

“Pretty and Patriotic”:

Women’s Consumption of Apparel During World War II

JENNIFER M. MOWER AND ELAINE L. PEDERSEN

Jennifer M. Mower teaches Retail Management in the College of Business and Contemporary History of Fashion in the School of Design and Human Environment, Oregon State University. Her research interests include historic consumer behavior related to the consumption of apparel.

Elaine L. Pedersen is an Associate Professor in the School of Design and Human Environment, Oregon State University. Her scholarly interests include nineteenth- and twentieth-century Euro-American dress and theory development.

The War Production Board issued limitation order 85 in April 1942 in order to conserve fabric and manpower needed for the war effort. The United States government hoped to curb, at least temporarily, the purchase of apparel and other goods to help support the war effort by restricting materials needed for the war. However, the apparel industry was one of the leading consumer industries in the United States, and putting it on hold was not only impractical but could harm the domestic economy. The United States apparel industry even marketed goods as patriotic to stimulate, not curb, consumer spending. The purpose of this research was to examine how female consumers of women’s apparel were influenced by the federal regulations of women’s apparel during World War II. We also examined extant wartime apparel in order to provide a more complete picture of women’s wartime apparel styles.

Keywords World War II, L-85, consumer behavior, apparel industry

IN APRIL 1942 the War Production Board (WPB) issued regulations that froze apparel styles so that no major style changes would occur during the war when materials and manpower were needed. *Vogue* announced the WPB’s restrictions on May 1, 1942. The editor explained to readers that “we chose the clothes in this issue because they’re pretty, practical, and right for these times . . . you can be pretty and patriotic, at one and the same time. WPB, it’s wonderful!”¹

Before the order was issued apparel styles featured fitted bodices and full skirts that fell

just below the knee (FIGURES 1 AND 2).² While no major style changes occurred until after the war (i.e., the New Look), some style variation did occur during the war. Fashionable wartime apparel styles soon became more slim-fitting with narrower skirts and bodices accompanied by broad shoulders (FIGURES 3 AND 4).³ In an attempt to regulate women’s apparel, the WPB helped create this style variation. While it technically was not a new silhouette, it was and still is recognizable as the “wartime” style. In order to find out the practical ramifications of wartime restrictions,

Special thank you to the women who talked with us about their lives during World War II. We would also like to thank Mary Gallagher, librarian and collections manager with the Benton County Historical Society and Museum, and Kim Buerge, associate registrar with the Oregon Historical Society. They were instrumental in helping us locate garments and images for this study.

1 *Vogue*, May 1, 1942, 41.

2 Jane Farrell-Beck and Jean Parsons, *20th-Century Dress in the United States* (New York: Fairchild Publications, 2007), 124; Shirley Miles O’Donnol, *American Costume, 1915–1970* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 126.

3 Farrell-Beck and Parsons, *20th-Century Dress*, 124; Phyllis Tortora and Keith Eubank, *Survey of Historic Costume*, 3rd ed. (New York: Fairchild Publications, 1998), 398.

FIGURE 1 Charlotte Johnson, "Earmarked—Youth," *Ladies Home Journal*, January, 1940, 23. Reprinted with permission of Meredith Corporation.



FIGURE 2 Wilhelma Cushman, "Our Hollywood Fashion," *Ladies Home Journal*, March, 1940, 24. Reprinted with permission of Meredith Corporation.



FIGURE 3 "A Dress and Suit Illustrating WPB Regulations, at Costume Art Exhibit." *Women's Wear Daily*, April 16, 1942: Section 1: 1.

A Dress and Suit Illustrating WPB Regulations, at Costume Art Exhibit



Beginning Saturday, the Museum of Costume Art will display a collection of fashions demonstrating "The Coming Silhouette," both from the perspective of the costume source, and in modern clothes recently designed. The modern clothes (two of which are sketched here, and three others on Page 3), illustrate the possibilities of style in frocks, coats and suits developed strictly according to WPB regulations, which, of course, are vital in developing "The Coming Silhouette."

At left, Mark Mooring of Bergdorf Goodman shows a dress of black printed silk, featuring the peptop silhouette which is well within the scope of skirt sweeps.

The 25-inch jacket and the incidental pleats at each side of the gored skirt, are both satisfactory, according to suit regulations, in a navy blue suit of wool alpaca designed by Sophie Gimbel. Note that the cuffs at the wrist belong to the striped cotton blouse, not to the sleeves of the woolen jacket.

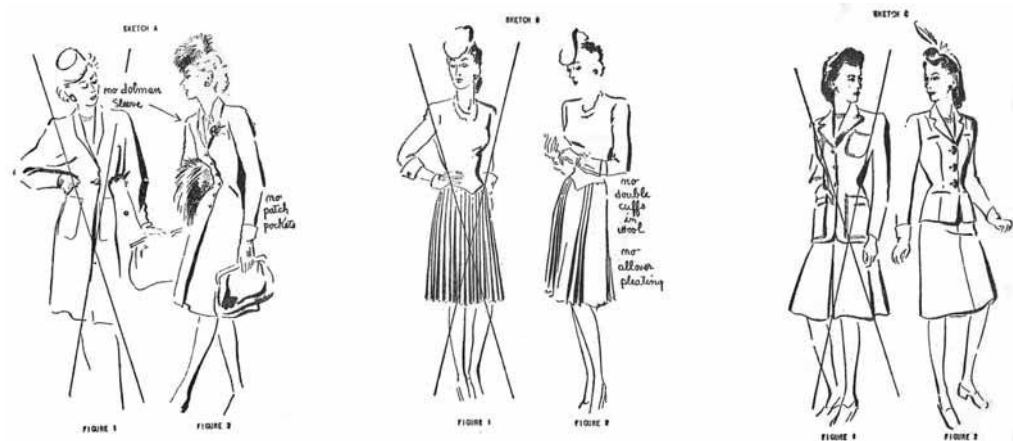


we interviewed women aged in their 80s and 90s about their war years. To correlate some of this data, we also examined a small sample of wartime dresses. We assumed the women would have some awareness of the regulations on apparel due to the noticeable style changes that occurred in this period. However, we found quite the opposite. Not only were the women who were interviewed not aware of the regulations, the extant wartime garments

we examined did not always conform to the L-85 regulations.

It is clear that on the one hand the United States government hoped to curb, at least temporarily, the purchase of apparel and other goods to restrict materials needed for the war. But the apparel industry was one of the leading consumer industries in the United States, and putting it on hold was not only impractical but could harm the domestic

FIGURE 4 “Typical of ‘Before and After’ Style Change Conforming To WPB Limitation Order L85.” *Women’s Wear Daily*, April 8, 1942.



- 4 According to *Vogue's* editor, the fashion industry was one of the leading industries in the country in the early 1940s. *Vogue*, January 1, 1941, 27.
- 5 Sandra Stansbery Buckland, “Fashion as a Tool of World War II: A Case Study Supporting the SI Theory,” *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* (2000) 1, no. 3: 144.
- 6 Stanley Marcus, *Minding the Store: A Memoir* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1974), 115–116.
- 7 *Ibid.*
- 8 According to one writer at *Women’s Wear Daily*, “We predict that the influence of this order will... achieve a new and patriotic cooperation between buyer and manufacturer, between retailer and customer.” Quoted in Marcus, *Minding the Store*, 115–116.

economy.⁴ The United States apparel industry even marketed goods as patriotic to stimulate, not curb, consumer spending. Many consumers had more money in their pockets than prior to the war to facilitate spending on clothing and other non-durable items due to massive federal spending in the defense industries.⁵ These conflicts may have created feelings of ambivalence in consumers. What has not been reported is how consumers of women’s apparel felt about the regulated apparel styles, if they knew about them at all. The purpose of this research was to examine how female consumers of women’s apparel were influenced by the federal regulations on this apparel during World War II. After completing a number of interviews, we realized that many of the women we interviewed recalled wearing skirts and sweaters but not much else. Therefore we decided to examine extant wartime apparel in order to provide a more complete picture of women’s wartime styles.

War Production Board and Limitation Order 85

Before Pearl Harbor, the federal government began to encourage manufacturers of consumer goods to produce goods needed for war. After Pearl Harbor, in January of 1942, the Roosevelt administration created a federal

agency, the War Production Board (WPB), to oversee the manufacture of civilian consumer goods. The women’s apparel division of the WPB was created to manage women’s apparel in order to prevent the shortage of textile fibers that were needed for uniforms, parachutes, ammunition bags, and other necessities of war. Stanley Marcus, co-owner of the luxury department store Neiman-Marcus, was asked to head the women’s and children’s sections of the clothing division.

Marcus was instructed to write regulations to save fabric and to develop orders that would “freeze fashion as it was in 1942.”⁶ Many people recognized that Marcus could not just issue a specified yardage of fabric to apparel manufacturers or a predetermined number of garments to be produced. Regulations such as these would have required “an army of enforcement agents... to check for compliance.”⁷ Rather, Marcus and his associates decided on specific prohibitions that would be easy to observe and to determine whether manufacturers were in compliance with the apparel regulation. For example, if a retailer sold full pleated skirts and bodices with full, leg-of-mutton sleeves, it would not only be considered out-of-fashion but unpatriotic.⁸ Therefore, Marcus’s “enforcement agents” were the customers as

FIGURE 5 “Authorized Measurements for Daytime Dress.” *Women’s Wear Daily*, April 8, 1942.

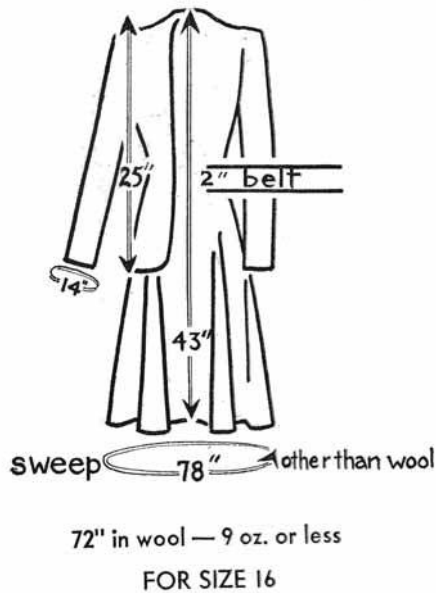
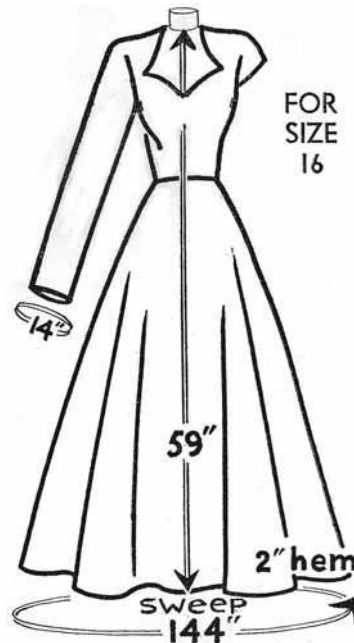


FIGURE 6 “Authorized Measurements for Evening Dress.” *Women’s Wear Daily*, April 8, 1942.



well as the apparel retailers in competition for consumer dollars. Manufacturers and retailers caught violating the L-85 restrictions were threatened with monetary fines and/or jail.⁹

On April 8, 1942, *Women’s Wear Daily* published the “General Limitation Order L-85, Restrictions on Feminine Apparel for Outerwear and Certain Other Garments,” which prohibited style and construction details that required excessive fabric. The federal government predicted that defense requirements would eventually create “a shortage in the supply of wool, silk, rayon, cotton and linen” fabrics. The limitation order was an attempt by the federal government to prevent acute shortages.¹⁰ FIGURES 5 AND 6 illustrate the L-85 restrictions for daytime and evening dress. L-85 restrictions also changed the way consumers could purchase apparel. Before restrictions, manufacturers and retailers could sell apparel as a single unit (i.e., “a coat with a suit, a jacket with a dress, or a coat with a dress”); restrictions favored selling items, such as a coat or dress, separately.¹¹

In the summer of 1942, Marcus noted that “the majority of mass manufacturers are working up to the full limitation of measurement. But the top designers, in order to have distinction, are working below limitations.”¹² In spring 1943 some designers “announced. . . that their spring designs reflected a desire to conserve even more fabric than the government asked.”¹³ As rumors continued to spread, indicating that clothes would have to be rationed despite the L-85, the WPB announced revisions to the order in May 1943 that created “a more strictly defined silhouette.”¹⁴ Restrictions remained in effect until 1946.¹⁵

Method

The research process was a combination of oral history interviews, review of historical written materials and photographs, and analysis of extant garments. The predominant focus of this research was to access “source material that is otherwise inaccessible” to historians and shed light on wartime consumer behavior, thus learning more about

- 9 Jonathan Walford, *Forties Fashion: From Siren Suits to the New Look* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2008), 67; *Women’s Wear Daily*, April 8, 1942: Section 1, p. 1.
- 10 “General Limitation Order L-85,” *Women’s Wear Daily*, April 8, 1942: section 2. Similar to today, there must have been consumers who were not knowledgeable about fibers. However, our respondents were aware of many of the characteristics of wool, silk, cotton, flax/linen, and rayon.
- 11 Winifred J. Ovitee, “Industry Owes Appreciation for Fashion Understanding In Rulings of Order L-85,” *Women’s Wear Daily*, April 8, 1942: section 1, p. 3.
- 12 Nona Baldwin, “Says Design Gains By Dress Limiting,” *The New York Times*, August 15, 1942, 7.
- 13 Winifred Spear, “Dress Designers Surpass the WPB in Effecting Savings in Material,” *The New York Times*, March 27, 1943, 10.
- 14 S. S. Buckland, “Promoting American Fashion 1940 Through 1945: From Understudy to Star” (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 1996), 173.
- 15 Valerie Mendes and Amy de la Haye, *20th Century Fashion* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1999), 119.

- 16 Ida Juul, "Educational Narratives: Educational History Seen From a Micro-Perspective," *Paedagogica Historica* 44, no. 6 (2008): 707.
- 17 After we received IRB approval from Oregon State University, the first author conducted semi-structured interviews in the participants' homes.
- 18 For example, did women read *Vogue* or other fashion periodicals? How often did they go shopping or browse new apparel styles?
- 19 Many respondents shared photographs. Many of the photographs had written dates and location information on the back. Only three participants kept and could locate extant wartime garments. But, despite the possibility of memory loss, we are confident that the garments they shared were in fact from the period of study because of their comments regarding the garments. Respondents recalled where they wore, or, in Beverly's case, where her mother wore, the garments. The garment styles also matched descriptions of WWII era garments.
- 20 Most of the women in the "other" group had experiences similar to the other women but did not fit neatly into the other three categories. For example, one woman obtained her bachelor's degree at the start of the war and then went to graduate school. One woman did not fit into the other three categories; she was divorced at the start of the war, had been working as a timber grader on the Northern California coast, and then joined the military and was in Europe during the war.
- 21 All names have been changed to protect the anonymity of the women. Marcia was seventeen years old when the war started in 1941. Marcia lived in Polson, Montana, with her parents; she was married in 1942 but stayed with her parents until she graduated from high school. After graduating, she went to Seattle where her husband was working at Boeing. The couple then moved to Tacoma, Washington, where her husband took "a better job...at the shipyard." Her husband then went into the army, and she moved to Idaho where he went to boot camp until he went to war in fall 1943. By this time Marcia was raising a child and decided to return to her parents' home in Montana.
- 22 Virginia was eighteen years old when the war started in 1941. Virginia's father owned a wheat and cattle ranch in Eastern Oregon. Virginia married during this time and spent time in Enterprise, Alabama, where her husband was stationed before being sent overseas.
- 23 Buckland, "Promoting American Fashion," 191.

how women in the United States during World War II were influenced by the federal regulations on women's apparel.¹⁶ Thirty female respondents were asked general questions about the war, wartime apparel styles, and questions about the federal regulations imposed on dress.¹⁷ In addition, participants were asked about their wartime clothing purchases, whether they sewed, if they recalled regulations on patterns, if they were interested in fashion, and demographic questions.¹⁸ We also asked participants to share wartime photographs, extant garments, letters, or other wartime memorabilia during the interviews.¹⁹ For women who indicated that they were employed, we asked questions about their wartime employment and how they spent their wages. Interviews were recorded and transcribed prior to constant comparative analysis of the transcriptions.

The thirty women who were interviewed were at least thirteen years old in 1941, the year the United States entered the war. Twelve of the women lived in Oregon at some point during the war; eight women lived exclusively in Oregon; and the remaining ten women lived throughout the country. This age group was selected because these women would have been old enough to remember the 1940s apparel styles, purchase or participate in the purchase of women's wear, and remember their shopping experiences. The women were graduates of Oregon State College home economics department during the war, women listed in an on-campus aging studies database; and women recommended by the staff of local museums. Some women recommended friends who would be interested in participating in the study. The women we interviewed shared similar life experiences during the war and could be grouped into four categories: (1) those who were in school, then graduated, and then went to work; (2) those who were in school,

graduated, got married, worked, traveled the country following their husbands who were in the service, had a child, and returned home, often to their parents; (3) those who were in school, then graduated, worked, and then were married; and (4) other.²⁰

Women's Wartime Apparel

Interest in Fashion

We noted a discrepancy between what our respondents stated about their interest in fashion and the themes found in advertisements. Even though the women were informed in our initial contact that we were interested in wartime apparel, during the interviews half of the women reported that they were not interested in fashion. Marcia stated that the "war was your full attention. . . I don't think very many people concentrated on clothes [during] those years."²¹ Virginia explained that "fashion was at the bottom of everyone's priority at that point."²² These sentiments differ from the themes expressed in many retailer and manufacturer advertisements; "In promoting fashion merchandise, retailers emphasized two major themes—quality investments in clothing purchases and women's responsibility to look attractive for their men's morale."²³

The other half of the women reported an interest in fashion. Two expressed the idea that teenagers are always interested in fashion and appearance. Norma explained that she was interested in fashion and keeping up on the latest styles. But she stated she was not too involved "because I didn't have that much choice in what was available or occasion to [wear fashionable apparel during the war]." Rosemary remembered going to fashion shows at the Portland, Oregon, department store Meier and Frank; "oh my, everyone wanted to go to Meier and Frank to see what they were having this year so we always made

FIGURE 7 Oregon State College Suski club featuring women wearing pleated wool skirts. *Beaver* (1942), 346, used with permission.



an effort to do that and. . .it seems to me that [Charles F.] Bergs had times when salespeople were modeling. . .we paid a lot of attention to what was in [fashion].”²⁴ Other stores also had fashion shows. For example, Lipman-Wolf, another Portland, Oregon, department store, hosted an annual fashion show for college students, and in August 1942 they advertised regulated styles.²⁵

Though only half of the respondents stated an interest in fashion, it may be that those respondents expressing no interest were interested in their appearance. However, the concept of “fashion” made them think of high fashion rather than just an interest in clothing, contemporary styles, and trends. It is understandable that not all of the women interviewed had an interest in fashion, but it is difficult to believe that only half of the women we talked with expressed interest in fashion. Even Anita, who was the most outspoken in her indifference toward clothing, shared a picture of herself and two friends wearing “fashionable” wartime styles.

Recalled Styles

Twenty-seven of the women interviewed were in school at some time during the war, and many reported wearing similar styles of

clothing. Eighteen respondents remembered wearing pleated wool skirts—Pendleton plaid, if you could afford it— with blouses and sweaters; and bobby socks with saddle shoes or penny loafers. According to a “Campus Poll” conducted by *Design for Living: The Magazine for Young Moderns*, the “average college girl spent” seventy-five percent of her waking hours in the sweater-skirt ensemble.²⁶ The college photo, **FIGURE 7**, shows young women wearing this ensemble.

Some of the women volunteered that they never wore pants; however, four women recalled that they did wear pedal pushers and slacks, but only for sports and casual occasions. Four women were pregnant at least once during the war and needed to acquire clothes to fit their changing bodies.²⁷ Twenty-four of the women discussed the difficulty of obtaining silk stockings during the war. Seven recalled that they or someone they knew used leg makeup and drew faux seams down the back of their legs.²⁸

Extant Styles

After completing two-thirds of the interviews, we realized that few of the women recalled styles other than the sweater/skirt combination probably due to their age during

24 Charles F. Bergs was an apparel boutique store in Portland, Oregon.

25 “Store Shows ‘War’ Clothes,” *Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon), August 21, 1942: Section 2: 6. For a discussion of fashion shows in New York, see also Sandra S. Buckland, “Promoting American Designers, 1940–44: Building Our Own House,” in *Twentieth-Century American Fashion*, ed. Linda Welters and Patricia A. Cunningham (Oxford: Berg, 2005), 117.

26 “‘Miss Average College Girl’, 1941,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, accessed June 10, 2011, <http://chronicle.com/blogs/tweed/miss-average-college-girl-1941/21010>. The original *Design for Living: The Magazine for Young Moderns* could not be obtained for examination.

27 Maternity clothing was not affected by L-85.

28 The use of leg makeup was mentioned in fashion magazines: “But this Summer You’ll Try Leg Makeup. Because you Want to Save your Precious Stockings”; “Leg Make-Up: How to Give Yourself a Good Tanning,” *Glamour* (July 1942), 17.

- 29 Eleven casual everyday dresses; seven suits; four dresses for dressy occasions; three blouses; two jackets; two sweaters; two coats; one swimsuit; one pair of overalls; one pinafore; and one three-piece ensemble were examined.
- 30 Even with the use of primary and secondary sources and a third expert, there is still a possibility that some of the garments may not be wartime styles.
- 31 We examined a Jantzen sweater; an Eisenberg & Sons evening dress; a day dress with a “Betty Baxley Frocks” label; a jacket with a “Barbara Page Originals” label; a “Tailored Lass” suit; an “Astor of Philadelphia” suit; a suit with matching coat by “Fashionbilt [sic] The Well Made Garment”; and a “Judy Bond” blouse. We also examined a dress with a Nettie Rosenstein label and a Louise Barnes Gallagher suit; the Gallagher suit also had a retailer label from Nicholas Ungar’s, a Portland, Oregon, boutique. A jacket with a Meier & Frank label was also examined. Meier & Frank was an Oregon department store.
- 32 Nona Baldwin, “Says Design Gains By Dress Limiting,” *The New York Times*, August 15, 1942, 7.
- 33 Length and sweep requirements varied by size: Misses’ sizes were listed in 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, and 20. For misses’ size 10 day dresses could have a length up to 41 inches and a sweep (other than wool fabric) of 74 inches; misses’ size 14 day dresses could have a length up to 42½ inches and a sweep (other than wool fabric) of 76½ inches; misses’ size 20 day dresses could have a length up to 44 inches and a sweep (other than wool fabric) of 81 inches. “Fashions for Victory: General Limitation Order L-85,” *Women’s Wear Daily*, April 8, 1942.
- 34 F. W. Walton, *Thread of Victory* (New York: Fairchild Publishing Co., 1945), 265. In *Zoot Suit: The Enigmatic Career of an Extreme Style*, Kathy Peiss discusses the sale of zoot suits, a men’s wartime style considered unpatriotic due to the excessive fabric used to produce the style. Peiss explains that retailers caught selling the zoot suit “would be prosecuted and punished with a fine of \$10,000 and a year in prison.” However, the regulations were difficult to enforce and the sale of zoot suits continued. Kathy Peiss, *Zoot Suit: The Enigmatic Career of an Extreme Style* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 38.
- 35 Nan Turner also discusses respondents and their reuse of fabric during World War II. “Valerie F. (American, born 1922) told me about her mother shortening a skirt and using the fabric cut from the hem as an insert at the front to create panels and enlarge the skirt that had become too small.” Nan Turner, “Deprivation Fashion,” *DUCK: Journal for Research in Textiles and Textile Design* (2011) 12, no. 2: 14.

the war. To provide a more complete picture of civilian war dress we examined twenty-nine extant garments from three museums and one university collection, in addition to six garments that belonged to the respondents, for a total of thirty-five garments.²⁹ We began with the museum’s date for the garments, and then verified the date using our knowledge of wartime and primary and secondary sources. We also used a third historic dress expert if we had questions about the dates of garments. Few of the extant garments had donor provenance that could corroborate the date or location in which the garment was worn.³⁰ Eleven garments had a designer/manufacturer or retailer label.³¹ If one assumes that the garment manufacturers followed the apparel regulations, an analysis of extant garments would indicate that the L-85 order was generous and not very “limiting,” since it had been reported that many of the US apparel manufacturers worked “up to the full limitation of measurement.”³² Our analysis also revealed that the order was not always followed.

The amount of regulated fabric for a garment depended on the style, where the garment was intended to be worn (i.e., day or evening), and size of wearer. The lengths and sweeps of most of the surviving garments appear to fit into the range of acceptance based on size.³³ While most garments fit the required length and sweep (i.e., circumference of skirt) requirements, some of the regulated style details, like cuff and sleeve style, may have been followed less strictly, despite the threat of penalty.³⁴ In some cases there were style characteristics not regulated that might have saved material. For example, pinafores and aprons were commonly worn over day dresses. A homemade pinafore with large peplum-style pockets was among the extant garments (FIGURE 8). Pinafores were not

FIGURE 8 Pinafore, ca. 1945. Courtesy of Benton County Historical Society and Museum. Gift of the Beth Russell Estate, 2004-063. 0002.



prohibited, but they were not necessary. Notably, a pinafore could help to preserve a dress underneath or provide a different look. If manufacturers had stopped manufacturing them or if women’s magazines and pattern books stopped promoting them, they may no longer have been purchased or made and worn.

Five garments violated the order. These garments had lengths and sweep circumferences in excess of the regulations, French cuffs, and pant legs that exceeded the nineteen-inch circumference allowed under the order. One of the day dresses that violated the sweep limitations may have been homemade. The dress was shortened at some point by two and a half inches, and the band of fabric that was removed is currently stored with the artifact. The fabric may have been kept to reuse.³⁵ In addition to the day dress, the same owner made a pair of multi-colored striped seersucker overalls with wide pant legs that exceeded the regulations. Our sample also included an extant box coat that

FIGURE 9 Eisenberg and Sons dress, ca. 1945.
Courtesy of Oregon Historical Society, 72-173.4.



was part of a matching three-piece pinstriped suit. The sale of two-piece ensembles was permitted, but the order prevented retailers from selling a suit with matching coat at a single unit price. We do not know the circumstances under which this ensemble was purchased; it is possible the owner paid separately for the matching coat.

Five extant garments pushed the limits of the order with fabric-covered buttons, metal ornaments, raglan sleeves, or excessive ornamentation. While fabric-covered buttons and rickrack trim do not require much material, the garments could have been designed with different closures and ornamentation to save materials. Padded shoulders, a popular wartime feature, were considered part of the “body basic.”³⁶ However, it should be noted that using shoulder pads required additional materials. One suit we examined with a Louise Barnes Gallagher label had shoulder pads; each shoulder pad had a “Jan-ette made in California” manufacturer label. A shirtwaist style dress with short raglan sleeves was examined. Though raglan sleeves were not included in the limitation order, they can require more fabric than a set-in sleeve. A dress with an all-over “brass nail-head” design was examined (FIGURE 9). This use of metal appears to defy the conservation of metal.³⁷ Similarly, slide fasteners, better known as zippers, were restricted to military and “the most essential use.”³⁸ However, almost half of the extant garments had zipper closures. In addition, two dresses had two sets of zippers. One of these dresses had a zipper used as ornamentation and a left side seam zipper closure. The other dress had a zipper at the back of the bodice and at the left side waist. The designer/manufacturer of these garments may have used reclaimed zippers as Frank Walton, director of the Textile, Clothing and Leather Division of the War Production Board between March 1941 and October 1943,

indicated. But it appears that zippers were not that difficult to obtain or there were large inventories of zippers.³⁹

The remaining twenty-five extant garments fell within the guidelines of the order. Generally, the extant garment styles reflected what is typically referred to as the “wartime style.” For example, there were suits and two-piece ensembles with narrow, just-below-the-knee length flared skirts. Bodices were fitted with padded shoulders. Style details (i.e., collar style, pockets, ornamentation, and so forth) varied, but fell within the limitations. Some of the fabrics used to make the extant garments reflect the use of alternative, man-made fibers like rayon and nylon. Wood was also an alternative material used for shoes, belt buckles, and buttons. The use of wood and relatively new fibers like rayon and nylon illustrates the flexibility that textile and apparel manufacturers and apparel designers demonstrated during the war. Nylon was pulled from the civilian market in March 1942,

³⁶ *Women’s Wear Daily*, April 8, 1942.

³⁷ Though this garment had a WWII silhouette and style characteristics, it is possible that the garment pre-dates December 1941, or it was manufactured early in the war when inventories of decorative metal trims were still available. “Dresses embellished with decorative gold, brass or silver nail heads first appeared in the late 1930s. Usually seen on solid-color ‘background’ dresses of wool or synthetic crepe, nail heads were used as glittering accents on bodice, sleeves, belt, collar, pocket or cuffs. . . . Typical placement usually focused on the neckline and upper bodice, though print advertisements indicate that nail heads were placed anywhere and everywhere.” “Nail head dresses,” *FIDM Museum Blog*, May 20, 2010, <http://blog.fidmmuseum.org/museum/2010/05/nail-head-dresses.html>.

³⁸ “Old ‘zippers’ were reclaimed” from older garments. Walton, *Thread of Victory*, 139.

³⁹ “Lighter and shorter zippers were made in order to stretch available metal supplies.” In addition, manufacturers began experimenting with alternative materials like plastic with some success. Robert Fridel, *Zipper: An Exploration in Novelty* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1994), 200.

FIGURE 10 Dress made of nylon dotted swiss fabric. Courtesy of Oregon Historical Society, 74-215-5.



40 A yellow nylon sweater and a nylon fleece coat were advertised for sale in *Vogue* by retailers Arnold Constable and Saks Fifth Avenue. *Vogue*, August 15, 1942, 48, 107.

41 Walton, *Thread of Victory*, 76.

42 O'Donnol, *American Costume*, 114.

43 The L-85 order was announced over the radio and published in newspapers and in magazines like *Time* and *Vogue*. Walton, *The Thread of Victory*, 11, 35, 81, 106; "New War Fashions Replace Old Patterns; Restrictions Placed on Materials," *Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon), April 9, 1942; *Time*, April 20, 1942, 17; *Vogue*, May 1, 1942, 41.

44 O'Donnol, *American Costume*, 114.

but some garments made from the new material (FIGURE 10) were still available in the early years of the war, at least until their stocks sold out.⁴⁰

The use of prohibited sleeve styles, bias-cut styles, yokes, fabric-covered buttons and loop closures, metal details, tucks, peplum-like pockets, and pleats—to name a few of the extant style details—illustrates the leniency of the limitation order. Frank Walton stated "women's apparel consumes a very large quantity of fabrics. . . . [and it] was recognized that style changes could change the cloth consumption in this field enormously."⁴¹ After examining the extant garments, it became apparent that more reductions in cloth consumption and other materials than were actually regulated would have been possible.

The limitation order was designed to prevent rationing of wartime apparel by reducing the amount of yardage required for women's apparel by fifteen percent.⁴² Though the purpose of the L-85 order was to restrict material use for non-military apparel, the popular media reported that changes to

actual design features and the silhouette were minimal during the war years, and this analysis confirmed this perception.⁴³ Dress historians discuss the L-85 order and the impact on wartime apparel, and we are led to believe that all wartime apparel met these requirements. Some authors even make sweeping, often incorrect, assessments about how the L-85 order influenced apparel. For example, O'Donnol states that "jackets were shortened, and vents, patch pockets, and belts were eliminated."⁴⁴ Examination of this small sample of wartime garments suggests that vents, patch pockets and belts were not "eliminated."

Acquisition of Apparel

During the war respondents in this study reported that they generally purchased their clothes, but they also made some. Rosemary explained that her family purchased "underwear or swimming suits—things that didn't lend themselves to being done on a sewing machine." Ten women exclusively purchased clothing during this time.

Apparel Purchases

Carolyn, who worked as a secretary and dental assistant during the war, said she purchased apparel "every pay day. . . . I got something new every month or so." Kathleen worked at a department store after school and on weekends, and said she likely "bought. . . a dress or a skirt and blouse. . . something like that at least once a month. Maybe just one item—not a whole outfit." She and others recalled that they would get a few more items—"several skirts, several sweaters, more things"—at the beginning of the school year. For others, apparel purchases were less frequent and more memorable.

Memorable purchases typically related to changes in the body due to pregnancy, a special occasion like a wedding, a dance, Easter, a new job, or travel. The women who

traveled around the country with their servicemen husbands relied on purchasing clothes when they were needed. Joyce remembered when she was in Norfolk, Virginia, that she needed to purchase some summer clothing because the only things she had brought were cool-weather clothes made of wool. Respondents also recalled purchases made with earnings from a job. Rosemary went into detail about one summer spent in Alaska visiting family and working odd jobs to earn travel money to go home, “and I had twenty dollars left over to buy a coat.”⁴⁵ Maria recalled buying a yellow dress that she purchased during the summer between her sophomore and junior year of high school. She saved the dress to wear when she was a USO hostess and went to the dances at Camp Adair, a US Army training facility north of Corvallis, Oregon.

When asked how frequently they bought clothing, most replied that they did not buy clothing that often; they sometimes purchased new blouses, sweaters, skirts, underclothes, or a new coat at the beginning of the school year. Fourteen women remembered that they liked to go downtown and browse the stores and look at the new styles. Janet stated that she and her friends would take the bus or street car into downtown Seattle and shop in the big department stores, though they “usually didn’t end up buying anything.” Many of the women not only liked to browse the styles, but many said they would see something they liked and go home and try to make it. When asked how often and why they would replace clothing, some explained that they did not replace clothing. Instead they kept everything until it wore out or became too small, and then they usually passed the garments down to other family members. This was a practice that was likely learned during the Depression. Five recalled a change in style being the

motivation for new clothing. Carolyn explained that new clothes were purchased due to a “change of style most of the time. Never wore out but change of style.”

Apparel Construction

Nineteen women said they sewed during the war, but only six stated they sewed frequently.⁴⁶ When Rita left home in 1943 to go to school, she took her sewing machine with her and would “whip up whatever I needed. . . . I was busy sewing a lot and when other people went home for vacation I often stayed at the house and did sewing.” Two-thirds of the women recalled sewing with their mothers. Beverly’s mother made or re-made some slacks and sent them to her. The following is a letter from Beverly to her mother dated January 1944:

I got my slacks in the mail today. They really fit swell and are just the right length with the cuff turned up like you had it. The only thing is that they are a little bit too tight around the waist, but I set the button over and it will be all right till I get home. I noticed that you cut the band long enough just in case.

No one recalled there being any regulations on apparel patterns, even though in 1943 pattern manufacturers were “required. . . to produce patterns in accordance with the regulations for apparel.”⁴⁷ Regulations would not affect patterns already in use. Those who did sew and used apparel patterns said there was no difficulty in finding apparel patterns. Phyllis recalled that there were “loads and loads of patterns available” at department stores and five-and-dime-type stores. Some recalled going to browse the patterns for fun. Rosemary explained that “if we had time to waste downtown we would just go to the yard goods department and look through the pattern books.”

⁴⁵ Rosemary was twenty years old when the war started in 1941. Rosemary lived in Portland, Oregon, with her parents. She went to Oregon State College and received a degree in home economics in 1943. The first summer after graduation Rosemary worked “for the Navy in their dispersing office. . . in Portland at Swan Island.” Rosemary married later that year and traveled with her husband across the country for Navy training. The couple lived in Philadelphia, Detroit, New York, Rhode Island, and California. After her husband went overseas, Rosemary returned to her parents’ house in Portland where she had a baby.

⁴⁶ There were eight former home economics majors. Three of these women explained that they received a BS in Home Economics Education, meaning that they took courses in home management, nutrition, and sewing. However, Rita, a former chemistry major, sewed more frequently than did any of the former home economics majors.

⁴⁷ Walton, *Thread of Victory*, 115.

- 48 The fabric made from protein fibers found in skim milk is a type of azlon fiber, a “generic term for fibers composed of regenerated proteins derived from such natural substances as peanuts, corn and milk.” Specifically casein fibers are “regenerated protein fibers produced by precipitating casein from skim milk and dissolving it in an alkaline solution, which is then aged and spun through spinnerets into an acid bath.” Isabel B. Wingate, *Fairchild’s Dictionary of Textiles*, 6th ed. (New York: Fairchild Publications, 1979), 35, 109.
- 49 Meg Jacobs, *Pocketbook Politics: Economic Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 212.
- 50 “Miss Average College Girl,” 1941, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, accessed February 2, 2010, <http://chronicle.com/blogs/tweed/miss-average-college-girl-1941/21010>.
- 51 *Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon), October 18, 1942, 7.

When asked if fabric was restricted, Barbara mentioned that silk fabric was not available for lining. In her tailoring class she explained that they used a fine cotton fabric, and “everyone was really happy when the synthetic silk” came out. She also recalled that wool fabric was difficult to find during the war and as a replacement they used an innovative fabric made of skim milk.⁴⁸ Barbara explained that she made a dress out of this fabric, but, when she wore it to the movies, the dress started to emanate a sour milk smell, and she never wore it again. In a letter home to her mother, Beverly wrote that her friend Lenore “has to make a suit during spring term, but her mother looked for some wool and couldn’t find it. Didn’t Turner’s have some when we were there?” Rosemary did not “remember having any trouble getting anything I wanted, but I didn’t want an awful lot. . . . There wasn’t as much available in wool but we still had wool sweaters.”

Clothing Budget

Some of the women purchased apparel with their own earnings. Those still in school and dependent on financial support from their parents tended to use their family’s money. Carolyn, who was not married but was working, said that at that age “it was all my money. Mother might have bought me something at Christmas.” Those who were still dependent on their parents typically used a combination of their parents’ money for clothing during the war and the money they earned themselves.

Ten of the women had some job related to the war, but only one mentioned anything about wages. Phyllis worked in the offices at Oregon Shipbuilding Corporation in Portland, Oregon, and she explained that she felt “really lucky to get that job [because] most of my friends were having a horrible time getting a job that paid any money. . . [it was] just a real plum because I got a lot more money than

all my friends were making, and I don’t remember how much it was but it seemed like a lot at the time.” It may be that the other nine women who worked in war-related jobs made good wages too, but the rising cost of consumer goods and living expenses made that wage increase less noticeable. Despite government controls, inflation continued to be a problem during the war. Food and clothing were most affected; according to one source the “average department-store purchase rose from two dollars in 1940 to ten dollars in 1944.”⁴⁹

In 1942 *Ladies’ Home Journal* published the “How America Lives” series that followed families across the United States. One of the features of the articles was the family budget. Income varied but the amount of money spent on clothing differed; it ranged between four and ten percent of the total budget. According to a survey conducted by *Design for Living: The Magazine for Young Moderns* the “average college girl” spent \$240.33 a year on clothing.⁵⁰ In an *Oregonian* article titled “Day of Idle Women Gone for Duration As War Calls for Sensible Styles,” the author explained that “girls who work in clerical jobs for the government have small clothes budgets—no more than a little over \$100 a year.”⁵¹

War-Inspired Clothing

When asked if patriotic style and design elements made their way into clothing, most said that they did not think so. Gloria explained that she “had a red coat. . . but it wasn’t because I was patriotic.” Joyce did not “remember specifically red, white, and blue stuff, but I think there was a more tailored look to clothes.” However, Kathleen recalled “sailor suits. . . and navy looking hats. . . were in style.” In a 1943 advertisement that ran in the *Oregonian*, a nautical motif was clearly the inspiration for a two-piece navy dress that could be purchased from Grayson’s, a Portland, Oregon, retailer. The dress

FIGURE 11 Advertisement for Grayson’s in Portland, Oregon. *Oregonian*, January 3, 1943, 4.

4.99
at *Grayson's*

two piece
furlough favorite in
Navy Blue

Trick! Trick! Shipshape! You'll sail right into his heart when he sees you in this ... the frock he'll remember you in best. Smart sailor lines from the great big collar with flatterin' white tie that's soft at the throat; to pleated skirt — all frosted with a white braid trim. And best of all ... it's a really good navy rayon, crepe two-piece priced! for a song. Sizes 10-16. **\$4.99**

FIGURE 12 Dress, ca. 1945. Courtesy of Benton County Historical Society and Museum. Gift of the Beth Russell estate, 2001-099.0001 A-C.



(FIGURE 11) was illustrated with a sailor collar with white trim on the collar, cuffs, and patch pockets.⁵² The skirt had all-over pleating, which was prohibited under the L-85 orders.⁵³ Advertisements showed clothing with patriotic themes; however, consumers may have been reluctant to buy the garments because they were not seen as long-term investments for their wardrobes.

As for patriotic colors, Diane stated “I think we probably wore red, white, and blue quite a bit. . . . I think there was probably prints, material, or ready-made clothing with a red, white, and blue or stars or sometimes sailor motifs.” This statement is somewhat confirmed by both extant garments and photographs (compare FIGURES 11 AND 12). At the Benton County Historical Society and Museum we examined a dress with red, white, and blue floral print. The original owner wore this dress to USO dances, and a similar dress was worn to a V-J Day parade in Corvallis.⁵⁴ It

⁵² Collars exceeding five inches in width were prohibited under the order. The back of sailor collars are often wider than five inches. Walton, *Thread of Victory*, 266.

⁵³ *Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon), January 3, 1943, 4.

⁵⁴ According to museum records, the extant dress is the same dress worn in the photograph. While the owner/wearer is the same, we believe that the dresses are not the same dress because the motifs in the pattern of the dress in the photo appear to be larger and the sleeve styles do not appear to be the same.

FIGURE 13 Photograph of dress similar to that in Figure 13. Courtesy of Benton County Historical Society and Museum. According to museum records this photograph was taken on VJ Day in Corvallis, Oregon, on Madison Avenue next to the Benton Hotel in August, 1945. 1995-001.0093.



⁵⁵ Walton, *The Thread of Victory*, 11, 35, 81, 106. On April 9, 1942, the day after WWD published the limitation order, the *Oregonian* ran a brief article titled “New War Fashions Replace Old Patterns; Restrictions Placed on Materials,” *Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon), April 9, 1942.

⁵⁶ *Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon), April 26, 1942.

seems quite likely that the wearer intended to show her patriotism by wearing a red, white, and blue print dress. Oregon Historical Society and Museum also has a dress made of blue fabric with a red and white print. See **FIGURES 12, 13 AND 14** for extant garments with patriotic design elements.

Apparel Regulations

When asked to describe wartime clothing, Brenda said that they were “vanilla, just plain vanilla.” Joan said they were “basic, simple, not a lot of frills.” Despite these comments that hint at the federal regulations and dye restrictions, all respondents stated they were not aware of the apparel regulations, even though they most likely listened to the radio and read newspapers and magazines where, according to Walton, the order was discussed.⁵⁵ Joyce thought that if there were apparel regulations they “would be in the manufacturing end.” Most women were not this intuitive, and one assuredly said that apparel was not regulated. Some retailers even acknowledged the limitation order in

newspaper advertisements and store windows (**FIGURE 15**).⁵⁶

Even though the women we interviewed stated they were unaware of the regulations, some consumers learned about the order over the radio as can be seen in the following letter to the War Production Board, where one woman expressed her concern with the L-85 order and what it might do to morality:

Dear Sirs:

I have just heard on the radio that your Board has made a law where the women of this so-called free country must wear their dresses only to the knees. Christian people should not have to do this. You are trying to ruin people’s character who are trying to live right. You should be trying to win the war. It would be just as crazy for the men to cut their pants legs off at the knees. Dresses to our knees are only for other men to look at. There is too much sin already. If this would win the war it would be different but you on the Board had better get down on your knees and pray and maybe we will get somewhere.

FIGURE 14 Shirtdress, ca. 1945. Courtesy of Oregon Historical Society. Accession number 76-109.



It was also stated in the papers that WPB had today invaded a field where few husbands dare to tread. Is that any of your business? I prefer my dresses below my knees so that when I sit down no one else need know what I have on. That is my business and my husband's business. If you want to be that kind, it is up to you. But I will do my best to serve my country. A better idea would be to limit the number of dresses a woman could have and let us wear the length we please. Think this over and give the women of this grand country their freedom of length. And don't forget to read your Bible. God even clothed Adam and Eve. Try this remedy first before making laws you don't know anything about. Keep these dresses down and there won't be so many divorces.

Yours truly,⁵⁷

Though not remembering the actual regulations as illustrated above, it appeared that some of the respondents remembered that there were changes in wartime apparel by their implied comments, saying that wartime clothing was shorter, “skimpy” or “tight.” Marcia remembered that wartime

FIGURE 15 Advertisement for Bedell's in Portland, Oregon. “Fall Fashion by Uncle Sam.” *Sunday Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon), August 23, 1942.

Fall Fashion
by Uncle Sam

All-American Beauties
in New Drape Silhouette

You would never have guessed you could look so smart, so much slimmer simply by eliminating all fussy details. American designers have created wonderfully feminine draped silhouettes that are utterly irresistible. Bedell's complete fall collection is ready for your approval.

Sizes 12 to 20, 38 to 44;
Half sizes 18½ to 24½.

BEDELL
SIXTH AVENUE CORNER ALDER

A. New side-saddle drape with attractive contrasting detail. Misses sizes 19.95

B. Sleek, smooth fit around the hips with drape from the center waistline. Misses sizes 25.00

C. Sequin trimmed fitted bodice, low waistline, full draped skirt. Misses sizes 24.95

57 Walton, *The Thread of Victory*, 78–79.

apparel was “skimpy, short and. . .not a lot of. . .big lapels and that sort of thing.” Most recalled that shoes were rationed and hard to find; some fabric or notions were of lesser quality and more difficult to find or not available; and that stockings were difficult to find or not available. When asked if she remembered any changes to wartime apparel, Gloria explained that the change came more from the transition from being a student to entering the workplace where her dress requirements changed. “I was going through a different phase in my life from going to school to starting to teach, so I changed from sweaters and skirts and bobby socks more to

- 58 "Wartime Living: In the Stretch," *Time*, April 20, 1942, 17.
- 59 Farrell-Beck and Parsons, *20th-Century dress in the United States*, 124.
- 60 Buckland, "Promoting American Fashion," 173.
- 61 Sarah B. Marketti and Jean L. Parsons, "American Fashions for American Women: Early Twentieth Century Efforts to Develop an American Fashion Identity," *Dress* 34 (2007): 79.
- 62 For more information, see Sheryl Farnan Leipzig, Jean L. Parsons and Jane Farrell-Beck, "It is a Profession that is New, Unlimited, and Rich: Promotion of the American Designer in the 1930s," *Dress* 35 (2008–2009): 29–47.
- 63 "Norman Norell, Nettie Rosenstein, Jo Copeland, Adele Simpson, Claire McCardell, Mollie Parnis, and Hannah Troy to mention only a few. . . of the outstanding designers who have cooperated so generously in this plan." Spear, "Dress Designers Surpass the WPB," 10.
- 64 "Store Shows 'War' Clothes," *Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon), August 21, 1942, Section 2: 6; Buckland, "Promoting American Designers, 1940–44," 117.

dresses." This was a theme for many of the women interviewed. Some were either leaving home to attend college and needed more and different types of clothing (i.e., formalwear), getting married and transitioning to a new lifestyle, entering the workforce and needing professional work clothes, following their husbands around the country to places with different climates than they were used to, or having children and needing maternity clothing. Thus they remembered important life changes and related apparel changes, but not apparel regulations, which clearly had not noticeably impacted their apparel decisions and ultimate apparel choices.

Discussion

The War Production Board issued Limitation Order 85 in April 1942 in order to conserve fabric and manpower needed for the war effort. The purpose of the order was to freeze the silhouette so no major style changes would occur during the war. Industry insiders like Stanley Marcus may have anticipated the arrival of the "New Look" (i.e., longer and more voluminous skirts), but the war made it necessary to put the style change on hold. Marcus hoped to "make U.S. women wear old clothes" by instructing editors of women's and fashion magazines, news periodicals, and newspapers to inform consumers "that 1942 models would be no more fashionable than 1941's."⁵⁸

Even though L-85 was intended to "freeze" apparel styles, wartime dress actually became a new style as the focus changed from skirt fullness popular in 1939–1941 to slim skirts popular between 1942 and 1946.⁵⁹ Dress historian Sandra Buckland explains that this style variation occurred because United States fashion designers tried to "conserve even more fabric than the government asked," and in 1943 the limitation order was revised to create a more "strictly defined silhouette."⁶⁰ See **FIGURE 16** for an illustration of Uncle Sam

as dressmaker. Though US designers had been somewhat acknowledged as early as the 1910s, the fashion press acknowledged them in earnest during the war.⁶¹ It was in American fashion designers' best interest to create a name for themselves while Paris, the leader of Western fashion, was occupied by Nazis.⁶² Many designers capitalized on the press related to the war and the L-85 order by creating styles that used less fabric than the government instructed.⁶³ The federal government and American fashion designers innovated a wartime style that trickled down to consumers of mass manufactured apparel. But by the time the slim wartime silhouette became widely available (i.e., sometime after spring 1943), two years of war (the first two years the US was involved) had already passed, the threat of Axis domination was coming to a close, and by 1945 the war was over. Since the forty-eight mainland states never received a direct attack and knew no "serious deprivations," unlike England and Germany, the post-war scarcity of clothing was never realized.

During this period of uncertainty, apparel manufacturers and retailers needed to find ways to encourage consumers to spend money, and they did this through advertisements that integrated public support for the war, fear, and patriotism into their marketing campaigns. Department store advertisements in the Portland, Oregon, newspaper the *Oregonian*, the *New York Times*, and other newspapers around the country, reflected the war and some mentioned or alluded to the limitation orders.⁶⁴

The L-85 order was reported by radio announcements, newspapers, magazines, and sometimes referenced in window displays. Though the thirty women interviewed for this study were not explicitly aware of or did not remember L-85 and its influence on apparel, some did indicate that wartime apparel was shorter, skimpier, and plainer than pre-war

FIGURE 16 Frank L. Walton. *Thread of Victory*, 1st edition. © 1945 by Fairchild Books, a division of Condé Nast Publications, Inc. Reprinted by permission of Fairchild Books, a division of Condé Nast Publications, Inc.



styles. It is understandable that these women were not aware of the limitation orders because the order was not that restricting. Additionally, this sample of women did not consider themselves consumers of high fashion, which, according to Buckland, was more restrictive in material usage than mass-manufactured apparel.⁶⁵

For the most part, the women we interviewed never discarded their clothing during the war. Barbara explained that “even if you didn’t like it you would hang on to it.” These women made do and mended, but not because federal propaganda urged them to; they did it out of economic necessity born out of the Depression era. It is likely that these women did not remember details about wartime clothing due to memory loss, but it is just as likely that they did not remember

much about wartime clothing because they did not have many outfits that stood out among the sweaters and skirts that they wore in those years. Women who were used to purchasing more fashionable apparel, like some of the respondents’ mothers, may have noticed that wartime apparel was not as elaborate and detailed as it had been before the order, but the women interviewed in this study were used to basic skirt and sweater combinations.

What our interviews made clear was that not all consumers were aware of the L-85 orders, and, as illustrated by the extant garments examined for this study, the orders were not that limiting or in some cases, the order was not always followed. Extant garments had style details that either stretched the limits of the L-85 order or outright violated it. It is also clear that more research is needed on extant wartime garments in order to evaluate the effectiveness of the limitation order and to determine regional differences in wartime dress. Research is also needed on wartime home sewing patterns, their style features, and adherence to the limitation orders. The women interviewed in this study were mostly middle and middle-upper class, but they were not consumers of high fashion. Most bought inexpensive ready-made apparel, or as mentioned, they or their mothers made their clothes. They generally were not aware of the changes in the styles of wartime ready-made apparel. The answers of the women interviewed in this study were remarkably similar, and thus it is likely that their experiences were similar to those of many teenagers and twenty-year-olds in the United States during World War II. ■ **DRESS**

65 Buckland, “Promoting American Fashion,” 170.

Bibliography

- Baldwin, Nona. "Says Design Gains By Dress Limiting." *The New York Times*, August 15, 1942.
- Buckland, Sandra Stansbery. "Promoting American Fashion 1940 through 1945: From Understudy to Star." PhD diss., Ohio State University, 1996.
- . "Fashion as a Tool of World War II: A Case Study Supporting the SI Theory." *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 18, no. 3 (2000): 140–151.
- . "Promoting American Designers, 1940–44: Building Our Own House." In *Twentieth-Century American Fashion*. Edited by Linda Welters and Patricia A. Cunningham, 99–121. Oxford: Berg, 2005.
- Farrell-Beck, Jane and Jean Parsons. *20th-Century Dress in the United States*. New York: Fairchild Publications, 2007.
- Fridel, Robert. *Zipper: An Exploration in Novelty*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1994.
- Jacobs, Meg. *Pocketbook Politics: Economic Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Juul, Ida. "Educational Narratives: Educational History Seen from a Micro-Perspective," *Paedagogica Historica* 44, no. 6 (2008): 707–720.
- Leipzig, Sheryl Farnan, Jean L. Parsons, and Jane Farrell-Beck. "It is a Profession that is New, Unlimited, and Rich: Promotion of the American Designer in the 1930s," *Dress* 35 (2008–2009): 29–47.
- Marcus, Stanley. *Minding the Store: A Memoir*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1974.
- Marketti, Sara B. and Jean L. Parsons. "American Fashions for American Women: Early Twentieth Century Efforts to Develop an American Fashion Identity," *Dress* 34 (2007): 79–95.
- Mendes, Valerie and Amy de la Haye. *20th Century Fashion*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1999.
- O'Donnol, Shirley Miles. *American Costume, 1915–1970*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1982.
- Ovitee, Winifred J. "Industry Owes Appreciation for Fashion Understanding in Rulings of Order L-85." *Women's Wear Daily*, April 8, 1942.
- Peiss, Kathy. *Zoot Suit: The Enigmatic Career of an Extreme Style*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.
- Spear, Winifred. "Dress Designers Surpass the WPB in Effecting Savings in Material." *The New York Times*, March 27, 1943.
- The Chronicle of Higher Education*, "'Miss Average College Girl,' 1941," accessed June 10, 2011, <http://chronicle.com/blogs/tweed/miss-average-college-girl-1941/21010>.
- Tortora, Phyllis and Keith Eubank. *Survey of Historic Costume*. 3rd ed. New York: Fairchild Publications, Inc., 1998.
- Turner, Nan. "Deprivation Fashion," *DUCK Journal for Research in Textiles and Textile Design*, 2 (2011): 1–21.
- Walford, Jonathan. *Forties Fashion: From Siren Suits to the New Look*. New York: Thames & Hudson, 2008.
- Walton, Frank W. *Thread of Victory*. New York: Fairchild Publishing Co., 1945.
- Wingate, Isabel B. *Fairchild's Dictionary of Textiles*. 6th ed. New York: Fairchild Publications, 1979.