

Flappers and their Flawless Legs:
An Analysis of Advertisements for Women's Hosiery in
Vogue magazine from 1920 to 1929

by

JEAN ELIZABETH HARRISON

(Under the Direction of José Blanco)

ABSTRACT

This research presented information regarding the advertisement of women's hosiery in the 1920s through the use of *Vogue* magazine. The objectives of this research were to look at the change in frequency of advertisements for women's hosiery, to monitor the increase or decrease in the exposure of the female leg in these advertisements, and to examine the main approaches used in the verbiage and artwork in hosiery advertisements. No previous research on this topic has been identified. It was found that the number of advertisements for women's hosiery increased over the decade from 47 advertisements in 1920 to 91 advertisements in 1929. The research also found that the amount of the leg exposed in advertisements for hosiery increased throughout the 1920s. Finally, the research showed that advertisements became more sexualized over the decade, with an emphasis on sophisticated sexuality.

INDEX WORDS: 1920s advertising, *Vogue* magazine, History of Hosiery, 1920s fashion

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In 1920, arguably one of the most important and influential amendments to the United States Constitution, the 19th Amendment, was passed granting women the right to vote. Women had been fighting for this right since 1848 when Elizabeth Cady Stanton proposed suffrage at the first Women's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, New York. After thirty years of lobbying and protesting, women's suffrage was introduced to the United States Congress in 1878. The movement slowly gained support throughout the United States and on August 26, 1920 the 19th Amendment became a law. This marked a distinct change in history because women were now empowered to affect decisions made in and for the United States.

Following the passing of the 19th Amendment, the hemline of women's dresses rose from only revealing the ankle in the beginning of the decade to hemlines ending slightly below the knee by the end of the decade (Tortora and Eubank, 2003). Women also wore looser fitting garments during the 1920s which no longer required corsets or heavy undergarments, and they wore costume jewelry and heavy makeup. Due to the rising hemlines of the time, there was a desire and need by women to have hosiery which was fashionable and attractive.

This thesis adds to the body of research in historic dress by showing how advertisements for hosiery changed between 1920 and 1929. The research presents the

progression of advertising for one segment of fashion and explores the new fashion of exposing women's legs.

This project researched the advertisement of women's hosiery in *Vogue* magazine during the 1920s. The material was evaluated for quantity, size of advertisement, exposure of the leg, and changing artwork and verbiage used to promote hosiery. The research was conducted by systematically examining *Vogue* magazines published between January 1920 and December 1929. All issues of *Vogue* magazine published within the specified dates were examined for quantity of advertisements as well as the size of the advertisement, the use of illustrations or photographs, and the amount of leg exposure in each advertisement. Every page of each issue was examined and each advertisement noted and evaluated for the aforementioned qualities. Following the collection of said data, the top two hosiery advertising companies during the 1920s were identified. These top two companies, Phoenix Hosiery and Onyx Hosiery, were determined by the number of advertisements placed throughout the 1920s. The advertisements for each of these companies placed in the first issue of the March, June, September, and December issues of each year were collected for analysis of verbiage and artwork. This project is significant because no research has been identified involving the advertisement of hosiery during the 1920s. Similar research involving the advertisement of hosiery for any other time period has not been identified.

Statement of Purpose

This project looked at the advertisement of women's hosiery in *Vogue* magazine between 1920 and 1929. The research systematically recorded all advertisements in all issues of *Vogue* during the stated dates and analyzed the data found. Following the

collection and recording of all advertisements, the advertisements for the top two hosiery advertising companies that were found in the first issues of the March, June, September, and December issues of each year were collected for analysis of the verbiage and artwork. The purpose of this research was to chronicle the change in frequency of advertisements at the time while also evaluating the exposure of the leg and the size of the advertisement. In addition, this project examined the change in the artwork and verbiage used to advertise hosiery to women.

Objectives

1. To determine if the number of advertisements in *Vogue* magazine for hosiery increased or decreased following the passing of the 19th amendment in the United States.
2. To determine if the exposure of the leg increased in advertisements in *Vogue* magazine following the passing of the 19th amendment in the United States.
3. To determine the main approaches used to sell hosiery to women in the 1920s by analyzing the verbiage and artwork in selected advertisements for the top two advertisers of hosiery in *Vogue* magazine over the ten years being studied.

While there is a tendency to assume that questions one and two have apparent and clear answers, there is a lack of published knowledge addressing the topic. No research could be found stating that the number of advertisements for hosiery increased following the passing of the 19th amendment therefore this topic needed to be addressed prior to any further research being conducted on the topic.

Limitations

Several limitations apply to this historical research project. First, the research only pertains to *Vogue* magazine and therefore does not encompass all American citizens nor does it encompass market segments not targeted by *Vogue* magazine. The target market of *Vogue* was women who were in the upper-middle class (Angeletti & Olivia, 2006). Due to the specificity of this target market, this research excludes women who did not fit in to the target market of *Vogue* magazine. This research is also limited to the timeframe selected (1920 to 1929) as well as the access to *Vogue* magazines. The University of Georgia owns *Vogue* magazines on microform or in hard copy from July 1921 through December 1929. *Vogue* magazine from January 1920 through June 1921 were borrowed from the University of Michigan. Two magazines, March 15, 1923 and July 1, 1923 were missing from the microform collection owned by the University of Georgia and pages were missing intermittently from some of the magazines examined. Other limitations for this research include the use of only four magazines per year, for a total of forty magazines, to collect advertisements for artwork and verbiage analysis as well as only using two companies' advertisements (see Table 6 for all companies advertising in the 1920s). Finally, the lack of prior research is a limitation in this study because no similar study has been done and little is known about the specific topic.

Definition of Terms

The following terms are used in this research and are vital to understanding the research and findings.

Advertising- a paid communication about products or services intended to increase sales of products or services (Arens, 2002; Cohan, 2001).

Artwork- any form of illustration or photograph used in advertisements; used in conjunction with verbiage to convey a message to the reader.

Fashion- a style of dress or form of appearance that is worn by a large number of people for a relatively short time and in a specific place (Calasibetta and Tortora, 2003; Stone, 2001; Welters & Lillethun, 2007).

Flapper- term originally coined in the 16th century as a slang word for prostitutes, by the 1920s, it referred to young, adult women with little to no curvature in their body wearing short skirts and bobbed hair who were described as living life on impulses without regard for proper behavior expected by elder generations (Calasibetta and Tortora, 2003; Steele, 2005).

Hosiery/ Hose- knitted covering for the foot and or leg (Calasibetta and Tortora, 2003; Picken, 1985).

Legwear- “any type of apparel worn on the legs” (Calasibetta and Tortora, 2003, p. 314).

Magazine- “a periodical publication containing articles, stories, etc., usually with photographs, illustrations, etc.” (*Oxford English Reference*, 1996, p. 864).

Prohibition- “the forbidding of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic drink” (*Oxford English Reference*, 1996, p. 1154). Prohibition was enacted in the United States between 1920 and 1933.

Stockings- “knitted coverings for the foot and most of the leg” (Calasibetta and Tortora, 2003, p. 273).

Suffrage- “the right of voting in political elections” (*Oxford English Reference*, 1996, p. 1442).

Verbiage- text in an advertisement used to convey a message to the reader through words; used in conjunction with artwork.

Vogue- fashion magazine started in 1892 by Arthur Turnure and purchased by Conde Nast in 1909. The magazine features fashion, editorials, advertisements, and advice for women (Calabisetta and Tortora; 2003, Hill, 2004).

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The 1920s

This research project is framed between 1920, when all American women were granted the right to vote; and 1929, the year of the Market Crash. The right to vote plays a key role in the beginning of political equality for women in America and thus influenced their clothing choice. The ideas of the young during the Flapper era challenged socially acceptable behavior of previous generations. The ending point for the research, 1929, marks the close of a decade of change. On October 24, 1929 the New York Stock Exchange (NYSE) collapsed at an unprecedented rate and threw the country into the Great Depression. Prior to the NYSE crash, the economy was thriving, technological advances were at an all time high, people were spending freely, and the general mood of the country was positive.

On August 26, 1920 the 19th Amendment to the United States Constitution was ratified giving women the right to vote in all elections. This was not the first time that women were allowed to vote; it was just a guarantee that all women in the United States had the right to vote. Wyoming was the first territory to grant women the right to vote in 1869 and by the time the 19th Amendment was ratified, 15 states had already guaranteed women full voting privileges (McCammon, Campbell, Granberg, & Mowery, 2001).

Women's suffrage associations existed in every state except Wyoming in the nineteenth century (McCammon et al., 2001). Some of these associations were larger than others and their success can be measured by the extent to which, if at all, suffrage was passed by each state. States such as Illinois, Missouri, Tennessee, and Wisconsin allowed women to vote in primary or presidential elections, but did not grant women full suffrage (McCammon et al., 2001). Once suffrage was granted in 1920, the percentage of people over age 21 who voted increased from 25 to 37 percent (Lott & Kenny, 1999). After this immediate rise, the percentage of people voting rose slowly to 43 percent in the 1930s. Women with the desire to vote took immediately to the polls, but a large percentage of older generation women did not see the need to vote or lacked the desire to do so and therefore did not vote.

According to Simone Davis, the 1920s was "the decade that secured a place for advertising at the heart of American business" (2000, p. 1). Original advertising brokers such as Volney Palmer and Samuel Pettingill were becoming full agencies, offering to prepare advertisements and also to place them in publications. During the 1920s, women's hosiery was also experiencing important changes due to the rise in hemlines to an all-time high, as is seen in Lynne Richards' article *The Rise and Fall of it All: The Hemlines and Hiplines of the 1920s*, and women being concerned with publicly revealing their hosiery for the first time ever (1983). In the 1920s, silk was used widely to make hosiery, whereas previously, hosiery was mostly wool or cotton. During the 1920s sheer hosiery also became popular in contrast to dark and opaque hosiery which was popular in previous generations.

The beginning of the 1920s has been noted by some historians as the true beginning of the twentieth century (Fangman et al., 2004). At this point in the United States, technology was growing exponentially allowing people to spend more time outside of work and many women were entering the workforce and earning paychecks (Fangman et al., 2004). In the 1920s, the catch-phrase was that something was “modern” and everyone wanted to be “modern”. The modern look at the time was to be thin and have very little emphasis on curves (Watson, 1999). Progression in society, women’s rights, and breaking down traditional constraints placed on women were important to people, especially the younger generations, during the 1920s.

By the end of the decade, movies with sound or “talkies”, fascinated the public and the influence of movie stars such as Rudolph Valentino, Douglas Fairbanks, Joan Crawford, Louise Brooks, and Gloria Swanson continually increased (Watson, 1999; Mendes & de la Haye, 1999). Modeling became popular in the 1920s, thanks largely to John Robert Powers opening his modeling agency in New York City. The agency was opened in 1923, a time when modeling was still thought of as similar to prostitution (Quick, 1997). While modeling was becoming popular, models did not gain popularity, it was the actors and actresses becoming household names (Mendes & de la Haye, 1999).

One of the “modern” commodities desired by the public in the 1920s were automobiles. Cars at this time operated at about 25 miles per hour and there were few paved roads in the United States making driving fashionable yet cumbersome (Hall, 1983). While cars in the 1920s were challenging, they were still very popular and by the end of the 1920s, there were 23 million cars in the United States (Tucker and Kingswell,

2000). The new use of cars in the 1920s allowed women the freedom to move about on their own and go on dates without chaperones (Kleinberg, 1999).

On January 16, 1920, Prohibition, a law making it illegal to distill, brew, or sell alcohol, went into effect. Prohibition would not be lifted for thirteen years, but this restriction did not mean that drinking did not occur in the United States. Bootlegging was common at the time and speak-easies were popular places for people to drink liquor and mingle. Speak-easies were bar like establishments where patrons could order alcohol, dance, and enjoy live music. Because the sale of alcohol was illegal at the time, these establishments were often subject to police raids; however, the high revenue from a speak-easy encouraged business owners to continue to operate. According to Caroline Milbank, women in the 1920s bragged about their ability to hold large amounts of liquor while complaining of hangovers the following day (1989). Prohibition made it fashionable to drink in public and defy laws and gave women a law which was easy to rebel against while exerting their new found power and freedom. Women in the 1920s were much freer than those of generations past and were not only drinking, but also smoking and dancing; all actions that were looked down upon by older generations (Fangman et al., 2004; Tucker and Kingswell, 2000). This “new woman” or “Flapper” changed how society viewed women. Women were now willing to assert their views and opinions to older generations and have frank conversations with their elders and males about life, politics, and marriage.

The term “flapper” was used to describe women during the 1920s who liked to flirt, date several men, dance all night, and wear clothing which concealed the curvature of the female figure. The image of the flapper included looser fit garments than previous

generations which hung from the shoulders, did not form to the body, and had waistlines dropped to the hips. For the majority of the 1920s, the emphasis was on the tubular figure and not on curves, breasts, or hips (Carter, 1992; Flagman et al., 2004; Mendes & de la Haye, 1999). By 1928, however, the desire for curves had returned and women again wanted to show off their feminine figures (Carter, 1992). One way to show off the female figure was to cut fabric on the bias, meaning that the dress is cut on a 45° angle to the grain line, allowing the fabric to cling to the body and accentuate the natural curvature of the female figure.

Because of the exposure of more skin and also the craze of being thin in order to look like the Flappers, the 1920s was the first decade to see a real concern with weight. People began to diet more and work out in order to look thin (Carter, 1992; Seeling, 2000). “Health” corsets at this time claimed to support the bust, make the wearer look slimmer, and help with abdominal problems (Carter, 1992). The 1920s is also the first period recording an exercise craze in the United States due to the newly discovered correlation between health, weight, and overall life span. Forms of exercise included dancing, skiing, and cycling while people also began diets such as starch free eating (Carter, 1992). This new exercise craze along with dancing and sun tanning were all activities that women in the 1920s enjoyed as ways to relax. The 1920s also saw women such as Hazel Wightman win Olympic gold metals in tennis, Gertrude Ederle become the first woman to swim the English Channel and break the previous time record, and Amelia Earhart become the first woman to fly over the Atlantic (Brown, 1987).

Chain stores became popular in the 1920s and allowed prices to drop giving consumers more purchasing power (Tortora & Eubank, 2003). The chain store also

allowed ready-to-wear clothing to be more accessible to the public at reasonable prices.

Other popular means of purchasing clothing before and during the 1920s were the department store and catalog ordering. Catalog orders were popular for rural areas because people could not go into the city regularly, if at all, to shop for clothing.

Media at the time was predominantly in the form of newspapers such as the *Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Times* and magazines such as *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Vogue* (Fangman et al., 2004). There were two types of women's magazines during the 1920s, those that provided general advice to wives and mothers and those that focused on fashion (Fangman et al., 2004). Both types of magazines aimed to give women advice, however, fashion magazines focused more on the latest trends rather than advice for wives and mothers. Magazines such as *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* were heavily geared toward fashion rather than lifestyle advice.

Motion pictures with accompanying sound were available by the end of the decade but they were not used as a common form of advertising. In 1920, the first commercial radio station, KDKA AM out of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, began broadcasting, changing how companies advertised (Reichert, 2007). With the invention of the radio, companies now had the opportunity and option to advertise not only in print, but also through the radio.

Jobs for women increased in the 1920s, as women worked in clerical jobs as well as "textiles, clothing manufacture, and food processing" jobs (Kleinberg, 1999, p. 209). As women worked in these jobs, their pay increased, but not to be equal to the pay males received and legislation actually kept women out of the high paying jobs which men were allowed to hold (Kleinberg, 1999). The ability to have a job outside of the home allowed

women to have their own income and therefore more say as to how money within the family was spent.

The lives of women also changed drastically in the 1920s because birth control methods were now available and more readily used. Condoms were legalized in the United States in 1918 (Birth Control Timeline, 2008). When birth control was used more readily, women were able to more effectively control the size of their family as well as when they had children (Kleinberg, 1999). Along with birth control, women were now experimenting with their sexuality and the pre-marital virginity rate “dropped from about three-quarters of women born between 1890 and 1900 to less than one-third of those born after 1910” (Kleinberg, 1999, p. 243). This indicates the possibility that women in the 1920s were the first generation of women who were not waiting until marriage to have intercourse. The fact that some unmarried women showed affection or even kissed men was still considered to be a taboo by older generations of women. Couples were now kissing, going for drives alone, and engaging in petting parties before marriage if they were not sexually active (Brown, 1987).

Education improved for women of the 1920s with about 50% of all undergraduates being women (Kleinberg, 1999). Finishing high school became a normal practice for both men and women; however, women focused more on vocational classes rather than academics, making it surprising that almost one-half of all undergraduates were female (Kleinberg, 1999). One reason that the female enrollment in colleges increased in the 1920s was due to the number of female only colleges. Between 1915 and 1925, “the number of Catholic women’s colleges increased from 14 to 37”

(Kleinberg, 1999, p. 258). With the number of schools for women increasing, females now had an opportunity to attend college and their parents approved of their attendance.

Advertising

Advertising is paid communication about products or services and is intended to increase sales of the products or services (Arens, 2002; Cohen, 2001; Lee & Johnson, 2005). Based on this definition, advertising encompasses a large majority of the visual and audible stimulation that people are exposed to each day. Advertising affects the way people perceive a company, product, or even learn about the political and social consciousness of a company (Englis, Solomon, & Ashmore, 1994). Advertising for fashion is no different from advertising for any other product or service. The same techniques are used for all forms of advertising; the difference is in the motivation of the consumer to purchase products or services (Winters & Goodman, 1984). Fashion advertising focuses on creating a distinctive image for the retailer or fashion house. The goal of retail or fashion advertising is to promote a product to a very specific target market. This gives the manufacturer or retailer the opportunity to present new products and ideas. Fashion advertising also provides an opportunity to introduce new styles to the public, allowing time for acceptance and adoption of the new fashion trend (Martin, 1995).

Advertising began in the 1860s with space being bought in newspapers and advertisements being placed in these spaces (Davis, 2000). Advertising grew over the next sixty years until it was firmly rooted in American commerce in the 1920s (Davis, 2000). Throughout the Roaring Twenties companies experienced increased profits as a

result of advertising, allowing advertising to continue as an important medium of communication between producers and consumers.

Between 1919 and 1929, national advertisements in magazines increased by 600%. This was predominantly seen in women's magazines because women were the major household consumer (Fangman et al., 2004). Advertising in *Vogue* in the 1920s was no exception to the advertisement boom, advertising for everything from clothing to cars to feminine products could be found in one issue of *Vogue* (Hall, 1983).

The ultimate goal of advertising is to increase sales, and in order to do this, a company must know and understand their target market. The target market encompasses the people which the company is trying to appeal to with its product. By knowing and understanding the target market, a company has the ability to cater its advertising to a particular market (Wells, Burnett & Moriarty, 2003). Advertising has the ability to change perceptions of what is acceptable versus unacceptable and challenge beliefs of what is morally right and wrong (Cohen, 2001). Advertising is used to attract attention to the product and create a sense of need within the audience (Cohen, 2001; Scott, 1985). This attention and desire to own a product helps to drive sales for the company.

Once the target market is understood, advertising can be used to introduce and sell goods to the consumer, create demand for products and services, and create a need within a customer for a particular product. This introduction and creation of a demand is done to increase sales for the company. Winters and Goodman state that advertising does not create sales, "it informs and can influence the selling of goods, services, and institutions" (1984, p. 154). Because advertising does not create sales it is often considered an expense to the company and therefore the investment must be carefully considered and

evaluated. Through experience, however, companies have shown that advertising is an effective means of promoting business. Advertisements are used to show the customers available products and how the new or improved products are needed to make life better or easier.

Fashion advertising grew rapidly after ready-to-wear clothing became available. Ready-to-wear fashion was first noted in 1860 in the United States Census, but did not expand in all areas of clothing including dresses until the 1930s (Calasibetta and Tortora, 2003). Once ready-to-wear fashions were available, companies advertised the ease of immediate purchase versus the time constraints of making garments at home (Martin, 1995). Fashion advertising really grew through menswear because this form of clothing lends itself to easy sizing in ready-to-wear and also because ready-to-wear clothing for men in the United States was highly popular by 1879 (Calasibetta and Tortora, 2003).

Because fashion is always changing, fashion advertising is also always changing. The artwork and the verbiage used in fashion advertising are updated frequently to keep up with the changing fashion cycles. Fashion is cyclical but advertising needs to be progressive in order to keep the customer interested in the merchandise. Once customers have experienced an advertisement, it becomes old news. As fashion changes, the advertisements need to change in order to entice the customer to return.

While advertising must appeal to the consumer, it must also be based on the motivation of the company. The target market and life stage of the merchandise must be determined in order to affectively advertise to an audience. Advertisers must also know the motivation of the audience which they are advertising to. The audience could be looking at the product for convenience, durability, status, vanity, or other reasons. The

advertiser needs to identify specific reasons prior to creating advertisements to ensure that the most appropriate motivations are targeted. It is also important to understand why the consumers are motivated by these emotions in order to effectively advertise.

Advertisements can be tailored to any of these emotions, as long as the right appeal has been determined before the advertisements are produced.

When creating an advertisement, the advertiser must decide what appeal they would like to use to convince the consumer to purchase their product over the competition. Appeals are reasons that the consumer should purchase a product and these appeals are presented to the consumer through approaches used in advertising (Swanson and Everett, 2000). Swanson and Everett discuss seven different approaches used in advertising: information, argument, emotional attraction, repeat assertion, command, symbolic association, and imitation (2000). Information advertising, or straightforward advertising, is used to inform, or present facts to the consumer about the product (Swanson and Everett, 2000; Wells et al., 2003). The argument approach attempts to tell the consumer why the product is necessary by presenting facts and/or benefits (Swanson and Everett, 2000). In the emotional attraction or resonance approach, the consumer is presented with a pleasant emotion or situation and can then relate the product to that particular situation. This approach makes the product desirable to the consumer because of the emotional benefits associated with it (Swanson and Everett, 2000; Vanden Bergh & Katz, 1999; O'Guinn, Allen, & Semenik, 2006). In repeat assertion, the goal is to have a memorable line or catch-phrase. The advertising may not have any appealing facts to present to the consumer but it will have a phrase that will draw in an audience (Swanson and Everett, 2000, O'Guinn et al., 2006). An example of the repeat assertion approach is

the McDonalds campaign “I’m lovin’ it”. This campaign did not present facts to the consumer; it presented a simple and memorable phrase. In command advertising, the company tells the audience to do something (Swanson & Everett, 2000). An example of an advertising campaign using the command approach is the Nike campaign saying “Just do it”. Symbolic assertion uses a link between the product and something that the consumer can relate to and enjoys. For example, when Volkswagen re-introduced the Beetle in 1998, advertisements using songs from the 1960s and ideas such as “Flower Power” were seen on television (Swanson and Everett, 2000). In the imitation approach which is also known as the spokesperson approach, advertisements are made with the idea that people want to be like a celebrity or someone that they admire and purchasing this product will make them more like the celebrity (Swanson and Everett, 2000; Wells et al., 2003).

Advertising for hosiery in the 1950s was very difficult because the products were “almost monotonously alike” (Cumming, 1955, p. 177). Due to the lack of extreme differences in the products, it is necessary to find the one characteristic that is different from all of the other brands and use it to focus advertising on it. For example, Belle Sharmeer offered proportioned lengths in their hosiery and chose to focus on this aspect of their product for their advertising campaign in the 1950s (Cumming, 1955). This was the one characteristic they felt could separate themselves from the competition and therefore they exploited it. This same tactic was used by Gotham Hosiery manufacturers in the 1950s with the incorporation of a gold stripe in the stocking which prevents runs (Cumming, 1955). One way to promote hosiery without advertising is to use promotional calendars for retailers, keeping hosiery at the forefront of retail advertising throughout the

year. These promotional events have become known as national sales events and they are used to create a sense of importance in regards to the product not only for the retail staff but also for the customers.

There are traditionally two types of advertising, standard advertising and local advertising. In standard advertising it is believed that one advertisement can and should appeal to all people around the world. In local advertising, it is said that advertisements must be catered to the specific area in which the advertisement is being shown (Seitz, 1998). According to Seitz, it is possible to have standard advertising for goods which appeal to similar needs around the world such as love (Seitz, 1998). Seitz goes on to say that any products not appealing to needs such as love need to be localized due to cultural restrictions (Seitz, 1998). Advertising in magazines is an effective way for a company to obtain prolonged exposure to the public because back issues are kept and read at later dates and by people other than the subscriber (Hill, 2002). Because magazines are kept for extended periods of time, advertising in magazines provides more opportunity for exposure to customers over a prolonged period of time.

As the circulation rates of women's magazines climbed in the 1920s, so did the desire to advertise in such magazines. Companies understood the buying power of women and were willing to pay high prices to the magazines to obtain space in each issue (Fangman et al., 2004). As the number of advertisements rose, magazines were taking the profits from the ads and increasing their editorial sections in the 1920s (Fangman et al., 2004).

Advertising is also a combination of both imagery and direct response advertising in order to gain the interest of the readers (Seitz, 1998). During the 1920s, companies

would use tactics such as human interest stories in their advertising campaigns in order to draw in women's attention. It was common during the 1920s to use celebrity testimonials regarding products as well as stories of love, joy, and life altering affects due to the use of a product (Fangman et al., 2004).

Fashion

Fashion is any style worn by a group of people, regardless of how large or small the particular group (Stone, 2001; Calasibetta and Tortora, 2003). Fashion includes clothing, accessories, makeup, and a look that is popular at a particular time but does not remain popular forever. Fashion is ever evolving and ever changing. The term clothing, on the other hand, refers to any form of body covering worn by humans. Clothing does not need to be something that is accepted by a larger part of society as popular.

According to Tortora and Eubank (2003), clothing has four functions: protection, decoration, modesty, and reflection of status. Decoration is considered the main reason for wearing clothing because all societies show a history of self-decoration while not all societies show the same needs for modesty, protection, and status reflection. Fashion changes with time, society, and age groups. What is considered fashionable for an upper-middle class teenager from the suburbs is very different from fashionable clothing for a Middle Eastern woman in her mid-fifties. While the clothing is very different for the two people, it is still fashionable for each individual. Over the years, fashion has evolved from styles accepted by most of society, to differing styles known as "style tribes" including punks, goths, ravers, and rappers (White and Griffiths, 2000). Some examples of fashion trends given by Elaine Stone are "miniskirts, square-toed shoes, mustaches, and theatrical daytime makeup" (Stone, 2001, p. 6).

Fashion trends in the 1920s include: bobbed hair, cloche hats, fake jewelry, and loose fitting dresses with dropped waist lines (Mendes & de la Haye, 1999; Time-Life Books, 2000). The dominant fashion in the 1920s was the boyish figure of the Flapper which emphasized a lack of curvature in the female body (Mendes & de la Haye, 1999). Women's hair in the 1920s was cut very short in a bob style, the only recorded time period before this when women cut their hair short was in the Empire period at the beginning of the 19th century. The bob can be any variation of hairstyle cut to the nape of the neck or shorter; many women at the time actually bobbed their hair and had it shaped to the head like a man's hair style. The new short hair styles were ideal for the cloche, a small, bell shaped fitted hat, which was commonly worn. Women with long hair would pin it back with hair ornaments and extravagant combs (Mendes & de la Haye, 1999).

Hemlines during the 1920s rose gradually from slightly above the ankle in 1920 to slightly below the knee in 1929. In 1925, the average hemline rose from only showing 16% of the total body height to showing 25% of the total body height according to Lynne Richards (1983). This is a nine percent increase in the amount of the body being shown and equates to the hemline rising from mid-calf to the bottom of the knee. Hemlines reached their highest in 1927 when they were at the knee for a brief period before dropping again as is seen in Figure 1 taken from Lynne Richard's article "The Rise and Fall of It All: The Hemlines and Hielines of the 1920s" (1983, p. 47). Hemlines during the time were also uneven due to "panels, flares, or scalloped or pointed segments of the skirt" (Tortora and Eubank, 2003, p. 394). The rising hemlines were supported by designers such as Chanel and Patou who consistently showed more leg which increased the demand for stockings (Mendes & de la Haye, 1999). Bodices during the 1920s were

straight cut to the hip and could have some embroidered decoration while skirts at the time were more complex, and when pleats were used, they were placed off center. These new bodices allowed women to fore-go the corsets that were necessary with dress bodices popular in previous years. Art Deco was very influential in fashion at the time and was reflected through geometric patterns used as fabric designs. Separates were also common during the 1920s. Blouses would reach the hip or below and were worn over the skirt and could be belted below the natural waist line, almost at the hip. Suits during the 1920s included skirts and jackets to the hip or below. The Chanel suit, a jacket resembling a cardigan and skirt, was the most popular women's suit during the 1920s. Shoes in the 1920s had heels about two inches high and were commonly pumps or variations of Mary Janes, round toed shoes with a low heel and a strap over the instep. Evening slippers were also common and could be made of fabric or leather (Tortora and Eubank, 2003). Fake jewelry or costume jewelry became popular in the 1920s thanks to Chanel who "believed that jewelry should be worn to decorate" (Mendes and de le Haye, 1999, p. 65). Costume jewelry from Chanel included unnaturally large and fake jewels and pearls which she preferred to wear during the day. The idea was that jewelry was not to show wealth, but rather style.

The first fashion shoot held by *Vogue* was in November 1920 and it was said then that "fashion was now as much about the basic ingredients- fabric and colour, length and shape- as poise and attitude" (Watson, 1999, p. 26). Fashion was taking on the dimensions of attitude and character and the idea that your style should reflect your personality. Fashion was growing from an idea of pure art to a way of life. Society was looking at fashion as a part of a person's identity, not just clothing that changed with

time. The 1920s was a time for women to experiment with life and expression and experimentation ranged from clothing to sexuality. Women were dating more in the 1920s and could date several men before settling down.

History and development of Legwear

Legwear is defined by Calasibetta and Tortora as “any type of apparel worn on the legs”; examples given include stockings, tights, and socks (2003, p. 314). This definition is similar to Mary Picken’s definition for leggings, “fitted coverings for the legs” (1985, p. 211). Legwear does not include pants in the context of this study because both Calasibetta and Tortora and Picken agree that legwear is fitted to the body through their definition and/or examples.

Types of Hosiery

Hosiery is defined as a “knitted item of wearing apparel covering the foot and/or leg” (Calasibetta and Tortora, 2003, p. 269). There have been many different types of hosiery throughout history, some of which are Jacquard hose, lisle hosiery, seamless hose, and pantyhose. Jacquard hose are “hosiery knit on a jacquard knitting machine that permits much variation in colors and patterns” and were popular in the 1920s (Calasibetta and Tortora, 2003, p. 271). Lisle hosiery are “socks and hose made of cotton lisle yarns” which are yarns almost as fine as silk, opaque, and were also popular until the 1920s when silk replaced lisle (Calasibetta and Tortora, 2003, p. 271). Nylon was first invented in 1935 and introduced as a synthetic replacement for silk in 1940. During World War II, nylon was used in the United States to make parachutes, airplane tires, flak vests, and blood plasma filters until the end of the war (Nylon, 2006). Due to the lack of nylon, hosiery during World War II was made of lisle or cotton. Seamless hose are any

type of hose that are knit in a circular manner and do not have a seam in the back (Calasibetta and Tortora, 2003). In the 1920s these were replaced by hosiery with a seam down the back because seamed hosiery allowed for a better fit. Hosiery with a seam down the center back held its shape better and would not stretch at the knee or ankle giving a droopy appearance to the women's leg. Pantyhose became the most common type of hosiery since they were introduced in 1958 in France and 1960 in America (Calasibetta and Tortora, 2003). Pantyhose are not included in this study because they became popular after the period being researched.

Another form of legwear are ankle socks which cover from the toe to the ankle and were introduced to women in 1920 (Calasibetta and Tortora, 2003). Socks are knitted coverings for the foot and part of the leg ending anywhere above the ankle (Calabisetta and Tortora, 2003). Tube socks do not have a knitted-in toe or heel and extend as long as the calf or knee (Calabisetta and Tortora, 2003). Knee-high socks are socks that come to just below the knee and were popular with boys in the early 1900s. These socks were adopted by women in the 1920s and have come in and out of fashion since (Calasibetta and Tortora, 2003).

Stocking is a term which is "generally applied to knitted coverings for the foot and most of the leg. The distinction between socks and stockings is not entirely clear-cut, although socks are generally thought of as shorter and stockings are longer" (Calabisetta and Tortora, 2003, p. 273). This term comes from the leg coverings that were worn in the 15th and 16th centuries and covered the entire leg extending to the waist (Calabisetta and Tortora, 2003). Tights are knitted pants or stockings that are opaque, made in one piece,

and were originally worn by dancers and athletes. Tights were later worn in the 1960s by children as a replacement for hose (Calabissetta and Tortora, 2003).

History of Legwear

The earliest known footwear is from Egypt and dates to before 641 C.E. Little is known about when knitting of footwear began, but it is believed that knitting was spread to Europe after 641 C.E. Widespread use of hosiery did not occur in Europe until the 13th century when stockings were made of wool and the wearing of stocking was considered practical due to the climate. In the first centuries of the use of stockings, men were the main users of the product, wearing bright stockings tied at the knee and ankle to make the calves more attractive. By 1740 stockings went to plain white to match fashionable formal styles of the period. Women's stockings were as complex as men's stockings, with embroidery, patterns, and were held up at the knee by a garter, a band worn around the leg to hold hosiery up. Women's hosiery did not take on any form of erotic resemblance until the 16th century with the invention of the knitting frame by William Lee. The knitting frame allowed hosiery to be knitted in a form-fitting fashion (Tortora and Eubank, 2003).

The beginning of the 19th century did not see many advances in hosiery until the power knitting frame was invented in the 1840s, allowing the production of seamless hosiery. By the 1850s, men's stockings were not seen anymore due to full length pants becoming standard. Also during the 1850s women's stockings were preferred in white; however, colors and patterns were also seen. By 1870, stockings were matching the dress or shoes and embroidery or stripes were now common for daywear. For evening wear, white was popular in the 1870s but black was the most widely seen color in the 1880s

and 1890s. Dark hosiery would remain fashionable until around World War I when pale hosiery became popular for evening wear (Tortora and Eubank, 2003).

Stockings were made of wool for the majority of people until synthetic fibers were introduced in the early 20th century when rayon was invented. Before the invention of rayon, aristocrats wore stockings of silk and these remained a luxury for all people until synthetic fibers resembling silk were invented. Stockings were improved again in 1940 when the first nylons were introduced to the United States and the improvements continued in 1958 when stretch Lycra was introduced.

1920s Hosiery

1920s stockings were made out of silk, wool, or rayon and came in many different colors. In the early 1920s, it was still common to wear dark colored stockings, however; as the decade progressed, flesh colored silk stockings became more popular and by 1925, flesh colored silk stockings were the most common (Peacock, 2007; Carter, 1992, Tucker and Kingswell, 2000). Runs in stocking, when a thread in the stockings breaks and causes the knitted structure to fall apart, were taken care of at the time by carefully mending the damage with special silks while lisle stockings could be darned by reweaving stockings by hand or machine in order to repair holes (Calasibetta and Tortora, 2003, Carter, 1992).

Stockings during the 1920's were held up by girdles, undergarments made to mold the lower body, but the racier of the flappers would not wear girdles while dancing, thus often revealing their stockings rolled at the knees (Milbank, 1989). Seamed stockings also became very popular during the 1920s because they did not stretch out in the ankles and knees. Since hemlines were rising, there was a concern with showing off

drooping hosiery, thus women opted for seamed hosiery which were more fitted and visually appealing. Seamed hosiery was also very common at the time because women were dancing and exercising and not wanting to have drooping hosiery while partaking in these activities (Milbank, 1989).

Vogue Magazine

Vogue magazine was first published in 1892 on December 17th by Princeton socialite Arthur Turnure. The original concept for the publication was a weekly gazette for both men and women in the uppermost social circles (Angeletti & Olivia, 2006; Hill, 2004). The new social paper was to be published for and in New York City and showed both men and women in the city in typical social settings. This was feasible because most of the editors for the publication lived in New York City and were socialites themselves. Funding for the new publication was provided by some of the wealthiest people in New York City such as Cornelius Vanderbilt, William Jay, and A.M. Dodge. The name *Vogue* was given to the magazine by the first editor of the publication, Josephine Redding (Hill, 2004). *Vogue* is a term used to refer to something that is in fashion or in popularity at the time.

When *Vogue* was first published it consisted of reviews of plays and books, some articles on fashion, and information regarding how to act and dress in all social situations (Angeletti & Olivia, 2006; Hill, 2004). The fashion articles in the early years of *Vogue* were written in relation to what people should wear to certain social events and what was and was not appropriate for specific times of day or meeting with specific people (Angeletti & Olivia, 2006; Hill, 2004). Due to the famous connections of the editors, *Vogue* has been described as having been “born with a silver spoon in its mouth”

(Angeletti & Olivia, 2006, p. 2). With these connections, *Vogue* was able to gain access to the houses and clothing of some of the most famous people at the time, and publish all of this information without objection. Turnure did not believe it was necessary to place an emphasis on advertisements; therefore, he left the majority of advertising decisions to his staff (Hill, 2004).

Growth and Sale of Vogue

Between 1892 and 1898, the emphasis grew significantly on fashion and illustrations. During this time there was also a realization that a large number of people reading *Vogue* were outside of the original target market of the New York socialite. Because of the change in audience, the editors began publishing articles relating to how those not privileged with the socialite status could obtain fashionable clothing while on a budget (Hill, 2004). This desire for fashionable clothing available to the public was realized in 1899 when Rosa Payne approached Turnure about placing paper patterns in each issue of *Vogue*. The idea was that the pattern would be advertised and the readers were able to order a paper pattern for fashionable clothing. In the beginning, Payne cut all of the patterns herself, however, the demand for the patterns grew rapidly and soon an outside company took over the venture (Hill, 2004). According to Daniel Delis Hill, the paper patterns were the subject of great controversy from the beginning because many people felt that it took away from the elite appeal of the magazine. This controversy was never resolved while Turnure owned the publication and continued still when Conde Nast bought *Vogue* in 1909 (Hill, 2004).

In 1904 there were approximately twenty-six thousand subscriptions to *Vogue* magazine. This number had been declining over the years due to competition with other

women's magazines such as *Harper's Bazaar* and *Ladies' Home Journal* (Hill, 1983). At the beginning of the 1920s, the circulation for *Vogue* was 137,000 and by the end of the decade the number had doubled (Fangman et al, 2004). Prior to Conde Nast purchasing *Vogue* in 1909, the magazine had already become a women's publication. In the first ten years, the magazine went from a publication for both men and women to a women's magazine containing only a few short articles in the back relating to men's fashion (Hill, 2004). The attention to fashion grew over the years while the socialite matters and men's articles dwindled. In 1905, Conde Nast approached Turnure about purchasing *Vogue*. Nast was known for groundbreaking work in publication at the time and had also revitalized *Collier's Weekly*. This was a publication focused on bringing public health and safety issues to the attention of the masses while affecting the way in which Congress voted. The editors used wit and humor to convey their messages ranging from public health to child labor. The negotiations for purchase of *Vogue* were lengthy and during the process Turnure passed away, causing Nast to wait patiently for the final purchase. While negotiations were still in the works, Nast left *Collier's Weekly* and began working for the Home Pattern Company, a manufacturer and distributor of dress patterns. The move later proved to be crucial to *Vogue* because Nast insisted that the pattern portion of the magazine be kept after he purchased the magazine in 1909 (Hill, 2004).

The final sale of *Vogue* to Conde Nast happened in the spring of 1909. Nast had a vision of how to change *Vogue* from just another fashion magazine into the leading fashion magazine of the time. It took him several months of planning to put this change into order, but when his magazine appeared, it was improved beyond expectation. *Vogue*

went from being a weekly reader to a bi-monthly magazine full of news about society, travel, and relationships. Nast also felt very strongly that women of all income levels should be able to look fashionable in every day life and not only insisted that the paper pattern part of the magazine remained, but actually increased it (Hill, 2004). It is no doubt that the desire to increase the paper pattern component of the magazine stemmed from Nast's work at the Home Pattern Company. To accompany the rejuvenated body of the magazine, Nast insisted that the covers be modern and fashion forward. Nast understood the importance of drawing customers to the publication with an attractive cover and insisted that the covers be unique and eye catching (Angeletti & Olivia, 2006).

In 1910, *Vogue* was publishing the largest quantity of advertisements for a fashion magazine and generating the largest revenue for the advertisements for a fashion magazine. *Vogue* was charging \$10 per one thousand readers whereas other magazines only charged about \$3-\$4 per on thousand readers (Angeletti & Olivia, 2006).

In 1916, *Vogue* became the first publication to have a foreign edition when it introduced the British version of the magazine. The international expansion continued with a Spanish edition lasting from 1918 to 1923, a French edition launched in 1920, and a German edition only in publication in 1928 and 1929 (Angeletti & Olivia, 2006). Even though two publications failed at the time, it is still considered a success that *Vogue* was able to have two overseas publications, the British and French versions, by 1930 (Angeletti & Olivia, 2006).

In 1921 Nast purchased a printing company in order to ensure that the publication was done correctly and only with the finest materials. His attention to detail and demand for perfection went so far that it took eleven years from the time of the purchase of the

printing company to the time when Nast would allow a color cover of *Vogue* to be produced (Hill, 2004).

Nast prided himself on being able to revitalize the magazine. He did this with his dedication to the content as well as the advertisements run in *Vogue*. Prior to Nast, *Vogue* was running only about three to four pages of ads per issue. In 1911 the advertisements had jumped to 51 pages per issue. While the 1911 *Vogue* could not be accessed for this research, the average length of the magazine in the 1910s was 100 pages showing that about 50% of the magazine was advertisements. This trend increased throughout the years and in September 1950 *Vogue* was up to 131 pages of ads out of 216 total pages and in September 2002 there were 574 pages of ads out of 750 total pages (Hill, 2004). The ads were not regulated by Nast in the sense that anything from Campbell's Soup to high fashion to mouthwash could be advertised in *Vogue*. This freedom of advertisement continued throughout the decades and haunted many editors (Hill, 2004).

Vogue in the 1920s

In the 1920s, *Vogue* was focused on fashion and society. It was concerned with the art of the time and one of the ways in which the editors tried to promote art to the public was by hiring artists to design the covers. Through the covers, people were exposed to some of the new kinds of art emerging at the time including Art Deco and Cubism (Hall, 1983). By the 1920's famous artists and photographers such as Georgia Plank, Salvador Dali, Pavel Tchelitchev, Horst P. Horst, Georges Lepape and Irving Penn were being commissioned to create works of art for the covers of *Vogue* (Hill, 2004). Between 1923 and 1926, *Vogue* carried an annual feature called the "Hall of

Fame” publishing leading people in “the arts, science, politics, and scholarship who the magazine predicted would achieve lasting eminence in their fields” (Hall, 1983, p. 106). Some of the people nominated into the “Hall of Fame” included T.S. Eliot, Sigmund Freud, and Henri Matisse and several other people who would eventually become household names.

Vogue did not focus much on politics and gave little coverage concerning women’s recently acquired right to vote. The magazine did however have a large focus on new technology and its use in everyday life. Items such as the radio, telephone, and toaster were all promoted by *Vogue* as they were introduced to the public. Other recurring sections seen in *Vogue* during the 1920s were movie, play, and book reviews. Features such as proper entertaining, cooking, and decorating were also often printed in *Vogue*. Each of these topics was seen regularly in *Vogue* during the 1920s, however, none of these sections were given permanent titles in the magazine (Hall, 1983).

Many of the articles during the 1920s focused on social events and how women were expected to behave and dress in such events. For example, articles were published about shooting or ski trips and how women should dress and act at these types of events (Hall, 1983). *Vogue* aimed to show and teach women how to act properly in society, especially as times and society were rapidly changing. Periodically, the magazine also printed articles about cars and how to care for the car, as well as, reviews of new music.

Previous Studies

No research on the advertisement of hosiery has been located making the topic relevant due to the lack of written records on the subject. Several studies, however, have

been located using either *Vogue* magazine or the methodology of content analysis. These articles are described below.

One research article which uses *Vogue* magazine as one of its sources is “Promoting Female Weight Management in 1920s Print Media: An Analysis of *Ladies’ Home Journal* and *Vogue* Magazines” (Fangman et al., 2004). This article used qualitative analysis to study the effects of advertisements on weight related issues. Both advertisements and editorial features were coded. Fangman, Ogle, Bickle, and Rouner’s research found that the magazines did promote extreme thinness through advertisements and editorial features (2004).

Research conducted by Mary Thompson on the use of sexuality in advertisements printed in *Vogue* and *GQ*, found that the use of sexual images increased between 1964 and 1994. Thompson used content analysis and coding to evaluate advertisements during this time period for the sexual appeal of both men and women in advertisements. Thompson found an increase in sexual appeal during this time period and also found that the sexual appeal images were greater in *Vogue* than in *GQ* (Thompson, 2000). This research identifies that sexual trends were apparent in magazine advertisements.

In “Images of Women’s Sexuality in Advertisements: A Content Analysis of Black- and White-Oriented Women’s and Men’s Magazines”, Baker used content analysis and *Vogue* magazine to look at the sexual portrayal of white and black women. Baker used not only *Vogue*, but also *Cosmopolitan*, *Black Men*, *Essence*, *GQ*, *Honey*, *King*, and *Maxim*. Baker found that advertisements with women in a sexual manner featured white women 88% of the time in women’s magazines and 94% of the time in men’s magazines, regardless of the magazines target market (Baker, 2005). Baker’s

study also found that white women are more likely than black women to be portrayed in traditional female roles. Overall, this study found that advertising featuring women and geared toward women is highly sexualized.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes historical research and content analysis as the methodology used for this research and provides the rationale for the choice of research methods. The procedure used to collect and analyze the data is also described in this chapter.

Historical Research

History is the understanding of the past and how it has changed over time (Patten, 2007). Much of history has been recorded in the form of journals, photographs, and printed articles depicting events during a certain time period. According to Mildred Patten (2007), the examination and systematic recording of historical events is historical research which is conducted as a means of understanding the past and human progression. Historical research can be conducted using either a quantitative or qualitative method and involves the systematic analysis of the data collected for the purpose of adding to the greater understanding of the human past. Historical research involves the use of both primary and secondary sources for the purpose of collecting data and understanding the data collected. Primary sources are those that were created or recorded during the time period to which they pertain. Some examples of primary sources are newspapers, magazines, photographs, and journals. For this research project, *Vogue* magazines published between 1920 and 1929 were the primary sources used.

Secondary sources are sources written after the events have taken place and are based on information found in primary sources. Secondary sources include items such as text books, second-hand accounts of actions or events, and biographies. Secondary sources provide background information important to a study. Secondary sources used for this study included textbooks and books relating to the 1920s, advertising, hosiery and articles published in academic journals relating to hosiery.

Content Analysis

Content analysis is the systematic examination and recording of data found in primary sources (Leedy and Ormond, 2005; Paoletti, 1982). Content analysis is used to turn large quantities of data into manageable amounts of data which can then be analyzed (Paoletti, 1982). Content analysis is used to organize historical data and allows the researcher to interpret the data regarding how and when historical events occurred (Mitchell and Jolley, 1992; Davidson and Lytle, 2000). It is conducted by determining and clearly defining the categories of data being researched. These categories are then strictly followed to record the frequency with which each category is seen in the primary source. Once all of the primary sources have been analyzed and the results recorded, the data is analyzed based on the original research questions.

Content analysis has been widely used in studies on clothing history as well as magazine advertisements. Some examples of articles utilizing content analysis are: *Bringing Civilization to the Frontier: The Role of Men's Coats in 1865 Virginia City, Montana Territory* (Meyer & Wilson, 1998), *A Feminist Analysis of Seventeen Magazine: Content Analysis from 1945 to 1995* (Schlenker, Caron, & Halteman, 1998), and *Images of Women's Sexuality in Advertisements: A Content Analysis of Black and*

White-Oriented Women's and Men's Magazines (Baker, 2005). Another example of research utilizing content analysis includes the study *Gender in Magazine Advertising: Skin Sells Best* conducted by Mary Thompson (2000) where she used content analysis to evaluate sexual appeal. Finally, in the study *Dress in a Postmodern Era: An Analysis of Aesthetic Expression and Motivation* conducted by Henderson and DeLong (2000), content analysis was used to determine similarities and differences in mass market shoppers versus those who shop in a wide variety of stores. Content analysis was used in this study to evaluate interviews and clearly identify similarities and differences in responses.

Objectives

This research has been designed around the following research objectives:

1. To determine if the number of advertisements in *Vogue* magazine for hosiery increased or decreased following the passing of the 19th amendment in the United States.
2. To determine if the exposure of the leg increased in advertisements in *Vogue* magazine following the passing of the 19th amendment in the United States.
3. To determine the main approaches used to sell hosiery to women in the 1920s by analyzing the verbiage and artwork in selected advertisements for the top two advertisers of hosiery in *Vogue* magazine over the ten years being studied.

Methodology

For this research project, all available *Vogue* magazines from 1920 to 1929 were examined and analyzed for the number of advertisements for women's hosiery. Between 1920 and 1929, 239 usable *Vogue* publications, each about 150 pages in length, were

obtained for analysis and evaluation. This study includes all advertisements which mention stockings as being produced or sold by the company placing the advertisement, including manufacturers and stores offering stockings. Advertisements that only mention girdles, undergarments, or lingerie and not specifically hosiery were not counted.

Seven categories of data were identified for the research: year, month and date of magazine, size of advertisement (1/8 p., 1/4 p., 1/2 p., full p.), illustration or photograph in the advertisement, if the legs were portrayed or not, the amount of leg showing (i.e. ankle, shin, knee, thigh), and the name of the company placing the advertisement. After all the data was collected, the number of advertisements placed by each company was totaled for the decade to obtain the top two advertising companies for the decade. The top two advertising companies in *Vogue* magazine in the 1920s were Onyx Hosiery (88 advertisements) and Phoenix Hosiery (87 advertisements) as shown in Table 6. All advertisements placed by each of the companies in the first issue of the March, June, September, and December were then collected and selected for analysis of the verbiage and the artwork used.

Each of these seven categories was identified as necessary to the research through a pilot study using the April 1, 1926 issue of *Vogue*. The year, month, and date of the magazine were all important to the study in order to keep track of when and where the advertisement was found, and also for tracking increases and decreases of advertisements. The use of illustrations versus photographs is significant because the 1920s was the first time that women were showing a significant amount of leg, and it is important to note not only if this was reflected in the print media, but also how much, if

any, of the leg was exposed. Finally the company placing the advertisement was recorded in order to track the companies most frequently advertising in *Vogue*.

Once the seven categories were identified, each page of *Vogue* magazine was examined, from beginning to end and from top of page to bottom of the page. Each advertisement was recorded in the log which was kept electronically. A sample of the log used for tracking can be found in Appendix A. Upon the completion of the data collection, graphs were created to reflect the data. The data was condensed from individual months to years for ease of reading and understanding. It was also necessary to condense the data for evaluation of increasing versus decreasing trends. Each graph has the year on the X-axis. In the first graph, the Y-axis represents the total number of advertisements found per year. The Y-axis on the second graph reflects the number of advertisements in each of the four sizes (1/8 p., 1/4 p., 1/2 p., full p.) which were being tracked. For the third graph, the number of advertisements using an illustration is reflected with one line while the second line refers to the number of advertisements using a photograph. The fourth graph reflects how many times the leg is shown per year. The final graph has four lines, one to track the ankle exposure, one for shin exposure, one for knee exposure, and the final line tracking thigh exposure.

In order to analyze the advertisement, the artwork and verbiage, were treated as a whole and categorized into one of the seven approach categories identified and reasons for the chosen approach are described and explained. The seven approaches, proposed by Swanson and Everett (2000), information, argument, emotional attraction, repeat assertion, command, symbolic association, and imitation were described in the literature review of this paper. In the information approach, the advertiser presents the audience

with facts regarding the product (Swanson & Everett, 2000; Wells, Burnett, & Moriarty, 2003). In the argument approach, the usefulness and attributes of the product are presented to the customer in order to encourage the consumer to purchase the product (Swanson & Everett, 2000). An advertisement using the emotional attraction approach attaches a pleasant emotion to the product and creates a positive mood around the product (Swanson and Everett, 2000; Vanden Bergh & Katz, 1999; O'Guinn, Allen, & Semenik, 2006). In repeat assertion, the advertiser wants the most memorable phrase to be connected to their product while they may not have any facts to present to the audience regarding the product (Swanson and Everett, 2000; O'Guinn, Allen, & Semenik, 2006). Command assertions are used to tell people to do something. These commands typically work best with well established products (Swanson and Everett, 2000). In the symbolic association, customers are presented with a link between the product and an idea or song which is well liked (Swanson & Everett, 2000). Finally in the imitation approach, consumers desire to be like the person in the advertisement and are encouraged to buy the product in order to be more like the consumer (Swanson and Everett, 2000; Wells, Burnett, & Moriarty, 2003). Following the discussion of the individual advertisements there is a discussion about the change in the advertisements placed by each company throughout the decade.

This project was conducted to enhance the body of knowledge about the change and progression in the advertisement for women's hosiery and is particularly interesting because little information can be located on the topic. The 1920s was chosen because of the social change at the time, the new revealing of the female leg, and great prosperity which was lost so quickly.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter the data from the content analysis portion of the research is presented and discussed. This chapter also contains the evaluation and discussion of the collected advertisements.

Analysis of Data Collected

Following the collection of all data listed in the methodology section of this research paper, said data was condensed from bi-monthly magazine reports into yearly reports of quantities of advertisements and other relevant data. As stated in the objectives, the first goal of this research was to examine the increase or decrease in the number of advertisements for hosiery following the passing of the 19th amendment. The data revealed that there was an increase in the number of advertisements for hosiery over the decade (see Table 1 and Figure 13). In 1920, 47 advertisements for hosiery were found in *Vogue* magazine. There was a slight decline in advertisements between 1920 and 1921; however, between 1923 and 1925 there was an increase from 58 advertisements in 1923 to 81 advertisements in 1925. Following 1925, a decrease in the overall number of advertisements was seen and in 1928 only 68 advertisements were found. The number of advertisements did rise again in 1929 to a peak for the decade at 91 advertisements for the year. The decrease in the later years of this research may have been due to the hem lines starting to drop after 1927 (see Figure 1). It is unknown why there was a rise in the number of advertisements in 1929.

The size of all advertisements identified was also recorded during the data collection. After evaluating the data, it was found that advertisers consistently chose to place full sized or one page advertisements (see Table 2 and Figure 14). The largest percentage of full page advertisements placed in one year was found in 1922 and 1924 when 100% of the advertising for hosiery was seen on the full page scale. The remaining years in the study had at least one advertisement that was half of the page or smaller. Advertisements that were only one fourth or one eighth of the page were much less common. In 1921, the largest percentage of half page advertisements, 25%, was seen. The use of half page advertisements declined until 1924 then began to rise again in 1925. Advertisements only filling one fourth of the page peaked in 1920 when three advertisements out of 47 total hosiery advertisements were this size. In 1926, 7.8 percent of the advertisements were approximately one eighth of the page. This was the largest percentage of advertisements for that size and only three other years contained advertisements this size. Advertisements one eighth of a page were not seen until 1925. The use of the one page advertisement as the most common size was not surprising because most advertisements seen in *Vogue* in the 1920s were one page. Full page advertisements are also the most common because they are the easiest to place and have the ability to attract the most customer attention. Full page advertisements allow for more information to be placed in the ad which would be necessary at a time when advertisements contained more information and less pictures.

The utilization of illustrations and photographs was tracked in order to determine the most common visual aide used in hosiery advertisements in the 1920s. Table 3 and Figure 15 reflect the number of advertisements utilizing illustrations versus photographs.

The use of illustrations increased over the decade exponentially with the increase in the number of advertisements while the use of photographs peaked in 1925; when the largest percentage of photographs in hosiery advertising (38%) was found. Interestingly, the difference between the number of advertisements using illustrations versus photographs increased in favor of the illustrations toward the end of the decade, not at the beginning. It is suspected that the number of illustrations increased toward the end of the decade because color printing was available, however, this could not be researched because all of the microfilms used in this study were produced in black and white.

In 1921, 18% of the advertisements utilized photographs. This same percentage was seen again in 1926, however, in 1927 only 4% of the advertisements contained photographs. When photography was seen in advertisements, each photograph was different for each advertisement just as each illustration was different from previous illustrations. Photography was just beginning to be used in the 1920s for fashion advertising because the reader could feel as though they were with the models (*History of Photography*, 2008). Color photography however was not used at the time for fashion magazines due to the time and cost of the process. *National Geographic* had been reproducing color photographs since 1914; however, color photography did not become common until 1935 when Kodak introduced Kodachrome transparency film which allowed color photographs to be made and reproduced easily and at a reduced price (*History of Photography*, 2008). The use of color would be eye catching to the reader and it would require illustrations since color photography was not seen in *Vogue* magazine throughout this study whereas color illustrations were seen.

The second goal of this research was to determine if the exposure of the female leg increased following the passing of the 19th amendment. The data shows that there is an overall increase in the number of times that women's legs are revealed in the advertisements in *Vogue* during the 1920s (see Table 4 and Figure 16). In 1920 and 1921, approximately 50% of all advertisements did not show the women's leg. The number of advertisements not revealing the leg decreased between 1921, when 24 advertisements did not reveal the leg, and 1927, when only 5 advertisements were seen where the leg was not revealed. After 1927 there was an increase in the number of advertisements not revealing a women's leg. In 1928 there were 13 advertisements not revealing a female leg and in 1929 there were 10 advertisements not revealing a women's leg. This represents 19% of the advertisements not showing the leg in 1928 which is a drastic decrease from the beginning of the decade when approximately 50% of the advertisements did not reveal the leg.

While the number of advertisements not revealing the leg decreased, the number of advertisements revealing the leg did not remain consistent, it increased over the decade. In 1920, 25 advertisements (53%) revealed a women's leg and by 1927, 92.6% (63 advertisements) revealed a women's leg. This increase in leg exposure can be attributed to the rising of the hemlines. Hemlines of the 1920s were at their highest point in 1927 and then began to fall slightly afterward (Richards, 1983) (see Figure 1). The fall in the hemlines would affect the need for decorative and attractive hosiery which would in turn affect how the advertising was conducted. The increase in the exposure of the legs can also be attributed to the acceptance by society of exposing the leg. At the beginning of the decade it was considered risqué for a woman to reveal her legs to

society, however, by the end of the decade it was acceptable for women to wear dresses and skirts which revealed their legs.

Continuing with the second stated objective of this research, to determine if the exposure of the leg increased or decreased following the passing of the 19th amendment, the most commonly revealed part of the leg in the advertisements was the shin (see Table 5 and Figure 17). This means that part of the shin or the entire shin could be seen in the advertisement. Likewise, when stating that the ankle was revealed, this means that the ankle was seen but the shin was not. In 1926, the largest percentage (61%) of the advertisements revealed the shin and following this year the percentage decreased. The revealing of both the knee and thigh increased throughout the decade. In 1922, the knee was only revealed in one advertisement whereas by 1927 and 1929, the knee was seen in 30 advertisements per year. The revealing of the thigh followed the same trend with no advertisements revealing the thigh in 1921 and by 1929 there were 28 advertisements with the thigh being shown. While the advertisements revealing the shin, knee, and thigh increased throughout the decade, the percentage of advertisements revealing just the ankle decreased. In 1923 there was a peak in the number of advertisements revealing just the ankle with nine advertisements (22%). Following 1923, there was a decrease in advertisements revealing just the ankle and in 1926, 1927, and 1929 no advertisements were seen where only the ankle was shown.

This increase in leg exposure was not surprising because throughout the 1920s it became more accepted for women to reveal their legs to the public. This increase in leg exposure in advertising was also not surprising because of the rise in hemlines in the 1920s as seen in *The Rise and Fall of it All: the Hemlines and Hiplines of the 1920s*

published in 1983 (see Figure 1). As is has been shown earlier in the literature review, hemlines rose drastically throughout the decade. The rising of the hemlines reveals women's freedoms to be more involved in activities such as dancing, dating several men, and working in jobs that were more traditionally male roles.

Table 1.

Number of Advertisements for Hosiery in *Vogue* Magazine per Year

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Advertisements</u>
1920	47
1921	44
1922	43
1923	58
1924	62
1925	81
1926	77
1927	68
1928	68
1929	91

Table 2.

Number of Advertisements per Size per Year

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total # Ads</u>	<u>Full Page</u>	<u>½ Page</u>	<u>¼ Page</u>	<u>1/8 Page</u>
1920	47	39	3	3	0
1921	44	32	1	1	0
1922	43	40	0	0	0
1923	58	49	0	0	0
1924	62	62	0	0	0
1925	81	78	0	0	2
1926	77	67	1	1	6
1927	68	59	0	0	1
1928	68	57	0	0	0
1929	91	77	0	0	3

Table 3.

Illustration versus Photograph imagery in hosiery Advertising

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total # Ads</u>	<u>Illustration</u>	<u>Photograph</u>
1920	47	42 (89%)	5 (11%)
1921	44	36 (82%)	8 (18%)
1922	43	39 (91%)	4 (9%)
1923	58	53 (91%)	5 (9%)
1924	62	50 (81%)	12 (19%)
1925	81	50 (62%)	31 (38%)
1926	77	63 (82%)	14 (18%)
1927	68	65 (96%)	3 (4%)
1928	68	61 (90%)	7 (10%)
1929	91	79 (87%)	12 (13%)

Table 4.

Number of Time the Leg is Shown in Advertisements per Year

Year	Total # Ads	Advertisements	Advertisements
		showing the leg	not showing the leg
1920	47	25 (53%)	22 (47%)
1921	44	20 (45%)	24 (55%)
1922	43	27 (63%)	16 (37%)
1923	58	41 (71%)	17 (29%)
1924	62	45 (73%)	17 (27%)
1925	81	65 (80%)	16 (20%)
1926	77	71 (92%)	6 (8%)
1927	68	63 (93%)	5 (7%)
1928	68	55 (81%)	13 (19%)
1929	91	81 (89%)	10 (11%)

Table 5.

Number of Times that each part of the Leg is revealed in the Advertising.

Year	Total # Ads	Just Ankle	Up to Shin	Up to Knee	Up to Thigh
1920	47	5	14	4	2
1921	44	2	16	2	0
1922	43	4	22	1	1
1923	58	9	29	2	1
1924	62	2	30	5	8
1925	81	1	34	15	15
1926	77	0	43	10	17
1927	68	0	17	30	15
1928	68	1	18	24	12
1929	91	0	23	30	28

Figure 13.

Number of Advertisements for Hosiery in *Vogue* Magazine per Year

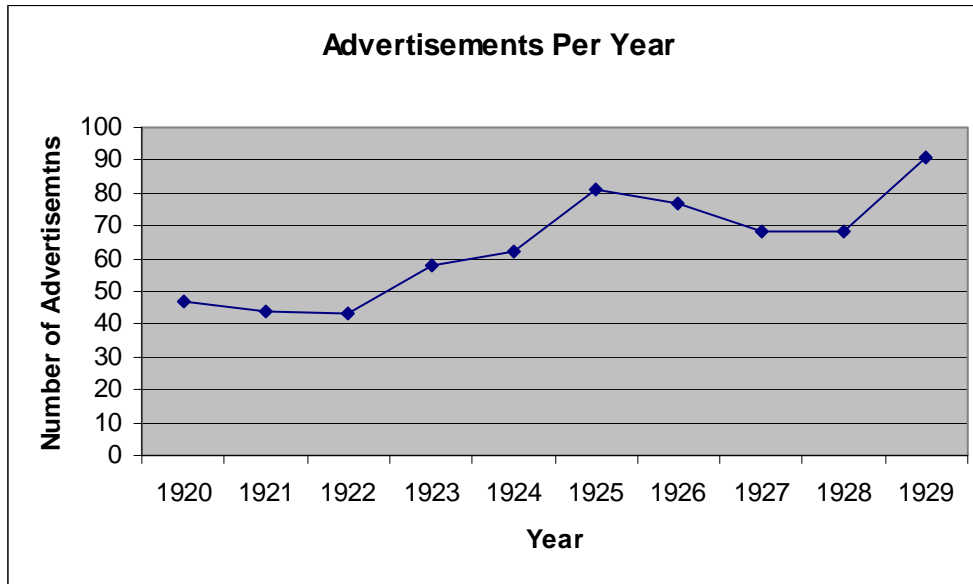


Figure 14.

Number of Advertisements per Size per Year

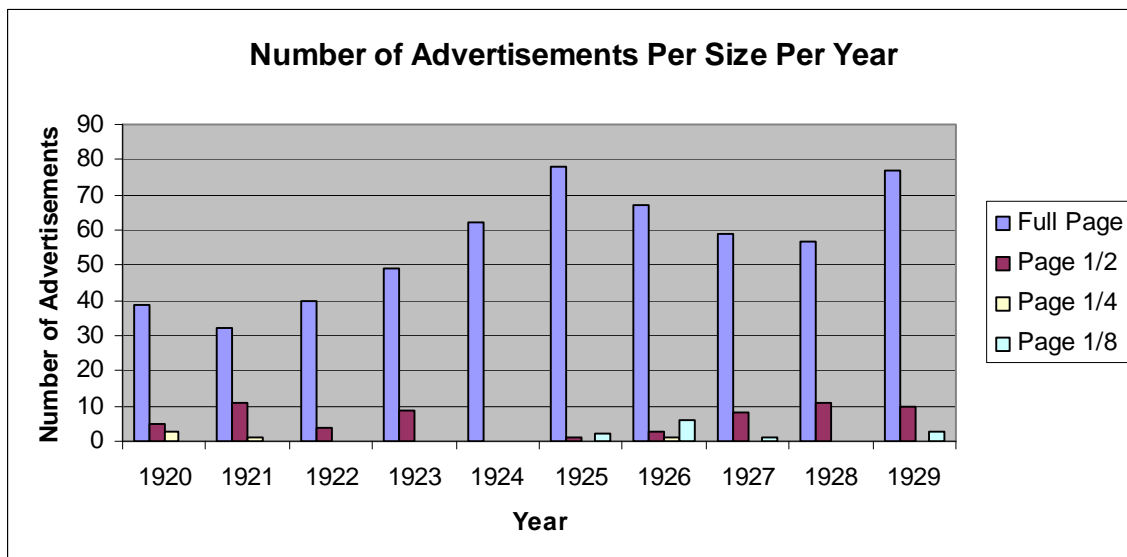


Figure 15.

Illustration versus Photograph Imagery in Hosiery Advertising

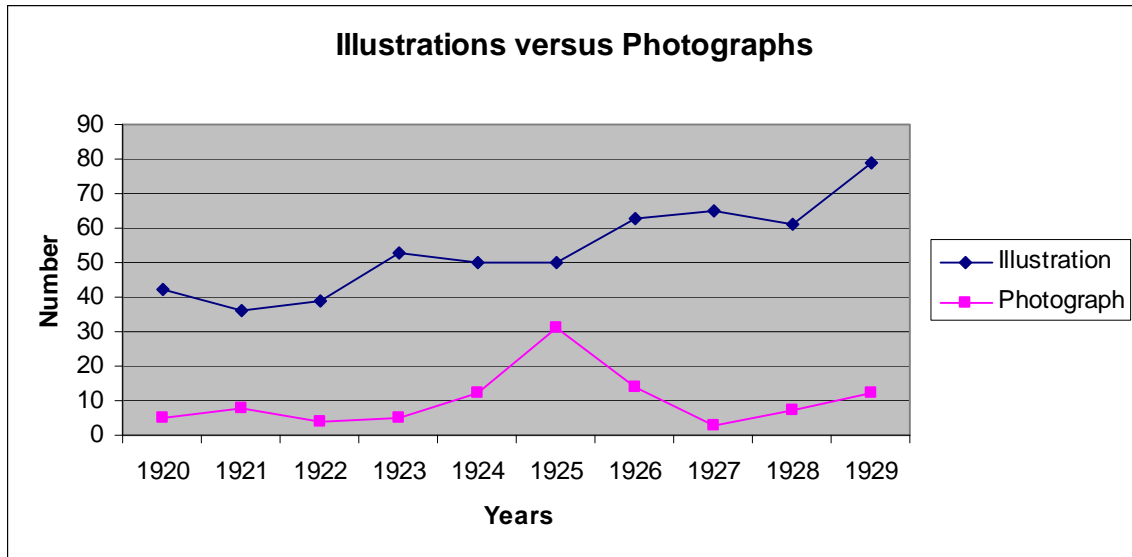


Figure 16.

Number of Time the Leg is Shown in Advertisements per Year

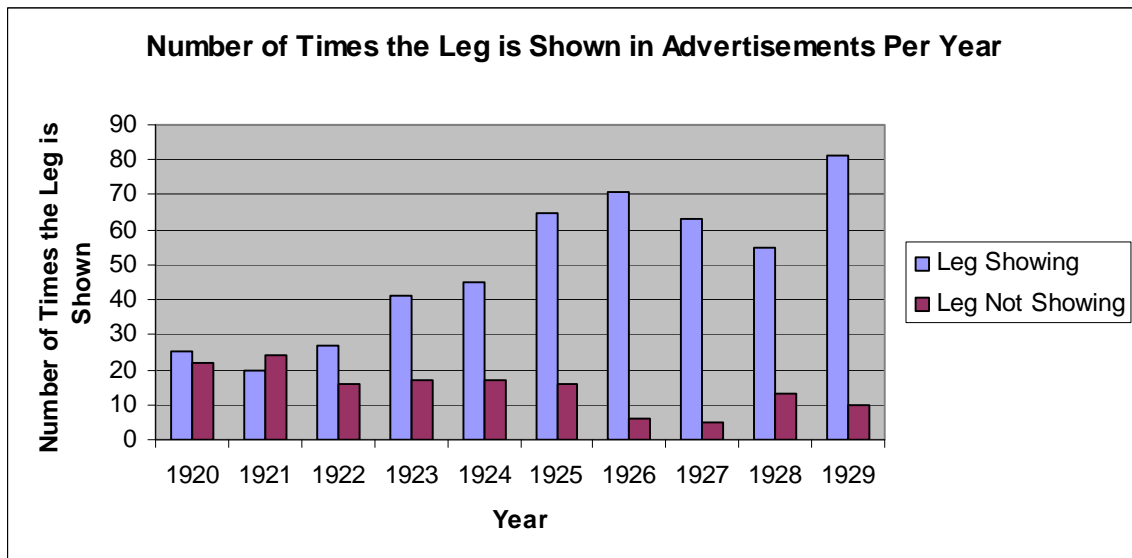
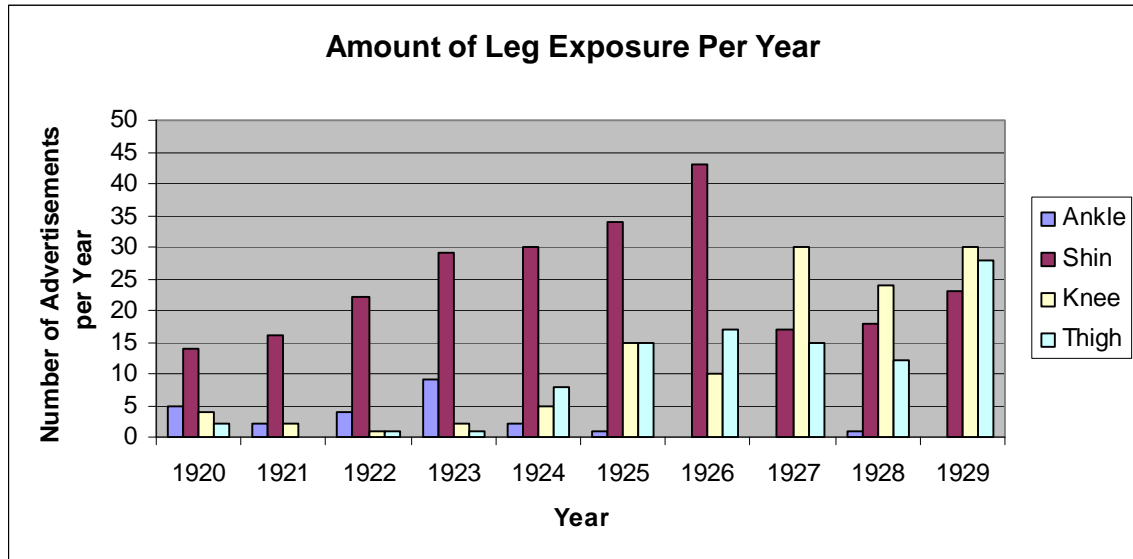


Figure 17.

Number of Times that each part of the Leg is revealed in the advertising.



Analysis of Verbiage and Artwork in Advertisements

After looking at the data compiled through content analysis, the advertisements were analyzed for verbiage and artwork. The advertisements were placed into one or more of the approach categories identified in the literature review (information, argument, emotional attraction, repeat assertion, command, symbolic association, and imitation) after analyzing the text and visual artwork. Two hosiery companies, Phoenix Hosiery and Onyx Hosiery, were identified as the leading advertisers in the 1920s in *Vogue* magazine in terms of quantity of advertisements placed (see Table 6). All advertisements for these companies placed in the first issue of the March, June, September, and December *Vogue* magazines during the 1920s were collected for analysis. The advertisements were grouped and analyzed according to the company

placing the advertisement, not by the year that the advertisement was placed in order to allow the advertising strategies to be compared and contrasted. Twenty-eight advertisements placed by Phoenix Hosiery and twenty-eight by Onyx Hosiery were identified under this criterion. Two advertisements for Phoenix Hosiery, March 1925 and June 1925, were removed from the analysis portion of the study because the verbiage or artwork was damaged in the microfilm. Five advertisements were removed for Onyx Hosiery, December 1921, December 1922, March 1923, September 1924, and December 1924, due to the verbiage or artwork not reproducing from microfilm well enough for an analysis to be conducted.

Phoenix Hosiery

Phoenix Hosiery changed their advertising strategy drastically throughout the 1920s by replacing verbiage with artwork to sell the product. In 1920, both of the advertisements found for analysis did not include images of a woman's leg and the artwork was used solely as a border for the verbiage. In 1920, Phoenix used the terms "security and comfort," "resistance to wear," "economical fabric," and "sturdiness" to describe their product. The use of these terms places the 1920 advertisements into the argument approach because these terms tell the customer why this product is more dependable than the competitor. Phoenix also presents the fact that they have one of the top selling products in the United States at the time, placing the advertising in 1920 into the information approach category. When looking at the art work used in the advertising, one advertisement has a very simple circular outline around the verbiage. There are vines inside the circular outline and the vines are also very simple with small leaves. The name of the company is placed in large letters at the bottom of the page and is in the same font

as the verbiage. The second advertisement examined from 1920 (see Figure 2) is very ornate with larger vines stemming from a vase at the bottom of the illustration. In this advertisement the name of the company is in a type only slightly larger than the verbiage type and it is incorporated into the illustration, not removed from it. The artwork used in these advertisements is not related to the argument approach and it is not related to selling of the product. The artwork used is for decorative purposes only and is similar to design patterns of the Renaissance era and Art Nouveau periods.

In 1921, the look of the advertisement does not change much from 1920. Phoenix begins to discuss the beauty of the product in these advertisements while still presenting the comfort, best selling appeal, and “long mileage at low cost” appeal of the product. This means that the hosiery will last for a long time and are considered to be inexpensive for the quality. The advertisement also talks about the sturdiness of the hosiery and the “outstanding elegance that endures.” The product can be expected to last a long time and maintain the qualities possessed at the time of purchase. Through 1921, Phoenix used the information approach, the argument approach, and the emotional attraction approach in their advertising. The information approach and the argument approach remained consistent with 1920; however, the emotional attraction approach is used when discussing the beauty of the product. Women want to look beautiful, so by advertising the beauty of the product, Phoenix is showing women that they can look more beautiful with this particular type of hosiery. All four of the advertisements placed in 1921 also resembled 1920 in that the illustrations were line drawings that featured flowers and vines. In the September 1921 advertisement there were two small babies at the bottom of the drawing that blend into the vines. In each of these four advertisements, the artwork once again

does not relate to the selling of the product. The artwork is placed in the advertisement to add aesthetic appeal but the drawings do not add to the approach. In all four advertisements in 1921, the name of the company is placed at the bottom of the advertisement in a type larger than the verbiage. This use of increased type draws attention to the company name and makes it more memorable.

When looking at the advertisements for Phoenix from 1922, 1923, 1924, and September 1925, not much changed in terms of illustrations used. The use of the line drawings continued and became more intricate as the years progressed. When looking at the advertisements in chronological order, one will see the progression of the artwork from moderately detailed to extremely intricate. The vines appear to have been their trademark symbol throughout this time.

In March and December of 1922 the drawing of the vines and flowers persist and these drawings are used as a border for the text in the advertisement. The verbiage uses the argument approach in these two advertisements by stating that the product provides “great mileage at small cost” and that the “prices are records in modern achievement.” These statements tell the customer that the hosiery is a quality product at an affordable price and the garment can be expected to last for an extended period of time.

In June and September 1922, Phoenix Hosiery used the information approach to advertise the product. They did this by telling the consumer about the material used and method of production to create the product. The advertisements talk about the “resistance to grind” and the ability to get “unmatched mileage” from this particular brand of hosiery. Both advertisements also use the intricate vines which serve as borders for the verbiage and draw in the readers’ attention.

In March of 1923 the drawing of the vines became much more intricate than one year prior. The drawing contains vines across the top of the advertisement as well as extending down both sides of the advertisement to approximately three quarters of the way down the page. The text in this advertisement utilizes the argument approach by stating that the “garments [are] of remarkable elegance, endurance and economy” indicating that the hosiery will look nice on the wearer, will last a long time, and are not expensive. All of these words tell the consumer why the product should be purchased and is better than the competitor.

In September 1923, at the top of the advertisement is the statement “Hands! Thousands of hands, understanding hands, do the skilful work of finishing this remarkable hosiery. And that is one reason why it has long mileage endurance.” With this statement, Phoenix is attempting to show the consumer why the product is superior to the competitor due to the hand sewn method used to finish the hosiery. This advertisement fits into the argument approach because it tells people why the product is necessary in life and why it will last for a long time. The artwork is less prevalent in this advertisement; however, the vines and flowers are still used on both sides of the verbiage as well as on the bottom of the advertisement.

In December 1923, the focus returned to the vine drawings which were concentrated at the bottom of the advertisement and the verbiage was focused on wearability and sturdiness. This advertisement uses the argument approach by telling people that they need this product because it is a long-lasting garment that will endure daily activity.

In March of 1924, the illustrations returned to the top and bottom of the advertisement only; however, the drawings are more ornate with more lines and a larger accent on the curvature of vines and flowers. Once again the argument approach is used in the advertisement because the quality and “long-mileage endurance” are the reasons presented by Phoenix Hosiery for purchasing the product. In 1924, Phoenix continues to use the line drawings to attract the consumer while using statements such as “ability to resist wear” and “lasting elegance” as reasons why the consumer should purchase the product.

In September of 1925 the illustration is the most complex of the line drawings seen in this study. The drawing contains a large vase in the upper right corner of the advertisement, a man and woman in the lower right corner feeding a bird, and what appears to be a road or path leading from the lower left corner to the upper right corner of the advertisement. This is the first advertisement produced by Phoenix Hosiery that includes a human. The woman in this advertisement is very small and in the lower right corner. She is in a short-sleeved flowing dress that reaches to just below her knees, has a bobbed hair cut with curls, and is holding a bread basket to feed the bird. The female is standing in the picture while the male is sitting. The two are alone nature which could be progressive for the time if the couple are dating and not married. The lines in this advertisement are very small and curved with only a few straight lines. In this advertisement, the text talks about hosiery now being seen by the world and it tells the women that she needs to have tasteful and appealing hosiery. This advertisement fits into the command approach category because it is telling women to wear appropriate hosiery.

It also fits into the argument approach category because of the reiteration of the resistance to wearing out.

In December 1925, Phoenix Hosiery changed their advertising strategy by using a photograph for the first time and revealing the women's leg in a photograph for the first time. The signature line drawing with the ornate feel was still used in the advertisement, however, now the verbiage and photograph are presented in a mock book and the outline of the "book" is the ornate line drawing. Phoenix uses the argument approach again in this advertisement by presenting the consumer with reasons why the product should be purchased for Christmas and it is a necessary item for the holidays. In this first photograph, the reader can see the woman's entire shin and the garment she is wearing barely reaches to her knee. The background is very dark in the photograph due to the microfilm and it is hard to tell what is in the photograph with the legs, however, the legs are clearly visible. Lynne Richards discusses the revealing of the leg during the period in "The Rise and Fall of It All: The Hemlines and Hiplines of the 1920s" where a spike in the hemline is shown in 1925 (1983). At the beginning of 1925, the average hemlines were at approximately 84% of the total height of a person, meaning that only 16% of the total height was shown below the skirt. By the end of 1925, this had risen to 75% of the total height, meaning that in one year, women were showing 9% more of their total height and this came in the legs. When looking at the human body, if one was to cover 75% of themselves, starting at the top, the coverage would stop just around the knee. This photograph is very significant to this research and the findings because at the time when photography of women's legs appears in *Vogue* magazine, women's skirts have risen to a point higher than any time previously.

In 1926, two advertisements were identified for analysis. In both advertisements, the use of the “book” appearance from December 1925 continues and Phoenix returned to the use of line drawings instead of photographs. The sturdy and reliable materials used in the hosiery are still discussed in the 1926 advertisement; however, as opposed to the 1925 advertisement where only the shin is shown, in 1926 the advertisement reveals the knee. These advertisements present the fact that the hosiery is “silk to the top.” This quality would be desirable for hosiery at the time because not only were the hemlines rising, but also daring women would roll their hose down to their knees when they went out at night. As stated in the literature review, Flappers would go out dancing and would not wear girdles to hold their hosiery up. It is also discussed in the “The Rise and Fall of It All: The Hemlines and Hiplines of the 1920s” that the hemlines at the time averaged right around the knee, making a large portion hosiery visible to the public. When the hosiery is rolled down, it would look nicer if it were silk to the top.

Looking at the artwork from 1926, there is one drastic difference seen between the two advertisements. The June 1926 advertisement portrays a woman with her skirt pulled up slightly to reveal her entire knee while a male counterpart is down on one knee looking at her affectionately. This advertisement is very different from any advertisement seen previously from this company because of the obvious male presence. In September 1925 there was a male present; however, both the male and female figures were small and in a corner of the advertisement. In this advertisement the male is obviously present and by this time, it was becoming more acceptable for men and women to engage in private activities such as dates and drives in the country. The September 1926 advertisement (see Figure 3) was also very different from the June 1926

advertisement in that no male is shown and the woman appears to be traveling alone. She is in a train car with her suitcase and hat box on either side of her and is writing in a notebook. This advertisement depicts an independent woman traveling alone and showing no fear or concern on her face or in her body language about her travels. Through the use of the independent woman, Phoenix is presenting the idea that their hosiery is synonymous with independence. These two advertisements use the argument approach by telling the consumer that she wants a product that is sturdy and reliable yet it will provide her with confidence. The two advertisements also use the emotional appeal approach by showing women who are beautiful and independent.

In 1927, Phoenix Hosiery used the least amount of text of all ten years studied. In June 1927, Phoenix wrote about the “striking excellence” of the stockings and the need to reveal the knees. This advertisement uses the emotional attraction approach with consumers by focusing on the “striking excellence” of the product. In this advertisement, the artwork is a drawing of an ideal woman’s legs. In the drawing, the legs are the focus and the full shin and foot are shown. The woman’s legs are shown wearing dark pumps and the calves have just a slight curvature. This advertisement plays into the idea that women need to be concerned about how their legs look because they are now revealed to the public. In the June 1927 advertisement, the woman is stepping off of a set of stairs, in the December 1927 advertisement (see Figure 4), the reader sees the same idea of the “ideal” legs, however, this time they are shown from behind. The reader can see the back of the knees and the seam of the hosiery up the center back of the legs in the December advertisement. The verbiage in the December 1927 advertisement focuses on

gracefulness and having a “slenderizing touch” to the ankle. This verbiage once again reinforces the idea that slim and attractive legs were desired.

The advertisements placed by Phoenix Hosiery decreased dramatically throughout the decade, declining from 12 advertisements in 1924 to only three in 1928, at which time only one advertisement that fit into the parameters for this study was found. In March of 1928 Phoenix ran an advertisement with a picture of a very elegant woman in a fur trimmed coat in the center of the page. She appears to be arriving at an important event because she is posing as if for the camera and there is a car and a driver in the background. In the pose, the woman has her shoulders back, arms bent to the waist and clasped to the left to accentuate a small waist, and one leg is significantly in front of her body to give the appearance of longer legs. The woman’s fur trimmed jacket is a dark color and the sky is dark also, making her white legs in flesh colored hosiery stand out. The verbiage directly under the woman refers to daintiness and grace. This uses the emotional attraction approach because women are told to be dainty and graceful and this hosiery is claiming to help with that.

In 1929, two advertisements were found within the specified criteria. Both advertisements use a combination of the information approach, the argument approach, and the imitation approach. Each advertisement presents facts about how the product is made while also telling the customer that this specific type of hosiery is necessary because of the beauty it will bring to the wearer. The imitation approach is used here because Barbara Newberry, the model in both of the 1929 advertisements, was chosen as the woman with the most beautiful legs by Florenz Ziegfeld, a Broadway impresario. Barbara Newberry was a Broadway show girl who, in April 1929, was given the

recognition of having the most beautiful legs after her measurements were taken and Ziegfeld determined that her legs had the perfect proportions. Phoenix is promoting the idea that you too will have beautiful legs if you wear their hosiery. In the June 1929 photograph (see Figure 5), she is wearing a knee length skirt which reveals her calves in Phoenix Hosiery. In the November 1929 advertisement, Barbara Newberry is wearing a knee length dress and is seated on a bench, allowing the dress to reveal more of her legs. Newberry's legs look much more natural than the drawings, because they have curvature and depth to them, whereas the illustrations portray women's legs as extremely thin. The curvature of her calves can be seen showing that one does not need to have extremely thin legs in order to have beautiful legs.

Throughout the decade studied, Phoenix utilized the argument approach to advertise their product. This would be done to show the consumer why Phoenix was a superior product. During the 1920s, a total of 45 hosiery companies were found to advertise in *Vogue* magazine with the top 15 being listed in Table 6. This number of hosiery companies would provide a significant amount of competition between the brands, forcing companies to set themselves apart. Phoenix would want to demonstrate that they make a superior product without boring the consumer with details of exact production methods.

Following the legs being revealed in 1925, Phoenix used the imitation approach in 1926 and again in 1929. This approach could be used after 1925 because there were pictures and illustrations of women's legs in the advertisements, allowing Phoenix to show women what beautiful legs look like. The revealing of the leg by Phoenix was done at the same time that there was a spike in the hemlines (Richards, 1983).

The use of the emotional attraction approach was seen in 1927 and 1928. This may have been seen simply because Phoenix was trying a new advertising approach to keep the reader interested. Another possibility is that with the Flapper Era slowing down, hosiery companies needed to redirect their advertising campaigns. Also, by 1928 the curvature of the body was beginning to be seen again and the focus on the leg would be redirected. The revealing of the leg would no longer be shocking and progressive, therefore, there would no longer be as much of a focus on it.

Phoenix's advertisements at the beginning of the decade contain text which appeals to a woman's practical side, stating that the hosiery is durable and that it can endure many circumstances. This is important at the time because women needed hosiery that would last for extended periods. Following the passing of the 19th amendment, appealing to women to purchase products was especially important because some were now more independently mobile with cars and could also hold jobs which allowed them to have an individual income. Women in the 1920s were also more educated than previous generations as was shown by the high school graduation rate increasing as well as the college attendance rates increasing (Kleinberg, 1999). Phoenix also stated in these advertisements that it was one of the best selling brands in the United States at the time. While the text changed every month that was studied, the message was the same. Phoenix Hosiery was advertising that they were the leading seller in the United States and that their hose were strong and dependable. This is appealing to the practical side of the newly liberated women of the 1920s who wanted the best buy for their money.

Onyx Hosiery

Onyx Hosiery was made by Emery & Beers Company Inc. and their advertisements are much different from those placed by Phoenix Hosiery. Onyx utilized illustrations of women since the start of the 1920s. In March of 1920, Onyx ran an advertisement that talked about the “charm, shapeliness, and distinction” of the product. The advertisement featured a detailed illustration of two women and two men speaking to one another. The women are wearing floor-length evening dresses therefore the leg is not revealed at all. The four people in the illustration are outdoors and appear to be on some form of a terrace. This advertisement utilizes the emotional attraction approach because it portrays the idea that you will have charm and distinction, and therefore stand out from others, if you wear this product.

In a June 1920 advertisement placed by Onyx (see Figure 6) there is an illustration of a woman wearing a calf length skirt. She is wearing dark hosiery and is looking down at a dog on a leash as if she is taking him for a walk. In this advertisement the verbiage talks about needing “well-fitting, high quality hosiery” for summer activities. The verbiage in the advertisement relates directly to the woman who is taking the dog for a walk. She is standing outside on the road with a house and a large amount of land in the background. The verbiage used the argument approach by telling about the need for specific summer hosiery, however, the advertisement also uses the emotional appeal by showing how a woman can be active in the hosiery produced by Onyx. This advertisement shows a woman preparing for summer activities and her ability to partake in these activities in her Onyx hosiery.

In the September 1920 advertisement (see Figure 7), three women are pictured in a college dorm room and are discussing their hosiery. The senior, pictured in the doorway, is commenting on how the two freshmen have good taste in hosiery while all three are looking at Onyx stockings. The shins of the two college students are visible and the senior's legs are hidden behind the furniture. The verbiage is very short and written in dialogue form. This advertisement uses an emotional attraction approach, by saying that you too will have exquisite taste if you wear these hose. This same format and approach is used in the December 1920 advertisement; however, in the December advertisement there are two males and one female. In this advertisement, the three people are discussing Christmas presents and specifically the desire of the woman to receive Onyx stockings. In the advertisement there is a male sitting at a desk and he has a thought bubble over his head which tells that the woman will be receiving Onyx hosiery for Christmas. These two advertisements are similar in approach and layout but they are very different due to the males present in the December advertisement. In both advertisements the woman's legs can be seen up to the shin.

In March of 1921, Onyx used the emotional appeal by stating that the stockings will "accentuate the delicate curve of trim ankles" (see Figure 8). In this advertisement there is a picture of a woman's legs with trim ankles which was the desired look at the time. Women wanted to have trim ankles not only because the focus in the 1920s was to be thin, but also because the legs were now being seen. For the first time in history and since, women wanted to present the best possible picture of their legs and trim, dainty ankles were desired. The advertisement is telling women that their ankles will look better in this hosiery.

In the September 1921 advertisement for Onyx hosiery, a woman is seen sitting alone outside in a field alone. She is relaxing in the sun and the advertisement is showing the new lisle hosiery which is sturdy and attractive. The text talks about the use of mercerization for the lisle hosiery which places the advertisement into the information appeal category. The advertisement also uses the imitation appeal by showing a beautiful woman sitting outside enjoying the day. The 1920s was about having a carefree attitude about life and the woman sitting outside is displaying just this, but it is also about new beauty and how your beauty can be natural or dramatic with the use of makeup and costume jewelry.

In 1922, both the March and June advertisements show two women interacting with a male. Both of these advertisements use the argument approach by showing the product and telling the consumer that the product will make you more desirable to men. The advertisements use terms such as “perfectly fitting the smartest of ankles” and stating that the product is “ideally smart” for a woman. While the text is very similar in both advertisements, the illustrations are very different. In the March 1922 advertisement, both women are wearing trench coats and high heels and are interacting with a male who is also fully dressed. In the June 1922 advertisement, the women are wearing their swimwear and hosiery and are interacting with a male who is fully dressed in a three-piece suit (see Figure 9). In this advertisement one of the women is revealing part of her bare thigh while the other is showing her legs in only stockings. It was common for woman at the time to wear stockings along with their swimwear, however, the presence of the fully dressed male somewhat adds a sexual quality to the advertisement.

In the September 1922 advertisement, there is an illustration of a woman's legs with the shin being revealed. The text presents the different types of hosiery offered by Onyx and presents the idea that Onyx makes a stocking for any situation, day or night. This advertisement fits into the information appeal because it presents what the company makes but it also fits into the argument approach because the advertisement shows that this particular type of hosiery will carry you through day or evening.

In September of 1923, Onyx ran an advertisement which told of the intricacies of knitting the hosiery. After describing the process, they talk about how the stockings are "made flawless for the adornment of pretty ankles." This advertisement fits into the information and emotional appeals because of the detail regarding how the hosiery was made as well as the desire to have pretty ankles. The advertisement also shows a woman's legs and her legs are revealed up to her shins. The hosiery can be seen and there is a detail sewn into the hosiery on the outer and inner sides of the ankle.

In the December 1923 advertisement for Onyx Hosiery, a woman's legs are shown up to the shin and the hosiery she is wearing are dark with a design up the outside and inside of the ankle. This illustration is very similar to the September 1923 illustration; the December 1923 advertisement is just a closer view of the legs and the stockings. This advertisement uses the argument appeal by telling the audience that a woman can never have too many pairs of stockings and that hosiery is an excellent Christmas present.

Beginning in 1924, Onyx advertised different styles while still advertising the durability, variation, and intricacy of the product. Through these advertisements, Onyx uses the information appeal by presenting the styles available as well as the

manufacturing technique. In the March 1924, June 1924, and March 1925 a similar looking model is pictured in each advertisement wearing a dress that covers the knee but reveals the shin. In each picture the model looks relaxed and is sitting in a slightly reclined position.

In September of 1925, the artwork in the advertisement shows the model in her home where she is looking out a window at two horses. The text tells that “whether for town or country, nothing else is quite as smart.” With this statement, Onyx is appealing to all women, those living in the city or those living on a farm. This advertisement also presents the styles available to the customer. This advertisement uses the emotional appeal by presenting the idea that smart women wear these hose and so should all women who consider themselves smart.

The December 1925 advertisement uses the argument appeal by saying that all women can use an extra pair of hose (see Figure 10). This advertisement shows a woman examining a pair of stockings that appear to have come from her dresser. This is the first time that Onyx has portrayed the actual bedroom of a woman in their advertising. In the September 1920 advertisement, a bedroom setting may be implied because the three women are in a dorm room; however, no dresser is shown and no bed is shown in either advertisement.

In the March and June advertisements for Onyx Hosiery in 1926 the focus was on the slender ankle and how to make ankles appear more slender (see Figure 11). In these two advertisements, there are two pictures of women’s legs, one with the “Pointex” heel and one with a square heel. The “Pointex” heel has two lines angled toward one another and meeting at a point above the heel. The “Pointex” looks like a pyramid at the ankle

and is designed to make the ankle appear more slender. This is in contrast to the second picture seen in the advertisement which has square heel at the ankle and makes the ankle appear much heavier than the “Pointex” ankle. These two advertisements use the imitation appeal by showing the two different ankles and the argument appeal by telling the consumer that she does not want to appear to have heavy ankles so she needs to wear “Pointex” hosiery. Heavy ankles were a focus for hosiery advertisers at the time because the legs were now being seen for the first time. Women also did not want to have heavy ankles during the 1920s because the focus was on being thin.

In the September 1926 advertisement, both the information and imitation appeals are used. The advertisement lists the new features added to the hosiery to make it sturdier and longer lasting. The advertisement also talks about and features the slim ankles which were desired at the time. The verbiage talks about how Onyx hosiery is made to be seen, unlike the hosiery of the 1880s, because of the rising hemlines of the time. Hemlines in 1926 were around the knee according to Richards (1983) so ladies hosiery would be seen by the public. Onyx hosiery was made at the time with a seam down the center back. Seamed hosiery was better fitting during the 1920s because it was able to hold its shape and would not stretch out and sag at the ankles and knees. In the illustration, the reader sees the back of a woman’s legs with her “Pointex” hosiery on and her slender ankles are emphasized. The advertisement is showing and telling women what they should look like or strive to look like.

In a December 1926 advertisement, a woman is pictured sitting on a banister and is looking at a statue of a naked woman. In this advertisement you can see the woman’s shin but not her knee. The verbiage in this advertisement places it into the imitation

appeal category because the text talks about the large ankles of the statue and how women can make their ankles look slimmer and more attractive by wearing these hose. The slim ankle was a focus for advertisers at this time, probably because this was the most commonly revealed part of the body by all women. Since most women were revealing their ankles at this time, advertisers reached the largest audience by advertising for a trim ankle and not for the entire leg.

The March 1927 advertisement (see Figure 12) is very similar to the December 1926 advertisement. In this advertisement, a drawing of a statue of Venus is being looked at and talked about. Her ankles are the topic of discussion and the fact that she may be beautiful, but her ankles are not. In the illustration, Venus has ankles that are larger than the women pictured and there is only a slight distinction between Venus' calves, which are very developed, and her ankles. The verbiage goes on to say that her ankles would look more attractive had she worn "Pointex" by Onyx. This advertisement also uses the imitation appeal because it is telling women that they do not want to have ankles like Venus; they want to look like the two women in the advertisement who are admiring the statue.

In the final advertisement placed by Onyx that fits into the criteria for this research, June 1927, a bride is shown throwing the bouquet to the crowd. In the text, it is said that a bride will have a charming wedding if she wears Onyx hosiery. This advertisement would fit into the emotional attraction appeal because it is telling the reader that her wedding day will be charming if this brand of hosiery is worn. The company is saying that these hose will bring you a happy wedding day. It also fits into the emotional attraction appeal because the bride is portrayed as gorgeous and happy.

After 1927, no advertisements were found for Onyx Hosiery or the parent company Emery & Beers Company. The history of the company cannot be located and it is not known if the company was bought by another hosiery company, if it changed names, or if it went out of business. Even though no advertisements were found after 1927 for Onyx, the company and its advertisements were still used in this study because it was a predominant advertiser in the 1920s.

Throughout Onyx advertising, the main theme is beautiful women in ideal situations. Onyx presents situations that women would want to find themselves in and presents the idea that these situations are achievable by wearing Onyx hosiery. This is not unlike today's advertising where Victoria's Secret models are shown wearing only a bra and panties and they talk about what is sexy. These women have an idealized body and are telling the viewer that this particular body style is sexy and achievable with a certain bra and panty. These advertisements present an idealized image that is not obtained simply by wearing a different piece of clothing.

A reoccurring theme in the Onyx advertisements is the "Pointex" heel. This is a reinforced heel to ensure better wear and longevity. This quality of the garment is presented in 23 of the 25 advertisements that were studied. The use of this recurring theme ensures that even if a customer only buys *Vogue* once, they have a high probability of reading about the "Pointex" heel.

The first two objectives of this research, to track the number of hosiery advertisements and to track the amount of leg exposure in hosiery advertisements in *Vogue* magazine in the 1920s, were discussed in the "Analysis of Data Collected" section of this research. The third objective of this research was to look at the approaches used

and how the approaches change throughout the decade. When looking at Onyx Hosiery, the imitation approach was used most often in their advertising. This approach was used at both the beginning and the end of the decade so it cannot be stated that there was any change. However, the artwork used for the imitation approach did change throughout the decade. At the beginning of the decade the imitation approach is shown through ideal situations such as walking your dog out in the country side or sitting in a field under the sun. In 1922 Onyx showed two women in swimwear in their advertisement and this was never seen again in this study. The use of swimwear allowed Onyx to reveal more of the women's leg early in the decade; however, following this one advertisement, swimwear was not used again to advertise hosiery in the 1920s. By 1926 Onyx was showing sophisticated and attractive women who were to be admired because of their beauty.

Onyx was focused the quality of their product as well as beauty during the 1920s. The focus on the quality can be seen through the advertisement of the "Pointex" heel. This heel was made to slim the ankle, however, it may have also been used to reinforce the stockings. Onyx advertised the strength of the hosiery continually and the "Pointex" heel could be used to add strength to the hose. The other focus for Onyx during the 1902s was on beauty. The use of extreme make-up, costume jewelry, and short skirts were all means for women to express their new independence in the 1920s. After the passing of the 19th amendment, women expressed their independence by dressing very differently then previous generations dressed. The focus on these new forms of beauty can also be attributed to the ability to have smaller families. When women had the option to stop having very large families thanks to birth control methods, they had time to focus more on themselves and their outward appearance (Kleinberg, 1999).

Table 6.

Total Number of Advertisements Placed in the 1920s Per Company for the Top 15

Companies

<u>Company</u>	<u>Total Number of Advertisements</u>
Onyx Hosiery	88
Phoenix Hosiery	87
Gordon Hosiery	46
Van Raalte Hosiery	44
Corticelli	41
McCallum	39
Kayser Hosiery	39
Hummingbird Hosiery	31
Allen A Hosiery	26
Vanity Fair	19
Luxite Hosiery	16
Finery Hosiery	16
Peck & Peck	15
Holyoke	15
Blue Moon	14

Table 7.

Table of Approaches Used By Phoenix Hosiery in the 1920s

Company	Date	Approach Used	Leg Shown
Phoenix	Sept. 1920	Argument Information	No
Phoenix	Dec. 1920	Argument Information	No
Phoenix	Mar. 1921	Argument Information Emotional Attraction	No
Phoenix	June 1921	Argument Information Emotional Attraction	No
Phoenix	Sept. 1921	Argument Information Emotional Attraction	No
Phoenix	Dec. 1921	Argument Information Emotional Attraction	No
Phoenix	Mar. 1922	Argument Information Emotional Attraction	No
Phoenix	June 1922	Argument Information Emotional Attraction	No
Phoenix	Sept. 1922	Argument Information Emotional Attraction	No
Phoenix	Dec. 1922	Argument Information Emotional Attraction	No
Phoenix	Mar. 1923	Argument Emotional Attraction	No
Phoenix	Sept. 1923	Argument Emotional Attraction	No
Phoenix	Dec. 1923	Argument	No
Phoenix	Mar. 1924	Argument	No
Phoenix	June 1924	Argument	No
Phoenix	Sept. 1924	Argument	No
Phoenix	Dec. 1924	Argument	No
Phoenix	Sept. 1925	Argument Command	Yes
Phoenix	Dec. 1925	Argument	Yes

Company	Date	Approach Used	Leg Shown
Phoenix	Sept. 1926	Argument Imitation	Yes
Phoenix	June 1927	Emotional Attraction	Yes
Phoenix	Dec. 1927	Emotional Attraction	Yes
Phoenix	Mar. 1928	Emotional Attraction	Yes
Phoenix	June 1929	Information Argument Imitation	Yes
Phoenix	Sept. 1929	Information Argument Imitation	Yes

Table 8.

Table of Approaches Used By Onyx Hosiery in the 1920s

Company	Date	Approach Used	Leg Shown
Onyx	Mar. 1920	Emotional Attraction	No
Onyx	June 1920	Argument Emotional Attraction Imitation	Yes
Onyx	Sept. 1920	Emotional Attraction Imitation	Yes
Onyx	Dec. 1920	Emotional Attraction Imitation	Yes
Onyx	Mar. 1921	Emotional Attraction	Yes
Onyx	June 1921	Information	Yes
Onyx	Sept. 1921	Information Imitation	Yes
Onyx	Mar. 1922	Argument Imitation	Yes
Onyx	June 1922	Argument Imitation	Yes
Onyx	Sept. 1922	Information Argument	Yes
Onyx	Sept. 1923	Information Emotional Attraction	Yes
Onyx	Dec. 1923	Argument	Yes
Onyx	Mar. 1924	Information Imitation	Yes
Onyx	June 1924	Information Imitation	Yes
Onyx	Mar. 1925	Information Imitation	Yes
Onyx	June 1925	Emotional Attraction	Yes
Onyx	Sept. 1925	Information Emotional Attraction	Yes
Onyx	Dec. 1925	Argument Imitation	Yes
Onyx	Mar. 1926	Imitation	Yes
Onyx	June 1926	Imitation	Yes
Onyx	Sept. 1926	Information Imitation	Yes
Onyx	Dec. 1926	Imitation	Yes
Onyx	Mar. 1927	Imitation	Yes
Onyx	June 1927	Emotional Attraction Imitation	Yes

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This research project was conducted to examine the increase or decrease in the advertisement of women's hosiery as well as to examine the verbiage and artwork used in women's hosiery advertisements in the 1920s. Furthermore, this research was conducted to examine the increase or decrease in the exposure of women's legs during the time period. After collecting and analyzing the data, it was found that the number of advertisements revealing women's legs increased throughout the decade. This increase can be seen in Table 4 and Figure 16 in the Results and Discussion portion of this thesis. This increase in the exposure of the leg can be related to the rising hemlines of the time as well as women becoming more independent with the ability to vote, date without chaperones, and control the size of their family with the use of birth control. Women in the 1920s were able to vote and affect political change in the country as well as date more freely and express their individual beliefs on politics and life in general.

This research also revealed that the number of advertisements placed for hosiery increased over the decade and that these advertisements were typically one page in size. Neither finding was surprising because with rising hemlines companies advertised more for their product in order to sell the product while there was a market for it. While it could not be predicted that hemlines would not drop back to the floor, it seemed clear that during the 1920s women's roles in American society had changed drastically allowing women to feel more liberated than any other previous time in American history. A

company would want to sell as much of their product as possible while there was a demand for it because they would not know when the demand would diminish or cease to exist. Hosiery advertising also increased because some women were now earning their own paychecks and therefore had more money to spend. The size of the advertisements also was not surprising for several reasons. The first reason being that full page advertisements are easier to place when publishing. The second reason is that a full page advertisement allows for a lot more information to be placed in the advertisement. The ability to place more information in an advertisement was important at the time because advertising focused on the verbiage as well as the artwork. Lastly, the size of the advertisements was not surprising because most of the advertisements in *Vogue* and other magazines at this time were full pages.

Finally, this research was conducted to look at the artwork and verbiage of the advertisements used for hosiery during the 1920s. It was found that one company's advertising strategy, Phoenix Hosiery, changed drastically throughout the 1920s. Phoenix progressed from using line drawings and not exposing a woman's leg to using photographs of women with their legs revealed to advertise their hosiery. This new approach where the leg is revealed shows how Phoenix advertising became more sexualized throughout the decade. Phoenix also began portraying men in the advertisements with the women where the two genders were socializing in public. This change shows the progression in society because women were now going on dates without chaperones as Kleinberg stated and they were allowed to have time alone with the men they were dating (1999). Phoenix changed their advertising by the end of the decade to the imitation approach, showing what a woman should look like, not just

talking about it. Finally, Phoenix showed their progression and acceptance of the sexualized women by allowing a male, Florenz Ziegfeld, to select Barbara Newberry as the woman with the most beautiful legs in 1929. Newberry was then photographed for advertisements for Phoenix Hosiery throughout 1929. This new acceptance of women revealing their legs shows that society had accepted that women did not need to cover their bodies in public just as women now had the freedom to date, smoke, and hold jobs providing them with individual incomes.

Onyx Hosiery did not show a change as drastic as Phoenix Hosiery in their advertising. Onyx started the decade with advertisement portraying women and showing women's legs in June 1920. The company was focusing on beauty and beautiful women as a response to the period's interest in glamorous and modern looks. In part, the portrayal of the liberated woman in these advertisements is also a reflection of the fact that many women, now employed, had their own income which along with having smaller families was giving them the opportunity to spend more time on themselves. No advertising by Onyx Hosiery was seen after 1927 and no information can be found about the company.

Major Findings

1. The number of advertisements for women's hosiery increased from 47 advertisements in 1920 to 91 advertisements 1929.
2. The amount of the leg that was exposed in advertisements for hosiery increased between 1920 and 1929. In 1920, only 4% (2 advertisements) revealed the leg up to the thigh where as by 1929, 31% (28 advertisements) revealed the leg up to the thigh.

3. There were two major hosiery companies advertising in *Vogue*, Onyx Hosiery and Phoenix Hosiery, during the 1920s.
4. It was most common for a company to place a one page advertisement as opposed to placing a smaller advertisement.
5. By the end of the decade both companies studied were using imitation approaches to sell hosiery to women.
6. Advertising for Onyx Hosiery revealed the women's thigh in 1922 then began to focus on sophistication and beauty in the later years.
7. Phoenix Hosiery became more sexualized throughout the 1920s with the revealing of the woman's leg.

Objectives Examined

Objective 1. To determine if the number of advertisements in *Vogue* magazine for hosiery increased or decreased following the passing of the 19th amendment in the United States. The number of advertisements for women's hosiery increased following the passing of the 19th amendment in the United States (see Table 1 and Graph 1). The number of advertisements increased from 47 advertisements in 1920 to 91 advertisements in 1929.

Objective 2. To determine if the exposure of the leg increased in advertisements in *Vogue* magazine following the passing of the 19th amendment in the United States. The exposure of the leg increased following the passing of the 19th amendment in the United States (see Table 4 and Graph 4). In 1920, 53% of the advertisements for women's hosiery revealed the leg whereas by 1927, 92.6% of advertisements revealed the women's leg.

Objective 3. To determine the main approaches used to sell hosiery to women in the 1920s by analyzing the verbiage and artwork in selected advertisements for the top two advertisers of hosiery in *Vogue* magazine over the ten years being studied. It was found that the argument approach was favored overall by Phoenix Hosiery while the imitation approach was favored by Onyx Hosiery (see Table 7 and Table 8). The artwork changed drastically for Phoenix Hosiery throughout the decade because they did not show a woman or her leg in their advertising until 1925. Onyx Hosiery used images of women in all of their advertisements and they were showing the women's leg in 1920.

Implications

This research found that the number of advertisements for women's hosiery increased following the passing of the 19th amendment in the United States. It also found that the amount of the female leg that was revealed in the advertisements increased through the 1920s. This research showed that in the decade immediately following the passing of women's suffrage, the revealing of the leg became very important to women as well as a socially acceptable practice. No identified research had been conducted previously on the advertisement for women's hosiery and this research provides conclusive data regarding the increase in the number of advertisements as well as the amount of leg exposure and the continued use of the illustrations as opposed to photographs.

Recommendations for Further Research

After conducting this research project, it is recommended that this same type of study be expanded to include the 1910s and the 1930s. This would allow for greater

comparison of the increase in the advertisements due the 19th Amendment as well as look at what happened following the Crash of 1929. The 1930s would be particularly interesting due to the extreme poverty in the country at the time and looking at how manufacturers of items such as hosiery advertised to the consumers. The 1930s would also be relevant to this research because of the change in the hemlines of the time and the use of the full-length evening dress. It would also be recommended that this study be reproduced to include the 1910s through the 1980s. This would provide a great deal of insight into how the advertising changed as the demand for hosiery changed and new products such as pantyhose were introduced to the market. Finally, it would be beneficial to examine original documents from the hosiery manufacturers in order to determine the companies target market, promotion plans, the ideas that the company was trying to convey with the advertisement, and if the sales were affected by certain advertisements.

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APPENDICIES

Appendix A

Vogue Analysis Key

[illegible]

Appendix B

Changing Hemlines of the 1920s

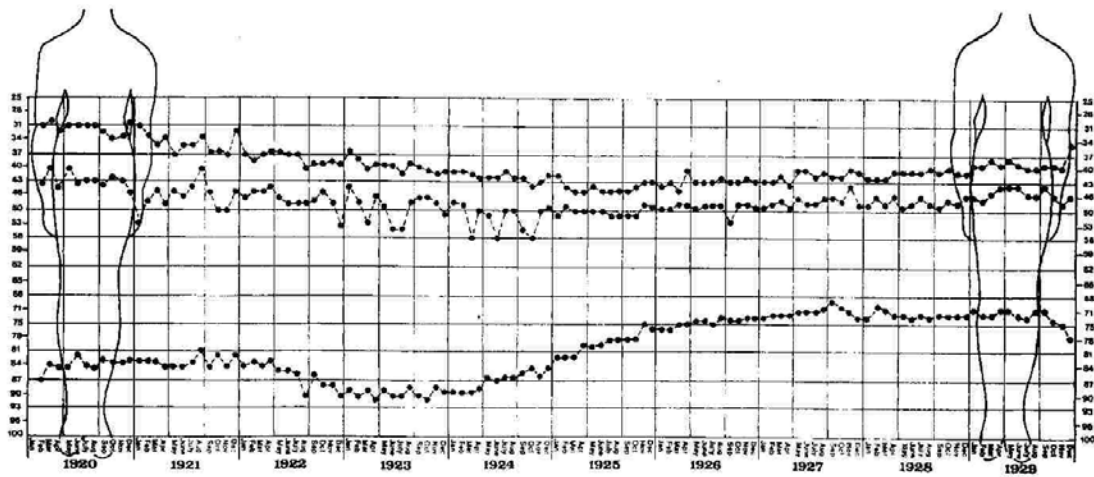


Figure 1. The average hemlines and hiplines of the 1920s according to “*The Rise and Fall of it All: The Hemlines and Hiplines of the 1920s*” (Richards, 1983, p. 47).

Appendix C

Selected advertisements found in *Vogue* magazine

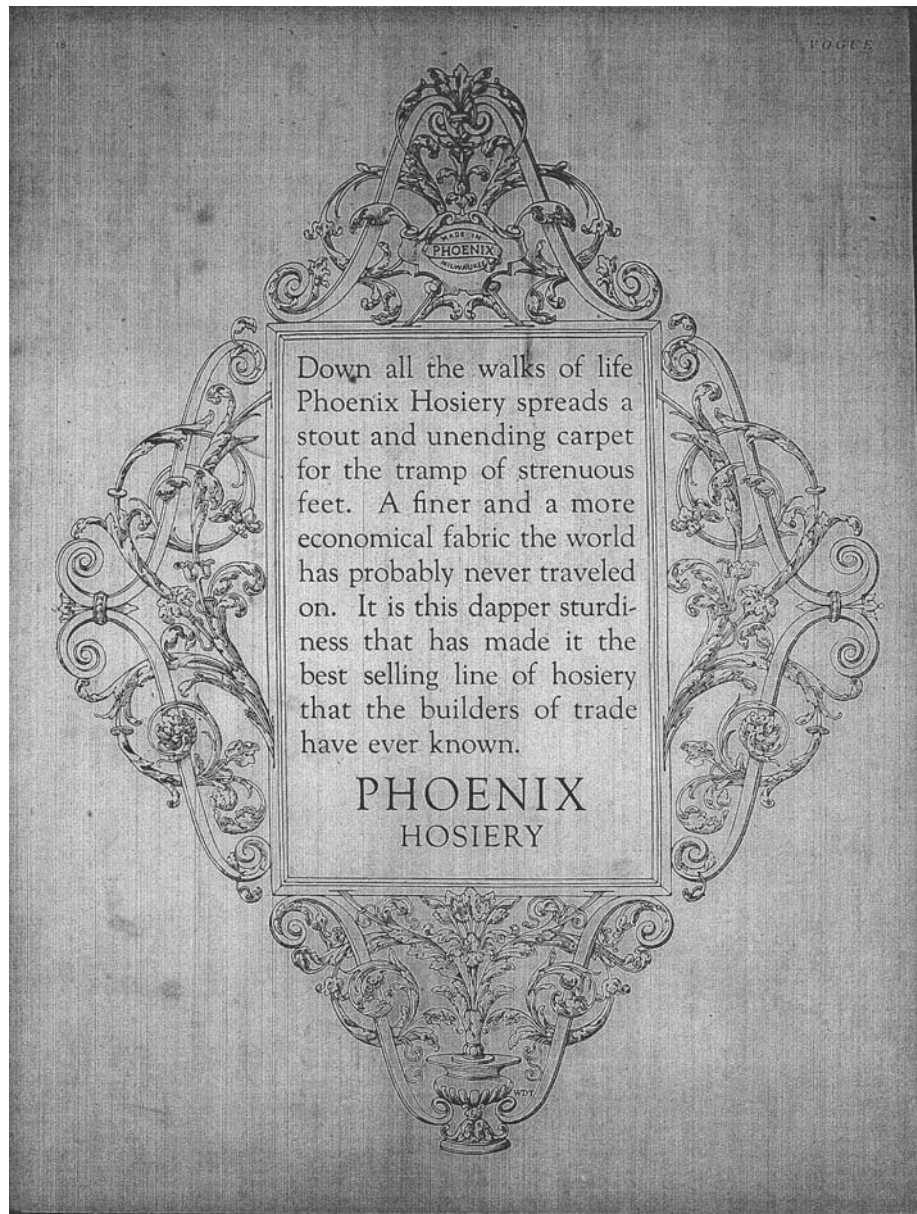


Figure 2. Advertisement for Phoenix Hosiery from December 1920. This advertisement shows the vine drawings used by Phoenix Hosiery and it uses both the argument and information approaches.

The Book of Hosiery 736

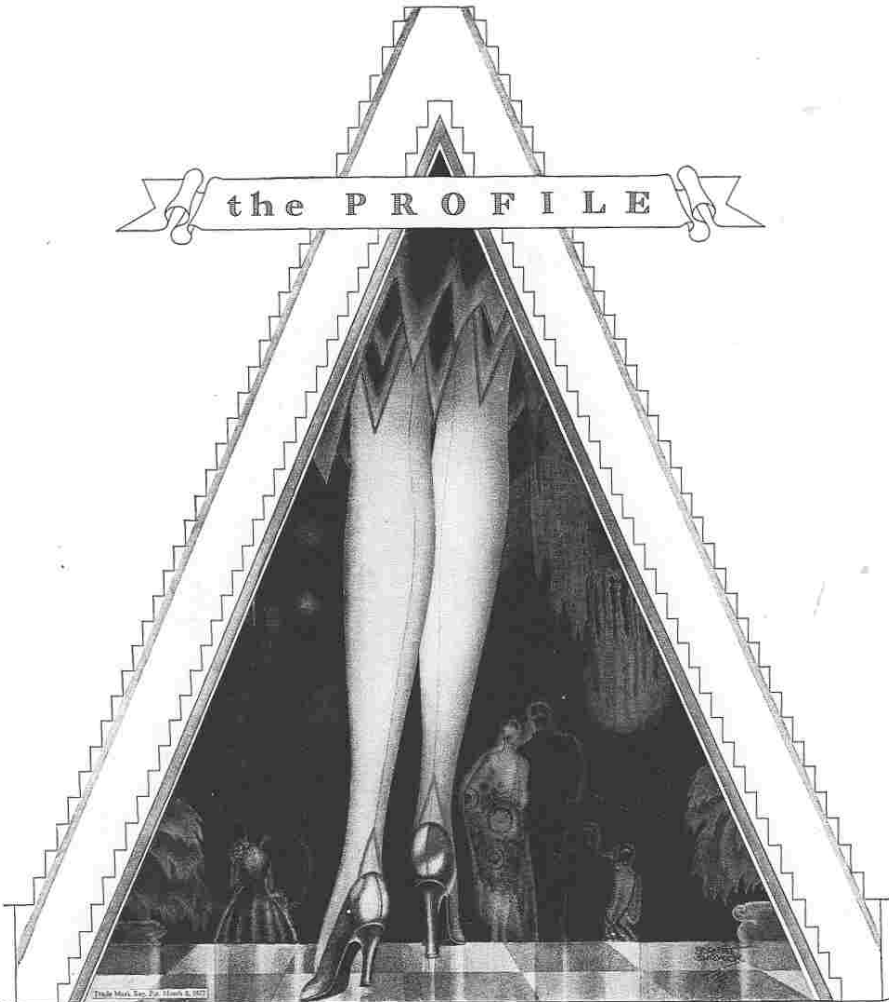
KNEES are in fashion and the revealed knee must be silk clad. That is the reason for the sweeping popularity of "Ser-fon," the service weight Phoenix stocking for women, the remarkable number 736. It's silk clear to the top, with all the beauty of a most delicate and diversified color-texture, a daintiness which only sheerness makes possible. Yet it carries her who travels therein over long miles in enduring elegance and at low cost—because—because—it is "Phoenix-way" reinforced where reinforcements are needed.

Number 736! It's the "Ser-fon," and now is retailing in better stores everywhere for only \$1.95 a pair.

PHOENIX
HOSIERY
MILWAUKEE

LSB PHOENIX

Figure 3. Advertisement for Phoenix Hosiery from September 1926. This advertisement shows the "book" advertisement used by Phoenix Hosiery and uses both the argument and imitation approaches.



The refined PROFILE has a captivating daintiness all its own. Just a subtle tone of shadow-like weaving that rises gracefully above the reinforced heel. It brings to the ankle a slenderizing touch found only in this full-fashioned, all-silk hosiery. At the new low price, \$1.75.

PHOENIX HOSIERY

M I L W A U K E E

Trade Mark, Reg. U.S. Patent & 1927

Figure 4. Advertisement for Phoenix Hosiery from December 1927. This advertisement uses the argument approach and shows the focus on the ankle and the desire to have slender ankles at the time.

Phoenix G L O R I F I E S Beautiful Legs



*by knitting stockings
to the measurements
of this glorious
Ziegfeld Girl*

EVERY woman — whether small or tall — will find greater satisfaction in the exquisite new hosiery of Phoenix. Patterned after the proportions of Barbara Newberry, whom Florenz Ziegfeld declares the possessor of America's most beautiful legs—and knitted by a newly invented process—Phoenix stockings distinguish themselves from all others by their exceptional beauty and fit... Nearly 300 girls in five of his Broadway productions — each a beauty chosen from thousands—submitted their measurements in Mr. Ziegfeld's recent search for a perfect pattern for Phoenix. After viewing the entrants and averaging their proportions, this famous judge of feminine loveliness pronounced Miss Newberry's legs not only ideal but also most typical of the majority of attractive women... Following the symmetrical lines of these faultless legs, Phoenix full-fashioned hosiery is now woven by the *Accurator* process. Patented and used only by Phoenix, this new device, which gauges every thread with the greatest precision, creates stockings of lovely quality, more subtle coloring and better shape. Whether you choose them in sunburn, suntan, flesh, gray or all-occasion shades, you will be charmed with the becomingness of these stockings. Fashion-correct and flattering, they increase the smartness of wearer and costume alike. Summer colors are now in the shops. \$1.50, \$1.95, \$2.95.

Florenz Ziegfeld's booklet, "How I Selected America's Most Beautiful Legs" will be sent you for the asking. Address, F. Ziegfeld, Ziegfeld Theatre, Fifty-fourth Street and Sixth Avenue, New York City.



THE PHOENIX GIRL—BARBARA NEWBERRY

PHOENIX

S I L K *Hosiery*

ACCURATOR PROCESS
PATENTED MARCH 12, 1929

Figure 5. Advertisement for Phoenix Hosiery in June 1929. In this advertisement Barbara Newberry is pictured in a knee length dress and Phoenix uses the information approach, the argument approach, and the imitation approach.

VOGUE



“Onyx”  *Hosiery*
Silk
 With “Pointex” Heel

*Best completes the costume for any occasion indoors-
 or out, in the glorious summer days when well-fitting,
 high quality hosiery appears to greatest advantage.*

At the better shops,
Emery & Beers Company Inc.
Sole Owners and Wholesale Distributors,
New York


Figure 6. Advertisement for Onyx Hosiery in June 1920. This advertisement shows a woman outdoors and uses the argument, emotional attraction, and imitation approaches.

VOGUE

“Onyx”Hosiery

of Silk, with “Pointex”^{PATENTED} Heel

ONYX—denotes
quality in hosiery




APPROVED

Freshman (just arrived, to room-mate) “Aren’t they simply stunning! All mine are ‘ONYX’ too!”

Senior (from doorway) “Well, I must admit you two youngsters have good taste!”

“Onyx”Hosiery
In all materials
At the Better
Shops Everywhere



“Pointex”
Heel

Emery & Beers
Company, Inc.

Sole Owners and
Wholesale Distributors
New York

Figure 7. Advertisement for Onyx Hosiery in September 1920. In this advertisement there are three women pictured and the emotional attraction and imitation approaches are used.

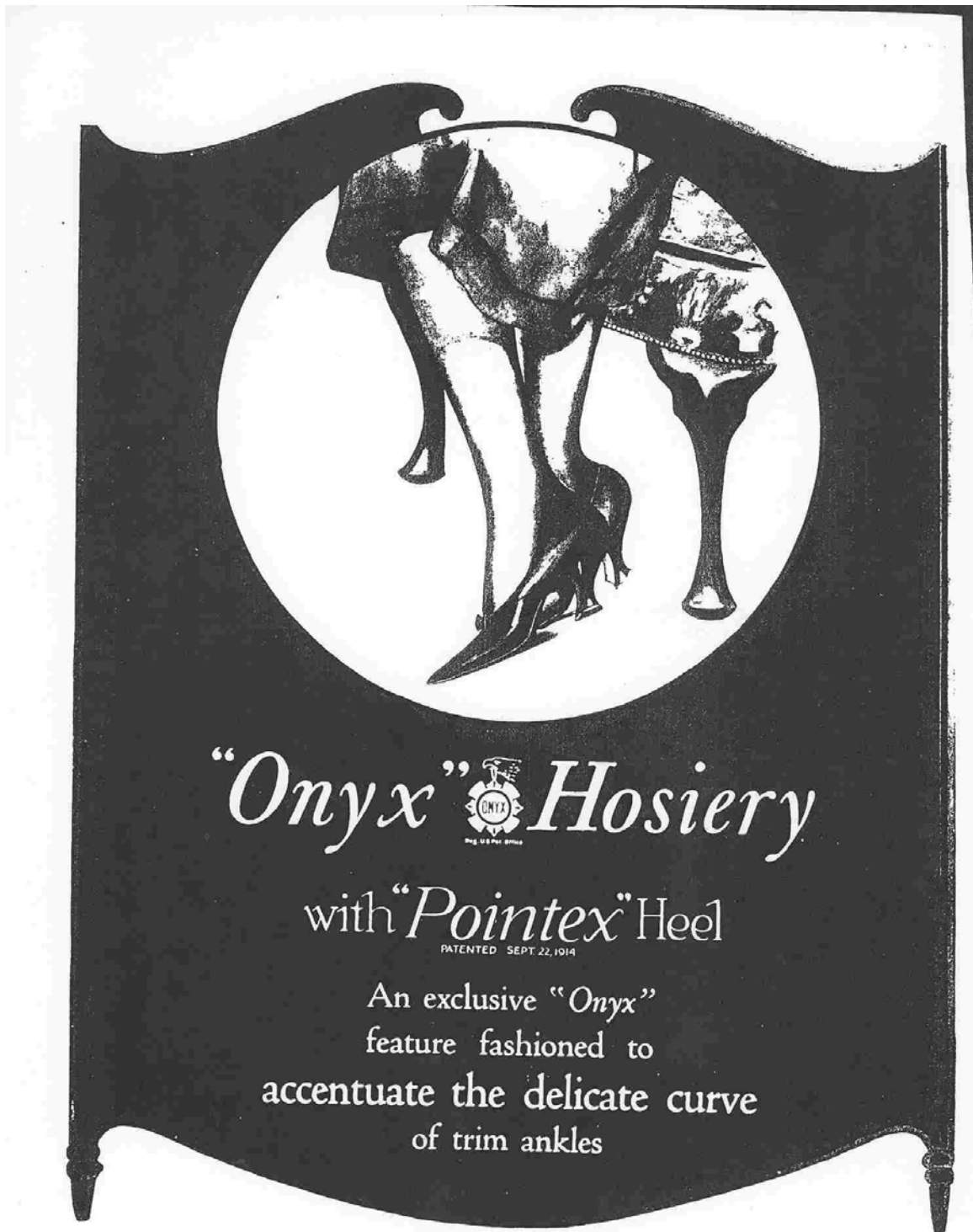


Figure 8. Advertisement for Onyx Hosiery from March 1921. This advertisement shows a woman's slender ankles and uses the emotional attraction approach.

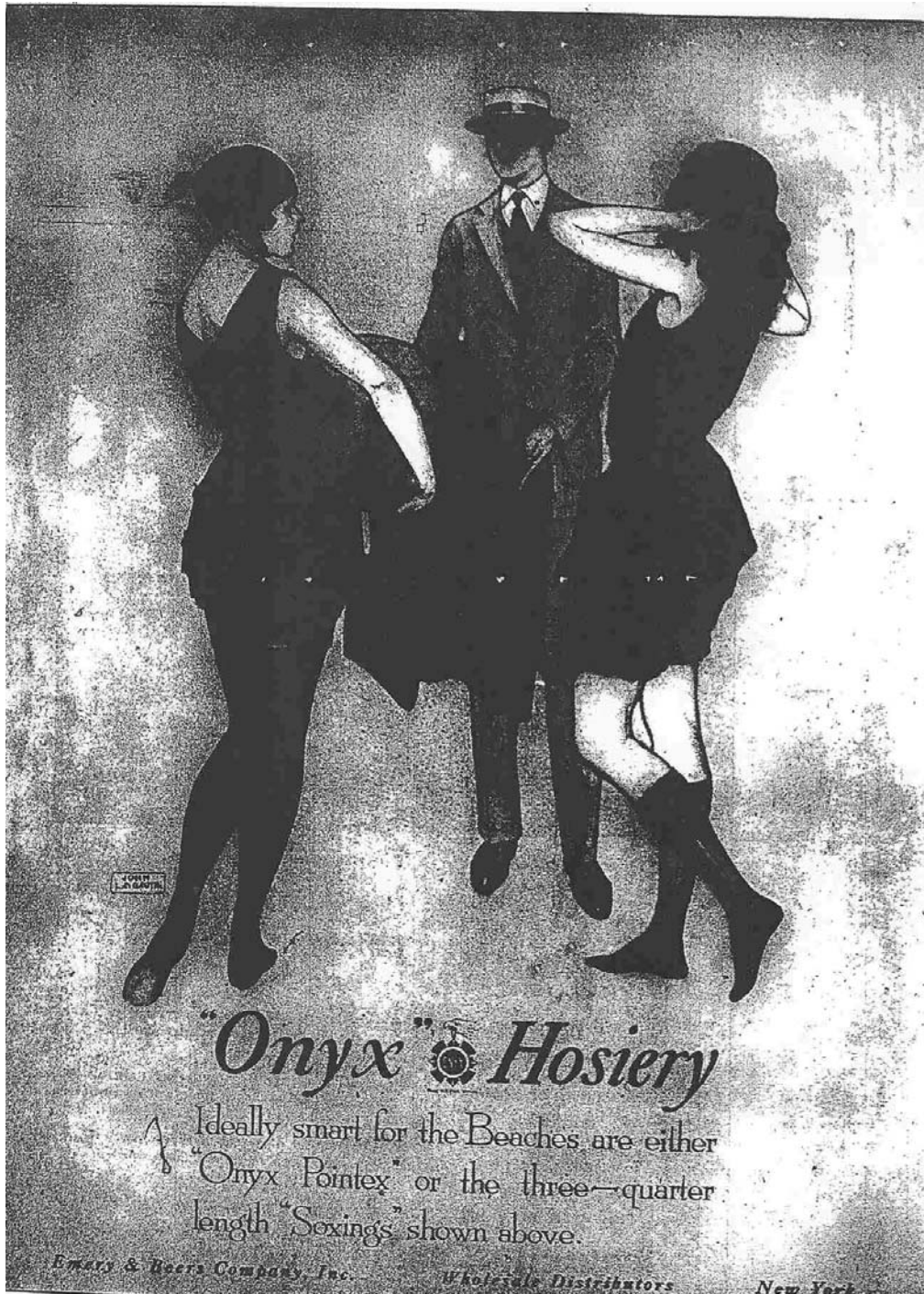


Figure 9. Advertisement for Onyx Hosiery from June 1, 1922. In this advertisement, two women are pictured in their swimwear and hosiery while the male in the advertisement is wearing a full three-piece suit. This advertisement uses the argument and imitation approaches.

Style 155
"Onyx Pointex" medium weight, with lisle top and sole.
\$1.65


Style 255
"Onyx Pointex" service weight, with lisle top and sole for extra wear.

Style 355
"Onyx Pointex Sheresilk" chiffon weight with lisle top and lisle lined sole.
\$1.95

Style 350
"Onyx Pointex" service weight, all thread silk with lisle lined garter welt.

Style 450
"Onyx Pointex Sheresilk" the finest web of silken strands. All silk with lisle lined welt.
\$2.75

At leading stores everywhere.



The Perfect Gift—and so desirable!

YOU may choose silk stockings for holiday gifts this year knowing them to be most appropriate, and an extra pair or two of beautiful "Onyx Pointex" is sure to be ever so useful.

A selection can be made from more than seventy shades, newest of these are the popular mauve colorings; rose taupe, mauve taupe and ecstasy.

"Onyx" Hosiery

"Pointex"

© 1925

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Figure 10. Advertisement for Onyx Hosiery from December 1925. This woman is examining her hosiery at her home. The advertisement uses both the argument approach as well as the imitation approach.

*Ankles look so different
when slenderized this way!*



*Who would have ordinary ankles, like those above, when—
"Onyx Pointex" shown at the left, can slenderize the same ankles so beautifully?*

YOU know how vertical lines in a dress can slenderize the figure; you can imagine how such lines in stockings can slenderize the ankles!

The twin tapering lines that meet in a point above the heel in "Onyx Pointex" stockings make ankles look slimmer—more graceful—more shapely. Ankles naturally well-molded are empha-

sized with a note of trim smartness; those a bit too wide are given an illusion of slender charm.

Because stockings are no longer a mere detail of costume, it is well worth while to insist upon "Onyx Pointex" with their re-inforced point. You will find them at better hosiery shops everywhere.

Leading stores everywhere sell the "Pointex" styles listed below:

Silk, with Lisle Top

Style 125, Medium weight	\$1.65
Style 225, Service weight	1.95
Style 325, "Sherevilk"	

Pure Thread Silk

Style 350, Service weight	2.75
Style 450, "Sherevilk", the finest web of silk strands	

"Onyx" Hosiery Inc. Manufacturers New York

"Onyx" Hosiery
"Pointex"

REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

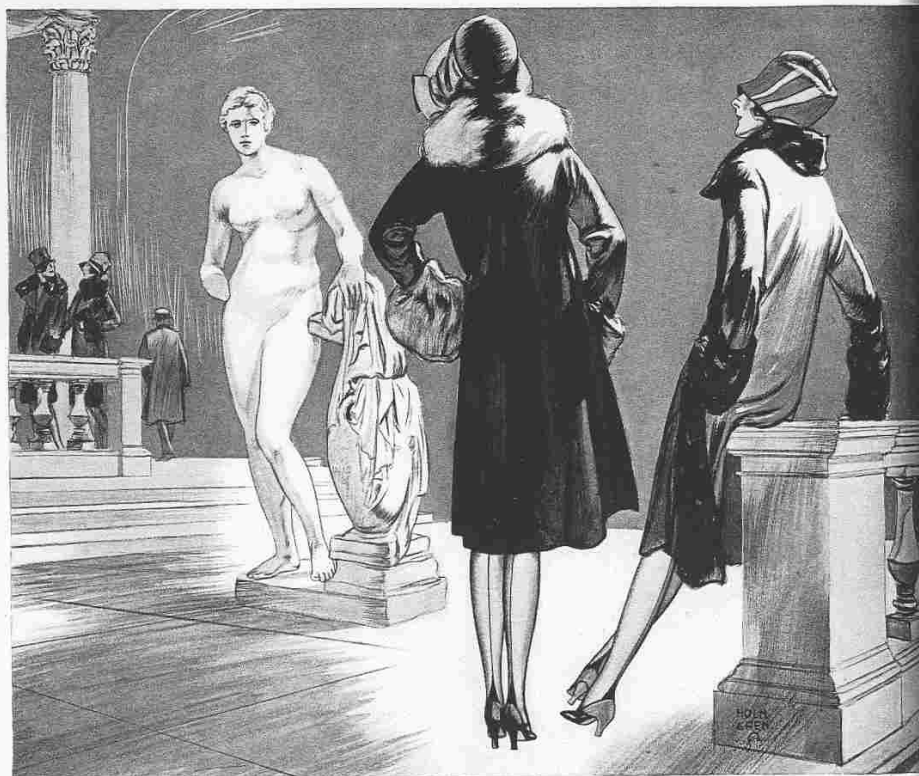
© 1926

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Figure 11. Advertisement for Onyx Hosiery from June 1926. This advertisement uses the imitation approach by showing women examples of desirable ankles.



When Venus made her reputation as a beauty,
they didn't pay much attention to ankles!

THE far-famed Goddess of Beauty was beautiful, no doubt. But, the much-press-agented mother of Cupid made her reputation long before the world had made up its mind as to what did, and what did not, constitute real beauty in ankles. And it is well that this was so. For, Venus' ankles would cause no more excitement on Fifth Avenue today than a traffic jam — that is, unless Venus chanced to wear Onyx Pointex.

Pointex has the rarest of hosiery qualities. The distinctive *Doubled splicing of the heel and tripled reinforcing strands of silk in the seam, are new features that practically double the wear of Onyx Pointex.*

Pointex heel creates an illusion of slenderness. It accentuates ankle grace. It gives to ankle lines a new, sleek, trim smartness. It allows ankles to look their best, stockings to wear their best, by virtue of the reinforcement that Pointex places just where the shoe delivers its greatest punishment to the stocking.

No wonder you see the distinctive lines of the Pointex heel on the smartest of women everywhere. Remember, if you want your ankles to look their best, you must wear Pointex.

"Onyx" Hosiery
"Pointex"



© 1927

VOGUE
March 1, 1927

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Figure 12. Advertisement for Onyx Hosiery from March 1927. In this advertisement there is a comparison between slender ankles desirable in the 1920s and a stature of Venus with heavy ankles.