

# Pennsylvania &



# Tobacco

*A Chapter in America's Industrial Growth*



*From the earliest colonial period to the present day tobacco has had an influence in shaping the growth, and increasing the economic importance, of Pennsylvania. Expectations of a profitable commerce in export leaf were high under Swedish, Dutch and English rule. It was only in the national period, however, that the Keystone State assumed importance as a center of tobacco manufacturing, and only in the late 19th century did it achieve a paramount place as producer of a leaf specialty.*

*Today, there are around 5,000 farm families and many seasonal workers who annually produce over 27 million pounds of cigar-filler tobacco—the largest harvests of this type in the country. The cash value of the 1971 crop of this leaf was more than \$11 million. More cigars than were manufactured in any other state—almost 3.8 billion of them—were rolled out of Pennsylvania's factories in fiscal 1971 while other plants produced smoking and chewing tobacco. In the latest year of record, the total value of such commodities, at the manufacturers' level, was over \$239 million. Tobacco factory workers earned around \$38 million in wages.*

*Pennsylvania is a major retail market for tobacco commodities. The estimated retail value of tobacco products distributed in the state in 1971 was about \$562 million. In that year consumers bought close to 1 billion 257 million packages of cigarettes through nearly 100,000 outlets. These smokers paid a total state tax of about \$218 million and a federal tax of about \$100 million in fiscal 1971.*

*Tobacco History Series*



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## Pennsylvania and Tobacco



Tobacco farming in Pennsylvania got off to an early and enthusiastic start but various factors prevented its prompt success. More than two centuries were to pass, after a series of efforts, before Pennsylvania had any importance as a producer of tobacco.

The origins of this agricultural enterprise began, rather remotely, in 1631. That was the year when the Dutch established a colony, the first in North America whose main purpose was the production of export tobacco. When the Dutch project failed, the Swedes settled New Sweden in the same area.

Both efforts were organized by colonization companies. Their directors were greatly influenced by the notable success of Virginia as a major source of export leaf. The original settlements were in present-day Delaware, then a territory of indefinite boundaries that included part of the area now Pennsylvania.

At Upland (later Chester), Pennsylvania, a settlement was made in 1644 which developed into a considerable colony. Encouraged by the Swedish West India (or South) Company, the newcomers went promptly into the cultiva-



tion of tobacco. Confident expectations were not matched by results. Some sections of Pennsylvania did have the soil for a superior type of tobacco but the early settlers were working the wrong areas with the wrong seeds.

## Core of an industry

It took time and experience to learn these things, so much time that it was not until the late 1830's that Pennsylvania farmers found tobacco to be a profitable crop. Over the years, since then, there has been a notable increase in the annual harvests of a cigar-leaf type, Pennsylvania Seedleaf. For some time now, the Keystone State has maintained its status as the major source of this wide leaf used as filler—the core—of cigars.

Of the 27,200,000 pounds of filler leaf harvested in Pennsylvania in 1971, all but about ten percent was grown in the rolling fields of Lancaster County. Twelve counties in the state grow tobacco. In a number of them only 10 acres are set aside for this agriculture.

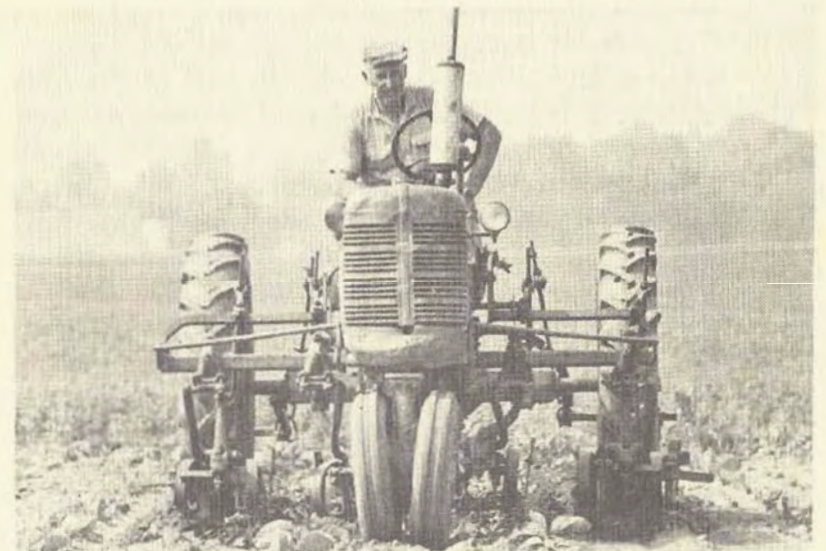
Pennsylvania tobacco is an important cash crop; its total value in 1971 to farmers was \$11,164,000. That figure places Pennsylvania in eleventh rank among tobacco producing states in the dollar value of tobacco crops.

## Man with the hoe

Around 5,000 Pennsylvania farm families grew cigar-filler leaf in 1971. The farm population is considerably

increased during the periods of harvesting, curing, grading and packing. There is too much work to tobacco agriculture and barn management for farmers to operate on extensive acreages. In some instances tobacco farms in Pennsylvania are as large as ten acres but for the most part they are confined to four or five acres. The general pattern of farming includes dairying or raising livestock and the rotation of crops (hay, wheat, corn) in the tobacco fields.

Unlike flue-cured tobacco, which is picked leaf by leaf from the living plant, Pennsylvania Seedleaf is cut down, stalk and all. The plants are left lying on the ground an hour or two to wilt before being taken to tobacco sheds. There they will stay for several months while air curing.



*Cultivating the crop  
Courtesy Lancaster Newspapers*

Then they are removed to barn cellars where the temperature makes them pliable. After that, the leaves are stripped from the stalks.

Most cured tobaccos grown in the United States are sold during periods of intense activity at colorful auctions. Cigar leaf is traditionally disposed of without benefit of auctioneers' chants. It is bought from its growers at the barn. The cured leaves, 14 to 18 of them arranged by lengths, are tied in bundles called "hands," packed in paper bales weighing 50 to 70 pounds, and delivered to packers. That done, work on another farm crop is completed—for the farmer. But much is still to be done before the leaves are ready for manufacturing.

## In Nature's own good time

The flavor and aroma of a cigar derive principally from its body, the filler. These essential qualities are inherent in good leaf but they must be nurtured. They develop as a result of fermentation, a natural process called "sweating" in trade vernacular. Fermentation, essentially a continuation of curing, has always been something of a mystery to farmers as well as to scientific agriculturists. All both groups are sure of is that the process is essential to the mellowing of the leaf—and they let nature take its course.

There are various methods of handling and storing tobacco while fermentation takes place. These will vary with the use to which the leaf is to be put by manufacturers. Thereafter, the leaf is stored for two years or longer. By the time that mellowing period is over, the warehoused tobacco will have acquired a flavorful "vintage" quality.



*A farmer and his son put newly harvested cigar leaf on sticks in preparation for curing.*

*Courtesy Lancaster Newspapers*

Just prior to manufacturing, the stems of cigar-filler leaf of regular grades are removed. Grades classified as "stemming," and broken leaves, are used by manufacturers of scrap chewing tobacco, or leaf fragments may be used in inexpensive cigars with shredded fillers.

Up to a fairly recent period some high-grade Pennsylvania Seedleaf tobacco was used as wrappers for stogies and other inexpensive cigars. The term "wrapper" is retained by some Seedleaf farmers when sorting leaves but it now refers to a grade, rather than to use in cigars. Prior to the fairly recent new process of reconstituting leaf fragments into sheets of tobacco, a considerable amount of filler leaf went into binders. Some manufacturers are currently converting Pennsylvania Seedleaf into tobacco sheets.



## "What this country really needs..."

Almost all cigars produced in this country are machine made and find ready acceptance among consumers. Mechanisms that speedily turn selected leaves into brown rolls of varying shapes and sizes have been in practical operation in this country since 1918. In improved form these were later installed in all the cigar factories of large-scale manufacturers.

Nowhere else in the United States are as many cigars produced as in Pennsylvania: more than half of the over 6 billion manufactured in fiscal 1971. The state's 48 plants rolled out close to 3.8 billion cigars of regular size. Of these, the vast majority were chiefly in the inexpensive class from 4 cents to 15 cents, accounting for 3.3 billion of the 3.8 billion cigars manufactured in the state. About \$34 million worth of these cigars went to foreign customers. Manufacturers do not depend entirely on the tobacco of Pennsylvania for fillers but blend other types as well in making various popular brands.



*The wilted tobacco is on its way to the curing barn in a race with the setting sun.*

*Courtesy Lancaster Newspapers*

## Products and producers

Tobacco factories in Pennsylvania are not confined to cigar making. In the year 1971, seven plants produced a half million pounds of scrap chewing and smoking tobacco, and 18 engaged in stemming and processing leaf.

The value of tobacco products made in Pennsylvania factories in 1970—the latest year of record—totaled approximately \$239,000,000. About 8,100 men and women were employed in the state's plants. Most of these were cigar makers and represented the largest concentration of this craft among the states. Their wages and salaries in 1971 were approximately \$38,000,000.

Capital expenditures of Pennsylvania's tobacco manufacturers and those engaged in stemming and processing were in excess of \$3.2 million in the last year of record. There are about 110 firms in the state that supply machinery, equipment, materials and services to tobacco manufacturers.

## Outlets and income

Pennsylvania has its quota of cigar smokers but their number does not nearly match those who prefer cigarettes. The estimated wholesale value of tobacco products distributed in the state in fiscal 1971 was \$406,896,463. Of this, cigarettes accounted for \$356,561,057 and cigars \$37,909,845. At the retail level tobacco products accounted for \$562 million in sales.

In order to supply the requirements of tobacco users there are 96,964 retail outlets in Pennsylvania. These

include clubs, canteens and numerous other places, as well as vending machines. Cigarette smokers bought 1,256,700,000 packages of 20's in fiscal 1971 and thus, at the rate of 8 cents federal excise on each package, they contributed about \$100 million to the Treasury. Additionally, they paid 18 cents state tax on each package. Retailers, and vending machine operators pay a dollar license tax annually.

The excise on each package of 20 cigarettes, originally established in Pennsylvania in 1935 at 2 cents, was increased in various years to 18 cents, the present rate and among the highest in the country. The total of gross tax receipts since the state excise was first effective, to June 30, 1971, comes to more than \$2.1 billion. That revenue yield from a single source provides numerous social and physical benefits to non-smokers and smokers alike.

The foregoing account of the tobacco industry in Pennsylvania today indicates its extent and economic importance. The efforts of the farmers, the merchants and the manufacturers who brought the industry to its present status is an interesting record that covers more than three centuries.

## The pioneer years

As in a few other states in the Union, tobacco farming in Pennsylvania is a 19th century success story. Efforts to extend the agriculture in various areas were made frequently during the colonial period but without sustained success as a profitable commerce. Yet, as was true in other pioneering communities, tobacco provided a means of livelihood for numerous farm families.

The earliest record of tobacco exported from New Sweden occurred in 1644, the year that the first Swedish settlement of emigrants was made in Pennsylvania. Governor Johan Printz reported to the home authorities that 20,467 Swedish pounds of tobacco had been shipped from the colony. Over 15,000 pounds had been brought in from Virginia. Its cost was six and seven *stivers* (about 12 and 14 cents) a pound. He went on to say

*The rest were planted here in New Sweden, one part by our English at Varken's Kill [Salem Creek, New Jersey]; one part by our Swedish freemen, for which we have paid eight stivers a pound.*

Some of the farms, described as "plantations," were near the Schuylkill River. In a later communication Governor Printz remarked that part of the tobacco had been received "in payment from foreigners and 7,200 pounds I planted myself." The shipment was made on behalf of shareholders of the Swedish West India Company and the governor asked that he personally be paid 8 *stivers* per pound or that the Company "graciously allow me to sell it elsewhere."

Three years later Printz reported that 101 casks of tobacco had been sent home. Each cask then held around 250 pounds, English weight. A little over a quarter of the leaf had been grown in the colony. It seemed that the production of tobacco would thrive, and two men were officially appointed to make casks. The notice from the governor appears, however, to be the last record of leaf exports from the Swedish colony. Reports of tobacco shipments from Pennsylvania do not occur again until after William Penn assumed the proprietorship in 1682.



## Dutch optimism

Yet leaf intended for European manufacturers of pipe tobacco and snuff continued to be cultivated in Pennsylvania. After the Dutch took control of the area in the mid-1650's, expectations of a valuable foreign trade in the colony's tobacco were still high. It was observed in a report of Peter Stuyvesant, 1656, that as

*this area has become renowned for its tobacco, and persons are daily encouraged to settle within its limits [two expert leaf men are appointed as inspectors to see that] this produce is managed as it ought to be, and properly cured and packed, and all sorts of frauds avoided.*

The "renown" of Pennsylvania tobacco was, despite Stuyvesant's emphasis, an opinion of an enthusiastic colonial promoter. His view was not shared by most users of tobacco. Their clear preference was for leaf from Virginia and Maryland, or from the Spanish colonies. But Pennsylvania colonials went hopefully on with tobacco farming, attempting to improve the quality of their leaf in order to compete in the expanding European market.

## English realism

Preceding Penn's management of the province, under English rule since 1664, tobacco grown locally had become more abundant. Debtors among planters, who were to pay quit rents in wheat, petitioned the governor in 1680. They asked for permission to pay in tobacco at the "reasonable" value of two pence a pound—"the custom in neighbouring colonies"—as they had no wheat.

Penn frequently received rents for land in tobacco. Though he protested the "extraordinary profit" his royal friend, Charles II, received through the English customs duty on tobacco, he vigorously encouraged the growth of tobacco in the colony.

In 1685 there were more than 7,000 white inhabitants in the province of Pennsylvania. No part of colonial America had more democratic institutions, or more religious freedom, or was politically so far advanced as Penn's Sylvania. These factors, apart from the usual practical reasons that attract settlers, brought on a considerable increase in population. Immigrants flocked into the area from Central Europe, the British Isles, Sweden, and various parts of English-America. Most of them were farmers. In their new home they grew staple foods as a practical necessity, but it was the profit potential of tobacco that chiefly attracted them. They all tried their hand at tobacco. Few, if any, seemed hesitant because of the recurrent depressions plaguing Virginia and Maryland through their persistent overproduction of export leaf.

The condition of the colony was briefly described in an official account by Colonel Robert Quarry, Judge of the Admiralty for New York and Pennsylvania, written early in 1700. He wrote:

*... this Province grows very Populous, and the people are generally very laborious & industrious, they have improved tilledge to that degree that they have made bread, flour and Beer a drugg in all the Markets in the West Indies, so that finding that Trade over done they resolve to go on with the planting of Tobacco in the three upper Countys where*

*never any was planted as yet. The land is very proper for it and will produce very bright tobacco. The number of people, and their Industry will produce vast quantities. They find the necessity of going upon this Commodity for they have no other way of making returns home for England.*

## Shipping leaf

Philadelphia, by then the great port of the province, had become a major center for tobacco exports. Fourteen vessels with tobacco cargoes had sailed from Philadelphia in 1689 alone. Merchants complained to the governor and Provincial Council in January 1700 that there was more tobacco at Philadelphia "than could be carried home to England, for want of ships." The merchants wanted the Council to do something about it. One of the suggestions was to protract for several months the date on which homebound fleets sailed, under convoy.

Owing to the proximity of the port, most of the tobacco farms were at first clustered about Philadelphia and the areas to its immediate south and west. William Penn wrote home, in December 1700, that "We shall this year advance from 1,500 hogsheads to 3 or 4,000 of tobacco." Hogshhead sizes in that period were not yet standardized but calculations made from bills of lading or ships' manifests indicate that contents were then around 650 pounds.

One phase of the increase in production (a temporary one) and the consequent export of leaf was upsetting to English treasury and customs officials. They looked upon

Scots as foreigners and "interlopers" in the carrying trade. The masters and owners of Scottish merchantmen had by then earned a well-deserved reputation as canny dealers in leaf — and as cunning, aggressive violators of England's restrictive Navigation Acts. Tobacco was an enumerated article in the 1660 Act. Colonial shipments of leaf had first to be landed in England and pay duty.

In Colonel Quarry's account of 1700, he stated that

*Four times the tobacco was made (in Pennsylvania) last year than had been made before, and all of it (monopolized) by the Scotch, as almost all other trade there was. No one who designed to trade fairly could give the extravagant rates they did, being not less than double what was given in Maryland.*

Pennsylvania tobacco was then selling at the source for 1½ pence per pound. None of it was intended for any other purpose than conversion into smoking tobacco or snuff. It could only be manufactured into the cheaper grades of these commodities for it was decidedly inferior to the "sweet-scented" leaf of Virginia or the pungent "Oronoko" of Maryland. Black, heavy and gummy, it was shortly to acquire the nickname of "shoestring" because its leaf was long, narrow and close-veined.

## Newcomers; new ventures

The state of the European market, by then oversupplied with tobacco produced in areas other than Pennsylvania, brought an effective reduction in commercial



tobacco farming in the colony for the time being. New settlers in the area went into dairying or other farm trades. The Mennonites who founded Hickory Town (Lancaster) in 1718 were solid farmers of the usual staple crops. They could not foresee then that the area in which they settled was to become the noted center of cigar-filler leaf in the United States.

What appears to have been a determined effort to improve Pennsylvania's status as a tobacco-producing colony was undertaken by Yankees from Connecticut. They settled in the Wyoming Valley in northeastern Pennsylvania in 1762, with the blessings of the Connecticut General Assembly who were then claiming the area as part of their colony. They went promptly into the farming of tobacco. A historian of the area wrote:

*Tobacco was from the beginning one of the important crops. It was used by nearly every man and was raised on nearly every farm. It was manufactured by the farmers at home into "plugs" and sold, as well as in leaf. The plug was worth about twice as much as leaf per pound. Tobacco frequently was used to pay small debts, there being little or no currency.*

## S Scarce tobacco; expensive snuff

While the colonies were engaged in their struggle for independence, tobacco in manufactured form became increasingly scarce. Its value as a morale builder for fighting men had been proved in earlier wars. Washington recognized its importance to his men when, in writ-

ing for supplies, he added a phrase often repeated in other terms by later generals: "If you can't send money, send tobacco."

Costs were high owing to the war. A notation in the orderly book of General Edward Hand, at Valley Forge in January 1778, reads in part

*The Brigade Sutler is at liberty to sell leaf Tobacco at 4 (shillings) the Pound; Pigtail [twisted tobacco] at One Dollar the Pound.*

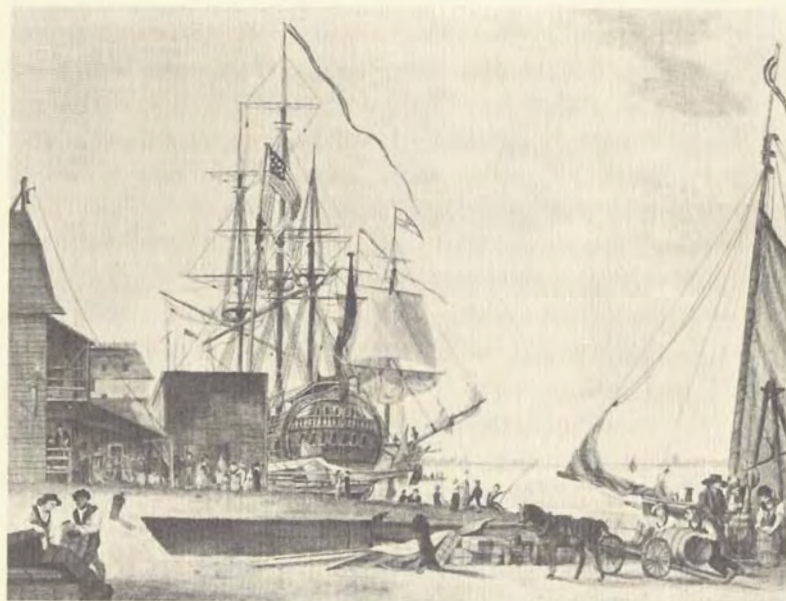
When the war was over, Philadelphia trade rapidly recovered from its effects. By the early national period, when the population of the United States was between 4 and 5 million, the city had the largest concentration in the country of factories producing snuff, smoking tobacco and cigars. The owners of these establishments took a leading role in opposing a Treasury Department plan in 1794 to tax all tobacco products. Their memorial to Congress included the statement that only a small quantity of special snuffs had been imported from England in the preceding year. In the same period 30,000 pounds of snuff had been exported from Philadelphia. If the measure then pending were passed, the seventeen snuff manufacturers in the United States would cease operations and reestablish an import trade in snuff with England or elsewhere.

They had help. During debate on the bill to tax manufactured tobacco James Madison said, in part:

*As to the subject before the House, it was proper to choose taxes the least unequal. Tobacco excise was a burden the most unequal. It fell upon the poor, upon sailors, day-laborers, and other people of these classes while the rich*

*will often escape it. Much has been said about the taxing of luxury. The pleasures of life consisted in a series of innocent gratifications, and (we feel) no satisfaction in the prospect of their being squeezed.*

A compromise measure was passed, resulting in the first United States excise on a tobacco product — snuff — then described as “the rich man’s luxury.” The rate was high: 60 percent of the average selling price. Snuff had frequently been advertised as an infallible remedy for headaches, but a headache was about all the Treas-



*Arch Street Ferry, at the great tobacco shipping port of Philadelphia, in 1800.  
Courtesy of the Phelps Stokes Collection, New York Public Library*

ury Department got out of its bill. The yield of \$26,961 in two years did not warrant the expense of collection. In 1796 the law taxing snuff was repealed.

## Rollers, retailers, and rifles

Insofar as early census reports are concerned, tobacco agriculture in Pennsylvania barely existed. In the 1810 census, however, the only state of the Union recorded as having cigar factories was Pennsylvania. Of the 29 million cigars listed as a product of the state, 27 million came out of plants in Philadelphia City and County. Nearly 4 million of these were “Spanish seegars,” made largely of imported tobacco by the hands of skilled rollers.

The first retail cigar store in the United States was opened in Lancaster by the firm of Demuth in 1770. Its trade figure was a courtly young gentleman, a snuff box in his outstretched hand; a “hand” of leaf in the other. (The original sign is reproduced on page 1 of this booklet.) Lancaster was a busy town. By the mid-18th century it had achieved fame as a major gun-making center. Its chief product was a remarkably accurate, new weapon with a long, light barrel, called a “rifle.”

## “Shoestring” and “stogies”

At nearby Ephrata, around 1828, farmers grew tobacco they found suitable for homemade cigars. They grew enough to have small surpluses of “shoestring” leaf,



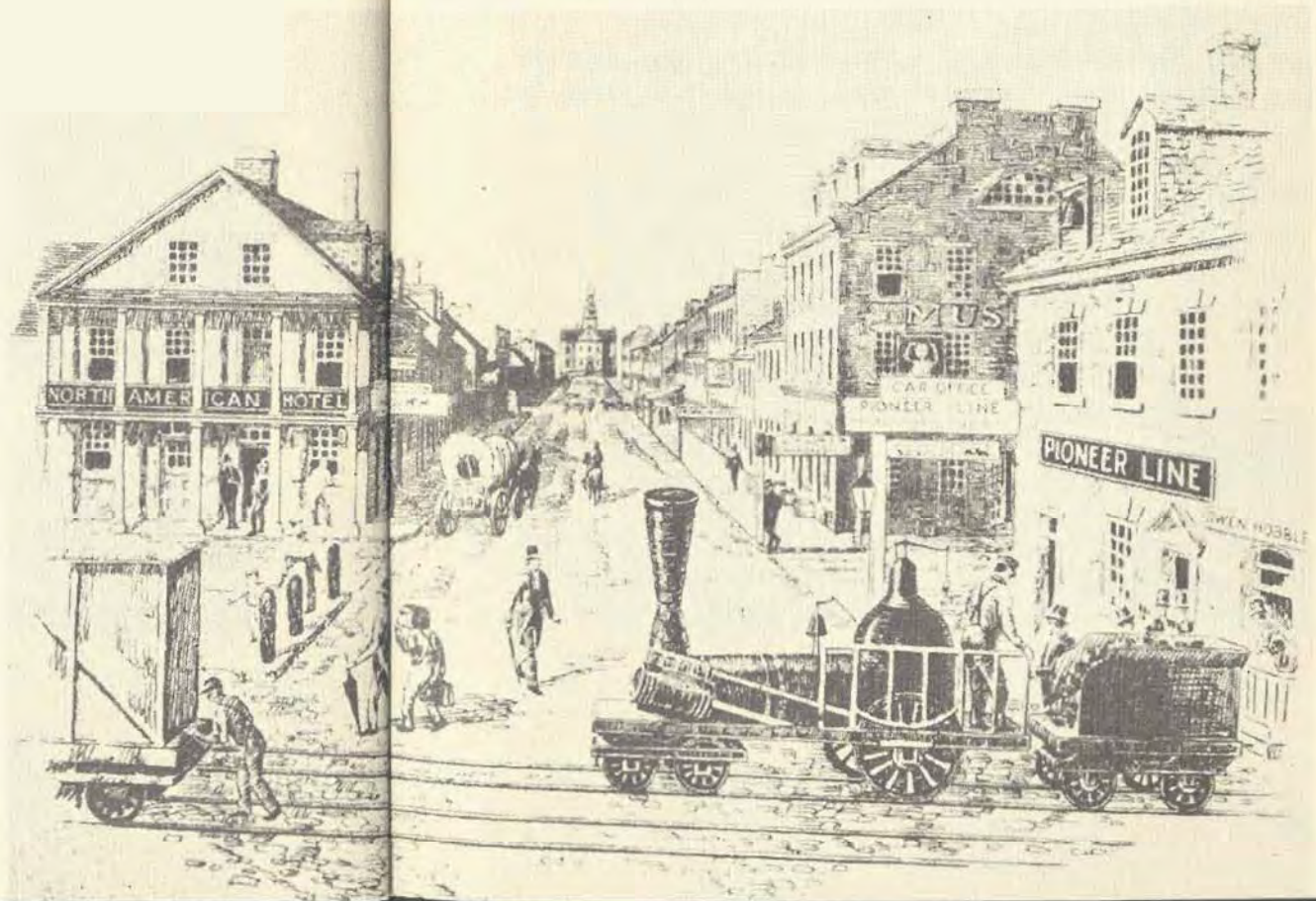
whereupon they sold their crude rolls to local tavern or general store proprietors. They were cheap, ranging in original cost from 5 for a cent to 1 cent each. They were long, sometimes a foot long, and they were designed for virile men who as frequently chewed these cigars as smoked them.

Drivers delivering the famed covered wagons, fore-runners of the prairie schooners, manufactured at Conestoga in Lancaster County, would have none but these cigars. Because of this association, the long rolls became known as "stogies" (and, sometimes, "tobies")—the former a later synonym for any cheap, roughly made cigar.

## Cuban seed and American limestone

In 1837 a farmer near York, Benjamin Thomas, not as grateful as he might have been with the availability of stogies, experimented with the seeds of a Cuban type known as Havana. The resultant crops were leaves of excellent quality. An imaginative man, Thomas saw a revival of Pennsylvania's cigar-leaf industry. Enthusiastically predicting success if a proper agricultural routine

*North Queen Street, Lancaster, about 1840. The Conestoga wagon (shown at the hotel) was soon to be replaced by the new railroad's freight cars.*



was followed, he gave seeds to farmer friends in York and Lancaster Counties. His prediction bore fruit, for the start of the Seedleaf agriculture in Pennsylvania began through the seed distribution made by Thomas.

By 1839 York County was producing over 160,000 pounds of the new type, whose leaves continued to broaden over several successive crops, while Lancaster County was harvesting under 49,000 pounds. Development of the type in the latter county was remarkable. Twenty years later the total harvest had reached 2 million pounds of the valuable cash crop, and by 1879 the figure stood at 24 million pounds. Lancaster County never thereafter relinquished its predominant place as the largest producer of the specialized cigar leaf known as Pennsylvania Seedleaf.

What helped most in the rapid development of the type was the favorable limestone soil of the area. In 1910, a bulletin of the Department of Agriculture commented that

*Despite the great variety of soils and the wide range of topographic surface in Lancaster County . . . no matter what variety of tobacco is introduced, the leaf gradually becomes long and broad in shape and the flavor and aroma become mild.*

## Growth story

The increase in Lancaster County acreage for tobacco was proportionately greater than for any other Pennsylvania crops. Farmers in other parts of the state, im-

pressed by the success of the Seedleaf type, went intensively into the commercial farming of cigar-leaf tobacco. Clinton County was the area in which Connecticut Broadleaf was first introduced as a cash crop, in 1845. Its original farmer there was Thomas Pelton from Connecticut. This type began to be grown in Lancaster County which became its production center after 1849. By then the type was known as Pennsylvania Broadleaf. Its leaves were generally used as cigar fillers.

Production of tobacco in the Bradford-Tioga district, before 1878, was confined to Connecticut Broadleaf. Later, local tobacco farmers devoted themselves principally to Havana Seed which was also introduced into Clinton County in 1881. Both types were used as cigar binders. Chester County and other areas, in the scarce years following the Civil War, went into tobacco farming but finally abandoned the agriculture because they could not compete with the superior leaf of Lancaster County.

During the Centennial Exposition held at Philadelphia in 1876 over three dozen manufacturers of tobacco displayed their wares, showing chiefly cigars. Three manufacturers had handmade cigarettes on display. Among them was a Kinney Company cigarette blended from Virginia, Turkish and Perique leaf and a Havana tobacco cigarette offered by Allen & Ginter.

Also on exhibition was an experimental cigarette-making machine. It suffered from "bugs," and a worried mechanic, using lubricating grease and various tools, tried to keep the mechanism from collapsing. If he had dared leave his charge, he could have gone into a nearby booth where there was an object that would have calmed him. It was a cigar with the brand name of *Anti-Nervous*.



## Brands for the burning

By 1880 Pennsylvania ranked second only to New York among the states manufacturing tobacco. There were, in that year, 3,204 cigar "establishments," in various parts of the state. The value of the products produced by 1,377 factories alone that made cigars is recorded in the 1880 Census at about \$7 million. Additionally, 11 factories at that time were producing chewing and smoking tobacco valued at over \$910,000. Cigarettes were becoming popular. There were over 534 million produced in a few cities in the United States. Philadelphia's share was small: 2,230,390 units.

Competition in the tobacco industry existed not only as a normal condition of commerce but was present as well in the naming of brands. In a period when names of chewing tobaccos exceeded by several thousand those for smoking tobaccos — and they, too, were well up in the thousands — and when brands of cigars, snuffs, cigarettes and other tobacco products ran into their own thousands, manufacturers confessed to desperation in their search for a novel brand name. Could any factor but desperation have impelled a Scranton maker to have called his snuff *High Cough*? Or manufacturers of cigarettes, cigarros and cheroots in various cities of Pennsylvania to have concocted such labels as *Big Mess*, *Wayward*, *Yenuine Yentleman*, *Parish Priest*, or *Liver Pills*?

Brand name inventors were surely hexed when they called cheroots *Crowned Patriot of America*, or *Painful*, or *Say Nothing*. On the other hand, *Burning Idea* offered

by a Reading manufacturer of cheroots may have been a good idea. All-tobacco cigarettes of Philadelphia manufacture were available under such labels as *Profit and Loss*, *Manilla Flap Jacks*, and one produced in Pittsburgh was called *Lady Fingers*. Certain chewing tobaccos could be had when customers asked for *Our Own Love*, *Ecstasy*, and *Hard Times*, all out of Philadelphia. Still, no manufacturer in Pennsylvania was quite as far gone as one in Brooklyn, New York who called his plug, *Daddy Wouldn't Buy Me a Bow Wow*.

## To plant or not to plant

Much of the tobacco produced in Pennsylvania was grown where extremely conservative sectarian societies were predominant. In consequence, farmers listened



A Pennsylvania farmer looks over his field of Broadleaf (Seedleaf) tobacco.  
Courtesy of the U.S. Department of Agriculture



on church days to occasional sermons on sinful pleasures, including smoking, as their fathers and grandfathers had had to listen.

There were discussions and sometime controversies over such an intriguing subject as to whether tobacco had been included in the Garden of Eden. Confirmed smokers were convinced that tobacco, a most attractive horticultural specimen in full bloom, must have been included. Otherwise, they argued, it could hardly have been the Garden of Eden!

Some parishioners, willingly or not, accepted the restriction of their personal habit. But they were men of the soil, too, and realists when it came to plain economics and the forces of nature. They continued their laborious production of Seedleaf, hovering over each plant, improving their crops where they could, curing with care, selling in the best markets — and making contributions to their churches out of the profits they derived from tobacco.

While tobacco, throughout most of Pennsylvania's colonial period, was not a staple as in Virginia or Maryland, it was of economic value to many communities. In the national period it assumed greater importance as a product of numerous factories. The manufacturing of tobacco gave employment to a considerable number of workers, helped to release American consumers from dependence on English exporters of snuff and smoking tobacco, and provided an important source of revenue to the federal treasury. Tobacco had (and continues to have) a valuable share in the growth and development of the Keystone State.

Data on the current tobacco industry in Pennsylvania have been supplied by the Agricultural Marketing Service, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, and by the Depts. of Revenue and its Research and Statistics Staff Div., of Internal Affairs (Bur. of Statistics), of Labor and Industry (Bur. of Employment Security), of Commerce (Bur. of Industrial Development), and of Agriculture (Crop Reporting Service), all of Pennsylvania. Other data have been derived from recent publications of the U. S. Dept. of Commerce, and the Internal Revenue Service; from publications of the Tobacco Tax Council (Richmond, Virginia), and from "Report on . . . Tobacco," J. B. Killebrew, and "Statistics of Manufactures of Tobacco . . ." J. R. Dodge, both in the Tenth Census, 1880 (1883).

Further sources of information were *Annals of Pennsylvania*, S. Hazard (1850); *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, 1 (1852); *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania*, . . . ed. A. C. Myers (1912); *Annals of Philadelphia*, . . . John E. Watson (1927); *The Agricultural Industry of Southeastern Pennsylvania*, H. F. James (1928); *The Economic Development of the Cigar Industry in the United States*, W. N. Baer (1933); *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1640-1840*; the same, 1840-1940, S. W. Fletcher (1950; 1955); *The Market for Type 43 Tobacco in Lancaster County*, Albert E. Bell and others (Franklin and Marshall College, 1960).

The first Printz quotation, p. 9, is from *Narratives* (Myers); the second, from *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (1877-1881), vol. VI; the quotation from Stuyvesant, p. 10, is from *Annals* (Hazard). Quarry's letter, pp. 11-12, appears in *Pennsylvania Magazine*, vol. XXIV; that on p. 13 is from the *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, Great Britain (1871). Penn's comment, p. 12, is from the *American Historical Assn. Annual Report*, 1 (1919). The historian quoted, p. 14, is Henry B. Plumb, *History of Hanover Township*, . . . (1885). The excerpt from Gen. Hand's orderly book, p. 15, appears in *Pennsylvania Magazine*, vol. LXI; that from Madison's speech, pp. 15-16, occurs in *The Debates and Proceedings in . . . Congress* (1849). The quotation on p. 20 is from the Department's "Farmer's Bulletin," no. 246, cited by James.

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