hanging. Advantages of the method of direct buying were not to be denied. In spite of the discomfort to the buyer of having to ride over rough roads to the barns, there was the distinct advantage of examining the tobacco in its natural state by the entire crop in place of merely samples. The grower relaxed in the realization of his price before the crop was delivered, and frequently they conducted small auctions on their own, rejecting the too low price of the first buyers, until a more favorable offer came along.³¹

²⁹ Norman Smith, Early Days of Clarksville, Tennessee, Philomathic Club Papers, June 1943. p. 13.

³⁰ F. N. Smith, Tobacco, Clarksville Tobacco Market and Its Demands, Philomathic Club Papers, June 1943. p. 6.

³¹ James O. Nall, The Tobacco Night Riders of Kentucky and Tennessee (Louisville, Kentucky: The Standard Press, 1939) p.5.

In spite of the conflicts and changing practices, it was a time when those who had been in the tobacco business were more active than ever, and those new to the business held high hopes of the financial successes of the older, more experienced tobaccoists. All warehousemen and buyers, both agents and brokers, were members of the Tobacco Board of Trade. J.C. Kendrick served as its president, Wesley Drane and D. Kohler, as vice-presidents, M.H. Clark as secretary, F.S. Beaumont as assistant secretary, and W. J. Ely as treasurer. Meetings were held monthly and were regulated by a constitution and set of by-laws as any other chartered organization. The Tobacco Board of Trade was specifically organized to preserve the integrity of the Clarksville market.

On the scene at the end of the Century were the Clark Brothers, still the largest handlers of tobacco in Clarksville at the time. Theirs was the biggest payroll and the largest number of employees. The T. D. Lockett and Company factory which they operated would play a prominent role in the turn of the century. Gill and Turnley (B.F. Gill and E. P. Turnely) operated the Grange. Day and McKeage conducted their commission business in the Upper Grange. In the Old Planters House were located R.J. Ellis and Co. as a general commission business. Louis G. Wood and Wesley Drane conducted a tobacco warehouse which dealt directly with farmers and dealers. For one year they handled business from the Grange, also, but moved to the old Gracey House and changed its name to



Placing the Tobacco on the Sticks

the Queen City Warehouse. A large, light, and roomy factory, one hundred and fifty by two hundred and fifty feet, it was very conveniently located. Mr. Wesley Drane was a grandson of Dr. Walter Harding Drane, the pioneer who supposedly initiated the prizing of hogheads of tobacco strips in Clarksville. W. J. Ely served as secretary for the Queen City. J.W. Hayes was superintendent of the breaks, and J.R. Pearson was listed as a solicitor. The Central Warehouse housed the business of Kendrick and Runyon. Although they began in New Providence, they soon became prominent in the Clarksville business. And to Mr. Kendrick was ascribed the distinction of selling more hogsheads of tobacco in Clarksville than any man who had done a warehouse business in the city. The "dilapidate town with its warehouses wrecked, and almost totally destroyed" after the Civil War had won a battle against the odds-- overcoming the post-war difficulties and the competition offered by the Louisville and Hopkinsville markets-- and boasted of eleven large warehouses, seven well equipped stemmeries and a large number of prizing factories in 1895. All of the warehouses were two to three stories high. Storage space for the factories would cover fifty acres of ground. Ten to twenty men were employed in each. These were bookkeepers, receiving clerks, shipping clerks, breakers, and coopers. Stemming and rehandling houses also hired forces of fifty to a hundred and fifty hands, mostly women and children.³²

³²J.L. Bliss and C. Gardiner, Managers, National Trade Review
 Typographical Union Label No. 35, Evansville, Indiana, 1895.

Clarksville was at the end of the century the third largest tobacco market in the United States and the largest export market, ranked first above all others. It exported more tobacco than all the other Western markets combined. The receipts and shipments there ranged from 30,000 to 40,000 hogsheads annually, depending upon the character of the season, whether favorable or unfavorable in a particular season to the growth of the crop. The hogsheads at the time were not uniform in size and varied from 1,600 to 2,200 pounds when packed. Total income to Clarksville fluctuated between \$2,500,000 to \$3,500,000 annually. The peculiar nature of tobacco thrives best after wheat and clover production, and in turn leaves the soil in good condition for these crops. Wheat and grain in turn provides fat for the stock, so that a cycle of beneficial crop rotation assures the farmers a profitable year. The cultivation of wheat and clover guaranteeing the production of rich and fatty tobacco of the desired dark and glossy color, with leaves of twenty to twenty-eight inches in length. ³³

At the close of the century T.R. Hancock and Company, conducted at the intersection of Main and River Street by T.R. Hancock and R.C. Wilcox ;and the Union Warehouse Co. with A.V. Goodpasture, president, W.R. Browder, V.P., C.P. Warfield, Supt. , J.B. Allen, agent, and W.E. Ladd, bookkeeper, and Col. W.F. Young, auctioneer ; and the H.M. Dunlop factory rounded out the best known

³³ Ibid. p. 34.

establishments.

Newspapers of the day recorded tobacco news among its head lines. Not a day passed that the local paper failed to include some reference to tobacco or tobacconists. In 1892 C.P. Warfield and Company purchased the lots belonging to Dr. C.W. Bailey and Mrs. Dora Kropp on Commerce Street at the corner of Hiter Street. The two hundred by two hundred and thirty five foot lot was purchased for \$9,000 at a \$45 per front foot average. The purchase according to the local paper was for cash, and the land would be used for a fine tobacco warehouse. To assure their customers that there would be no conflict of interests the proprietors assured the public that the Shelby Warehouse which occupied the lot on the Commerce of Hiter Streest would not be interfered with, the lease held by the proprietors being continued by Warfield and Co. This was the lot on which the Union Warehouse was constructed. ³⁴

The warehouses, then as now, were frequently utilized for political rallies. The October 5, 1892 Progress Democrat advertised a Democratic Rally to be held in the warehouses with the Honorable John S. Rhea, guest speaker, and the Clarksville Military Band, "striking a blow for Democracy."

A report on tobacco stocks was frequently incorporated in the days news. Typical were such listings:

Receipts in September 752 hhds., Sales in Sept. 2,057 hhds.

³⁴The Progress Democrat, Vol.III, No. 6, December 21, 1892 (Micro-films Austin Peay State Library, 1960).

Stock October 1, 5,414 hhds. Market nearly exhausted of higher types of tobacco with only a small supply of lower grades. The market ruled strong last month, low grades having an upward tendency.³⁵

The farmers were also constant news. Particularly when disaster befell them did the papers record the event. The same newspaper as above relates John Young, a farmer on the place of G.T. Sadler in District I suffered the loss of a tobacco barn by fire, about twenty acres of fine tobacco being burned, and the total loss of an estimated \$1,500 was doubly disastrous as it was not covered by insurance.

The concern of the city fathers for the tobaccoists was reflected in the news report that the City Council on October 12, 1892 accepted the city surveyor's report recommending the repair work necessary on the streets. The Council ordered three days work of the city team and one extra hand to do the necessary work in front of Luckett's factory.

"Tobacco tips" were also given for the farmers, specifically:

Planters search the fields closely for worms as there was a swarm of flies a few weeks ago.

And:

Planters cutting forward tobacco with a vim - the quality of the tobacco is fine and it is in first class condition.

The heavy rain of the season was bemoaned, and the crop was judged not good enough in the Western stripping districts to give the English markets any particular encouragement. Cigar

³⁵ Progress Democrat, October 5, 1892. (Micro-film APSC).

leaf generally reported good prospects. Nevertheless there were some reports of flea bitten, worm eaten crops, much of the tobacco fit only for wrappers.³⁶

Politics played a prominent role among the tobaccoists. \$235 had been raised for the Stevenson rally at Herndon, Kentucky. But of even greater significance was the attendance of 1,000 Clarksvillians at the Rally on September 2, 1892. The rally, it was reported, was conducted in splendid order with no casualties. Barbecued meat and "eatables" were served in abundance.³⁷

The beginnings of organized controls which would become so powerful in a few short years were seen in the organization of a "combine" named the Leaf Tobacco Company. Eleven of the wealthiest warehouses in the city were in the "deal" with a capital stock of \$2,500,000. The purpose of the dealers was to compete with the Cincinnati Combine. The newspaper listed the following names as involved in the organization: J.S. Phelps, W.P. Johnson, L.M. Rice, J.P. Barnard, R.K. Dunkerson, C.A. Bridges, Henry Glover, P. McGuior, J.M. Gilbert, J.W. Brown, Fred Walkup, and R.A. White. Articles of incorporation were filed on September 6, 1892.³⁸

³⁶Progress Democrat, September 7, 1892. (Micro-film, APSC).

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Ibid.



Tobacco Drying in the Barn

Mechanization, also, gradually was introduced into the tobacco trade. Tobacco machinery was described as follows:

The Clarksville Tobacco Mnfg. Co. is in receipt of a beautiful four-horse-power engine that is a fine specimen of artisanship. In addition they have a new patent duster (dust cleaner) for the manufacturing of their smoking brand "The Country Gentleman" which is something unknown heretofore in the manufacture of tobacco. The company is preparing to enlarge its capacity and we hope this plant may be the basis of the largest works in the West.³⁹

An interesting article from an August issue of the Progress Democrat of that year gives an idea of the extent of the foreign shipments from the Clarksville market:

The Market is quiet with only occasional small sales. Tael has received the supplementary Italian contract for 2,500 hhds. There were shipped this week: 1,545 hhds to Bordeaux; 1,1012 to Genoa; 791 to Leghorn; 410 to Leith; 247 to Liverpool; 212 to London; 37 to Glasgow; 211 to Huel; 365 to Hamburg; 388 to Bremen; 36 to Antwerp; 51 to Australia; 31 to South America; 5 to Africa; 39 to the West Indies; so reports the New York Tobacco Leaf.

It has generally been conceded that Mr. Reusens would also control the balance of the Italian purchase.

The award of the 2,500 hhds additional contract to Mr. Tael will cut but little figure in influencing the Market as they both suck through the same quill. However contractors may combine and miners may shoot, but Bettie can smile and read her title clear for the mortgage is torn up and the Black Patch is safe. Everybody sing!⁴⁰

The press took upon itself through its editorial column to warn the tobacconists:

Be satisfied with well enough. More speculators lose

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid. August 16, 1892.

fortunes than make them. When tobacco is low, hold it if you can, but when high, sell. Don't force warehousemen to crowd the market and thus weaken prices. It is best to keep buyers steadily a little hungry and feed moderately to keep the market healthy.⁴¹

The speculative condition of tobacco was on the increase. Farmers were reducing their yield and holding it for higher prices. At times before the crop was used up, they had increased their prices from 50 to 100%. And paradoxically they would then glut the market. Mr. F.N. Smith in his account of the tobacco picture in Clarksville reminisced that when he first entered the scene during the '80's and '90's the warehouses often could not handle all of the tobacco and "hogsheads were stored on the Public Square and on streets protected from the weather with tarpaulins and plank"

The Loose Floor sales prevalent in Clarksville to-day, were introduced at the turn of the Century. In the Union Warehouse in 1901 C.W. Bohmer, experienced in Loose Floor Sales in Virginia, conducted the first Loose Floor Sales. This method, however, did not succeed in overcoming the barn selling brought about by the fraudulent packing of hogsheads. The method of Loose Floor selling continued until 1904 on a limited scale, at which time Mr. Bohmer went to the Burley District and started the first Loose Floor sales in that area. The method would be introduced again in 1910 and prevails in the market to-day.⁴²

⁴¹ Ibid. August 24, 1892.

⁴² F.N. Smith, Tobacco, Clarksville Tobacco Market And Its Demands, Philomathic Papers, August 5, 1943.

And so the turbulent years began. The 1902 crop, which was small and of a quality below average, nevertheless brought a very satisfactory price to the grower. The speculators furnished aggressive competition for the so-called "order" buyers, particularly for the better grades of tobacco. The result was a determination by the farmers to plant an enormous crop for 1903. At the same time a change in duty on those tobaccos exported from the Stemming District of Western Kentucky to England, resulted in greatly lowered prices in that area. Speculators from the Clarksville area were quick to buy up quantities of the low-priced tobacco of the Kentucky area. This in turn was prized with the Clarkville type with disastrous results. Not only were the stocks increased all out of proportion to the demands, but the blended tobaccos did not sweat well. Losses to dealers were very large. The 1903 crop was further hampered by drouth resulting in a light grade which sold cheap. To attempt to solve some of the problems which resulted the Dark Tobacco Planters Protective Association was organized in the fall of 1904.⁴³

In addition to local conditions it is necessary to comprehend the total picture of Tobaccoland, USA at the turn of the century to understand the developments of the next ten years. The tobacco growing areas were divided into four sections. The

⁴³F.N. Smith, Ibid.

four divisions were and still are:

The Northern Dark Fired (or Stemming) District

Kentucky Counties- Breckinridge, Grayson, Hancock, Daviess, Ohio, Muhlenberg, McLean, Hopkins, Webster, Henderson, Union, and Crittenden

Markets- Owensboro, Henderson, and Madisonville

The Eastern Dark Fired District

Kentucky Counties- Simpson, Logan, Todd, Christian, Trigg, Caldwell, Lyon

Tennessee Counties- Smith, Wilson, Sumner, Robertson, Davidson, Cheatham, Dickson, Humphreys, Houston, Stewart, and Montgomery

Markets- Hopkinsville, Clarksville, Princeton, Springfield, and Russellville

The Western Dark Fired District

Kentucky Counties- Livingston, McCracken, Marshall, Calloway, Graves, Ballard, Carlisle, Hickam and Fulton

Tennessee Counties- Henry, Weakley, Obion, Carroll, and Benton

Markets- Paducah, Mayfield, Murray, Fulton and Paris

The Bowling Green Dark Air-cured (or One Sucker) District

Kentucky Counties- Butler, Edmondson, Hart, Warren, Barren, Metcalfe, Allen and Monroe

Tennessee Counties- Macon and Trousdale

Markets- Bowling Green, Glasgow, Horse Cave

The Black Patch had a population of well over a million people and embraced more than 20,000 square miles of territory. Tobacco was a \$12,000,000 business derived from 200,000,000 lbs. of the leaf. Originally the tobacco was used in its natural state, but the crude cigars, the cured leaf chewed, rolled, or smoked in pipes had become even more popular in more refined forms of smoking tobaccos, snuff, and plug chewing tobaccos. Tobacco men became the

capitalists of their communities.⁴⁴

Popularly the Northern and Eastern districts were called "The Pennyrile"; the Western District was known as "The Purchase" in honor of the 1818 purchase Andrew Jackson made from the Chickasaw Indians.

Farms varied from five to five hundred acres (some few reaching the fantastic size of 2,000 to 3,000 acres) generally, and tobacco was planted on from 5 to 100 acres, but usually on an average of 5 to 25. The cycle of tobacco cultivation, sometimes called "Tobaccuary" for the popularly identified thirteenth month of the farmer's year (made up of "the cumulative chores the farmer does in the small morning and late evening hours and sometimes in overnight stretches during the curing period"⁴⁵), is roughly sub-divided in the following manner:

February-March

Plant beds readied. 6-12 feet wide, 30-150 feet long.

April-May

Crop ground "checked" (plowed in squares) one yard each way, hills made by hoe where furrow crosses.

May-June

Plants placed in hills.

June-July-August

Hoeing, plowing, worming, suckering of tobacco.

August-September

Ripening, cut, placed on sticks (4 ft. long) hung, cured by firing (smoke and heat from wood).

⁴⁴

James O. Nall, The Tobacco Night Riders of Kentucky and Tennessee 1905-1909 (Louisville, Kentucky: The Standard Press, 1939) p. 3

⁴⁵

Tobacco, The Tobacco Institute, (Washington, D.C.) 1960.p.8.



Firing the Dark Leaf

November-December-January

Crop stripped, prepared for market. leaves removed from stalks, classed as leaf, lugs, trash, and gathered in hands (or bunches) of 6 to 12 leaves.⁴⁶

In the history of tobacco production in America, the first crops were clear profit. By the twentieth century many complications of modern life had brought about changes in prices. Prices were based on expenditures of time, labor, land cost, teams for cultivation, buildings to house the crops, etc. The post-war price of seven cents per pound remained stationary until the 1890's. Prices then began a constant drop from six to five to four cents. Conversely production costs rose to three to four cents per pound. Changes in the marketing practices, poor roads, robberies which became frequent along the highways, short weights and unreasonable expenses brought about a return to barn buying. But the grower was not to enjoy the change in marketing practices for long.

With the wild speculation which had resulted from the profitable years, the consumers of the tobacco product had also organized to bargain with the growers. The Tobacco Trust became the strongest organization in the United States and second only to the Steel Trust in power in both business and politics. Comprised of three parts, most of the dark tobacco of the United States was handled by either the American Tobacco Company, the Imperial

⁴⁶ James O. Nall, Ibid. p. 5.

Tobacco Company and the Regie, who formed the Tobacco Trust. The American trade was controlled by the American Tobacco Company, the Imperial controlled the British trade, and the Regie, the European trade. As these powers gained control, the independent buyer faced virtual annihilation. They simply could not compete against the combined forces. Buyers decreased, prices were constantly lowered, fewer hogsheads were sold at auction, and there were less and less opportunities for sales by samples. Growers accused the Trust of establishing their own warehouses to compete with the sales by growers at the barns. These concerns offered the same prices or lower to buyers than the farmers could afford to dispose of his crop. The transition was gradual and insidious, according to the grower, to enable the Trust to get control of the farmer and the tobacco industry.

The American Tobacco Company completed its combination from 1900 to 1904. In alliance with the Imperial and the Regie contractors, they bought all opposition out of the way. The independent buyers, both large and small, had to quit, become allied with the trust, or resell the tobacco, (often at a loss) which they had bought, to these monopolies. The growers' protests that the Black Patch was districted into one-buyer provinces, so that the grower had to accept the price of one buyer, was vigorously denied by the Trust in spite of some buyers in the area admitting the control the Trust exercised over them. In 1901, '02, and '03 the more the farm-

er grew, the poorer he became.⁴⁷ It is estimated he expended \$42 to grow tobacco for which he received only \$28. He was getting four cents a pound for his tobacco, the lowest in his experience, and two cents a pound under estimated cost production.⁴⁸ In addition to the cost of production, he was faced with the six cents tax on natural leaf levied in 1872. The manufacturers insisted on the tax on the natural leaf as a necessity for the nation's economy based on its internal revenue. The manufacturers were shrewd business men and realized an opportunity to wipe out the grower to consumer market. Thus they would be aided materially in changing the tobacco using customs of the nation. Many men still preferred to use the natural leaf over the manufactured product. In 1870 growers as a whole had sold 15,000,000 pounds to individual consumers. With the discriminatory tax the grower was forced to double his price to the his customer, with a resulting decrease in sales. No other agricultural product was proportionately taxed. Partly repealed in 1890, by 1897 Congress had renewed the tax full force. Tobacco farmers were in a peculiar position; there was no other place to market his product, and the peculiar nature of the soil, conducive to tobacco cultivation, did not lend itself to the cultivation of other crops.

Although the farmer blamed most of his problems upon the Trust, historians do not agree that his plight was the result of

⁴⁷James O. Nall, Ibid. p. 6. ⁴⁸See appendix for list of costs.

the Trusts exclusively. But the farmers had a series of grievances accumulated over a number of years: "general deflation, high interest rates, high railroad rates, high warehouse charges, over-production." "They had seen new wealth and new comforts in the city, while their position remained at best static, at worst one of actual regression..... When the tobacco farmers rebelled, the storm center was the Black Patch region of Kentucky (and Tennessee)." ⁴⁸

In 1902 R.E. Cooper, a tobacco dealer of Hopkinsville, Ky. appealed to the congress men of the most sorely affected areas in Kentucky and Tennessee to repeal the 6 ¢ tax. A.O. Stanley represented Henderson, Ollie M. James, Marion, and John W. Gaines, Nashville. At a grower's rally in Hopkinsville in 1903 Stanley designated the Trust as a conspiracy, and cited the need for aid from the Federal government unless the growers were resigned to ruination. In January 1904 the Hopkinsville Tobacco Board of Trade petitioned Congress for aid. Garland Cooper, the secretary of the Board, requested that the tax be removed from the natural leaf, but retained on the manufactured leaf. Growers from the Eastern District met in Guthrie on January 28, 1904 to form a petition of similar nature. F.G. Ewing, R.E. Cooper, F.W. Dabney, W.F. Flowers, C.C. Reynolds, J.W. Dunn, and C.P. Warfield were the spokesmen.

⁴⁸ Joseph C. Robert, The Story of Tobacco in America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952) p. 153.

The Committee on Ways and Means (Congress) invited persons to appear before it. Charles H. Fort, C.P. Warfield, (Tennessee), C.E. Barker and R.E. Cooper (Kentucky), headed the group. They requested the repeal of the tax and an investigation of the unfair practices of the Trust. The findings of the investigation are too long for this study. Suffice it to say that Mr. Stanley drafted a bill to abolish the tax, which bill passed the House, but did not get out of the Finance Committee in the Senate. Therefore on September 24, 1904 all dark tobacco growers of Kentucky and Tennessee met at Guthrie to organize the Dark Tobacco District Planter's Protective Association of Kentucky and Tennessee. 5,000 growers attended the meeting. All classes were represented-- plantation owners, small and moderate farmers, tenants, and share-croppers. The purpose of the organization was to control marketing and sale of tobacco in the Black Patch and to force the Tobacco Trust to increase its average price, and to protect the growers from illegal combinations in restraint of trade. Charles H. Fort was elected president, Charles E. Barker, vice-president, Frank Walton, secretary and treasurer, Felix G. Ewing chairman of the executive committee and manager of the Association. All of these men were well versed in the problems of the area. Mr. Ewing spoke the planter's language, having grown 250,000 lbs. of tobacco in 1903.

The planters agreed 70 % of tobacco grown in the area should be pledged to the Association for a county in the area to



Tobacco Auction on the Tennessee Loosefloor

to become a member. They established an average price of 8 ¢ per pound for their tobacco. Clarksville was selected as the site for the Association salesrooms. Guthrie became general headquarters. The Association was incorporated in Kentucky. It was the intention of the organization to operate legally and justly, no coercion, intimidation, or violence was anticipated or contemplated. There was no political affiliation. Members pledged one percent of the sale price of their tobacco to cover operating expenses of the Association. They agreed to reduce tobacco acreage to five acres for first fifty acres of land, and two and a half acres for each additional fifty acres. They were not pledged, but encouraged to raise the price on tobacco crops. The members grouped together to form local companies, and to build or lease warehouses. Those who did not join the association were named "Hill Billies," and the term soon became highly derogatory.

According to Jerome E. Brooks "By its very nature the great cartel had developed passionate hatred and a host of bitter enemies among farmers, competitors, retailers and those whom it labeled "muckrakers."⁵⁰ Direct and violent action seemed inevitable, if not intended by the Association organizers. As the "Hill Billies" continued to do business with the Trust, thus defeating the purpose of the Association, drastic measures were undertaken by members of the Association. The first organized display of armed force took

⁵⁰ Jerome E. Brooks, The Mighty Leaf (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1952) p. 256.

took place in Princeton, Kentucky on December 1, 1906. Ironically the high prices offered the Hill Billies by the trust buyers had caused so many Association farmers to break their contracts, that it seemed the Association would fall through. The Possum Hunters Organization, a wing of the Association set up in Tennessee, began to use forceful measures-- barn burnings, crop destructions, and beatings-- to intimidate non-member farmers. Congressman A.C. Stanley, who had championed the cause of the growers and the Association members, pleaded that the night ridings cease. Thence forward the name of Night Riders blazoned itself across the nation. At its height, the Night Riders numbered ten thousand members who adopted the ritual of a fraternal organization, with pass words, challenges, and signs. Known as The Silent Brigade or The Inner Circle, its membership were admitted blind-folded, and swore a solemn "Blood Oath", all of which was done in deadly earnest by its participants. The Association condemned the Night Riders officially, however an undeniable link was known to exist.⁵¹

Under the disguised leadership of Dr. David A. Amoss, two hundred and fifty armed men rode into Princeton at twelve-thirty a.m. on December 1, and dynamited and burned two large factories. 400,000 pounds of tobacco were destroyed. The loss was estimated at \$75,000 to \$100,000. On December 6 and a portion of the 7th, the Night Riders struck again at Hopkinsville, Kentucky. They burn-

⁵¹ Joseph C. Robert, The Story of Tobacco in America, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952) p. 156.

ed the Latham Warehouse as well as the Tandy and Fairleigh warehouse operated by Mr. Ed Tandy and Mr. Thomas Fairleigh, but also owned by John C. Latham. The operators were representatives of the Italian Regie. M. H. Tandy rented the Latham factory as an independent tobacco dealer. Mayor Meacham of Hopkinsville had openly opposed the Night Riders. In the attack on Hopkinsville, W. Lindsay Mitchell was severely beaten. The fire from the factory of Mr. Tandy spread to the R. M Woolridge and Company factory. The third attack took place at Russelville on January 3, 1908. The Lockett-Wake factory on 2nd. Street and the American Snuff Company at Spring Street were destroyed and the losses were estimated at \$15,000 each. An independent house operated by T.D. Lockett of Clarksville and E.G. Wake of Russelville, the burning of the Lockett-Wake factory seems to have aroused the opposing forces of Clarksville keenly. The factory of the American Snuff Company was at the time being operated by F.E. Pitt, a buyer for Sam N. Morrow, an independent dealer of Springfield, Tennessee.

Mr. Ben Sory, a native of Adams, Tennessee, and an agent for the Regie, led the forces opposed to the Association. He was soon known as "King of the Hill Billies." In August of 1907 an attempt was made to kill Dr. Frank Sory, a cousin of Mr. Ben. Clarksville, represented by the Tobacco Board of Trade, boycotted the Association in 1905. Only one warehouse in the city supported the Association. As a result the Association moved its facilities

to Guthrie. As the acts of violence increased, the city of Clarksville established night guards at all its factories. Nevertheless on January 22, 1908 during an attempt to burn the Hayes-Sory factory, two negroes were killed.

Some doubt as to the guilty parties in this episode still exists. Under cover of suspicion falling upon the Association Night Riders, it is believed that former employees of the Hayes-Sory factory may have been responsible for the attempt to destroy the factory in revenge for loss of their jobs.

Tension in the area constantly increased. The climax was finally reached, when word was brought to Clarksville that a raid on the city was set up. A small posse under the leadership of Mr. Sory rode out to the Woodford-Port Royal road crossing the road between Clarksville and Trough Spring. Approximately twenty-five Night Riders were organized to spring an attack upon Port Royal. The Clarksville posse had been misinformed that the raid was to be upon Clarksville. In the skirmish that resulted, guns of the posse killed the twenty-one year old son of J. H. Bennet, Vaughn, and seriously injured his seventeen year old son, Earl. Mr. Bennet was an Association prizier at Woodford.

With this serious turn of events, Governor Malcolm R. Patterson called out a local company of militia. On May first of 1908 the Association boycotted all Clarksville warehouses and business houses.⁵²

⁵²James Nall, Ibid. pp. 67- 75.

By 1908 the Association and the Night Riders were confident they had matters under control. The Association was handling nine-tenths of the 100,000,000 pounds produced during the previous growing season. The Night Riders controlled most of the State Courts. The only convictions of plant bed destructions were handed down against two Hill Billies. In May of 1907 an attack attributed to the Night Riders was made upon a farmer of Caldwell County, ^{Ky.} His wife was wounded by stray gun shot. Robert Hollowell was stripped and beaten with buggy whips. The farmer had refused to join the Association and his wife had testified against the Night Riders to the grand jury at an earlier date.

The Hollowells left the State as the Night Riders had ordered, but this was actually the indirect cause of the dissolution of the Night Riders. The persecuted family established residence in nearby Evansville, Indiana. On March 2, 1908 a suit was filed on behalf of the Hollowells against thirty Kentuckians in the federal courts. Following the Hollowell suit which resulted in damages being awarded to Robert Hollowell, many more suits were brought before the federal courts. Thus the gradual decline of the Night Riders was effected. The use of militia in both ^Kentucky and Tennessee, and the long sought after increase in prices for tobacco and repeal of the six cents tax all combined to bring the days of terror to an end. The Association, with its purposes accomplished, began to find dissent among its members over methods of sales and similar aspects of the business. Most members desired to adopt the loose floor sales



L e a f o r L u g ?

and membership in the Association showed a steady decline. Its dissolution was completed in 1915.⁵³

Thus ended the hectic days of the Night Rider, and the Clarksville Market faced the challenges resulting from the dark clouds of war. It was the beginning of an era filled with economic problems peculiar to the Black Patch, which relied so heavily upon its export markets.

THE CLARKSVILLE SCENE BEFORE WORLD WAR I

Many conditions pertaining to tobacco constantly faced changing influences. One factor, however, remained the same throughout the years. Tobacco production by 1910 was as highly localized as ever. The four leading markets in the westerly area were Paducah, Mayfield, Hopkinsville and the undisputed largest market for dark tobacco --Clarksville. Production increased constantly. In the years from 1906 to 1910 American production of tobacco averaged 852,000,000 pounds for the five years. The 1886-1890 period had realized a production average of 307,000,000 pounds! During this period domestic manufacturers for the first time began to take more of the crop than did the foreign exporters.

Following the harrowing Night Rider days, tobacco producers attempted to pool tobacco on an industry wide basis. The Tobacco Pool collapsed about 1910. Happily the loose leaf auction system introduced at Clarksville in 1901 provided the long sought after solution, most satisfactory to producer and consumer alike.

Farmers strongly supported the establishment of the looseleaf warehouses. Frequently farmers gave financial aid and invested their resources in the establishment of the warehouses. The looseleaf market was a mutual benefit to grower and buyer. The looseleaf marketing system provided the bridge between producer and consumer for a harmonious connection of their respective interests.

The Clarksville market was a leader in developing the popular system of tobacco sales. The number of loosefloors and the buyers involved in the Clarksville area are compiled on page 66. A comprehensive study of the looseleaf tobacco auction market has been undertaken by Carl M. Clark and Wilmer Browning.⁵⁴

Throughout the Clarksville market the melodious chant of the auctioneer invited the bids of the buyers. Day after day the heavily laden wagons pulled along side the warehouses where the golden leaf was slipped from the tobacco sticks onto the flat basket provided by the warehouseman. Tobacco was carefully graded, and baskets of the same grade were lined up in orderly rows, with space between each row for the buyers to move along, as the auctioneer chanted his resonant plea. Sale of a basket was clipped off at ten seconds and sales as high as 700 baskets per hour have been reported. Buyers developed a system of signals which vie with the most astute baseball coaches for informing the auctioneer of their bids. It is one of the most colorful scenes of Americana. The sales move along

⁵⁴ Carl M. Clark and Wilmer Browning, Organization of the Looseleaf Tobacco Auction Market (Lexington: University of Ky. 1953)

Table of Sales Floors, Buyers, and Basket Capacity for
Type 22 Tobacco at Clarksville Market 1938-1959

YEAR	SALES FLOORS		BUYERS	BASKET CAPACITY	
1938	8		2		
1939	10		2		
1940	10		2		
1941	9		2		
1942	9		2		
1943	9		2		
1944	9		2		
1945	9		2		
1946	9		2		
1947	9		2		
1948*	9		2		
1949	11 (31)	9 (22)	1 (31)2	(22)	6,000
1950	11 (31)	9 (22)	1 (31)2	(22)	6,000
1951	11 (31)	9 (22)	1 (31)2	(22)	6,000
1952	11 (31)	9 (22)	1 (31)2	(22)	6,000
1953	11 (31)	9 (22)	1 (31)2	(22)	6,000
1954	11 (31)	10 (22)	1 (31)2	(22)	6,000
1955	10 (31)	10 (22)	1 (31)2	(22)	
1956	10 (31)	10 (22)	1 (31)2	(22)	
1957	10 (31)	10 (22)	1 (31)2	(22)	
* Type 31 Burley 1948-1949 Market Sales					

TABLE OF SALES FLOORS, ETC. (CONTINUED)

1958	10 (31)	10 (22)	1 (31) 2 (22)
1959	9 (31)	9 (22)	1 (31) 2 (22)
1960	9 (31)	9 (22)	1 (31) 2 (22)

The buyers are classified into five distinct groups. There are the (1) company buyers, (2) commission merchants, (3) tobacco dealers, (4) speculators, and (5) pinhookers. The company buyer is the most stable of the buyers as he buys throughout the season. He, if possible, at the market average price. The commission merchant serves the smaller company, generally, which does not maintain a regular buying staff. He does not buy as continuously as the company buyer and is generally in the market for the lower grades of tobacco. The tobacco dealer, a type of speculator, was

with the force of a staged drama, as millions of dollars hang in the balance of successful buying and selling. Throughout the years improved regulations were established beneficial to all concerned. The looseleaf marketing system is now a highly organized system. The warehouse is generally supervised by a manager and at least three assistants, floor manager, sales manager, and office manager. The floor manager is responsible for the doorman, basket packers, weighmaster, truck boys, clean-up boys, rejection supervisor, ticket supervisor and collector, shipping master, and night manager. The sales manager heads up the sales unit consisting of the starter, auctioneer, and ticket marker. To his lot also falls the responsibility of seeing that the buyers are present when the sales start. The office manager supervises the stenographer, check writer, bookman and clipman or pricing clerk and calculating clerk, and billing clerk.⁵⁵

The buyers are classified into five distinct groups. There are the (1) company buyers, (2) commission merchants, (3) tobacco dealers, (4) speculators, and (5) pinhookers. The company buyer is the most stable of the buyers as he buys throughout the season. He buys, if possible, at the market average price. The commission merchant serves the smaller company, generally, which does not maintain a regular buying staff. He does not buy as continuously as the company buyer and is generally in the market for the lower grades of tobacco. The tobacco dealer, a type of speculator, was actually more important during the barn and hogshead buying days.



Tobacco Hands Stripping the Golden Leaf

The dealer differs from the other buyers in that he sometimes buys directly from the farmer in competition to the auction system, and occasionally disposes of grades for which he has no outlet by the auction system. The speculator buyers buy and sell within the loose leaf auction market. Frequently he buys with the idea of regrading the tobacco for better values. The pinhooker is a variation of the speculator, buying tobacco outside the auction sale. He buys either from the farmer or from the wagon or truck before the tobacco reaches the loosefloor and then resells to the auction market. Unfair practices by some pinhookers has caused the group as a whole to be considered unfavorably by warehousemen and buyers.

56

The oldest company at the present still in operation in Clarksville is that established by J.W. Rudolph and Brother in 1894. Listing themselves as "Dealers, Packers, and Exporters" of United States grown tobacco, the Rudolph brothers occupied a large warehouse originally owned by Emmet and Ed Morrow. The father of the Rudolph brothers had served as an inspector for the Clarksville Tobacco Board of Trade.

Prominent during the first part of the twentieth century also was the American Snuff Company. The company was organized in 1900 and a manufacturing plant was established in Clarksville

56

Ibid. p. 41

in 1907. The original American Snuff Company was a division of the American Tobacco Company. The first snuff manufactured in Tennessee was by Bruton Brothers and Deaderick in Nashville around 1885. In 1888 Mr. Martin J. Condon became an associate of the company as supervisor of distribution of sales. The firm name was changed to Bruton Brothers and Condon. In 1887 Stewart Ralph and Company (who had been manufacturing Snuff in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) bought the property -- about one hundred and fifty feet square-- on Fifth and Commerce Street in Clarksville, Tennessee. They erected two four-story brick buildings and began the manufacture of snuff. In 1890 Messrs. Martin J. Condon, Henry Bruton and a bookkeeper (later succeeded by D.L. Scott) comprised the office force of the company in Nashville. A young man, seventeen years old, William V. Griffin, served as stenographer to Mr. Condon at a salary of \$30 per month. The principal competitors of the firm were W.E. Garrett and Sons. Whereas the latter company did not have a traveling sales force, Bruton and Condon, with a small but capable sales force, gradually made such inroads into the business of W.E. Garrett and Sons that in 1898 the Atlantic Snuff Company was formed and acquired the capital stock of W.E. Garrett and Sons. The Atlantic Snuff Company also took in Bruton and Condon; Stewart-Ralph and Company, and Ivey-Owen and Company of Lynchburg, Virginia.

Mr. Griffin recorded that a large part of Bruton and Condon's business was 6 ounce bottles. Coupons were packed in the bottles, cans, and packs, which could be redeemed for jewelry --

rings, pins, bracelets, brooches, etc. The device to encourage sales presaged a form of marketing and selling to consumers that has spread to all forms of American trade.

Mr. James E. Harwood succeeded Mr. Griffin as secretary to Mr. Condon in March of 1893, when Mr. Griffin joined the sales force. At the same time Mr. Walton Busted, then about twenty-five years old, was employed by Mr. George B. Wilson, president of the Atlantic Snuff Company, upon the recommendation of Mr. B.A. Hazell, manager of the Stewart-Ralph Branch at Clarksville. Mr. Busted arrived in Clarksville on November 16, 1898. His position was the office manager of the Atlantic Snuff Company.

The American Snuff Company was incorporated in the State of New Jersey on March 12, 1900. Mr. George A. Helme was elected president, G. Searing Wilson, First Vice-president, Jonathan Peterson, Second Vice-president, Otis Smith, Secretary, and Edmund D. Christian, treasurer. Helme had been president of the George W. Helme Company, Helmetta, New Jersey. Wilson was a son of George B. Wilson, one of the owners of W.E. Garrett and Sons, and later president of the Atlantic Snuff Company. In 1901, after Mr. Wilson's resignation Mr. Martin J. Condon became first Vice-President. Mr. Condon became president in 1902 and moved to New York. Mr. Otis Smith was of the P. Lorillard Company which was also absorbed in the merger with the American Tobacco Company. Mr. Edmund D. Christian, also formerly associated as Manager of the Leaf Department of P. Lorillard, became Manager of the American Snuff Company. Mr. F. N. Smith, a

native of Clarksville, had for a number of years bought snuff tobacco on a commission basis. In 1899 he had built the Red River Warehouse and rented it as a sales warehouse. He also had a half interest in the firm of E.M. Flack and Company, buying tobacco on the Clarksville and Hopkinsville markets. Mr. Smith's association with Mr. Christian began in 1898, when the latter bought some snuff tobacco from Mr. Smith. During 1900 and 1901, Mr. Smith bought for the American Snuff Company on Commission, and in the fall of 1901 Mr. Christian asked Mr. Smith to go on salary for the American Snuff Company. He began his official association with the company in February of 1902. In 1901, also, Mr. Harwood employed J.G. Brown as a shipping clerk for the company. Mr. Brown had formerly been employed by the Nashville local freight office of the Land N Railroad. Another prominent member of the company was Mr. M.E. Finch, a graduate of the New York University Law School in 1902, and a representative of the Law Department of the American Tobacco Co. as assistant to Mr. W.W. Fuller, counsel for Mr. James B. Duke, who was the founder of the American Tobacco Company. Mr. Finch served as personal secretary to Mr. Duke in 1902 and accompanied him to London in 1902. This was the period during which the British and American monopolies were solidified.

The Leaf Department of the American Snuff Company was formed in 1902 with Mr. F. N. Smith as manager. Mr. Busteed also became an associate of the Leaf Department.

In 1905 the American Snuff Company acquired Weyman Brothers,



Tobacco Drying Before Prizing

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, with the familiar brand of Copenhagen (a moist, sniffing snuff.)

On March 5, 1906 Mr. Raymond F. Condon, then about 19 years of age, started to work as a bill clerk for the American Snuff Co. at the old Bruton and Condon Factory in Nashville. In January of 1910, Mr. Condon was made Assistant Foreman of the Manufacturing Department with the express purpose of learning the process of manufacturing snuff. In the early part of 1911 the American Tobacco was dissolved. The dissolution was effective as of December, 1911, and the American Snuff Company presented to the government a plan for the division into three companies: American Snuff Company, George W. Helme Company, and Weyman and Bruton Company, whose firm was afterwards changed to United States Tobacco Company. Mr. Martin J. Condon remained as president of the American Snuff Company. Mr. John T. Fisher and Mr. William C. Hunt were Vice-presidents in the Sales Department, and Mr. F.N. Smith, Vice-president in the Leaf Department. Mr. Finch became secretary, elected on January 12, 1904. Mr. Finch was elected treasurer in 1913 and held that position until 1935, when he was elected Vice-president. In the "new" American Snuff Company Mr. Harwood, R.F. Condon, and J.G. Brown of the Nashville factory remained with the American Snuff Company and were transferred to Clarksville. Other members of the personnel were distributed among the other newly formed companies. In the dissolution the American Snuff Company retained the pricing and storage houses at Clarksville, Hopkinsville, Ky. and Mayfield, Ky. For

several years they gave orders to buy and prize their purchases in Springfield, Tennessee on commission. (In 1930 they bought Robert Rosson and Brothers' prizing house, enlarged it, and employed the firm on salary for buying and prizing their tobacco.)

Mr. Raymond Condon came to Clarksville in 1911 as Superintendent of the Manufacturing Department. In 1913 he was transferred to Memphis to assist in opening the new manufacturing department built there to replace the company's former plant in Yorklyn, Delaware. Mr. Harwood and Mr. Brown, also, were sent to Memphis.

In 1912 Mr. Martin Condon moved from New York to Memphis. Headquarters for the company then were established in the Exchange Building of Memphis on Madison Avenue and Second Street. A packing plant on Front and Keel Streets, operated for the company by P. Henry Corbett, was built prior to this time. A new large building for grinding and additional new storage houses were added.

In February of 1923 Mr. Raymond Condon was made Assistant Manager of the Manufacturing Department in Memphis and a Director of the Company. In November of the same year he was returned to Clarksville and named Managing Director of the Clarksville Branch, upon the death of Mr. James Murtland.

With Mr. Martin Condon came Mr. J. Trinner as Manager of the Order Department of the Memphis Branch, and Mr. Finch, as Legal Counsel and Secretary and Treasurer of the American Snuff Company, until January 1935, when he was elected Vice President. Mr. Condon served as president of the company until his death in 1940. He was

succeeded by Mr. Finch, until his retirement in 1949. Mr. Harwood was elected a Vice-president in 1938 and served in this capacity until his death in 1939. Mr. Raymond Condon was elected a Vice-president in 1939, and held the title until his retirement on April 1, 1952. Mr. Busteed became a Director in the company in 1922, and in 1934 became its Treasurer until his retirement in June 1949.

The American Snuff Company manufacturing plant, storage houses, and leaf handling and prizing plant were established in 1907. At the present time the company has combined all of its operations on one scene, at Tenth and Commerce Streets, covering one of the largest areas of any tobacco business in Clarksville. Mr. Victor Albright was named Manager of the Department upon Mr. Condon's retirement, and Mr. John R. Martin, Assistant Manager. Mr. Albright joined the company in 1930 and Mr. Martin in 1932 as bookkeepers. They have served the company continuously since then. Upon the death of Mr. Norman Smith, Mr. Jesse Foreman, and his successor, Mr. Louis Rosson, formerly with the O'Brien Tobacco Company, and a native of Springfield, Tennessee, was elected Manager of that department. Mr. Milton Eckles is presently the manager of the Leaf Department, having come to Clarksville as Assistant to Mr. Rosson upon the retirement of Mr. Howard Smith. Mr. Eckles was formerly associated with the company as Manager of the Mayfield Kentucky Leaf Department. Mr. Albright and Mr. Foreman are also Directors of the American Snuff Company. The two Departments, the Manufacturing,

headed by Albright and the Leaf Department by Foreman, along with the prizing house have for several years conducted all their local business from the Tenth and Commerce Street location, having disposed of the Fifth Street factory during the '50's.

In contrast to the very early days of the twentieth century the present company operations are perhaps the most extensive of all Clarksville tobacco trade. From the recollections of Mr. J.G. Brown we learn:

In those very early days of the twentieth century wages and salaries were low, tobacco was cheap, and so was snuff. The nickel can of Garrett's was one ounce, the dime can two and one-half ounces. However, then as later, our rate of pay was far better than the average. The Snuff factory was considered an exceptionally good place to work. I doubt if any young person can realize what a hit our Employee's Bounty Offer made forty-five or more years ago. I am not sure to what the Internal revenue Tax was in 1901. A part of what had been added to help pay for the Spanish-American War was still being collected. In 1902 or 1903 this "War Tax", as we called it, was taken off and the old rate of six cents per pound was restored. The American Snuff Company appears on every list of corporations whose dividend record is long and unbroken. If there is ever a roster of those whose employee relations have always been ahead of the times, the American Snuff Company will certainly be entitled to honorable mention.

To-day it is a familiar sight to see the long silver truck of the company roll in every morning from Memphis before seven o'clock to load a 30,000 pound shipment of manufactured snuff from the Clarksville company. Since the purchase of the vast Taylor Brothers chewing tobacco interests in North Carolina by the American Snuff Company, the sales force (and the fleet of trucks) as well as nearly every member of the office forces have added the popular bull horn to their privately owned cars. The wailing sound of the bull cry

heralds the approach of a "Snuff Man" as surely as the familiar picture of the champion "Bull of the Woods" painted on the side of the gleaming silver trucks. The manufacturing capacity of the local branch, according to Victor Albright, is 3,000 lbs per hour. This capacity multiplied by the one and two ounce packages in which snuff is usually obtained gives the reader some idea of the magnitude of a business, which some people mistakenly believe to be a thing of the past. Observers frequently ask where is this tremendous amount of snuff consumed. One can see cigarettes as the consumer uses that form of tobacco, one can deduct the presence of the quid from the swollen jaw of the baseball player and other consumers whose activity does not permit the use of his hands to hold a cigarette. Many an adherent of snuff has never been detected because the finely powdered product rests so inconspicuously in the soft inner fold of the jaw and gum, giving hours of tobacco pleasure where smoking is forbidden for security, if not for social reasons, from the chemical plants to the quiet stillness of church on Sunday. In deed, many a modern day snuff consumer has confessed the presence of this pleasant, aromatic form of the golden weed was all that enabled him to sit through the Sunday sermon!⁵⁷

⁵⁷ All of the information pertaining to the American Snuff Company was derived from personal interviews, and unpublished

Another of the outstanding companies which dates back to the nineteenth century in its connection with Clarksville tobacco trade is Hail and Cotton, Leaf Tobacco Dealers, whose main office is now in Louisville, Kentucky, and whose president is Mr. K. L. Coyte. However, whereas branch offices have been maintained in Wilson, North Carolina, Springfield, Tennessee, and Clarksville, Tennessee, the company is a definite part of the twentieth century tobacco story of Clarksville. Mr. Hail was from Adairville, Kentucky and handled quite a lot of dark fired tobacco from the Clarksville market. Although members of the present company furnished the information that Mr. Hail worked in Clarksville for some time, they were not able to relate with whom he was associated while in that city. His association with Louisville dates back to 1885. According to present members of the company, he returned to Adairville in 1892 and in 1897 with Mr. M.R. Cotton formed the partnership of Hail and Cotton in Louisville. The Clarksville Branch first operated from the Dunlop and Hanratty factory which was destroyed by fire, and subsequently moved to the W.H. Simmons Company. At present the company is located on Front Street. The factory now has a capacity for 2, 000 hogsheads of tobacco. Both Dark Fired and Burley are handled. Mr. Charles H. Burress is the Clarksville Branch Manager. Others in the company personnel locally are Charles R.

materials furnished the writer by Mr. Victor Albright and Mr. Jesse Foreman, Managing Directors of the present American Snuff Co. 1961.



The Golden Leaf

Burress Jr., Elmer W. Pace, Graham Bryant, Joe Roberts, Bailey Preuitt, and James N. Irby. During the season approximately seventy employees are hired. Through the courtesy of Hail and Cotton the accompanying series of pictures, photographed by Mr. W.J. Souza of the Clarksville Leaf Chronicle for the company, were provided for this study. Following the course of tobacco from the time it is sowed by the tiny seeds in the plant beds until it is delivered to the loosefloors, the pictures tell more than literally "a thousand words" !

So tremendous was the consumption of tobacco in America by 1913 that even the World War which loomed on the horizon did not discourage trade. According to one propagandist 266,678 tons of tobacco were smoked, chewed and snuffed in America, not counting imported manufactures by 1913.⁵⁸ Perhaps the sudden surge of anti-tobacco campaign literature which resulted in the enactment of laws in twelve states prohibiting the use of cigarettes can explain the increase in snuff consumption during the fourth decade of the twentieth century. Plug tobacco boasted a production figure over two hundred million pounds in 1910. Pipe tobacco and cigars came in for their share of advertising. Particularly did the advertisers try to sell the consumer on the machine manufactured cigar in preference to the handmade Havanas, which have, nevertheless, held their preferred position to the present day. However, it was

⁵⁸Jerome E. Brooks, The Mighty Leaf, p. 265.

cigarettes, as manufacture of the popular form of tobacco became fully standardized, which received the greatest attention from advertisers in an attempt to influence the choice of consumers. One of the unusual consequences of the World War was the "capture" of the Bull Durham factory (which in 1912 had sold 352 million muslin bags of their product for consumers who still preferred to roll their own cigarettes) in April 1918 so that its entire output could be allocated to the armed services.⁵⁹

During the first two or three years of the war, export demands were greatly restricted , but the crops of 1916 to 1918, according to Mr. F. N. Smith, were very much in demand. Particularly whereas the uncertain conditions, and the departure of men for the service had forced reduction in crops in the Black Patch, the warring countries made unprecedented demands for the crops. Crops sold from fifteen to thirty-five cents round. The 1919 crop opened higher, but Exchange conditions suddenly grew serious. This factor added to an unusually large crop resulted in a much lower price for fully one-half of the local crops. As a result the 1920 and 1921 crops were much smaller again. The 1914 production on Tennessee farms of 63,140,000 pounds which sold for \$ 4,736,000 dollars was

In 1917
the smallest of many years./Competition among the warring nations to satisfy the demands of its fighting forces increased production to an all time high of 91,560,000 pounds sold at an unprecedented average of seventeen cents per pound for a total of 15,565,000

⁵⁹Ibid. 267.

dollars. The next year due to seasonal conditions and fear of insufficient demand, the crop was almost a third less, and as a result brought an average of 21.4 cents, but due to the smallness of the crop the total Tennessee income was better than a million dollars short of the 1917 mark. Once again encouraged by the high price of 1918 the farmers planted 140,000 acres of tobacco for the highest yield of the first quarter of the twentieth century, a grand total of 113,540,000 pounds. The price, unbelievably maintained its high level of 21 cents and brought to the growers an income of 23,843,000 dollars which would not be surpassed again until the days of the Second World War in 1944.⁶⁰

It was not an idle remark of General Pershings nor one made in jest which stated : "You ask me what we need to win this war. I answer tobacco as much as bullets."⁶¹

Pooling was forgotten during the profitable periods of the war. But a day of reckoning was at hand. Suddenly throughout the nation war time prosperity collapsed. Prices dropped for obvious reasons as the economy throughout the nation became unstable. The decade from 1920 to 1930 would once again see the unpredictable circumstances which affect the fancy and fortune of the tobacco trade as rapidly as fickle woman changes her mind. These are the facets which make the tobacco business the challenge that it is to all who come in contact with its romance.

⁶⁰ John F. Marsh et. al. Tobaccos of the United States (Washington, D.C. : United States Department of Agriculture, July 1948) p. 80. ⁶¹ Robert Heimann, Tobacco and Americans, p. 226.

CHAPTER III

Tobacco Scene in Focus 1920 - 1930

In spite of the general depression which swept the nation the ten year period from 1920 to 1930 was actually one of the most stable periods in the history of the dark fired markets.

A significant development for tobacco students in 1919 was the change in recording statistics. Prior to 1919 statistics were kept on Classes of tobacco, but not on types. The decision to record acreage, yield per acre, production, price per pound, and farm value of tobacco by types enables the student of tobacco to compare the importance of various types and also to understand trends in tobacco consumption previously not so clearly recognized.

Accompanying this page the reader will find tabulated the specific statistics recorded from 1919 to 1935 on Tennessee fire-cured Type 22, which is the popular Clarksville type tobacco. For the ten year period of 1920 to 1930 the dark fired type would still hold its own as the leader in tobacco production in the Clarksville area. Eventually the increased demand for cigarettes would popularize the demand for burley, and growers in the dark fired districts would plant some of both types.

Tax on tobacco and tobacco products has been an important factor in the nations economy since its beginning. But the increase in receipts from taxes on all tobacco products in the United States from \$88,063,947 in 1916 to \$295,809,355 in 1920 is an indication of how the tobacco trade was depended upon to stabilize the nation

Crop Year	Acreage Harvested	Yield per Acre	Production pounds	Price per pound	Value of Production
1919	72,500	801	58,075,000	21.9 (¢)	12,732,000
1920	70,000	744	52,070,000	13.1	6,821,000
1921	63,800	796	50,764,000	20.0	10,137,000
1922	73,500	746	54,822,000	18.0	9,895,000
1923	75,600	771	58,252,000	13.0	7,589,000
1924	66,000	792	52,260,000	17.6	9,218,000
1925	69,000	740	51,087,000	11.7	5,961,000
1926	69,400	800	55,515,000	9.8	5,428,000
1927	50,800	788	40,040,000	19.6	7,830,000
1928	61,400	780	47,884,000	16.2	7,741,000
1929	72,000	835	60,120,000	15.2	9,138,000
1930	73,000	800	58,400,000	11.4	6,658,000
1931	75,000	820	61,500,000	6.0	3,690,000
1932	63,000	810	51,030,000	6.9	3,521,000
1933	63,000	835	52,605,000	10.8	5,681,000
1934 ¹ / ₂	56,000	910	50,960,000	10.8	5,277,000
1935	53,000	835	44,255,000	10.2	4,514,000
1936	43,000	815	35,045,000	13.9	4,871,000
1937	52,000	850	44,200,000	12.2	5,392,000
1938	42,100	770	32,417,000	8.7	2,820,000

¹/₂ Production includes 2,100,000 lbs. not utilized due to AAA program.

Table 18. — Type 22, Tennessee, Tobaccos of the United States (Washington, D.C. July, 1948) p. 16



Hands Readyng Tobacco for Prizing

in its shaky economy. In 1921 and 1922 receipts from the tobacco tax were diminished only to increase in 1923 to the 300 million mark and spiral upward annually through the thirties.⁶²

Leaf Growers' Associations once again were formed to market their crops more profitably. In 1922 the Dark Tobacco Growers' Association Cooperative was organized for a period of five years. However the Association, contrary to its intent, failed to keep acreage within the demand, and large stocks of tobacco were accumulated. As a result it was neither profitable or satisfactory to its members. Unfortunately the pooling efforts had another effect upon the foreign market. Fearing a continuance of the high prices established since 1917, a number of the foreign buying countries began the growth of dark tobacco. Italy, one of the largest buyers, having annually taken one-fourth to one fifth of the Clarksville crop, closed its numerous buying points in 1925. Not only did the Italian buyers withdraw from the Clarksville market to a large extent, but in due time surplus production in Italy also began to compete with the American dark fired distributors for other European markets. Other foreign countries, seeing the success of Italy's venture, also undertook on a limited scale, the growth of competitive tobaccos. Mr. F. N. Smith relates that the foreign countries produced about sixty million pounds and imported from America two hundred million pounds in 1923. By 1931 the figures almost reversed.

⁶²Charles E. Gage, Tobacco Statistician, First Annual Report on Tobacco Statistics (Washington, D.C.:USDA, May, 1937) p. 140.

The foreign countries were producing one hundred and sixty-five million pounds, and taking only eighty million pounds from the United States (largely the dark fired districts), resulting in a loss of one hundred and twenty million pounds.

The buying interests constantly urged the growers to "Reduce Quantity and Produce Quality" in a desire to make production profitable once again. The dark fired tobaccos of overseas were notoriously inferior to the dark fired product of the Black Patch. But unwise growers continued to sacrifice quality for quantity, with the result that the comparison between the overseas product was not as inferior as before.

By 1924 the situation had become so acute that the Federal Government attempted to intervene. A bill was introduced in Congress to set up an export corporation with government funds which would buy the surplus leaf in domestic markets and sell it abroad. The idea met with defeat four times in Washington.⁶³

Prices fluctuated during the period from 20 cents per pound in 1921 to 9.8 cents in 1926. The all time low would be reached during the thirties and drastic changes in the dark fired markets were to take place.

Undaunted tobacconists of Clarksville, nevertheless, contin-

⁶³ Robert K. Heimann, Ibid. p. 231.

ued the establishment of successful houses. In November of 1918 in the old Elephant Warehouse at the corner of Commerce Street and Riverview Drive (then Front Street) a business was set up by Mr. Alfred Clebsch and Mr. Henry M. Lupton. The warehouse handled approximately three thousand hogsheads of tobacco. According to Mr. Clebsch the business was for the purpose of storage and "warehouseing" of tobacco in hogsheads. It is the only exclusive storage warehouse in Clarksville to-day. Tourists still stop to study the sign on the exterior of the building proclaiming the "Elephant Warehouse" unaware that it was so named originally as at one time it was the largest tobacco factory in Clarksville. Mr. Clebsch narrates that at one time a wooden elephant hung suspended from an iron support high above the wall of the factory, advertising it to all the world. The elephant eventually was secured from the previous owners by Mr. E.B. Trahern, who for many years operated a snuff manufacturing business on a small scale and on a larger scale a nicotine factory. The "Elephant" met a fiery death in the destruction of one of Mr. Trahern's tobacco barns on his fine tobacco farm.

One of the largest dealers in dark fired tobacco ever to conduct a business in Clarksville was incorporated in 1920 as the Rudolph, Hach, and Company corporation. The main offices of this historic company were and are located at 119 West Main Street in the old People's Warehouse, formerly the Southern Hotel. The struc-

ture itself dates back to 1819, and is perhaps the oldest original building in constant operation since the nineteenth century in Clarksville. Mr. Waldo Young, Vice-President of the present company relates during the early part of the twentieth century the storage space of the old warehouse had to be reinforced with beams to support its ancient walls and roof at a cost equivalent to the total expense of building the original structure. Its vaulted ceiling with sun light streaming through the arched sky lights makes the viewer mindful of the architecture ~~seen~~ in ancient cathedrals. The warehouse houses 2400 hogsheads of tobacco. In addition to the old People's Warehouse, the company also operated the Lockett Factory on Spring and McClure Streets, and the Planters Warehouse in Springfield, Tennessee. At one time in addition to the warehouse in Springfield, a factory was also in operation, but has since been sold.

According to Mr. Josiah Fort, president of the Rudolph, ^Hach, and Company corporation at the present time, the company was founded by "Adolf Hach, scion of an old tobacco family in Bremen, Germany, who came to Clarksville in 1903." As a boy of eighteen Mr. ^Hach engaged in the Clarksville tobacco trade as a buyer. It is significant that Mr. Hach resided at the time with the Frank Beaumonts, son of Clarksville's pioneer tobaccoist. Much of his deft business acumen and knowledge of Clarksville tobacco was learned from these associates, long engaged in Clarksville tobacco trade. By 1907 the business established by Mr. Hach had grown to such successful

proportions that he invited his young friend from Bremen, also, Richard Dunzlemann to join him and enter into business with him. Fortunately for all concerned, the two young men soon thereafter formed a partnership with R.S. Rudolph. From this partnership the company derived its name, Rudolph, Hach and Company. During the first World War , Mr. Dunzlemann, who was not yet a naturalized citizen, had to return to take part in the war as a citizen of Germany. Thus the young company faced very personal grief during the conflict. Happily Mr. Dunzlemann was able to return to the United States following the war, and the bride he brought with him, and he, himself, lost little time in becoming American citizens. Adolf Hach also was married just prior to the war in 1914, and with his young bride, Erna Schiffmann, remained in Clarksville throughout the war years, acutely aware of the tragedies of the conflict, as parents of both Adolf and Erna Hach, and their brothers and sisters, were living in Bremen, Germany. On the brighter side, the connections of Mr. Hach and Mr. Dunzlemann in the foreign countries enabled them to resume business in the export business with rapid success shortly after the war's end. In 1920 according to an article written by Mr. Fort for Tobacco " a larger amount of new capital was put into the firm to take care of a steadily growing business, and it was incorporated!"⁶⁴ Mr. Hach was president of the company until his death in July of 1950. Mr. Dunzlemann, who

⁶⁴ Josiah Fort, " Since Ancient Days Black Patch was Famous" Tobacco (New York, N.Y.: Lockwood Trade Journal Company, 1951)p.144

had served as Vice-president of the company, succeeded Mr. Hach as president. At the time Mr. Fort was elected vice-president. Since Mr. Dunzlemann's death Mr. Fort has been president, Mr. Waldo Young, Vice-president, Ned Atkinson served as secretary until his retirement in 1955. The son of Mr. Hach was assistant secretary and a director of the corporation until 1953, when he went into business on his own.

Continuing the name of Rudolph in the Clarksville tobacco trade, Mr. Kendrick Rudolph joined his brother in the firm of J.W. Rudolph and Brother in 1922. In 1928 at the death of the owner, Mr. Kendrick Rudolph became sole owner of the company, but retained the firm name. Mr. Rudolph has been ably assisted by J. Edgar Powers who has been connected with the company since 1924, serving as buyer, sample man, salesman and general advisor. Mrs. Elizabeth Walker, bookkeeper and stenographer, has been with the company since 1925. W.E. Rudolph, son of Kendrick Rudolph, joined the firm in 1931, after his graduation from Georgia Tech. Misher Cunningham, with the company since 1934 as packing plant manager, superintending the packing of each crop and attending to storage and shipments, both export and domestic.

Permanent locations for the company were purchased in 1936 consisting of three buildings on the same block between College and Jefferson Streets. In 1947 a portion of the facilities was seriously damaged by fire and large quantities of tobacco hogsheads



Dark-Fired Tobacco in Hogsheads for
All Corners of the Earth

were badly damaged or totally destroyed. A modern, larger building was built on the site and is particularly suitable for office, sample room and storage (capacity 2200 hogsheads). This building is referred to as Building No. 1 by the owners. Building No. 2, now the packing plant, was once well known as the packing plant of sizable contracts, namely: the Italian Regie and later the Weyman Bruton Snuff Company. Improvements have been made, adding floor space, enlarging and lighting the classing rooms, and enlarging the redrying room. Building No. 3, located between the other two buildings, is another, smaller storage house, with a capacity of 400 hogsheads. During the time of deliveries of growers it is used as a receiving house. The company specializes in Clarksville and Springfield Dark Fired tobaccos and also buys on the Burley and other air-cured markets and serve as packers, dealers, and exporters for the Clarksville tobacco trade.

Mr. Kendrick Rudolph is one of the most experienced tobaccoists still active in the Clarksville trade and comprehends all the problems of both growers and dealers, as he also operates a fine farm, raising the Government permitted allotment of twenty acres of tobacco each year.

The declining fortunes of the tobacco growers towards the end of the decade brought about pressures for the organization of new cooperative pools. The tremendous increase in demands for burley tobacco to meet the needs of cigarette manufacturers also could not be denied. On this note, the '30's rolled around!

CHAPTER IV

Dark-Fired Tobacco Yields to Burley

Prior to the marketing of the 1931 crop, the Eastern Dark-Fired Growers Tobacco Association was organized. Arrangements were made with the Government to advance to certain percentage of the grade price. Growers were permitted to sell any way they could-- at barns, off wagons, or at loosefloors. If tobacco did not bring the grade price the Association accepted it in its prizing houses. It was then prized under Government grades and samples were taken for offering later in an orderly way. As a result of the Great Depression of 1930 dropping the average on leaf tobacco to 8 cents, and plummeting the Clarksville Loose Floor sales to a low of \$5.37 per hundred pounds of marketed leaf, (30,117,960 pounds of tobacco were handled on the Clarksville floors that season) Government intervention seemed inevitable.⁶⁵

Tobacco was one of the seven basic commodities to come under the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933. It is beyond the scope of this study to go into all the facets of tobacco under the AAA. A definitive volume has already been written on the subject, to which the student is directed.⁶⁶ The significant provisions of the "adjustment" were acreage restrictions and loans against surplus production.

⁶⁵ Statistics furnished by Hail and Cotton, Clarksville, Tenn.

⁶⁶ Harold B. Rowe, Tobacco Under the AAA (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1935).

The Eastern Dark Fired Tobacco Growers Association, with offices and a packing house located in the Old Grange at 411 Commerce Street handles 3 000 hogsheads of Type 22 Dark Fired Tobacco. The Farmers Cooperative is a non-profit cooperated venture. Mr. R.A. Hammack of Springfield, Tennessee is its General Manager, and Mr. C.R. Caroland is the local Manager. Miss Mary Harris serves the organization as Secretary. During seasons as many as one hundred and ten employees are utilized to handle the tobacco stored. The Association first operated in the 1931, 1932, and 1933 crops and according to Mr. F. N. Smith, prized about forty-six million pounds of Type 22 and Type 23 tobacco, more than half of which was subsequently sold. With higher prices ruling for the 1933 Crop, the Government made additional advances on the unsold stocks of 1931 and 1932 Crops, thus aiding the growers appreciably. As the 1933 crop was smaller, a decidedly decreased quantity of tobacco was prized by the Association. Members of the tobacco trade persisted in their efforts to induce the growers to lower production in accord with the decline in foreign demands, but growers were hard to convince. By 1934 the Government intervened and set up a plan to reduce the crop by twenty-five percent. All types of Dark-Fired tobacco were affected. But we are concerned primarily with Clarksville Type 22. From 1924 to 1934 the average production of Clarksville Type in the Eastern Dark Fired District averaged eighty-seven million pounds. The largest crop



The Final Sales

during the period was the 1931 crop of one hundred and three million pounds. Over production and inferior quality of the crop were largely responsible for the low prices on the crop. In spite of the depression period, tobacco sold relatively higher than any other farm crop, and tobacco farmers, consequently, fared better than most in other agricultural sections of the nation.

A second recession developed in 1938, when the average dropped to \$7.75 per hundred pounds. Additional controls were exerted by the Government. Marketing quotas (acreage limits) subject to a validating vote by two thirds of the farmers themselves were added. The Association which accepted the farmers' surplus tobacco no longer was obliged to resell the accumulated leaf. The capital for their operations was furnished on an indefinite loan basis by the United States Government. The farmer received cash for his hogsheads. Prices have steadily increased and an all time high was paid in 1954 for Danish Spinners and Austrian Wrappers of \$70 to \$71. The 1951 Crop with an overall average of \$40.36 per hundred pounds was the highest average of the century.

As a result there is now harmony and satisfaction among the growers, but dealers tell another story.

In 1934 the city of Clarksville celebrated its sesqui-centennial. The historic city made famous by tobacco listed twenty-eight companies as tobacco buyers, eight Looseleaf warehousemen, and two storage warehousemen. The Old Exchange Building, erected

such pride by the Clarksville tobaccoists at the close of the nineteenth century, had been sold to the Tennessee Central Railroad and used by them for an office until it was demolished in 1932, making way for inevitable progress.

In 1934 a prominent tobacco "citizen" of Clarksville came "home" to join in the celebration of the hundred and fifty years. No history of Clarksville tobacco would be complete without "his" story. In 1881 a young man had left St. Louis, Missouri to come to Clarksville on the recommendation that it was a profitable and growing tobacco center. Frank Fiederling, 24 years old and only recently married, desired to establish a tobacco store for manufacturing and retailing cigars in the city. The cigars were of the finest tobaccos, and hand-made. Fiederling had learned his art in Henderson, Ky. Among the brands he soon produced were "Lever of the World", "Yellow Rose" (long before the Yellow Rose of Texas) and "Belle of Clarksville" among many others. Mr. Fiederling was familiar with the long established custom, dating back to the 1600's, of the Cigar Store Indian as a Hallmark of fine tobaccos. It was his one ardent ambition to have such a sign at his door. The price of such a sign was generally \$200, which was a vast sum to the young tobaccoists of the '80's. Always an astute business man, Mr. Fiederling alerted his associates to his desire. Finally a friend, a grocer, heard of a bankrupt sale of a large grocery firm in Paducah, Kentucky, which he attended.

Among the merchandise to be disposed of there was a fine wooden Indian. He acquired the Indian along with the other merchandise, offering the bankrupt merchant forty-five dollars for the Indian. For thirty years the Indian stood unmolested before the shop, only requiring an occasional "oil shampoo" through a hole in his head which preserved his pine body from cracking. Two events combined to remove the faithful sentinel from his post after thirty years. The City fathers passed an ordinance prohibiting advertising material from projecting over eight inches on the side walk. The Indian actually did not violate the ordinance, but was so prepossessing in appearance that two or three times a week an officer would appear to measure the distance just to be sure no violation existed. As a result Mr. Fiederling, tiring of the frequent measurements, had the big Chief rolled into the store. Some two years later, a little visitor of seven years of age, fully clad in Indian costume, chanced to visit Mr. Fiederling. Jokingly Mr. Frank inquired if the youngster wanted the Indian to stand before his wigwam. Little did he realize the lad would take him seriously. For nine years the Indian "visited" the boy and all his brothers and sisters. When Mr. Fiederling judged they might have tired of him, he made a visit to the family only to find the Indian had been sorely neglected, so much so that he hesitated to return him to Clarksville. Another ten years passed, and with the approach of the Sesqui-centennial celebration, merchants were asked to round up as many articles of the past as possible. And so it was determined to bring the ancient

"citizen" home. With loving care he was restored to his former splendor. Mr. Fiederling died in 1936, but his promise to leave the Chief in front of the store was kept until 1943. An article in the Courier Journal (Louisville, Kentucky) of March 19, 1943 reported the "hospitalization" of the Chief for the duration of the Second World War. According to the newspaper account:

Uniformed palefaces from Camp Campbell, intrigued by the stoic old warrior with tomahawk raised, made him a proving ground for their maneuvers. Time and again some khaki-clad soldier made a flying tackle of the ancient figure, until Saturday night, when one hit him too hard. His raised right arm bearing the tomahawk was pulled out.

Mrs. Fiederling has had numerous offers from collectors desiring to purchase the Indian. From the American Museum of Natural History in 1943, Dr. Clark Wissler, Curator Emeritus provided Mrs. Fiederling with "necessary authentic information" to the effect that the best wooden figures were made in the period from 1855 to 1890. The Clarksville Chief is attired in a Seminole Indian costume, derived from Early English and Spanish sources. The Cigar Store Indian is now a collector's item, and Mrs. Fiederling has been offered \$10, 000 for the Chief. As the only son in the Fiederling family pursued a career in the Navy and was commissioned an officer, during the service the Fiederling Tobacco store was operated for a time by "Mrs. Emma" alone. After a serious accident in Seattle, Washington, which hospitalized Lt. Commander Fiederling for four years, it was necessary for him to retire from active duty. He is now a chemist for the Boeing Airplane Company in Seattle.

Mrs. Fiederling, who so graciously supplied the details pertaining to the historic Indian, operated the retail department of the tobacco store after her husband's death, and when her son answered his country's call, also took over the management of the wholesale tobacco business. Not until the '40's did Mrs. Fiederling consider closing up shop.

The fate of the Indian is as uncertain as the future of Clarksville's Dark Fired Tobacco Market. At the present the old Chief stands guard in the apartment of Mrs. Fiederling to see that "Mrs. Emma" and her sister shall live out their gracious lives happily in the surroundings which exude the charm of an almost forgotten day.

As for the Clarksville Market, the indomitable spirit of Clarksville tobacconists will determine her fate. Regardless of Government controls, and modernizations which reached their peak in the measurement of acreage allotments by airplanes, there are elements of the tobacco story which can never be completely controlled by human devices. As long as the sun shines, and the wind blows, and the rains and snows and frosts shall fall, tobacco will be a challenge to men and with Charles Lamb they will say:

For thy sake, tobacco, I
Would do anything but die.

APPENDIX

Cost to Grower to Cultivate and Market
Four Acres of Tobacco

1930's

Land valued at \$25 per acre.

20% Interest on \$100(Value of land), including allowances for buildings and their deterioration...	\$20.00
Preparing and sowing plantbeds, 100 yds.	\$ 6.00
Canvas	\$ 4.00
Breaking land, plow and team	\$ 6.00
Discing land twice, 3 mules for two days	\$ 6.00
Checking with mule and plow	\$ 3.00
400 pounds fertilizer	\$ 6.00
Hilling-one man ,four days	\$ 4.00
Drawing and setting plants	\$ 6.00
Cultivating, plow and mule, five times.....	\$12.00
Hoeing once.....	\$ 4.00
Topping, one man, four days.....	\$ 4.00
Suckering, one man, 32 days.....	\$32.00
Harvesting (Cutting and housing) eight days	\$12.00
Wood-hauling, firing.....	\$12.00
Stripping.....	\$10.00
Delivering to factory.....	\$ 3.00

Interest on money invested in teams, harness, imple-
ments, and allowance for breakage and repair of tools \$18.00

Four acres Total
\$ 168.00
Per Acre 42.00

700 lbs per acre, Yield 2800 lbs.
Average price 4¢ , \$28 per acre, or \$112 on total.

CLARKSVILLE TOBACCO BOARD OF TRADE

1930's

Batts Brothers

Clarksville Tobacco Company

Crofton and Webster

Dibrell Brothers

W.M. Fallon Tobacco Company

J.W. Hayes Tobacco Company

J.L. Humphreys Tobacco Company

Imperial Tobacco Company

E.C. Morrow and Son

T.W. Morrow

R.S. Rudolph and Son

W.H. Simmons and Company

F.N. Smith Jr. and Company

Tennessee Tobacco Company

Adolf Wagschal and Company

R.A. Walker and Company

Farmers Warehouse Company

McGregor and Staton

Minor, Sory, and Company

Sixteen Grades of Heavy Leaf

81F	84F	81B	84D	83H	83G
82F	85F	82D	85D	84H	84G
83F		83D		85H	85G

CLASSIFICATION OF TOBACCO BY TYPE AND GRADES

TYPE 22

Eastern District fire-cured; produced in a section east of the Tennessee River, in Southern Kentucky and Northern Tennessee.

Standard Grade Marks for Fire-cured Tobacco:

Group	Quality	Color	Length
A - Wrappers	1 - Choice	L - Light	46-Over 24"
B - Heavy Leaf	2 - Fine	F - Brown	45-20"-24"
C - Thin Leaf	3 - Good	D - Dark	44-16"-20"
T - Short Leaf	4 - Fair	M - Mixed	
X - Lugs	5 - Low	G - Green	
N - Nondescript			

Special Factor

Greenish

(22 and 23 only)

W- Unsafe order - Sound but containing excessive moisture which is likely to damage unless unusual precaution is taken.

U- Unsound - Damaged under 20 percent

Summary of Standard Grades and Subgrades

Six grades of wrappers

A1F	A1D
A2F	A2D
A3F	A3D

Sixteen Grades of Heavy Leaf

B1F	B4F	B1D	B4D	B3M	B3G
B2F	B5F	B2D	B5D	B4M	B4G
B3F		B3D		B5M	B5G

CLARKSVILLE LOOSE LEAF TOBACCO 1920 - 1999 CLASSIFICATION OF TOBACCO BY TYPE AND GRADES (CONTINUED)

Crop Year Pounds Average

20 Grades of Thin Leaf

1921				\$ 13.39
				15.63
C1L	C1F			14.54
C2L	C2F	C2D		17.39
C3L	C3F	C3D	C3M	C3G
C4L	C4F	C4D	C4M	C4G
C5L	C5F	C5D	C5M	C5G

1927				17.24
1928				19.00
1929				13.11

12 Grades of Short Leaf

				9.71
				5.37
T3F	T3D	T3M	T3G	6.25
T4F	T4D	T4M	T4G	9.25
T5F	T5D	T5M	T5G	9.69

1935				8.48
1936				12.07
1937				11.07

21 Grades of Lugs

				7.75
				10.72
X1L	X1F	X1D		9.83
X2L	X2F	X2D		
X3L	X3F	X3D	X3M	X1G
X4L	X4F	X4D	X4M	X2G
X5L	X5F	X5D	X5M	X3G

1945				32.49
1946				26.17

Subgrades of Nondescript*

				30.47
				31.23
N1L	N1R	N1G	N-Dam	30.08
N2L	N2R	N2G	N-K	28.69

1951				40.36
1952				39.22

Greenish Subgrades - (V's)

B3FV	C3FV	X3FV		33.23
B4FV	C4FV	X4FV		39.57
B5FV	C5FV	X5FV		38.34

1956				35.84
1957				31.91
1958				37.29

* No lengths.

1959				38.13
------	--	--	--	-------

CLARKSVILLE LOOSE FLOOR SALES 1920 - 1959

Crop Year	Pounds	Average
1920	11,489,985	
1921	12,503,795	\$ 13.59
1922	9,003,010	15.83
1923	15,941,815	14.54
1924	19,554,590	12.35
1925	30,805,985	16.01
1926	20,549,520	10.74
1927	14,703,460	8.39
1928	22,549,765	17.24
1929	28,171,395	15.00
1930	30,045,765	13.11
1931	30,117,960	9.71
1932	24,452,305	5.37
1933	24,933,170	6.25
1934	19,246,010	9.25
1935	18,003,620	9.69
1936	15,428,292	8.48
1937	24,744,648	12.07
1938	17,318,846	11.07
1939	20,105,568	7.75
1940	23,723,268	10.72
1941	15,377,144	9.93
1942	13,668,874	13.89
1943	12,799,256	16.75
1944	13,075,798	22.59
1945	14,218,564	25.07
1946	24,550,834	32.49
1947	18,752,818	26.17
1948	15,527,992	30.47
1949	15,610,682	31.23
1950	12,568,306	30.08
1951	11,528,396	28.69
1952	12,917,288	40.36
1953	10,810,072	38.22
1954	13,896,994	33.28
1955	15,275,458	39.57
1956	15,669,604	38.38
1957	11,536,106	35.64
1958	9,451,732	31.91
1959	10,902,762	37.28
		38.16

OPENING AND CLOSING DATES OF MARKETS (CLARKSVILLE)

(TYPE 22)

1936 - 1959

1936-1937 Sales dates not listed ; Season Januray -April

1937-1938 Sales dates not listed ; Season January -May

1938-1939 January 11 - May 10

1939-1940 February 1 - April 25

1940-1941 January 7 - May 14 Season 81 days

1941-1942 January 7 - April 22 Season 66 days

During the 1941-1942 Season Type 22 Markets closed from 7-9 days because of bad weather and insufficient offerings. Clarksville Market closed on February 16 for draft registration.

1942-1943 January 5- April 30 Season 64 days

1943-1944 January 12- March 31 Season 52 days

1944-1945 January 16- March 21 Season 45 days

1945-1946 January 15- March 28 Season 48 days

In the 1946-1947 season, when prizeries handling large amounts of Association tobacco became taxed beyond capacity, frequent sales holidays were necessary and occurred as follows: January 30-February 10; February 17 - February 26; March 13 - March 20; and April 4 - april 14. Clarksville suspended sales for a total of thirty-six days.

1946-1947 January 15- May 7 Season 45 days

1947-1948 January 5- April 7 Season 56 days
Sales were scheduled Monday through Friday of each week. In the 1947-1948 Season cold weather and heavy snow forced suspension of sales as follows: Clarksville, January 19-21 and January 23-February 4. Clean-up sales held at Clarksville April 13.

OPENING AND CLOSING DATES OF MARKETS (CONTINUED)

1948-1949 January 4-March 11 43 days

In the 1948-1949 Season sales were suspended on all markets February 9-16 inclusive, because of the high order of tobacco and congestion in prizeries. Clean-up sales held March 16.

1949-1950 January 3- March 10 39 days

Sales were suspended February 8-23 because of congestion at markets and prizeries. Clarksville held special 4-H Club sale on Saturday, February 4. Clean-up sales held March 17.

1950-1951 January 23- April 11 39 days

No sales were held at Clarksville January 29 to February 8, because of cold weather and snowfall. Regular sales were suspended at Clarksville March 2-8 because of blocked prize-ries. Sales were staggered to Monday, Wednesday, and Friday at Clarksville (instead of Monday through Friday as scheduled) beginning March 26.

1951-1952 January 8- March 10 33 days

All markets were on holiday after sales of January 25 to February 4 because of congestion in packing plants. Sales schedule was staggered after February 25.

1952-1953 January 13-March 13 40 days

Clarksville held a 4-H Club sale on Saturday, Jan. 31. Sales staggered during last ~~two~~ ^{three} weeks of season.

1953-1954 January 26-March 31 37 days

Clarksville held a 4-H Club sale on February 22. Sales staggered for the last three weeks of season.

1954-1955 January 10-March 9 40 days

4-H Club and F.F.A. Sales on Saturdays, January 29. In other market areas, markets closed because of icy roads.

1955-1956 January 3- March 14 49 days

4-H Club Sale Saturday February 4.

OPENING AND CLOSING DATES OF MARKETS (CONTINUED)

1956- 1957 January 8 - March 6 41 days
 4-H Club Sale February 9 (Springfield
 closed January 18 because of icy weather).

1957 - 1958 January 9 - March 14 38 days
 No sales held during week February 17 -21
 because of extremely cold weather.

1958 -1959 January 20- March 4 30 days

1959 - 1960 January 12- February 26 31 days

1941 333

1942 351

1943 362

1944 390

1945 381

1946 433

1947 371

1948 382

1949 376

1950 316

1951 373

1952 370

1953 342

1954 376

1955 369

1956 425

1957 414

1958 353

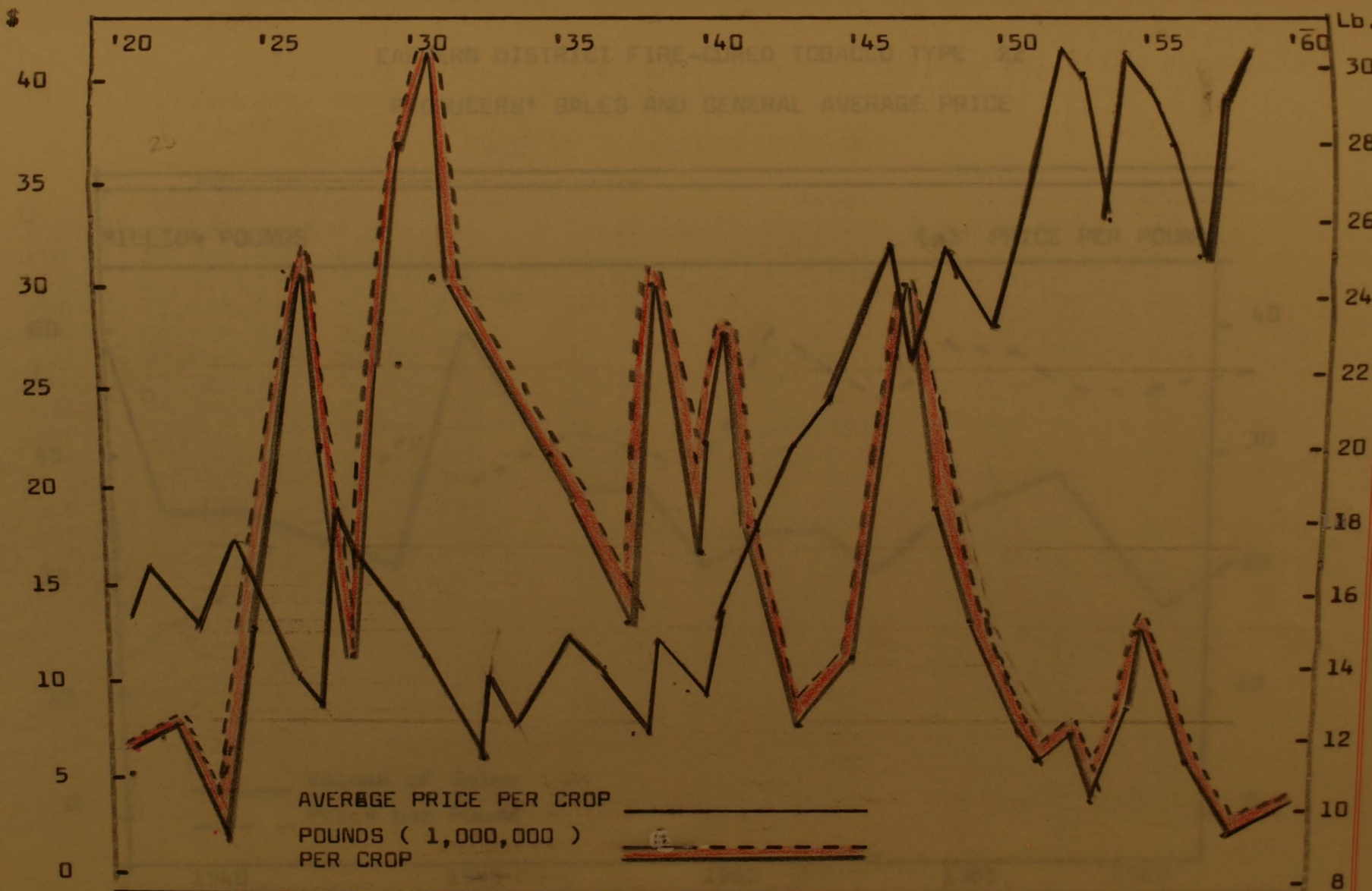
1959 385

TOBACCO MARKET REVIEW 1959-1960 SEASON

TABLE 4. - Average weight per basket of fire-cured tobacco, crops of 1936-1959

CROP	POUNDS
1936	309
1937	346
1938	257
1939	312
1940	335
1941	333
1942	351
1943	382
1944	390
1945	381
1946	433
1947	371
1948	382
1949	378
1950	316
1951	373
1952	370
1953	342
1954	376
1955	369
1956	425
1957	414
1958	353
1959	365

CLARKSVILLE EASTERN DISTRICT DARK-FIRED MARKET TYPE 22 1920-1959



EASTERN DISTRICT FIRE-CURED TOBACCO TYPE 22

PRODUCERS' SALES AND GENERAL AVERAGE PRICE

TYPE 22 - EASTERN DISTRICT

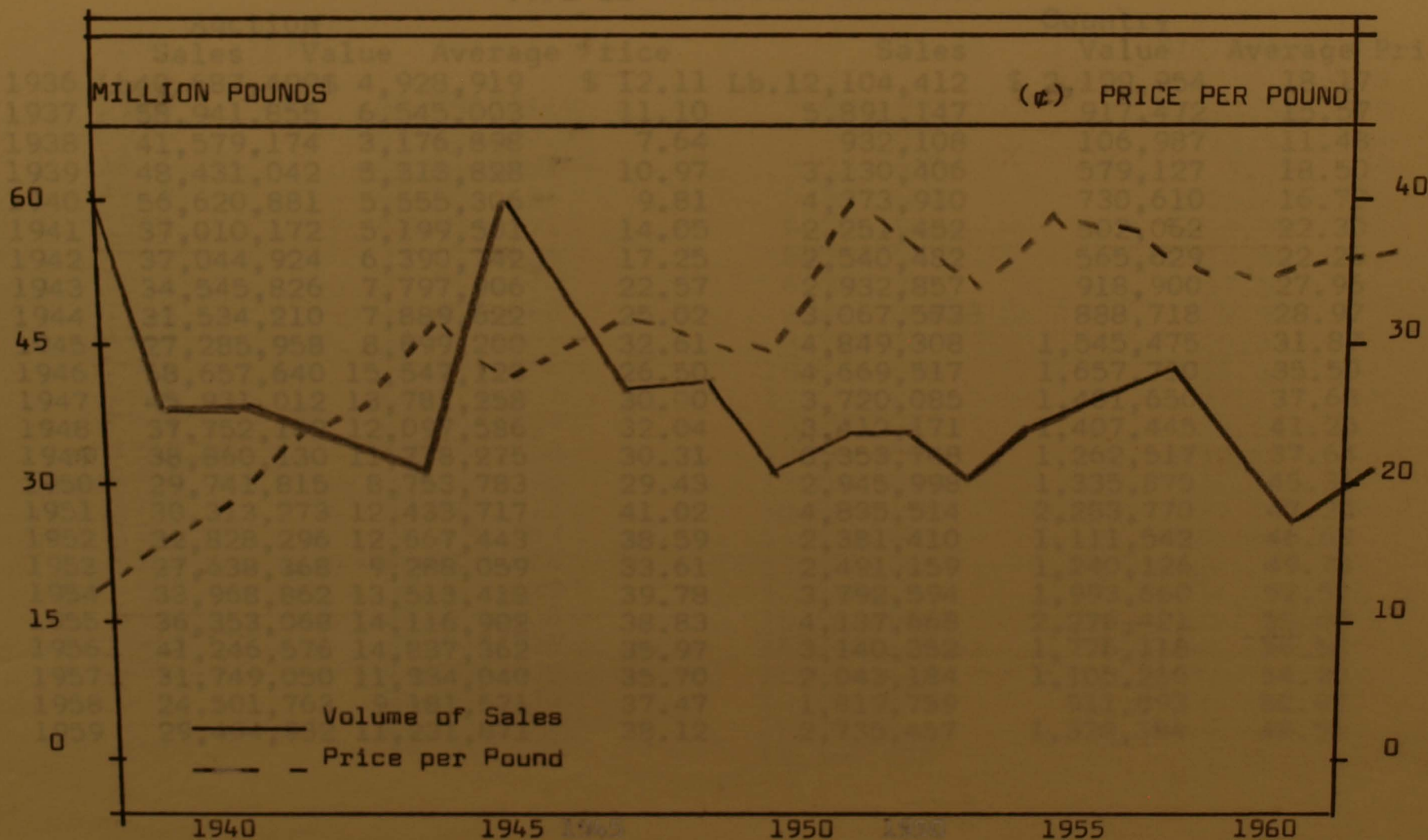


Table 5. -Producers sales, value, and average price, by types and crop years, for fire-cured tobacco crops of 1936-1956

TYPE 22 - EASTERN DISTRICT

	Auction			Price	Country		
	Sales	Value	Average		Sales	Value	Average Price
1936	Lb40,687,499	\$ 4,928,919		\$ 12.11	Lb.12,104,412	\$ 2,199,954	18.17
1937	58,941,855	6,545,003		11.10	5,891,147	917,472	15.57
1938	41,579,174	3,176,898		7.64	932,108	106,987	11.48
1939	48,431,042	5,313,828		10.97	3,130,406	579,127	18.50
1940	56,620,881	5,555,306		9.81	4,373,910	730,610	16.70
1941	37,010,172	5,199,501		14.05	2,251,452	502,062	22.30
1942	37,044,924	6,390,742		17.25	2,540,482	565,629	22.26
1943	34,545,826	7,797,906		22.57	2,932,857	918,900	27.96
1944	31,534,210	7,889,622		25.02	3,067,573	888,718	28.97
1945	27,285,958	8,899,200		32.61	4,849,308	1,545,475	31.87
1946	58,657,640	15,547,120		26.50	4,669,517	1,657,710	35.50
1947	45,931,012	13,781,258		30.00	3,720,085	1,401,650	37.68
1948	37,752,182	12,097,586		32.04	3,412,171	1,407,445	41.25
1949	38,860,130	11,778,275		30.31	3,353,748	1,262,517	37.64
1950	29,741,815	8,753,783		29.43	2,945,998	1,335,875	45.35
1951	30,313,273	12,433,717		41.02	4,835,514	2,283,770	47.23
1952	32,828,296	12,667,443		38.59	2,381,410	1,111,542	46.68
1953	27,638,368	9,288,059		33.61	2,491,159	1,240,126	49.78
1954	33,968,862	13,513,418		39.78	3,792,594	1,993,660	52.57
1955	36,353,068	14,116,902		38.83	4,137,668	2,276,421	55.02
1956	41,246,576	14,837,362		35.97	3,140,352	1,776,118	56.56
1957	31,749,050	11,334,040		35.70	2,043,184	1,105,266	54.10
1958	24,501,763	9,181,571		37.47	1,819,759	911,093	50.07
1959	29,464,932	11,231,871		38.12	2,735,457	1,328,384	48.56

Table 5. Producers' Sales, value, and average price, by types and crop years, of fire-cured and dark air-cured tobacco, crops of 1936-1959 (cont.)

Crop	Total:	Sales	Value	Average Price
1936		52,791,911	7,028,873	13.50
1937		64,833,002	7,462,475	11.51
1938		42,511,282	3,283,885	7.72
1939		51,561,448	5,892,955	11.43
1940		60,994,791	6,285,916	10.31
1941		39,261,624	5,701,563	14.52
1942		39,585,406	6,956,371	17.57
1943		37,478,683	8,617,806	22.99
1944		34,601,783	8,778,340	25.37
1945		32,135,266	10,444,675	32.50
1946		63,327,157	17,204,830	27.17
1947		49,651,097	15,182,908	30.58
1948		41,164,353	13,505,031	32.81
1949		42,213,878	13,040,792	30.89
1950		32,687,813	10,089,658	30.87
1951		35,148,787	14,717,487	41.87
1952		35,209,706	13,778,985	39.13
1953		30,129,527	10,528,185	34.94
1954		37,761,456	15,507,078	41.07
1955		40,490,736	16,393,323	40.49
1956		44,386,928	16,613,480	37.43
1957		33,792,234	12,439,306	36.81
1958		26,321,522	10,092,664	38.43
1959		32,200,389	12,560,255	39.01

EASTERN DISTRICT Fire-CURED TOBACCO TYPE 22:

VOLUME OF PRODUCERS' SALES AND GENERAL AVERAGE PRICE PER POUND, 1936-1945

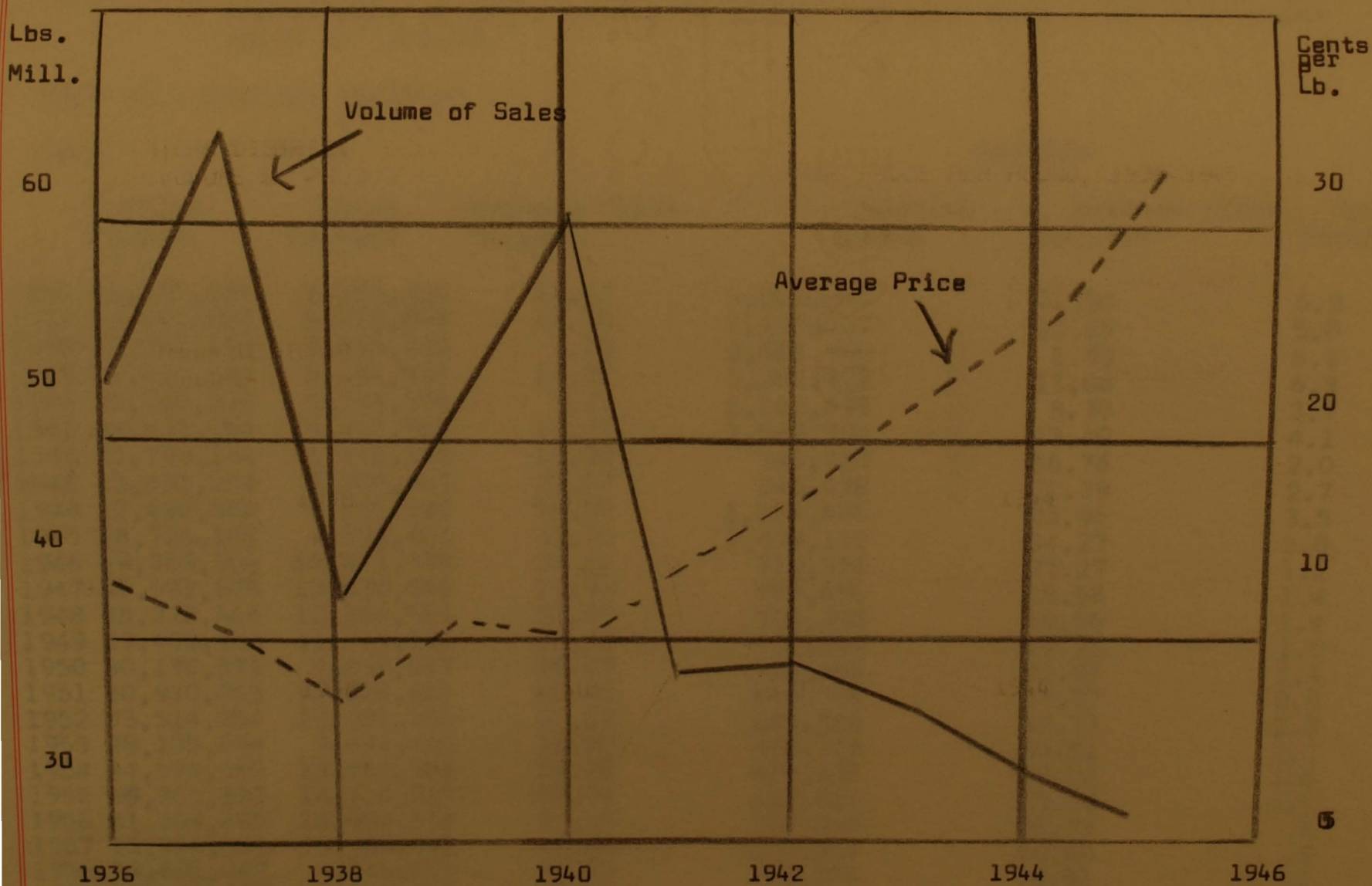


Table 6. - Gross sales, value, and average price; and resales, average price, and percentages of gross sales, by types, and crop years, for fire-cured crops of 1936-59.

Type 22 - Eastern District

Crop	Gross			Resales		
	Sales Pounds	Value Dollars	Average Price Dollars	Resales Pounds	Average Price Dollars	Percent. Percent
1936	43,687,499	5,273,920	12.07	3,000,000	11.50	6.9
1937	62,041,855	6,873,603	11.08	3,100,000	10.60	5.0
1938	44,261,114	3,416,330	7.72	2,681,940	8.93	6.1
1939	51,692,670	5,674,533	10.98	3,261,628	11.06	6.3
1940	58,783,374	5,743,396	9.77	2,162,493	8.70	3.7
1941	38,593,964	5,411,757	14.02	1,583,792	13.40	4.1
1942	37,793,134	6,516,176	17.24	748,210	16.76	2.0
1943	35,491,254	8,009,567	22.57	945,428	22.39	2.7
1944	32,690,840	8,166,697	24.98	1,156,630	23.96	3.5
1945	28,725,100	9,392,451	32.70	1,439,142	34.27	5.0
1946	59,369,966	15,471,398	26.51	712,326	27.27	1.2
1947	46,591,678	13,970,068	29.98	660,666	28.58	1.4
1948	38,272,564	12,256,591	32.02	520,382	30.56	1.4
1949	39,432,954	11,949,821	30.30	572,824	29.95	1.5
1950	30,170,571	8,890,847	29.47	428,756	31.97	1.4
1951	30,930,023	12,666,685	40.95	616,750	37.77	2.0
1952	33,514,254	12,926,260	38.57	685,958	37.73	2.0
1953	28,105,094	9,444,442	33.60	466,726	33.51	1.7
1954	34,574,560	13,752,786	39.78	605,698	39.52	1.8
1955	36,965,892	14,334,017	38.78	612,814	35.53	1.7
1956	41,564,886	14,934,554	35.93	318,310	30.53	.8
1957	31,856,501	11,365,841	35.68	107,451	29.60	.3
1958	24,691,047	9,246,899	37.45	189,284	34.51	.8
1959	29,608,830	11,272,800	38.11	143,898	35.39	.5

The Bibliography of Problem Number III is identical
to the Bibliography of Problem Number I. Please consult
Problem No. I.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Bibliography of Problem Number II is identical to the Bibliography of Problem Number I. Please consult Problem No. I.