

Diamond Matchbooks

Development of Advertising and the Corporate Image in Early 20th Century America

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“Phillumeny” refers to the practice of collecting match paraphernalia; yet this term meaning “the love of light” does not fully encapsulate why these artifacts have become collectibles.¹ The Diamond Match Company’s use of matchbooks as advertising tools in the 1890s signifies the emergence of modern industrial America. This culture gave rise to the development of advertising as an industry and the pattern of large corporations. Growing suspicions of big business and a patriotic thrust following World War I led corporations to alter their image during the first few decades of the 20th century. The patriotic advertisements on Diamond matchbooks and their boxes indicate this shifting role of corporations in American society from the 1880s to the 1930s. In the 1920s and ‘30s, Diamond capitalized on a reshaped company image—it used the nationalist trend in the political and economic climates to promote consumption of its own product as a way of defending the country against foreign forces and economic depression. Thus, a box of Diamond matchbooks not only acts as a lens through which to view the development of advertising but also illuminates the intersection of advertising, politics, and consumption during the 1920s and the Great Depression era.

In his book, *Pragmatism and the Political Economy of Cultural Revolution*, historian James Livingston asserts that until the 1880s industrial leaders were “divided by economic interest and function... and a competitive or individualistic ethic.”² The behavior of the match industry exemplifies this characterization. By the 1870s, wooden matches had become a household commodity with a high consumer demand. Accordingly,

dozens of individual, rival match firms existed throughout the United States. Involved in competitive price wars, they struggled to maintain profits. However, spearheaded by Ohio Columbus Barber, who realized that his own Ohio Match Company could not survive in this business atmosphere, the country's fifteen major match companies agreed to merge their firms. In 1881, they formed one large corporation, the Diamond Match Company (DMC).³

The DMC, a "practical monopoly," illustrates the late 19th century trend of proliferating monopolies and trusts.⁴ The consolidation of plants located throughout the country, the combination of efficient machinery features, and the sharing of patents equipped Diamond with the resources to function as a successful modern industry. Individuals, notably John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie, and companies in industries such as railroads built fortunes by controlling all aspects of their business realms. Engaged in this process of consolidating control within an industry, the DMC bought out smaller companies and acquired any match patents of which they learned. The DMC's acquisition of Joshua Pusey's matchbook patent in 1894 resulted from this process. By the late 1890s, under the presidency of O.C. Barber, who became known as the "Match King," Diamond surfaced as a large corporation with growing monopolistic power over the American match industry.

The subsequent development of the matchbook as an advertising tool further reflects late 19th century American industrial culture and correlates to the emergence of advertising as a crucial industry. While matchbooks dominated the match industry in the 20th century, they initially lacked popularity with the public (see Appendix A). Paper matchbooks were designed to suit consumer needs in terms of convenience, affordability, and safety. They were small enough to fit in a pocket and thus easy to carry, did not ignite with an explosion of sparks, and contained 20 sticks to correspond with smokers' needs since cigarette packages contained 10 or 20 cigarettes. Yet, despite the convenience and utilitarian value offered by matchbooks, they did not generate revenues. The Diamond Match Company reshaped the matchbook's marketing value as an advertising device rather than a solely functional commodity. The small size of matchbooks and their moveability provided a lucrative medium for spreading awareness of other products, including shows, cigarettes, candy, restaurants, and hotels. Diamond reoriented itself towards businesses as its consumer audience, emphasizing the matchbook's capabili-

ties beyond simple utility.

Advertising functioned to generate mass consumption in the context of an industrialized society that needed an expanding consumer market to counter over-production. In 1893, 104 companies spent \$50,000 on advertising, and by 1915 half of these firms spent more than double this amount.⁵ During this critical era in advertising, other print forms of advertising, such as postcards, newspapers, and magazines, burgeoned.⁶ Advertising with millions of matchbooks, "mini billboards," required small funds yet provided desirable compact, color images.⁷ A case of 2500 matchbooks sold for six dollars.⁸ They were a cheap and successful method of advertising that even small businesses could afford. The availability of efficient transportation networks and the changing role of distribution, again symbolic of modern industrial America, were important features contributing to the flourishing of advertising. The booming railroad industry broadened market scales, and the DMC capitalized on wide distribution capacities. Diamond functioned as distributors for various businesses, selling matchbooks advertising products to wholesalers all over the country. Furthermore, matchbooks served as mobile advertisements in themselves.

Deborah Smith, a historian of American business culture, states that while "advertising had been around a long time... the 1890s marked a turning point."⁹ As its relationship with consumption shifted, advertising became a crucial industry for fostering mass consumption. Smith notes the key factor of advanced "communication technology," which again signifies the emerging modern industrial society. Lithography and other advances in printing techniques enabled the use of multiple colors and mass production of images, enhancing the success of matchcovers as advertising mediums. Hundreds of businesses recognized the matchbook as a way of promoting nationwide awareness of their product. The new notion of depicting the product along with a trademark arose in this period. Since matchbook advertising remained cheap, businesses were able to create their own designs instead of following the former practice of using stock cuts that were not customized to their product.

In the late 1890s and the early 20th century, the DMC used two fledgling marketing strategies: selling advertising space and presenting free giveaways. Henry C. Traute, the head of Diamond's matchbook division, acted as Diamond's salesman; he personally traveled to businesses in an attempt to convince them to advertise on the covers of matchbooks. In

1896, Pabst Beer ordered 10 million matchbooks with covers featuring a reprint of one of their magazine advertisements.¹⁰ The American Tobacco Company ordered 30 million matchbooks advertising their product. Businesses throughout the country served as a profitable clientele for the DMC. Because these businesses struggled to sell the matchbooks to the public, Diamond underscored the value of matchbooks as marketing tools by convincing wholesalers to give away the product. The use of such "giveaways" boosted sales of smoking commodities; the first tobacconist who implemented this technique in New York reported that sales of tobacco doubled.¹¹ Although the consumers often paid nothing for the matchbooks, Diamond profited from marketing advertising space on them. The advertising on the matchbooks increased sales for both the product with which they were given away (e.g., tobacco) and the product advertised on them (e.g., Pabst beer).

The use of matchbooks as free giveaways corresponds to the growing popularity of this marketing strategy, indicative of the development of advertising as an industry. In discussing the paper tradecard and their replacement by the postcard, Smith states that "small colorful paper giveaways remained effective advertising gimmicks well into the twentieth century."¹² The matchbook was an improved form of the tradecard which previously functioned as a successful, inexpensive advertising tool. Local businesses gave away tradecards with their name on them that often doubled as a functional object such as a ruler, calendar, or puzzle; they focused on creating a card worth saving. The matchbook employed this same idea. It remained a useful commodity until each match was used. H. Thomas Steele asserts that these books functioned as "subliminal reinforcements... making matchcovers the first of the hidden persuaders."¹³ The matchbook reintroduced the advertised product into the consumer's mind with each match use.

The advertisements on Diamond matchbooks from the 1920s and '30s illuminate not just the economic but also the political arena taking shape around the turn of the century. Featuring a patriotic print, the matchbooks advertise an image of the Diamond Match Company as a nationalist enterprise. The DMC used its own marketing strategy to advertise itself. The matchbooks directly advertise Diamond; the brand name appears five times on each of the ten matchbooks (see Appendix B). "THE DIAMOND MATCH CO." appears in red on the bottom fold of the matchcover. "DIAMOND BOOK MATCHES" appears in blue on the top

fold and also in white below the company logo on the front of the cover. The logo, printed on the front and back of the cover, includes the name "DIAMOND MATCHES" inside a diamond graphic. This repeated appearance of the brand name ingrains awareness of the company into the mind of the consumer. Furthermore, the matchcovers remain laden with patriotic symbolism, reflecting the changing role that big business played in the U.S. after the turn of the century through the 1920s.¹⁴ The matchcovers use only three colors: red, white, and blue. The Diamond logo situates the diamond graphic with the Diamond name against an American bald eagle with USA printed underneath on a blue background resembling the shape of a plaque. Both matchcover sides feature red backgrounds. Diamond therefore saturated its product with national emblems and presented itself as a patriotic company.

Diamond's patriotic matchbooks illustrate shifting notions concerning the role of corporations. The early 20th century witnessed growing suspicion of big business and a reconsideration of their position in society. People feared the close relationship between corporate economic power and political power. In response, from the turn of the century through the 1930s, large corporations renegotiated their role in society in terms of their relationship with the government and the public. The DMC's promotion of a nationalist image through its matchbooks exhibits this reshaping. As people scrutinized the foundations of capitalism, corporations sought to affirm their "social and moral legitimacy."¹⁵ Corporations characterized themselves as "serving [the] nation" and as national institutions.¹⁶ Herbert Hoover's support for corporate welfare as Secretary of Commerce through the 1920s and as President from 1928 to 1932 demonstrates this ideology. In 1925, Hoover proclaimed that "every time we find solutions outside of government we have not only strengthened our character but we have preserved our sense of real self-government."¹⁷ He opposed direct federal aid or federal control over business and instead advocated socially responsible corporatism.¹⁸ Various companies implemented plans to show concern for their workers' welfare; they created pension plans, employee magazines, and other benefits to foster company spirit. The DMC's developing image, exhibited by its 1930s matchcovers, depicted this quest for what Roland Marchand titles a "corporate soul."

Diamond had already begun to reshape its role as a corporation representative of modern industry by the second decade of the 20th century.

The DMC exemplified Hoover's ideals for a socially responsible corporation that addressed employee and public welfare, diminishing the need for federal intervention. Diamond created the image of a company that benefited and helped the country, not the image of a selfish monopoly. Even though the DMC owned lumber plants and paper mills to support its wooden and paper match production, from the 1880s to the 1930s it did not implement any significant increases in the price of matches sold to the public. In 1910, Diamond's president William Armstrong Fairburn had developed a nonpoisonous match, reducing the cases of factory workers who developed phosphorous necrosis, a condition that rotted away the teeth and jaws of people involved in match production, leading to cancer and death. Moreover, Diamond freely released its patent for this nonpoisonous match to the public with "no string tied" before Congress passed the "Esch Bill" to ease public outcry against the serious work hazard of white phosphorous.¹⁹ This bill placed an extra two-cent tax on matches made with white phosphorous, which companies could not afford. Even though the DMC occupied the position to reap large benefits as the tax wiped out its competitors, the company voluntarily relinquished this monopolistic advantage. Rather, Diamond ensured the maintenance of competition within the American match industry. The company even sent its managers to other match firms to provide instruction on mixing the substitute chemicals. *Scientific American* declared the DMC a "public benefactor."²⁰ Similarly, an article in *The Outlook* labeled the DMC a "humane corporation" due to their "unselfish and human action" that voluntarily created "a revolutionary change in the public interest."²¹ The American Safety Museum awarded the DMC the Gold Medal in 1914 and both the Grand Prize and the Gold Medal in 1916 for its achievements in protecting the safety of its workers. Diamond also received the Louis Livingston Seaman Medal for "the elimination of occupational disease" in 1915. Without federal regulatory policies in place, Diamond patriotically acted in the interests of the health of the workers and the public.²²

Again corresponding to Hoover's notions of welfare capitalism, the DMC exercised its responsibilities toward its employees by implementing plans and policies in the workers' interests during the 1920s. The comments of Mary Boardman, a Diamond employee from 1927 to 1941, reveal Diamond's improved conditions. Boardman explained that she "didn't mind" the minimum wages or long hours because "it was nice

working" at Diamond, where it "was so clean... and the management was wonderful: it was just like one big happy family."²³ She described the big cafeteria, the "beautiful food," and free coffee, all of which Diamond offered in the late 1920s.²⁴

In addition to altering its image, Roland Marchand explained that in the 1920s a company would shift its advertising design to "win [public] regard as an esteemed national institution;" it used clean lines and a balanced layout for an uncluttered, dignified look.²⁵ Displaying the intersection of politics and advertising, the continued nationalist trend in its advertisements echoed the jingoistic feelings resulting from World War I. This nationalism also reveals an intersection between politics and consumption specific to the Great Depression era. Diamond's box labels from the 1920s highlighted the company as ensuring safety and quality, often including the image of its American Museum of Safety award. However, the Diamond box from the middle of the Depression advertises the product's American roots. It states "MADE IN U.S.A., By American workers, Of American materials, For American home use, THE DIAMOND MATCH CO." Additionally, the patriotic Diamond logo appears next to this print.

The patriotism advertised and offered by Diamond's matchbooks indicated the desire to support the U.S. in opposition to foreign forces, such as Russia and communism, as well as the desire to support the country in the fight against economic depression. In many of his writings from the 1920s and 30s, Diamond's president, William Fairburn, heralded the merits of American democracy particularly in contrast to the "oppression" caused by Russian "dictatorship."²⁶ The nationalism embodied by the box of matchbooks reveals a window into this developing political tone. In a period of mass consumption followed by depression, intellectuals and other citizens questioned the country's ideals and values.²⁷ Fearing a slide toward communism, people such as Fairburn sought to reaffirm faith in capitalism and the United States, a country that boasted "liberty and independence... and the highest standard of living of any country in the world."²⁸

Reflecting isolationist tendencies, and corresponding with common political notions of the era, the DMC matchbox label also advocates buying American, rather than foreign, products. Fairburn himself asserted that to maintain prosperity the U.S. "must be self-supporting; satisfied almost entirely with its own domestic market."²⁹ In the late 1920s and

1930s, Diamond responded to rising fears that American markets could become dominated by foreign industry and their supposed “camouflaged agents.”³⁰ The Diamond Match Company opposed the efforts of Ivan Krueger, whose Swedish company had expanded to dominate the European match industry, to gain a high stake in the American match industry. Through the 1920s until his suicide and his company’s collapse in 1932, Krueger bought interests in American match firms and took over control of three companies. Fairburn resisted Krueger’s offers to combine Diamond’s interests with the Swedish Match Company. Viewing Krueger’s company as a “match empire,” Fairburn acted to protect the American match industry from so-called “unscrupulous attacks.”³¹

In addition, in emphasizing that “American workers” made their products, Diamond encouraged the notion that buying its matchbooks was a patriotic way to combat the Depression. During a time when people yearned for jobs, the DMC provided employment. By 1932, almost 28 percent of the American households, 34 million people, were unemployed. People who still held jobs suffered reductions in wages; by 1933, Americans were earning 54% of the income they earned in 1929.³² Similar to industries across the country, Diamond experienced a drop following the 1929 stock market crash. The company attributed losses to a decline in advertising business from other companies and the refusals to giveaway the matchbooks with a pack of cigarettes or other smoking commodities. Nevertheless, in the mid-1930s, Diamond maintained wages. The DMC spread its net profits from 1934, around \$2,130,000, among its stockholders. Additionally, it initiated a short-term policy of paying an extra wage dividend to its employees. Fairburn explained that the company was moved by “a patriotic desire to assist the Government of the United States in its fight for business recovery, the employment of workers, and a restoration of prosperity and national purchasing power.”³³ Thus, Diamond represented itself as a nationalist company and maintained its image as a public benefactor. Its matchbooks promoted the notion of supporting “American workers” and of saving the country from depression through consumption. Reflecting the political sentiments of this era, Fairburn declared in *Work and Workers* that “courageous manufactures, who will make only excellent quality goods and sell only at a fair and reasonable price, employing American labor” and people who buy “American-made” goods “can bring prosperity back to the United States.”³⁴

Diamond’s products highlight intersections between politics and

consumption, relating to what Lizabeth Cohen calls the “citizen consumer” and the “customer consumer.”³⁵ By consuming a product made of American materials by American workers, citizens performed their political responsibility to support the nation against foreign influences and help the national economy recover. They asserted their role as citizen consumers by supporting the public good. The mere act of consumption also corresponded with a growing national identity. Mass consumption in the 1920s led to the diminishing of boundaries between social and ethnic groups as they developed a working-class identity through their consuming power.³⁶ A box of Diamond matchbooks was an affordable commodity that asserted a developing national awareness.

Additionally, as customer consumers, people attained a commodity that could serve the customer’s needs and facilitate the personal pleasure many people associated with smoking. Throughout this era, the public remained willing and eager to buy cigarettes, a luxury item that was still affordable and often considered necessary. A 1936 article in *Business* states that cigarette consumption reached “an all-time peak” in 1935.³⁷ A *Newsweek* article asserted that the DMC’s “remarkable [sales] record reflects the stability of match consumption... despite the spread of electricity, pilot lights on gas stoves, and mechanical lighters.” It notes the saving influence of “the increasing use of cigarettes and the spread of smoking among women.”³⁸ Publishing the story of Giuseppe Pucci, a man who lost his job in 1936 but paid back all his friends who loaned him money, *Printers’ Ink Monthly* defended this act of borrowing, stating that “he had to live, eat, buy cigarettes.”³⁹ The delineation of cigarettes as a basic necessity reflects tobacco’s integral role in society, thereby maintaining a consumer need for matches at a time in which they were being used less frequently for other, more traditional uses, like lighting stoves and lamps.

During the 1930s, two matchbooks were sold for one cent at newsstands, cigar shops, five and dime stores, department stores, and in dispensing machines. A Diamond box of ten matchbooks and a brass lacquered tin match safe cost 10 cents. The tin matchbook holder opened at the rounded top and had a bottom ring for attaching a chain. It also had a blank rectangle on which the owner could engrave his or her initials. The front and back were decorated with just ten groups of four vertical lines. Advertising the holder as a “match safe” recalled earlier decades when match safes were a popular decorative object for holding wooden match

sticks. These types of match safes came in different sizes and shapes and often boasted elaborate designs. They were used as status symbols or markers of wealth, similar to fancy cigarette cases and holders. At a price affordable even to the working class, consumers could obtain this symbol of elegance by purchasing a box of Diamond matchbooks. The matchbook holder reminded consumers of the glamour of smoking, and the matchbooks enabled consumers to continue this pleasurable practice. For the consumer, the commodity offered “accessible gratification” and served to satisfy individual needs.⁴⁰

Today, Diamond matchbooks illuminate the story of the development of modern industrial America and the development of a mass consumer culture. Industrialization provided the foundation for the growth of the Diamond Match Company and its use of matchbooks as advertising devices. The advertisements on the Diamond box and matchbooks from the 1930s illustrate the coinciding story of the shifting political scene, particularly concerning the relationship between corporations and society. Their patriotic and nationalist message enabled the consumer to serve both public and personal interests. As a collectible still remaining in the 21st century, the box of matchbooks that became the subject of this study still has not fulfilled its utilitarian purpose, but it does fulfill an unintended function by continuing to tell historical stories through its covers.

Appendix A

A Brief History of Matches

Into the first decades of the 19th century, people primarily depended on flint and steel in order to create a source of fire on demand. In 1827, John Walker, an Englishman, accidentally created the first friction match, a wood splint tipped with sulfur and phosphorus, sparking the development of the match industry.⁴¹ Alonzo D. Phillips obtained the first patent for the friction match in the United States, which later came into the possession of the Diamond Match Company.⁴² During the 1830s, various people and firms created and sold this type of match, referred to as a “lucifer,” which ignited upon being pulled through folded sandpaper. In 1836, the “loco-foco” match, more commonly known as strike-anywhere matches, became popular; these wooden sticks would ignite after being struck on any rough surface. Throughout the 19th century, this type of wooden match stick represented the predominant form of creating quick

fire for various tasks such as lighting stoves or cigars. Nevertheless, people viewed matches as dangerous and inconvenient. Matches either ignited with an explosion of sparks, which could ignite users' clothing or nearby objects or gave off offensive fumes. A drawing by A.B. Frost in an 1884 issue of *Harper's Weekly* titled "The Last Match" depicts two hunters hovered over a match as they light a cigar and a pipe, reflecting the usual scarcity of an individual's match supply.⁴³ Frustrated with the bulkiness of carrying a box of wooden matches, Joshua Pusey invented the first paper matches and the first rudimentary form of the matchbook. He dipped thin strips of cardboard in sulfur and phosphorus and stapled them to another piece of cardboard, creating the first matchbook, which was patented in 1892. The DMC furthered the utilitarian and convenience demands fulfilled by the matchbook by placing 20 matches inside instead of Pusey's 50 to meet the smoker's consumer needs; cigarette packages contained ten or 20 smokes.⁴⁴ Additionally, the height of the match stick was designed to produce a flame that lasted long enough for a smoker to light a cigar. In the 1940s, Diamond and other companies shortened the matchbook size by 1/8 of an inch, making the match lengths more suitable for lighting cigarettes which had become more popular than cigars.⁴⁵ In 1895, Diamond moved the striker from the inside of the matchbook to the outside cover to prevent the entire book from igniting. Henry C. Traute, who was in charge of Diamond's matchbook section, ordered the instruction "Close Cover Before Striking" to be printed on matchcovers in order to inform the public about how to use the product because people were wary of burning their hands.⁴⁶ Despite these technological advances, the matchbook did not become popular until used as an advertising device.

Appendix B

Images of Matchbooks



Appendix C

Explanation Of Label Color

The green color may reflect Diamond's aim to appeal to women as consumers. Women increasingly took up the practice of smoking in the 1920s, but they often only bought packages that coordinated with their clothing. According to the Lucky Strike Company's research, women hesitated to buy this cigarette brand because of the packages' green design. Consequently, Lucky Strike hired Edward L. Bernays, who was known as "the father of public relations," to promote green as fashionable. In 1934, Bernays designed a Green Ball in New York, instructing attendees that they could only wear green. The Ball's entire theme was the color green. Green represented the "in" color of the year.⁴⁷

Endnotes

¹Bill Retskin, *The Matchcover Collector's Price Guide* (Norfolk: Antique Trader Books, 1997) 291.

²James Livingston, *Pragmatism and the Political Economy of Cultural Revolution, 1850-1940* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994) 46.

³The Diamond Match Company, *The Diamond Years: Commemorating the 75th anniversary of the Diamond Match Company, 1881-1956* (The Diamond Match Company, 1956) 4.

⁴"The History of Matches," *The Manufacturer and Builder* 15.4 (1883): 94.

⁵Deborah A. Smith, "Coaxing the Consumer: Giveaways and Gimmicks, 1890-1930," *The Consumer Culture and the American Home* (Texas: McFaddin-Ward House, 1989) 12.

⁶Smith 13-14.

⁷H. Thomas Steele, *Close Cover Before Striking* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1987) 53.

⁸Bill Retskin, *The Matchcover Collectors Resource Book and Price Guide* (Alexandria: The Retskin Report, 1988) 8.

⁹Smith 11.

¹⁰The Diamond Match Company, Untitled Document (New York: 194?) 3. Courtesy of Diamond Brands, Alltrista Corporation.

¹¹Steele 8.

¹²Smith 16.

¹³Steele 13.

¹⁴An image of this matchbook appears in a book published in 1926. Herbert Manchester, *The Romance of the Match* (New York: The Diamond Match Co., 1926) 42.

¹⁵Roland Marchand, *Creating the Corporate Soul* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) 15.

¹⁶Marchand 2.

¹⁷Joan Hoff Wilson, *Herbert Hoover: Forgotten Progressive* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1975) 143.

¹⁸Wilson 150.

¹⁹Retskin, *Resource Guide* 15.

- ²⁰“The Dedication of the Diamond Match Patent to the American Public,” *Scientific American* Feb. 1911. Published in Herbert Manchester, *The Diamond Match Company: A Century of Service, of Progress, and of Growth* (New York: The Diamond Match Company, 1935) 74.
- ²¹*The Outlook* Feb. 1911. Published in Herbert Manchester, *Matches were made in Heaven and in Barberton, Ohio: The Story of the Diamond Match Company* (Barberton: The Barberton Historical Society, 1977) 77.
- ²²Manchester, *Romance* 33-6.
- ²³Mary Boardman, interview with Renee Baskin, *Oswego County Oral History Program*, New York, 24 Mar. 1976, 8-9.
- ²⁴Boardman 14.
- ²⁵Marchand 167.
- ²⁶William Armstrong Fairburn, *Russia: The Utopia in Chains* (New York: Nation Press Printing Co., Inc., 1931) 4.
- ²⁷Robert S. McElvaine, *The Great Depression* (Toronto: Fall River Music, Inc., 1961) 202.
- ²⁸Fairburn, *Russia* 82.
- ²⁹Fairburn, *Russia* 435.
- ³⁰Manchester, *Fairburn* 137.
- ³¹Herbert Manchester, *William Armstrong Fairburn: A Factor in Human Progress* (New York: The Blanchard Press, 1940) 136.
- ³²David Kyvig, *Daily Life in the United States, 1920-1939* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2002) 177.
- ³³“Diamond Match to Share Profits,” *New York Times* 26 Jan. 1935, 5.
- ³⁴William Armstrong Fairburn, *Work and Workers* (New York: Nation Press Printing Co., Inc., 1933) 56.
- ³⁵Lizabeth Cohen, “Citizens and Consumers in the Century of Mass Consumption,” *Perspectives on Modern America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) 146.
- ³⁶Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 100.
- ³⁷“Cigarettes: Consumption Reaches New Peak As Leading Brands Battle to Capture Smokers’ Flavor,” *Business* 12 Sep. 1936: 28.
- ³⁸“Matches: Cigarettes Light Way For Continued Diamond Profit,” *Newsweek* 13 Jun. 1936: 36.
- ³⁹Robert Riley Mayer, “Business as Usual: American Consumer Culture and the Second World War,” diss., U Georgia, 1994, 71.
- ⁴⁰Kyvig 189.
- ⁴¹Manchester, *Romance* 24.
- ⁴²Manchester, *Century of Service* 16.
- ⁴³*Diamond Years* 6.
- ⁴⁴William Franklin Fleming, *America’s Match King: Ohio Columbus Barber* (Barberton: The Barberton Historical Society, 1981) 143.
- ⁴⁵Andy Denes, “Matchbook Holders: The Diamond Match Company Promotion & Blecher Souvenirs,” *International Match Safe Association Newsletter*, 1.3 (1999): 3.
- ⁴⁶Steele 8.
- ⁴⁷“Daily Doc: History of Tobacco Industry Advertising,” *Chronological Notes on the History of Cigarette Advertising* (Aug 1987) <<http://www.tobacco.org/Documents/dd/ddhistoryofadv.html>>.

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