

NEW VOICES IN CLASSICAL RECEPTION STUDIES

Issue 2 (2007)

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN 'TOBACCO WARS' AND THE USE OF THE CLASSICS TO ESTABLISH A GLOBAL COMPANY

© Eleanor O'Kell, Durham University

This paper considers the classical images used by two Southern Americans in their attempts to gain hegemony over the cigarette market at a key moment in business history for integration and oligopoly: 1870–1900. I will argue that Major Lewis Ginter and James Buchanan Duke used these images as part of the 'added value' of their brands to represent strength, ambition and success, and encourage their consumers to 'try something new', as well as to represent their respective multinational and global ambitions. Classical imagery represents sophistication and education, and Ginter and Duke take advantage of the social aspirations of middle-class consumers who recognize this. Duke especially had benefited from the Carolinian education system which focussed on the Classics, particularly ancient history, including Xenophon and Plutarch.¹ Hence, he, along with many others, would have readily recognized Alexander the Great as the canonical conqueror of the world and emulation of Alexander (from Plutarch's *Julius Caesar* onwards) as a statement of personal ambition. I will argue that Alexander the Great not only represented Duke's ambitions for global expansion but also inspired several of his innovative business practices.

Nowadays marketing is frequently conceptualized as war, to the extent that marketing strategists draw on Sun Tze and Xenophon,² but this war is seen as an offensive against other companies rather than as a recruitment exercise to enlist consumers. Ginter and Duke were both engaged in selling cigarettes to a mass market during the early phases of the development of modern marketing.³ Duke, who was among the first to realize the value of advertising, is widely acknowledged as founder of the first modern corporation, so it is appropriate to apply modern theories of advertising and management to his activities.⁴ However, to appreciate fully Duke's construction of the American Tobacco Company (hereafter ATC) and his attempt to conquer the British tobacco market during the first 'Tobacco War' of 1901–2 we must go back to the post-bellum period, the growth of the American cigarette market and the recruitment of smokers by Ginter in the 1870s.

GINTER

Major Lewis Ginter (1824–96), born to Dutch émigré parents in New York, moved to Richmond, Virginia in 1842. He set himself up as a linen merchant and is credited with being the first to offer an in-store gift-wrapping service. During the Civil War he served in the quartermaster corps and drove back a Union attack at the second battle of Manassas, refusing the rank of lieutenant-major but later accepting the rank of major. After the war he returned to New York and went into banking, until bankrupted in the 1873 crash; whereupon he returned to Richmond to employment with the tobacco manufacturers John Allen & Co. He noticed that imported cigarettes (originating in Turkey, Cairo and Alexandria)⁵ were growing in popularity and in 1875 he persuaded John Allen to make pre-rolled cigarettes from local Virginian bright-leaf tobacco. Thus, Richmond Gem cigarettes were created and sold as the first pre-packaged cigarette; the company became Allen & Ginter, and the packet was exhibited at the Centennial Exhibition of the American Republic (Philadelphia, 1876) under its remit to present industrial achievements and potentialities.⁶ The packet was presented with a photographic advertisement (Fig. 1) of a bust of Alexander the Great posed on a Richmond Gem retail display carton (50 foil-wrapped 20s, of the type shown in the 1881 Allen & Ginter product catalogue).⁷ While this bust has not

been located, it is immediately recognizable as Alexander and the photographic image testifies to its existence, either in a museum or private collection, because of the way it is displayed—on a base with an attribution: this is the image of Richmond Gem. The fact that the bust itself is not identified implies that its intended audience would readily recognize Alexander, suggesting the advertisement's ideological content is significant for potential cigarette vendors and their customers, the smokers of pre-packaged Virginian, rather than imported, cigarettes. Alexander himself, once recognized, is immediately identifiable as the greatest general in history and the unifier of the then known world. In Ginter's advertisement, Alexander's cigarette-carton base suggests that such ability and empire-building ambition was/is founded on Richmond Gem cigarettes. The product's success is confirmed by prizes won for quality at the Great Exhibitions in Philadelphia (1876), Sydney (1877), Paris (1878) and Melbourne (1880); Allen & Ginter became the leading US cigarette manufacturer (1880) and Britain's leading importer of cigarettes (1883).⁸

Richmond Gem's general success is partly due to this advertisement (which may also have appeared on tobacconists' counters), which stimulated sales and repeat-purchases. To determine why it worked, it is necessary to consider the purpose of cigarette advertising and this advertisement's wider audience. Cigarette advertisements have three purposes: persuading non-buyers or non-users to try the product; persuading existing buyers of all brands to increase their consumption; increasing buyers' perception of the value of the product.⁹ The advertisements fit into the cultural universe of those exposed to them, providing: 'a corpus of signs, mythology and ideology about the nature of smoking and smokers' (Chapman 1986: 20) that is designed to persuade individuals to consume a product completely lacking in utility by providing them with a desirable image/identity.¹⁰ Thus, cigarette advertising communicates evaluations, norms and propositions about cigarettes, their uses and users, creating a symbolic meaning for a brand, differentiating it from other brands of what is essentially a homogeneous product. In so doing it differentiates social groups and consolidates social ideologies compatible with consumption: 'a person chooses a particular brand because it conveys some symbolic meaning and is a physical extension of the user's personality' (ibid. 52).

Cigarette advertisements' use of: 'distinctions existing in social mythologies to create distinctions between products' makes categories of culture visible and stable (Williamson 1978: 27). The stability of culture as a referent and the cultured class in this crucial period for the construction of American identity as a unified nation (following the colonization of its interior) is based on classical imagery and this can be seen from the unchanging, iconic cover of *Harper's* magazine (1880–95). *Harper's* is inscribed on a plinth, bearing artefacts of cultural creation (two piles of morocco-bound books, parchment scrolls, a palette, papers, an inkstand), before two cloth-draped columns (festooned with flowers, fruits and vegetables) supporting two toga-clad children strewing blossom from baskets on their heads, while a child seated on a globe blows bubbles in the centre. From the 1890s, *Harper's Weekly's* masthead incorporates similar elements and its self-proclaimed status as a 'Journal of Civilisation' is supported by its classicizing articles.

In this atmosphere, Ginter's advertisement presents Richmond Gem as the basis of culture, but the consumer's ability to recognize the unidentified bust as Alexander relies on their class and/or educational background. Yet if the bust is not recognized as Alexander it is still identifiable as a classical antique and a piece of culture worthy of elevation upon a pedestal. Such an artefact could be presented anywhere in the world, thereby evoking ideas of leisure and travel pertinent to the Centennial Exhibition's audience, but also of elite intercontinental travel and the 'grand tour', as undertaken by Louisa M. Alcott before the publication of *Little Women* (1868–9) or by the heroine of Susan Coolidge's popular novel *What Katy Did Next* (1886). For those who were aware of, but could not make, such journeys, the attribution makes the bust the property of Richmond, Virginia: smoking makes ancient/European culture close and

capable of internalization as American. The photographic representation also echoes the portrait-bust-type photographs of significant personalities which feature in contemporary American magazines.¹¹ Thus, non-specific recognition does not prevent the viewer from identifying the advertisement's cultural content or its statement about worth/value. After 1876 that statement is substantiated by the claim to prize-winning quality, but this advertisement precedes the first prize and after it is won it is less necessary to make claims to world-class status through imagery. Indeed, once the brand is marketed in Europe, the image of Alexander disappears altogether and the brand's iconic symbol becomes a smoking Southern Gentleman (Fig. 2, and the 1881 product catalogue p.21), identifying Richmond Gem as an American cigarette (with particular connotations for other Americans).¹² So, Ginter appears to have considered Alexander particularly suited to a precise moment in cigarette marketing history: the transition to a pre-rolled pre-packaged cigarette that was cheaper than its imported counterparts.

The issue of cigarette price has long been recognized as problematic, especially for consumers switching to a cheaper brand: 'A cheap cigarette may actually cost less, or may be rated as cheap because it is considered inferior ... People can think of more reasons why they shouldn't smoke than why they should. So there is no point in making matters worse by smoking a cheap cigarette' (Martineau 1971: 60).¹³ The name Richmond Gem itself alludes to the value of precious stones,¹⁴ but the image of Alexander adds value in two ways. First, he signifies culture in a broad sense (wealth, refinement, education, leisure and so on)—a culture that can be accessed by buying Richmond Gem. Secondly, Alexander appeared, in colour illustration (Fig. 3), on cigars—a considerably more expensive tobacco product, and the only one similarly named (the cigars of Krueger & Braun of New York are *Gems*). While the transition from chewing tobacco to smoking a cigar depicting Alexander required wealth/economic success and signified social status/class, smoking Richmond Gem (wholesale price ten cents for twenty in 1881) was within the means of the new middle class, providing they were willing to try something new, to push the boundaries of their experience.¹⁵

Alexander, who went beyond the boundaries of the known world, became an object of admiration worthy of emulation. His ancient imitators included Julius Caesar, another general with expansionist ambitions, also used by Ginter to market Richmond Gem, but in a less high-profile manner. Ginter's packaging included a piece of cardboard as stiffening to reduce the risk of the cigarettes being squashed, but in the 1880s he began to print on these inserts, producing the first cigarette cards. As an incentive to repeat-purchasing, Allen & Ginter produced eighty sets of cards from 1885–90; Julius Caesar appeared in the 'Great Generals' set of 1886 (issued while Ginter and Duke were both directors of ATC).¹⁶ The connection between Julius Caesar and Alexander is evident from Plutarch's *Lives* (Perrin 1919) but their status as generals and empire builders also connects them with the cultural landscape of 1876. First, during the Civil War many officers and soldiers had started to smoke and after 1865 mail-ordered tobacco from Virginia and Carolina.¹⁷ Secondly, many of the officers were moving in cultured society and starting to smoke imported cigarettes. Thirdly, America had imperial ambitions outside mainland North America which were re-gaining momentum. In this atmosphere Ginter's advertisement presents smoking in conjunction with Alexander and by featuring the product as the bust's base associates a great military figure's achievements, the building of an empire, with smoking tobacco from Richmond, Virginia, that is, with a patriotic act.

The ancient world and Europe had identified Alexander as a culture hero, yet Ginter's advertisement re-makes Alexander as an American, specifically a Virginian, demonstrating a facility to manipulate European culture that establishes a claim for American sophistication. Additionally, this subtle re-appropriation is entirely in keeping with Alexander's qualities; qualities which align him with American culture heroes as defined in contemporary magazines. These heroes are famous and successful, contribute socially, achieve in their field and grow rich

because of their fierce individuality, indomitable will, mastery of 'the human and material environment' and perseverance to overcome 'obstacles and adversity' (Greene 1970: 164). By the 1890s Wuerpal (**date**) can write in *Cosmopolitan*: 'We [that is, Americans] are creating our history, and we want it to be as great and good as the history of famous nations that are, or have been.' This echoes the self-conscious attempt to define Americans and differentiate them from Europeans that in the 1820s had made chewing tobacco (rather than taking snuff) a distinctively American custom.¹⁸ To promote the transition to cigarette-smoking in 1876 Ginter initially (re)turns to a more 'European' iconography for his message of individuality, ambition and expansionism (a message of internationalism rather than parochialism) that presents the cigarette as a membership badge to a sense of belonging that signals class and taste.

Richmond Gem, therefore, can be classified as aspirational; it connects with the desire for advancement, both national and personal (or at least its trappings),¹⁹ and Ginter is not the only entrepreneur to recognize this desire in the American consumer, although he seems to have done so ten to fifteen years earlier than most.²⁰

DUKE

James Buchanan ('Buck') Duke (1856-1925), born and educated in Durham, North Carolina, started out selling tobacco off a barrow and was one of many Americans in this period to rise through individual achievement. His father, Washington Duke (a landowner with over 300 acres), after his Civil War discharge in 1865 started a tobacco business (W. Duke & Sons, which became W. Duke, Sons & Co. in 1878), marketing his tobacco crop for smoking (pre-shredded for rolling) under the brand name Pro Bono Publico. Duke left school to join the company, reputedly proclaiming: 'Why do those Quakers want to teach a fellow Latin and poetry and such like? What good'll that do me? I ain't going to be a preacher or a lawyer. I am going to be a businessman and make my pile (Corina 1975: 27). Nevertheless, he did not denigrate ancient history and Plutarch's *Life of Alexander* appears to have penetrated his consciousness to such an extent that it influences his business practices. The first hint of this is in 1881 when, under Duke's guidance, W. Duke, Sons & Co. began cigarette manufacture. Duke acquired the skilled hand-rollers this required by taking advantage of a pay dispute at Goodwin & Co., New York: he induced the workforce to relocate to North Carolina by meeting their relocation expenses as well as their pay demands, an approach which echoes Plutarch's account (Perrin 1919 tr. 15.2) of Alexander ensuring his men's financial/economic security in order to induce them to set out with him into the unknown (ATC 1954: 19).

In 1883 Duke took advantage of the cigarette-tax reduction (from \$1.75 per 1,000 to \$0.50) to cut some brands' retail price to five cents for ten, making them the cheapest cigarettes available; in the next nine months Duke sold 30,000,000 cigarettes. Duke's 1884 investment in mechanization led to even more aggressive marketing to sell the surplus and he entered the export market in 1885.²¹ The decision to market cigarettes in East Asia and China rests on Duke's global vision in response to a machine that equalled the daily production of a thousand workers.²² 'Bring me the atlas.' When they brought it he turned over the leaves looking not at the maps but at the bottom, until he came to the legend, "Pop.: 430,000,000." "That," he said, "is where we are going to sell cigarettes." And "that" was China' (Dobson 1946: 18).²³ The penetration of China started with the export of Pinhead and Atlas (Fig. 4) cigarettes to an agent in Shanghai in 1890, but gained significant momentum in 1899. On the Atlas packet a standing or kneeling male figure appears before the rising sun, bearing a globe on his shoulders—the classic, but not classical, pose of the mythological figure of Atlas, a figure as alien to Chinese culture as the cigarette it markets. It is this alien quality which sells the brand; it encourages the smoker to try something new, something Western, to buy into the mythology and social practices of another culture, to adopt a symbol of expanded cultural horizons. Smokers of the

brand are encouraged to envisage themselves at the dawn of a new age, as the bearers of a new world, taking on global responsibilities and an awareness of the weighty (or rather significant) nature of their undertaking. Thus, ATC is presented as a bearer of global culture and ATC's hegemony reaches out *beyond* the sale of a commodity, to metamorphose aspirations and imagination. This interpretation is supported by later Chinese objections to Western contamination of their culture, especially those directed against Duke's company British American Tobacco (hereafter BAT) through the 1905 boycott of American products. The boycott's leaders created posters:

such as one that showed a hearty common labourer accosting a blasé young scholar. Snatching a Western cigarette from the lips of the "idle young man" and replacing it with a Chinese cigarette, the labourer demanded, "Sir, you must have more pride!" The poster's caption exhorted the people of Canton to be sincere like the worker and not an enemy of the people like the young scholar. (Cochran 1980: 47).

Yet, the distinction is not so clear cut. Duke's integrationist business policies involved Chinese tobacco growers, workers and distributors to such an extent that, as an overseas Chinese businessman pointed out in 1915 to a Chinese cigarette manufacturer: 'If the most wolfish country's manufactured goods are made from native products and most of the wolfish country's goods are distributed and sold by our fellow Chinese, how can we love your product and despise that country's product?'²⁴ Indeed, the manipulation of imagery and the integration of his company and its representatives enabled Duke to succeed in profitably pursuing the China market from 1895-1915, where other Americans failed.²⁵

Back in the US Duke had, by 1881, cornered a third of the domestic cigarette market with brands such as Cameo, Cross-Cut, Pinhead, Duke of Durham and another 'classical' brand, Semper Idem. However, this (and having 'made [his] pile') was not enough. On 31 June 1890 Duke negotiated a merger with Allen & Ginter and the other three largest US tobacco companies (Kinney Bros., Wm. S. Kimball & Co. and Goodwin & Co.) to create ATC. From 1890 Duke (with a board composed of the previous owners, until Ginter's death in 1896 and the others' resignations in 1897) controls ninety-six per cent of cigarette exports and forty per cent of the domestic market and sets out to realize the explicit statements of his ATC foundation document, a: 'worldwide remit to cure, buy, manufacture and sell tobacco in all its forms, establishing factories, agencies and depots for its sale and distribution' (Corina 1975: 29–30).

Duke's aggressive strategy for corporate growth, characterized by both mergers and acquisitions, has been identified as unprecedented in several ways.²⁶ I shall argue that three of the techniques that facilitated ATC's expansion may have been inspired by the policies of Plutarch's *Alexander*. In stating his business philosophy Duke said: '[h]it your competitors in the pocket book, hit 'em hard. Then you either buy 'em out, or take 'em with you.' (ibid. 28). 'Taking them with him' alludes to Duke's practice, from 1899, of taking over well-run companies; of leaving the existing management in position with autonomy; subject to financial oversight by his New York office, and providing them with a share of the company's stock.²⁷ This strategy is part of a wider policy that allows a degree of autonomy to ATC's foreign branches and invests in personnel.²⁸

The practice of leaving company managers in place with autonomy and an incentive to work for Duke's success through the award of stock (which paid dividends) is highly practical for a worldwide company which, given the state of transoceanic communications (Shanghai to New York, by steamer to Baghdad and then telegraph, takes about two months each way), cannot be managed by one man; it is, nevertheless, unusual.²⁹ Similarly, Alexander's empire was widespread, had limited manpower on the conquering side, and not only had communication difficulties but also risked disloyalty or resentment leading to instability (not to mention isolation and death). For this reason, Plutarch states, Alexander was prone to giving gifts, through both

the fair distribution of booty and additional distributions from his own allotted portion, not only to his followers but also to the conquered, frequently leaving satraps and kings in place (**Perrin 1919 tr.**)³⁰ Alexander's strategy enables him to profit from their local knowledge and links to the populace and decreases the possibility of such knowledge and power bases being turned against him.

Duke's investment in personnel, as noted previously, also secures expertise and loyalty, but becomes more important as his empire expands.³¹ Reliable and competent managers are especially necessary in countries where direct investment is the only viable proposition. For example, after the 1889 introduction of a one hundred per cent import tax on pre-rolled cigarettes effectively closed the Japanese market, Duke directed ATC to invest in the Japanese tobacco manufacturers Yezoye & Co. and mechanise it. ATC and Kichibui Murai [Bros.] each owned fifty per cent of Yezoye & Co.'s shares and Duke appointed his protégé, Captain J. W. Coe, as a manager. Having attained sixty per cent of the shares, Duke appointed another protégé, Edward J. Parrish, as vice president but confirmed Kichibui Murai as the chairman. The company supplies China, the Straits and India, but, as import taxes continued to rise (to 130 per cent on imported leaf in 1900), Duke bought three other tobacco companies and, finally, Yezoye & Co. outright, so that by 1901 ATC under Kichibui Murai was providing the Japanese market with 8,000,000 cigarettes a day.³²

In China, where tobacco was grown (rather than imported), purchased by foreign companies and manufactured in factories in Shanghai, Duke needed skilled tobacco buyers to ensure quality, but he recognized the reluctance of experienced Americans to relocate to China for long periods. Alexander's Macedonians exhibited a similar reluctance, which increased with the distance from home (Perrin 1919 tr.).³³ Duke's solution of offering enormous salaries parallels Alexander's extravagant gift-giving: in 1895 his leaf-buyer's salary is \$5,000 in gold and a head-buyer's \$10,000, well in excess of that offered by any other company, even those with comparable financial resources.³⁴ James A. Thomas,³⁵ trained under Duke's curriculum at the Eastman National School of Business, Poughkeepsie. He maintained Duke's high-salary policy (\$1,200 a year for a four-year term with one year's leave, comparable to Alexander's breaks to refresh his soldiers, for example, four months at 37.3) to attract bachelors under twenty-five from Virginia and South and North Carolina because: '[f]rom infancy [they] had cultivated, cured, and manufactured tobacco, so that it was second nature to them' (Thomas 1928: 85–6) and because he: 'believed that only inexperienced and adventurous young men would be fools enough to risk what [he and his fellow directors] proposed' (see Anderson 1973: 1). Thomas continued to employ Chinese and instituted a \$500 bonus for Western employees who passed the company's Chinese language exams.

This, too, echoes the *modus operandi* of Alexander, who gave unexpected performance-related bonuses, not only for expected behaviour (monetary bonus in addition to pay, 42.3; pensions for veterans and war-orphans and public honours 71.5), but also for unexpected good behaviour (a soldier carries Alexander's gold when the pack ass dies, and is rewarded with the gold, 39.2; a ransom is given despite the demand being dropped and Bucephalus returned, 44) (Perrin 1919 tr.). Additionally, Alexander incorporated elements of Persian and Median dress into his own: 'to adapt himself to native customs, believing that community of race and custom goes far towards softening the hearts of men' (45) because he thought that:

by a mixture and community of practice which produced good will, rather than by force, his authority would be kept secure while he was far away... For this reason, too, he chose out 30,000 boys and gave orders that they should learn the Greek language and be trained to use Macedonian weapons, appointing many instructors for this work.' (47.3–4).³⁶

Plutarch's evaluation of the results of Hephaestion, following Alexander's example when Craterus does not, shows that these strategies effectively increased trust and, more importantly for Duke, trade: Hephaestion is entrusted with business by 'the Barbarians', Craterus with business by the Greeks and Macedonians (47.5). This degree of parallelism suggests that Plutarch's Alexander acted for Duke (and ATC) as a model, or at least an inspiration, and although this cannot be proved there must be some reason why ATC's behaviour is distinctly different from the established and contemporary practice of China traders. The challenge of trading in a non-European language is met by the use of pidgin and/or the employment of the Eurasian offspring of traders to serve as intermediaries in China, Japan and Korea. The employment of locals above Americans (for example, Kichibui Murai's chairmanship, discussed above) seems unique to ATC.

THE TOBACCO WAR

In the British market, Duke, like any other foreign entrant, had been limited by the import tax set in 1823 which turned American cigarettes into high status, luxury, items (average price sixpence for ten) in a market which, after 1888, included 'Penny cigarettes' selling at one penny for five.³⁷ To compete on equal terms, or employ his usual price-cutting strategy without prohibitive loss, Duke invested directly but, because this was an established and highly competitive market and the home market of ATC's main overseas competitor (W. D. and H. O. Wills of Bristol, hereafter Wills), he handled matters in person.

After purchasing the Liverpool tobacco company Ogden's (Wills' main British competitor) in 1901, Duke traded as Ogden's, retaining its brands and logos, while ATC continued to import American cigarettes. While Duke had always had a keen eye to marketing, offering 'the most attractive showcards and accessories to assist the retail dealers',³⁸ in 1901–2 Ogden's advertising approached saturation point both in print and in retailers' shop windows, and a variety of incentive schemes for retailers and consumers were introduced. Foremost for consumers was the photographic cigarette card (issued with Tabs and Guinea Gold), which competed with Wills' illustrative cards.³⁹ The first series of Guinea Gold 'Famous People' cards includes number 136, Alexander the Great, 'King of Macedonia: conquered almost the whole of the then known world. Born BC 356. Died BC 323' in the form of a photograph of the Capitoline bust of Alexander (Fig. 5). Alexander's presentation is comparable to that of other military heroes in the series, for example, 134, Nelson (Fig. 6). Nelson is a reproduction of a photograph of a portrait, cropped into bust form, but the use of a black background for Alexander (duplicating Ginter's original advertisement) makes the legend 'Ogden's Guinea Gold Cigarettes' into a base for the biographical description, again associating cigarettes, particularly this company and brand, with Alexander. This introductory historical series adds value to smoking Guinea Gold because the cards act as a 'ready reference', and Duke's low prices bring this level of education and the ability to see and own works of art within everyone's reach.⁴⁰

Duke's quest for market share, featuring aggressive and sustained tactics of underpricing and bonuses, due to his superior financial resources, put many small cigarette companies out of business.⁴¹ One of these was G. Philips & Sons, London, whose Sweet Guinea Gold was produced as a market share-stealing imitation of Guinea Gold and prompted the addition of the legend 'Beware of Imitations' to the Ogden's packet.⁴² The larger British firms responded to the threat of individual insolvency by amalgamating into the Imperial Tobacco Company (Great Britain and Northern Ireland) (hereafter Imperial), taking Duke's attack and monopolistic ambitions seriously. Thus, business analysts have interpreted Duke's sale of Ogden's to Imperial nine months later in September 1902 as a response to his losses (£376,000 despite sales of £1,850,000, mainly as a result of paying bonuses to traders) that symbolizes defeat, or at best a truce. The fact that the re-sale follows Imperial purchasing an American tobacco

company and the British firm Philip Morris establishing a New York branch to market Marlboro cigarettes with the motto 'Veni, Vidi, Vici' beneath their coat of arms, might appear to confirm this.⁴³ However, the fact is that Duke made a profit on Ogden's (bought for \$5,348,000 and sold for \$15,000,000), and his communications about the formation of the joint Anglo-American BAT indicate his ambitions always went beyond the British market.⁴⁴


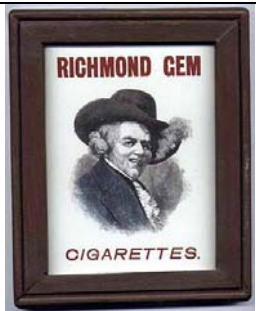

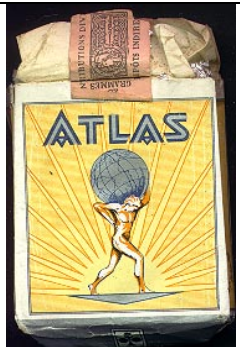


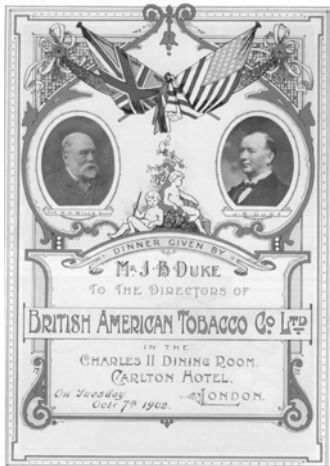
The foundation of BAT gives ATC and Imperial unchallenged hegemony in their home markets and sole distribution rights to each other's products in geographically delimited zones, meaning that Duke, as chairman of BAT, president of ATC and board member of Imperial, comes out of the 'First Tobacco War' having stabilized his empire and having prevented his main global competitor (Wills) from entering the US market. Then he returns safely to New York, the centre of his empire, having melded two distinct peoples into a co-operative whole capable of ruling the world.⁴⁵ This outcome suggests that Duke was adopting a global strategy, in the sense defined by Chee and Harris: he took a standardized product which required little adaptation to suit local needs, adapted his marketing as necessary, synchronized competitive moves across countries by attacking in his main competitor's home market to divert its resources from overseas competition and, finally, selected a country into which to expand, not because it had profit-generating potential but because it had the potential to be beneficial to his business as a whole (Chee and Harris 1998: 18).⁴⁶

This benefit arises from BAT's co-operative spirit, and this spirit of mutually beneficial co-operation between two cultures and two powers is nowhere better seen than on the menu cover for the BAT foundation dinner (Fig. 7) which features Sir W. H. Wills and J. B. Duke, British and American flags, in opposition but united by a classicizing border, and has, positioned as its central focus, a cornucopia—a promise of what is to come. The spirit of the imagery is made explicit in Duke's private telegram to his father: 'I have just completed great deal with British manufacturer covering the world securing great benefit to our Companies', and in his press release for the tobacco trade and general public: 'Is it not a grand thing in every way that England and America should join hands in a vast enterprise rather than be in competition? Come along with me and we will conquer the rest of the world.'⁴⁷ This sentiment about the role of integration and expansion in establishing hegemony has a distinct echo of Plutarch's *Alexander*:

calling them [the Macedonians] to witness that while he was winning the inhabited world for the Macedonians he had been left behind with his friends and those who were willing to continue the expedition. This is almost word for word what he wrote in his letter to Antipater, and he adds that after he had thus spoken all his hearers [including those he had intended to leave behind] cried out to him to lead them to whatever part of the world he wished. (47.2)⁴⁸

The correspondences noted between Duke's business strategies and aspects of Plutarch's *Alexander*'s approach to imperial expansion suggest that there are key factors to global corporate success which can be learned from hegemonic success in the ancient world.⁴⁹ That these key factors involve an integrationist strategy that can only be associated with Alexander further suggests the existence of a reading of Plutarch at the turn of the last century that may have enabled Duke to be identified as a latter-day Alexander, as well as contributing to Tarn's view of Alexander's ideal of the 'Brotherhood of Mankind'.⁵⁰ Shortly after Ginter and Duke were bringing classical figures to the masses on cigarette cards, the Everyman (1906) and Loeb (1911) libraries were founded by entrepreneurs intending to bring the Classics, the education of the gentleman, within everyone's reach so that all could 'profit from the wisdom of the ancients', so it is perhaps no surprise that Plutarch's *Lives* is among the first commissioned volumes.⁵¹

Figures

		
<p>Figure 1: Ginter's 'Alexander' advertisement, 1876. Private collection.</p>	<p>Figure 2: Ginter's standard brand image (the Southern Gentleman). Private collection. See also n.7.</p>	<p>Figure 3: 'Alexander the Great' cigar box, courtesy of Instone Inc., purveyors of cigar label art http://www.instoneinc.com. 'King of Macedon' cigar band, courtesy of S. Tomlin, "Up-in-Smoke" Cigar Band Museum</p>
		
<p>Figure 4: ATC's <i>Atlas</i> cigarettes: a later packet from Algeria which retains the same iconography. Courtesy of J. A. Shaw, <i>Jim's burnt offerings: a collection of quaint cigarette packs, boxes, tins, and advertising</i>, www.wclynx.com/burntofferings/ads. Photographs (c. 1900 and 1906) of Chinese vendors selling <i>Atlas</i> cigarettes (complete with advertising posters featuring the packet) are held by BAT (see Plate 18, Cox 2000) and Duke University (Richard Henry Gregory Papers).</p>	<p>Figure 5: <i>Ogden's Guinea Gold</i> cigarette card: 'Famous People' number 136. Private collection.</p>	<p>Figure 6: <i>Ogden's Guinea Gold</i> cigarette card: 'Famous People' number 134. Private collection.</p> 
		<p>Figure 7: Cover of the BAT foundation dinner, 7th October 1902. © BAT (see Cox (2000) Plate 8).</p>

Bibliography

- Adcock, P., 2000. *Marketing Strategies for Competitive Advantage*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.
- HarpWeek. 1998. *Coffin Nails: The Tobacco Controversy in the 19th Century – text, cartoons and ads from the pages of Harper's Weekly, 1857-1912*. <http://tobacco.harpweek.com/> (last accessed 06/02/06).
- Alford, B. W. E. 1973. *W. D. and H. O. Wills and the development of the UK tobacco industry, 1786-1965*. London: Methuen.
- Alford, B. W. E. 1997. Penny Cigarettes, Oligopoly, and Entrepreneurship in the UK Tobacco Industry in the late nineteenth century. In *Supple* 1997: 49-69.
- Supple, B. (ed.) 1997. *Essays in British Business History*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Anderson, W. A. 1973. *The Atrocious Crime (of Being a Young Man)*. Philadelphia: Dorrance.
- ATC [American Tobacco Company]. 1954. 'Sold American!'—*The First 50 Years*. New York: Robert Heimann.
- Bagby, G. W. 1948. *The Old Virginia Gentleman and Other Sketches*. Ed. E. M. Bagby, 4th edn. Richmond, Va.: Dietz Press.
- Bury, J.B. S.A. Cook, F.E. Adcock. (eds). 1926. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol.6, Macedon, 401-301 B.C. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chandler, Jr. A. D. 1977. *The Visible Hand: the managerial revolution in American business*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Chapman, S. 1986. *Great Expectorations: advertising and the tobacco industry*. London: Comedia.
- Chee, H. and R. Harris. 1998. *Global Marketing Strategy*. London: Pitman Publishing.
- Coben, S. 1991. *Rebellion against Victorianism: the impetus for cultural change in 1920s America*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Coben, S. and L. Ratner 1983. Culture, Society, Ethnicity, Class, Nation, and History. In Coben and Ratner 1983: 1-15.
- S. Coben and L. Ratner (eds.) 1983. *Development of an American Culture*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Cochran, S. 1980. *Big Business in China: Sino-Foreign Rivalry in the Cigarette Industry 1890-1930*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Corina, M. 1975. *Trust in Tobacco: the Anglo-American struggle for power*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Cox, H. 2000. *The Global Cigarette: origins and evolution of British American Tobacco 1880-1945*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Davis, R. B. 1964. *Intellectual Life in Jefferson's Virginia 1790-1830*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina.
- Dobson, R. P. 1946. *China Cycle*. London: Macmillan.
- Drucker, P. 1954. *The Practice of Management*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Drucker, P. 1954. *Innovation and Entrepreneurship*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Greene, T. P. 1970. *America's Heroes: the changing models of success in American magazines*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hall, S. 1980. Encoding/decoding. In Hall et al 1980: 128-38
- Hall, S., D. Hobson, A. Lowe, and P. Willis. (eds). 1980. *Culture, Media, Language: working papers in cultural studies, 1972-79*. London: Hutchinson.
- Imperial [Imperial Tobacco Company (Great Britain and Northern Ireland)], *Imperial Tobacco* (Bristol 1951). Part of the booklet's contents appear as 'Imperial Tobacco Official History' at http://www.imperial-tobacco.com/index.asp?pageid=24&subsection=major_businesses (accessed 30/04/05), the whole (except the original's line drawings of the cigarette brands included) appears at <http://www.franklyncards.com/one/bioitc.htm> (last accessed 30/04/05)
- Jay, R. 1987. *The Trade Card in Nineteenth-Century America*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press.
- Emergence of Advertising in America 1880-1920 online Project. 1998 – Ongoing. Durham, NC: John N. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising and Marketing History. <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/ea/> (last accessed 06/12/05).
- Leiss, W., S. Kline and S. Jhally. 1986. *Social Communication in Advertising: persons, products and images of well-being*. Toronto: Routledge.
- Maddex, Jr. J. P. 1970. *The Virginia Conservatives 1867-1879: a study in reconstruction politics*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina.
- Martineau, P. 1971. *Motivation in advertising*. New York: McGraw Hill.
- McLuhan, M. 1959. Myth and mass media. *Daedalus* 88/2: 339-48
- Ohmann, R. 1996. *Selling Culture: magazines, markets, and class at the turn of the century*. London and New York: Verso.
- Perrin, B. (tr.) 1919. Plutarch's *Lives*, vol. 7, *Demosthenes and Cicero: Alexander and Caesar*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London : W. Heinemann.
- Porter, P. G. 1969. Origins of the American Tobacco Company. *Business History Review*, 43/1: 59-76
- Porter, P. G. 1971. Advertising in the Early Cigarette Industry: W. Duke, Sons & Company of Durham. *The North Carolina Historical Review*, 48: 31-43
- Robert, J. C. 1938. *The Tobacco Kingdom*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Siegel, F. F. 1987. *The Roots of Southern Distinctiveness: tobacco and society in Danville, Virginia, 1780-1865*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina.
- Taylor, P. 1984. *Smoke Ring: the politics of tobacco*. London: Bodley Head.
- Thernstrom, S. 1973. Urbanization, Migration, and Social Mobility in Late Nineteenth-Century America. In Gutman and Kealey 1973:

- Gutman, H. G. and G. S. Kealey. (eds). 1973. *Many Pasts: readings in American social history*, vol 2 1865-the present. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Thomas, J. A. 1928. *A Pioneer Tobacco Merchant in the Orient*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Tilley, N. 1948. *The Bright Tobacco Industry*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina.
- Waterson, M. J. 1990. Advertising and Tobacco Consumption: an analysis of the two major aspects of the debate. *The Impact of Tobacco Advertising, International Journal of Advertising* (an edition of the *Quarterly Review of Marketing Communications*): 59-72
- Williamson, J. 1978. *Decoding Advertisements*. London: Boyars.

¹ Davis (1964) reviews the curricula of schools and colleges in Jefferson's Virginia, demonstrating that in constructing the education system: '[t]he needs of both the potential planter-statesman and the intelligent yeoman-artisan were kept in mind, but the focus was the farmer' (29); these needs were served by the Classics (the most common curriculum for boys' schools was classical languages, basic maths and English composition, 38), which spread through society (e.g. the manager of an iron works quotes Virgil, Nepos, Cicero and Horace when writing to his son, 78). The 1850s saw a decline in classical languages but ancient history retained equal status with American history, English and the 'three Rs'. In Bagby's (1948: 21) sketch 'The Old Virginia Gentleman' Greek and Roman historians continue to be staples of a Southern gentleman's library and the staples of public libraries include Greek and Roman histories, Rollin's *Ancient History* (1730–38, with new editions and reprints), Hume, Gibbon, Voltaire, Goldsmith and Robertson; histories are: 'second only to fiction in the affection of the reading public, for they might both amuse and instruct' (Davis: 1964: 78). Guidelines for library purchases, or early reading, present Plutarch and Rollin as fundamental (ibid. 103).

² e.g. Adcock (2000: 16–17) uses them to present battle tactics for marketing: i.e. identifying areas with distinct advantages that are overlooked by the enemy. These overlap with three of Drucker's (1985) four strategies for marketing success: (i) being 'the fastest with the mostest' (an observation attributed to the Confederate cavalry general Nathan Bedford Forrest), (ii) 'hit[ting] them where they ain't', (iii) finding and occupying a specialized niche.

³ In this period the company created advertisements and advertising firms (e.g. J. Walter Thompson, est. 1878) sold space in newspapers and magazines: for the American advertising industry's development, see Ohmann (1996: 81–117).

⁴ In 1881 W. Duke, Sons & Co. marketed Duke of Durham cigarettes with national advertisements, promotions for consumers, deals for distributors, sponsored games with free cigarettes for men, cigarette cards and cut prices. By 1890 ATC had 100 different brands. In 1885 Duke sponsored the 'Cross Cut polo team' resulting in ATC taking more orders than it could fill and increasing its cigarette output from 9,000,000 sticks (July 1885) to 60,000,000 sticks (July 1887). In 1889 Duke was still spending 20% of gross sales receipts on advertising (about \$80,000 according to the John N. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising and Marketing History) in comparison with Macy's 1.5%. For ATC as one of the first examples of the modern corporation see Chandler (1977: 291–3).

⁵ One of the leading imported brands was Nestor manufactured by Nestor Gianacis Ltd (Frankfurt, Cairo and New York), in a variety of numbered mixes, which were heavily advertised in magazines, e.g. *Harper's*, in the 1880s.

⁶ On the Philadelphia Centennial, its purpose, politics and economics, see Maddex (1970: 229–32).

⁷ Allen and Ginter's 1881 product catalogue is part of Duke University's 'Tobacco Collection', see <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/dynaweb/ea/databases/tobacco/> (last accessed 06/02/06).

⁸ Richmond Gem's popularity can be seen from American and British press notices dubbing them 'the celebrated Richmond Gem cigarettes' (a selection is reproduced in the product catalogue: n.7). In 1883 Richmond Gem was the established brand used to launch Allen & Ginter's Masher cigarettes onto the London market and by 1891 they had penetrated popular consciousness as a means to impress, to the point of appearing in popular literature (see Arthur Conan Doyle's *Beyond the City*, first published in *Good Cheer*, the Christmas edition of *Good Words*, which features a selection of cigarettes ('Egyptians', 'Richmond Gems, and Turkish, and

Cambridge'), in a seal-skin case, being offered to impress; the recipient later says to her father: 'Ah, we must have some Richmond Gems or Turkish'). ATC later used Richmond Gem as a brand to penetrate foreign markets; see (Cox 2000: tables 4.1–4 for 1903–11).

⁹ Waterson (1990: 62–4); he considers whether advertising influences the initiation of smoking, but concludes this is unlikely. Chapman (1986: 23–4) assigns four (overlapping) purposes: (i) to change brand, (ii) to smoke more, (iii) to start smoking, (iv) to dissuade smokers from stopping.

¹⁰ cf. Hall (1980: 130) and for advertising as 'disguised mythology', McLuhan (1959).

¹¹ In *Munsey's* and *Harper's* magazines those 'In the Public Eye' appeared as busts and: '[p]ictures of the famous living and dead were monumental, stylized, and offered as significant representations of already significant pictures, via the professional camera and a new technology [the halftone, which became widespread in the 1880s]' (Ohmann 1996: 236). Ginter's advertisement pre-dated half-toning and was not intended for magazines but Allen & Ginter rapidly embraced the new technology; their magazine and display advertising photographs of the French actress Madame Rhea (celebrity endorser of Duke's Pinhead cigarettes in 1885) date to 1883.

¹² The first securely dated use of Fig. 2 as a trademark in the United States, England and Germany can be seen in Allen & Ginter's 1881 product catalogue (n.7).

¹³ 'Economical-Expensive' is one of the contradictions which Martineau, who pioneered advertising motivational research, first published in 1957. The others are Masculinity-Femininity, Strong-Mild and Ordinary-Classy and all are negotiated by advertising. These may have been an issue in the late nineteenth century because smoking was presented as controversial in *Harper's*, where cigarette smoking appears linked to rich, idle, effeminate 'fast' young men and 'swells' (See the commentary of R. C. Kennedy in *HarpWeek* 1998: 'Cigarettes: Men'). Consumers infer that 'quality' is proportionate to price because, while economic theory proposes that low prices reflect efficient production, experience suggests that 'you get what you pay for'. Smokers are very loyal consumers: unable to distinguish their own brand during blind tests they still will not change to generic brands, even for a 50% price reduction: Chapman (1986: 25–6).

¹⁴ The name breaks with antebellum tobacco marketing: brands names were predominantly sweet fruits (signifying taste) or famous people (signifying prestige), e.g. Golden Pomegranate and Lafayette (Robert 1938: 219).

¹⁵ cf. *Munsey's* 1893 editorials on the magazine's: 'union of cheapness and quality. In other words, they addressed the reader as party to a novel business enterprise, customer hitched to an exciting trend' (Ohmann 1996: 224).

¹⁶ The earliest UK cigarette card is from a packet of Richmond Gems, despite Imperial's claim that in 1889 Mardon, Son & Hall Ltd, Bristol: 'made tobacco history by printing Wills' [*W. D. and H. O. Wills*] advertisements—followed later by complete sets of pictures—on the hitherto plain cards used for stiffening paper cigarette packets' (Imperial 1951).

¹⁷ John R. Green's *Genuine Durham Smoking Tobacco*, which became known as *Bull Durham* after he adopted a trademark bull's head (copied from Coleman's mustard, see Corina (1976: 21)) was mailed all over the US. For the Civil War creating a demand for smoking tobacco, see Taylor (1984: 28). Siegel (1987: 156 ff.) attributes this to shortages of flavours/sweeteners for chewing tobacco, smoking's greater speed of stimulation and the antebellum development of the friction match. For the post-bellum boom in bright-leaf shredded smoking tobacco, see Tilley (1948: 498).

¹⁸ '“Chawin tobaccy” [a symbol of the informality and vigour of the age of Jackson] belonged to an age when Noah Webster was trying to create a distinctly American language, the Hartford Wits a distinctly American literature, and Benjamin Rush a distinctly American medicine' (Siegel 1987: 122).

¹⁹ The social aspirations of the middle class arose from the increased urbanization of the 1870s and 1880s. Urban elites founded museums, opera companies and symphony orchestras, and distinguished art museums from Barnum-like exhibits, using culture to designate and manifest social class: refined at the top, pleasure-seeking and commercial at the bottom, with the new middle class bent on self-improvement. On urbanization, social mobility and the creation of the American middle class (complete with assimilated Victorian values, including respect for male success in economic warfare) see Thernstrom (1973), Coben (1991: 23-7), Coben and Ratner (1983).

²⁰ Munsey (who introduced his 10¢ cultured magazine for the middle class in 1893, see n.15) is usually seen as one of the first entrepreneurs consciously capitalizing upon an audience that was not hereditarily affluent or elite, but had cultural aspirations and some disposable income (Ohmann 1996: 25, 221–4, with an analysis of the magazine's content at 225–9). The content of *Munsey's* and *McClure's* is modelled on *Harper's*, but identified audiences in terms of taste, not class. Ginter's advertisement, and other cigarette advertisements from the 1880s, supports Ohmann's argument that advertisers realized the 'communicative function of goods' for marking 'distinctions—honor, prestige, power, rank—in social groups' (Leiss, Kline and Jhally 1986: 46–7) before the dawn of the twentieth century.

²¹ By 1886 Duke was exporting cigarettes to Hamburg, Honolulu, Singapore, Madras, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Montreal, Auckland and Indonesia as well as establishing markets in China and Asia, India and Arabia: *Tobacco* 6 (67) 1886: 156.

²² One Bonsack machine made 2,000,000 sticks a day, the same as Allen & Ginter's thousand workers; but 200 hand-rolled cigarettes cost 80¢ to produce, whereas 200 machine-made cigarettes cost 30¢.

²³ The story is attributed to Duke by his executives.

²⁴ Ch'en Tse-san to Chien chao-nan of the Chinese tobacco company Nanyang Brothers, April 1915, *Nanyang* 81, as cited by Cochran (1980: 52–3).

²⁵ Cochran (1984: 11) attributes Duke's unique success to investment, dependence on Chinese and attitude to competitors, omitting advertising.

²⁶ Duke uniquely: (i) acquires related companies (e.g. box, tin-foil and sacking manufacturers) (Cox 2000: 57, and Chandler 1977: 382–98); (ii) exercised central control, from New York, of leaf-procurement and handling and bulk distribution as well as of ATC's overall strategy and all advertising and sales campaigns (Cox 2000: 66).

²⁷ Cox (2000) 66–7, examines Duke's acquisition of R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. of Winston-Salem, NC: Duke retained Reynolds as manager but imposed on-site ATC accountants. On the stock policy, see Corina (1975: 61).

²⁸ On foreign autonomy see Cox (2000: 61) on Canada and Australia (accounting for 30% of ATC's exports by 1901).

²⁹ The London to Calcutta telegraph became operational in 1870 and 1871 saw the establishment of the Trans-Siberia telegraph linking China with Europe. However, China is not linked directly to America until 1923 and telegraphing America from China requires having company offices to effect transfers from one telegraph company to another.

³⁰ Alexander offers one satrap (Mazaeus, 39.6) a second, larger, satrapy; makes Porus satrap of his former kingdom, adding the conquered local independent peoples' territory (61.8); makes Dareius' brother, Exathres, a companion (43.3). Plutarch attributes to Alexander the conscious adoption of a policy of non-compulsion and mild measures to win allegiance and pre-empt revolution (11.2).

³¹ Cox (2000: 57), with evidence from the 'Business Papers of J. B. Duke', special collections department, Perkins Library, Duke University.

³² Duke successfully implemented this strategy in America and Europe: Gectschow, retained as manager of John Bollman Co., San Francisco, in 1900, was appointed manager of Georg A. Jasmatzi, Dresden, after Duke purchased two-thirds of its capital stock, and handled the continental European arm of ATC until his retirement.

³³ The Macedonians become increasingly disgruntled: they abuse him (41.1); he tries to leave the majority in quarters because he fears they might tire of the rest of the expedition (47.2); they refuse to go on and Alexander sulks in his tent until they change their minds (52.3); they refuse to cross the Ganges so Alexander turns back (62.1).

³⁴ Alexander (Perrin 1919 tr.) ensures his men's enduring financial/economic security by giving them gifts of farms, villages and revenue from hamlets and harbours, all of which had previously belonged to the crown (15.2); passes on gifts of food sent to him (23.5); gives Parmenio the home of Bagoas at Susa (39.6); gives one of his companions three times the land given to Porus (61.8); pays his wedding guests' debts (70.2). Non-soldiers also receive gifts: those at home, including his mother (25.4, 39.7); Indian wise men (65.1). Olympias criticizes this profligate gift-giving because it will leave Alexander destitute (39.5), but Plutarch has Alexander ignore the criticism and does not otherwise portray gift-giving negatively and describes no negative repercussions, other than the necessity to avoid upsetting friends by not giving them gifts (39.3). Gift-giving is an important part of Cyrus' conduct according to Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* and is directed towards similar ends; however, the weight of other evidence suggests that Plutarch's Alexander was Duke's model.

³⁵ The son of a Bright Belt planter, Thomas followed Duke to New York, competed with Wills' salesmen to sell plug tobacco in the South Seas, joined ATC after the take-over of Motey & Co. and developed sales throughout the Far East.

³⁶ The 30,000 boys undergo such training and are a delight to Alexander at 71.

³⁷ e.g. Wills' Cinderella and Woodbine. In 1889 Wills' 'Penny cigarette' sales were comparable to those of ordinary cigarettes; by 1891 ordinary cigarette sales had doubled but 'Penny cigarettes' sales had nearly quadrupled. For growth figures see Alford (1997: table 3.1).

³⁸ See Duke's trade press advertisements in *Tobacco*, which also claimed that Duke paid \$509,934.97 in duty and spent \$507,787.77 on advertising in 1899 (see e.g. Cox 2000: plate 6).

³⁹ In 1901 Duke spent 25% of Ogden's net profits on advertising while Wills spent 1-2%: (Alford 1973: 234). This, along with the incentives above, can be seen as Duke's creation of competitive advantage, 'when an offering gives something of value that is not available from other sources' (Adcock 2000: 133).

'Tab' is a generic term for cigarette, signifying high brand recognition, but we cannot determine whether this phenomenon was pre- or post-Duke: Ogden's launched Tabs with cigarette cards late in 1900 at 1d for five, after a meeting between Duke and W. B. Ogden in September 1900 but before Duke's purchase of Ogden's stock in April 1901. Nevertheless, it bears comparison

with Duke's relentless marketing of Pinhead in China, which resulted in the characters for 'pin' and 'head' becoming the generic term for cigarette.

⁴⁰ Ginter's cigarette cards had also been educative, acting as a poor man's encyclopaedia. Both Ginter and Duke used their wealth and position to support Southern American communities and education. Ginter included a model elementary school in his design for Richmond's model neighbourhood (Ginter Park) and from 1892 Duke, his father and brother all contributed financially to the expansion of Durham's Trinity [Liberal Arts] College. In 1924 Duke created a trust which supported Carolina's community, including Furman University, Greenville, Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, Davidson College, Davidson and Trinity College (renamed as Duke University, which maintains a classical centre in Rome). For details of Duke's trust see http://www.lib.duke.edu/archives/history/james_b_duke.html (03/08/05) and <http://www.dukeendowment.org> (03/08/05).

⁴¹ 'With regard to cigarettes [buyers of] 1,000 Ogden's 'Guinea Gold' brand would be handed an additional 200 'Tab' free of charge—on condition prices of these brands were kept at the specified level.' 'These circulars [in the trade press] effectively represented a declaration of war by the American invader against the elite group of tobacco manufacturers who dominated the trade in Britain . . .' (Cox 2000: 20). Duke offered the whole of Ogden's profits and £200,000 each year for four years to retailers (a bonus related to the proportion of Ogden's goods sold), distributing the first quarterly bonus in June 1902 (*Tobacco* 22 (260) 1902: 377-8).

⁴² Ogden's themselves had clearly named *Guinea Gold* to compete with *Wills' Gold Flake* and *Stephen Mitchell & Sons' 'Sovereign' Gold Flake*, but Duke undercuts these competitors by reducing their price from 3d to 2½d for ten—making this 'gold' (signifying value, quality and sophistication as well as tobacco type) 'guinea' affordable.

⁴³ For coverage of *Imperial's* invasion of the US in May 1902 see *Tobacco* 22 (258) 1902: 378; 22 (259) 1902: 351; 22 (260) 1902: 389; 22 (261) 1902: 425-6.

⁴⁴ ATC and *Wills* had competed in overseas markets but Duke turned these skirmishes into a war by launching an invasion supported by profits from ATC branches in Canada, Australia and the Far East. A blue-print for engagement following skirmishes during which resources are built-up to sustain a campaign appears in Plutarch: 'Many times [Alexander] was eager to encounter Dareius and put the whole issue to hazard, and many times he would make up his mind to practice himself first, as it were, and strengthen himself by acquiring the regions along the sea with their resources, and then to go up against that monarch' (17.2).

⁴⁵ The agreement is that ATC withdraws from the UK permanently, *Imperial* agrees not to enter the US market; each gets the trading rights to the other's brands and trademarks in their home market; both agree not to engage in exports except through BAT. BAT itself cannot trade in the UK or US, but is entitled to purchase at cost price any further export business acquired by either company. BAT's equity capital belongs to *Imperial* (⅓) and to ATC (⅔). In addition, Ogden's is purchased with *Imperial* shares, so ATC gets 14% of *Imperial* and the right to nominate three directors. Thus, Duke having been elected chairman of BAT (with H. H. Wills as his deputy) joins the *Imperial* board.

⁴⁶ It is the synchronisation of competitive moves which distinguishes the global from the multinational company.

⁴⁷ The telegram (and an identically worded telegram to Col. Oliver Payne, in whose charge Duke had left the New York office) is preserved in the 'Business Papers of J. B. Duke', Special Collections Department, Perkins Library, Duke University. The press release appeared in *Tobacco* 22 (262) 1902: 475.

⁴⁸ From the same evidence Eratosthenes of Cyrene (3rd century BC) concludes that Alexander's equal treatment of Greeks and barbarians was due to his realisation that good and bad human qualities were not distinguished by race, and that good men should be welcomed and rewarded (Strabo, *Geography* 1.9).

⁴⁹ For ATC as one of the first examples of the modern corporation see Chandler (1977) 291-3.

⁵⁰ Tarn in Bury, Cook and Adcock (1926) and Proc. of the British Academy (1933); and Tarn (1948, esp. 2: 399 ff).

⁵¹ Everyman's Library (a series of 1,000 Classics to be published in an attractive format and sold at affordable prices, i.e., one shilling a volume) was the brainchild of Joseph Malaby Dent, autodidact and founder of the publishing firm J. M. Dent and Co., intended that 'for five pounds (which will procure him a hundred volumes) a man may be intellectually rich for life.' (see <http://www.randomhouse.com/knopf/classics/> last accessed 09/11/06). The Loeb Classical Library was the result of the efforts of banking-family member James Loeb, who intended to make the work of classical authors accessible to as many readers as possible, so they 'could profit from the wisdom of the ancients', as well as making available the best of Anglo-American classical scholarship and fund-raising for scholarships to Harvard. Further, see <http://www.hup.harvard.edu/loeb/history.html> (accessed 09/11/06).