

A STUDY OF CLARKSVILLE TOBACCO AND TOBACCONISTS

1794-1864

A Problem

Presented to

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by

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Time is an illusory, devastating factor, and paradoxically, it is the one element of life which eventually, and as inevitably, wears away the sharp edge of grief, pain, and frustration as irrevocably as the quietly running waters of the creek the sharp edged pebbles hidden by the darting shadows of the flickering sun-light.

In the two years --filled with so many unanticipated events-- which have passed since this problem was undertaken, many of those to whom the greatest debt of gratitude is due, have gone from our midst. To them, in particular, and to those who remain, for the patience which has inspired us constantly to continue, and for the impatience which has disciplined us to strive for greater perfection, only two phrases can adequately express the gratitude for a debt which can never be fully paid, "thank you" and "God love you".

Sincerely,

Elinor Hach Martin

July 11, 1961

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PREFACE

Tobacco -- "A lone man's companion, a bachelor's friend, a hungry man's food, a sad man's sleep, and a chilly man's fire... there's no herb like it under the canopy of heaven."¹ -- is fittingly described by Charles Kingsley in Westward Ho! with the expressive sentiments which have been substantially supported by the opinions of planters, producers, and consumers for centuries. Once considered a relatively unimportant weed, a detriment to an individual's health, an immoral factor contributing to sinfulness and vice, tobacco was destined to become so important that the very course of history in time would be changed by its influence.

Professor Thomas Harper Goodspeed in a monumental monograph reveals that among two thousand species of Solanaceae, half are members of the type genus Solanum. Among the genera of the other half remaining is the genus Nicotiana, the plant with which our study is concerned. The importance of the genus to America is better understood when we learn the distribution of the genus Nicotiana is limited to North and South America, Australia and a few islands of the South Pacific. Seventy-five percent of the genus occurs in the Americas. Thirty species of the genus are found in South America, six common to both Americas, and nine found only in North America. Of these nine, the two species of

¹Bartlett's Familiar Quotations (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1941), p. 524.

The flavor was poor and weak and bitter. In 1612, despairing of cultivating a taste for the native product, Rolfe imported West Indian seed of the Nicotiana tabacum variety. So successful was the planting of this particular seed in the fertile soil of Virginia that Sir Thomas Dale, the deputy-governor, feared the colonists would neglect the cultivation of food crops and a starving time would ensue. Therefore he ordered that all planters of tobacco must also cultivate two acres of corn. So phenomenal was the growth of production that the English market importation of 2300 pounds in 1615 from America (Compared to 50,000 pounds of Spanish product) increased in four short years to the extent that imports from the Virginia colonists exceeded the Spanish. Nor was the production of tobacco to be restricted to Virginia. Encouraged by the tremendous success of Virginia planters, the neighboring colonies of Maryland and Carolina were soon almost as avid in the cultivation of the miracle weed.

Competition between the colonies and the Spanish interests became so intense in the succeeding years that a complicated story of discriminatory taxes, import policies, and intrigue developed. Eventually Spanish imports became very limited. Import duties on colonial tobaccos were reduced significantly, and the English government gave a practical monopoly of the English market to the Virginia and Bermuda companies. The policies governing British-Colonial dealings were established which would endure until the time of the American Revolution. Before 1630 exports from Virginia

economic importance to America are Nicotiana tabacum and Nicotiana rustica. Cultivation of both species was evidenced in the West Indies and North and South America prior to the coming of the white settler. Tribes east of the Mississippi grew the bitter herb Nicotiana rustica. The adaptability of Nicotiana tabacum which made it possible to transplant the type from temperate to subtropical climates, its transmutability, which permitted improvement in the quality of the leaf, and its tolerance toward rigorous climates, which allowed great variance in distribution of range and areas under cultivation combined to promote its importance as an economic force in American agriculture and industry.²

In his search for the New World, Christopher Columbus was first introduced to the magic plant when friendly natives of San Salvador offered him the strange dry leaves which they smoked with apparent relish. Two members of his party, Louis de Torres, the official interpreter, and Roderigo de Jerez, one of his sailors, saw both native men and women smoking the leaves. They used pipes or long, twisted rolls of the plants. They inhaled the incense from the peculiar, hollow, y-shaped tobagos. The name of this instrument is believed by some historians to have contributed the name of tobacco by which the plant is now familiarly known. Some used tobacco as snuff; combining it with corn husks, at times, into an early, primitive cigarette or chewing the product were all

² Thomas Harper Goodspeed, The Genus Nicotiana (Waltham, Massachusetts: Chronica Botanica Company, 1954), pp. 7-9.

popular forms of usage. Nor was its use limited to the satisfaction of the sensory organs. Additional importance was attached to its use for ceremonial, social, and therapeutic purposes.

Jerez, who is credited with taking the tobacco to Spain, was thought by many to be possessed by the devil, as they saw smoke pouring from his mouth and nose. Nevertheless, the use of tobacco spread rapidly throughout Europe. It was apparently well known in the Iberian peninsula by the early sixteenth century.

Strangely enough, it was the therapeutic power of tobacco which gave its use impetus throughout Europe toward the middle of the sixteenth century. Portugal is specifically believed to have developed this particular use of the plant. Tobacco was blended with powders, salves, dental aids, and even used as various forms of cathartics. Tobacco as an emollient to relieve the irritation of sore or inflamed parts of the body (a remedy which is still in use) is attributed to the ingenuity of a page in the employment of the French ambassador at the Portuguese court, Jean Nicot. Seeds of the plant were sent to Catherine de Medici, the Queen Mother of France, by Nicot about 1560. So many cures were thought to be the result of treatment with products from the plants grown from these seeds, that the name of Nicotiane was given to the plant in honor of the Ambassador.³

³Joseph C. Robert, The Story of Tobacco in America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), p. 4.

America and Europe share the honors of the introduction of tobacco into England. The daring exploits of the prominent sea raiders, Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake, are widely known. But less widely known are the roles both daring buccaneers played in establishing tobacco as one of England's most important import products. One of the expeditions of Sir John Hawkins reputedly brought tobacco leaves home to England from Florida, taken either by trade or plunder from the Spanish along with the more obviously valuable loot of gold, silver and pearls. In 1586 Sir Francis Drake brought back quantities of tobacco from the West Indies. The people of the hapless expedition sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1584, which landed on Roanoke Island and named the surrounding territory Virginia after Queen Elizabeth, the "virgin" queen, was rescued by Sir Francis Drake. The colonists had taken up the habit of smoking Indian clay pipes, frequently the only solace available to their destitute condition. The introduction of this form of social use of tobacco was dignified further by Sir Walter Raleigh, who not only influenced social acceptance of its use, but also encouraged its importance as a vital staple by learning both its cultivation and its curing processes. As a result, Englishmen soon endorsed the new product so heartily that in some markets the purchaser was forced to balance the weight of tobacco with silver shillings in payment.

The excessive extremes to which both society and medical claimants carried the use of tobacco -- a period when young men

even smoked walking down the aisle of St. Paul's -- inevitably resulted in violent opposition from other sources. One of the most powerful opposing forces was the pen of James I of Scotland, at the time occupying the English throne. Accepting the challenge to cure the English of a variety of ills, not the least of which he considered smoking, the king composed the strongly satirical anti-tobacco tract entitled Counterblaste to Tobacco. Published anonymously in 1604, it was soon identified as the king's work. He termed the use of tobacco "a folly, an extravagance, and a sin."⁴ In his condemnation he was not far from the view of modern research in charging that its use was "...harmeful to the brain, daungerous to the lungs, and in the blacke stinking fume thereof, the neerest resembling Stigian smoke of the pit that is bottomlesse."⁵ Ironically the product he so wholeheartedly and reservedly condemned was to become the most important staple crop of the plantations in the New World up and down the very river named in his honor.

The story of the history of tobacco in the New World, and especially in the early colonies of the English, may well be said to be the story of John Rolfe. His courtship and marriage to Pocahontas, after the double tragedy of the death of his first wife and infant, is legendary. Accustomed to the Spanish type of tobacco, Rolfe found the native Virginia Nicotiana rustica a tough plant

⁴Ibid., p. 6.

⁵Ibid.

reached the half-million pound mark annually. London, ten years later, was receiving an average of 1,400,000 pounds yearly. Tobacco had become the most important staple of the colonies; it served further among the colonies as the most important medium of exchange.

With the tremendous expansion of the staple crop, colonists soon became ambitious to establish trade not only with the mother country, but with European countries as well. Freedom of commerce was not, however, stipulated in the agreements with James I. Sur-reptitious negotiations were made, therefore, and some trade was established with the Dutch. Under cover of the civil war which resulted as English politics and economy brought the conflicts between Charles I and Parliament to a head, the Dutch trade mushroomed so rapidly that England passed the Navigation Act of 1651 specifically aimed to stop the trade between Holland and the colonies. War between England and Holland followed, lasting until the English naval victories brought peace in 1654. Enforcement of the Navigation Acts, enacted in the time of Oliver Cromwell, and renewed in 1660, contributed to the severe depression among the colonies from 1660 to 1680. Overly large crops shared in the responsibility for the depression era. In an attempt to remedy the situation, the tobacco colonies of Virginia, Carolina and Maryland in 1666 agreed to prohibit growth of the tobacco plant during February 1, 1667 to February 1, 1668. The course of the depression swept on uncontrolled with the rock-bottom price of the Virginia staple in the 1670's forcing the events which were to make possible

Bacon's Rebellion. The first plant-cutting riots, which were to crop up periodically in the history of American tobacco, and to reach a pinnacle in the Night Rider Days of Kentucky and Tennessee, were an additional consequence. A tax-levy passed in 1673 to prevent violation of the Navigation Acts by New York and New England traders, led to still another violent outbreak, Culpepper's Rebellion. This rebellion focused attention on that portion of the Carolinas which would later become North Carolina. The rebellious group temporarily took over the government and established John Culpepper the governor. The Lords Proprietors succeeded in removing Culpepper, but failed in enforcing the controversial tax. Illicit traffic was the result from the attempt to tax tobacco and other staples sent from one colony to another. Colonel William Byrd of Virginia, whose History of the Dividing Line, relating his experiences while acting as commissioner of a party which surveyed the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina, has become an American literary classic, was the discoverer of the illicit traffic. While surveying the line, Byrd found Virginia shipmasters in the Nasemond River who had come for North Carolina tobacco. Byrd found much to attract settlers to the Carolinas. He observed that "Surely there is no place in the world where the inhabitants live with less labour than in North Carolina."⁶

⁶William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina, edited by W.K. Boyd. The North Carolina Historical Commission, 1929, cited by Richard Croom Beatty, The Literature of the South (Atlanta: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1952), p. 17.

As is frequently the case, moral opposition to the use of tobacco became less and less vociferous as the tobacco industry became more and more profitable. The status of English finances was none too secure, and revenue from tobacco trade was precious. The gradual social acceptance of tobacco was also undoubtedly promoted by benefits derived from taxes on tobacco exported from colony to colony. Education first felt the benefit of a tobacco tax when a tax of one penny per pound on all tobaccos exported from Virginia and Maryland to other colonies was turned over to finance the college of William and Mary after James Blair, authorized by the Virginia Assembly, went to England to obtain a charter for the college.

The gradual evolvement of the plantation system was an outgrowth of the increased demand for tobacco. During the seventeenth century white labor attended to most of the intricacies of crop cultivation. Slavery, introduced to the Virginia colony in 1619, did not reach significant proportions until Queen Elizabeth and several of her successors chartered slave-trading companies, which developed into rich sources of income.⁷ By 1749 the English opened slave trading to all. The Peace of Utrecht following Queen Anne's War gave England a monopoly on importing a large number of slaves into the Spanish West Indies every year. The colonies cooperated with the slave trade. At the end of the eighteenth century about

⁷ Marshal Smelser, Conceived in Liberty, The History of the

one third of the Southern population was made up of colored slaves. Indentured servants (those who had to work out their passages by making a contract to work for the person who paid their passages) shared with slaves the burden of the cultivation of the tobacco plantations. The tobacco regions soon were dominated by a landed gentry, a planter class of wealth and aristocracy.

As early as 1619 the Virginia Assembly realized the need for controls of the rapidly growing industry. It passed an act requiring the inspection of tobacco, guaranteeing the quality of the export staple, and safe-guarding the future of industry. Leaf of poor quality which failed to pass inspection was burned. However, since frequent complaints of the character of the leaf exported were the order of the day in spite of inspections, enforcement of the inspection laws was lax. In 1730, partly as a result of a second depression era, Virginians agreed upon a statute setting up a more effective method of inspection. A pattern of public warehouses already established provided the field of operation for the official inspectors. These inspectors were bonded to insure proper performance of their duties. Thus began the practice of warehouse receipts issued for good tobacco, popularly referred to as "tobacco notes", and accepted as negotiable instruments. Inspection laws soon were adopted by other regions as they realized the competition from the improved quantity and quality of Virginia inspected

tobacco. They served further to improve the whole system of marketing. The sale of hogsheads of tobacco was made possible by the simple exchange of the tobacco note, certifying a specified quantity of leaf. The statutes requiring shipment of tobacco in hogsheads rather than bulk, eliminated a complicated argument of long standing. Uniformity of size of the hogsheads, however, still met with resistance as marketing charges were assessed by hogsheads rather than by the pound, resulting in constant enlargement of the hogshead. The original size, generally conceded to average four hogsheads to a ton, increased to as much as a thousand pounds each and more.

British tobacco imports from America prior to the Revolution averaged over 100,000,000 pounds annually. Moncure Daniel Conway, author of Barons of the Potomac and the Rappahannock, makes an oft quoted statement that "A true history of tobacco would be the history of English and American Liberty."⁸ Although American trade was seriously curtailed during the Revolutionary War, it continued sufficiently to be of such concern to the British that its continuance was a basic cause of concentration of the British armies in the South in the final years of the war. In 1780 to 1781 it is estimated that Philips, Arnold and Cornwallis destroyed some ten thousand hogsheads of tobacco during their Virginia campaigns.

⁸Robert, Op. cit. , p. 40.

Early nineteenth century historians frequently referred to this phase of the war as The Tobacco War.⁹

In 1763 King George III forbade the colonization of the lands west of the Allegheny Mountains. The proclamation was never seriously considered by the colonists, and in 1769 Daniel Boone made his famous journey through the Cumberland Gap. Once the trail was blazed settlers to the new territories became more and more numerous. The quarter of a century following the Revolutionary War saw the cultivation of tobacco spread across the mountains from Maryland, Virginia, and particularly North Carolina, to the present states of Kentucky and Tennessee.

So closely interwoven are the threads of North Carolina history with the beginnings of Tennessee, the history of any phase of the development of the Volunteer State must necessarily be predicated upon these origins. The first chapter of our story then begins with the account of those hardy pioneers who first followed in the footsteps of Daniel Boone. It is a fitting and solid foundation for the eventual success story of the descendants of those same hardy pioneers whose names have continued down through the ages in the community of Clarksville, the Queen City of the Cumberland, in Tennessee.

⁹Ibid., p.44

CHAPTER I

PIONEER CONTRIBUTIONS TO CLARKSVILLE TOBACCO HISTORY

Clarksville is one of Tennessee's oldest and most historic cities. The city is situated on seven hills overlooking the graceful, curving banks of the Cumberland River. The land was originally purchased by an Indian Council from the Iroquois Indians in 1767 at Fort Stanwix in New York, near the site of Rome. It was a portion of the territory between the Ohio and the Tennessee Rivers. The commissioner for the Southern tribes who had purchased the territory from the Northern tribes called a subsequent council at Hard Labor, South Carolina to buy the title to the same land from the Cherokees. There were chiefs of the Cherokee tribes in both the Northern and Southern Councils. As a result treaties were successfully concluded in December 1768. In 1769 William Bean, living near the Wautuga River, became the first settler to establish a home and family of English speaking people in Tennessee.

Close on the heels of the Beans in the fall of 1779, from the very establishment settled by William, a band of pioneers led by Colonel James Robertson marched from Wautauga in Upper East Tennessee to take possession of French Lick Springs, now the site of Nashville, the State Capital. Andrew Jackson is said to have given the name of "The Father of Tennessee" to James Robertson --a title never disputed.¹ Only thirty-seven years of age, from an uneducated

¹John Trotwood Moore, Tennessee (Chicago: The S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1923), Vol. I, p.80.

backwoods family, poorer than average, the leadership qualities which endeared him to his followers were all the more remarkable.

The first group of Middle Tennessee settlers were axe swinging, rifle aiming men, unhampered by women and children. It remained for John Donelson to lead an expedition in the bitter cold of an East Tennessee winter, setting forth from Fort Patrick Henry on the Holston River, to Middle Tennessee. Flatboats filled with men, women, and children, not to mention a few bewildered slaves, successfully maneuvered the hazardous journey down the treacherous Holston, to the raging Tennessee, hundreds of miles to the turbulent Ohio, whence they pulled their boats up the long river tediously to the mouth of the peaceful Cumberland. Along the grueling journey, hostile Indians threatened constantly. Close to the present site of Chattanooga twenty-eight members of the expedition shed their blood on the soil of Tennessee. When the count was taken, the victims were found for the most part to be the small children and brave women of the pioneer group. Four inconceivable months passed, in the bitterest season in Tennessee, before the remaining survivors of the thirty original boats, comprised mostly of flatboats, dug-outs, and canoes in addition to the large scow which served as the flag ship, the brave Adventure, reached the mouth of a little river running in on the north side of the Cumberland, where they intended to settle.²

John Trotwood Moore, Ibid., p. 108.

Appropriately this friendly little river had been named "Red River" by Moses Renfroe, one of the leaders of the company, red from the pioneer women and babies' blood as well as the warm red clay from whence the river derived its color.

April 12, 1780 was the unforgettable day the original settlers of the Clarksville area stepped ashore on Middle Tennessee soil with the avowed purpose of locating permanently. With Moses Renfroe were two married sons with their families, two unmarried daughters, and two friends of the family, Nathan and Solomon Turpin. Brave souls were these -- six hundred miles from their native North Carolina, three hundred miles from their fellow statesmen of East Tennessee, fifty miles from their nearest white neighbors on the Cumberland at French Lick. (John Donelson continued on twelve more days until he reached Big Salt Lick where he met James Robertson and his company who had journeyed to Middle Tennessee from East Tennessee over land.)³

At Renfroe's Station, just below the present site of the city of Clarksville, Moses built his log house. The story of the next few months is one of incredible tragedy. Within three short months unfriendly Choctaws and Chickasaws, goaded on by North Carolina's failure to meet the agreement of the settlement of the purchase of the territory, attacked the unsuspecting settlers,

³John Trotwood Moore, Ibid., p. 108.

killing one of the Renfroe men and Nathan Turpin. Mircaulously the rest, mostly women and children, escaped to French Lick. What fool-hardy optimism led the witnesses of such stark tragedy to return soon thereafter to the scene of the massacre? The hope of some few precious treasures, perhaps left unmolested by the hostile Indians ? The long sought ambition of settling on the richest soil in Tennessee ? Or perhaps the deceptive glory of the brilliant white dogwood, the ruby blossoms of the redbud in stark, exquisite relief against the ebony branches, the lacy filigree of budding green willows and sugar-maples ? Only those who have experienced spring in Tennessee -- the heavenly scent of the wild honey-suckle, the haunting wail of the whip-poor-will, the nostalgic refrain of the mocking bird can comprehend the hope and faith which led these poor souls to return to Red River. The party camped all night only a short distance from their goal. Early the next morning, on his way to the spring, Joseph Renfroe was killed instantly by the Indians. All the other members of the camp -- some eleven or twelve in number -- were killed. A Mrs. Jones was the sole survivor. Moses Renfroe was destined as was his counterpart in the Old Testament, to find his "Promised Land" only in Eternity.

Indian attacks were the greatest deterrent to settlement of the area for many more years. Two other episodes are worthy of note, because relatives of the survivors have continued in the area as instrumental members in the growth and development of the

community.

Colonel Valentine Sevier, brother of Governor John Sevier, with his four stalwart sons, Robert, William, Valentine, and Joseph moved to the Cumberland Region around 1770. Eventually Colonel Sevier built a fort within the present limits of Clarksville. Among the attacks which lasted until 1794 was one of utmost tragic import. This attack was led by a famed Indian warrior, the daring Doublehead. A proud and haughty, bold and fearless councilor of the Cherokees, Doublehead took seven of his party of twenty-eight hunters and launched an attack upon the Cumberland settlers in the fall of 1791. The unforgettable scalping raid began at the mouth of the river where he overcame Conrad's salt boat. Killing one man, Doublehead seized the boat. Continuing on his merciless expedition on January 17, 1792 he encountered the three grown sons of Colonel Valentine Sevier, Robert, William, and Valentine with John Curtis and two or three other young men from Clarksville and Sevier's Station. These young men were on their way to Nashville in answer to a plea for volunteers from General Robertson to act as spies and rangers to protect settlers against the hostile Indians. Valentine and William were killed instantly. Robert was tomahawked and scalped, as was John Rice, the original proprietor of the tract of land on which Memphis now is located. Grieved over the death of his sons, Valentine Sevier wrote his brother John to send his son John for a visit. But his trials were not over. In 1794 he wrote the following heart-broken letter

to Governor John Sevier:

Clarksville, December 18, 1794

Dear Brother:

The news from this place is desperate with me. On Tuesday, 11th of November last, about twelve o'clock my station was attacked by about forty Indians. On so sudden a surprise they were in almost every house before they were discovered. All the men belonging to the station were out, only Wm. Snider and myself. Wm. Snider, his wife, Betsy, his son John, and my son Joseph were killed in Snider's house. I saved Snider so the Indians did not get his scalp, but shot and tomahawked him in a barbarous manner. They also killed Ann King and her son James, and scalped my daughter Rebecca. I hope she will still recover. The Indians have killed whole families about here this fall. You may hear the cries of some persons for their friends daily.

The engagement commenced at my house, continued about an hour, as the neighbors say. Such a scene no man ever witnessed before. Nothing but the screams and roaring guns, and no man to assist me for some time. The Indians have robbed all the goods out of every house, and have destroyed all my stock. You will write our ancient father this horrid news; also my son Johnny. My health is much impaired. The remains of my family are in good health. I am so distressed in my mind I can scarcely write.

Your affectionate brother, till
death,⁴
Valentine Sevier

One of the final Indian raids was an ironical attack upon Colonel Isaac Titsworth and his party to avenge the death of an Indian by white pioneers many years before the Titsworths arrived in Tennessee. Little is known of the death of the Indian other than that a hunter, Manscoe by name, had taken an Indian by surprise and killed him rather than be killed. Ten years after the

⁴W. P. Titus, Picturesque Clarksville (Clarksville: W.P. Titus, 1887), p. 14.

Clarksville area was incorporated under North Carolina law, Colonel Titsworth and his brother John with their families came from North Carolina to the Cumberland country. Intending to locate on Red River they camped on the night of October 24, 1794 at the mouth of Sulphur Fork Creek where Manscoe had killed the Indian twenty years before. To avenge his death, fifty Creek Indians took the camp by surprise and scalped seven of the party. Colonel Titsworth and his brother and their wives were among those murdered. One negro woman, wounded, managed to escape. Six prisoners -- a negro man, a white man, Colonel Titsworth's daughter, and three small children were taken alive by the Indians. A party of white men, attempting a rescue, were detected by the Indians who tomahawked the children and scalped them. The fate of the adults was never learned. Three other prisoners met a similar fate. Peter Burnett, David Steele, and William Crutcher, attacked by the Indians, were all thought to have been killed. Crutcher feigned death successfully. The Indians had scalped him and left a knife imbedded in him, but miraculously, he survived.⁵

The determined spirit which led the early explorers, hunters, and traders to the abundance of field, forest and streams of Middle Tennessee, supported them throughout the harrowing time of Indian attacks, severe winters and devastating drouths.

The legislature of North Carolina formally responded to the

⁵Ibid.

petition of the Clarksville settlers in 1785. The town was then officially established and named for the famed explorer George Rogers Clark. History apparently does not record the name of the early citizen responsible for this choice. The county in which Clarksville was located was the first to bear the name of Tennessee. On March 28, 1796 at Knoxville the first legislature of the State was held. The legislature divided the Tennessee County into two new counties. James Ford represented the county and was undoubtedly the spokesman for the Middle Tennessee citizens in surrendering the proud name of their county for the new state. The newly divided county became Montgomery County and Robertson County. Clarksville, designated as the county seat for the original Tennessee County, became the county seat of Montgomery; Springfield became the county seat of Robertson County. The latter county received its name in honor of the illustrious pioneer who figured so prominently in the early explorations of Tennessee, and has rightly been referred to on numerous occasions as the "Patriarch of the Watauga". To Robertson deservedly goes much credit for the final peaceful settlement of the Indian conflicts. At the time of his death he served as the United States Agent to the Chickasaw nation. His tolerance and wisdom was highly instrumental in bringing the difficulties and hostilities between the Indian and white settlers to an end. Montgomery County was named for Colonel John Montgomery, whose role in the settlement of Middle Tennessee is well known. He lost his life in the Indian campaigns

which he had driven so valiantly, as the Colonel of the Tennessee Militia, to bring to a successful end for his country. The Nicksack Campaign in which he gave of himself so unselfishly is told and retold through literature, song and drama in Tennessee.

The first commissioners of the Tennessee County, some of whom were appointed commissioners from North Carolina in 1783 to lay off the bounty lands for the officers and soldiers of Carolina, were named in the act establishing Clarksville as the county seat. John Montgomery, Anthony Crutcher, William Polk, Anthony Bledsoe and Lardner Clark -- the first commissioners thus appointed by the legislature -- served their county well. Descendants of these old and famous names are still to be found in Montgomery County among the leaders and most successful representatives in the community.

In this stage of gradual independence from North Carolina the pioneer citizens of the western settlements were of utmost importance politically and economically to natives of their mother state. The first commissioners worked cooperatively for the best interests of the entire newly developed area. This spirit of true cooperation engendered a respect for the pioneer citizens which resulted in much courting of favor with the representatives of their counties. Both in legislation and appointments to office the new young districts became an important factor. So vital was the assistance of the early western settlers to the inhabitants of North Carolina in handling matters pertaining to land grants and

future settlements of other adventurers, anxious to migrate to the new "Promised Land", that their representatives became the most influential in the North Carolina legislature. "They dexterously used the advantages of these considerations placed in their power for the benefit of their suffering constituencies. Every thing not involving the expenditure of money by the Treasury of North Carolina was cheerfully granted to them."⁵

By gradual stages life in Clarksville began to take on the aspects of a settled community. Along with the pressing items of business associated with the peaceful settlement of land-grant disagreements, the commissioners took progressive steps toward establishing sound business practices. The first inspection of tobacco was organized in the state at Nashville in 1785. The historian John Trotwood Moore relates a tobacco inspection was set up in Clarksville in 1788.

Although the fields and streams were amply stocked to provide sufficient food for Indian and white settlers alike, and there was little lacking in the way of food or clothing (from skins), the pioneers who came seeking permanent homes sought greater diversification in food for their families. Security from economic sources was also a primary consideration of these hardy and thrifty pioneer settlers. With both of these factors in mind, thoughtful women, concerned for the welfare and happiness of their families, almost

⁵J.G.M. Ramsey, Annals of Tennessee (Kingsport, Tennessee: Kingsport Press, 1926), p. .

invariably packed closely guarded seeds of plants for food, clothing, and the comforts of life among the few sparse belongings each was permitted to bring on their journeys. Along with the corn and cotton and flax seeds, they tucked in the precious tiny seeds of the tobacco plants which had meant economic security in their own native states of Maryland, Virginia and Carolina. What a happy and providential choice they made. As soon as the land had been carefully cleared for their log homes, the women influenced the men to break the ground in which they would scatter the treasured seed.

On September 22, 1784 Governor Richard Caswell signed the land-grant at Kingston, North Carolina granting six hundred and forty acres of land to John Montgomery and Martin Armstrong in the Clarksville area. In return they gave him approximately fifty dollars for each hundred acres. In addition to John Montgomery and Martin Armstrong history records the names of Anthony Crutcher, William Crutcher, George Bell, Aeneas McCallester, Robert Nelson, Lardner Clark, William Poke, and Anthony Bledsoe among the first settlers of Clarksville.

These pioneer citizens approached matters on a "first things first" basis. Distribution of property was one of these first necessary things. Property owners, it was reasonably judged, generally were the most solid citizens in a community.

CHAPTER II

TOBACCO AND TOBACCONISTS DURING THE FIRST QUARTER

OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The land-grant given to Armstrong and Montgomery included land tracts on both sides of the Cumberland. Lots sold rapidly. The land across the Cumberland opposite the "Clarksville side" was apparently, and not surprisingly, of greater value at the end eighteenth century than that on the Clarksville side. Several factors were involved -- river frontage, water advantage, a more strategic position from which to keep a vigilant eye upon the threatening Indians -- offset the disadvantages of having to cross the river to bring products to town to be exchanged for staple goods. The few houses established for trading purposes, the simple log houses of the settlers, and strategically scattered forts along the high points of the river were all that relieved the narrow strip of land which lay under the Cumberland Bluff. Tracts of land under cultivation were necessarily kept small, as people gathered in close settlements for mutual protection against surprise attacks of the Indians.

From 1790 to 1793 lots sold freely and Mr. Titus records in Picturesque Clarksville a representative group of the transactions. We are told that a James Adams bought Lot. No. 18, one-half acre of land for \$50; John Boyd, No. 71; Phoebe McClure, Lot No. 16; Robert Dennehy, Lot No. 2, containing three acres for \$50,

also an out lot of three acres for \$50, and Lots Nos. 3 and 4, each three acres for \$50 each, November 17, 1791; James Adams bought of George Bell Lot No. 18, one-half acre for \$50, January 18, 1792; Martha Curtis bought Lot No. 51 for \$50; Elijah Robertson, from Davidson County, purchased Lot No. 80 for \$50 on April 18, 1792; George and William Briscoe sold Lot No. 53 containing one-half acre of land on March 18, 1793 to Robert Dunning for \$200; James Davis bought a lot of seven acres on the north side of Red River April 17 in 1793 for \$500.

The immediate concern of these initial citizens was a county seat (established in 1785 by Carolina law), a place to record deeds of land transactions, marriage licenses, and other contracts, and to settle differences by legal processes. Coon skins and buffalo hides were swapped by traders for grated meal, hominy, flax, home-spun cotton, and tobacco. Wagons or vehicles of any kind were rare. Ox carts and truck wagons were the principle means of transporting articles for trade. Wheels for these wagons were made by sawing three inch blocks off of large black-gum logs -- plentiful throughout the area -- and making a hole in the center for the axle. The women raised flax and cotton to clothe their families; the men cultivated corn for food and tobacco for a medium of exchange and personal pleasure. For a time hunting and fishing remained the most dependable source of supplies for home consumption and barter. Salt was one of the most expensive items to acquire, selling from \$5 to \$16 per bushel, and one of the most necessary ones since it

was essential to the preservation of meats and hides. River traffic was to reach its peak of importance at a later date. The steamboat would revolutionize transportation in 1787. However on the Cumberland during the days of the earliest settlers, canoes and small hand boats were used primarily to transport people. Heavily loaded with cargo, they could not negotiate the rapids in the Cumberland, nor the deep currents.

Nevertheless, tobacco had reached such a significant stage of importance that North Carolina, as mentioned before, set up inspection warehouses in Nashville in 1785, and in Clarksville in 1788, as Virginia had established inspection warehouses in Kentucky.

At this stage tobacco was commonly shipped on flatboats, the result of combined efforts of several planters. It was packaged either in hogsheads or bulk. Some planters -- generally the smaller planter -- employed the method familiar in the Natchez area. This method was that of packing the leaf in "Carottes" described as roll shaped packings about four inches thick. For the distinctive manner in which tobacco was thus packaged we quote Joseph C. Robert:

The stemmed tobacco was shaped to the desired form, wrapped in its own leaves, covered with cloth, then tightly pressed by a laborer who wrapped a cord round and round the bundle. To apply a suitable pressure, the operator attached one end of his rope to a post, braced his foot against the stake and maintained a suitable tension on the cord as the wrapping proceeded. After the carotte had dried and its shape therefore fixed, the cord and cloth were removed and strips of linnbark attached at intervals along the carotte.⁶

⁶ Joseph C. Robert, The Tobacco Kingdom (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1938), p. 286.

Similar methods of bulk packaging were employed by the Cumberland growers. The inspection laws were established to guarantee uniformity in the exported product, in order to build a reputable tobacco for the United States which could compete on a creditable basis with producers in other countries throughout the world for the growing foreign trade market. Based on the laws of inspection set up earlier in Virginia, these regulations were designed to provide that no tobacco could be sold unless it had been examined and approved by official inspectors. The inspectors for the most part were bonded to insure proper execution of their duties. Tobacco not considered worthy of sale was disposed of in a variety of ways. Frequently inspectors burned that which did not pass inspection. Planters and commissioners in other circumstances were left to determine for themselves the best means of disposal. Good tobacco was exchanged for warehouse receipts, popularly known as "tobacco notes". Inspection laws served the intended purpose well to a large extent. Statutes requiring shipment in hogsheads rather than in bulk eliminated many sources of argument and usual discriminations, although there still remained the problem of the varying sizes of the containers. The size of the hogsheads steadily increased with better transportation facilities, as marketing charges were computed at so much per hogshead. Hogsheads varied from the pre-colonial standard of four hogsheads per ton, to that of colonial days which averaged half a ton each, and have continued to increase to our present day.

Transportation complicated the advance of tobacco perhaps more than any other factor before the invention of the steam boat. Settlers could plant, cure, prize and have their tobacco properly inspected. Other products could withstand the long arduous journeys overland. But processed tobacco could not withstand the disastrous effects of heat and rain, or cold and snow, over the long period of time involved in transportation over primitive roads in even more primitive conveyances. The hogsheads and flatboats were a partially satisfactory answer to the problem. Tobacco packaged in the hogsheads could be rolled down the sharp inclines of dirt roads to the Cumberland. Flatboats waiting on the river could transport the golden leaf to the waiting sailboats at the end of the great Mississippi River in the Gulf of Mexico. But other complications faced the early planter in these areas. Much of the historical intrigue so badly misrepresented by contemporaries of the persons involved, developed from the economic problems which accrued from attempts to promote trade with the Spanish.

Tobacco had been cultivated in the Natchez territory since 1718. John Law's *Compagnie d'Occident* had introduced thirty planters and their families to the section of the West to grow tobacco to meet the demands of the French Market. Although his venture was not successful and folded two years later, the culture of tobacco had been introduced never to be completely uprooted in the area again. This was the fertile territory acquired by the Spanish

during the Revolution. Well aware of the tremendous profit in the business from years of experience, the Spanish government agreed to buy two million pounds of tobacco a year to be channeled through the port of New Orleans. From Virginia planters converged upon the Natchez area as those from Maryland and Carolina made their way into Kentucky and Tennessee. Land was cheap and these planters were not in search of vast plantations as the landed gentry in Virginia had developed. The farms they cultivated were small and could be handled by one family and a few servants. The soil in the new regions had not been depleted and exhausted through abuse as were the fields they left behind them. Rich in the components so necessary to the natural growth of tobacco, the crops they planted grew equally in quantity and quality. Floating the increasingly large volume of tobacco down the Mississippi was the only practical solution to the difficulty of marketing the ample crops. But as the Spanish controlled New Orleans, planters and exporters were baffled in their attempts to solve their problems. The situation led to the inevitable chicanery and intrigue labeled the "Spanish Intrigue". General James Wilkinson, a shrew trader of the late eighteenth century, either for political or economic reasons, took an oath of loyalty to Spain and was the leader in a plot to colonize the West for the Spanish. Both Governor Sevier and Governor Blount were implicated in the intrigue with Wilkinson, whether guilty or innocent. Governor Blount was the first Senator of the

United States to face the impeachment charges. Wilkinson, as a result, was the first American permitted to use the Mississippi freely by the Spanish. Tobacco from Kentucky and Tennessee was his principle commodity. President Washington was deeply concerned about the prospect of Spanish colonization of the West. Spain, in an effort to ward off prohibitive actions by the United States, opened the Mississippi to general trade. By 1790 Kentucky and Tennessee were shipping 250,000 pounds of leaf down the river. Statehood was granted to Kentucky in 1792; Tennessee, four years later.⁷

The profitable Spanish market at the end of the eighteenth century was suddenly withdrawn from the American planter. Two reasons were offered by the Spanish: that there warehouses in Seville were over-stocked; and that tobacco from Kentucky and Tennessee was being "nested". (Inferior brands of tobacco concealed among the better grades is termed "nesting" and is illegal.)

Nevertheless, the demand for tobacco was so great from overseas by the end of the century that Spain granted the right of duty free deposits to American exporters. The quixotic nature of the Spanish again closed the right of duty free deposits to the tobaccoists in 1802. Simultaneously Napoleon Bonaparte launched the successful campaigns which resulted in the entire Louisiana Territory passing from the hands of the Spanish to the French.

⁷ John Trotwood Moore, Tennessee (Chicago : The S.J. Clarks Publishing Company, 1923) Vol. , P. .

President Jefferson, an avid tobacconist and planter himself, meanwhile sent Lewis and Clark upon the famed mission to explore trade routes on the western frontier. James Monroe was sent to Paris to purchase the Isle of France in America, the Isle of Orleans. The United States Minister to France, Robert R. Livingston, already was making arrangements with the French for land purchases. When Monroe arrived in Paris in 1803 the entire Louisiana Territory had already been offered to Livingston for the United States. The historic purchase of the territory for the price of \$11,250,000 was concluded before Monroe had been in the French nation a month. Not only the Mississippi was now open to the exporters, but the groundwork for open traffic on the Atlantic was laid as well.⁸

At the beginning of the century, encouraged by the restrictions on trade being removed, planters of the Clarksville area soon were rearing a surplus of tobacco for marketing in addition to that which they grew for home consumption. Little labor was then required, and the two or four cents per pound received for the surplus supply seems an incredibly low price to modern economists, unless one recalls the small endeavor involved in producing the crop, and the proportionate buying power of the eighteenth century dollar. The flatboats, or broad horns as they were familiarly known, carried the produce to New Orleans. The boat itself was then broken up and sold, after the cargoes had been discharged

⁸ Robert K. Heimann, Tobacco and Americans (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1960), pp. 114-115.

and disposed of at the port. Gradually they gave way to the keel-boats, and even larger shipments could be made. Cargoes were no longer lost overboard with the shifting of the currents as had so frequently been the case with the flatboats. Keel boats were easier to manage. Rapids, sand banks and swift currents could be more successfully and skillfully avoided.

Although river transportation was the primary factor in the tremendous growth of tobacco export trade in America, overland transportation cannot be entirely disregarded. This problem responded to the ancient adage "Necessity is the mother of invention." The rutted dirt roads made transportation of the heavy hogsheads on wagons a nigh physical impossibility. The method of transportation called "rolling" (from which warehouses were also frequently known as "rolling houses") was the ingenious invention of the planters themselves. One or two horses were hitched to the hogshead proper by means of shafts attached to spikes, securely driven into the heads. The horses then pulled the hogshead along on its own staves, reenforced with hooping of strong hickory. The tobacco roller became a legendary figure of pioneer-settler days. He contrived a box-like attachment to the shafts of his odd conveyance in which to transport an axe, a frying pan, some bacon and a bit of meal. Hest~~lept~~pt along the way, and his meager provisions were supplemented with game he hunted along the way. His journey frequently was complicated by the breakdown of his conveyance. However he was protected by legal sanction. That is to say, if his leaf were sto-

en or tampered with during his journey, the court would offer him its protection, and the guilty offender, if caught, would be prosecuted. Theft was punishable as a felony. Primitive, hardy, rough, and independent, the tobacco rollers became the object of much mischief. The story of the practical jokers who would reverse the position of the rollers' wagons as they slept has become a classic tale of pioneer days. Directions in the wilderness were so difficult to ascertain that the unsuspecting roller would continue his journey unaware that during his sleep his wagon had been reversed. The unfortunate roller would find himself back where he came from instead of near his destination after a long day's pull.⁹

With the changes in transportation, improved tobacco as a result of inspection laws, and cessation of the Indian hostilities, Clarksville, soon after its incorporation, began to emphasize the cultivation of the tobacco crop as its main economic stabilizer.

The soil of Clarksville was of a peculiar nature, rich in certain minerals heretofore untapped by human cultivation. These elements combined with the variance in growing seasons, resulted in a type of tobacco rank in flavor and strength in contrast to the milder, sweeter Virginia and Carolina tobaccos.¹⁰ Europe became more and more a market eager and demanding for this particular type of tobacco, whose peculiar qualities were particularly sought after.

⁹ Joseph C. Robert, The Story of Tobacco in America (New York; Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), p. 65.

¹⁰ J. B. Killebrew, Tennessee Tobacco, Minerals, Live Stock (Nashville, Tennessee: Tavel Eastman and Howell, 1877), pp. 85-87.

er as a mixer for the special products they manufactured. So distinctive was this variety of tobacco, which throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century was grown almost exclusively in the Black Patch area of Kentucky and Tennessee, and was predominant in the shipments from Clarksville, that it became identified as "Clarksville" tobacco in every foreign and domestic market.

With the increasing demand for the "Clarksville" tobacco, the British factors, formerly concerned with Virginia tobacco, realized the need to gain a foothold with the planters of the Clarksville leaf. Through their Virginia correspondents they established contacts leading to the creation of stemming houses to convert the soft leaf into dry strips. So successful was the operation that stemming became one of the most important early forms of tobacco production and manufacture in Clarksville.

In 1805 Clarksville began its ascent from the strip below the bluff along the river valley to the seven hills which make it unique in Tennessee. A post-office instituted as early as 1800, and James Elder, who would serve as one of the first mayors, was the first postmaster at the turn of the century. The first newspaper was secured about 1808. As early as 1810 in the United States Herald published at Clarksville by Theoderick F. Bradford (Subscribers' fees would be \$2.00 in advance or \$2.50 at the expiration of the year) a long editorial is quoted from a neighboring newspaper proposing a "commercial system submitted to the

people of Tennessee". The article is indicative of the problems of marketing and exporting we have previously mentioned.¹¹

Two advertisements of the same paper appearing in the June 23, 1810 issue indicate factors which played an important part in the development of tobacco as a primary source of income for the area. In the advertisement pertaining to land sales a certain Mr. C. Duval advertises:

Healthy young negroes will be taken in part, and a liberal credit will be given for part of the purchase money, and good and sufficient titles will be given by C. Duval for 1,060 acre tract on Cox's Creek, on the great Mcadree Road leading from Clarksville to Nashville.

And Captain John Stewart:

West Fork of Red River, three miles from Clarksville, 500 acres. Will take in exchange horses, hogs, beef-cattle, tobacco, cotton, negroes, and cash. He (John Stewart) is always on the premise ready to bargain -- good whisky grog and a hearty welcome -- John Stewart.

The acceptance of negroes and tobacco in exchange for land reveal the development of the economic interests at the beginning of the century.

Plantations were constantly expanding as the demand for tobacco increased. Tobacco itself was bringing higher prices as the market in Europe became more and more successful. John Stewart and his brother Bryce were thrifty Scotsmen whose father died before they migrated to America, and whose mother did not survive long after

¹¹ Micor-film File, Austin Peay State Library, Clarksville, Tennessee. 1960.

er. They engaged in the tobacco business in Clarksville from its earliest period. Ultimately (some considerable time after the local advertisement appeared) John and Bryce together set up an extensive stemmery and rehandling business. John returned to Richmond, possibly to handle the British contacts, but Bryce remained to become one of Clarksville's most influential tobaccoists.

Slave labor became an essential part of the tapestry of the tobacco business, whose many threads were so intricately woven. One of these complicated threads of business was the high price of slave labor. The value of a strong young male slave frequently being equivalent to the purchase price of a 500 acre piece of land. For with the increased size of the plantations, the white planter could no longer work the fields alone. And the durable nature of the African slave, already accustomed to tropical heat, survived far longer hours of work, than his white master could endure, unaccustomed as the latter was to either the heat or the strenuous labor.

No explanation is available from historical records to clarify the delay in the election of the first mayor and aldermen of Clarksville. Perhaps the commissioners appointed when the city was chartered by North Carolina had performed their duties so well, its citizens were reluctant to change the system. perhaps other matters were more pressing at the time. Nevertheless, it was not until some time in 1819 that notice was given by the Sheriff of Montgomery County --in pursuance with the act of the General

Assembly of the State of Tennessee at Murfreesboro on October 23, 1809 incorporating the town of Clarksville -- that an election would be held on January 8, 1820 to elect seven aldermen. Stephen Cocke and Eli Lockers were appointed judges of the election. Sheriff B. King announced the tabulation of votes, revealing that John H. Poston, Samuel Nance, Joel C. Rice, Phillip Johnson, Peter N. Marr, William J. Lynes, and James Barret were duly elected. On January 13, 1821 they were sworn in before the new Sheriff, Charles Bailey. Samuel Nance was appointed mayor by unanimous consent of the aldermen. John Rice was appointed first constable, and along with Andrew Nance it befell his lot to patrol the city two nights a week (or oftener if the mayor deemed it necessary). The patrols were to receive \$50 a year for their services. Joel C. Rice was appointed the recorder for the aldermen at \$25 a year remuneration. The first meeting was adjourned "to meet again on Friday January 26, at the counting room of Samuel Nance at candlelight.¹² Business of the next meeting was the swearing in of the candidates for the respective offices they held.

Almost ten years had elapsed since the town of Clarksville was incorporated on October 23, 1809 by an act of the General Assembly of the States of Tennessee at Murfreesboro. Within the ten years considerable progress had been made by the first settler

¹²Micro-filmed records of Clarksville City Council. Clarksville City Water and Electricity Department. Clarksville, Tennessee, 1961.

families . From a comparative wilderness they had created a lively and thriving community.

The second session of the fifteenth Congress of the United States recognized the importance of the growing community. An important act was passed by this session to alter and secure certain post roads. Then as now commerce depended upon a great deal of land transportation. Good roads were essential. The new act procured a leading route for Clarksville connected with the Missouri Territory to Louisiana. From Trenton in Christian County in Kentucky, the post road would be routed to Clarksville. Whereas news, mail, and much commerce depended upon the course of the roads thus designated, Clarksville citizens were enthusiastic over the decision of Congress.

News of the world was often delayed because of failure of the mail to arrive from Nashville, with resulting delays in publication of the weekly paper, or its publication with the latest news. Perhaps the consequent frustration explained in part the rapid changeover of ownership of the first local newspaper. George Crutcher published The Recorder weekly (on Thursdays) when ever possible. One copy of this newspaper is kept on file at Austin Peay State College. It is listed as the fourteenth number of the first volume printed in December 15, 1815. There followed in 1818 The Weekly Chronicle.

In the September 16, 1818 issue two different demands for tobacco are listed. The T.S. Hannon Company, tobaccoists, adver-

tise for a "quantity of tobacco, feathers, pork, etc. for which they will give the highest prices" on order to have stock for their growing interests. The C.H.P. Marr and Company, General Store, on the other hand "are disposed to receive tobacco in the fall in payment for goods which a liberal will be allowed." As a commodity to be resold, then, and as a medium of exchange, tobacco played an important part in the economy of the local community.

The story of the anticipated completion of the Tobacco Port Warehouse was a featured article of the same newspaper on the same date. The warehouse was situated on a "commanding eminence", a half mile below the mouth of the Red River, immediately on the bank of the Cumberland, but above the highest water mark. (This was a safeguard against floods):

The easy access by land for loaded carriages and likewise the convenience of loading boats directly from the warehouse by windless will make it more convenient than any other situation known on the river. The warehouse is constructed upon a plan for safe deposit for any article descending or ascending the river. The citizens may find it more convenient to deposit their produce or merchandise at the above named warehouse may rest assured that every exertion on the part of the subscribers will be used to give general satisfaction.

The proprietors of the warehouse were listed as Trice and Atkinson.

Two steamboats -- the General Green and the General Robertson -- were the only ones to navigate the Cumberland River before 1822. In that year, a new boat, the Nashville, entered the trade. To Andrew Vance and John Dicks fell the honor of being the first Clarksvillians to enter the shipping trade with the first steamboat ever controlled by Clarksville people.

From the City Council Records of July 20, 1821 we gain an insight into the nature of the community from the recording of the following regulation:

After August 1, 1821 no one shall ring the courthouse bell but the sheriff, his deputy, or deputies. And only on the following occasions: 1. Opening and closing Circuit Court 2. Opening of sales and property at auction to be held at Courthouse 3. Foregoing resolution is not to prohibit ringing of bell in case of fire --or public worship-- to be held at Courthouse. Violation not less than \$1.00 not more than \$5.00 fine.

Repairs to Main Street from Cumberland River to the Market House were authorized on January 27, 1825. The price was not to exceed \$50.00. Marr and Vance were awarded a contract of \$25.00 to build a bridge across Spring Branch in the town. And \$25.00 were authorized to fence in the Market House with cedar posts, four feet high, all materials to be furnished by Sam McFall. The finished work was to include two gates four feet wide.

The Weekly Chronicle gave way to the new newspaper, The Town Gazette and Farmers Register on Monday July 5, 1819. The editor, Mr. Fitzgerald sold the Gazette in less than a year to T.S. Shannon, a tobacconist. This was significant as it indicated in some small measure the success tobacconists and tobacco traders were achieving. It was a success sufficient to permit them to broaden their business ventures, as Mr. Shannon had done in the purchase of the newspaper.

As the community grew, careful attention was given to the education of its citizens, as well as to their social and cultural growth. John D. Tyler, who was to become a leading citizen, opened

first boarding academy in Clarksville, which would accommodate six or eight students at \$35 per session. Each boarder was to furnish his own bed, bedding, and candles. School was to begin January 26, 1820 and end on June 20th. The second session would begin on the first of July and would be terminated on the twentieth of December.

Such were the conditions at the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century in Clarksville. The wilderness dominated by hostile Indians had given way to the insistent determination of the pioneers. From the dense forests and fertile lands covered with wild growth the settlers had cleared homesites and fertile fields. Government, business, education, transportation, growth and development in all the facets of the community were successfully launched during the first twenty-five years. And underlying the success of all these ventures was the magic crop of tobacco. On both sides of the Cumberland and the Red Rivers the heavy leaves of the beautiful plant stimulated constant efforts for greater production, marketing, trade and consequent growth of the community which benefited so tremendously from its development.

No longer merely a pioneer community, Clarksville had in the few years since its incorporation become an important economic factor in the State of Tennessee through its tobacco interests.

CHAPTER III

TOBACCO, SUCCESSFUL PLANTERS, MERCHANTS, AND MANUFACTURERS 1825 - 1860

The first quarter of the century saw the pioneer town converted into a stable, well adjusted town, inviting new enterprises, and increasing businesses which had survived the hardships of earlier days. The population of Clarksville by 1826 numbering approximately two hundred and fifteen inhabitants, was composed of sixty-five unmarried men, eight unmarried women, fifty-five children, and the balance married couples. Ned Barker and Thomas Atkinson were among the first tobacco shippers. They loaded their product on flatboats at Cumberland Town (now New Providence). With the introduction of the shipping trade into Clarksville business ventures by Andrew Vance and John Dicks, the flatboats began to suffer much competition. Yet until 1840 tobacco shipping continued to be primarily dependent upon the out-moded flatboats.

Clarksville remained somewhat isolated in its strategic position between the Cumberland and the Red River. Commerce was hampered by the lack of facilities for crossing the river. The planters on the other side of the river were eager to trade and ship their tobacco from Clarksville. In the tobacco season both banks of the river were lined with people waiting their turn impatiently for crossing the lively little river, to load and unload their heavily

laden tobacco carts and wagons on the slow ferry, or to return with the merchandise they had purchased in exchange for the valuable leaf, As the ferry reached one bank of the river, it was slowly maneuvered around by a team of blind mules hitched to a heavy beam that in turn was attached to a wheel. Blind mules were preferred because they did not become dizzy while treading the endless circle.¹³

The need for better transportation to expedite business was constantly urged, until the final construction of the first bridge in 1829. The bridge, which meant so much to the planters and trade people alike, was the private enterprise of James B. Reynolds, "The Irish Count". An Irishman by birth, Reynolds had all the old world courtesy which derived for him the popular title of "The Count". A prominent lawyer of the early Clarksville bar, Reynolds was also an astute politician. He was elected from his state as a member of Congress from 1815 to 1817 and again from 1823 to 1825. The bridge he constructed for the benefit of the farmers across the Red River was a toll bridge. It served the people for seven years until it was declared unsafe, and Reynolds gave up his rights to J.H. Poston, C. Crusman, Samuel Lynes, A. Vance, John Dicks, and L.W. King. This committee employed Major McFall to repair the structure. It

¹³Evelyn Scott, quoted in Tennessee A Guide to the State (New York: The Viking Press, 1939).

was apparently with some reluctance that the charter was given up by "The Count", but he agreed to do so with the stipulation that a stock company with \$18,000 to \$20,000 capital should be organized to build a "good, safe bridge".

If it is possible to single out any one individual who embodies all the finest attributes of the tobaccoists of Clarksville, that distinction, perhaps, would go to Mr. Henry F. Beaumont. Born in Halifax, Yorkshire, England on December 31, 1800, he came to America as a sixteen year old boy to establish residence in Lynchburg, Virginia. In the heart of the Virginia tobacco business, young Beaumont learned all there was to know about the business during the week, and evenings, Sundays and all his spare time, devoted to the study of the Methodist ministry. In 1821 he married Miss Sara Anderson, one of the loveliest and most prominent of Virginia's aristocratic society. In 1829 the courageous young couple, lured by the stories of the settlers of the West, packed their old-fashioned (even for the nineteenth century) wagon, and headed west. It must, indeed, have been an unusual sight to see -- the wagon drawn by six large draft horses. It had a tremendous frame bed and high side boards, white-oak bows and white osnaburg cover. Its size was compared to that of the ordinary flatboats used for freighting down the river. The family itself traveled in a two horse carryall. Thus they arrived at the upper tavern in Clarksville. This hostel stood at the end of Franklin

over-looking the Cumberland. We are indebted to Mr. Titus for his account:

This was a scene like a show entering the town, and everybody ran out, gazing with curiosity at the newcomers, and wondering from whence they came in such a turn out. Their young lives had been blessed with four lovely children, all about the same size, and when Mr. Beaumont hopped out of the carry-all and commenced unloading the children, first sweet little Adaline, then Egbert, next Sterling and Charlie, bright little boys, and then his lovely wife, Mr. Bringham, who always saw something ludicrous in everything, burst out in laughter and asked the tavern-keeper if he was "importing Sunday schools."¹⁴

Mr. Beaumont bought a lot and built a small house over-looking the river. He built the first stemmery ever erected in Clarksville.

This warehouse was made of slabs, the bark sides of saw-logs. The logs Mr. Beaumont bought from a country saw-mill. The slabs were placed ends up. From this building the first hogsheads of strips were packed to be shipped down the Cumberland. Mr. Beaumont was sincere in his devotion to the ministry. He never permitted his business to interfere with his Christian duty as he saw it. Whenever a boat brought a consignment of goods on Sunday, the boat had to wait to unload on Monday or go to another port. It was under Mr. Beaumont's influence that the first church house was erected in 1832. Mr. Beaumont did not serve as pastor, but was always one of the staunchest supporters. Frequently his home became the home also of the presiding minister. Mr. Beaumont, himself, frequently served as the preacher in the country on Sundays whenever a congregation could be gathered.

¹⁴W.P. Titus. Picturesque Clarksville, p. 175.

The tobacco stemmery built by Mr. Beaumont stood at the corner of Commerce and Front Streets. (The site of tobacco houses still to-day). There were no surfaced streets in Clarksville at the time of the stemmery's construction. An act of the city commissioners to macadamize the streets was to come later. The tobacco was pulled through the mud or rolled down to the boats on skids in lieu of a wharf, which was also to be constructed later as the tobacco traffic increased.

Twice Mr. Beaumont moved his place of residence. From his original small home he moved to Munford Avenue and Second Street, and finally to a home fronting on College Street. Near his home he also constructed a large stemmery which was operated by his son, Sterling Beaumont. Of the seven sons and two daughters born to the Beaumonts (in addition to the children previously mentioned, Thomas W., Frank S., Clara B., Irwin B., and John Fletcher were born) three lost their lives during the Civil War, Thomas, Frank, and John. Tragedy was to strike again some ten years later when Irwin was killed by a man he attempted to arrest in line with his duty as sheriff of Montgomery County.

Mr. Beaumont was so trusted by his associates that the story is told farmers frequently sent their tobacco and pork to him for market without any stipulated price or contract, trusting Mr. Beaumont to give fair prices for the weight established.

Mr. John Proudfit, a contemporary of Mr. Beaumont's offers

a striking contrast to the picture of Mr. Beaumont. Mr. Proudfit, too, was one of Clarksville's earliest stemmers, and a keen rival to Mr. Beaumont for the finest crops of the area. Elderly, eccentric, a bachelor, Mr. Proudfit professed no religion, and frequently ridiculed the devotion of his rival which prevented Mr. Beaumont attending to business on Sunday. Mr. Proudfit had no such scruples. He unloaded boats on Sundays whenever they arrived. However the day came when the old man was stricken with a fatal illness. Aware of approaching death, Mr. Proudfit called for his old rival and requested the religion of Henry Beaumont. He asserted, "I do not want and wont have any other kind."¹⁵

Tobacconists of Clarksville have throughout the years followed the example given them by Mr. Beaumont in giving generously of their talents to the betterment of the community. In addition to his activities as a tobacconist and in the service of his church, Mr. Beaumont served as president of the Board of Trustees for the Clarksville Female Academy from its organization in 1836 until his death; as a member of several wholesale grocery enterprises, and finally as an agent for the popular steamer, Clarksville. The captain of this boat, the first named for the town, was young Joseph M. Irwin. A steamboat captain was an honored position, and natives of Clarksville took a personal interest in the personable

¹⁵ Ibid. p.176

young captain of this boat named for the town. The interest mounted as the citizens realized the young captain favored their city above all the stops he made from New Orleans to Clarksville. It was a sad day when word reached the town of the news of the sinking of the Clarksville with part of her crew and two hundred tons of valuable cargo. The joy and relief of the community upon hearing the captain was safe may have hastened the announcement which soon followed of the marriage on June 17, 1841 of Captain Irwin and Adaline Beaumont, the eldest of Mr. Beaumont's nine children.

Prominent among the early tobaccoists of Clarksville also is the name of Dr. Walter Harding Drane. Young Dr. Drane graduated from Transylvania University at Lexington, Kentucky. He was twenty-four years old when he came to Clarksville to begin his practice. He was a capable physician and skilled surgeon. In 1825 he married Miss Eliza J. McClure, the daughter of Hugh McClure, one of the wealthiest citizens of Clarksville. The Clarksville Male Academy (erected on the site of Southwestern Presbyterian University, and subsequently Austin Peay State College) and the Female Academy both found an ardent supporter in the young doctor. His interest in his community was largely responsible for the construction of the turnpike and bridges which contributed so materially to the growth and development of Clarksville. He paid \$10,000 dollars towards the building of the Memphis, Clarksville and Louisville Railroad, and when he was told the stock was worthless and his money gone after

the road was completed, he stated it made no difference, the important thing was that Clarksville had the railroad.

In 1843 at the age of forty-six, Dr. Drane moved to his farm on the Hopkinsville road. He gave up the practice of his profession and began to operate in Tobacco exclusively. He established extensive connections in manufacturing with the English market and amassed a large fortune. Ever ready to accept a challenge, in 1857 when in cooperation with the Tennessee State Agricultural Bureau, the State Fair offered a \$100 premium for the best ten acres of wheat grown in the state in an attempt to stimulate interest in growing wheat crops in Tennessee, Dr. Drane won the award. On the 40% acres of wheat which he harvested, he produced 1,102 bushels or an average of 29% bushels an acre. The Tennessee Department of Agriculture records that in a field of ten acres of the best of it, the yield would have been 40 bushels to the acre.¹⁶ Dr. Drane died in 1865, and his widow occupied a beautiful home fronting College Street, opposite Fourth Street, at the time possessing a great lawn of twenty or more acres and a beautiful lake. The Dranes had eleven children whose descendants have been influential citizens of Clarksville, following in the footsteps of their illustrious, successful ancestors, in every age.

¹⁶Louis D. Wallace, Editor, A Century of Tennessee Agriculture. Tennessee Department of Agriculture. (Nashville, Tennessee: 1954), p. 207.

Two of the early citizens engaged in general merchandise and the tobacco storage, commission, and freighting business at Trice's Landing were Peter O'Neal and Thomas F. Pettus. Mr. O'Neal was born about four miles from Clarksville in 1813 on the O'Neal Place farm. He began his early career in the service of Sam Vance, as a clerk. The business of Pettus and O'Neal grew so large, it was necessary for one of the partners to represent their interests in New Orleans, the trading point for all the southern and western country. Mr. O'Neal elected to open a receiving and forwarding house in New Orleans for the business. When the business became so arduous that the partners determined a living could be made with less effort, the partnership was amicably dissolved. Mr. O'Neal returned to Montgomery County to purchase a five hundred acre farm, on which to raise tobacco and stock. He later served his community as County Court Clerk, appointed by Judge King to fill the unexpired term of W.E. Newell.

Thomas F. Pettus was the son of Stephen Pettus. The elder Mr. Pettus was one of the first boat builders of Clarksville. He had an upright or sash saw mill on West Fork Creek. A Mr. Sandy Johnson records in his reminiscences of 1820-1823 that he built flatboats for Stephen Pettus for which he was paid a monthly wage of \$8.00. Thomas F. Pettus was only two years old at the time Mr. Johnson was employed by his father. At nineteen years of age Mr. Pettus engaged in business with C. Myrtle, buying out T.H. Trice

and Brother in New Providence., where he became an influential figure in the establishment of the New Providence Tobacco Market, as well as president of the bank. At his death in 1875 he served the Clarksville area as vice-president of the Clarksville Tobacco Board of Trade.

The Public Square of Clarksville has been a center of activity with a constantly changing scene since the city's earliest days. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, when tobacco interests were just being successfully established the Square presented a picture which was to be changed frequently and rapidly. Before 1830 there was a merchandizing store on the Square operated by Hugh McClure in the area of the Square now occupied by Rudolph, Hach and Company. The store would eventually give way to the People's Warehouse. John H. Poston owned the largest general store on the southwest corner of the Square. Dr. M. Rowley & Scott located in a drugstore at the future site of the Tobacco Exchange building. A Mr. Dailey operated the only other hotel opposite the Market House. This Market House had been authorized by action of the City Council. The first Market House was situated on the site of McClure's store (1820). By an act of the commissioners at the August 31, 1825 meeting of the City Council the repair work previously authorized was awarded to the lowest bidders, McFall and Rice.

The repair work however did not satisfy the progressive citizens long. On December fifth, in 1827 a petition was filed

with the commissioners to move the location and erect a new one.¹⁷ In February, 1828, it was voted to enclose the Market House in cedar posts, eight feet apart, four feet high. These were to be plank-
ed and capped in the manner of the fence in front of the Huling home on Franklin Street. The commissioners provided for gates with chains and blocks to assure keeping them shut. Not until 1831 was a contract made with Joshua Elder to sell the remains of the old Market House. The New Market House would temporarily be delayed.

Caldwell and Laird were boot and shoemakers who advertised in the Chronicle published by Nathan Peeples and Heydan E. Wells in 1818. Printing almanacs and other publications augmented the income of the newspaper publishers. James Blackwell provided apple brandy and cider at reasonable prices. The cider sold for seventy-five cents a gallon; the brandy at \$1.25. Lawyers were more abundant than ministers and doctors in those early days. Henry H. Bryan, William E. Williams, Sterling Neblett, Stephen Thomas, and Stephen Cocke constituted the quorum to hold the Montgomery County Court of 1818. Hayden E. Wells served as ranger for the country, and newspapers of the day indicate this man was one of the busiest in the community. Advertisements describing strays picked up fill more space than political news of the day. The county assumed the responsibility for the strays until rightful ownership could be established and the owner paid his indebtedness to the county for recovery of the strays. There were no fencing laws at the time.

¹⁷Micro-filmed City County Records. Ibid.

The old Court House stood at the opposite end of the Public Sqyare from the original Market House, and its site was to become the location of the new Market House in future years. Several small shanties of nondescript enterprises and a like number of whisky saloons were located on the north side of the Square. Sam Wade's blacksmith shop serviced the community. At the southeast corner of First and Frankli Streets John Collins engaged in hat making below the future site of the Franklin House. Below Dr. Rowley's drugstore a wool-carding machine was operated by Mr. Prouty. Mr. Lyon was the proprietor of a saddle shop. On the future site of the Presbyterian Church stood a cotton gin. John Cain tailored fine coats for the men, at twelve dollars in his shop on the north side of the Square. Jack Hale was among the first saloon keepers and an excellent horse trader. Mr. James Elder, previously referred to as the first post-master of Clarksville, and Mr. William Bringhurst began jointly the first carriage factory soon after the arrival of the latter gentleman from Germantown, Pennsylvania in 1828. He married a local belle, the daughter of one of Clarksville's first commissioners, Julia Huling. The handsome carriages constructed in the Prince Albert style were familiar sights especially on Sundays, when they were most frequently used by the local families to attend church.

This was the scene in Clarksville in the first quarter of the century. A place of constant change, yet not too concerned with providing the bare necessitites of life, and attempting to

establish education for its young people, to overlook entirely the social amenities of the day. In a history of the Episcopal Church we are indebted to the Reverend A.E. Whittle for an account summarizing the social opportunities of the day:

But the Clarksville citizens of that far off day had time and opportunity for the social amenities, for balls were fairly frequent occurrences. There were apparently three kinds, ministering to the three different classes of people. The dollar ball was very popular and well attended, for evening dress was not a requirement for participation in the gay festivities. The three-dollar ball was for anyone who could raise the necessary entrance fee, but the five-dollar ball was for the upper stratum of society and demanded claw-hammer coats on the part of the gentlemen, 18 and silks and satins of the crinoline variety for ladies.

River traffic, providing as it did the outlet for the surplus products which the settlers gradually began to accumulate, became the most important factor of the decade. Competition steadily increased and transportation for a hogshead of tobacco to New Orleans was set at \$6.00. Before the Civil War better than sixty steamboats docked at Clarksville each week. They were busy days on the Cumberland.

The tobacco planted on the virgin soil of Tennessee, for years enriched by minerals and the ashes set by many fires of the Indians, to burn off the scrub brush in order to clear land to graze the buffalo and the deer, developed a type destined to make the small community known all over the world.

18A.E. Whittle, The First Hundred Years, (Nashville, Tennessee: Baird-Ward Printing Company, 1932), p. 6.

The message of Governor John Sevier to the State Congress on September 19, 1799 was almost prophetic in nature. Governor Sevier had stated, "Providence has blessed this State with a soil peculiarly calculated for the production of ...tobacco ...and has navigable rivers, amply sufficient to enable us to export to the best of markets." The soil of Tennessee indeed provided a source of economy undreamed of by the Governor.¹⁹

Guests of the early settlers first enjoyed the distinctive flavor of the Clarksville type tobacco cultivated in the small gardens around their simple homes. They carried with them the story of the special quality of the Clarksville leaf. The peculiar flavor and unusual strength of the dark-fired type, in strong contrast to the sweetness of the Virginia and North Carolina leaf, found a particularly profitable market overseas. It was similar to the heavy black tobaccos of the James River in the "fat" characteristic sought by the European buyers. The Clarksville type provided a successful mixer with the finer varieties of the weed grown in the eastern states.

With the popularity of the Clarksville type established in Europe, the British also began to consider its advantages. The English

¹⁹J.G.M. Ramsey, Annals of Tennessee (Kingsport, Tennessee: Kingsport Press, 1926), p. 705.

companies were particularly interested in the soft leaf after it had been converted into dry strips. The former demand of the English for the whole leaf was replaced by a growing interest in the tobacco processed by the stemming houses. This demand explains the developement of the stemmeries in the early history of Clarks-ville tobacco trade. An explanation of the stripping process and the product commonly known as "strips" given by the famous Tennessee Commissioner of Agriculture, Mr. J. B. Killebrew presents the most accurate description. He states that the tobacco was tough, thiok, gummy and leathery in its character, and possessing the greatest capacity for absorbing water of any other type tobacco. Because the center rib of the tobacco leaf weighed approximately a fourth of the entire leaf, these ribs were carefully removed from each leaf. The sectional halves of the leaf then sold in the foreign markets as strips. Mr. Killebrew explains the necessity of this type of production:

The making of strips is a business in itself, and employs hundreds of persons in all the tobacco growing sections of Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky. The necessity for making strips arose from the enormous tax placed upon tobacco by the English government. It was found that the stem, which is the least valuable part of the whole leaf, was in weight about twenty-five percent of the whole leaf, and as it was well nigh valueless, could not be sold for the sum levied as a tax upon it; by taking it out, one-fourth of the tax could be saved, and more useful tobacco secured. The making of strips, therefore is simply taking out the midrib of the leaf. The two halves of the leaves are then tied up in bundles and hung up until thoroughly dried. When the strips are just damp enough to be handled without breaking, they are untied and packed and prized lightly in casks, so as to weigh

from 1200 to 1400 lbs., and in this condition are then shipped to England.

As the tax on tobacco in England is added to the price when sold, so every pound of water which tobacco will absorb when it reaches England is a clear gain of 72 cents plus the price of the tobacco. The Clarksville type will bear heavy watering. When stemmed, the leaf should be very damp. In this condition the stem pulls out with but little of the leaf adhering.²⁰

The early inspection laws which resulted in the Tobacco Notes, a combination warehouse receipt and inspector's certificate, had slowly but surely provided an opportunity for unscrupulous inspectors to feather their own nests. As long as planters provided sufficient "sweetening", the inspector would pass the tobacco instantly, and frequently close his eyes to the inferior condition the inspection might reveal. The honest planters, whose tobacco was carefully packaged to meet all the legal requirements, frequently saw the inspection of his tobacco delayed in preference to those who had "cooperated" with the inspector. Even in circumstances where actual abuse did not exist, planters felt the pinch of having to wait long weeks before they received payment for the tobacco shipped to the inspection ports.

Subtle differences in types and qualities of tobacco became more and more evident as tobacco culture increased. Manufacturers soon realized the benefit in examining the leaf personally or designating buyers to do so for them. No longer was the inspector's

²⁰J.B. Killebrew, Tennessee, Tobacco, Minerals, Livestock (Nashville, Tennessee: Tavel, Eastmand & Howell, 1877), p.82.

certificate sufficient. As a result buyers began to insist on sampling the hogsheads of tobacco even after it had been officially inspected and re-coopered. This soon became an expensive process. Both planters and buyers desired a more practical solution to the problem of determining the quality and type of the tobacco. Buyers soon found it more feasible to examine the tobacco at the warehouse where the official inspector would pass judgement on the leaf. This proved to be such a popular system, that the small inspection places soon could not accommodate sufficient number of planters and buyers. The warehouses converted into market places made it necessary to increase the size of the inspection stations. Buyers crowded the warehouses as never before. A typical scene repeated wherever tobacco was sold is described as:

One or more hogsheads are opened and a public signal is given, by the sound of a trumpet, that the gentlemen speculators may attend. As many as may be in readiness come forward. The tobacco is broken open, and each one presents himself to inspect for himself, and make up his own private opinion of its quality. The planter must then instantly sell to one of the persons present, for if the sale be deferred, he will be subjected to another inspection ... But this mode of doing business is new to the planters, and many of²¹ them are so embarrassed by it as to receive real injury.

With the introduction of personal inspection methods the auction method gradually took shape. The official inspectors no longer assumed a role of such importance as before. Official seals were

²¹ Joseph C. Robert, The Story of Tobacco in America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), p.69.

still required by law. But the buyers could see for themselves whether the inspector's evaluation was authentic. However the inspectors were well trained in the knowledge of tobacco. Nor were they going to cast aside their talent. As the methods of sale changed, they adapted their roles to fit the new system. The inspectors soon became the first auctioneers. Sometimes they served as inspectors, auctioneers, and commission merchants rolled into one ! The term "break" -- formerly applied to the process of plying open the processed down hoghead of tobacco leaf to permit inspection also was adapted to the change in the new sales method. The "break" was and is even now used to designate the sale by auction at the warehouses.

The beginning of the century saw all these changes, but local newspapers of the day still revealed that some planters brought their tobacco directly to the merchants who would accept the leaf as a medium of exchange for goods advanced during the year. In the Clarksville Gazette of April 12, 1820 C.H.P. Marr & Co., at Martin and Napier's Tavern in Clarksville offered a handsome supply of goods. "The firm are disposed to receive tobacco in the fall for payment of goods for which a liberal price will be allowed." Individual planters also set up private exchanges offering samples of tobacco for inspection prior to sales of tobacco at the plantation.

The Clarksville market was well established through the

efforts of Mr. Proudfit and Reverend Henry F. Beaumont as a stemming market to meet the demands of the British market. The names of McKeage, Dunlop, Stewart, Drane, and Clark became more and more familiar in the next decades. With the keen business acumen of the first citizens of Clarksville, the production of tobacco on surrounding farms was stimulated to a degree which would focus world attention upon the Clarksville market.

Vance and Dick, the leading shippers of the twenties, controlled all steamboats navigating the Cumberland for a number of years. About 1830 the enterprising business men erected the "Prouty Place" House. The house faced on Main Street. The front portion was constructed of brick and stone, and the rest of the building was wood. This was still the era in which all Clarksville tobacco went to New Orleans for direct sale or reshipment to Europe. Originally established both as a grocery and a storage place for tobacco, and other items (including grain) to be sent to New Orleans, the Prouty House business was conducted by Mr. Vance. Mr. Dick went to New Orleans to handle on commission all the products received in that city from the Cumberland Valley.

The Prouty House is of great significance to Clarksville tobaccoists as the first site of a tobacco inspection ever held in Clarksville. In the Spring of 1842, in the rear shed of the house, William B. Collins, John Roberts, William R. Lee, and John Keesee

performed their duties as tobacco inspectors. Not many hogsheads were sold by the inspection method for the first three years. Speculators as well as stemmers and flatboaters all resisted the new system. They were suspicious of and resented the new method and what they considered an invasion of their interests. Mr. Dick died in 1843, and it is presumed Mr. Vance passed away in the same year, as no further record of his participation in a business venture is recorded. The next proprietors would be S.S. Williams and Richard Barker, however for only one year.

Mr. William had served as chief clerk in the business of Vance and Dick. He was therefore a familiar person to the public, and perhaps of even greater advantage, he was thoroughly familiar with the business.

As the large British factors constantly increased their demands for the profitable strips, other tobaccoists followed the lead of Mr. Beaumont, some of who have already been mentioned. Additional stemmers listed among the earliest to engage in the prolific business in Clarksville were the Messrs. Buckholder, the Stewart Brothers, Mr. John W. Barker, Messrs. Browder and McClure, William Jones, and other lesser in importance, history fails to record. So successfully carried out were the operations of the stemmers that the business became a permanent part of Clarksville tobacco trade. Along Front and Spring Streets the stemmeries began

to appear. Some of the original buildings still stand to-day. Later as the Ohio River Districts proved to be better stemming points, the Clarksville leaf tobacco trade became a more important phase of the industry for local business men.

Following the first inspection in the Protuy House, the first sales were held by Witherspoon & Company. Replacing the old system of shipping tobacco to New Orleans was not an immediate change. Only by gradual stages did the planters begin to see the advantages of the new methods. Seeing the neighbors' crops, comparing types and qualities of the tobacco marketed with their own, hearing critical comments of buyers about the curing of the crops and the handling thereof, observing how samples appeared after they were extracted from the tobacco -- all these factors slowly won the planters over to the new routine.

Sales in the warehouses of inspected tobacco -- by men appointed by the County Court until 1871 -- were made in suitable rooms, comparatively small, as the volume of sales remained proportionately small until the early fifties. This was the beginning of the system unique in America of selling tobacco by public auction.

The name of the Stewart Brothers, natives of Scotland, are among the first to be prominently identified with the tobacco business of Clarksville. Bryce Stewart and his brothers, John and Daniel, came to the United States in 1825. In 1834 Mr. Stewart

arrived in Clarksville to make his permanent home. With the help of his brother John he established an extensive stemmery. Speculations by handlers in the early days of tobacco trade were profitable ventures. Mr. Stewart was a wise buyer who knew the difference in a good or a bad lot of tobacco. He soon had an enviable reputation among the tobacconists. Growers frequently competed to sell their tobacco to him because of his fair price and just handling. Bryce Stewart soon developed such a profitable business in Clarksville that he was able to expand his interests to additional stemmeries in Missouri and Kentucky. Only the Civil War slowed down the growth and development of Bryce Stewart's further ventures. Nor did he limit himself to tobacco, although this interest made all others possible for him. With the increase in the demand for cotton, Stewart expanded his interests to purchase large supplies of cotton also. Eventually he possessed additional estates in Virginia and Kentucky. Recognized as one of the wealthiest of the early business men of Clarksville. Mr. Stewart gave back to his community in the same measure that he had received from it. He became a leader in the procurement of educational facilities, its religious growth, and its cultural progress.

The business men of these early days of Clarksville were energetic and resourceful and cautious not "to put their eggs in one basket". From the advertisements of the newspapers we are frequently impressed with the rapidity with which ownership of

various business occupations changed hands. And paradoxically the venture which did not succeed for one proprietor, the next year often became profitable for the new ones. Among the names we read frequently attached to changing enterprises are the McClures. Hugh McClure, whose daughter married Dr. Walter Harding Drane, was the proprietor of a store located at the present site of Rudolph, Hach and Company. Thomas McClure shared the honors with S.S. Williams and Company in 1845 of operating the main warehouses for sale of inspected tobaccos. The inspectors elected for that year were A. D. Witherspoon, W.R. Leigh, H.H. Smith, and Benjamin Orgain. John Roberts replaced Benjamin Orgain as the latter failed to qualify according to the requirements. The official inspection warehouse of this year in addition to the McClures' warehouse was Beaumont, Payne and Company (successors to an earlier company about which little is recorded other than its name --S.S. Witherspoon and Company -- in which the "Company" represented Mr. Henry L. Bailey, the son of Charles Bailey, Clerk of the Circuit Court and Magistrate of this area for many years).

Selling tobacco by sample was also implemented at Trice's landing in January of 1847 through the company of Garrott, Bell and Company. The proximity of the landing to Clarksville would seem to justify its inclusion in the tobacco interests of the Clarksville area.

Although a detailed account of each of the houses which

contributed so materially to the growth of the Clarksville business prior to the Civil War has not been recorded, we do know the names of the many organizations which promoted its interests. We know that until the banner year of 1855 -- in spite of individual successes through speculation -- as a business the success of tobacco was comparatively moderate until the fifties. Trice and Barker, Trice, Poindexter and Company, Barker and Diffenderfer, S.A. Sawyer (who later became the Senior partner in the business of Sawyer, Wallace and Company of New York and Louisville), W. S. McClure, C.H. McClure, John K. Smith and Company, Oldham, Homar and Company, Porter and Smith, Howell, Blackman and Company, and Joseph P. Williams were the outstanding warehousemen. The stemmery business included an equally distinguished list: John W. Barker, Dr. Walter Harding Drane, Thomas F. Pettus, John K. Smith, Messrs. John McKeage and Sons, Messrs. Henry Beaumont and Sons, Messrs. Clark and Barker, Messrs. W. H. and G. Bryarly, Messrs. Forbes and Pritchett, Mr. M.M. Kerr, Hugh Dunlop, Messrs. Bradley and Company, and a few apparently in business too short a time to be recorded by historians, although an occasional announcement pertaining to their businesses are recorded in newspapers of the time.

These were the competitors on the scene for the remarkable period which might well be classified as the period of decision for Middle Tennessee tobacconists. Fortunes were made and as quick-

ly lost in the swift tide of events that transpired. Tobacco was established as the richest staple of the Clarksville area -- a position it would hold for almost a full century.

CHAPTER I.V.

TOBACCO INDUSTRY PRIOR TO THE WAR

Tennessee has a glorious fall. Its black giant gum trees turn scarlet and orange against the blue skies, its sumacs point crimson fingers outlined by the dark greens of pines and spruce, its maples shed pure gold in the autumn rays of the sun. But its deceptive beauty, its warm Indian Summer days, can harbor killing frosts that burnish the pumpkins and persimmons -- and destroy the unharvested tobacco. Such a year was 1850. Between the nights of September 20 and September 25 killing frosts destroyed almost two-thirds of the entire Middle Tennessee crop still standing in the fields. Buyers speculating to acquire what was left of the sorely needed good tobacco, offered ten cents round, frost-bitten tobacco included, and lost heavily on the hundreds of crops thus acquired before they could dispose of them. Paradoxically planters, encouraged by the extravagant prices planted the largest crops ever set out in the Middle Tennessee area. But the fall of 1851 saw the markets open with buyers unable to recover from the severe losses of the previous season, crippled beyond compare. The lowest prices possible were bargained for the abundant crop. Loose crops opened for three cents for leaf and one cent for lugs, two and a half cents round; inspected tobacco sold at proportionate rates; and after full sales, prices dropped even more, with hundreds of hogsheads of lugs seeling for one-fourth cent per pound. 1852 saw

saw a measure of recovery, farmers having learned their lesson, and having planted moderately with fields resulting in a fair crop of comparatively good tobacco of medium quality. Prices rose to three or four cents round. Planters and buyers alike took heart. But nature is a fickle maiden. 1853 promised a good planting season. Farmers, encouraged by the rise in prices, planted full crops. In July a dry season developed. By the middle of August conditions had reached the drought stage. Tobacco was so stunted, we are told the plant could be covered with a man's hat. On August 26 nature relented and released belated but copious rains. The crop made a sudden growth as if to make up for lost time. The leaf was of unusual size, but thin and lacking substance. Nevertheless, prices still increased. Crops sold for four to five cents. The drought of 1853 apparently was only a warning to farmers. The crop of 1854 was set out early with an unusually early spring encouraging the land. Most farmers had their plants set by the last of April or early May. On May 12 there was rain. Rain was not recorded again -- unless the hail which accompanied scattered local thundershowers is counted as a form of solidified rain -- until October. The crop which resulted was harvested early. Prematurely ripened, some fields were cut as early as July, others in early August. The tenacity of the tobacco plant, its tremendous vitality, was proven by plants of this crop which did not get rain from the time it was put out until the day it was carried to the

to the barn. The leaf this year was bright yellow -- and very bitter. Seven cents were offered for the best crops. Loose tobacco varied from four to six cents.

The conditions of the two years of drought during which little or no minerals had been washed from the soils, a favorable planting season, and the desire to harvest a plentiful crop once again contributed to encourage the planters of 1855 to set out the largest crops ever planted in the area between May and June. The weather, for once, cooperated, and the largest crop ever planted also proved to be the best in quality of many, many years. Buyers, seeing the abundance of the crop, opened the market with comparatively low bids of four and five cents round. Old stocks of the long, slazy tobacco of the 1853 crop, and the short stunted bitter leaf of 1854 had created a large vacuum for fat spinning sorts. Not only the German buyers, but the Austrian, Italian, and French warmly welcomed the return of the famous Clarksville brand to the markets. The 1855 crop is said to have so firmly established the reputation of the Clarksville type not only in Germany, Italy and France, but also in Great Britain, Africa, the West Indies, and South America that from this date forward the Regie could find no other growth so satisfying to the wants of their customers. When the 1855 crop reached the market in 1856 over eighteen thousand hogsheads were sold to be shipped from Clarksville, fourteen to fifteen thousand by inspected sample. Is it any wonder new and bigger companies sprang up

over night ? Some companies consolidated to handle the tremendous increase in business and to cope with the complexity of growing foreign markets.

One of the challenging facets of the foreign trade was the establishment of monopolies in the sale of tobacco. Many of the States in Europe set up such monopolies and awarded the contracts to supply the needs of these States to certain individuals. Competition for these contracts was keen. The monopolies were set up in Italy, France, Austria, Spain and the grades sought by these markets were identified as Italian Regie, Austrian Regie, etc. The Regie went further and divided their contracts into three classes known as A, B, and C or wrappers, binders, and fillers.²⁰

It is perhaps timely to clarify at this point the distinction in classes and types of tobacco and relative purposes. In the words of Charles E. Gage, Chief of the Tobacco Branch of the Agricultural Marketing Service:

Classes of tobacco differ from each other in important respects. Types within a class differ in minor respects. The contrasts between classes (flue-cured, fire-cured, etc.) result not only from the differences in curing methods, but from variations in soils, cultural practices, and climate. The contrasts between the large, heavy gummy, dark-brown leaves of fire-cured tobacco and the thinner brighter colored leaves of flue-cured tobacco, or the papery leaves of Burley and Maryland, for example, are very marked.

J.B. Killebrew, Tennessee, Tobacco, Minerals, Livestock, (Nashville, Tennessee: Tavel, Eastman and Howell, 1877). p.84.

Twenty-six types of tobacco are grown in the United States, grouped into classes as follows:

Cigarette, smoking, and chewing types:		Types
Class 1. Flue-cured	. . . . .	4
Class 2. Fire-cured	. . . . .	4
Class 3. Air-cured	. . . . .	5
Cigar types:		
Class 4. Cigar filler	. . . . .	5
Class 5. Cigar binder	. . . . .	6
Class 6. Cigar wrapper	. . . . .	2

In addition two small types are classified as miscellaneous - Perique, grown in Louisiana, and Eastern Ohio Export.²¹

The type with which our study is principally concerned, known throughout the world as "Clarksville Tobacco" is also identified as Type 22. According to J.B. Killebrew "It is the strongest tobacco raised in the world. Clarksville Tobacco contains about seven per cent of nicotine- the active principle of tobacco -- while the heaviest Virginia is put at five or six per cent, Maryland at three per cent, and Latakia and the finest Greek and Turkey Tobaccos at one-half to one per cent."²²

The most definitive description of Clarksville Tobacco was given to Mr. Killebrew by Mr. M. H. Clark, whom he describes as one of the largest tobacco dealers in the United States and probably the best informed tobacco man in the Mississippi Valley.

²¹Charles E. Gage, American Tobacco Types, Uses, and Markets (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Agriculture, 1942) p. 4-6.

²²J. B. Killebrew, Op. Cit. , p. 86-87.

Mr. Clark stated:

The true "Clarksville" type, a large leaf, heavy-bodied, fine-fibred, silky, oily, and fat, is of a blackish brown or chestnut color. The selections of this -- usually a leaf twenty-six to thirty inches long -- is taken for the finest "Africans" which are shipped to Liverpool to find their way to Guinea, and for the finest cigar wrappers for Switzerland and Austria. The second grade, of same color and general character, but heavier bodied, goes to Germany to be spun into twists for chewing tobacco, and for heavy cigars, and is also, when stemmed, spun by the manufacturers of Great Britain for same purposes; the lugs and lower grades are used for fillers for the same class of manufacture. This second grade also furnishes many fine black wrappers for American and Canadian manufacturers. The first sub-variety is a red-brown tobacco, stretchy as a kid glove. This is the distinctive Italian cigar tobacco, the largest being used for outside wrappers, the next for binders, the seconds for fillers, the whole being made into cigars.

The next sub-variety is a grade still lighter in color and body, but of the same general qualities. This is the distinctive "French tobacco", and the French Regie, like that of Italy, divides the contracts and calls for three classes.

These, the tobacconists explained, were the cigar tobaccos of Clarksville. The smaller sub-varieties, a bright mottled or piebald leaf, thin of texture, was the tobacco stemmed and sent to the English market for smoking tobacco. The same type was sent to Belgium and Germany in the whole leaf for the same purpose. Finally there was the so-called "saucer", a red, fleshy, sweet leaf, not fat, taken by Germany. The leaf of this type was dipped by the German manufacturers in sweet preparations of liquorice and sugar, redried, repacked, and shipped to the Norwegian countries to be chewed, smoked, and snuffed. Even the rough remnant left from bad cultivation or curing, or rejections of various contracts and demands, found a market with the Spanish contract. The best of these were made into cigars, the balance into paper cigarettes.

Perhaps the most unusual use of the Clarksville product is that along the Guinea Coast where it is said the natives dip the bundles of African leaf, as it is called, into a pot of boiling lard. It is then hung up to drip and dry. Thereafter it is fashioned into huge cigars a foot or more long. The natives form a circle; the cigar is passed from hand to hand, the smoke is swallowed until one by one they fall back insensible from tobacco drunkenness.

These were the many and varied uses of Clarksville type tobacco developed in the space of approximately fifty years. There is little wonder, then, that those who made their homes in Clarksville were intrigued with the fascination of the varied business offered them through Clarksville tobacco.

The prestige of the 1855 crop made it a time fortunate for those who began their tobacco industries during the era. The most prominent company of consolidated interests was undoubtedly the one organized by Mr. Clark. First identified as the M.H. Clark Company, it played the most influential role on the Clarksville market. Micajah and Lewis Clark were well known prior to the Civil War, but the epitome of their success is a part of the post-war period. The firm adopted the name of Clark and Barker in 1858 when Mr. E. Walton Barker became a partner in the venture.

Another symbol of the prosperity engendered in Clarksville by the crop of 1855 is the Elephant Tobacco Warehouse, which still

stands to-day, a remarkable monument to the memory of the tobaccoists of a century ago. Located then as now on the corner of Front and Commerce Streets, the original building was erected in 1855 by Forbes and Pritchett to be used as a stemmery. It was strategically located for the river transportation so essential to the tobacco trade of the nineteenth century. It served as a stemmery until 1859 when Howell, Blackman and Company rented it. The four story part of the warehouse became the front of the building as the new owners made extensive additions and converted the stemmery into a tobacco commission business. In 1862 in the face of a prolonged war and an even longer depression, the firm was dissolved with the consent of all parties involved.

The firm of Beaumont. Payne and Company (Henry F. Beaumont, J.R. Payne, and R. Browder) has been referred to before as successors to the original very early firm of Vance and Dick. This company were immediate successors to the inspection warehouse of Witherspoon and Company of 1845, who had increased inspection to nine hundred hogsheads in that year. Mr. Beaumont and his associates continued the enviable reputation of this prosperous old house from 1846 to 1848, when it again changed hands. S. Albert Sawyer became its proprietor for two years. Two years seem to have been the fatal number for the owners from 1846 to 1854. Mr. Sawyer in his turn sold out to Trice and Barker, who became Barker and Dieffendorfer, but in turn sold to Smith and Seat in

1854. Ironically however Mr. Seat was not to take his seat. The old brick and stone structure, with its rear section constructed of wood by Vance and John Dick in 1830, the scene of Clarksville's first tobacco inspection, and the subject of many days of long credit and wild speculation, finally "gave up the ghost" in silent protest. Its ownership had been passed about among eight companies. In 1854 the proud old house literally went up in smoke, the house and all its surroundings completely destroyed by fire. Smith and Seat must have understood the pride of the old house. They redeemed what was left of the stout old brick walls and rebuilt the house to an impressive structure covering a full acre of ground. The new owners operated a highly successful house until 1860, when it was purchased by Joseph P. Williams. At the death of Mr. Williams soon thereafter, the house stood idle. The war years intervened and in the ensuing circumstances it was once more broken down and destroyed. After the war it was sold to James E. Bailey and Matt Anderson at a tremendous sacrifice of its once impressive worth.

The property involved in Smith and Seat's purchase included all the land between Main and College Streets fronting the Cumberland. The proprietors organized three companies on the property at that time: the tobacco house at the corner of Main and Front Streets, the pork house operated and built by John K. Smith at College and Front Streets, and the City Mills under the name of Seat, Kropp, and Company. The fate of the tobacco company has

already been accounted for; the pork house operated successfully until 1859; and the mill continued successful operations until the death of Mr. Kropp in 1876.

1855 was indeed a banner year for construction of tobacco facilities in Clarksville. Another prominent warehouse was the one erected by Hugh Dunlop as a drying house for his stemmery. It was located at the corner of Front and Commerce Streets. Harrison and Shelby took it over shortly thereafter and added extensive sheds and converted it for tobacco handling. They gave it the name of the Clarksville Warehouse and maintained it until 1869. At that time Shelby and Harrison moved to the Gracey House, yet to be discussed, and the "Clarksville" stood empty for a year. Kee-see and Northington used it as a storage house until 1886. Since at this time the old warehouse was torn down and no longer played a part in the Clarksville tobacco story, we have digressed from our period of time to show its fate.

The "Rat-Proof Warehouse" built on the Public Square at the head of the Wharf by W. S. McClure is another legendary tobacco house of Clarksville. Although comparatively small as it was built before the tobacco business had reached the proportions which demanded the large business places of the late nineteenth century, the location of the warehouse and its double purpose as a produce warehouse and general merchandise store made it attractive to farmers, buyers, and boatmen alike. Thousands of hogsheads

were inspected here in the years it was in operation. So crowded did it become upon one occasion as tobacco was being inspected on the second floor, the floor collapsed, hurling farmers, buyers, inspectors, and hogsheads in mass confusion to the floor, below. It is recorded that the inspector, S.F. Allen, was severely injured, but later recovered. As a result the old Rat-Proof was soon torn down. ⁿmany are the stories told by the old-timers about the Rat-Proof. ^m

Mr. McClure is supposed to have named the Rat-Proof in jesting sarcasm of a friend who advertised his house as "fire-proof". This was well nigh a physical impossibility in that day of leather water buckets, spring water supplies, and limited firemen.

In 1859 the population of Clarksville had grown to approximately 5,000 inhabitants. There were four hundred houses varying from the fine colonial homes of the millionaire planters and wealthy warehouse men to the humbler abodes of the tradesmen of the community. Nine tobacco stemmeries and two large warehouses operated by the men already mentioned served to keep the trade lively.

In addition to the buildings connected with the tobacco trade Clarksville could boast a court house, jail, market house, Masonic Hall, seven churches, a male academy, a female academy, a public school building, two hotels, four banks, and the Memphis, Clarksville and Louisville Railroad almost completed.

The period of progress and prosperity in which Clarksville found itself was to come to an abrupt end. The events of the next

few months would lead to the fateful night of April 16, 1861 when a meeting of the Southern Rights Association was held with an overflow crowd in attendance on the court house lawn. As a result a petition signed by six hundred names was carried to Nashville the following day and presented to the Governor. It requested the Governor to call a special session of the Legislature to take the necessary steps to relieve the State from all allegiance to the Federal Government in Washington, D.C.

By May 17, 1861 every male citizen between the age of eighteen and forty-five was commanded to meet at the College Grove for the purpose of organizing home minutemen. Failure to attend was punishable by law. Among the three hundred and ten eligible names listed in the Leaf Chronicle were many of the names so long associated with the tobacco trade. Beaumonts, Rudolphs, Clarks, Dranes, McClures and countless others were called. July 12 saw the first company of Clarksville men ready to leave for active duty.

The last issue of the Leaf-Chronicle printed until after the close of the Civil War, on February 14, 1862, reported the attack on Fort Donelson which began on February 12 and ended February 16, 1862. The company of Clarksville men captured were sent to prison in Chicago, Illinois. Of the one hundred and twenty men who comprised the company, sixteen were killed in battle, and nineteen died in service. Eighteen were seriously wounded. All

that can be told of the next years in Clarksville is simply surmised. Yankees took over the Queen City, cognizant of her strategic position high on the bluff over-looking the river. The tobacco warehouses became quarters and hospitals for Yankee troops. The old Gracey was filled with them, as was the Atlantic (the former site of the American Snuff Company Leaf Department, now the City Library). Those which did not serve the Yankees' purposes were destroyed with wanton abandonmnet. Dark days for the City of Seven Hills followed. The Clarksville tobacco market which had closed in August of 1861 would not reopen until 1866.²³

The Civil War marked the end of an era in Clarksville tobacco trade. The European markets, little disturbed by the unhappy state of affairs between the United States, waited eagerly for a resumption of trade in order to receive once again the type of tobacco only Clarksville could provide. Their stocks were sufficient to carry them through the first years of the war, and it was only towards the end of the conflict that they began to feel any real deprivation in tobacco stocks. The story of the rapid recovery of Clarksville in the tragic aftermath of the war, thanks to the demand of her tobacco , is the story of an entirely new era. The years of the close of the nineteenth century herald a new era of success to be taken up in another study.

²³ F.N. Smith, Clarksville Tobacco Market , Apologia Philomathean, June 19, 1934 (Compiled June 1943, Copies on File Austin Peay State Library, Clarksville, Tennessee).

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- Atkinson, Mr. Ned, (Retired) Treasurer of Rudolph, Hach
and Company, Clarksville, Tennessee
- Atkinson, Mrs. Ned, Sister of Mr. R.S. Rudolph, promi-
nent Clarksville Farmer and Tobacconist, Clarksville,
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- Adkins, Jack, (Retired) Rudolph, Hach, and Company Ware-
house Foreman for Fifty Years, Clarksville, Tennessee
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- Cunningham, Donald, American Snuff Company, Clarksville,
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- Cunningham, Misher, R.S. Rudolph Company, Clarksville, Tennes-
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- Cunningham, Frank, Formerly Petri Cigar Company, Clarksville,
Tennessee
- Davidson, Marie, Secretary, Rudolph Hach and Company,
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- Dunzlemann, Annemarie, Daughter former Vice-president ,
Rudolph, Hach and Company, Clarksville, Tennessee
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- Fort, Josiah, President, Rudolph, Hach and Company,
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- Hach, Adolf, Jr. Former Secretary of Rudolph, Hach and Com-
pany, Clarksville, Tennessee
- Irby, James, Hail and Cotton, Clarksville, Tennessee
- Hamner, Miss Clara, great-granddaughter of Gustavus A. Henry,
Pioneer Settler of Clarksville, prominent City Council
Member, Clarksville, Tennessee
- Killebrew, Jack, Salesman, Clarksville Tennessee, Son of
prominent Clarksville Tobacco Farmer.
- Killebrew, J.B., Nephew of J.B. Killebrew, First Tennessee
Secretary of Agriculture, Biographer of Killebrew Fam-
ily History, Clarksville, Tennessee
- Meriweather, Mrs. Peola, Wife of Prominent Montgomery Co.
Farmer, Clarksville, Tennessee
- Kimbrough, Mrs. Emery, Granddaughter of Frank S. Beaumont,
Pioneer Clarksville Tobacco Trader, Clarksville, Tennes-
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- Martin, John R., Assistant Manager, Manufacturing Department
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- McGraw, Turner, Foreman, Rudolph, Hach and Company, also,
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Elephant Warehouse, Clarksville, Tennessee

Lamp, Willem, President of a Tobacco Company representing interests of Holland, also Buyer for Company. (Name withheld upon request of representative.)

Patch, Billy, Clarksville Tobacconist, Clarksville, Tennessee

Rudolph, R.S., R.S. Rudolph and Sons, President of Company, Clarksville, Tennessee

Fiederling, Mrs. Frank, Clarksville Tobacco Store, Clarksville, Tennessee

Gracey, Donald, President and Partner in Gracey Loosefloor, Burley and Dark-fired Tobacco, Son of First Transportation Agent, Frank S. Gracey, Clarksville, Tennessee

CITY OF CLARKSVILLE

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Frey, Mrs. Wava, Secretary, Chamber of Commerce, Clarksville, Tennessee

CLARKSVILLE COURTHOUSE

Harris, Foard, County Court Clerk, The Records of the County Court, Clarksville, Tennessee

MAYOR'S OFFICE

Barksdale, William, Mayor of Clarksville, Clarksville, Tennessee 1960-

Cooley, Milton, Commissioner of City Council, Clarksville Tennessee

Records of film of Clarksville City Council Minutes from early Nineteenth Century to Present Date

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Clarksville Leaf Chronicles of Nineteenth Century.
Diary of Mr. Dancey Fort.

AUSTIN PEAY STATE COLLEGE LIBRARY

Original Materials in Tennesseana Room

Philomathic Papers of Tobacconists

Mr. F.N. Smith, President Leaf Department of American
Snuff Company

Mr. Dancey Fort, Clarksville Judge for First Half of
Twentieth Century, Clarksville, Tennessee

Mr. Josiah Fort, President of Rudolph, Hach and Company

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Letters of Adolf Hach concerning Tobacco Transactions from
1903 - 1950

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Kefauver, Estes, Senior Senator from Tennessee, Washington, D.C.

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Tennessee State Department of Agriculture, Nashville,
Tennessee

Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee

Wallace, Louis D., Editor of Publications, State Depart-
ment of Agriculture, Nashville, Tennessee

TOBACCO BUYERS

Edward J. O'Brien
623 Commerce Street MI - 5-6671

United States Tobacco Company
220 West Avenue MI - 7-4071

TOBACCO LEAF

Thos. Edwards, Wilson & Company
221 West Avenue MI - 5-6430

Hail and Cotton
Front Street MI - 5-4918

Petri Cigar Company
40 High Street MI - 7-3334

Rudolph, Hach and Company
Public Square MI - 5-4771

J.W. Rudolph and Bros.
Office - 119 College Street MI - 7-3617
Packing Plant - Spring Street MI - 7-3837

TOBACCO WAREHOUSES

Banner Warehouse, Inc.
Pettus Street MI - 5-6951

Biggers, J.T. & Son
136 South Second MI - 5-2731

Brewer & Elliott
116 Hiter

MI - 5-4325

Bright Leaf Warehouse
Donald Gracey-Partner
Robert M. Williams-Partner

Burley Tobacco Warehouse Corporation
Pettus Street

MI - 5-4023

Dark Tobacco Warehouse

MI - 5-9341

Clarksville Tobacco Warehouse Corporation
Commerce Street

MI - 5-4520

Crockarell, C.S. & Company
317 College

MI - 5-9519

Darnell & Bellamy
409 North Second Street

MI - 5-6581

Durrett's Loose Floor
Cumberland Drive

MI - 7-3205

Eastern Dark Fired Growers Association
421 Commerce Street

MI - 7-2418

Ellis & Bearden
600 Franklin Street

MI - 5-5451

McGregor Brothers Tobacco Company
121 North Third Street

MI - 5-4441

TOBACCO WHOLESALE AND MANUFACTURE

American Snuff Company
Leaf Department
Commerce Street

MI - 7-3555

Manufacturing Department
Commerce Street

MI - 7-3555

Cumberland Wholesale House
116 Hiter Street

MI - 5-5826

APPENDIX

1880-1890

Warehouse (Old Priddy Place)
From College Street on Front Street

Warehouse
The original Clarksville where is the
Public Square

and Sons

Clarksville Warehouse

Warehouse
Street and Commerce Street

Warehouse (The Cumberland Warehouse)
Street

Washington

Warehouse
Commerce Street

Warehouse
Front Street

Warehouse
Front Street

Warehouse
Front Street

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CLARKSVILLE
WAREHOUSES
1830-1896

- 1830 Central Warehouse (Old Prouty Place)
Main Street to College Street on Front Street
- 1840 The Rat-Proof Warehouse
Head of the original Clarksville Wharf in are
of Public Square
- 1852 W.H. Crouch and Sons
- 1855 The Clarksville Warehouse
- 1855 The Elephant Warehouse
Front Street and Commerce Street
- 1858 The Grange Warehouse (The Cumberland Warehouse)
Commerce Street
- 1873 Keesee and Northington
- 1878 Gracey Warehouse
Second and Commerce Streets
- 1875 Lockett Factory
McClure and Front Streets
- 1881 Bailey Warehouse
Hiter and Commerce Streets
- 1884 The People's Warehouse (Old Southern Hotel)
Main Street and Public Square

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CLARKSVILLE
WAREHOUSES (CONTINUED)

1886 Adams and Gill

East End of Commerce Street

1886 Planter's Warehouse

1887 Thomas L. Harvie Stemmary (Old Proudfit House)

1896 The Atlantic (American Snuff Company)

Brokers

1855 Micajah Clark - Brokerage Office

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