

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions.

LISTED: VLR 3/16/2017 NRHP 6/5/2017
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1. Name of Property

Historic name: Philip Morris Blended Leaf Complex Historic District

Other names/site number: VDHR File #127-7045

Name of related multiple property listing: Tobacco Warehouses in Richmond, Virginia
1874-1963 (VDHR# 127-6722)

(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing)

2. Location

Street & number: 2301 Maury Street

City or town: Richmond State: VA County: Independent City

Not For Publication:

N/A

 Vicinity:

N/A

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,

I hereby certify that this X nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.

In my opinion, the property X meets does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following level(s) of significance:

 national statewide X local

Applicable National Register Criteria:

 X A B X C D

Signature of certifying official/Title:

Date

Virginia Department of Historic Resources

State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of commenting official:

Date

Title :

**State or Federal agency/bureau
or Tribal Government**

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4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

- ☐ entered in the National Register
☐ determined eligible for the National Register
☐ determined not eligible for the National Register
☐ removed from the National Register
☐ other (explain:) _____

Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

5. Classification

Ownership of Property

(Check as many boxes as apply.)

Private:

☒

Public – Local

☐

Public – State

☐

Public – Federal

☐

Category of Property

(Check only **one** box.)

Building(s)

☐

District

☒

Site

☐

Structure

☐

Object

☐

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7. Description

Architectural Classification

(Enter categories from instructions.)

MODERN MOVEMENT

OTHER: Tobacco Processing and Storage

Materials: (enter categories from instructions.)

Principal exterior materials of the property: BRICK; CONCRETE; METAL; GLASS

Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current physical appearance and condition of the property. Describe contributing and noncontributing resources if applicable. Begin with a **summary paragraph** that briefly describes the general characteristics of the property, such as its location, type, style, method of construction, setting, size, and significant features. Indicate whether the property has historic integrity.)

Summary Paragraph

The main buildings of the Philip Morris Blended Leaf Complex Historic District at 2301 Maury Street in Richmond, Virginia, were constructed between 1951 and 1959 as part of the company's \$11 million investment in Virginia and Kentucky to meet increasing nationwide demand for cigarettes with the popular flavor profile of their brands' proprietary blends. These buildings, although utilitarian in function and design, housed innovative mass-production and flavor-process equipment that represented advances in the industry that moved the company ahead of its competitors. The exhaust stack adjacent to the Green Leaf Stemmer (1951-1952) is emblazoned with the Philip Morris name. The Blended Leaf Plant (1957-1959), designed by New Jersey architect Eugene A. DeMartin features an office block and central main entrance to the complex with materials and design that are emblematic of the architectural vocabulary of the late 1950s.

The roughly 12-acre historic district contains industrial processing and warehouse storage buildings as well as smaller support buildings and structures. The district was initially developed as a tobacco processing facility in 1952 and quickly expanded by 1959 to meet the explosive demand for ready-rolled, blended leaf cigarettes. The warehouses and production facilities within the district are a representative example of "Modern Horizontally-Arranged Production and Storage Facilities," as defined by the Multiple Property Listing *Tobacco Warehouses in Richmond, Virginia, 1874-1963*. These manufacturing facilities were designed to take advantage of the newly invented high-speed cigarette rolling machines. The technology innovations demanded a different type of building, large enough to accommodate the new machine designs and sited so as to have ready access to the ample supply of tobacco they required.

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Of the resources within the historic district boundaries, there are five contributing buildings (the Green Leaf Stemmy, Blended Leaf Plant, boiler house, and two storage warehouses); one contributing structure (the exhaust stack associated with the boiler); and three non-contributing buildings (a storage warehouse, a pump house, and a gatehouse). The district retains integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association as it remains in a heavily industrial area of Richmond and continues its historic uses as a tobacco-related facility and storage for other commercial concerns.

Narrative Description

The Philip Morris Blended Leaf Complex Historic District occupies a roughly L-shaped, approximately 12-acre parcel composed of portions of two large city blocks, and three separate property parcels in South Richmond. The complex sits to the west of Jefferson-Davis Highway (a major industrial corridor), and is bounded generally to the south by Maury Street, the north by Stockton Street, and the west by the former Atlantic Coast Line (A.C.L.) Railroad corridor. Several non-associated properties sit between the complex and Jefferson Davis Highway including a small auto garage on the block between Everett Street and Maury Street; and a warehouse, a dwelling, a commercial building, and an adjacent empty lot on the blocks between Everett Street and Stockton Street. The complex is separated from these properties by an alley and 22nd Street. The site is immediately across Maury Street and to the north of the recently listed American Tobacco Company Complex Historic District (NRHP 2016; VDHR# 127-5832).

There is little vegetation on the entire site, other than the flat grassy area that separates the parking lot from a neighboring property to the west and some minimal landscaping around the boiler room. There are a variety of access points into the complex including a driveway off of Maury Street into a vehicular parking lot, a second driveway off Maury Street into a loading bay and staging area, several driveways off of Everett Street, and an entrance off Stockton Street. Everett Street extends centrally through the complex although it is closed to public access, and therefore functions as a staging and parking area for the complex. A non-historic chain link fence wraps around much of the property.

The complex currently consists of two large processing warehouse facilities along with associated storage warehouses, a boiler house and its exhaust stack, a security gatehouse, and a pump house. The two primary buildings were completed in 1952 and 1959. Additions and alterations occurred throughout the 1960s and 1970s as operational processes were updated. The formal, architect-designed entrance to the complex is at 2301 Everett Street, and is clearly defined by its double-volume entry vestibule, accent panels, and brickwork. The buildings that compose the Blended Leaf Complex are vernacular, industrial buildings with little embellishment. The two primary warehouses and the boiler house are constructed of red brick with flat roofs, wide panels of casement windows, and concrete sills and foundations. The most imposing visual feature of the complex is the tall brick smokestack painted with the name "Philip Morris" that sits immediately adjacent to the boiler house. Additions and secondary buildings in the complex are typically clad with corrugated metal and built in a smaller scale than the primary buildings.

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Philip Morris maintained operations at the complex until 2011, after which, the property was divided into three separate property parcels with differing uses. The large warehouse building fronting Maury Street continues to be occupied and used as industrial and office space for the smokeless tobacco division of Philip Morris. The small storage warehouses on the north side of Everett Street are used as commercial space for the sale of granite slabs and countertops and as warehousing space for an artisanal chocolatier. The large processing facility fronting Everett Street is currently vacant.

Architectural Analysis

Philip Morris began the development of the Blended Leaf Complex with the purchase of a roughly 12-acre property on Maury Street adjacent to the A.C.L. Railroad corridor in 1951. At that time, the property already contained several existing tobacco warehouses: three American Tobacco Company warehouses on the block between Maury Street and Everett Street and one Carrington and Michaux Company warehouse on the block between Everett and Stockton Streets. Philip Morris retained the Carrington and Michaux Company warehouse while beginning construction of a large new processing plant (VDHR# 127-7045-0001) and a boiler house and exhaust stack (VDHR# 127-7045-0002) adjacent to the three former American Tobacco Co. warehouses on Maury Street. The three American Tobacco Company warehouses appear to have been demolished by the completion of the complex and replaced by the long ell of Green Leaf Stemmary that has a similar footprint and is fully integrated with the processing plant. This large new building served as the Green Leaf Stemmary, the processing facility in which tobacco from the current domestic crop was tipped and thrashed to separate the stems. The stemmary plant and boiler house were both largely unornamented, constructed of brick, and reflected the industrial vernacular of the time. Construction began in 1951 by the Baker Construction Company, but was delayed by steel shortages as well as an extended plumbers' union strike, and eventually was completed in 1952 for a total cost of \$1,387,870.¹

Construction of the new \$1,500,000 Philip Morris stemmary was heralded in a *Richmond Times-Dispatch* article on 22 March 1951, which noted that local labor would be used to construct the massive facility: "A [Philip Morris] company official explained that removal of the tobacco stemming operation to the new plant will permit expansion in the main factory here. The new plant will enable the stemming to be done when the tobacco is purchased rather than storing the leaves and then stemming them as needed."

In 1955, Philip Morris announced plans for a second processing facility, the Blended Leaf Plant (VDHR# 127-7045-0003), to be constructed north of the Green Leaf Stemmary and across Everett Street. This new plant was at first also to be operated by the company's green stemmary department. Construction began in 1957 by the Wigton-Abbott Corporation and was completed by 1959 for a total cost of \$772,000.² The Blended Leaf Plant reflected an industrial vernacular style similar to the Green Leaf Stemmary. Exterior walls were brick punctuated by stretches of

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industrial windows, but otherwise the only ornamentation was the large limestone panel-lined entryway on the Everett Street façade.

During the 1960s, three storage warehouses were added to the complex. First, in 1961, a simple brick warehouse (VDHR# 127-7045-0004) was built north of Everett Street and to the east of the Blended Leaf Plant, across an alley. In 1964, another warehouse (VDHR# 127-7045-0005) was added immediately to the east of the first. Similar in shape and dimension, this later warehouse has a metal structural system and is clad in steel panels. A third warehouse (VDHR# 127-7045-0006) was added in 1969, on the corner of Everett Street and East 22nd Street, and to the far east of the first two. This building is also clad in metal paneling.

As production of Marlboro cigarettes (the company's flagship brand) increased throughout the 1960s, the operations at the Maury and Everett street plants became focused on blended leaf processing. To accommodate increased demand, the facility was expanded several times that decade. The plant was in operation 24 hours a day, seven days each week, and 50 weeks per year.³

A gatehouse (VDHR# 127-7045-0007) was added to the complex circa 1980. The small metal building sits at the southwestern edge of the Green Leaf Stemmary parking lot. Around the same time a frame pump house (VDHR# 127-7045-0008) was constructed at the northeastern corner of the complex, at the corner of Stockton and East 22nd streets.

Operations at the complex continued until 2011 when Philip Morris subdivided the property and sold off the parcel and buildings north of Everett Street. Meanwhile, the parcel and building south of Everett Street facing Maury Street continues to be owned and operated by Philip Morris, now as part of their smokeless tobacco division. The Blended Leaf Plant is vacant and the warehouses are in use by a countertop fabricator and an artisanal chocolate manufacturer.

Property Types

The Green Leaf Stemmary and the Blended Leaf Plant are representative examples of the modern horizontally-arranged production facilities as defined by the *Tobacco Warehouses in Richmond, 1874-1963* Multiple Property Listing.

According to the MPD, the need for modern horizontally-arranged production facilities in Richmond was driven by several factors:

In a crowded urban environment, the tobacco companies were unable to expand, and often faced limited rail connections on the downtown spurs and poor access to the James River. In response, Richmond annexed the town of Manchester, south of the James River. Manchester had better access to the James, with far less building density and a much more accessible set of rail spurs (which were also more efficient, as the lines into Manchester were straighter and had fewer urban obstacles to be navigated)...

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...With the abundance of available land south of the river, the companies were able to expand their production facilities as need be. The production facilities took advantage of advancements in building construction and were able to encompass even larger amounts of space dedicated entirely to the production of tobacco products, primarily cigarettes. Advancements in cigarette production continually increased the output of the product. The new high-speed cigarette machines required mass bulk storage, and that storage had to be capacious enough for a producer to have enough tobacco on hand to maintain their blend.

These modern horizontally-arranged production and storage facilities were defined by a handful of characteristics: unencumbered brick elevations on exterior walls; wood (or aluminum-clad wood) sash windows; and wood-frame industrial-type doors; modern era design elements, such as narrow bands of windows; roofs that are generally not visible from the street; and interiors consisting of largely undivided, open work areas.

Inventory

The following inventory identifies the buildings and structures within the historic district. The contributing status was determined based upon the district's period of significance from 1951-1964 (coinciding with the development of the complex) and according to the registration requirements in Section F of the *Tobacco Warehouses in Richmond, 1874-1963* Multiple Property Listing. Additionally, the retention of integrity was considered for each resource and its ability to convey historic significance. Resources outside the period of significance are considered non-contributing.

The following inventory of resources includes narrative descriptions and is arranged numerically by street address.

Contributing

2301 Maury Street

127-7045-0001

Other DHR Id#:

Primary Resource: **Processing Plant (Building), Stories 2, Style: No Discernible Style, 1952**
Contributing *Total:* 1 Building

The **Green Leaf Stemmer** was completed in 1952 for \$1,387, 870.⁴ The sprawling brick building has an L-shaped form that rests on a reinforced concrete foundation. Brick walls are laid in either a 5:1 common bond or a running bond. The structure has a flat, concrete deck roof.⁵ Loading docks line both the west side and the east, inner ell of the facility. The loading docks are sheltered by a flat, metal overhanging roof supported by metal posts underneath and tied to the building façade above with metal tie rods. Industrial metal windows wrap around the building on

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both the first and second stories. Configurations vary—some windows are fixed replacements while others have up to fifty lights with the central rows having operable casements. Louvered vents or jalousies have replaced some windows. Contemporary Sanborn maps show a bank of three tobacco warehouses on the site where currently the long arm of the ell extends parallel to Everett Street. These warehouses had concrete floors, wood posts, and louvered sides and were replaced with the ell of 2301 Maury. When first built, a loading dock platform wrapped around the south, west, and north sides of the building. A railroad spur previously ran along the Everett Street façade, the remnants of which are still visible. With the shift in transportation away from railroads, the Everett Street / north platform was eventually enclosed with a brick exterior wall and a ribbon of metal industrial windows. This building housed multiple activities for Philip Morris, including a stemmery, tobacco flavoring, the packaging process, storage, and research and development. There are three boilers in this facility.

2301 Maury Street

127-7045-0002

Other DHR Id#:

Primary Resource: **Boiler House (Building), Stories 2, Style: No Discernible Style, ca 1952**

Secondary Resource: **Exhaust Stack (Structure)**

Contributing *Total:* 1 Building, 1 Structure

The **boiler house** sits to the immediate west of the Maury Street building. The two-story brick structure is small, rectangular, and has a flat roof. Like the Maury Building, brick is laid in a 5:1 common bond. It sits in the middle of a flat, paved lot next to the exhaust stack. Multi-light industrial metal windows enclosed with wire mesh cages wrap around the first and second stories of the structure. The exhaust stack sits immediately next to the boiler house. It is clad in brick and has white accent brick that spells out Philip Morris vertically.

2301 Everett Street

127-7045-0003

Other DHR Id#:

Primary Resource: **Processing Plant (Building), Stories 2, Style: No Discernible Style, ca 1959**

Contributing *Total:* 1 Building

The City of Richmond issued a building completion report for the **Blended Leaf Plant** on July 29, 1959, although correspondence between the City and the contractor Wigton-Abbott indicated their work was completed by 1957.⁶ The original primary function of the Everett Building was to house a Philip Morris stemmery.

Designed by Eugene A. DeMartin, this building is roughly triangular in form.⁷ It rests on a reinforced concrete foundation and has concrete floors throughout the first story. Walls are a combination of steel frame and concrete block, clad in a brick veneer laid in a 5:1 common bond. The flat roof is concrete over a steel deck.⁸ The main entrance is recessed on the Everett façade and consists of a glass and aluminum storefront door set back from a wall of floor-to-ceiling storefront windows in aluminum frames. The inset door is accentuated by a double-height horseshoe brick and limestone surround. These bricks break with the pattern on the remainder of the structure and are laid in a stack bond five bricks wide which is further outlined by a wide

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band of square limestone tiles. A fluted aluminum panel fills the space between the bottom of the brick surround and the top of the glass storefront. Aluminum Kalwall windows along the Everett façade are grouped in banks of two or four and consist of fixed fiberglass panels over awning windows. Fenestration on the rest of the structure is limited to fixed windows on the rear and metal industrial windows along the alley shared with the Everett Street warehouses. Windows have concrete sills, with the exception of those on the western alley addition. Some window openings have been infilled with brick. Concrete loading docks are along the Stockton Street façade and along the south and western façades that face the former rail line. These docks are accessed by either ramps or stairs and are sheltered by metal roofs supported by steel posts. The garage bays on the Everett Street / south façade have no platform, indicating their later construction date when transportation had shifted away from rail transport to trucking. These bays are sheltered by a metal pent roof.

The interior of the building is largely intact. Concrete block walls are exposed and painted. The structural steel system is exposed along the walls and in the ceiling truss system, as is the underside of the roof decking. The interior spaces are largely uninterrupted, open areas conducive to industrial operations. In the forward half of the building, there are two concrete block stair towers to one side. These are two-story structures that used to connect to a second-story floor structure. Given that these concrete block towers are extant while the floor system is not, it is reasonable to speculate that this floor system was a relatively temporary assemblage, perhaps more of a catwalk system that allowed for observation of production activities below and access for machine maintenance that was easily altered as technology changed.

There are offices in the front section of the building on the first and second floors, adjacent to the main entrance. The second-floor offices are reached by a stairwell in the tiled vestibule immediately inside the primary entrance. Offices are modest in size, have frame walls covered in drywall, and have windows overlooking Everett Street below. Windows, now boarded over, in the second story on the north wall that separates the offices from the production area allowed managers to supervise the laborers below.

Modifications to the Blended Leaf Plant reflect the shift from shipping by rail to shipping by truck. Originally, a concrete loading dock ran along the western facade, allowing for easy loading with the rail line that ran along that side of the building. With the shift away from transportation by train, the rail line was removed and in its place an additional structural steel and concrete block, brick-clad bay was added to the building perimeter. This west side of the building continued to be used for loading of product and retains two garage bays on the Everett Street façade and one on the western elevation. These bays have no platform.

After 1968, a partial-width ell addition on the eastern side of the building replaced a detached Carrington & Michaux Tobacco warehouse previously located on the site.⁹ This addition parallels Stockton Street and sits behind the detached Everett Warehouses. The ell addition has a steel frame and masonry structural system. The exterior walls are clad in an oversize brick set in a running bond. The addition is topped by a metal roof with a very shallow pitch. A more formal

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rear entrance was created with this addition. The double-height, partial-width pop-out is clad in brick. The top is wrapped in a ribbon of fixed metal industrial windows. A glazed metal door, sheltered by a flat metal roof, is on the east façade of the pop-out. Loading bays provide access to the addition on the eastern end of the Stockton Street façade and on both ends of the Everett Street façade. The western Everett Street loading bay is accessed by a narrow alley that separates the Blended Leaf Plant from the adjacent warehouses. The eastern Everett Street loading dock is sheltered by a metal shed roof that partially connects the building to the warehouses to the south. The interior walls of the addition are exposed concrete block and structural steel. Steel columns run along the center of the open space. The portion along the western wall of the addition is divided into two stories of smaller rooms that were likely offices, meeting rooms, and storage spaces.

Everett Street

127-7045-0004

Other DHR Id#:

Primary Resource: **Warehouse (Building), Stories 1, Style: No Discernible Style, 1961**

Contributing *Total:* 1 Building

This rectangular **warehouse** sits to the north of Everett Street and across a narrow alley from the Everett Building. The front half of building is painted brick laid in a 5:1 common bond while the rear half is exposed concrete block. It has a continuous concrete foundation and a flat roof. The main entrance is offset on the front façade and consists of a single-leaf metal door with one narrow window. A small loading dock sheltered by a flat overhanging roof is on the western wall. Currently there is no visible fenestration on the structure, although it does appear that some windows have been infilled.

Everett Street

127-7045-0005

Other DHR Id#:

Primary Resource: **Warehouse (Building), Stories 1, Style: No Discernible Style, 1964**

Contributing *Total:* 1 Building

This **warehouse** sits adjacent to Everett Street and immediately adjacent to the western Storage Warehouse building (VDHR# 127-7045-0004). The building has an L-shaped form composed of a rectangular main block that was built in 1964 and a shorter rectangular block set back from the street on the east side that was added in 1967.¹⁰ The warehouse rests on an exposed, continuous concrete block foundation. The steel frame structural system is wrapped in steel panels and topped by a front gabled metal roof. The main entrance is offset and consists of a single metal door with a small window. Fenestration includes one-over-one windows. The setback addition has two loading-dock bays and a secondary entrance.

Non-Contributing

2301 Maury Street

127-7045-0007

Other DHR Id#:

Primary Resource: **Gatehouse (Building), Stories 1, Style: No Discernible Style, ca 1980**

Non-Contributing *Total:* 1 Building

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This small **gatehouse** sits to the west of the boiler house and exhaust stack at the southwest corner of the facility's parking lot. It is clad in corrugated metal siding and topped by a flat roof. It has fixed metal windows on the southern façade. Paired one-by-one sliding metal windows are on the eastern façade, to the right of the glazed entry door. The gatehouse was constructed after the period of significance, and does not contribute to the property's significance.

2217 Everett Street

127-7045-0006

Other DHR Id#:

Primary Resource: Warehouse (Building), Stories 1, Style: No Discernible Style, 1969

Non- Contributing *Total:* 1 Building

This **warehouse** is set at the northwest corner of Everett Street and East 22nd Street, and immediately adjacent and attached to the Storage Warehouse building VDHR# 127-7045-0005. The rectangular building has a steel frame structural system clad with corrugated metal and is topped by a wide, shallow-pitched gable roof with a stepped parapet on the western wall. The main entrance is on the western wall and is sheltered by a metal roof shared by the secondary entrance of the warehouse to which it adjoins. A secondary entrance is to the rear, next to a single garage bay. This warehouse was constructed after the period of significance, and does not contribute to the property's significance.

Stockton Street

127-7045-0008

Other DHR Id#:

Primary Resource: Pump House (Building), Stories 1, Style: No Discernible Style, ca 1980

Non- Contributing *Total:* 1 Building

This **pump house** sits at the far northeastern corner of the property. Stockton Street is to the north and East 22nd Street is to the east. It sits on a slightly elevated concrete pad that is overgrown with vegetation. There are two concrete cradles adjacent that appear to have held storage tanks. The tanks have been removed. The concrete pad is enclosed by a chain link fence. This pump house was built circa 1980 and exhibits no discernible style. It rests on a poured concrete foundation. The wood frame structure is clad in vinyl siding. It is topped by a shed roof covered in composition shingles. The main entrance is offset and unsheltered. Fenestration includes vinyl casement windows. This pump house was constructed after the period of significance, and does not contribute to the property's significance.

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8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

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

Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

- ☐ A. Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes
- ☐ B. Removed from its original location
- ☐ C. A birthplace or grave
- ☐ D. A cemetery
- ☐ E. A reconstructed building, object, or structure
- ☐ F. A commemorative property
- ☐ G. Less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years

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Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions.)

INDUSTRY

ARCHITECTURE

Period of Significance

1951-1964

Significant Dates

1952

1959

Significant Person

(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)

N/A

Cultural Affiliation

N/A

Architect/Builder

Baker Construction Company

DeMartin, Eugene A.

Wigton-Abbott Corporation

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Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph (Provide a summary paragraph that includes level of significance, applicable criteria, justification for the period of significance, and any applicable criteria considerations.)

The Philip Morris Blended Leaf Complex is being nominated for inclusion in the NRHP under the *Tobacco Warehouses in Richmond, Virginia, 1874-1963 Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPD)*. Within the context of the MPD, the Blended Leaf Complex is significant under Criterion A in the area of Industry and Criterion C in the area of at the local level of significance with a period of significance of 1951-1964. The period of significance begins with the initial development of the complex in 1951, and ends in 1964, coinciding with the construction date of the most recent contributing resource, a warehouse. Within the context of the MPD, the Philip Morris Blended Leaf Complex is a representative example of the "Modern Horizontally-Arranged Production and Storage Facilities" property type and is associated with the evolving landscape of tobacco-related processing facilities in Richmond during that time period. The principal buildings of the Philip Morris Blended Leaf Complex are an integral part of an ambitious expansion plan begun in 1950 by Philip Morris that, by 1983, propelled the company to the top position in the industry with the #1- selling cigarette brand in the world. The Green Leaf Stemmy (1951-1952) and the Blended Leaf Plant (1957-1959) represent Philip Morris's embrace of mass production to meet increasing demand as well as scientific innovations that simultaneously made more efficient use of the tobacco leaf and safeguarded the consistency of the proprietary blends across once-local brands that were now selling nationwide.

Narrative Statement of Significance (Provide at least **one** paragraph for each area of significance.)

The Cigarette Industry & the History of Philip Morris

Philip Morris had its roots in the tobacco industry as early as 1847, when the company's namesake opened a shop on Bond Street in London, England, selling tobacco and ready-made cigarettes. By 1902, Philip Morris began to expand overseas and established an office in New York City. In 1919, a new firm held by American shareholders acquired the U.S. arm of the Philip Morris Company and incorporated in Virginia under the name Philip Morris & Co., Ltd.¹¹

When Philip Morris first came to Richmond in 1919, existing tobacco production and warehouse facilities in Richmond were multi-story masonry buildings located in the Shockoe Bottom neighborhood. In this dense and crowded urban environment, these tobacco concerns were unable to expand, and often faced limited rail connections on the downtown spurs and poor access to the James River. In part to accommodate further growth of this lucrative industry, Richmond annexed the town of Manchester, south of the James River. Manchester had better access to the James, with far less building density and a much more accessible set of rail spurs.

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Around this same time, pre-rolled cigarettes were growing in popularity and producers had become increasingly concerned with the need for quality control, in order to ensure that the taste sought by the consumer was at least somewhat consistent throughout a given brand's production. This was the beginning of the concept known as the "blend;" the combination of tobaccos (and, later, fillers) used to reliably create a particular flavor profile for a given brand of tobacco products. The idea of the "blend" became critical during World War I, when "ready rolled" tobacco – the mass-produced cigarette – became popular with the general public (far surpassing small-scale locally-produced tobacco products), and the maintenance of consistent flavor across a given brand became critical."

Prior to 1910, most tobacco consumed in the United States was either pipe or chewing tobacco. As the country's population doubled, in part because of the large influx of immigrants, and the cities swelled, chewing tobacco became less and less popular. Spitting, "now identified as a spreader of tuberculosis and other contagions [was] thus an official health menace."¹² World War I solidified the popularity of the ready rolled cigarette, as pipes, cigars, and chewing tobacco were impractical in the close quarters of the trenches. In contrast, "cigarettes were no bother, small insult to nostrils in close quarters, and a perceived aid to vigilance, and so quickly became the universal emblem of the camaraderie of mortal combat, that consummate male activity."¹³

Following World War I, and throughout the 1920s, advertising and marketing grew into critical components of the tobacco industry. Advertising – fueled by increasing literacy and a burgeoning market for newspapers and magazines – shifted from local advertising to a national audience. Production had to keep up with the new demand, and the new national audience demanded that a given cigarette (such as Philip Morris's Marlboro line) had to taste the same, no matter where it was purchased in the country. The industry understood that mass production was necessary to profitably keep up with demand, but that mass production also had to protect the characteristics of the "blend" of each cigarette brand.

Also in the wake of World War I, more and more women began smoking in public. The confluence of many factors—women winning the legal right to vote, more women working outside the home, women's changing roles as a result of the demands World War I placed on the larger society—contributed to the destigmatization of women smoking in public. Advertisers were more than happy to capitalize upon these shifting social mores and began to feature women more frequently in their materials, hoping to win new smokers and new customers.¹⁴

Cigarette-manufacturing technology was also changing along with the public demand. Newer, high-speed cigarette-manufacturing machines were developed that increased production in both speed and efficiency. With the faster machines and the need to have large volumes of aged and processed tobacco on hand to maintain proprietary blends, cigarette manufacturers soon found that their older facilities were incapable of holding enough supplies of processed tobacco to maintain production.

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In Richmond, this phenomenon resulted in the evolution of tobacco storage and processing plants from the older, vertically-arranged all-in-one building storage and production facilities common in the Shockoe Bottom area, to separate, horizontally-arranged storage and production facilities, often spread out over larger and typically separate properties, including many in Manchester. Some of the tobacco storage complexes were built and owned by the tobacco processing and manufacturing companies themselves and connected to associated processing and production plants, while others were built as independently-owned storage facilities that served as a middleman between tobacco growers and the cigarette manufacturing companies. In this system, storage facilities maintained a large inventory of various types of tobacco that could be sold to one or many processors depending on their current needs to maintain their blend and processors could draw from a number of storage facilities to meet the needs of their specific blends.

In 1928, Philip Morris followed the migration across the James River and opened a new production facility in Manchester. The company purchased and refitted an existing factory (now known as the Philip Morris Stockton Street Plant, 700 Stockton Street, (DHR File #127-0457-0057, NRHP 2012) in order to produce several blended cigarette brands, beginning operations in 1929. That facility operated largely in conjunction with the simultaneously built, independently owned Chesapeake Warehouse complex, composed of numerous one-story tobacco storage sheds at 1100 Dinwiddie Avenue (DHR File #127-6720, NRHP 2014). The two facilities were just four blocks apart, and the new Chesapeake Warehouses provided exactly the kind of high-capacity, easy-access warehouse space necessary for the high-speed production Philip Morris undertook in their new, retrofitted facility.

As Philip Morris continued to grow domestically and internationally, the company embarked on an \$11,000,000 expansion plan in September of 1950. As part of the plan, the company proposed to build 13 leaf warehouses in Richmond, 21 in Kentucky, as well as a new plant in Louisville.¹⁵ Over the course of the 1950s, the company acquired rival brand Benson & Hedges, created an affiliate in Australia, and established manufacturing partnerships in Switzerland.¹⁶

This expansion would include not just the Blended Leaf Plant, but also a state-of-the-art research and development center on a 65-acre tract of land at 3601 Commerce Road in south Richmond.¹⁷ At the time, the campus (still in use today as the Philip Morris Corporate Complex) included three buildings and roughly 55,000 square feet of office, research, and development (R&D) space.¹⁸ Philip Morris bought the large parcel with an eye to the future, knowing that there was space to expand the research facilities by 100% even after the initial construction phase was complete.¹⁹ The three R&D buildings joined an existing, 100,000 square foot factory warehouse. Philip Morris shifted the bulk of their R&D to this location from their Manchester location at Stockton and 7th Streets. Articles published at the time of the 1959 grand opening boasted of radioactive tracers being used to trace ingredients as cigarettes burned, were inhaled, and turned into smoke, as well as “puffometers,” devices designed to measure the force required to take a drag off a cigarette.²⁰ While not yet the industry leader, Philip Morris was laying the groundwork that would allow them to overtake all of their competitors in the coming decades.

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Construction of the Philip Morris Blended Leaf Complex

The Philip Morris Blended Leaf Complex represents an integral component of the company's unprecedented expansion in Richmond during the 1950s. Just as with the Stockton Street Plant, the Blended Leaf Complex development included the purchase and reconfiguration of existing tobacco warehouses. When purchased by Philip Morris in 1951, the property already contained several tobacco warehouses: three American Tobacco Company warehouses on the block between Maury Street and Everett Street and one Carrington and Michaux Company warehouse on the block between Everett and Stockton Streets.

Philip Morris retained those facilities while beginning construction of a large new processing plant adjacent to the three former American Tobacco Co. warehouses on Maury Street. This large new building was to serve as a stemmery and would enable the stemming, where tobacco from the current domestic crop was tipped and thrashed to separate the stems, to be done when the tobacco was purchased rather than storing the leaves and then stemming them as needed.²¹ As part of the project, a rail spur was built from the adjacent A.C.L. Railroad main line along the rear of the building to facilitate shipment and receiving of tobacco.²² The new plant, termed the "Green Leaf Stemmary," included three warehouses with a combined capacity of 7,500,000 pounds of tobacco.²³ Construction began in 1951 by the Baker Construction Company, although was delayed by steel shortages as well as an extended plumbers' union strike, but eventually completed in 1952 for a total cost of \$1,387,870.²⁴

Construction of the new \$1,500,000 Philip Morris stemmery was heralded in a *Richmond Times-Dispatch* article on 22 March 1951, which noted that local labor would be used to construct the massive facility: "A [Philip Morris] company official explained that removal of the tobacco stemming operation to the new plant will permit expansion in the main factory here. The new plant will enable the stemming to be done when the tobacco is purchased rather than storing the leaves and then stemming them as needed."

In 1955, Philip Morris announced plans for a second processing facility, the Blended Leaf Plant, to be constructed north of the Green Leaf Stemmary and across Everett Street. This new plant was at first also to be operated by the company's green stemmery department. Construction began in 1957 by the Wigton-Abbott Corporation and was completed by 1959 for a total cost of \$772,000.²⁵

Rebranding and the Marlboro Man

During the late 1950s, Philip Morris began exploring a rebranding of the Marlboro cigarette line. When initially targeting female smokers during the 1920s, Marlboro used the tag line, "Mild as May." These cigarettes were sold with an "ivory tip which kept the cigarette from clinging to lipsticked mouths."²⁶ But by the 1950s, Philip Morris and the Marlboro brand were shifting towards a younger, male customer. Filters were increasingly being seen as a means for diminishing the potential harm of smoking, but filtered cigarettes were seen as less than manly.²⁷ Philip Morris, anticipating the shift to filters because of scientifically established health risks,

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sought to capture the male market as they moved from unfiltered to filtered smoking. In 1950, filtered cigarettes accounted for just 0.5 percent of those produced. By 1958, they accounted for 45 percent and by 1976, 88 percent.²⁸

Marlboro worked with Frank Gianninoto (also the designer of the Campbell's Soup can) to change its packaging, adopting a hard, flip-top box, which was more durable than the alternative soft packaging. The soft, paper packet could live in a front shirt pocket and smokers could fish a cigarette out without having to remove the entire package from the pocket. In contrast, the flip-top box compelled the smoker to handle the packaging in order to remove a cigarette, pulling out the box and pushing back the lid, reminding both the smoker and others in the immediate vicinity just which brand was being smoked.²⁹ The new box was also supposedly more durable and linked in well with the new advertising strategy described below. These redesigned boxes came in crisp white with a red chevron across the top half of the box, which was easily recognizable in both print advertising and on black-and-white television screens.³⁰

Philip Morris needed a new ad campaign to go with their revamped packaging and turned to the Leo Burnett Company out of Chicago for help. The resulting Marlboro Man character was to become one of the most iconic, enduring images of the twentieth century. Although today the cowboy is the Marlboro Man that lives on in the public memory, Burnett's company created ads that featured a variety of rugged personalities, including racecar drivers and ballplayers.³¹ The popular cowboy—always the favorite—was inspired by a photo essay in Life Magazine featuring Clarence Hailey Long, a Texas rancher. The ad campaigns sometimes featured actors and models, but also actual cowboys in their typical work settings, riding horses and working with cattle.³² The Marlboro Man tapped deeply into the American psyche, appealing to cultural ideals as diverse as Manifest Destiny, individuality, American masculinity, and unspoiled nature while urging smokers to "Come to where the flavor is. Come to Marlboro Country." With the help of the Marlboro Man, Philip Morris would go on to become the industry leader in cigarette sales, with Marlboro becoming the best-selling brand in the world by 1983, overtaking former leader Reynolds Tobacco.³³

New Tobacco Processing Techniques used at the Philip Morris Blended Leaf Plant

The construction of the Blended Leaf Plant on Everett Street coincided with the early development of reconstituted tobacco sheets to be used as cigarette filler. Prior to that time, manufacturers had limited their use of the tobacco leaf to only the leafy sheets between the stem and the ribs, tossing away the scraps. Beginning in the late 1940s, research departments of tobacco companies experimented with how to use these scrap parts to increase efficiency and speed of cigarette production, and by the late 1950s/early 1960s most producers were using at least some amount of these scrap materials.

The process consisted of grinding these extra pieces along with other leftover pieces of tobacco that were too small to make cigarettes, and mixing them with a variety of flavors and additives before pressing them into sheets of slurry. The slurry was then dried in a natural gas-fired dryer, cut, and packed into hogsheads for shipment to a production facility. Once at the production

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plant, these “reconstituted” or “blended leaf” sheets of tobacco were then broken up, chopped, and put in cigarettes in place of or in addition to standard tobacco depending on the particular cigarette blend.

While other companies experimented with and used a similar process, Philip Morris pioneered the addition of ammonia to the blended leaf sheets. Ammonia neutralizes the acid in the stems and helps to release pectins that allow the more effective binding of the fibers required to hold the dry slurry sheets together. It was soon discovered, that not only did ammonia aid in the production process, but it also increased the nicotine sensation and provided what were considered pleasing flavor profiles to the cigarette.

Philip Morris first incorporated ammoniated blended leaf tobacco sheets into their Marlboro cigarette line on a large-scale basis in 1964. This factory-scale use coincided with the launch of the “Marlboro Country” campaign and was considered by corporate executives to be the secret to the growth and success of their flagship brand. In the 1950s, Philip Morris had still been a relatively minor brand, however by 1967, when the company secured a patent for its ammoniated blended leaf process, Marlboro was on its way to becoming the world’s most popular cigarette.³⁴

Expansion of the Blended Leaf Complex in the 1960s

As production of Marlboro cigarettes increased throughout the 1960s, the operations at the Maury and Everett Street plants became focused on blended leaf processing. To accommodate increased demand, the facility was expanded several times that decade and the plant was in round-the-clock operation.³⁵ Processing at the complex continued until 2011 when Philip Morris subdivided the property and sold off the parcel and buildings north of Everett Street. Meanwhile, the parcel and building south of Everett Street facing Maury Street continues to be owned and operated by Philip Morris, now as part of their smokeless tobacco division.

The Philip Morris Blended Leaf Complex remains an intact representative of the company’s growth during their 1950s building campaign and their incredible success during the 1960s derived from their flagship Marlboro line, which was in part made possible by the blended leaf process that took place in this complex. The Blended Leaf Complex also is a good example of the “Modern Horizontally-Arranged Production and Storage Facilities” property type as defined by the *Tobacco Warehouses in Richmond, Virginia, 1874-1963 MPD*. As the MPD states, these facilities were designed to sustain mass production requirements of the newly invented high-speed cigarette rolling machines, increasing both speed and efficiency of production.

Like the Philip Morris 700 Stockton Plant, the Blended Leaf Complex maximized the advantages of the wide open spaces in Manchester and easy access to the rail lines for transportation. And like the successful relationship between the Stockton Plant and the Chesapeake Warehouses, the Blair Tobacco Storage Warehouses (VDHR# 127-6802, 127-6722) were less than half a mile to the west of the Blended Leaf Complex. The low-lying, horizontal buildings would accommodate the latest, most efficient technology of cigarette manufacturing machines and would be supported by easy access to an A. C. L. Railroad spur.³⁶

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Significance: Industry/Architecture

The Philip Morris Blended Leaf Complex is being nominated to the NRHP under the *Tobacco Warehouses in Richmond, Virginia, 1874-1963 MPD*. The MPD notes that a variety of advances in tobacco storage and production facilities occurred throughout the twentieth century as a result of large-scale marketing, faster production, and the need to maintain proprietary blends. The Philip Morris Blended Leaf Complex is significant for its representation of the evolution of modern, horizontally-arranged tobacco production and storage facilities in Richmond through its original construction as well as later additions and modifications. Until the first decade of the twentieth century, tobacco storage and processing in Richmond was largely confined to the Shockoe Bottom area of Richmond that took advantage of the older industrial infrastructure and transportation routes including the canal and railroad. The dense development pattern of the area coupled with the contemporary industry methods resulted in most tobacco facilities consisting of tall, multi-story warehouses that functioned as both tobacco storage and processing plants. With the advent of newer and quicker machines, wide-spread marketing and distribution, and the rising demand for product consistency, tobacco companies were forced to revise their production models.

Like the competition, Philip Morris sought to reap the benefits of a move to Manchester. Building on the success of their Stockton Street Plant, Philip Morris bought the large Maury Street parcel with the intent of building a modern, horizontally-arranged production facility of the type described by the MPD. The large brick buildings of the Blended Leaf Complex maximized the flat, open space available south of the river and comfortably housed the modern machinery required to keep up with changing demands and technology of the cigarette industry.

The new plant would also maximize the advantages of the blended leaf technology, minimizing the amount of tobacco leaf wasted during production. The perfect blend, a mixture of different types of tobaccos and chemicals designed to increase the amount of nicotine released, made the cigarette both more addictive and more distinctive in flavor. Although Philip Morris had manufacturing facilities in many states, Richmond was the sole location for the blended leaf and reconstituted leaf factories.³⁷

The Philip Morris Blended Leaf Complex is representative of the modern horizontally-arranged storage and production facilities resource types identified in the *Tobacco Warehouses in Richmond, Virginia, 1874-1963 MPD* and thereby are nominated to the National Register under the MPD under Criterion A in the area of Industry for their role in the evolution of large-scale cigarette production in Richmond, and under Criterion C in the area of Architecture for their design that embodies the modern, horizontally-arranged production facility type.

Philip Morris Blended Leaf Complex
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Name of Property

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9. Major Bibliographical References

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“Transportation Report Study to be Resumed.” *Richmond Times Dispatch*. February 4, 1951.

“Segoe Report Recommends New Bridge.” *Richmond Times Dispatch*. February 6, 1951.

“Work to Start on Constructing Leaf Stemmary.” *Richmond Times Dispatch*. March 22, 1951.

“Philip Morris Sets Record In Sales, Net,” *Richmond Times Dispatch*. May 24, 1951.

“Leaf Firm to Expand Operations.” *Richmond Times Dispatch*. June 1, 1952.

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“Philip Morris Research Center Costing \$3,000,000 Slated Here.” *Richmond Times Dispatch*. March 2, 1958.

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“Approval and Promulgation of Air Quality Implementation Plans; Virginia; VOC RACT for Philip Morris, Hercules, Virginia Power Station, and the Hopewell Regional Wastewater Treatment Plant.” *Federal Register* Volume 62, Number 198. 1997.

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Rudy, Jarrett. *The Freedom to Smoke: Tobacco Consumption and Identity*. McGill-Queen’s University Press. 2005.

Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Maps of Richmond Virginia. 1950, 1952. On file at the Library of Virginia, Richmond.

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Wrzosiński, Piotr. “A Marlboro Man Story.” K-Message. January 29, 2014. <http://www.k-message.com/marlboro-man-story/>.

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

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

Primary location of additional data:

- ☒ State Historic Preservation Office
- ☐ Other State agency
- ☐ Federal agency

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☒ Local government

☐ University

☒ Other

Name of repository: City of Richmond, Richmond, VA; Virginia Department of
Historic Resources, Richmond, VA

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): VDHR File #127-7045

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property ~12

Use either the UTM system or latitude/longitude coordinates

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates

Datum if other than WGS84: _____

(enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Latitude: 37.513333 | Longitude: -77.037778 |
| 2. Latitude: 37.513889 | Longitude: -77.450278 |
| 3. Latitude: 37.513334 | Longitude: -77.449445 |
| 4. Latitude: 37.513611 | Longitude: -77.448611 |
| 5. Latitude: 37.512500 | Longitude: -77.448333 |
| 6. Latitude: 37.511111 | Longitude: -77.450833 |

Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property.)

The historic district is composed of portions of three separate property parcels (identified as S0000403001, S0000403015, and S0000403016) and contains approximately 12 acres of land. The property is located at 2301 Maury Street and is generally bound by Jefferson Davis Highway to the east, Maury Street to the south, Stockton Street to the north, and the former A.C.L Railroad corridor to the west. The true and correct historic boundaries are shown on the attached Sketch Map.

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected.)

The boundaries of the historic district are drawn to include the historic resources and setting associated with the Philip Morris Blended Leaf Complex during its period of significance. The northwestern corner of the parcel S0000403015 has been excluded from the district, as there are no buildings on that portion of the parcel and its inclusion would not contribute to understanding of the complex as a whole. The Blended Leaf Plant, its addition, and the later

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pump house are on the included part of this parcel. The entirety of the southern parcel, S0000403001, is included and retains the boiler house, exhaust stack, Green Leaf Stemmary, and gatehouse. The parcel S0000403016 is also included in its entirety and includes the three storage warehouses built during the 1960s.

11. Form Prepared By

name/title: Blythe Rowe, Architectural Historian

organization: Dutton & Associates, LLC

street & number: 1115 Crowder Drive

city or town: Midlothian state: Virginia zip code: 23113

telephone: 804-897-1960

date: October 18, 2016

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

- **Maps:** A **USGS map** or equivalent (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
- **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to this map.
- **Additional items:** (Check with the SHPO, TPO, or FPO for any additional items.)

Photograph Log

Name of Property: Philip Morris Blended Leaf Complex Historic District

City or Vicinity: Richmond

County: Independent City

State: Virginia

Photographer: Blythe Rowe (unless otherwise noted)

All photos taken August 2016 (unless otherwise noted)

Photo 1 of 16: Green Leaf Stemmary
Maury Facade, Facing Northwest

Photo 2 of 16: Green Leaf Stemmary
Rear Everett Façade, Facing Southwest

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Photo 3 of 16: Green Leaf Stemmary
Extant Railroad Spur, Everett Street, Facing Southwest

Photo 4 of 16: Green Leaf Stemmary
West Facade, Facing Northwest

Photo 5 of 16: Boiler House and Exhaust Stack
Maury Façade, Facing Northwest

Photo 6 of 16: Gatehouse
South and East Sides, Facing Northwest

Photo 7 of 16: Blended Leaf Plant
Everett Facade, Facing Northwest

Photo 8 of 16: Blended Leaf Plant
Everett Facade, Facing Northeast

Photo 9 of 16: Blended Leaf Plant
Loading Docks, Facing Northeast

Photo 10 of 16: Blended Leaf Plant
Rear / Stockton Façade, Facing Southwest

Photo 11 of 16: Blended Leaf Plant
Interior, Facing Northwest

Photo 12 of 16: Blended Leaf Plant
Interior, Windows from offices looking into warehouse, Facing Southeast

Photo 13 of 16: Pump House
West and South sides, Facing Northeast

Photo 14 of 16: Storage Warehouses
Everett facades, Facing Northeast

Photo 15 of 16: Jefferson Davis Highway
General Setting, Facing North

Photo 16 of 16: Jefferson Davis Highway
General Setting, Facing South

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Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 460 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 100 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Office of Planning and Performance Management, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.

ENDNOTES

¹ "Union Asked for Continuance on Hearing," *Richmond Times Dispatch*, July 31, 1952; "Leaf Firm to Expand Operations," *Richmond Times Dispatch*, June 1, 1952.

² "Philip Morris Sets \$772,000 Construction," *Richmond Times Dispatch*, December 13, 1955.

³ "Approval and Promulgation of Air Quality Implementation Plans; Virginia; VOC RACT for Philip Morris, Hercules, Virginia Power Station, and the Hopewell Regional Wastewater Treatment Plant." Federal Register Volume 62, Number 198.

⁴ City of Richmond property card, Block 403 Lot 1, 1957-1977.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ City of Richmond completion report and attached correspondence, permit no. 35072, issued 29 July 1959.

⁷ City of Richmond permit application for 2301 Everett Street, 5 December 1955.

⁸ City of Richmond property card, Block 406 Lot 18, 1934-1956 and 1957-1977.

⁹ Sanborn map, 1952.

¹⁰ City of Richmond property card, Block 406 Lot 14, 1957-1977.

¹¹ "Our History," PMI.com, Philip Morris International, 2016. Web 17 August 2016.

¹² *Ashes to Ashes: America's Hundred-Year Cigarette War, the Public Health, and the Unabashed Triumph of Philip Morris*, Richard Kluger, Alfred A. Knopf, 1996, page 19.

¹³ Ibid, page 63.

¹⁴ *The Freedom to Smoke: Tobacco Consumption and Identity*, Jarrett Rudy, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005.

¹⁵ "Philip Morris Sets Record In Sales, Net," *Richmond Times Dispatch*, 24 May 1951, page 27. Available at GenealogyBank.com.

¹⁶ "Joseph F. Cullman 3rd, Who Made Philip Morris a Tobacco Power, Dies at 92," *The New York Times*, 1 May 2004. Available at nytimes.com.

¹⁷ "Philip Morris Research Center Proves Bright New Package," *Richmond Times Dispatch*, 1 October 1959, page 7. Available at GenealogyBank.com.

¹⁸ "Philip Morris Research Center Costing \$3,000,000 Slated Here," *Richmond Times Dispatch*, March 2, 1958.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ "Philip Morris Research Center Proves Bright New Package," *Richmond Times Dispatch*, 1 October 1959, page 7. Available at GenealogyBank.com.

²¹ "Work to Start on Constructing Leaf Stemmary," *Richmond Times Dispatch*, March 22, 1951.

²² "Transportation Report Study to be Resumed," *Richmond Times Dispatch*, February 4, 1951.

²³ "Leaf Firm to Expand Operations," *Richmond Times Dispatch*, June 1, 1952.

²⁴ "Union Asked for Continuance on Hearing," *Richmond Times Dispatch*, July 31, 1952; "Leaf Firm to Expand Operations," *Richmond Times Dispatch*, June 1, 1952.

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²⁶ *Ashes to Ashes: America's Hundred-Year Cigarette War, the Public Health, and the Unabashed Triumph of Philip Morris*, Richard Kluger, Alfred A. Knopf, 1996, page 74.

²⁷ "It's the End of the Trail for the Marlboro Man," *Chicago Tribune*, 27 June 1997. Available at chicagotribune.com.

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²⁸ "Research on Smoking Behavior," NIDA Research Monograph 17, December 1977, page 66.

²⁹ "DESIGN VIEW; Marlboro Country Was Once No Man's Land," *The New York Times*, 16 April 1999. Available at nytimes.com.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ "The Marlboro Man," *Advertising Age*, 29 March 1999. Available at adage.com.

³² "A Marlboro Man Story," <http://www.k-message.com/marlboro-man-story/>, accessed October 10, 2016.

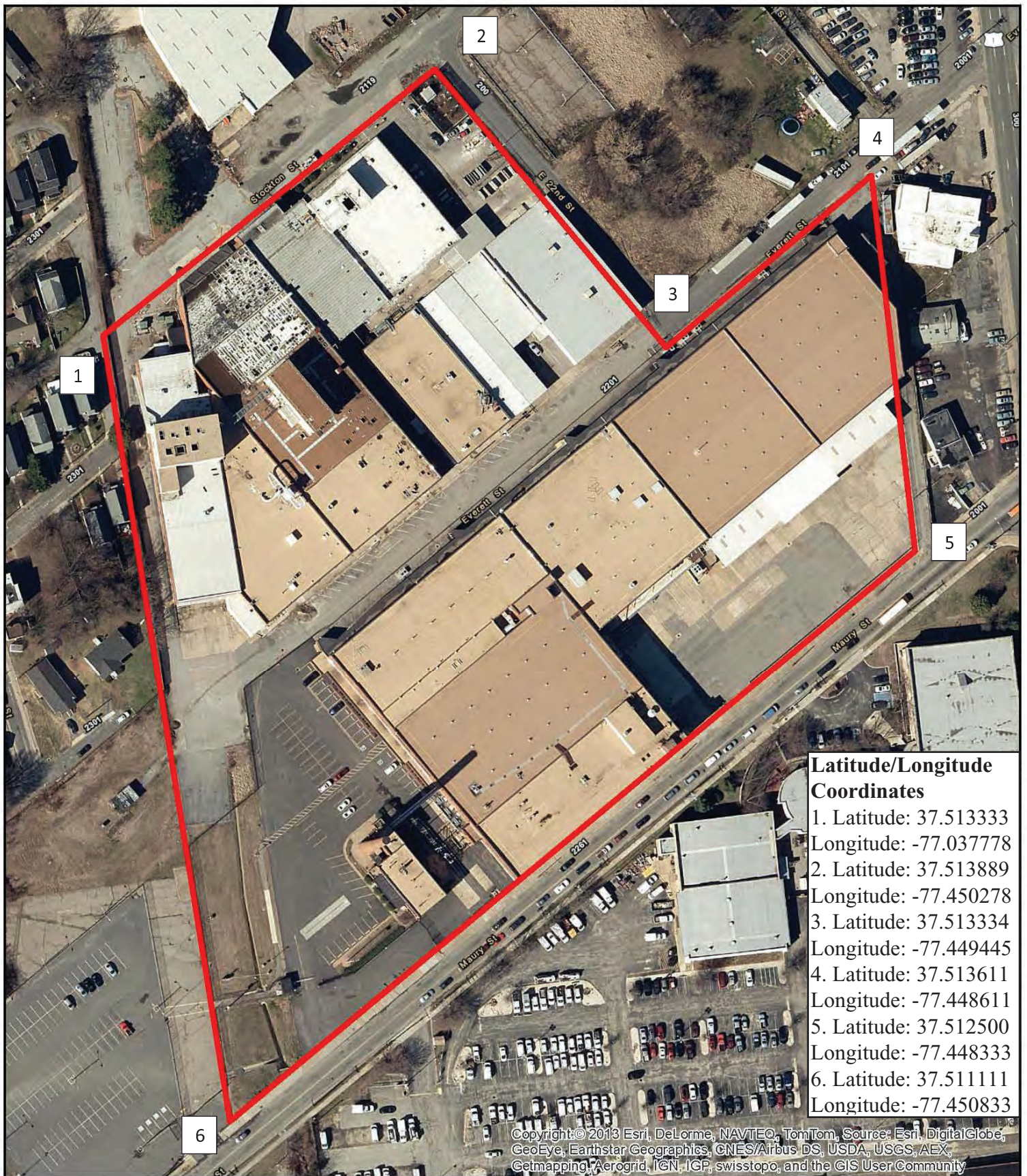
³³ "Joseph F. Cullman 3rd, Who Made Philip Morris a Tobacco Power, Dies at 92," *The New York Times*, 1 May 2004. Available at nytimes.com.

³⁴ Proctor, Robert. *Golden Holocaust: Origins of the Cigarette Catastrophe and the Case for Abolition*. University of California Press. 2011.

³⁵ "Approval and Promulgation of Air Quality Implementation Plans; Virginia; VOC RACT for Philip Morris, Hercules, Virginia Power Station, and the Hopewell Regional Wastewater Treatment Plant." *Federal Register* Volume 62, Number 198. 1997.

³⁶ "Segoe Report Recommends New Bridge," *Richmond Times Dispatch*, 6 February 1951, page 2. Philip Morris petitioned the city of Richmond for permission to build a new spur track.

³⁷ "United States Written Direct Examination of William A. Farone, PhD," Civil Action 99-CV-02496.



LOCATION MAP

 Historic District Boundary

Philip Morris Blended Leaf Complex
Historic District
VDHR # 127-7045
Richmond, VA




0 150 300 600 Feet



(points coincide with latitude/longitude provided in Section 10)



SKETCH MAP

-  Historic District Boundary
-  Contributing
-  Noncontributing

0 150 300 600 Feet


**Philip Morris Blended Leaf Complex
Historic District
VDHR # 127-7045
Richmond, VA**





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PHOTO KEY

 Historic District Boundary



Exterior Photo and
Location



Interior Photo and
Location

Philip Morris Blended Leaf Complex Historic District VDHR # 127-7045 Richmond, VA

0 150 300 600 Feet

