



# Kotex, Kleenex, Huggies

KIMBERLY-CLARK AND THE CONSUMER  
REVOLUTION IN AMERICAN BUSINESS

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Bob's earlier research had taken him to the original K-C archives in Neenah, Wisconsin, and a dingy warehouse outside Philadelphia, after the discovery of the presumably "lost" Scott Paper archives. Holding one of the first Kleenex boxes and seeing early prototypes of various products that have now become everyday household items, Bob realized how such items had launched consumer culture's tight hold over the nation. Sometimes the products were stumbled upon accidentally—like Kleenex and Scott Towels—but an individual or group always seized upon the development, marketing, and advertising efforts that made them successful. In this respect, Kimberly-Clark has been a pioneer and created the path other companies would follow.

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*Thomas Heinrich*  
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## Introduction

THE HISTORY OF Kimberly-Clark is one of the most intriguing chapters in the annals of the paper and consumer products industries. During the interwar decades the company accomplished a coveted but rare feat in marketing by making its trademarked brand names synonymous with household items in the minds of consumers. Needing to wipe or blow one's nose, one could ask for a Kleenex and safely expect to be handed a disposable handkerchief. At drugstores, customers could ask for Kotex and receive a box of sanitary napkins. Kimberly-Clark shared the distinction of introducing new words into consumer vocabulary with companies like Johnson & Johnson, whose brand name Band-Aid relegated the term "adhesive bandage" to relative obscurity, as well as Dow Chemical (Styrofoam), Room & Haas (Plexiglas), and U.S. Gypsum (Sheetrock). Bayer Corporation had paved the way in the late nineteenth century when it invented the word "Aspirin" to market an acetylsalicylic acid-based painkiller.

While Kleenex, Band-Aid, and Plexiglas were semantic inventions whose widespread use simply gave clever marketers a competitive advantage in consumer markets, Kotex served more subtle functions. Menstruation and menstrual hygiene were ill-understood phenomena that received little attention from the medical profession until the turn of the century, when the terms started to appear in a few medical journals and books. During subsequent decades menstruation remained burdened with cultural taboos that left millions of women

who wanted to purchase feminine hygiene products grappling for words because they often felt self-conscious vis-à-vis the overwhelmingly male sales force who staffed most interwar drugstores. Most found even the technical and somewhat antiseptic term “sanitary napkin” too embarrassing to utter in public. Kimberly-Clark, which started to market sanitary napkins in 1919, provided a remedy with the artificial word Kotex (a combination of “cotton” and “texture”) and inserted it into the consumer lexicon with a multimillion-dollar advertising campaign. To make the product available to the woman who was loathe to ask a clerk at a drugstore counter to hand her a box of Kotex from the shelf behind him, Kimberly-Clark encouraged merchants to display the product on countertops, enabling the customer to take a box and pay for it with minimal communicative action. Thus Kotex became one of the first self-service items in the history of American retailing.

Little in its Victorian background suggested that Kimberly-Clark would launch something of a consumer culture revolution. Founded in 1872 in Neenah, Wisconsin, as Kimberly, Clark and Co., it manufactured a wide range of paper products from newsprint and wrapping paper to book and magazine grades. By the turn of the century conventional but reliable investment strategies had turned Kimberly-Clark into the largest midwestern paper company. Shortly before World War I, it gained a competitive advantage by creating R&D and marketing capabilities for its magazine paper business, laying the groundwork for the success of its consumer nondurables in the interwar years. In World War I it developed a side business in surgical wound dressings for hospitals, the Army, and the Red Cross, but the market collapsed after the Armistice in November 1918. A large inventory—perhaps the only factor that could persuade businessmen of that era to even think about menstrual hygiene—precipitated the search for alternative uses of the cellulose product that led to the introduction of Kotex. Together with the less controversial Kleenex paper tissue, Kotex underwrote much of the company’s financial success during the interwar years, especially during the Depression when many competitors struggled to stay afloat.

This book, the first scholarly study of the company, examines Kimberly-Clark’s corporate history in the context of the paper and consumer industries and in the wider framework of U.S. economic history. The firm’s attempts to establish and maintain strongholds in consumer nondurables—the defining theme of this book—were hardly unique. Major U.S. pulp and paper firms frequently searched for

alternatives to newsprint, the industry's bread-and-butter product whose demand structure was highly cyclical, yielding increasingly mediocre returns after the turn of the century. Papermakers' numerous attempts to develop cellulose-based consumer nondurables, from paper dresses and shoes to the more successful paper cup, highlighted the inability of newsprint markets to sustain reliable long-term growth. Some firms became successful niche market specialists for bond and artist papers. Others lowered their exposure to newsprint through heavy investments into kraft grades for linerboard cartons, liquid packaging containers, and wrapping papers, with varying degrees of success. Many firms found it difficult to decipher secular trends in markets for consumer nondurables. International Paper, for example, invested heavily into kraft production capacities in the 1920s, only to watch demand stagnate toward the end of the decade. Brown Paper mill, St. Regis Paper, and other kraft producers barely survived the Great Depression of the 1930s. Viewed in this context, Kimberly-Clark's attempt to develop hygiene products in the 1920s ranks among the more successful diversification strategies in the pulp and paper industry, not least because it enabled the company to weather the Depression virtually without negative earnings.<sup>1</sup>

From the late 1940s to the 1970s the major challenge facing Kimberly-Clark was how to maintain its competitive advantage. During this period the company invested \$400 million into plants, equipment, and other programs. The firm's financial performance left much to be desired, however. Sales continued to grow rapidly, but profitability declined. Kimberly-Clark was particularly affected by the swift rise of resourceful competitors in sanitary napkins and facial hygiene, where the market shares of Kotex and Kleenex declined precipitously. Kimberly-Clark's attempts to break into the tampon market were derailed by inept R&D and had to be abandoned at a major loss. Its traditional stronghold in printing papers, which had been a reliable source of growth in past decades, deteriorated in the 1960s as a result of ill-advised capital investment programs. Ending more than half a century of leadership in magazine papers, Kimberly-Clark abandoned the product in the 1970s to concentrate on rebuilding its consumer nondurables business.

If the Taurus was the car that saved Ford,<sup>2</sup> Huggies were the diapers that rescued Kimberly-Clark. Like the Taurus, Huggies were the result of a years-long product design, engineering, and marketing effort that incorporated the painful lessons of past failures. Introduced in a clever marketing campaign, the diaper featured refastenable tape

and an hourglass shape designed to reduce leaks. As a result, Kimberly-Clark was able to wrest market leadership in disposable diapers from Procter & Gamble, which had created and dominated the market since the 1960s.

Our study both profits from and contributes to a range of scholarly debates. It explores the historical dimensions of product diversification, an issue that has received attention in recent studies of corporate strategy. Students of the subject agree that successful diversifiers link new products to extant capabilities in R&D and marketing and avoid product lines that require major new investments in these areas. The history of Kimberly-Clark confirms this analysis. Largely as a result of attempts to develop specialty magazine paper after the turn of the century, the company's basic R&D capabilities were already in place by World War I. This enabled Kimberly-Clark to launch the research effort that culminated in the introduction of Kotex in 1919. Although the firm lacked extensive marketing experience, it was more sensitive to the need to advertise consumer non-durables than most competitors, motivating it to recruit experienced vendors to handle advertising.<sup>3</sup>

Our account of Kimberly-Clark's more recent history contributes to the literature on the transformation of American manufacturing in the postwar decades. As early as the 1970s economists identified overdiversification as a chief villain in the story of American industrial decline, launching penetrating and often harsh critiques of postwar corporate strategy in the literature. Only painful "strategic refocusing," accelerated by corporate raiders and leveraged buyouts that left companies' unwise acquisitions of the 1960s as economic roadkill, presumably turned the tide in the 1980s. Within limits, this approach helps explain the emergence and resolution of the structural crisis that bedeviled Kimberly-Clark in the 1960s.

However, the structural crisis of American business and its resolution cannot be fully understood without a detailed analysis of product R&D and organizational capabilities. In more ways than one, the crisis was attributable to factors that had contributed to the Depression forty years earlier. "Low-tech industries" like food and tobacco with limited or nonexistent R&D capacities had largely exhausted their potential for product innovation, precipitating conglomeration as firms sought more profitable markets through acquisitions-based product diversification. By contrast, chemicals, microelectronics, and other advanced industries had not reached technological maturity, enabling many firms to maintain their economic viability by flexing

their R&D muscle in the 1970s and 1980s. In “stable-tech industries,” opportunities for incremental product innovation did exist, but many established firms failed to invest into the prerequisite R&D programs, contributing to the decline of the American automobile and consumer electronics industries.<sup>4</sup>

Our study confirms the significance of incremental product innovation in stable-tech industries during the 1970s and 1980s. Most consumer hygiene products—sanitary napkins, tampons, and disposable diapers—had been developed decades earlier, rendering market leaders like Kimberly-Clark vulnerable to price competition. Parallel efforts to improve the firm’s performance through product development initially yielded disappointing results, as evidenced by the failed tampon development initiatives of the 1960s. The multimillion dollar Huggies R&D program—launched as a last-ditch effort to maintain the company’s viability as a major contender in consumer hygiene products—succeeded as a result of incremental but crucial product design changes. Combined with effective consumer research and shrewd marketing, the Huggies program raised profitability to levels the company had last enjoyed in the 1920s.



# Notes

## Notes to Introduction

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15. Hooper represented Kimberly & Clark and its successor organizations in dozens of lawsuits, including numerous cases involving disputes over Fox River water rights, for example, *Kimberly & Clark Company, Respondent, v. Hewitt and Others*, 79 Wis. 334; *Appleton Paper & Pulp Co. v. Kimberly & Clark Co.*, 79 Wis. 334; personal injury suits filed by employees, for example, *Glenesky, Respondent, v. Kimberly & Clark Company*, 140 Wis. 52;

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25. *PTJ*, 8 July 1893, 15 July 1893, 22 July 1893; Smith, *History of Papermaking*; McGaw, *Most Wonderful Machine*.
26. Sensenbrenner, "Kimberly-Clark Corporate History," 21; "Atlas Mill," *Cooperation*, September 1947, 46.
27. Sensenbrenner, "Kimberly-Clark Corporate History," 21–22; "Kimberly Mill," *Cooperation*, September 1947, 52–53.
28. "Meeting of the Stockholders, 8 April 1891," Kimberly & Clark Co., Records 1880–1906, RG 6, Box 1, Folder 1; Sensenbrenner, "Kimberly-Clark Corporate History," 22–23.
29. "Meeting of the Stockholders, 5 Jan. 1881," Kimberly & Clark Co., Records 1880–1906, RG 6, Box 1, Folder 1.
30. "Meeting of the Directors, 27 Dec. 1888," Kimberly & Clark Co., Records 1880–1906, RG 6, Box 1, Folder 1.
31. *PTJ*, 4 Feb. 1893; Sensenbrenner, "Kimberly-Clark Corporate History," 24–25.
32. "Meeting of the Stockholders, 9 Jan. 1894," Kimberly & Clark Co., Records 1880–1906, RG 6, Box 1, Folder 1; *PTJ*, 30 Sept. 1893, 6 Jan. 1894; see also *PTJ*, 19 Aug. 1893.
33. "Meeting of the Stockholders, 13 Jan. 1896," Kimberly & Clark Co., Records 1880–1906, RG 6, Box 1, Folder 1; *PTJ*, 7 July 1894, 5 Jan. 1895, 4 Jan. 1896, 9 Jan. 1897, 30 April 1898, 13 Aug. 1898.
34. "Meeting of the Directors, 8 Nov. 1913," Kimberly & Clark Co. Minute Book, 1907–1921, RG 6, Box 1, Folder 2; Sensenbrenner, "Kimberly-Clark Corporate History," 25B–26B.
35. *Ibid.*, 27, RG 8, Subgroup 3, Series 2, Box 8–73, Folder 26; "Kimberly," *Cooperation*, Sept. 1947, 53.
36. "Meeting of the Directors, 14 May 1904," Kimberly & Clark Co., Records 1880–1906, RG 6, Box 1, Folder 1; "Meeting of the Directors, 8 Nov. 1913," Kimberly & Clark Co. Minute Book, 1907–1921, RG 6, Box 1, Folder 2.

37. "Meeting of the Stockholders, 2 Jan. 1906," Kimberly & Clark Co., Records 1880–1906, RG 6, Box 1, Folder 1; "Meeting of the Stockholders, 2 Jan. 1907," Kimberly & Clark Co. Minute Book, 1907–1921, RG 6, Box 1, Folder 2; "Articles of Association, 2 Jan. 1907," Kimberly & Clark Co. Minute Book, 1907–1921, RG 6, Box 1, Folder 2; *The New York Times*, 23 July 1952.

38. Sensenbrenner, "Kimberly-Clark Corporate History," 40–46

39. "Development of the Technical Department," *Cooperation*, Sept. 1947, 37.

40. Calvin Tomkins, *Printing Paper Trust* (Boston: New England Free Trade League, 1899); John Norris, *The Paper Trust: A Typical Tariff Trust* (Boston: New England Free Trade League, 1901). For a protariff position, see Thomas Marvin, *Protection for Paper Industry, a Great Business Threatened by Free Importations: Reasonable Protection Should Be Granted: Abstract of Brief Filed at Hearing on Schedule M* (Boston: Home Market Club, 1912). For William Howard Taft's position, see *Pulp and News-Print Paper Industry: Message from the President of the United States Transmitting a Report by the Tariff Board Relative to Pulp and News-print Paper Industry* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1911).

41. Thomas Heinrich, "Product Diversification in the U.S. Pulp and Paper Industry: The Case of International Paper," *Business History Review* 75 (2001), 470–76.

42. "Meeting of the Directors, 1 Aug. 1906," Kimberly & Clark Co., Records 1880–1906, RG 6, Box 1, Folder 1; 60th Congress, House Select Committee on Pulp and Paper, "Pulp and Paper Hearings, vol. 3," 1869, House Documents Vol. 143, No. 1502.

43. "Annual Stockholders' Meeting, 11 Dec. 1912," Kimberly & Clark Co. Minute Book, 1907–1921, RG 6, Box 1, Folder 260th Congress, House Select Committee on Pulp and Paper, "Pulp and Paper Hearings, vol. 3," 1876–77, House Documents Vol. 143, No. 1502; Sensenbrenner, "Kimberly-Clark Corporate History," 46–47; "Woodlands," *Cooperation*, Sept. 1947, 36.

44. G. F. Steele, *Brief for Wisconsin Congressional Delegation, April 5, 1909* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1909), 1.

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47. Kimberly-Clark, "Summary of Proof Required for Hearing before the Federal Trade Commission with Relation to the Use of the Word 'Cellucotton,'" 1–3, RG 9, Subgroup 1, Series 3 Box 9–4, Folder 3.

48. H. M. Cartwright and Robert MacKay, *Rotogravure: A Survey of European and American Methods*. Lyndon, Ky.: MacKay, 1956.

49. "[Minutes of the] Fourth Annual Meeting [of Paper Merchants] of the Kimberly-Clark Company, Drake Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, Tuesday, June 28, 1921," RG 5, Series 1, Box 5–1, Folder 1.

## Notes to Chapter 2

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3. Janice Delaney, Mary Lupton, Emily Toth, *The Curse: A Cultural History of Menstruation*, 2nd Ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 129–30.

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5. On bleak market business conditions after the passage of the Underwood Tariff, see “Guy Walo to F. Sensenbrenner, March 8, 1915, Sensenbrenner to Waldo, March 10, 1915,” both in RG 13, Series 8, Box 13–19, Folder 12, Kimberly-Clark Archives, The History Factory, Chantilly, Va. On IP, see Thomas Heinrich, “Product Diversification in the U.S. Pulp and Paper Industry: The Case of International Paper,” *Business History Review* 75 (2001).

6. For an insightful analysis of the boll weevil’s macroeconomic impact, see Kent Osband, “The Boll Weevil vs. King Cotton,” *Journal of Economic History* 45 (1985), 627–43; William W. Tomlinson, *The Long Road of Scott Paper Company* (Philadelphia: Scott Paper Company, 1939), 46.

7. “Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting [of Kimberly-Clark], 10 Oct. 1914” and “Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting, Nov. 10, 1914,” both in RG 6, Series 5, Subgroup 1, Box 6–1, Folder 2; Kimberly-Clark, “Summary of Proof Required for Hearing before the Federal Trade Commission with Relation to the Use of the Word ‘Cellucotton,’” 1–2, RG 9, Subgroup 1, Series 3, Box 9–4, Folder 3.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*, 4; “Annual Directors’ Meeting, 22 Dec. 1914,” Kimberly & Clark Co. Minute Book, 1907–1921, RG 6, Box 1, Folder 2.

10. Kimberly-Clark, “Summary of Proof,” 5; “The Birth of Crepe Wadding,” *Cooperation* (1934, Third Quarter), 13.

11. Kimberly-Clark, “Summary of Proof,” 3–4; “The Birth of Crepe Wadding,” 13.

12. Kimberly-Clark, “Summary of Proof,” 4–5; “The Birth of Crepe Wadding,” 13; “Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting [of Kimberly-Clark], May 14, 1918,” RG 6, Series 5, Subgroup 1, Box 6–1, Folder 2.

13. Kimberly-Clark, “Summary of Proof,” 6–8; “The Birth of Crepe Wadding,” 13; “Minutes of the Board of Directors’ Meeting, 12 Aug. 1919,” RG 6, Series 5, Subgroup 1, Box 6–1, Folder 2.

14. "Minutes of the Board of Directors' Meeting, 14 Oct. 1919," RG 6, Series 5, Subgroup 1, Box 6-1, Folder 2; "[Minutes of the] Fourth Annual Meeting [of Paper Merchants of the] Kimberly Clark Company, Drake Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, Tuesday, June 28, 1921," 14, RG 5, Series 1, Box 5-1, Folder 1.

15. "Proposed Plan of a Pension System for Kimberly-Clark Co., 14 Sept. 1910," RG 6, Series 5, Subgroup 1, Box 6-1, Folder 2; Kimberly-Clark experienced strikes at the Niagara mill during the war, which were settled through wage increases; "Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting [of Kimberly-Clark], 13 July 1917," RG 6, Series 5, Subgroup 1, Box 6-1, Folder 2. On welfare capitalism at Sears, Roebuck, and Eastman Kodak, see Sanford Jacoby, *Modern Manors: Welfare Capitalism Since the New Deal* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

16. "[Minutes of the] Fourth Annual Meeting [of Paper Merchants of the] Kimberly Clark Company, Drake Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, Tuesday, 28 June 1921," 14.

17. "Niagara Falls," *Cooperation*, September 1947, 72-73.

18. In 1914 the board of directors considered selling the obsolete mill for \$45,000 but was unable to find a buyer; "Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting [of Kimberly-Clark], 25 July 1914," RG 6, Series 5, Subgroup 1, Box 6-1, Folder 2. On the Atlas mill reconfiguration program, see "Brains and Wall Paper Rejuvenate the Atlas," *Cooperation* (1933, Second Quarter), 3-5; "The Art of Making Wall Paper," *Cooperation* (1935, First Quarter), 27-28. On technical details of "oatmeal" finishing, see *Harmon Paper Co. v. Kimberly Clark Co.* 289 F. 501; 1922 U.S. Dist., 1-3; see also "Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting [of Kimberly-Clark Co.], 12 July 1927," RG 6, Subgroup 1, Series 1, Box 6-1, Folder 4. On wall-paper, see Lesley Hoskins, Ed., *The Papered Wall: History, Patterns, Technique* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1994).

19. Walter W. Luecke, "History of Kotex," Subject File 200.2, "Corporate Histories."

20. *Ibid.*

21. Cellucotton surgical dressings remained a minor product through much of the interwar period. Sales were handled by the Lewis Manufacturing Company of Walpole, Mass., a cotton products jobber; "Agreement between Kimberly-Clark and Lewis Manufacturing Company, July 26, 1919," RG 4, Series 1, Box 4-1, Folder 5.

22. Luecke, "Kotex," 2.

23. Luecke, "Kotex," 3.

24. F. B. Carpenter to Kimberly-Clark, Oct. 9, 1919, RG 9, Subgroup 1, Series 6, Box 9-19, Folder 19.

25. Kimberly-Clark to Walker, Oct. 16, 1919, RG 9, Subgroup 3, Series 7, Box 9-357, Folder 1.

26. Luecke, "Kotex," 3.

27. Jane Farrell-Beck and Laura Kidd, "The Roles of Health Professionals in the Development and Dissemination of Women's Sanitary Products, 1880-1940," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 51 (1996), 325-52.

28. Luecke, "Kotex," 3.

29. "Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting [of Kimberly-Clark], Nov. 16, 1920," RG 6, Series 5, Subgroup 1, Box 6-1, Folder 2. To avoid confusion, this chapter refers to the company by its initial acronym, CPC, even for the post-1927 period, when it was known as International Cellucotton Products Company.

30. Meyer to Luecke, August 18, 1920, RG 9, Subgroup 1, Series 6, Box 9–12, Folder 19.

31. *Kotex Co. v. Clarence McArthur*, No. 2527, 18 C.C.P.A. 787; 45 F.2d 256.

32. [Luecke] to Sensenbrenner, April 24, 1920, RG 9, Subgroup 3, Series 7, Box 9–357, Folder 1.

33. *Dry Goods Economist*, 20 November 1920.

34. Taylor to Luecke, Nov. 11, 1920, RG 15, Subgroup 1, Series 15, Box 15–18, Folder 20.

35. Taylor to Luecke, Dec. 3, 1920, RG 15, Subgroup 1, Series 15, Box 15–18, Folder 20. On 1921 Kotex sales, see “Kotex Sales—Week Ending June 25, 1921” and “Hotel Vending, Philadelphia June 20, 1921,” RG 15, Series 1, Subgroup 15, Box 15–19, Folder 29.

36. Taylor to Luecke, Feb. 19, 1921, RG 15, Subgroup 1, Series 15, Box 15–18, Folder 20.

37. Charles F. W. Nichols Co., “To Save Men’s Lives Science Discovered Kotex,” 21 Aug. 1919, RG 9, Series 2, Box 1, Folder 179.

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Ibid.*

41. Although Meyer is generally credited with writing the first Kotex ads, it should be noted that one advertising professional later claimed that the first copy was actually written by an unnamed woman. John Heady, an advertising manager for Tupper Corporation and self-proclaimed “scarred, gray and grim veteran of this profession,” wrote in 1949: “When Kotex was launched, it was considered necessary that a very delicate approach be made; indeed it was wondered whether ethical publications would even accept the copy. So, a woman was employed to write the copy—an ex-registered nurse. Perhaps she had no flair for writing. In any event the advertising and merchandising and sales flopped until a man was put on the account; I do not recall who he was, but Kotex went over”; *Advertising Age*, 28 February 1949. Heady’s account, part of a misogynist diatribe, cannot be corroborated.

42. Nichols Co., “To Save Men’s Lives Science Discovered Kotex.”

43. *Ibid.*

44. In discussions of the Kotex symbol, Kimberly-Clark and ICP routinely referred to St. George’s cross as the “Geneva cross,” indicating its relationship to the International Red Cross symbol adopted at the organization’s founding convention in Switzerland. This contradicts the notion proposed in some studies that the marketers intended to evoke Christian symbolism.

45. The depiction of women holding reading materials in product advertisements was one of the many conceptual innovations introduced in interwar advertising; see Megan Benton’s insightful “Sizzle and Smoke: Iconography of Books and Reading in Modern American Advertising,” *Publishing History* 38 (1995), 77–90.

46. “Cellucotton Products: Corporate Records, 1920–1931,” Record Group 15, Series (number unknown), Box 15–12, Folder 1, KCA.

47. “Story of ICP,” *Cooperation*, September 1947, 27.

48. “Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Cellucotton Products Co, November (date unknown), 1922, RG 15, Subgroup 1, Series 9, Box 15–12, Folder 1.

49. Quoted in Kimberly-Clark to H. A. Jost, April 29, 1921, RG 15, Subgroup 1, Series 15, Box 15–18, Folder 20.

50. *Ibid.*

51. “Every Woman Wants Kotex,” Trade Advertisement, 1924, RG 9, Series 2, Box 5, Folder 2 (oversize).

52. “Kotex Trade Advertisement,” 27 July 1926,” RG 9, Subgroup 2, Series 5, Folder 3 (oversize); Mike Freeman, “Clarence Saunders: The Piggly Wiggly Man,” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 51 (1992), 161–69.

53. *Advertising Age*, 15 December 1952, 63.

54. Meyer Papers, 21 September 1960.

55. *International Cellucotton Products Co. v. Sterilek Co., Inc.*, 94 F.2d 10; 1938 U.S. App.

56. “Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting [of Kimberly-Clark], 21 July 1921,” and “Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting [of Kimberly-Clark], 23 June 1924,” both RG 6, Series 5, Subgroup 1, Box 6–1, Folder 3; “Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting [of Kimberly-Clark], 14 Aug. 1923,” “Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting [of Kimberly-Clark], 5 Nov. 1923,” “Minutes of the Board of Directors [of Kimberly-Clark Co.], Meeting, 22 Nov. 1927,” RG 6, Subgroup 1, Series 1, Box 6–1, Folder 4; “First Kotex Machine Celebrates 10th Birthday,” *Cooperation* (1934, Fourth Quarter), 16.

57. George Weiss to Kimberly-Clark, 9 July 1920; Cyrill Soanes to Luecke, 24 Sept. 1923, both in RG 4, Series 1, Box 4–1, Folder 6; see also “Exclusive Sales Agreement,” RG 4, Series 1, Box 4–1, Folder 11.

58. *Cellucotton Products Co. v. Wilson*, cited in United States Tariff Commission, “Reports of the United States Tariff Commission to the President of the United States. Findings and Recommendations in the Matter of Alleged Unfair Methods of Competition in the Importation and Sale of Revolvers, Sanitary Napkins, and Brierwood Pipes” (Washington, D.C., 1927), 52.

59. *Ibid.*

60. George Williamson, “Hygiene of Menstruation” (1929), 5, RG 9, Subgroup 1, Series 3, Box 9–4, Folder 3, Exhibit 50. To his credit, Williamson did not discourage women from physical exercise during menstruation, unlike other interwar commentators who claimed that such activity could result in a prolapsed uterus; see Delaney et al., *The Curse*, 108.

61. *Good Housekeeping*, March 1926.

62. Shelley Park, “From Sanitation to Liberation? The Modern and Postmodern Marketing of Menstrual Products,” *Journal of Popular Culture* 30 (1996), 149–68; for an interesting analysis of medical themes in advertising of nonmedical products, see Rima Apple, “‘They Need it Now’: Science, Advertising, and Vitamins,” *Journal of Popular Culture* 22 (1988), 65–83. On Buckland, see “Agreement between Kotex Company and Ellen J. Buckland, 3 July 1930,” RG 4, Subgroup 1, Box 4–1, Folder 12. On deodorant, see *Rotex Surgical Appliance Co. v. Kotex Co.*, No. 2531, 18 C.C.P.A. 746; 44 F.2d 879.

63. Cited in Kimberly-Clark, “Summary of Proof,” 12.

64. “Meeting of the Board of Directors of the International Cellucotton Products Company, 8 May 1928,” “Meeting of the Board of Directors of the International Cellucotton Products Company, 23 Oct. 1928,” RG 15, Subgroup 1, Box 15–16, Folder 1.

65. Lillian Gilbreth, "Report to the Johnson & Johnson Company, 1 January 1927," Special Collections, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Ind., Gilbreth Collection, Box (number unknown), Folder (number unknown). See also Vern Bulough, "Merchandizing the Sanitary Napkin: Lillian Gilbreth's 1927 Survey," *Signs* 10 (1985), 615–27.

66. Gilbreth, "Report to the Johnson & Johnson Company."

67. *Ibid.*

68. All quotes *ibid.*

69. "Development of the Technical Department," *Cooperation* (September 1947), 37.

70. Miller was first depicted in a Kotex ad a year earlier, published in the *Delin-eator*, July 1928.

71. Jane Livingston, *Lee Miller, Photographer* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1989).

72. Elspeth Brown, "Rationalizing Consumption: LeJaren A. Hiller and the Origins of American Advertising Photography," *Enterprise and Society* 1 (2000), 715–38.

73. "Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors [of Kimberly-Clark Co.], 1 April 1926," RG 6, Subgroup 1, Series 1, Box 6–1, Folder 4.

74. On Mahler's bonuses, see "Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting [of Kimberly-Clark], 26 Jan. 1925," RG 6, Series 5, Subgroup 1, Box 6–1, Folder 4. On Lasker and Pearce, see "Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Stockholders of the International Cellucotton Products Company, 28 Jan. 1927," RG 15, Subgroup 1, Box 15–16, Folder 1. On CPC's 1928 and 1929 operating results, see "International Cellucotton Products Company and Subsidiary Companies . . . Accumulated Consolidated Profit and Loss Statement for the Period Ended December 31, 1928," and "International Cellucotton Products Company and Subsidiary Companies . . . Accumulated Consolidated Profit and Loss Statement for the Period Ended December 31, 1929," Record Group 15, Series 15, Box 15–16, Folder 1.

75. "Marketing Milestones in the History of Kleenex Tissues," RG 9, Subgroup 1, Series 5, Box 9–8, Folder 15.

76. Vinikas, *Soft Soap, Hard Sell: American Hygiene in an Age of Advertisement* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1992), 57; see also Paula Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 283–84.

77. Vinikas, *Soft Soap*, 59.

78. *Trade Marks Journal*, 15 July 1925, 1545.

79. *Advertising Age*, 15 December 1952, 63.

80. "Marketing Milestones in the History of Kleenex Tissues," RG 9, Subgroup 1, Series 5, Box 9–8, Folder 15.

81. Lawrence Davis to Raymond Kelly, Feb. 12, 1923, and Raymond Kelly to Lawrence Davis, 20 Feb. 1923, both in RG 4, Series 1, Box 4–1, Folder 5; "Minutes of the Board of Directors [of Kimberly-Clark Co.], Meeting 28 November 1927," RG 6, Subgroup 1, Series 1, Box 6–1, Folder 4; see also Raymond Kelly to Terminal Barber Shops, April 3, 1926, RG 4, Series 1, Box 4–1, Folder 10.

82. "Badger-Globe," *Cooperation*, Sept. 1947, 42.

83. "Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting [of Kimberly-Clark], 13 July 1923," RG 6, Series 5, Subgroup 1, Box 6–1, Folder 4.

84. “[Minutes of the] Fourth Annual Meeting [of Paper Merchants of the] Kimberly Clark Company, Drake Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, Tuesday, June 28, 1921,” 29.

85. Heinrich, “Product Diversification,” 480–81.

86. “Resolution of the Board of Directors, 5 June 1920,” RG 6, Series 5, Subgroup 1, Box 6–1, Folder 2; “Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting [of Kimberly-Clark], 26 Jan. 1925,” “Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Board of Directors, 8 Sept. 1925,” “Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors [of Kimberly-Clark Co.], 1 April 1926,” all RG 6, Subgroup 1, Series 1, Box 6–1, Folder 4; “Kimberly-Clark and *New York Times* Join in Big Canadian Enterprise,” *Cooperation* (May 1926), 2.

87. “Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Board of Directors of the International Cellucotton Products Company, 11 April 1927,” RG 15, Subgroup 1, Box 15–16, Folder 1.

88. “Reorganization Plan of Kimberly-Clark Company, 10 July 1928,” “Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting, 20 July 1928,” “First Meeting of Trustees in Liquidation of Kimberly-Clark Company, 10 Aug. 1928,” all in RG 6, Series 5, Subgroup 1, Box 6–1, Folder 3; “New Kimberly-Clark Plan,” *The New York Times*, 5 July 1928, 30; “New Stock Issues,” *The New York Times*, 10 July 1928, 31; on Hancock, see *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, vol. 46 (New York, 1963), 507.

89. *Financial Statement of Kimberly-Clark Corporation* (Neenah, Wis.: Kimberly-Clark Corporation, 1929); *Financial Statement of Kimberly-Clark Corporation* (Neenah, Wis.: Kimberly-Clark Corporation, 1930); [Frank Sensenbrenner, Harry Price, Ernst Mahler] “Report [on Kotex and Kleenex Manufacturing], 6 Aug. 1928,” RG 15, Subgroup 1, Box 15–16, Folder 1; International Paper Company, *32nd Annual Report* (New York: International Paper Co., 1929); George S. Armstrong, *Crown Zellerbach Corporation: A Survey* (San Francisco, Calif.: n.p., 1937), 34–35.

90. “Thirsty Fibre: His Biography” (1921), RG 15, Subgroup 3, Series 7, Box 4416, Folder 67; see also Scott Paper Company, *Annual Report to the Stockholders [for 1924]*, [n.d.], Scott Paper Company, *Treasurer’s Annual Report Year 1926* (Chester, Pa., 1927), both in RG 13, Subgroup 3, Series 3, Subdivision 4, Box 3–11, Folder 1.

### Notes to Chapter 3

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2. *Financial Statement of Kimberly-Clark Corporation [for Year Ended Dec. 31, 1931]* (Neenah, Wis.: Kimberly-Clark Corporation, 1932).

3. Thomas Heinrich, *Ships for the Seven Seas: Philadelphia Shipbuilding in the Age of Industrial Capitalism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 196–217.

4. Arthur Kuhn, *GM Passes Ford, 1918–1938: Designing the General Motors Performance-Control System* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986).

5. Michael Bernstein, *The Great Depression: Delayed Recovery and Econom-*

*ic Change in America, 1929–1939* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Michael Bernstein, “Why the Great Depression Was Great: Toward a New Understanding of the Interwar Economic Crisis in the United States,” in *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930–1980*, eds. Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); see also *Understanding American Economic Decline*, eds. Michael A. Bernstein, David E. Adler (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

6. Thomas McGaw, “The New Deal and the Mixed Economy,” in *Fifty Years Later: The New Deal Evaluated*. Ed. Harvard Sitkoff. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1985), 43.

7. Christina Romer, “The Great Crash and the Onset of the Great Depression,” *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 105 (1999), 597–624; Martha Olney, “Demand for Consumer Durable Goods in 20th Century America,” in *Explorations in Economic History* 27 (1990), 322–49; Martha Olney, “Consumer Durables in the Interwar Years: New Estimates, New Patterns,” *Research in Economic History* 12 (1989), 119–50.

8. “History of Kotex, 1929–1930–1931,” RG 9, Subgroup 1, Series 6, Box 9–11, Folder 14, Kimberly-Clark Archives, The History Factory, Chantilly, Va.

9. John R. Kimberly, “Better to Use, Cheap Enough to Throw Away: The Disposable Paper Product,” *Business Decisions That Changed Our Lives*, eds. Sidney Furst and Milton Sherman (New York: Random House, 1964), 162; see also “Marketing Milestones in the History of Kleenex Tissues, 1930,” RG 9, Subgroup 1, Series 5, Box 9–8, Folder 15.

10. “[Kleenex] Marketing Milestones, 1932,” RG 9, Subgroup 1, Series 5, Box 9–8, Folder 15.

11. “Minutes of the Special meeting of the Board of Directors of the International Cellucotton Products Company, March 24, 1931,” RG 15, Subgroup 1, Series 15, Box 15–16, Folder 1; “[Kleenex] Marketing Milestones, 1934,” RG 9, Subgroup 1, Series 5, Box 9–8, Folder 15.

12. “[Kleenex] Marketing Milestones, 1935,” RG 9, Subgroup 1, Series 5, Box 9–8, Folder 15.

13. “[Kleenex] Marketing Milestones, 1936,” RG 9, Subgroup 1, Series 5, Box 9–8, Folder 15.

14. “[Kleenex] Marketing Milestones, 1939,” RG 9, Subgroup 1, Series 5, Box 9–8, Folder 15; “Minutes of the Board of Directors Meetings of the International Cellucotton Products Company, Nov. 5, 1935,” RG 15, Subgroup 1, Series 15, Box 15–16, Folder 2; see also Elizabeth Fones-Wolf, “Creating a Favorable Business Climate: Corporations and Radio Broadcasting, 1934 to 1954,” *Business History Review* 73 (1999), 221–55; Kathleen Newman, “Critical Mass: Advertising, Audiences and Consumer Activism in the Age of Radio,” Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1997. For the earlier period, see Susan Smulyan, “‘And Now a Word from Our Sponsors . . .’: Commercialization of American Broadcast Radio, 1920–1934,” Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1986.

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17. Ibid.; see also “History of Kotex, 1932,” RG 9, Subgroup 1, Series 6, Box 9–11, Folder 14.

18. *Financial Statement of Kimberly-Clark Corporation [for Year Ended Dec. 31, 1932]* (Neenah, Wis.: Kimberly-Clark Corporation, 1933).

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