

Clarence Saunders: The Piggly Wiggly Man

by Mike Freeman

“One day Memphis will be proud because of Piggly Wiggly...And it shall be said by all men....That the Piggly Wiggles shall multiply and replenish the earth with more and cleaner things to eat.”¹ Clarence Saunders, late in the year 1916, spoke this brash prophecy only three months after his new grocery store opened in downtown Memphis. He called his store “Piggly Wiggly,” a name as odd as anyone had ever heard.

Saunders’s prophecy came true. One benefits from his innovations with every visit to the supermarket, the convenience store, and the mass merchandise store.² For his accomplishment *The Times* of London and the Smithsonian Institution both honored Saunders as one of the creators of twentieth century culture.³

On September 5, 1916, Clarence Saunders promised newspaper readers a beauty contest if they would stop by his new Piggly Wiggly store. The next day, out of curiosity, many people did. At the door Saunders shook their hands and gave to their children flowers and balloons. Newspaper reporters posing as contest judges awarded five and ten dollar gold coins to every woman, while the supply lasted. A brass band serenaded the visitors in the lobby.⁴

Inside the Piggly Wiggly, the visitors found a grocery store that did not look like a grocery store. There were no flour or cracker barrels, no display counters. There were no white-aproned clerks waiting to fetch groceries for them. Some employees were busy stocking the shelves, but they politely refused to select merchandise for visitors. Instead all the merchandise was placed on shelves within the shoppers’ reach. The visitors passed through a wooden gate, and grabbed hand baskets from the bin. Down the aisle they went, putting groceries into their baskets. Then, forced by the construction of the shelves, they turned back towards the front entrance. They could only move in one direction

inside the Piggly Wiggly. They had to pass by every item Clarence Saunders had for sale. Up and down they traveled the aisle, as if in a carnival maze, until they arrived at the cashier’s desk. The clerk tallied their purchases on a cash register. Then the shoppers carried their purchases home. There were no boys employed at Piggly Wiggly to deliver groceries, as was customary in other retail stores. Some visitors did not mind the extra effort involved in shopping at Piggly Wiggly, for the prices were cheaper than in other Memphis grocery stores.

With Piggly Wiggly, Saunders had performed one of the valuable services demanded in the exchange of goods. He saved shoppers money, a few cents on



Grocery entrepreneur Clarence Saunders during the “Keedoozle” years of the late 1930s.

Courtesy of the Memphis Room, Memphis/Shelby County Public Library and Information Center

every purchase. His self-service store required fewer employees than the traditional grocery store. That allowed Saunders to operate at a cheaper cost, saving him money. He wisely passed on these savings to the customer in the form of lower prices.

Saunders created Piggly Wiggly during an era of inventions and rapid change in society. All of these shrank barriers in time and distance and introduced more convenience into everyone's life. He understood more clearly the changes brought to society by technology than many of his peers. A writer for a homemaker's magazine complimented Saunders on his insight in 1918:

It is all so simple and easy and natural that...after your first visit to a Piggly Wiggly store you wonder why no one ever thought of it before. Then you wonder why anyone ever should think again of any other system.⁵

At thirty-five, Clarence Saunders was a partner in the wholesale grocery firm, Saunders-Blackburn. He made an unusual impression for a grocery salesman. He was a man of contradictions. He would demonstrate all his life an ability to draw attention to himself, yet many who knew him said he was aloof and introverted.⁶ His lack of communication was not the character of a snob. He was too preoccupied to engage in friendly conversation (except within his grocery stores, where he enjoyed chatting with his customers). He was thinking all the time of solutions to business problems. One can see in photographs of him the distracted look of a man too busy for this frivolity. He would stare with his "piercing gray-blue eyes" directly at the photographer and frown.⁷ Or he would turn his gaze away as if his mind were somewhere else far from the present moment. At night he slept only four or five hours. His mind still active, he would awaken and write notes. He was a perfectionist. Claiming he would rather die at the age of forty than fail to achieve his goal, he approached his business with a formidable intensity. His goal was to change tradition in retail merchandising.⁸

His exacting, stubborn nature was felt by his employees and family. Saunders tended to run his affairs by himself; his ego did not allow for shared authority. He expected everyone to follow his direction without fail. However, he did appreciate innovative work from his associates. When they did not follow direction, or displayed to him slack, lazy

behavior, his temper exploded. His furious tantrums were legendary. Oddly, Saunders did not swear, but "he could say 'Dad blame it!' the worst you ever heard in your life."⁹

Clarence Saunders was born in 1881 to a landowning Virginia family. His mother died when he was five. Little else is known of his childhood. His father apparently wasted the family's money, then worked at a tobacco plantation in Palmyra, Tennessee, near Clarksville. They were so poor, it was said, young Clarence did not have shoes one winter.¹⁰ He quit school by the age of fourteen.

Saunders found his calling when he clerked in the town general store. Stories of his apprenticeship there read as if from a Horatio Alger novel. In one episode he worked hard to "become the best wick trimmer and cleaner of kerosene lamps in the village of Palmyra."¹¹ Later he gained a clerk's position with Hurst and Boillin, wholesale grocers in Clarksville. He learned the details of the wholesale grocery business.

While still in his twenties, Saunders left Clarksville for a sales job with Shanks-Phillips, wholesale grocers in Memphis. On sales calls he practiced his habits of observation. Saunders found much about his storekeeper clients that offended him. Some were more saloon keepers than businessmen. They wasted merchandise and time. They charged exorbitant prices to cover their losses. Even the best grocery men operated their stores as if their customers had all day to shop and gossip with them. Saunders would tell them how to make their business more efficient. Some of the clients complained to his employers about Saunders's impudent manners. When they investigated his sales record, they found he placed high in sales volume. Saunders felt he was justified by his results.¹²

Around 1908, Saunders took a sales job with the W. C. Early wholesale grocery company. One of Early's clients was the Mr. Bowers Grocery Store. Other Memphis grocers did not like Bowers's methods. They boycotted Early for selling to Bowers. Early assigned young Saunders to break the boycott. Saunders later recalled that job as one of the most difficult he ever attempted.¹³

The boycotters had reason to fear Bowers. Bowers had a dozen grocery stores, each one identical to the other. He operated each store as an efficient unit, sharing all the costs of business. Utilizing thrifty management, Bowers was able to sell groceries cheaper, and still at a profit, than his competitors.

Courtesy of the Tennessee State Library and Archives



Two examples of the old-fashioned grocery store where clerks would retrieve merchandise for customers. In the scene at left, thought to be in Dunlap or Chattanooga, store employees posted a sign advising, "We have closed our books for 1910. If we have treated you right spend your money with us." At right is a well-stocked store in Dunlap, Sequatchie County, circa 1910.

Bowers was popular with Memphis shoppers. He knew how to attract attention. His advertising slogan was, "You won't get bit if you shop at Bowers." Bowers had demonstrated the advantages of chain store management, and Saunders learned from him. Bowers, however, still served his customers in the old-fashioned way. Clerks and delivery boys waited on shoppers.¹⁴

In 1916, Saunders traveled to Terre Haute, Indiana, to observe a grocery store that was supposed to have an innovative design, but he was disappointed with what he saw. On the train home he contemplated the problems grocery men faced serving customers. He noticed a farm by the side of the railroad with many pigs. Perhaps a nursery story he had read to his children came to mind. During slow hours, the grocer's clerks had little to do. During busy hours, it appeared there were never enough clerks to wait on customers. Then, customers rushed to the clerks as if they were piglets to their mother sow. From that train ride came inspiration for his store's name, Piggly Wiggly, and his store design.¹⁵

Saunders had to convince people to change their shopping habits. In his newspaper advertisements he spoke to readers who worried about high food prices. He opened his grocery store during World War I, when wartime shortages of wheat and other commodities created an inflation of prices. Saunders had worked hard to overcome poverty. Throughout his life he expressed in advertisements sympathy for the hardship of others less fortunate than himself.

"Piggly Wiggly will be born," he said, "not with a

silver spoon in his mouth, but with a workshirt on his back."¹⁶ The day before the grand opening he wrote of a fictional women's club: "Reports of a meeting with the High-Heel Society of Memphis . . . at the end of meeting one woman with good sense and no false pride declares she will leave the Society and shop at Piggly Wiggly."¹⁷ Later he chided, "People too snobbish to wait on themselves often take a summer vacation to escape bill collectors."¹⁸

Saunders detested bland language. He searched for the unusual, startling word or expression. He had a childlike sense of the absurd. "Piggly Wiggly..ain't that a funny name? The fellow that got that name up must have a screw loose somewheres. All this may be so, but the Piggly Wiggly knows its business best."¹⁹

A newspaper friend once declared Saunders "liked to preach, the evangelical strain was strong in him as in most rural Americans brought up on protracted revivals, and meetings."²⁰ Saunders preached the subtle advantages of self-service; the freedom it gave shoppers to choose one's own products in a store. No one pressured you in his store, he said, to buy one product or another. He did not cheat the shoppers, he reminded them, as some of the less scrupulous grocers did. All merchandise in the Piggly Wiggly were clearly marked with a price tag. He gave to them a sales tape receipt. He provided weights and scales to measure their own goods. These were new steps in the grocery business in 1916. And, he sold the convenience his Piggly Wiggly offered. "100 people can wait on themselves at Piggly Wiggly," he calculated, "Every 48 seconds a customer leaves Piggly Wiggly with her purchase."²¹



Courtesy of the Library of Congress

Unidentified Piggly Wiggly store, circa 1918. This picture, which clearly shows the check-out counters and turnstiles, was included in a set of photographs Clarence Saunders used to verify a patent application.

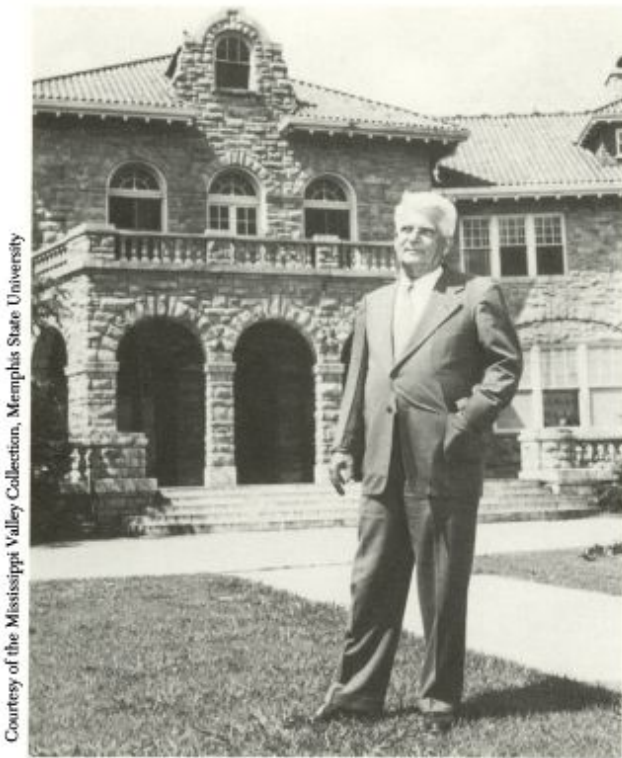
Piggly Wiggly was an immediate success. Within the first year Saunders opened nine stores in Memphis, which he boasted had surpassed the Mr. Bowers chain in sales.²² But never satisfied, he tinkered with the design of the stores, replacing the entrance and exit gates with turnstiles. The turnstiles became another advertising symbol of his Piggly Wiggly stores.

At the same time he received many patents for his designs and equipment. Saunders granted franchise rights to his Piggly Wiggly to businessmen outside of Memphis. He created with his patents a standard of design for his chain of Piggly Wiggly stores. All recognized features of the Piggly Wiggly store had to be uniform in every store, even to the location of items on a shelf. He demanded from his franchisers careful attention to detail in the operation of the

stores. Franchisers had to buy store equipment from his factory in Jackson, Tennessee.²³ By the end of 1918, Saunders had franchise stores in every region of the country.

He was now a celebrity. Newspapers and magazines praised Clarence Saunders as a genius. It was the Piggly Wiggly name that most attracted people to him. They would always ask how he discovered that name. Saunders gave different answers depending on his mood. Sometimes he teased: "Plucked from originality," he said, "From out of chaos and in direct contact with an individual's mind."²⁴ But Saunders resented those who thought of him as a joke. When asked why he picked that name, he once replied; "So people like you can ask me that question."²⁵

Saunders filed suit against many businessmen who



Courtesy of the Mississippi Valley Collection, Memphis State University

Saunders on the lawn of the "Pink Palace," his former home, in June 1950. He had lost the house, now a museum, twenty years earlier after being forced into bankruptcy.

opened self-service grocery stores after Piggly Wiggly. He accused them of copying his ideas. In one case William Bonner McCarty had opened a store he called the "Jitney Jungle" near the Piggly Wiggly store in Jackson, Mississippi. McCarty proved Saunders may not have opened the first self-service grocery store, and so was not entitled to rigorous patent protection. McCarty found his proof in Southern California.²⁶ There Albert Gerrard opened his version of the self-service store in 1915. Gerrard arranged his merchandise in alphabetical order, and naturally he called his store the "Alpha-Beta" store.²⁷ McCarty won the lawsuit.

It mattered little that Saunders was perhaps not the first businessman to open a self-service grocery store. What Saunders accomplished was to make the idea of self-service a popular idea. He created a desire for self-service in grocery stores through his great skills in advertising and salesmanship. The editors of *Judicious Advertising* magazine in 1918 praised him: "A good idea never amounts to much until it gets a good campaigner behind it, and Mr. Saunders appears to be the first man who has given this grocery idea a real run for its money."²⁸

Saunders had hoped his patents would protect his business from imitators. Instead, the United States Patent Office between 1916 and 1921 had issued several patents for self-service designs until it became impossible to separate original work from imitation.²⁹

His Piggly Wiggly chain of stores grew so rapidly he did not need the patents. By 1923, only seven years after he opened his first store, Clarence Saunders owned 1,268 Piggly Wiggly stores which sold \$100 million in groceries. His was the third largest retail grocery business in the nation, and he was only forty-two years old. "He seemed," a friend said, "to be the mythical king from whose hand everything he touched turned to gold."³⁰

Few businessmen had ever risen to prominence so fast. Now wealthy, he spent money on airplanes, cars and homes. He planned and built a country estate so spectacular that the construction project became a Sunday drive attraction. Saunders wanted an indoor swimming pool, a bowling lane, and a film room inside the mansion. He had a private golf course designed on the estate grounds. As stonemasons fitted pink granite around the shell of the building, Memphis sightseers dubbed it the "Pink Palace."

He tried to shape and manipulate public opinion of himself. In an interview he remarked: "I like to play the game of life as in bridge. Carefully I study the cards dealt to me, then I make my decisions. If the cards are not advantageous, I patiently wait for another hand."³¹

For all Saunders's careful planning, his decisions sometimes had unexpected and terrible consequences. In a sense his strong will, important to his success, was a great liability. He was so sure of himself he refused to listen to advice, particularly about financial affairs. He had appointed many of his friends to the board of directors of his Piggly Wiggly Corporation. He expected compliance from them, which they gave for a time.³²

In the fall of 1922, a raid on the Piggly Wiggly stock by professional traders on Wall Street angered him. They were trading down the value of Piggly Wiggly stock through the mechanics of the short sell. Saunders retaliated by purchasing every available share. On March 21, 1923, he declared he had a corner of Piggly Wiggly stock, worth millions on paper to him and his investors. To this day, his corner was the last corner recognized by the New York Stock Exchange. The Board of Governors of



Courtesy of the Memphis Room, Memphis/Shelby County Public Library and Information Center

Piggly Wiggly headquarters in Memphis during the early 1920s. By 1923, the Saunders enterprise was the third largest retail store in the country. At the time, the founder was only forty-two years old.

the Exchange ruled Saunders' corner was harmful to Exchange members. They allowed those traders to recoup their losses from Saunders. Then they banned further trade of Piggly Wiggly stock from the Exchange.³³

Saunders called the Board of Governors cheaters. He filed suit to take back the money he considered his. The Board of Governors had broken their own rules of trade to deprive him of his victory. Unfortunately for him, the New York Stock Exchange considered themselves a private club above the scrutiny of outsiders like Clarence Saunders. A federal court sided with the Exchange, stating they were able to make or change rules as they saw fit. Saunders was powerless. The Piggly Wiggly corner of 1923 raised ethical questions about stock trading that were addressed by the Securities and Exchange Commission a decade later. Had the

Securities and Exchange Commission and the desire to supervise the Exchange been present in 1923, Saunders's fortunes might have been saved.³⁴

Saunders could have saved himself from that disaster. He had hired the famed trader, Jesse Livermore, to guide him in market transactions. Livermore warned Saunders not to antagonize the Exchange Board of Governors. Saunders ignored the advice; he only wanted to destroy the cynical stock traders. On the eve of Saunders's decision to launch the corner, Livermore pleaded with him to reconsider. Saunders fired him.³⁵

Saunders had depleted the company treasury to finance the corner scheme. He had borrowed from his Piggly Wiggly stockholders, who faced a loss of millions. Some of these investors filed suit against him, calling into question his judgment and spending habits. On August 17, 1923, they forced him out of



Courtesy of the Tennessee State Library and Archives

Interior of an early Piggly Wiggly store in Cleveland, Bradley County. The new self-service method of shopping saved customers money.

Piggly Wiggly. Saunders counter-sued, and the legal tangle was not settled for years.³⁶ By February 1924, he was bankrupt. Everything he had gained from Piggly Wiggly was taken from him.³⁷ The Pink Palace was soon converted into the Memphis Museum, which still operates from the house.

Saunders won a different court decision in 1924 in order to open a chain of stores in competition with Piggly Wiggly.³⁸ He named this second business after himself, the "Clarence Saunders Sole Owner of My Name Stores," or the Sole Owner Stores. The name was a bitter testimony to his legal troubles.³⁹ At one time in 1926 Saunders faced an indictment for fraud, an event he was convinced had been arranged by Piggly Wiggly officials. He marched into the corporate headquarters and punched the individual he believed responsible.⁴⁰ The indictment was soon withdrawn. Saunders and the corporation eventually reached a compromise settlement of his debt.

During the court trials Saunders pleaded his case to newspaper readers. Many of his advertisements

were technical, legal arguments. In all of them he revealed his anger towards his enemies, many who were once his friends, who, in his mind, had betrayed him. But the ordinary citizens of Memphis did not betray him. At one grand opening for the Sole Owner Stores a crowd of 10,000 to 20,000 people waited in line to receive a carnation from Clarence Saunders.⁴¹

He experimented with the Sole Owner Stores, adding floor space and special departments for fresh meat, a bakery, and a delicatessen. He had moved another step towards efficiency in the grocery business, trying to bring all the food shopping experiences under one roof. Saunders did not call his stores "supermarkets." That term was coined a decade later to describe grocery stores in New York which were the size of a warehouse. His stores did have the characteristics of the supermarkets, except for great size.⁴²

Saunders quickly expanded the chain across the country. He often sold franchises to men who had

worked for him at Piggly Wiggly, which was to him a sweet revenge. By 1927, his Sole Owner Stores had earned well enough for Saunders to pay his debt to the Piggly Wiggly Corporation ahead of schedule.⁴³

In December 1928, he declared himself a millionaire again. It is significant he never lost his taste for the opulent lifestyle during the lean years. He assumed wealth once earned and lost before would always come back to him.⁴⁴ He bought a large tract of land east of the city of Memphis. The house was small, and of rustic design. He spent lavishly on the estate. He built a seventeen acre lake, an outdoor swimming pool, and tennis courts. He carved a landing strip for his airplanes. His new golf course was said to be the longest in the world, and he staged golf tournaments there. Saunders enjoyed all sports, as if he were compensating for his hard childhood. He paid for boxing matches and a professional football team. In 1929 it was good enough to beat the best squads of the National Football League.

Saunders continued to expand his chain of stores, and to borrow to pay for the expansion, until July 1930. Then, during the worst of the Great Depression, he was forced into bankruptcy by his creditors. Once more he lost his fortune and his dream estate.⁴⁵ Saunders tried to keep the Sole Owner Stores open, but the last store closed in 1933.

For the rest of his life Saunders experimented with an automated grocery store. It operated on the principles of the vending machine. The customer slipped a key instead of a coin into the slot next to the window display. The key activated circuits that released merchandise from storage room chutes. The merchandise tumbled to the conveyor belts. The belts carried the merchandise to the shoppers at the cashier's desk. The machinery was supposed to dispense groceries in seconds with little human labor. At the same time it would track inventory.⁴⁶

In 1936, Saunders named the store "Keedoozle," after the little key. He predicted Keedoozle would soon make obsolete the now commonplace supermarkets. As with Piggly Wiggly twenty years before, he wanted to re-invent the grocery business.⁴⁷

He invited the curious to try his new invention. He told Memphians the Keedoozle was his best idea yet, that it could not fail.⁴⁸ Between 1937 and 1948 Saunders opened three Keedoozle stores in Memphis. Each time crowds gathered to watch the machinery work and take advantage of the cheap

prices he offered.⁴⁹

But Keedoozle did not work profitably. Customer orders were often garbled. The merchandise was destroyed by the conveyor belts. Machinery repairs halted shopping. Saunders could not afford the soaring business costs of the store.⁵⁰ He sold the machinery and rights to the name to pay taxes in 1950.

That year the *Memphis Press-Scimitar* sent Robert Johnson to accompany Saunders on a tour of the Memphis Pink Palace Museum. They stood at the front of the museum admiring his creation. "I guess it will be here as long as the pyramids are standing," Saunders mused. Johnson asked him about the Piggly Wiggly corner, and the lost fortunes of long ago. Did he have any regrets? No, Saunders insisted. "It was just a day's loss. Just a day's work. I don't pine over it. I've got too much to look forward to."⁵¹

He offered ideas to improve the museum, if the city would let him. He was still convinced he would build a profitable electronic grocery store. There were always enough loyal friends to finance his ideas. Saunders pushed himself hard, despite failing health. He died of exhaustion in 1953 while tinkering with the "Foodelectric," a revised model of the Keedoozle.

One could assume Clarence Saunders died ultimately a failure, after building and losing two fortunes. Certainly he was disappointed when his Keedoozle did not carry him back to the top. He held to the end of his life the defiant conviction he would prevail. That stubbornness was the most enduring character of Saunders. He could not have sold an unconventional idea like Piggly Wiggly without that persistent belief in himself.

"Clarence Saunders," his stepson proudly recalled, "didn't have any interest in middling wealth. He was independent and determined to control his own destiny. He was a creator of ideas, an entrepreneur."⁵²

¹Clarence Saunders. "Piggly Wiggly Brother To the Junior Will Arrive," *The (Memphis) Commercial Appeal*, 10 December 1916, 20.

²The Supermarket Institute, a trade association for the supermarket business, in 1967 called Piggly Wiggly the "benchmark event in the food retailing business." Paul Jockum, Kit Anderson, and Michael Swartz, "Fifty Years of Self-Service," *News of the Supermarket Institute* (June 1967), 3, 4.

³*The Times* (London), 8 November 1969; Smithsonian Institution, 14 November 1975, Clarence Saunders/ Piggly Wiggly files, Memphis Room, Memphis/Shelby County Public Library and Information Center.

⁴Clarence Saunders, "Piggly Wiggly, the Most Beautiful Girl in the

World," *Memphis News-Scimitar*, 5 September 1916, 10; *The Commercial Appeal*, 7 September 1916, 8.

⁵C. Houston Goudis, "Piggly Wiggly," *Mother's Magazine* 13(10) (October 1918): 945.

⁶*The Commercial Appeal*, "Piggly Wiggly," 13 January 1918, sec. 2(1); George Treadwell, interview with the author, 11 September 1985.

⁷Julia Saunders, interview with the author, 23 October 1982.

⁸A. Van Vlissingen, Jr., "Clarence Saunders," *System Magazine* 39 (4) (October 1918): 506.

⁹Barry Saunders, interview with the author, 21 July 1987.

¹⁰William Dinsmore, letter to the author, 24 July 1982.

¹¹Paul Renshaw, "Piggly Wiggly One of Memphis' Big Assets," *Memphis Chamber of Commerce Journal* 6(2) (March 1923): 12; George Carmack, "Saunders' Spectacular Career Reads Like a Novel," *Memphis Press-Scimitar*, 15 July 1930, 1,2.

¹²A. Van Vlissingen, Jr., "Clarence Saunders."

¹³Jay Paul, "Saunders Planning an Attack On Lady Luck Like a General Directing an Army," *The Commercial Appeal*, 15 July 1930, 10.

¹⁴Paul Coppock, "Duke Bowers," "Mid-South Memoirs" column, *The Commercial Appeal*, 5 December 1971, sec. 6(8).

¹⁵The story was repeated often in several magazine and newspaper stories. A. Van Vlissingen, Jr., "Clarence Saunders."

¹⁶Clarence Saunders, "The Piggly Wiggly," *The Commercial Appeal*, 27 August 1916, 11.

¹⁷Clarence Saunders, "Reports of a Meeting With the High-Heel Society of Memphis," *The Commercial Appeal*, 4 September 1916, 2.

¹⁸Clarence Saunders, "Mt. Vesuvius In Eruption," *The Commercial Appeal*, 17 September 1916, 2.

¹⁹Clarence Saunders, "Piggly Wiggly," *The Commercial Appeal*, 3 September 1916, 2.

²⁰Scrutator [Harper Leach], "Saunders Climbs To Pig Wig Fame By Ad Route," *Chicago Tribune*, 23 March 1923, (reprinted in *The Commercial Appeal*, 25 March 1923, 2.

²¹Clarence Saunders, "Robbers! Highwaymen! Holdups! Can You Beat It," *The Commercial Appeal*, 20 September 1916, 2.

²²Clarence Saunders, "He Eats Up His Collateral," *The Commercial Appeal*, 18 September 1917, 2.

²³Clarence Saunders, *Contract Requirements For Piggly Wiggly Franchisers*, Piggly Wiggly Corporation, 20 May 1919, 2.

²⁴*The Commercial Appeal*, "Clarence Saunders," 1 September 1918.

²⁵Attributed to Saunders by Galen C. Brannon (a former employee), *Supermarket News*, 14 May 1962.

²⁶*Piggly Wiggly vs. Jitney Jungle*, 9 April 1930, Mississippi CCA 39 F(2nd) 592; Will Soper, "Supermarkets," *American History Illustrated* (March 1983): 40-47.

²⁷Lee McCrae, "The New Grocerteria," *Illustrated World* (January 1916): 655-656.

²⁸"The Piggly Wiggly Stores and Their Unique Advertising Copy," *Judicious Advertising* 16(3) (April 1918): 33.

²⁹*Ex Parte Saunders*, 16 March 1928, *Decisions of the Commissioner of Patents and of the United States Courts 1929*.

³⁰Paul Renshaw, "Piggly Wiggly One of Memphis' Big Assets," *Memphis Chamber of Commerce Journal*, 12.

³¹Hazel Manley, "Clarence Saunders, He Lost a Fortune But Sales Brought Him Back," in *World Leaders*, (Boston, 1930), 84.

³²Clarence Marsilliot, bankruptcy master, *Piggly Wiggly vs Clarence Saunders*, CCA Tennessee 30 F(2nd)385, 18 July 1924; "Piggly Wiggly Scores Complete Victory," *The Commercial Appeal*, 16 August 1924, 1,2.

³³*The Commercial Appeal* and *Memphis News-Scimitar*, March 1923; John Brooks, "A Corner in Piggly Wiggly," *The New Yorker*, 6 June 1959, 130-142; "Buckers of Wall Street Forced to Dodge Many Boomerangs," *New York Times*, 1 April 1923, sec. 8(1).

³⁴Robert Sobol, *The Big Board*, (New York: 1965), 263-264.

³⁵John Brooks, "A Corner In Piggly Wiggly," "Triumph of the Interests," *New York Times*, 11 May 1923, 6.

³⁶"Saunders Quits," *The Commercial Appeal*, 18 August 1923, 1,2.

³⁷"Saunders Bankrupt," *The Commercial Appeal*, 24 February 1924, 1.

³⁸Judge Ross Grants Saunders Relief," *Memphis News-Scimitar*, 29 March 1924, 1; *Piggly Wiggly vs Clarence Saunders*, 28 March 1924,

District Court W D Tennessee 1 F(2nd) 572.

³⁹Shields McIlwaine, *Memphis Down In Dixie*, (New York: 1948), 277.

⁴⁰Clarence Saunders, "They Indicted Me," *The Commercial Appeal*, 19 February 1926, 14; "Saunders Arrested and Charged with Assault," *Memphis News-Scimitar*, 26 January 1926, 1,11.

⁴¹Clarence Saunders, "Wash Day Is Here," *Memphis News-Scimitar*, 31 March 1924, 3; "Saunders Host to 20,000 Guests," *The Commercial Appeal*, 8 March 1924, 1.

⁴²Clarence Saunders, "Oh You Bumble!" *The Commercial Appeal*, 28 June 1924, 3; Max Zimmerman, *The Supermarket: A Revolution in Retailing*, (New York, 1959) 16-19.

⁴³Clarence Saunders Paid His Debt to Piggly Wiggly in Full," *The Commercial Appeal*, 10 April 1927, 1.

⁴⁴"Saunders Backed by Millions," *The Commercial Appeal*, 14 March 1928, 1,2.

⁴⁵George Carmack, "They Couldn't Keep that Saunders Fellow 'Broke'," *Memphis Press-Scimitar*, 17 July 1930, 12; "Clarence Saunders 'Flat Broke Again'," *Memphis Press-Scimitar*, 17 June 1931, 1,3.

⁴⁶"Saunders' [sic] Keedoozle Hits Stride," *Business Week*, 15 April 1939, 41. One of several descriptions of the store.

⁴⁷Ernie Fyle, "Clarence Saunders Tells Ernie — 'I'll Be Rich Soon'," *Memphis Press-Scimitar*, 22 June 1936, 10.

⁴⁸Clarence Saunders, "A New Star Shines - Keedoozle," *The Commercial Appeal*, 13 May 1937, 2.

⁴⁹John Hutchinson, "Saunders' [sic] Keedoozle Jammed with Opening Day Customers," *The Commercial Appeal*, 10 December 1939; Clark Porteus, "Saunders Ready To Go Again," *Memphis Press-Scimitar*, 23 January 1948.

⁵⁰Jack Bryan, "Keedoozle's Robots Fail, Men Get Jobs," *Memphis Press-Scimitar*, 2 February 1938, 1; Robert Johnson, "Keedoozle Kaput," *Memphis Press-Scimitar*, 27 August 1949, 27.

⁵¹Robert Johnson, "Man Who Built and Lost the Pink Palace Revisits It without Regret," *Memphis Press-Scimitar*, 6 June 1950, 10.

⁵²J. Tunkie Saunders, interview with the author, March 1985.