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Recruitment for the British Armed Forces and Civil Defences: Organising and Producing 'Advertising', 1913-63

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Table of Contents

Statement…………………………………………………………………………….......... pg. 2

Abstract…………………………………………………………………………….......... pg. 3

List of Abbreviations.. pg. 4

Chapter One
'Your Country Needs You': Military Advertising Behind the Image.................................... pg. 5

Chapter Two
Propaganda, Advertising and Promotional Culture: Reviewing the Literature.................. pg. 28

Chapter Three
Researching, Designing and Writing the Thesis: A Methodological Survey..................... pg. 46

Chapter Four
The 'Rush to the Colours': The Great War and the Emergence of Modern
Military Advertising, 1913-15... pg. 65

Chapter Five
'The Irish Problem': Recruiting, Rebellion and Conscription in a Divided
Country, 1914-19.. pg. 87

Chapter Six
'To encourage, inspire and guide': National Service, the 'People's War'
and the Promotion of Civil Defence in Interwar Britain, 1938-39................................... pg. 106

Chapter Seven
Social Survey and the Rise of 'Publicity in Reverse': Military Advertising,
Opinion Polls and the Construction of Public Opinion, 1940-60................................... pg. 126

Chapter Eight
From Advertising to 'Information': Military Recruitment in an Era of
Reform, 1944-51.. pg. 144

Chapter Nine
Civilising the Services: Frederic Hooper, the Termination of Conscription
and the 'Modernisation' of the Military, 1957-63.. pg. 165

Chapter Ten
Conclusion: Military Advertising in Perspective... pg. 187

Bibliography... pg. 203

Statement

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Signature:……………………………………

University of Sussex

Brendan John Maartens, PhD Candidate

Recruitment for the British Armed Forces and Civil Defences: Organising and Producing "Advertising", 1913-63

Summary:

The issue of how governments attract men and women to the armed forces has been a principal concern of historians of propaganda since Harold Lasswell first wrote on the subject in the 1920s. Yet while a great deal has been written about propaganda texts – posters, films, newsreels, radio broadcasts, television programmes, and so on – less attention has been paid to the ways in which these texts were produced and their place within the broader context of 20th century British history. Through an analysis of key institutions and individuals, and drawing on a range of primary and secondary source material, this thesis makes a case for a history of recruitment advertising rooted in the experiences and perspectives of its practitioners. Exploring a number of recruitment campaigns waged in Britain between 1913 and 1963, it studies the business of recruitment not through the medium of individual advertisements, but via the organisations, ideologies and discursive practices that constructed them. Following Liz McFall and Anne Cronin, who argue that advertising can be understood only in relation to the particular historical circumstances that give rise to it, and that advertising is at any one point the sum of the discourses that embody and maintain it, it explores how recruitment campaigns were organised, planned and executed at key moments in British history. Crucial to this approach is an analysis of archival records such as memoranda, minutes of meetings, production logs, memoirs and reports. By examining these records discursively, this thesis encourages a shift from textual readings of recruitment advertising to studies of how relevant organisations and individuals defined and understood recruitment practices as promotional devices intended to exhort and persuade. By examining military advertising through six case studies spanning the wartime, interwar and postwar periods, it explores how ideas about promotion shifted from one era to the next.

List of Abbreviations

ARP – Air-Raid Precautions
BL – British Library
BBC – British Broadcasting Corporation
CCOR – Central Committee for the Organisation of Recruitment in Ireland
CNSC – Central National Service Committee
COI – Central Office of Information
DOR – Department of Recruiting
HO – Home Office
IRC – Irish Recruiting Council
IV – Irish Volunteers
IWM – Imperial War Museum
MO – Mass Observation
MOD – Ministry of Defence
MOI – Ministry of Information
MOL – Ministry of Labour
NA – National Archives
NSC – National Service Committee
PRC – Parliamentary Recruiting Committee
PRD – Public Relations Department
PRO – Public Records Office
UVF – Ulster Volunteer Force
WO – War Office

'Your Country Needs You': Military Advertising Behind the Image

In the history of recruitment advertising, few images have attracted more attention than Alfred Leete's 'Your country needs you' (see figure one). A partial portrait of Lord Horatio Herbert Kitchener, a man regarded by many of his contemporaries as Britain's finest living soldier,[1] Leete's design has captivated historians and social commentators ever since it was first released as a recruiting poster in the dying days of September 1914. The Great War, the conflict to which it owes its origins, is often described in terms derived from the advertisement (as a war fought for 'King and Country', for example, or as a war won by the armies Kitchener himself apparently raised), and the image has also been credited in the popular imagination with being the British Army's 'most famous' recruitment poster.[2] Alongside Savile Lumley's 'Daddy, what did YOU do in the Great War?' (see figure two), another iconic image of the period, 'Your country needs you' has come to symbolise the use of mass media to persuade men and women to join the armed forces. Part of a larger recruitment campaign designed to mobilise the civilian population for war, it was, according to the historian of ephemera Maurice Rickards, the only British poster worthy of artistic distinction:

> Your Country needs YOU is by no means a major work, but its posterly simplicity has impact far in excess of any of its contemporaries. His lordship's accusing finger has haunted Britons since they first saw it. It is the archetype of all wartime father figures, crib-source for a host of mimics. Like the man himself – brooding, compulsive and final – it has entered into the mythology of the nation; it has become a trademark figure for World War I.[3]

The use of posters to promote recruitment in the armed forces is often regarded as a peculiarly 20th century phenomenon. Hoisted onto buildings and monuments and displayed on billboards and hoardings, war posters are, as the editor of one anthology recently remarked, mechanically reproduced objects with no originals.[4] Unlike works of art in the Benjaminian sense of the term however, their 'aura' is derived not from any authorial claim to originality or greatness, but from the quality and quantity of their reproductions – from their ability, that is to say, to be *seen*. Staring ominously into the distance and lifting his right hand only so far as to point at the viewer, the Kitchener poster epitomises the all-seeing figure whose gaze catches passersby precisely as the eyes of passersby are drawn to the figure.

George Orwell introduced a similar character in *1984*, a novel that opened with a description of a 'black-moustachioed face gaz[ing] down from every commanding corner',[5] and there have been so many reproductions, imitations and parodies of Leete's design it is not surprising that the image of Kitchener has continued to cast a long shadow over British history, not least because of what it seems to say about the power of the mass media (and of the medium of posters in particular) to persuade, cajole and wheedle its audiences.[6]

Figure One

A version of Alfred Leete's 'Your country needs you', this poster was produced sometime in late 1914 or 1915.

Leete's signature appears beneath Kitchener's portrait, and the poster acknowledges its origins with a reference to *London Opinion*, the magazine in which it first appeared as a recruiting appeal.

Various versions of the image were produced during the First World War, though this adaptation may be the most well-known.

How that power has been exercised and expressed has been a matter of some debate amongst historians. According to Cate Haste, author of *Keep the Home Fires Burning* (1977),

for example, the Leete poster represented the 'most successful poster' of the First World War because it 'established Kitchener's image as the embodiment of the nation's resolution and strength'. Kitchener, according to Haste, 'recalled Britain's imperial victories'; even 'government leaders who later doubted his capacity to manage the war paid tribute to the success his image had in inspiring confidence' amongst the people.[7] That one man could 'inspire' so much without actually raising a finger – Kitchener posed for no posters himself – may seem remarkable, but eyewitness accounts from the 1914-18 period have indicated that Kitchener's image did have an appreciable impact on the landscapes and cityscapes of modern Britain. According to one article published in the *Manchester Guardian* in 1915, for example, 'Your country needs you' was just one of many recruiting images whose cumulative effect amounted to a visual 'blockade' on pedestrians.

> [War posters] grip you everywhere. They assail you from every corner. They take you in the streets and in the trains. They threaten, persuade, cajole, and frighten. You look on one hand and you see "If this cap fits, join at once". You look on the other and you are asked what the girls and grandchildren will think of you if you hold back. Ahead of you Lord Kitchener bars the way with a terrible look and a menacing finger: 'I want *you*'. The eye is subjected to a 'blockade' where everything is contraband but recruiting appeals.[8]

Opposition to advertising in public places was not new,[9] but the use of it on this scale to promote the armed forces almost certainly was, and has prompted many historians to draw the conclusion that the Kitchener poster exerted an unwieldy influence on the wartime home front.[10] Phil Taylor, who until his death in 2010 was one of Britain's leading propaganda historians, even claimed that a direct (casual) correlation could be drawn between the exhibition of Leete's poster in Britain and the extraordinary rates of enlistment witnessed in the opening stages of the war. 'Recruitment stands set up by the War Office throughout the nation found it difficult to cope with the sheer weight [sic] of volunteers, who rushed forward to sign up in response to Kitchener's outstretched index finger inviting them to enlist simply because "Your King and Country Needs [sic] You"'.[11] Carlo Ginzberg, a prominent exponent of micro-history,[12] has also suggested the Leete poster possessed the power to hypnotise and entrance all those who gazed upon it. Indeed, even though historians today may

> never know how many people decided to volunteer under the impulse of Kitchener's image...[they] can safely assume that the imperatives conveyed by those posters – YOUR KING AND COUNTRY NEED YOU, KITCHENER WANTS MORE MEN, and

so forth – affected many onlookers. The depiction of authority acted like authority itself. A discharge of social energy took place; a command was introjected [sic] and turned into a decision which was, literally, a matter of life and death.[13]

The notion that official 'imperatives' possessed an influence far beyond the media that carried them predated both 'Your country needs you' and the First World War. As early as 1901, J. A. Hobson could write of a 'knot of men, financiers and politicians' whose manipulation of the press and parliament had 'capture[d] the mind of a nation, arouse[d] its passion, and impose[d] a policy'.[14] Hobson's critique of the 'manufacture of jingoism' was aimed squarely at Britain's involvement in the Second Boer War, but it would set the tone for many subsequent studies of the nature and 'effects' of war propaganda. In the interwar years, a number of academics, liberal commentators and Marxists turned their attention to the use of propaganda – a term that had recently come into popular usage, and had quickly developed a pejorative undertone[15] – in 1914-18. Using the Committee on Public Information or 'Creel Committee' as a case study, the American sociologist Harold Lasswell published what may have been the first academic study of the media based on an analysis of 'significant symbols',[16] and he was soon joined by key thinkers associated with the Frankfurt School whose critique of the 'culture industries' and the 'mass society' they sustained aligned the propaganda of totalitarian societies to the commercial advertising of capitalist ones.[17]

Propaganda, however, continues to be regarded as an instrument of state power,[18] and it is perhaps for this reason that 'Your country needs you' was until recently treated as a product of the machinery of government. The Parliamentary Recruiting Committee (PRC), a body established in late August 1914 to produce recruitment advertising on behalf of the War Office (WO), was credited with the production of both 'Your country needs you' and 'Daddy, what did you do in the Great War?', partly because of references to a 'Kitchener poster' in the PRC's holdings and partly because Kitchener was himself apparently involved in recruitment advertising.[19] Furthermore, since the PRC was responsible for well over 100 different poster designs, and for more than 54 million reproductions of posters, leaflets and other printed ephemera,[20] some historians have drawn a connection between its prolific output and the popularisation of the First World War's most famous posters. In two classic works on the political and social history of contemporary Britain, A. J. P. Taylor and Arthur Marwick, for instance, linked 'Your country needs you' to the official recruitment drive, with the latter

claiming that Leete's poster represented the only product of the PRC that deserved creative recognition in an otherwise bland and insipid recruitment campaign.[21]

Figure Two

A notorious First World War recruiting poster, this image has attracted widespread criticism, although some historians have argued that its notoriety can be traced to the interwar years rather than the wartime period.

Usually held up as an example of the depths to which recruiters would plunge in the search for new recruits, there is still some disagreement over who authored this text, with both Savile Lumley and the printer Arthur Gunn claiming credit for it.

Since the late 1990s, however, the belief in the official origins of 'Your country needs you' was placed under sustained scrutiny. In an article published in the now-defunct *Imperial War Museum Review*, Nicholas Hiley challenged the idea that there was a palpable connection between the Leete design and the PRC. Suggesting the 'sheer volume of the PRC's output has served to distort the picture of wartime recruiting', Hiley claimed the attention lavished on images like 'Your country needs you' and 'Daddy, what did you do in the Great War?' has

obscured the complexity of the conditions of production that surrounded these images and removed them their historical context.[22] Offering a close reading of primary sources including production logs and responses to the official recruitment campaign recorded in the press, Hiley dismissed references to a 'Kitchener poster' in official files as references to another, completely different image (see figure three), and repeated Phillip Dutton's earlier observation that there was in fact no official series number for 'Your country needs you' or reference to Leete himself in the PRC's holdings.[23] The tone of the Leete and Lumley designs, furthermore, clashed with the dominant style of the PRC's campaign which veered towards the conservative, and Hiley suggested these posters were produced not by the government's propaganda body, but by a 'new breed of commercial advertiser and graphic designer whose involvement in the recruiting campaign was widely resented' by the British public.[24]

Figure Three
A poster produced and distributed by the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee in 1915, this image appears to have been confused with the original Leete design. The most-produced PRC image, its wording offered a thinly veiled threat to recruits

The evidence for Hiley's thesis is compelling. Although 'Your country needs you' has been widely identified with the machinations of the state, it began life not as a recruitment poster or even as a recruiting appeal in the conventional sense of the term, but as a front cover for a *magazine*. On September 5th 1914, the topical and illustrated weekly *London Opinion* led with Leete's design in an attempt to reverse flagging sales.[25] Contrary to many national newspapers, whose circulation appears to have ballooned at the outset of the war,[26] *London Opinion* struggled to retain the 160,000 weekly-audience it had built up before the declaration of the war on August 4th. Sensing that drastic action was required to claw back some of its lost circulation, Lincoln Springfield, the magazine's owner-editor, commissioned Leete to produce a front cover that captured the 'spirit' of the age and abandoned *London Opinion's* typical style of 'genial, pleasant, good-natured persiflage'.[27] Within a week of the September 5th edition hitting the shelves, Springfield started to receive letters from readers requesting reproductions of the front cover. Within a fortnight, he had begun selling copies of the original front cover on postcards at 1s 4d per 100.[28] It is about this time, and probably using the same printing firm commissioned to produce the postcards, that the Leete design was converted into a recruiting poster and displayed on hoardings in and around London. However, the transformation of the image into a poster does not appear to have been made with the sanction of the PRC or any other government department, and nor did Leete himself, then a freelance artist and graphic designer, appear to have any connection to the armed forces until he enlisted in the Artists Rifle as a corporal and served on the Western Front in 1917-18.[29]

In the wake of Hiley's intervention most historians have tended to be more cautious in their use of the Leete and Lumley designs, especially insofar as they relate to the work of the official recruitment campaign. In his recent survey on the war poster, for example, the cultural historian James Aulich has acknowledged the 'iconic status' of Leete's poster, but suggested its notoriety has 'little to do with its effectiveness as a recruiting tool' and a lot more to do with the ways in which it could be adapted and appropriated by other poster designers. According to Aulich the 'direct and unequivocal address to the viewer' encouraged by 'Your country needs you' provided a 'pattern for other designers to follow', with the original image contributing to a 'popular visual language of repetition'.[30] Keith Surridge's paper on Kitchener's legacy and the image of the British military hero, meanwhile, claims that it is a 'moot point' whether the transformation of *London Opinion's* front cover into a recruiting poster was 'responsible for enticing over 2 million volunteers' to the New Armies. Referencing

Hiley, Surridge suggests that 'Your country needs you' was 'part of an unofficial recruiting campaign and as such its success cannot be accurately gauged', and that 'as an aid to recruiting, the impact of Leete's poster, and others like it, is questionable: most recruiters preferred "genial" rather than "bullying" posters and the commercial origins of the posters themselves was all too obvious and resented' by those who lived in Britain in the war years.[31]

Whether a poster was distributed by a government or by a private patriotic organisation might seem a trivial question to ask; 'Your country needs you', after all, contained the same function or purpose regardless of whether it was produced or popularised by the state. Yet the origins and ownership of a promotional image are crucial for determining its place within the broader context of the society (or societies) that create it. For Hiley, the present-day notoriety of the Leete and Lumley designs owes less to their 'effect' as recruiting appeals than it does to the popular backlash against propaganda in the interwar years, when contemporaries wished to see such posters as emblems of a callous and overbearing government only too eager to plumb the depths of persuasion in an attempt to recruit the 'lost generation' to the armed forces.[32] For Aulich, commenting on a much larger sample, images like Leete's illustrate the 'shifting and symbiotic relationships' that existed between governments, commercial culture and the media industry during the 20th century. Recruitment posters, which may seem like archetypal examples of government propaganda, were often produced by private advertisers whose previous experience selling products was put to use in the 'sale' of war. The language of commercial advertising infiltrated the official and unofficial recruitment campaigns for the New Armies, but it also had a profound effect on commercial imagery and communication which itself began to ape the recruitment rhetoric associated with war.

> During the First World War, war imagery infiltrated the illustrated press, cartoons, the popular print, film, theatre and the music hall. It also played a part in advertising for a wide range of goods...[suggesting that] the war sold products and products sold the war.[33]

Behind the Image: The Case for an Institutional History of Recruitment Advertising

As this brief discussion has demonstrated, 'Your country needs you' has been implicated in some of the key debates regarding the relationship between war and society, advertising and democracy and politics and the mass media in Britain in the 20th century. Though it has been held up as an icon of the First World War and of recruitment advertising more generally, recent research has questioned its place within the pantheon of famous government posters.

In the absence of clear evidence tying 'Your country needs you' to the activities of the PRC or another official recruiting body, it is difficult to accept the popular view of the Kitchener poster as the apotheosis of government propaganda.[34] Although it appeared to convey an official directive and even depicted the very man responsible for issuing that directive,[35] 'Your country needs you' seems to have been utilised as a marketing tool to sell magazines long before it became entwined with the practice of recruitment advertising. It seems to have grown out of the world of commerce, in other words, before it grew into and helped to shape the world of government communications or 'propaganda'.

This dual status – that of being both a commercial and a political construct – is a good point of departure for thinking about the complex web of interactions, interrelations and connections that lie behind images like 'Your country needs you'. Though they may seem fairly self-explanatory (and there is little room for misinterpretation in the case of 'Your country needs you', a text that thrives on the simplicity and brute force of its address), recruitment advertisements cannot be treated as straightforward historical documents whose function or purpose can be elicited from a close reading of the messages or directives they convey. To make accurate predictions about their status as historical artefacts, historians need to search *beneath* the advertisements themselves to the particular social, economic and political circumstances that gave rise to them. They need to explore, in other words, the institutions and individuals who both produced and distributed them.

This thesis, which examines images like 'Your country needs you', is concerned with these institutions and individuals and with the 'shifting and symbiotic relationships' that bind them together.[36] Moving beyond the study of individual advertisements to the 'organisational fields and institutional settings' that envelop them, it addresses what media theorists sometimes call the 'problem of inference': how to determine the 'possible explanations, motivations or reasons' that inform the production of media texts.[37] Determining how a media text was made, by whom and for what reasons takes historians far beyond the realm of advertisements (which include, but are not limited to, posters, films, newsreels, radio broadcasts and television programmes) to studies of the institutions and audiences that produce and consume them. In media and cultural studies, a large body of literature already exists that seeks to place production at the heart of the communicative process or 'circuit',[38] but the literature on recruitment advertising or propaganda has been slow to take up the

slack. Indeed, with a few notable exceptions much of the commentary on recruitment advertising has proceeded from the general premise that advertise*ments* rather than the business of adverti*sing*[39] provide the best source of information for understanding how recruiters tried to persuade civilians to join up, and how recruitment campaigns were themselves organised.

In this respect, the literature on recruitment advertising mirrors a similar tendency within the literature on commercial advertising or 'promotional culture'. Until the early 2000s, much of the research published within the latter discipline constructed accounts of the past drawn wholly or mostly from analyses of individual advertisements. Raymond Williams' classic article, 'Advertising: A Magic System', originally written as a chapter for *The Long Revolution* (1961) but only published in 1980,[40] epitomised this approach. Analysing a series of advertisements from ancient times to the present day, Williams used textual analysis to make a broader point about the development of advertising as an 'institutionalised system of commercial information and persuasion'. Arguing that this system had passed through a series of transformations that could be gauged through the changing fashions of advertisements' rhetoric, he pinpointed the First World War as the era in which a new kind of 'psychological advertising' came into being. 'Slowly, after the war, advertising turned from the simple proclamation and reiteration...of the earlier respectable trade, and prepared to develop, for all kinds of product, the old methods of the quack and the new methods of psychological warfare'. Advertising, according to Williams, became a 'knowing, sophisticated and humorous' practice which would come to represent the 'official art of modern capitalist society: it is what "we" put up in "our" streets and use to fill up half of "our" newspapers and magazines: and it commands the services of perhaps the largest organised body of writers and artists, with their attendant managers and advisers, in the whole society'.[41]

Using advertisements to provide an insight not only into the advertising trade but the wider societies of which it was a part, became a favoured technique of advertising historians in the wake of Williams' intervention. Yet it is an approach that has attracted its fair share of recent critics. In the work of Sean Nixon, Liz McFall and Anne Cronin (all sociologists by trade) a number of important counter-arguments to the text-centred approach to the history of commercial advertising have been put forward.[42] Working from the perspective of producers rather than texts, these authors have offered more sharply defined accounts of commercial

culture that emphasise, in Nixon's words, 'the differentiated and multiple forms through which commercial relations and cultures are articulated' and expressed at given historical moments.[43] Moving away from the notion of a single or universal logic of commercial culture to studies of commercial cultures, their work rejects the division of advertising history into a series of discrete periods or 'epochs' in favour of more detailed empirical accounts rooted in the activities of practitioners. This shift in emphasis from texts to the institutions that made them has begun to change the ways in which historians portray the commercial advertising industry. The belief that advertising has gotten progressively more complex as time has passed by, for example, has been discredited, but there has as yet been no attempt to apply comparable methods to the history of recruitment advertising. For its part, where recruitment advertising is studied it is usually explored as a form of government propaganda, an approach that lacks the theoretical rigour of recent contributions to the debate on promotional culture and tends to overlook the important contributions recruiters made to the development of political communication.

This thesis, which argues that the time is ripe for a reinterpretation of recruitment advertising in light of new approaches to promotional culture, offers an account of the work of recruiters over the course of a 50-year sample beginning just before the First World War. Following McFall, it endeavours to provide not a comprehensive history, but a series of 'snapshot[s] of how advertising operated as a way of generating different ways of thinking about its contemporary and historical formations'.[44] These snapshots have been chosen because of what they say about the work of recruitment advertisers at specific moments during the course of the sample. Some of them (see chapters four, five and six) represent case study analyses of individual recruitment campaigns waged before or during the world wars. Others provide detailed accounts of events, practices or developments associated with the business of recruitment advertising, such as the emergence of official public opinion polling during the Second World War (chapter seven) and the reform of government communications undertaken by the Attlee governments of 1945-51 (chapter eight).

By analysing recruitment advertising not as a developmental or 'teleological' process (see below), but as a phenomenon that can be understood in relation to the particular historical circumstances that give rise to it, this thesis illustrates how recruitment advertisers interacted with other institutions, individuals and groups within British society. Furthermore, while it has

not eschewed questions of media power it has expressly avoided any attempt to measure or gauge the efficacy of recruitment campaigns, an approach to studying recruitment advertising that has gained traction in recent years in the United States.[45] Instead, this thesis tries to demonstrate how recruitment campaigns were organised and carried out, how recruiters sought the attention and acquiescence of the public, and how the various institutions and individuals involved in recruitment work interacted with other agencies and bodies. To get an idea of how recruiters operated, and how the study of their history can improve existing understandings of British society during the 20th century, we shall now return to the First World War to explore how recruiters operated during that period. Their work, as we shall see, can be used to say something important about the nature of British society in the 20th century and the kinds of historical explanations that have been used to explain it.

Commercial Advertising, War Propaganda and the First World War

London Opinion, as we have already seen, played a vital role in introducing 'Your country needs you' to the wider British public, but it is worth noting that it was not the only 'private' organisation involved in recruitment for the armed forces. The Caxtons Publishing House, a small mail-order publisher that also specialised in direct mail advertising, worked directly for the WO promoting recruitment in newspapers and magazines. The so-called Pals Battalions, units raised independently of WO oversight by local authorities, industrialists or committees of private citizens,[46] organised their own advertising with the resources available to them. Following the example set by the PRC, a group of commercial advertisers set up their own 'Voluntary Recruiting Committee' and began promoting recruitment in the press from November 1914 onwards;[47] and a number of newspapers, including the *Evening Standard* and many of Alfred Harmsworth's (or Lord Northcliffe's) titles, also promoted recruitment to the New Armies using a mixture of editorial publicity and special reader campaigns.[48] The *Evening Standard*, for instance, published its own 'Help Series' to give its readers advice on how to channel what it called Britain's 'unorganised, diffuse mass of civilian patriotism' into something beneficial to the government, and even went so far as to form its own unofficial 'Recruiting Committee'.[49] Mixing the sale of products with the promotion of war and using Bert Thomas' 'Arf a 'Mo, Kaiser!' (see figure four), the *Weekly Despatch*, one of *London Opinion's* competitors, ran its own poster campaign to raise money for tobacco for soldiers, while the same title was also responsible for the distribution of 'Will They Never Come?' (see figure five), a recruitment poster that targeted spectators at football matches.[50]

Figure Four

Bert Thomas' 'Arf a "Mo" Kaiser, a popular wartime image that was used as part of a campaign to raise money for tobacco for soldiers.

This was one of various posters released by the *Weekly Dispatch* in the early stages of the war. Owned by the newspaper mogul Alfred Harmsworth, the *Dispatch* was an avowedly pro-war and anti-German newspaper.

The description of soldiers as 'heroes' would not look out of place in Britain today.

The range and breadth of this 'private' recruitment campaigning has tended to be treated by social historians as evidence of a groundswell of 'war enthusiasm' in Britain that was only seriously challenged in the wake of crippling defeats on the field of battle.[51] Yet it can also be regarded as a sign of a burgeoning symbiosis between the state and private industry that not only changed the ways in which the military was represented in the mass media, but also collapsed the distinctions that had historically prevailed in British society between public and private and politics and commerce. Economic historians have tended to account for the opening stages of the Great War with reference to a phrase reportedly coined by a commercial advertiser: 'business as usual'.[52] Wed to the three principles of free trade, free enterprise and free currency, Asquith's Liberals responded to the declaration of war not by assuming control of key industries (though the railways were commandeered), but by doggedly retaining the *laissez-faire* wherever feasible.[53] Yet the same intransigence and obstinacy was not to be found in recruitment advertising, which developed because of a desire on the part of politicians and civil servants to borrow from and appropriate the methods

and techniques of a profession that had hitherto remained divorced from the state. The PRC, after all, turned to posters, leaflets, placards and display cards, all established mediums in the world of consumer promotion; the Caxtons Publishing House, to illustrated newspaper advertisements. Though such an encroachment should not be confused with state intervention in the market – no advertising agencies were nationalised, though controls on the use of paper were introduced in 1917[54] – it did suggest a willingness on the part of recruiters to assimilate, in the words of Hiley, the 'basic grammar of opinion control' found in the 'language of the mass market'.[55]

Figure Five

Another poster developed by the *Weekly Dispatch*, this image drew a correlation between sports spectators at home and troops serving on the front line.

Like 'Your country needs you', it originally appeared in a newspaper before being converted into a recruiting poster. Like 'Your country needs you', furthermore, it appears to have been produced independently of official support.

Nevertheless, while advertising furnished the government with a new 'language' that seemed to provide an answer to its recruiting needs, it has not been accredited by historians of propaganda with any significant impact on the operations of the wartime state. Indeed, where the subject of government communications in 1914-18 has been discussed, it has tended to

focus on the work of a series of institutions and departments that had only a fleeting connection to the business of military recruitment. The War Propaganda Bureau, known colloquially as Wellington House, has been examined for the 'literary propaganda' it created under the auspices of its director, Charles Masterman.[56] The National War Aims Committee, established in 1917 to concentrate solely on domestic propaganda and to combat public dissent and disorder, has been studied for the 'hate-inspired war propaganda' it created.[57] The Department and later Ministry of Information, finally, have been treated as evidence of a new, centralised propaganda machine in Britain that reflected the desire of policymakers and civil servants to attain total control of public opinion.[58]

The literature on these institutions, and on war propaganda generally, has tended to treat recruiting bodies like the PRC as relatively unimportant digressions in the broader history of war propaganda. Marwick, to pick an early example, described the PRC as a 'do-it-yourself propaganda body' concerned with the 'mundane problem' of promoting enlistment in the Army which paled in comparison to later attempts to engineer 'complete control of public opinion'.[59] Haste, following Marwick's lead, wrote of recruitment advertising as a matter of mere 'routine' that was largely negligible because the British 'population supported [the government's] policies' at the start of the war.[60] Both authors bought into the idea that the history of First World War propaganda could be subdivided into two distinct phases: the first, a period of relative harmony when no 'systematic' attempt was made to control public opinion because 'war enthusiasm' had run the propaganda machine 'practically under its own steam';[61] the second, from around 1916 onwards, when 'more concerted efforts to sustain the will to fight among the civilian population were [made]'.[62] This interpretation has exerted a powerful influence on historical understandings of the emergence of propaganda. Because it seems to suggest the most significant attempts to manipulate public opinion were made towards the end of the war, it has eschewed analysis of those bodies that operated in its opening stages, with the notable exception of Wellington House. As Haste argues,

> At the beginning [of the war], the government did not need to establish organized propaganda, since the population supported its policies. It was only later on, in response to increasing criticism of the conduct of the war, that the government set up machinery actively to manipulate public opinion.[63]

Since she devotes an entire chapter of her book to recruitment advertising, it is unclear why Haste draws a distinction between early and later 'organised' propaganda.[64] A cursory glance

at the work of the PRC reveals not only one of the largest single advertising campaigns in the history of the profession, but a massive public meetings programme designed to bring the subject of military recruitment to every borough, county borough and county in England, Scotland and Wales; a nationwide 'census' or survey that represented an early attempt to systematically monitor public opinion; and the widespread lobbying of national newspapers and magazines to include material in the press that was beneficial to the recruitment campaign. One would struggle *not* to describe the combined efforts of the various arms of the PRC's work as 'organised' propaganda, and there are equally good reasons for arguing that 'machinery...to manipulate public opinion' was not only pioneered by recruiters, but subsequently *emulated* by many of the later, supposedly more influential propaganda agencies. The National War Aims Committee, to pick an obvious example, took from the PRC the strategy of using local authorities and party constituency organisations to organise public meetings and speeches and to distribute its own promotional materials.

Alongside the literature on institutions is an equally sizable body of scholarship that examines the contributions of specific media. Readers have become all too accustomed, to name a few, to treatises on the war poster, the war film and the war broadcast,[65] but while such studies can reveal a great deal about the ways in which media were appropriated by the state in times of war, they run the risk of providing fractured, incomplete and media-centric accounts of propaganda.[66] The many claims made on behalf of 'Your country needs you', and of war posters generally, attest to this, and illustrate the problem of divorcing media from their social, political and economic contexts. Furthermore, since recruitment campaigns were by definition multi-media events, it makes little sense to isolate a single medium when attempting to assess the overall impact of a campaign.

A final problem associated with the literature on war propaganda, though one that is more closely related to its conceptual and epistemological underpinnings, is the obstacle of the term itself. As many theorists and historians have pointed out, 'propaganda' remains a divisive term which has come to imply, in popular usage at least, the wilful manipulation of the public.[67] Despite Phil Taylor's best efforts to imbue the term with a degree of objectivity, propaganda continues to be identified with media effects and with the many controversial acts of governments in times of war.[68] In studies of the First World War, for example, 'propaganda' has been used to describe the atrocity stories peddled by Britain and the Entente, while in

studies of the Second it has developed a lasting association to the propagandising of the Nazis.[69] Tainted by association, propaganda has, according to the media theorist John Corner, become 'too crude [a concept] to catch at the more stealthy, partial ways in which discourses of power are at work in culture'. The 'play of power over meanings' generated by the mass media, Corner suggests, is 'routinely exercised in ways too complex and subtle to be captured by the idea [of propaganda]', which is 'embedded within a modernist perspective on society and on communication' that is at best 'critically under-defined'.[70]

Echoing Corner's reservations, the media historians David Miller and William Dinan have argued that 'propaganda sounds like a quaintly old-fashioned term which is perhaps more relevant to communication in times of war, if it has any remaining purchase at all'.[71] Yet it is precisely the application of 'propaganda' to war that creates the various problems associated with its use. Prior to 1914, propaganda was an esoteric term used mostly in reference to ecumenical matters. In his eyewitness account of the manipulation of the British press during the Anglo-Boer war, for instance, Hobson chose 'jingoism' rather than propaganda to describe the 'primitive passion, modified and intensified by certain conditions of modern civilisation' that tended to erupt in times of war.[72] By the interwar years, however, most accounts of the communications apparatuses of wartime governments were couched in terms of propaganda, a concept which, according to the American observer Will Irwin, had experienced a sudden 'mutation' in meaning in the wake of 1914-18. Before the war, Irwin claimed, propaganda was 'mostly an elite word'; thereafter, it came to mean the 'next thing to a damned lie'.[73] The term's pejorative undertone has, as Corner suggested, been 'built into most modern definitions',[74] and is connected to the concomitant belief that propaganda is an essentially *effective* practice that convinces all or most of those to whom it is directed. Reflecting on the atrocity stories of the First World War, many interwar commentators sought to explain the naive 'war enthusiasm' that prevailed in Britain and elsewhere in August 1914 with recourse to the propaganda activities of governments, and the same idea has infiltrated the historiography of the conflict, both in the literature on propaganda and in more general social and political accounts.[75]

The idea that media are vehicles of hypnotic persuasion was central to early studies of mass communication, and will be examined in detail in the following chapter, but it has long since fallen out of fashion within media and cultural studies and the literature on promotional

culture.[76] Early studies of war propaganda often revealed more about the anxieties and prejudices of authors, many of whom were liberal scholars fearful of the prospect of an unhinged 'mass' of people, than they did about the media itself. Furthermore, though propaganda presupposes a passive audience onto which ideas can be readily 'imprinted' by propagandists, empirical analyses of audiences' reactions to media texts tend to reveal a heterogeneity rather homogeneity of responses.[77] It is now conventional within media studies to regard audiences as active rather than passive entities comprised of individuals who 'negotiate' textual meaning in relation to their personal experiences.[78]

The move away from effects has led many media scholars to abandon the term 'propaganda' in favour of 'advertising', 'public relations' or 'promotional culture'. While historians of wartime communication continue to use the term 'propaganda', in some cases uncritically and in some cases as a neutral description of a process,[79] media theorists have turned to promotional culture to describe the range and complexity of media representations and the range and ambiguity of audience reactions to them. Promotional culture, according to the Canadian theorist Andrew Wernick (who may have been responsible for introducing the term in 1991), is not characterised by a linear model of communication that ties media producers to media consumers. On the contrary, it represents a 'strangely transformative, even engulfing practice' that extends well beyond the 'immediacies of buying and selling' to the 'common cultural pool' from which all forms of promotion draw. A 'promotional culture', in other words, provides a model for understanding the many different ways in which advertisements and advertisers speak to audiences while at the same time interacting with and borrowing from other forms of media or popular culture.[80] For this reason, this thesis interchanges between 'advertising' and 'promotion', using 'propaganda' only when it has been adopted in the work of other authors or when it has appeared in the records of recruiters.

A Structural Outline: Military Advertising as a Series of 'Snapshots'

This thesis has been divided into ten chapters (or eight excluding the introduction and conclusion) and begins by providing a discussion of the relevant literature. In chapter two the historiography of war propaganda and of promotional culture are assessed to give readers an idea of how recruitment advertising has been discussed by historians and theoreticians, and how it might be discussed as part of an institutional history of recruitment advertising. Crucial to this chapter is an analysis not just of existing literature, but of how the terms 'propaganda'

and 'advertising' came to be used by contemporaries and historians over the 20th century. Implicated in a series of important debates and discussions on the nature of the mass media and the 'mass society', propaganda and advertising are concepts that need to be historicised before they can be researched.

While chapter two deals mostly with the available literature, chapter three examines the spread and diffusion of the archival sources that make up the basis of this thesis' case studies. A methodological survey that demonstrates how the thesis was designed, researched and written, and how archival sources were themselves selected and utilised, it introduces the concept of discourse as a general framework for analysing military advertising. This framework is based on the general premise outlined above: that recruitment campaigns and the institutions and individuals associated with them can only be studied in relation to the specific historical circumstances that gives rise to them, and that the analysis of both advertising and advertisements requires an awareness of the discourse of advertising. Yet it also explores contrasting approaches to the study of discourse, and suggests that the more Foucauldian work of authors like McFall and Cronin can help to complement the critical discourse analysis of authors like Guy Cook.[81]

Chapter four, which opens the six case studies, explores three recruitment campaigns waged in England, Scotland and Wales in the run up to and during the First World War. The sources of these campaigns have already been mentioned – the PRC, established at the outset of the war to aid the WO's recruitment campaign, and the Caxtons Publishing House, a body that actually began recruiting for the Army before the war began and continued to promote enlistment until the end of the period of voluntary enlistment in 1916 – but chapter four examines in greater detail how these institutions approached the subject of enlistment and responded to various challenges presented by the pre-war and wartime periods. Recruitment advertising is here placed in the context of existing debates about the 'rush to the colours', the two-month period in August-September 1914 when almost half a million men enlisted in the armed forces before enrolment rates began to drop off. Historians have tended to explain the spike in enlistment during this period as evidence of a culture of 'war enthusiasm' in Britain and elsewhere, and as an event that was a long time in the making,[82] but this chapter reveals the various, sometimes unsung attempts made to create an atmosphere conducive to public displays of patriotism and to recruitment. These attempts extend beyond the production

and dissemination of advertisements to public meetings and events, and though historians have examined the former little work has been carried out on the latter.

The second of two First World War case studies, chapter five examines recruitment in Ireland, a country which, unlike the rest of the United Kingdom, was fundamentally divided in the run up to the Great War. The Irish experience of the Great War has attracted its own specialised literature,[83] but while some historians have sought to integrate Irish experiences of the conflict into broader historical studies this thesis has drawn a distinction between the recruitment promotion carried out in England, Scotland and Wales during the 1913-15 period and the campaign work which occurred in Ireland from 1914 until 1919. This distinction was borne partly of chronology; voluntary recruitment continued in Ireland throughout the war and even after it had finished. Yet it was also a reflection of the general approach taken to recruitment in this thesis that emphasised the importance of social and political *context* when assessing the contributions of recruiters. Ireland experienced a series of political and social changes during the war, and these had a profound effect on how recruitment was organised. In the early stages of the war, the Department of Recruitment in Dublin (set up with British support) used techniques and tactics broadly similar to those developed by the PRC and the Caxtons Publishing House. Yet in the aftermath of the Easter Rising, an event that inspired a revolutionary nationalist movement in Ireland,[84] recruitment became exceedingly difficult, with the Irish Recruiting Council (established in 1918) failing to attract the required numbers of recruits. Despite its perceived shortcomings, however, the Irish Recruiting Council continued to operate after the Armistice had been signed, and shifted from producing recruitment advertising to 'educational' publicity designed to placate the nationalist community.

Chapter six draws on a key idea in the historiography of British society: the notion that the Second World War represented a 'people's war' that united Britain's citizens into a single homogenous (and classless) group.[85] This idea is typically associated with the conflict to which it refers, but it was actually widely promoted in the run up to 1939-45 in a major recruitment campaign. This campaign, aimed at recruits for the various arms of civil defence, differed from the First World War campaigns in that it concerned services that were not yet operational. Furthermore, while recruitment during the Great War typically involved only one Service – the Army – the campaign for the various branches of civil defence involved a handful of government departments working in unison. A Central National Service Committee

was set up to coordinate publicity, and Public Relations Departments (PRDs), specialist bodies established within individual ministries during the interwar years, were marshalled to promote what the Chamberlain government called 'national service'. Mariel Grant is among the small minority of authors to consider the role of domestic government publicity during the interwar years,[86] but little is known of the campaign for 'national service'. Chapter six explores how this campaign came into being, what techniques and methods of persuasion it adopted, and how it sought to present an image of war that emphasised collective sacrifice, national solidarity and a narrative of everyone doing their part.

Chapter Seven examines not a recruitment campaign as such, but a practice associated with recruitment advertising that emerged during the Second World War and became integral to the way recruiters liaised with the general public in the postwar era. Attempts to monitor and measure public opinion had been made in the 1913-19 period – one of the functions of the PRC was to canvass the national population – but it was not until Social Survey was formed in 1940 that the government possessed a formal mechanism for assessing public opinion based on 'sampling' select groups of citizens. The 'sampling method', as it came to be known,[87] was developed by a host of private opinion polling organisations during the interwar years, contrasted with the mostly qualitative work of organisations like Mass Observation, and was designed to give government officials an insight into the efficacy of their campaigns and the wants and beliefs of their target audiences. As with the campaign for national service, surprisingly little is known about the workings of Social Survey. The little literature that does consider the organisation is focused almost entirely on its wartime work and not its application to matters of military recruitment in the postwar era,[88] although a range of studies have been published exploring the methods of opinion pollsters. By examining not only the development of the 'sampling method' during the war years but its subsequent application to matters of military recruitment in the postwar era, chapter seven shows how advertisers turned to 'research' on the targets of their campaigns in order to improve their efficacy and effectiveness.

The introduction of conscription in 1939 explains the absence of any major Second World War recruitment campaign for the armed forces. Yet the post-war Labour and Conservative governments continued to organise voluntary recruitment campaigns even though conscription (now termed 'National Service') remained in force until the late 1950s.[89] Chapter

Eight, which examines several campaigns organised by the Attlee governments between 1946 and 1951, shows how both tri-Service and civil defence campaigns were organised against a backdrop of governmental reform. The postwar Labour governments, usually recognised for their social reforms,[90] were also responsible for the reform, or rather the attempted reform, of government communications, attempting to redefine all promotional work as 'information' and changing the titles of the PRDs of a series of ministries to 'Information Offices'. These reforms, part of a wider 'rebranding' exercise designed, it is argued, to justify the continued existence of wartime promotional machinery, did not change the ways in which recruiters communicated with civilians. In fact, recruitment advertising continued the same techniques that had been witnessed in earlier campaigns, and also took on the expanded role of attempting to justify Britain's rearmament programme and its entrance into the Cold War in 1948. Some work has been done on Labour's 'propaganda' work,[91] but little attention has been directed towards matters of recruitment, and chapter eight seeks to fill in some of the gaps that have emerged in historical literature.

Chapter Nine, the last of the case studies, examines a second attempt at 'rebranding' official communications, though one that was restricted to the military. In the latter half of the 1950s, the decision was made to end National Service, which in turn obliged the Army to raise its recruits voluntarily. This transition has attracted a great deal of attention in the literature.[92] However, while the impact of the termination of conscription on Britain's strategic thinking has been explored, little has been written about how the armed forces responded to the change with advertising. In this respect, the appointment of Frederic Hooper as an adviser to the Ministry of Defence provides an ideal basis for exploring recruitment in the era after national service. Hooper, a public relations expert who had worked in an advisory capacity for other government departments in the mid-1950s, was asked to review the existing arrangements for attracting and subsequently retaining recruits in the Army in 1960. In two reports and correspondence, Hooper made a series of sweeping recommendations for changing how the Army recruited. These reforms involved changes to advertising practice, but also a restructuring of the ways in which the Army was organised as well. Considered but ultimately rejected by the Ministry of Defence, Hooper's reforms captured the response of one critic to a burgeoning 'youth culture' in Britain in the mid-20th century,[93] and the reluctance of the military to change in line with the social change this 'culture' heralded.

From this summary it should be clear to the reader that this thesis covers considerable ground. In the tenth and final chapter, the findings of the previous chapters will be discussed, with a particular emphasis on the implications military advertising has for historical understandings of advertising, public relations and propaganda. Suggesting that military advertising has not received the scholarly attention it perhaps deserves, this chapter will also broach some of the criticisms that can be made of this thesis and raise some of the questions that it has left unanswered.   .

Chapter Two
Propaganda, Advertising and Promotional Culture: Reviewing the Literature

For a subject that has captured the public imagination and has even, in its own way, defined the representation of war, military advertising has not enjoyed a great deal of scholarly attention. Although many authors have studied some of it, and though some authors have studied lots of it, there remains no *locus classicus* in relation to which this thesis can position itself, to say nothing of a book-length study that seeks to bring together the myriad institutions and individuals involved in promoting the armed forces and civil defences in Britain in the 20th century.[1] This is not to say that 'military advertising' as defined here has escaped the attention of historians. On the contrary, as the controversy generated by the Leete design suggests (see chapter one), the techniques and methods of recruiters continue to excite social commentators and historians largely because of what they seem to say about prevailing social attitudes and the responses of governments and armed forces towards them. Nevertheless, apart from a few key texts and some well-known institutions, military advertisements and the individuals and organisations that produce them have for the most part been cast to the fringes of contemporary history. This is true of the literature on war propaganda, which tends to downplay the significance of recruitment campaigns in favour of other, ostensibly more significant developments, and it is also true of the literature on promotional culture which, though it has moved beyond studies of commercial advertising to subjects such as politics and education, for example,[2] has not yet seriously addressed the question of recruitment.

The absence of a sustained historical critique of military advertising presents its own problems. Very little is known, for example, about the campaign for National Service conducted in 1939 by the Conservative government of Neville Chamberlain (see chapter six) or the reforms to Army recruitment proposed by Sir Frederic Hooper in 1960 (see chapter nine). Yet it also provides a measure of opportunity. Without an established academic 'field' into which the research presented here can be inserted, the history of military advertising can be told through the prisms of multiple fields and multiple perspectives. An interdisciplinary approach to the study of history can help to break down the institutional, professional and communications structures that make up distinct disciplines, and implies a 'more flexible

blending of disciplines' that speaks to more than one scholarly community.[3] Thus, even though it has tended to downplay the significance of military recruitment the literature on propaganda provides a valuable precedent for analysing government institutions, and is also useful when trying to sketch out the general outline of official communications in wartime. The history and theory of commercial advertising, on the other hand, provides this thesis with a theoretical and epistemological underpinning that is often lacking in studies of propaganda. However, although each discipline has its own strengths and weaknesses it is important to recognise that there are important similarities between them. The study of war propaganda and the study of commercial advertising both deal with matters of persuasion, and as such are intimately concerned with issues of media power and its relationship to democracy.

The bearing these fields have on the history of military advertising remains the principle focus of this chapter, but it is also deals with another, related subject: how the study of propaganda and the study of advertising each emerged as coherent disciplines, and how each of these disciplines were caught up in some of the key debates of the 20th century. Following Mariel Grant, whose *Propaganda and the Role of the State in Interwar Britain* (1994) reviews not just the literature on propaganda but the ways in which the *meaning* of propaganda shifted and altered over the course of time,[4] it seeks to chart the emergence of the terms 'advertising' and 'propaganda' as socio-linguistic concepts that labelled and framed how participants viewed and understood promotion at given historical moments. The terms 'propaganda' and 'advertising', as we shall see, embodied distinct approaches towards studying and viewing the mass media that shifted over the course of time. In the first half of the 20th century, both terms were implicated in a broader debate on the uses and abuses of the mass media in western society. In the second half, the academic disciplines associated with either term began to take shape, with studies of advertising emerging out of studies of economics and analyses of propaganda developing out of political history. Today, although attempts have been made to integrate the study of propaganda with the study of advertising,[5] most work carried out in either field implicitly reinforces the differences between the two practices. Arguing that each subject can furnish penetrating insights into the history of military advertising, this chapter introduces the reader to some of the key concepts and ideas associated with them.

Split into two main sections, this chapter begins by outlining how propaganda and advertising first came to be used as analytical concepts in the social sciences and humanities. Focusing in particular on the period between and after the world wars, the first section suggests that both propaganda and advertising were caught up in a new critical sociology of British (and more broadly western) society that regarded all forms of commercial and political communication with suspicion. It was only after the Second World War, and more specifically after the 1960s, that the subject of propaganda and advertising developed into distinct academic disciplines, and this section concludes by reviewing some of the main issues and debates in each field today. The second section, which outlines some of the key concepts and theories relevant to the history of military advertising, suggests that the institutional approach to propaganda history provides a good precedent on which to model a history of recruitment bodies, and that the theorisation of advertising discourses found within the literature on promotional culture can provide an epistemologically richer understanding of promotion than one typically found in the historiography of propaganda.

Reviewing Two Fields: Theories, Concepts and Historiography

Propaganda, according to the cultural theorist Andrew Edgar, represents the 'conscious attempt to control or change the attitudes and behaviour of a group through the manipulation of communication[s]'.[6] Advertising, according to the marketing scholar Chris Hackley, is 'defined by its explicitly promotional, mediated and paid-for character and differentiated from other marketing communications disciplines such as public relations, personal selling, corporate communications, sales promotion and so on'.[7] The qualities identified by Edgar and Hackley would be accepted by most historians today, although they are not necessarily definitions shared by those who first used the terms as critical concepts in the early 20th century. As we shall see, advertising and propaganda have meant different things at different periods in the last 100 or so years, and given that this thesis aims to assess the discourses of advertising as they appear at specific historical moments it is important to recognise how these meanings have shifted and changed over the course of time. In the case of propaganda, a term that contains a lasting association with war, commentators deployed the term to critique the manipulation of the media by governments and armed forces. In the case of advertising, on the other hand, the growth of a modern consumer society and the corollary development of 'mass civilisation' or 'mass culture' represented key concerns of

commentators. This section, which begins by placing each term within the historical context of its use, concludes by outlining how both terms helped to spawn modern academic disciplines.

Propaganda: Crowds, 'Jingoism' and the Manipulation of Public Opinion

Modern scholarship on propaganda began with J. A. Hobson's *The Psychology of Jingoism* (1901), a trenchant critique of the popular hysteria generated by the second Boer War. A noted economist, Hobson had risen to fame with an 1889 attack on classical economic theory, *Physiology of Industry*, and though this publication effectively cost him his place in academia it led, among other things, to his appointment as a correspondent at the *Manchester Guardian* covering the war in South Africa.[8] It was during this period that Hobson began to develop the theory that imperialism was the direct consequence of the expansionary forces of modern capitalism, an idea that would later be adopted by the Russian revolutionary Vladimir Lenin,[9] but he also turned his attention to the organisation and control of the mass media. Attacking what he saw as the clandestine and anti-democratic collusion between the British government, the British and South African press and certain South African mining magnates, Hobson suggested propaganda (or, in his terms, 'jingoism')[10] emerged in the myriad attempts to arouse the 'passion of the spectator, the inciter, the backer, not of the fighter', and to ignite a 'collective or mob passion which, in as far as it prevails, makes the individual mind subject to a control that joins him irresistibly to his fellows'.[11]

Mob passions, spectators and the 'minds' of individuals and groups would represent key themes in later writings on propaganda, and demonstrated the debt Hobson owed to an earlier work on the social psychology of groups. In 1895, the French psychologist, anthropologist and inventor Gustave Le Bon published *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind* to outline what he called the 'group mind' or 'collective consciousness' that emerged when individuals congregated in groups.[12] Writing at a time of significant social and economic upheaval – the latter half of the 19th century was, as one military historian has argued, a time of 'ominous alliances, desperate arms races and [the] increasing expectation of an eventual Armageddon';[13] it was also, as Benedict Anderson has shown, a period in which both nationalism and 'print capitalism' expanded across the industrialised west[14] – Le Bon's theory represented an early intervention in the debate about 'mass society' and 'mass culture'. This debate, as we shall see, had a profound impact on the literature on both propaganda and advertising, although Le Bon was more concerned with the 'social psychology' of groups than

the mass media. Suggesting that the crowd was an essentially irrational entity incapable of reasoned thought, he claimed the masses could be manipulated by appealing to their passions and emotions. The crowd, in other words, could be controlled by a minority of individuals who could shape the beliefs of the people to suit their own ends and needs.[15]

Though he did not share Le Bon's unabashed elitism, Hobson drew from the latter's theories of group mentality to try to explain the reaction of the British public to the war. He also, crucially, added the element of the mass media, and the popular press in particular, to describe what he called the 'great power...placed in the control of a commercial clique or a political party, or any body of rich, able and energetic men desirous to impose a general belief and a general policy upon the mass of the people'.[16] According to Hobson, in the early stages of the Boer war there was 'miraculous agreement [amongst] the British press' that suggested the fourth estate had been commandeered 'by business men for business purposes'. This 'agreement' lay at the heart of the 'jingoism' that had 'corrupted the mind of the British public', and concealed the real origins of the conflict behind a facade of mediated promotion.[17] When war was declared in the summer of 1899, meetings and social gatherings (Le Bon's 'crowds') were held in Britain to protest against the escalation of hostilities, but these were quickly suppressed by a 'reign of terror' orchestrated by a 'legion' of 'Imperialist lecturers...[and] missionaries from Cape Colony' who toured Britain 'professing to lecture on the history of South Africa and to set before the audience in some Literary Institute, Chamber of Commerce, chapel, church or political club, their personal knowledge of the facts in South Africa'.[18] Alongside the manipulation of the press, public meetings and gatherings represented a second category of jingoism where the 'crowd' listened to live communication delivered from the platform and the pulpit. The belief that Britain was fighting a just war was, Hobson claimed, 'drilled into [the] minds' of the public, with the opinions of 'influential visitors' to South Africa 'moulded' to manipulate any first-hand accounts of the experience of the war.

> This conjunction of the forces of the press, the platform and the pulpit has succeeded in monopolising the mind of the British public, and in imposing a policy calculated not to secure the interests of the British Empire, but to advance the private, political and business interests of a small body of men who have exploited the race feeling in South Africa and the Imperialist sentiment of England.[19]

The notion that a small group of individuals could manipulate not only the public but the Empire itself did not wane in the years that followed the publication of *The Psychology of*

Jingoism, and took on a new meaning in the aftermath of the Great War. In that conflict Britain experienced a level of 'jingoism' that dwarfed anything witnessed in 1899-1902. By the close of the 1920s, several authors had conducted analyses into what was now widely known as 'propaganda'. In 1922, the philosopher and pacifist Bertrand Russell delivered a lecture in London entitled 'Free Thought and Official Propaganda' which pointed to an absence of critical thinking on the part of most Britons towards the war, and pointed to the disciplines of government propaganda and commercial advertising to explain why so many 'young people...[are] able to read, but for the most part unable to weigh evidence or to form an independent opinion'.[20] Russell, who had been involved in anti-recruiting activities at Cambridge during 1914-18,[21] continued Hobson's critique of a malign mass media, suggesting that commercial advertisers were responsible for furnishing the state with the weapons to attack 'free thought'. Throughout the course of their lives, he claimed, Britons

> [were] assailed...by statements designed to make them believe all sorts of absurd propositions, such as that Blank's pills cure all ills...and that Germans eat corpses. The art of propaganda, as practiced by modern politicians and governments, is derived from the art of the advertisement [and] the science of psychology owes a great deal to advertisers.[22]

In 1927, the American sociologist Harold Lasswell continued the critique of propaganda with what may have been the first academic monologue on the subject, *Propaganda Technique in the World War*.[23] Taking elements from both Le Bon and Hobson, Lasswell proposed an examination of propaganda based on the relationship between 'significant symbols' and the 'management of public opinion'. Engaging in an early form of textual analysis that involved stories, rumours, reports, pictures and other forms of 'social communication', he claimed that the attempt to 'control' American opinion by the Committee on Public Information or Creel Committee[24] had centred on the circulation of 'significant symbols' such as appeals to patriotic duty or chivalric honour. Adapting a concept previously used by Hobson[25] and emulating the quasi-scientific style of Le Bon, Lasswell suggested that the propaganda aimed at the American public during the latter stages of the Great War suggested the 'management of opinions and attitudes by the direct manipulation of social suggestion rather than by altering the conditions in the environment or the organism'.[26]

A number of other works on First World War propaganda were published in the 1920s, and taken together this body of literature represented the first serious foray into the field of

propaganda studies.[27] Combined with the 'critical theory' of the Frankfurt School (see below), it also helped to establish the modern discipline of media studies which (as with the study of propaganda itself) began life with a series of attempts to chart the impact or 'effects' of the mass media on their audiences.[28] Questions of media power and influence were crucial to the early literature on both propaganda and advertising, and some of this research sought to establish a correlation between certain kinds of behaviour witnessed during the opening stages of the First World War – war enthusiasm, the 'rush to the colours' and a rise in xenophobic language and sentiment, to name but a few – with the propaganda machinery set up by governments to encourage widespread public acquiescence and support. A persistent theme in much of this early commentary was the belief that the audiences of official communications, whether heralding from the United States, Germany or the United Kingdom, were summarily deceived by a group of unscrupulous politicians, advertisers and journalists who contrived atrocity stories as a means of cajoling the 'lost generation' into accepting the need for war.[29] The belief that propaganda exerted a fundamentally malign influence on democracy and on public opinion has remained a constant theme in the theorising of the subject ever since,[30] and can be gauged by the kinds of terminology and nomenclature many authors used to describe the propaganda process. The mass media 'inserted' or 'implanted' ideas into the minds of the audiences to which it was directed, and were thus implicated in a chain of communication which tied the production of media texts to the manufacturing of popular consent.[31]

Within media and cultural studies today, such ideas tend to be regarded as overly simplistic not least because they rely on a notion of a passive audience that has long since been discredited.[32] Yet they continue to cast a long shadow over the literature on propaganda which is still described in many historical accounts in terms of the 'influence' mass media had, or did not have, on national audiences. This shadow extends to the general political and social accounts of Britain during the two world wars; both A. J. P. Taylor and Arthur Marwick, for example, have drawn correlations between the 'war enthusiasm' witnessed in Britain during the opening stages of the war and the propaganda activities of governments, demagogues and private patriotic organisations.[33] Yet it also infiltrated several of the dedicated historical accounts of propaganda which began to appear in Britain in the 1960s in the form of the literature on the war poster.[34] Maurice Rickards, the historian of ephemera cited in the preceding chapter, may have been the first professional historian (rather than

sociologist or philosopher) to pen an account of the First World War poster, the 1968 *Posters of the First World War*, and he was soon followed by others, including Joseph Darracott and Belinda Loftus (1972) and Zbynek Zeman (1978).[35] Drawing from the archives of the Imperial War Museum, an institution that boasts the distinction of holding the largest depository of war posters in the world, these authors blended an art-historical approach to the study of the war poster with criticisms of war propaganda. For Darracott and Loftus, for instance, posters could be studied not only in terms of their artistic merits, but also because of their 'psychology' and 'undertones'.[36]

Studies of war posters were soon matched by studies of other media, beginning with Richard Taylor's influential *Film Propaganda*, a book published in the same year as Zeman's *Selling the War* (1978) but one that placed a far greater emphasis on detailed archival research. Though posters, like films, represented primary sources in their own right, the literature on the war poster had at that point tended to treat them as the *most important* historical sources rather than as only one of many sources require to produce a coherent historical interpretation. Taylor's pioneering work sought to place the medium of film within the context of its production.[37] By the 1980s, a number of books and articles had appeared on another medium – radio – and by 1983 enough interest had been generated in the study of propaganda history to justify the publication of the first multi-media anthology – Kenneth Short's *Film and Radio Propaganda in World War II*.[38]

However, during the 1980s the field of propaganda history began to fragment again into a number of smaller specialisms. Film history, which began as and has remained a highly specialised field of historical enquiry,[39] carved a niche for itself in the literature of propaganda to focus specifically on the two world wars, while the commentary on war posters retained its affiliation to art history and to detailed textual analysis of individual advertisements. Though these kinds of historical writing represent different genres or approaches to history, they share one thing in common: they are all, without exception, studies of individual media, or rather, following the media historian James Curran, they 'medium histories': 'historical accounts of an individual medium' that sometimes '[give] rise to fractured and incomplete understandings of the historical role of the media'.[40]

A second category of propaganda research, and one that does not place so much stock on individual media, is the study of propaganda institutions, a genre or approach to historical

writing that probably began with Cate Haste's *Keep the Home Fires Burning* (1977). Though not a historian by trade, Haste nevertheless offered a comprehensive breakdown of First World War propaganda that examined not only military recruitment – she devoted an entire chapter to the subject of recruitment – but other, and much better-known, propaganda agencies such as the War Propaganda Bureau, the National War Aims Committee, and the Department, later Ministry of Information (MOI).[41] Haste's approach to the various institutions that produced propaganda media, provides a useful precedent for the kind of institutional history argued for here. It was soon followed by Iain McLaine's *The Ministry of Morale* and Michael Balfour's *Propaganda in Wartime*, both published in 1979.[42] McLaine's book, which adopted a similar approach to the Second World War MOI, shared much in common with Taylor's earlier analysis of film and with Haste's expansive conception of propaganda as something that can be assessed in multiple forms.

Remarking on the historiography of propaganda in 2000, the media historian James Chapman suggested that the study of propaganda in its modern historical sense can be dated to the 1970s, and that before that decade studies of propaganda tended lie in the 'domain of political and social scientists, not historians'. Between the wars studies of propaganda tended to focus on the power of imagery and rhetoric (and often individual images) to change public opinion, and Chapman has argued that 'new propaganda history, as it has emerged over the last two decades or so, has taken the study of propaganda away from the work of the social scientists and placed it firmly in the camp of the modern, professional, empiricist historian'. At the same time, by Chapman's own admission 'new propaganda history' has continued to be couched in terms of 'how to assess the effectiveness of propaganda'.[43] The emphasis on media effects presents problems that will be dealt with below, but before evaluating the usefulness of the literature on propaganda for the history of military advertising presented here, I turn to engager with the literature on commercial advertising.

Advertising: Culture, the Culture Industries and the Emergence of a 'Mass' Society

At around the same time that the first serious analyses of propaganda began to appear in Britain and the United States, the English critic F. R. Leavis published a pamphlet entitled *Mass Civilisation and Minority Culture* (1930). Warning that 'civilisation and culture are coming to be antithetical terms', Leavis took aim at the 'mass society' that had begun to flourish across the west in the 20th century. Drawing on the literary criticism of the 19th century

poet Mathew Arnold, and equating 'culture' with the ivory tower intellectualism of academia, he suggested that the acceleration of industrialisation combined with related developments of mass production and mass consumption had 'standardised civilisation'. Little could be done to resist what Leavis called, in reference to a D. H. Lawrence poem of the same name, the 'triumph of the machine', which had wreaked untold damage to the 'conditions of life' that had formerly prevailed in Britain and the US and had imposed upon all people, working, middle and upper class, a new 'mass culture'.[44]

This culture, gaudy, garish and vacuous, was to be found in the mass media of print, broadcast and film, and sustained by new commodities such as cars and telephones which, in the space of a few years, had 'revolutionised social custom'. Yet it was also conveyed in the burgeoning language of advertising which, like the media carrying it, encouraged 'the surrender, under conditions of hypnotic receptivity, to the cheapest emotional appeals'. Contemplating the 'deliberate exploitation of the cheap response which characterises our civilisation', Leavis suggested, 'we may say that a new factor in history is an unprecedented use of applied psychology' in the world of business.[45] By making use of psychology (widely regarded at the time as a new form of 'scientific' investigation), the profession of advertising had acquired the fuel needed to keep the wheels of industry turning, and had done so in a way that had both colonised and impoverished the English language in the process. Advertising, Leavis remarked sardonically, 'is doing a great deal for English' – firstly by 'carrying on the work begun by Mr Rudyard Kipling', and secondly, 'where certain important parts of the vocabulary are concerned, [by] making things more difficult for the fastidious'. Commenting on a proliferation of 'signals' generated by the media and by advertising, Leavis claimed, in a passage that pre-empted the postmodernism of later years, that the

> modern [observer] is exposed to a concourse of signals so bewildering in their variety and number that, unless he is especially gifted or especially favoured, he can hardly begin to discriminate. Here we have the plight of culture in general. The landmarks have shifted, multiplied and crowded upon one another, the distinctions and the dividing lines have blurred away, the boundaries are gone, and the arts and literatures of different countries and periods have flowed together so that...[referencing T. S. Eliot] 'it becomes exceedingly difficult for anyone to know whether he knows what he is talking about or not'.[46]

Leavis, it should be clear, was referring to the emergence of a new monoculture in Britain characterised by mass consumption and mass production, and by a new media system that

had distorted the relationship between the high culture of art and literature and the popular culture of the industrial working classes. Eliot, his contemporary, would express similar misgivings in *The Idea of a Christian Society* (1938), a book that drew a parallel between the 'increasing organisation of the advertisement and propaganda' and the 'influencing of masses of men by any means except through their intelligence'.[47] Both Leavis and Eliot approached the subject of advertising from the perspective of modernist thought, and though they are seldom credited with originating the study of advertising their contribution laid the conceptual groundwork for later scholars. Since both were conscious of the similarities (or purported similarities) between advertising and propaganda, it is worth noting that they were among the first commentators to draw a parallel between the promotion of products and services and the promotion of the armed forces and war.

In 1944, Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, German-Jewish émigrés to the United States but founding members of the Frankfurt School, published a scathing denunciation of advertising and the mass media that embraced the dichotomies between culture and entertainment and art and mass media that had defined the work of Leavis and Eliot. 'The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception' was written as an indictment of the failure of capitalist societies to nurture true freedom and individuality and represent the real conditions of existence.[48] Advertising, which performed a crucial mediatory role between capitalist industry and the mass society on which it depended, performed a vital function in both the culture industries and the wider capitalist economy. The culture industries (a deliberately contradictory term used to describe the production of mass culture) stretched from the media itself to the advertising that sustained it. Advertising represented both the 'elixir of life' of the culture industries and a 'negative principle' that 'block[ed] everything that does not bear its stamp' such as (high) art. The encroachment of advertising in capitalist society collapsed the distinctions between promotion and media content or 'information', with the latter emulating the former and vice versa, and the 'mechanical repetition of the same culture product' by advertisers and corporations was equivalent to 'the propaganda slogan' seen in totalitarian societies. The real 'triumph of advertising', however, is that 'consumers feel compelled to buy and use...products even though they see through them'.[49]

The notion that advertising was instrumental in the regulation of demand, and that it provided a bridge that connected the producers of goods with their consumers, became key themes in

post-war literature. Adorno and Horkheimer, following in the footsteps of early theorists on propaganda, credited both the culture industries and the advertising profession with an ability to change human behaviour, and the same idea would soon be found in John Kenneth Galbraith's classic book *The Affluent Society* (1958). Galbraith, an economist by trade who had worked for the US Strategic Bombing Survey during the Second World War, was no adherent to critical theory. Yet he nevertheless believed that advertising played a malign role in American society by separating in the popular conscious 'privately produced and marketed goods' from 'publicly rendered services'.[50] 'The engines of mass communication, in their highest state of development, assail the eyes and ears of the community on behalf of more beer but not more schools', thus encouraging Americans to view private consumption as an enriching experience and state spending as a burden. In their endorsement of consumerism, advertisers steered public opinion from matters of government to matters of private industry. 'Every corner of the public psyche is canvassed by some of the nation's most talented citizens to see if the desire for such merchantable product[s] can be cultivated', and 'we would be measurably shocked to see [advertising] applied to public services' in the same way. Advertising, indeed, was responsible for encouraging a lack of social balance:

> The scientist or engineer or advertising man who devotes himself to developing a new carburettor cleanser, or depilatory for which the public recognises no need and will feel none until an advertising campaign arouses it, is one of the valued members of our society. A politician or a public servant who dreams up a new public service is a wastrel.[51]

Galbraith's critique of advertising was directed at what Edmund McGarry called the 'propaganda function' of marketing,[52] and drew on a general outlook or philosophy on advertising that sought to tie high levels of consumption to the saturation of American society with consumer imagery and messages. Since consumption and advertising went hand in hand, it seemed plausible to many observers that there was a correlation between the 'affluent society' of the postwar era and the attempt by advertisers to create the 'all-round ambience' towards consumption[53] required to sustain that society. This was certainly the conclusion drawn by the journalist Vance Packard, whose *The Hidden Persuaders* (1957) pre-empted Galbraith's research on the affluent society and resurrected both the spectre of media effects that had haunted early writing on propaganda and the nomenclature used to describe and measure those effects. Describing what he called the 'depth approach to

influencing our behaviour', Packard claimed 'large-scale efforts [were] being made, often with impressive success, to channel our unthinking habits, our purchasing decisions, and our thought processes by the use of insights gleaned from psychiatry and the social sciences'.[54] Speaking to a generation of Americans who had lived with the Cold War, and writing at around the same time as Cold War hysteria erupted in the McCarthy trials, Packard's thesis suggested the 'skill' of advertisers and 'public-relations experts at '"engineering" our consent' had steadily increased with the passage of time, and that attempts to 'probe our everyday habits for hidden meanings' had furnished both corporations and governments with the means to persuade people without their knowledge or consent.[55] According to Mark Crispin Miller, it was precisely this conviction that advertising worked on a subliminal level, that is, that even the most astute or fastidious observer was powerless to its charms, that made Packard's intervention so timely.

> *The Hidden Persuaders* shook up that complacent view, by baring the dark side of advertising...[and] by demonstrating that the advertising industry had lately started up, and now was seeking to perfect, a whole new science of allurement – one based not on crowd psychology, with its crude model of collective stimulus/response, but on much subtler notions of the mind, derived primarily from psychoanalysis, with insights also gleaned from sociology and cultural anthropology.[56]

Though the United States had produced some of the earliest and most well-known critiques of advertising, the totalising power of the advertising industry also seeped into postwar British literature. In 1972, the cultural studies academic Fred Inglis published *The Imagery of Power*, a book that repeated the charges against commercial and political promotion aired previously by Leavis, Eliot, Adorno, Horkheimer, Galbraith and Packard, but eschewed the kind of effects-based analysis those authors hinted at or advocated. Suggesting that the existence of the advertising industry was a symptom of a 'damnable failure' to construct a communications system in 'public hands', Inglis' work highlighted a shift in the language of advertisements from 'information' to 'image-orientated' communication: advertising, according to this interpretation, had moved away from mass culture representations to a new doctrine of individualism and a 'social and moral ideology which judges fulfilment in terms of private fulfilment and ostentatious display'.[57]

Inglis' work, though it shared certain thematic similarities with the critical literature that preceded it, approached the study of the mass media from a different theoretical vantage

point. Whereas earlier literature had placed a primacy on messages and on the (typically linear) process of communication from producer, to message to consumer, literature within media and cultural studies couched in the semiotics tradition suggested a move away from message, and from processual models of communication, to studies of texts. Texts, here, were taken to mean inherently contested or entities whose polysemic nature undermined the notion of media 'effects'. In the literature on advertising, the French philosopher Roland Barthes offered perhaps the first semiotic analysis of an advertisement in 'Rhetorique de l'image' (1962), an article that used a single *Panzani* advertisement to make a general point about the complex chain of signification that surrounded texts and complicated their meanings.[58] Judith Williamson continued this approach in *Decoding Advertisements* (1978),[59] and in 'Encoding, Decoding' (1977) Stuart Hall put forward a four-stage theory of communications that radically departed from notions of effects and suggested instead an emphasis on production, circulation, use (consumption) and reproduction.[60]

The notion that advertisements represent 'texts' whose meanings are constantly shifting and whose audiences or 'readers' are actively involved in their use and 'reproduction', helped to inspire a new range of critical engagements with advertising that including studies of advertising audiences and various branches of detailed semiotic analyses of texts. Works produced within this vein included the 'close reading' or 'explication' favoured by New Critical theorists such as Barbara Stern and the reader-response theory of Linda Scott.[61] However, not all research on advertising published in the 1960s and 1970s drew its inspiration from semiotics. Stuart Ewen's *Captains of Consciousness* (1976), an account of the emergence of consumer culture in America and its relationship to the advertising industry, offered one of the first dedicated historical monographs on advertising, focusing on the early 20th century and the interwar period in particular. Suggesting advertising helped to establish consumerism as an 'idiom of daily life with a matter-of-fact status within American culture',[62] Ewen's argument was based on a review of a range of primary sources such as industry trade journals and accounts of advertising left by its practitioners. Its conclusion, that advertising had been involved in a covert agenda to promote consumerism and 'civilise' the working classes, echoed many of the criticisms aired decades earlier by Leavis *et al*. In its

> attempt to massify men's [sic] consumption in step with the requirements of the productive machinery, advertising increasingly offered mass-produced solutions to 'instinctive' strivings as well as to the ills of mass society itself. If it was industrial

capitalism around which crowded cities were being built and which had spawned much of the danger to health, the frustration, the loneliness and the insecurity of modern industrial life, the advertising of the period denied complicity. Rather, the logic of contemporaneous advertising read, one can free oneself from the ills of modern life by embroiling oneself in the maintenance of that life.[63]

Ewen's attack on advertising attracted a number of critics, and by the 1980s a debate erupted within social history and cultural studies over the precise role of advertising in American and more broadly western society. Its protagonists shared some common ground; the idea of a 'consumer society' or a 'commercial culture', for instance, had by now firmly established itself within the academic *milieu*. Yet disagreement centred on the old battleground of media effects, and in particular on the extent to which advertising could be said to cause or merely *reflect* the kinds of values and beliefs identified by historians. Michael Schudson, a sociologist and historian of commercial culture, published *Advertising, the Uneasy Persuasion* (1984) as a counterargument to Ewen's earlier work, articulating the general point that 'consumer changes are rarely wrought by advertising' and that advertising follows rather than leads the audiences to whom it is directed.[64] Nevertheless, much of the attention since the middle of the 1980s has moved beyond questions of media effects.[65] Anthropologists and sociologists have carried out ethnographic studies of the consumers of advertising and of the advertising industry itself, using methods such as interviews, focus groups and participant observation. Some studies have paid attention to wider aspects of adverti*sing*, including in particular brands and public relations, and as with the medium history of propaganda, a number of books and articles have been released that seek to problematise and deconstruct advertisements in certain media, including in particular print and television.[66]

Analysing Institutions: Studying Advertising Through Discourse Theory

In the late 1990s and early 2000s a new kind of advertising scholarship began to establish itself within media and cultural studies. Eschewing analyses of media texts for studies of 'cultural production',[67] this approach drew from notions of discourse pioneered in the work of the French philosopher Michel Foucault. Foucault's work is notoriously opaque, and there is not space to deal with it here save to say that it has proven particularly useful for examining institutions and the processes by which they are socially constructed.[68] Sean Nixon, Liz McFall and Anne Cronin all work within this tradition of intellectual enquiry, and though there are differences between the approaches these authors adopt they share a common concern

with how advertising institutions can be analysed and assessed through the records they leave behind. In *Advertising Cultures* (2003), Nixon put forward an argument that centred on the personal 'identities and subjective choices made by [advertising] practitioners', a subject which, he claimed, remained the 'most neglected aspect' of current advertising research.[69] Yet the work of Liz McFall and Anne Cronin has proven most useful to this thesis – focusing, as it does, on the process of institutionalisation and providing a model for analysing primary sources that will be described in detail in the next chapter.

In *Advertising: A Cultural Economy* (2004), McFall levelled a series of important criticisms at existing historical accounts of the advertising industry, suggesting that the place of the advertising industry within British society has been consistently misunderstood by historians, whose analysis of advertising tends be conducted through the prism of the textual analysis of advertise*ments* rather than empirical analyses of societies or institutional analyses of advertising agencies.[70] Whereas the literature on propaganda made repeated attempts to illustrate the authority propagandists apparently had over their audiences, historians of commercial culture have tended to dismiss earlier forms of advertising as trivial and unsophisticated attempts to exhort and cajole the public which compare unfavourably with more contemporaneous appeals. This argument, which McFall calls the 'teleological' approach to the history of advertising, suggests that the business of advertising has gotten progressively more complex as time has passed by; a belief apparently confirmed by comparing older, technologically less 'advanced' advertisements with their newer counterparts. Yet it is not a position that stands up to historical scrutiny. McFall, who finds ample evidence to suggest the advertising of the past was complex and sophisticated, suggests historians of promotion need firstly to engage with any historical moment in its own terms, and also to move beyond a 'preoccupation with texts' to studies of the 'local, organisational level' of production.[71]

Studying advertising institutions in their historical context counteracts an over-reliance on texts, and reveals aspects of the advertising industry that are promotional but are not nevertheless conveyed *in* advertisements. The pages of *Advertising: A Cultural Economy* are filled with examples of how advertisers communicate with clients and consumers during the 19th and 20th centuries, suggesting, as McFall contends, that advertising has been a 'remarkably adaptable institution that has, over time, made ingenious use of a diverse and

eclectic range of technologies to ensure its message is seen and heard'. Adapted to suit 'busy urban environments', advertisers developed appeals that were designed to catch the eye, including an 'elaborate promotional machine' involving advertisers, the press and the book trade which led to a system of 'editorial puffing'; horse drawn advertising 'machines'; and a range of print-based mediated promotions such as placard-bearers.[72] Many of the devices used by advertisers to sell products and services were, as we shall see, also used by military advertisers who borrowed from (in Nicholas Hiley's terms) the 'language of the mass market' in order to construct appeals directed at ordinary civilians.[73]

Crucial to McFall's work, and a belief shared by Cronin, is the notion of advertising as something that can only be meaningfully studied in relation to the particular historical moment that give rise to it. Historians can no more make blanket judgements on the nature of the advertising industry by looking at advertisements than they can compare advertisements of the past with those of the present to make a point about ever-increasing promotional saturation. To even begin to address questions of media power and influence, accounts of advertising need to consider the place of the advertising industry within the societies that created them. Envisioning advertising as a site of discursive contestation that implicates both consumers and producers, clients and agencies, audiences and publics, and promotion and 'information', allows historians to unpack the myriad ways in which advertisers understand and produce (as well as semiotically construct) advertisements, and thus, in a different way, contribute to the social production and circulation of meanings.[74] Cronin, whose work on advertising is contemporary rather than historical, has suggested that the industry of advertising extends beyond the confines of the agency to the various discourses that 'make up' advertising at any moment in time. Advertising, she claims, represents a 'special form of mediation' that brings together disparate individuals and institutions which cannot be properly grasped by examining individual advertisements.

> Whilst practitioners certainly cannot be said to determine viewers' reception of their texts, completely excluding practitioners from the analysis skews understandings of the significance of advertising practice and its textual products. This inattention to the process of production and the influence of practitioners' social position and beliefs on this process thus detracts from a full analysis of advertising as an industry. As an industry, it has its own culture and values into which new practitioners are duly initiated.[75]

Advocating a 'full analysis' of the advertising industry based on a series of contemporary or historical 'snapshots' can provide an empirically richer understanding of the advertising industry. Yet no work has yet sought to apply comparable methods to the history of recruitment advertising. Military advertising, for its part, has received only passing references in the literature on war propaganda, and virtually no mention at all in the literature on promotional culture. Neither McFall or Cronin examines military recruitment, although their understandings of how promotion works (or worked, in the case of McFall) can aid this thesis' analysis of military advertising.

Conclusion: Reviewing the Literature on Advertising, Promotion or Propaganda

By now it should be clear that both advertising and propaganda have been implicated in some of the key debates on the nature of British society. The rise of a mass media culture in the early years of the 20th century spurred those debates in the interwar years, and it was during the latter period that the study of advertising and the study of propaganda took on a distinctly modernist undertone. In the postwar era academic disciplines emerged associated with both subjects, including the 'new propaganda history'[76] of the 1970s and the study of advertising institutions (as opposed to advertising texts) of the late 1990s and early 2000s. Concepts and theories can be borrowed from these literatures. The study of propaganda institutions, for instance, provides a useful model against which this thesis can compare its own institutional histories of recruitment advertising, while production-centred accounts of the advertising industry can help to move beyond the narrow paradigm of media 'effects' to matters of discursive production. At the same time, there are elements to these approaches that are not particularly useful. The emphasis on media effects in the literature on propaganda is not shared by this thesis, and nor is the tendency in the literature on promotional culture to study advertising through the prism of advertisements. In moving beyond the notion of media effects, and behind advertisements, this thesis seeks to provide a different kind of account of promotion to that often found in either literature. The ways in which this account was developed, how archival sources were used and selected, and how this thesis drew on the discourse theory of McFall, Cronin and other authors, will be the subject of the following chapter.

Chapter Three
Researching, Designing and Writing the Thesis: A Methodological Survey

In previous chapters, a broad outline of the approach taken to military advertising was given. This approach, which draws from the work of the sociologists Liz McFall and Anne Cronin, suggests that recruitment advertising should be studied in relation to the specific historical circumstances that give rise to it, and that advertising should be treated as a form of discourse. In its Foucauldian inflection, discourse represents a means of organising and producing meaning within a social context; a way of seeing the world, describing things and a thing that can itself be described, it can be studied through systematic analyses of the documents institutions and individuals produce.[1] These documents are created by the structures and practices of the advertising profession – the committees, institutions, agencies, clients, departments and individuals involved in the making of advertisements – and by the language of advertisements themselves, which perpetuates what is sometimes called an 'advertising discourse'.[2] According to McFall, by studying advertising as a practice governed by social meaning and conventions, historians can move beyond text-centred accounts of the profession to analyses rooted in media production. Eschewing a developmental historical narrative in favour of a 'snapshot of how advertising operated as a way of generating different ways of thinking about its contemporary and historical formations', she calls for a 'patiently documentary' approach to advertising history based on a close reading of production:

> [T]o tell the history of advertising solely from the text is to tell a story which is unusually dependent at every stage on the type of hermeneutic, interpretative method that...can be so problematic. The...benefits of a *more modest description of advertising practice* are a liberation from some of the constraints of dualistic theory, and a more informed understanding of the contingent conditions in which various advertising practices and forms – for the two are inextricably linked – emerged.[3]

McFall's emphasis on a 'description' of advertising practice is shared by Cronin, who combines detailed ethnographic studies of advertising institutions with an analysis of the discourses that constitute them and situate them within fields of media production. The business of advertising, according to Cronin, provides multiple 'regimes of mediation' (leaning on Michel Foucault's concept of 'regimes of truth') that link advertisers with agencies, advertisements with the commodities and services (or careers) they represent, and

promotional vehicles with the mass and interpersonal media that carry them. Echoing McFall's critique of the widespread 'inattention to the process of production and the influence of practitioners' social position and beliefs' within the literature on commercial advertising, Cronin advocates what she calls a 'full analysis of advertising as an industry' that reveals the 'culture and values into which new practitioners are duly initiated'.[4] This industry, Cronin claims, 'produces more than advertisements or commodity signs: its practices generate a wide range of discourses that circulate in complex ways between multiple participants'.[5]

The recognition that the business of advertising involves more than the production and circulation of advertisements is fundamental to this thesis, and provides a good point of departure for thinking about the kind of methodological questions a discursive history of military advertising raises. If the practices of advertising and the communicative forms it trades in are constructed by and maintained through discourses, how might historians study recruitment advertising in relation to the literature discussed in previous chapters? To what extent, furthermore, are discourses discernible *through* archives, and can the 'systematic' study of archival materials provide an insight into the discourses and 'regimes of mediation' that prevailed in British society at particular moments in the past? The literature on discourse analysis, promotional culture and institutional theory provides some tentative answers to these questions, but it is worth noting that the application of discourse to historical writing presents its own problems. Writing in 1989, the historian Arthur Marwick claimed its emphasis on dominance and its 'indissoluble' connection to the Marxist notion of ideology prevented discourse theory from 'ever making major contributions to historical knowledge'.[6] Ludmilla Jordanova, writing some years later, was a little more charitable in her assessment, but nevertheless wrote of the 'limitations' discourse and ideology have as concepts for historians:

> The notion of discourse and work that deploys it rely heavily on the study of language. Although it is sometimes claimed that anything can be treated as a text...the whole approach has been shaped by a conviction of the power of the written word and of the intellectual effectiveness of theories of language to open up its capacity to structure all human experience... discourse implies that there is more or less a coherent world view behind the texts, and that the ideas they express have palpable effects.[7]

Though historians also place great stock on written communications, the determining quality of discourses stands at odds with some traditions of historical scholarship, not least because

discourse theory regards all documents as embodiments of one or more discourse, and considers the search for such discourses (rather than the search for, and analysis of, sources) as the principal task of historians.[8] However, while the idea of discourse may have disadvantages as a general methodological framework for historical writing, it contains a practical use when applied to studies of media organisations and the media forms they produce and circulate. Since the 1990s, a number of authors working across several disciplines have turned to discourse to explore various aspects of media communication.[9] Merging Foucault's notion of discourse as a social construction of reality with studies of how language is used, these authors have sought to explore how media 'texts position readers to view social and political events in a particular way'.[10] A means of examining advertisements, 'critical discourse analysis' (the name given to this latter form of enquiry) can complement the Foucauldian analysis of advertising put forward by McFall and Cronin.

This chapter demonstrates why this approach was adopted and how it was subsequently applied to the various sources examined during the course of researching this thesis. Beginning with a chronological overview of the process of designing and writing the thesis, it shows that the significance of discourse as a general methodological tool only became apparent *after* a period of archival research and a review of available literature. The approach to studying advertising discursively, in other words, only began to shape the research presented here until after a period of critical reflection. The second section returns to the subject of discourse, and to the work of McFall, Cronin and others, to demonstrate why discourse theory was chosen as a methodological framework for analysing military advertising, and how this 'framework' was subsequently applied to the various sources used. Reiterating the key tenets of the thesis' argument, it sketches out two broad uses of discourse theory and illustrates how these uses can be applied to the history of military advertising.

The Genesis of the Project: Designing, Researching and Writing the Thesis

Research for this thesis began in the autumn of 2009. The key research questions that defined the early engagement with the subject matter included the following:

- o How did the military use advertising and public relations to promote itself?
- o What institutions and organisations were involved in recruitment promotion?
- o Did recruitment promotion change over the course of the 20th century?
- o In what ways did the military borrow from or appropriate techniques of persuasion developed outside the state (*id est*, in the world of commerce)?

A preliminary review of the literature was carried out, and it became apparent fairly early on that a significant proportion of the thesis' research would need to be archival in nature. Few published works examined the subject of recruitment advertising, although a wealth of material existed on commercial advertising and war propaganda. The latter disciplines, as the previous chapter demonstrated, approached the subject of promotion from different perspectives and with contrasting intentions. Historians of advertising tended to focus on the commercial origins and applications of promotion, and on its relationship to the capitalist economy. Historians of propaganda, on the other hand, tended to restrict their analyses to the development of promotion as a political tool, focusing on its role within government.

Since the connection between the state and private industry was identified as a key research question, both forms of promotion were deemed important for the thesis at this early stage. However, in the absence of any major study of recruitment advertising – at this point, Peter Simkins' work had not yet been reviewed, and nor had the numerous articles of Nicholas Hiley (see below) – a review of existing archival materials was carried out. In all, nine weeks were spent reviewing records in 2010 and again 2012. The Imperial War Museum (IWM), the Public Records Office (PRO), and the British Library (BL) were all consulted, and around the same period of time was spent surveying the digitised records of the proceedings of Houses of Parliament (or Hansard), the *Times Digital Archive*, the *Guardian and Observer Historical Archive* and the *Daily Mirror Archive*. The materials acquired from these resources would provide the basis for each of this thesis' six case studies, but the particular ways in which they could be studied through the prism of discourse analysis did become apparent until after the first visit to the archives. We will return to the subject of discourse below. In the writing that follows, a basic outline of the progression of the archival research will be given.

<u>The First Visit to the Archives, 2010</u>

Since it contained various records associated with the prosecution of war, and had recently organised a *Posters and Conflict* exhibition that exhibited many recruitment advertisements,[11] the IWM was the first archive visited. In the initial stages of a review of its records, a number of books and articles on recruitment advertising were examined, including *Advertising Goes to War* (1942), an account of the role of the American advertising industry in aiding Second World War troop mobilisation, *Keep Mum!* (1975), a British equivalent which focused on the advertising work of the Second World War Ministry of Information (MOI), and Cate Haste's

Keep the Home Fires Burning (1977), a fairly comprehensive overview of First World War propaganda and recruitment advertising.[12] It was Haste's book, and in particular the chapter on 'Getting the Troops', that introduced the author to some of the institutions involved in recruitment advertising during the 1914-18 period. These institutions included the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee and the Caxtons Publishing House, which would provide the basis for the first case study (see below), as well as a host of voluntary organisations unrelated to the official recruiting drive. At this point in the research, no distinction had been made between official and unofficial recruiting efforts, so a decision was made to search for any additional archival materials that illustrated which organisations had been involved in military recruitment, and whether their work changed or adapted over the course of time.

During the course of this investigation, some evidence was unearthed on 'propaganda postcards' which depicted the death of the Nurse Edith Cavell; recruiting ephemera – including pamphlets, posters and even hymn books – produced by the Maidstone Borough Council; and a recruitment advertisement for the Women's Land Army (see figure six).[13] However, it became apparent that the holdings of the IWM did not contain large quantities of files on First World War recruiting, although they did contain some material on the planning of the Second World War MOI.[14] This material stressed the crucial role that had been played by the Post Office in developing the approach taken by the MOI towards official promotion.[15] It also introduced the author to the significance of interdepartmental exchanges of information and expertise, a process that would prove crucial for various case studies (see below).

However, since the IWM did not contain a wealth of material on military advertising, the decision was made to consult the PRO. Whereas the IWM contained a small number of documents useful or potentially useful to the thesis, the PRO contained a great profusion of archival sources spread out over a number of collections.[16] The sheer quantity of files stored in the PRO presented a problem: if so much recruitment work had apparently been carried out, what particular steps could be taken to narrow down the subject and develop a single, coherent thesis? The answer to this question did not come immediately (see below), and in the first two weeks of visiting the PRO an exploratory review of its holdings was carried out. This review indicated that both military advertising and military advertisements (see chapter one) could be found not only in the records of the Service departments, but in the holdings of the 'information services',[17] the Cabinet Office and other non-military departments like the

Home Office and the Treasury. During the course of the review it became quickly apparent that the business of promoting the military extended beyond the military itself, and that many of the major propaganda agencies (including the First and Second World War MOIs) were not involved to a significant degree in recruitment promotion. This would have important repercussions for the development of this thesis' main argument and methodology. Since military advertising extended across government, it could feasibly be studied as a product of broader processes and trends *within* government, and even (as would become clear in the case of certain campaigns) as a product of certain outside influences and constraints.
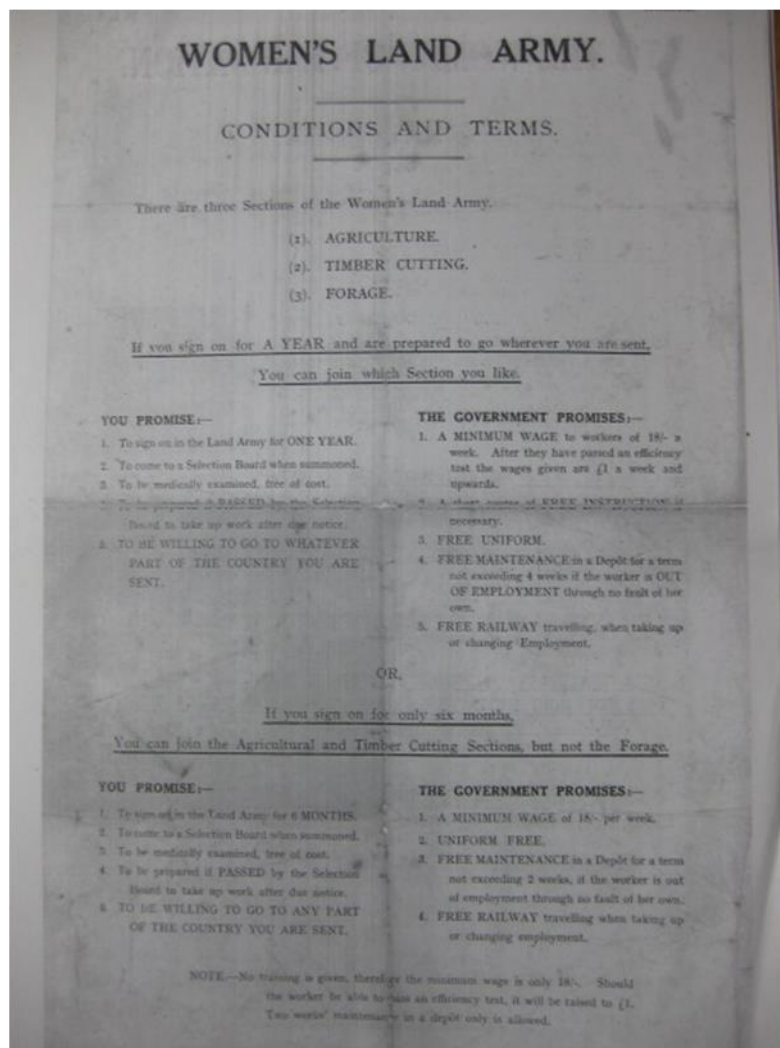

Figure Six

A copy of a Land Army recruitment leaflet held in the British Library, this advertisement was probably produced by the Ministry of Information.

Aimed specifically at women, it targeted three main categories of employment: timber cutting, agriculture and foraging. Women were offered the minimum government wage for this work, and were paid less than men for equivalent work.

The significance of these observations would only become clear later, however, and before returning to them it is worth reflecting on some of the material unearthed in the PRO during the period of exploratory review conducted in 2010. Among the first files examined in the PRO were copies of original advertisements created by the government's information

services. These advertisements included a number of full-size colour posters, leaflets and pamphlets and even plates of newspaper and magazine advertisements. Some of these texts had been stored in 'precedent books', large bound volumes comprised of cuttings of original advertisements and responses to recruitment campaigns in the press. These 'books' were used to plan future campaigns, and demonstrated the importance within military advertising of reviewing past practices and procedures when organising campaigns. The War Office (WO) in particular had created and stored a number of these 'books', and appears to have used them to develop recruiting policy and improve certain aspects of its administration.[18]

Other files consulted during the exploratory review included detailed accounts of the organisation and planning of the Second World War MOI, the production of a series of recruitment films in the early to mid 1960s, and miscellaneous materials on Second World War intelligence gathering.[19] Some but not all of these sources would prove useful in the development of the case studies, and after a period of roughly three weeks in the archives a number of more targeted searches of the PRO's catalogues were initiated. Whereas the period of exploratory research involved sifting through large quantities of files and 'flagging up' any information apparently useful, the more targeted research undertaken later involved following particular organisations and individuals whose names appeared frequently in the files or whose work appeared significant or otherwise interesting at the time. In this way a more detailed picture of organisations and institutions involved in recruitment promotion began to take shape. In terms of chronology, it became apparent that certain periods in the 20th century seemed to have led to more references to military advertising and military recruitment than others.[20] These periods include the two world wars, the latter stages of the interwar years, the late 1940s, and the late 1950s and early 1960s. In terms of the content of sources, it became clear that there were broadly two different kinds of records held in the PRO: the first, hard-copies of original advertisements and the 'precedent books' associated with them; the second, memoranda, production logs, correspondence, minutes of meetings and reports on the organisation and planning of campaigns. The records that fell into the first category provided some useful evidence for individual recruiting appeals, but they tended to provide very little information on how these advertisements were produced. Indeed, in the vast majority of cases advertisements appeared simply as stand-alone texts without any additional contextual information, possibly because, as images, they were stored separately to 'written' material.[21] The records that made up the second category, however, contained an

array of detailed information on how campaigns were planned and organised, which individuals and institutions were involved with them, and what 'results' they apparently had.

Several important observations were drawn from this survey of archival records. First, since recruitment activity tended to be concentrated around certain key dates, it seemed likely that these dates were the site of heightened activity amongst recruiters. Second, given the timing of these dates it seemed likely that recruitment campaigns were implicated in some of the key events in British social and political history, such as the two world wars, the planning for the Second World War, the immediate aftermath of the postwar period, and the transitional period between 1957 and 1963 when National Service was gradually phased out. These periods would eventually form the basis of this thesis' six case studies. Third, and perhaps most important of all, though a broad range of advertisements could be accessed in the PRO it was often difficult to determine which of the various institutions involved in the promotion of military recruitment was responsible for their production. That advertisements tended to be recorded separately from the material associated with advertising reinforced the distinction (retained throughout this thesis) between the promotional vehicles of recruitment advertisers and the organisational and administrative machinery that lies behind them. In light of McFall's work, which had been consulted before research for this thesis began, the records of the PRO seemed to lend themselves to the kind of institutional history McFall advocated.

Reflecting on the Findings: Sources, Literature and Potential Approaches

After the 2010 visit, a period of critical reflection was embarked upon. The information gleaned from the archives provided a good starting point for conducting an analysis of military advertising. Yet before that analysis could be carried out it was necessary to return to historical and theoretical literature. Initially, the literature on war propaganda was considered the most likely source of information on military advertising, but it soon became apparent that other literatures were also germane to the topic, such as the study of promotional culture[22] and the general social, political and economic history of Britain. Keyword searches within these literatures using the names of individuals and organisations that had appeared most frequently in archival records were carried out, and a rough indication of current knowledge on military advertising was sketched out. It became apparent that some authors, including Nicholas Hiley, Peter Simkins, William Crofts, John Tulloch and Mariel Grant, had examined various aspects of recruitment advertising,[23] but that no author had examined the subject over

a broad swath of 20ᵗʰ century history. Moreover, though the subject of military advertising had come in for some attention, it had tended to be studied in different ways and for contrasting reasons. Grant's work, for example, explored the growth of the information services in the interwar years; Simkins' the raising of Kitchener's Armies; Hiley's the 'origins' of First World War propaganda; and Tulloch's the machinery of news management. Though various aspects of their work would prove useful during the course of writing up, it became clear that:

- o Most authors who had studied recruitment campaigns had done so from the perspective of social, political or military history. This focus on campaigns as by-products of manpower policy, or as social and cultural 'events' that could be recounted as part of the broader history of British society, has tended to divert attention from issues of promotion.
- o Within the small body of research that dealt explicitly with the subject of recruitment advertising, most of the attention had been directed towards the study of advertisements rather than the business of advertising. This was typified by the literature on the war poster.
- o The literature on commercial advertising, while providing a wealth of theoretical and methodological approaches for studying promotion, had largely avoided questions of military recruitment in favour of analyses of commercial communication.
- o The literature on war propaganda, on the other hand, had tended to focus not on recruitment campaigns but on other aspects of government communications, and had demonstrated an inclination to overlook or downplay the importance of recruitment advertising in favour of other forms of promotion related to the armed forces.
- o The First World War had received more attention directly relevant to the study of recruitment advertising than other periods during the 20ᵗʰ century, and the postwar and interwar periods had received virtually no serious attention whatsoever.

From this review the basic methodological approach to studying military advertising began to take shape. Though a small number of studies concerned exclusively with military advertising had been carried out, these were in the minority when compared to those studies that either referenced recruitment campaigns as part of general historical accounts or studied recruitment advertisements rather than the topic of recruitment advertising. On the whole, there was an absence of commentary on the planning and organisation of campaigns, and on the kinds of activities and procedures that existed beneath or 'behind' advertisements. Coincidentally, this absence reflected the treatment of commercial advertising until the interventions of McFall, Cronin and Sean Nixon.[24] The latter author had spoken of the 'magisterial centrality' of the text in literature on commercial advertising, and a similar argument could be levelled at the historiography of military advertising.[25] However, while the

literature on commercial advertising had engaged with issues of advertising there had yet to be a comparable turn in the literature on recruitment advertising.

McFall's work proved particularly important in this regard because, even though her analysis was restricted to commercial communication it offered an approach that could be readily applied to this thesis. Offering a 'genealogical' approach to historical writing, McFall suggested studying advertising through a series of unique 'snapshots' and the 'diverse, haphazard and uneven array of institutions [and] practices...adapted to fit specific contextual circumstances at different historical moments'.[26] Since they were by definition temporary events designed to precipitate an immediate increase in enlistment, the recruitment campaigns examined in this thesis provide ideal examples of 'snapshots'. By studying a number of them over the course of a broad sample, furthermore, a discursive history of military advertising could be fashioned that focused not on commercial advertising, but its military counterpart. This history would not exclude the literature on commercial advertising or war propaganda, and would actively seek to place military advertising within the context of existing debates and controversies. How it did so for each chapter will be examined in detail below, but before then it is necessary to briefly detail how the rest of the research progressed.

Drafting the Chapters and Returning to the Archives

After a period of critical review, two years were spent drafting and redrafting individual chapters. Given the volume of primary sources and the apparent absence of literature on recruitment advertising, the outline of the thesis originally involved eight self-contained case studies which would each examine a different 'snapshot' of recruitment advertising. This plan was subsequently revised to the more manageable figure of six, preceded by a literature review and a methodology. The original objective of examining a different aspect of military advertising through a series of discrete 'snapshots' was still retained, although the commitment to making each case study 'self-contained' was diluted in order to emphasise some of the connections and differences that existed between each chapter.

In the spring of 2012, the archives were revisited. During the course of the first visit, a large number of files had been examined, but various questions remained about certain aspects of the campaigns. Some of the records originally surveyed in 2010 required revision, while additional sources were also sought in an attempt to strengthen the empirical grounding of each case study. In this respect the BL proved a useful depository of archival materials.

Holding a mixture of official and unofficial records, it contained some examples of military advertisements and some books and memoirs written by advertisers – including Charles Higham's *Advertising: Its Use and Abuse* (1925), Thomas Russell's *Advertising and Publicity* (undated) and Stephen Tallents' lecture on Post Office publicity (1932)[27] – that provided evidence for how practitioners viewed advertising and public relations at certain points during the 20th century. After another four-and-a-half week period surveying records, the drafts of the six case studies were rewritten to incorporate this new material. In what follows how each case study used and applied sources will be discussed.

Constructing the Case Studies: The First Drafts

The First World War, as noted above, has attracted more interest amongst scholars than other periods considered in this thesis. Chapters four and five, which examined British and Irish recruiting advertising in the 1913-15 and 1914-19 periods, were thus positioned directly within scholarly fields that examined military advertising. This meant that the primary source material was 'framed' in relation to the debates and issues raised in these fields. The same approach, as we shall see, could not be applied to many of the later chapters.

In the case of chapter four, historical commentary on the PRC and on the Caxtons Publishing House stretched back at least to the 1970s, with authors from Roy Douglas, to Haste, to Hiley to Simkins examining different aspects of the recruitment campaigns.[28] The work of the PRC had also been briefly touched on in the general social and political accounts of the war, such as Arthur Marwick's *The Deluge* (1965) and Nicoletta Gullace's *The Blood of Our Sons* (2002).[29] Two key themes in the literature were the role of advertisements and the significance of the wider social and political context within which recruitment occurred – 1914 was the site of a 'rush to the Colours' that witnessed the highest enrolment figures in the history of the British armed forces. Historians have tended to regard recruitment advertisements as ineffective or unsophisticated, and have sought to explain the 'rush to the Colours' with recourse to the culture of 'war enthusiasm' that apparently prevailed in Britain at the outset of the war. Yet little work has been carried out into a range of activities that were designed to sustain this enthusiasm, including public meetings, speeches and recruiting rallies, as well as the role of the PRC in gathering information for the state. The files on the PRC held in the PRO can shed light on these activities, and chapter four tried to position this archival material in the context of existing debates about the response of the public to the war

and the attempt by the government to retain 'war enthusiasm'. In particular, it aimed to show that focus on the PRC and Caxtons has tended, with few exceptions, to gloss over the actual organisation and prosecution of the campaign in favour of analyses of advertisements.

Chapter five also drew from a wide range of secondary source material, and tried to position the analysis of recruitment advertising in the context of existing debates on Ireland's role in (and response towards) the Great War. In recent years, a number of books and articles have been published on Irish history in 1914-18, and the subject of recruitment advertising has not gone unnoticed. Indeed, because of the broader role of the British government in Ireland during the war, recruitment campaigns have been widely discussed in the literature.[30] Much of the attention has focused on the perceived success or failure of these campaigns, and of their relationship to events such as the early 'epoch of voluntary action',[31] the 1916 Easter Rising and the 1918 conscription crisis. Files in the PRO suggested a major recruitment campaign was waged in the midst of the 1918 conscription crisis, while material recorded in Hansard indicated that other campaigns were waged at various points during the war.[32] By using the existing commentary to give a general outline of recruitment campaigns, archival materials were used as a basis to explore some issues that had been neglected in the literature, including in particular the relationship Irish recruiting shared to its 'British' counterpart and how one recruitment body, the Irish Recruiting Council, was continued into the postwar era.

This approach, whereby recruitment campaigns were placed directly within the context of existing debates about them, could not be emulated in all the case studies. Chapter six adopted a different methodology because, unlike its predecessors, its main subject area, the campaign for national service in 1938-39, had attracted very little attention. The lack of attention encouraged a little more creativity in the use and application of secondary sources, and a decision was made to tie recruitment for 'national service' to the notion of a 'people's war', a concept usually associated with the wartime period.[33] This decision was borne of a review of the content of the advertisements used to promote 'national service', of the records of the Central National Service Committee (CNSC) (held in the PRO), and of the work of the Public Relations Departments (PRDs) of various government ministries. The analysis of this archival material was framed in relation to Grant's *Propaganda and the Role of the State in Interwar Britain* (1994), which gives a lucid explanation of how PRDs emerged in Britain in the interwar years, and in relation to Angus Calder's *The People's War* (1969), which highlighted

both the positive and the negative features of the war.[34] However since neither Grant nor Calder acknowledged the campaign for national service, the case study sought to introduce a previously unexplored aspect of the planning for the Second World War: the attempt to convince British civilians that they would be fighting a people's war if conflict returned.

Chapter seven stands alone in this thesis as the only analysis of advertising research or 'publicity in reverse',[35] and as the only chapter that considers a broad chronological sample. While other chapters are limited to two- to six-year samples, the analysis of Social Survey carried out in chapter seven examined a twenty-year sample that covered both the wartime (1939-45) and postwar eras. The peculiar approach taken to its subject matter was borne of the irregular spread of archival sources on Social Survey, together with a general absence of historical commentary on the organisation or its impact on matters of government. To deal with these subjects in turn, a review of the records of the PRO unearthed an abundance of archival material detailing how Social Survey developed and refined its methodology during the war years, but only a very small quantity of primary sources on the work of the organisation in peacetime. In terms of historical commentary, some authors (such as Crofts) have briefly mentioned the methods used by the Survey, but on the whole the subject has been underexplored.[36] In the work of a number of and philosophers, however, there have been various criticisms of the *methods* of public opinion polling.[37] Chapter seven sought to integrate the latter literature (which was not expressly historical) into an analysis of how the Survey developed its methods during the war years and how those methods were subsequently applied to the business of military advertising in the postwar era. As such, it was split into two main sections, the first of which examined the wartime years and the second of which examined the postwar era. This approach differed from those applied in the other chapters, but it shared the same commitment to exploring how surveys were produced and designed, and what kind of work went on behind their production.

Chapter eight, the first of two postwar chapters concerned with issues of recruiting reform, returned to the subject of advertising proper. Files in the PRO suggest recruiters were engaged in several high-profile campaigns from 1948 until 1951, and that the PRDs established in the interwar years and the Central Office of Information (COI) were involved in these campaigns. Furthermore, while these campaigns were being organised the organisational machinery of recruitment – and of government promotion generally – was

being reorganised under the auspices of the postwar Labour governments. Much of the historiography on this period has stressed the ambitious programme of social and economic reforms ushered in by these governments,[38] and a small number of scholars have engaged with issues of promotion. Crofts' *Coercion or Persuasion?* (1989) explores what he calls 'economic propaganda', Tulloch's (1993) article on the machinery of news management examines aspects of what he calls the 'British machinery of news management', and Grant's article on the planning of the COI explores what she calls the 'continuity and change' at the heart of government information policy.[39] By examining the 1948-51 recruitment campaigns in relation to this literature, and in relation to the reform of the information services, chapter eight sought to show how recruiters responded to the new climate presented by the postwar period, and how they adapted and continued techniques of promotion from earlier periods.

Chapter nine, the final case study, examined another reform of recruitment advertising connected to the decision to terminate conscription in 1957.[40] This decision led to a review of existing recruiting arrangements in 1960 led by Sir Frederic Hooper, but as with the earlier chapters little is currently known about the consequences of this review or the impact (if any) it had on recruiting policy. A range of studies have been published exploring how British military strategy shifted in the wake of the termination of conscription, furthermore, but no research has sought to explore how the armed forces responded to the change with advertising and promotion. A separate literature unconnected to the military has charted the emergence of an 'affluent society' in Britain in the late 1950s and early 1960s, and how this society changed the way established institutions (such as the armed forces) were perceived by individuals and groups.[41] Taking elements from these literatures and using Hooper's review (recorded in the files of the Ministry of Defence) as a case study, chapter nine sought to show how recruitment advertising was planned and executed at the turn of the 1960s. As with the earlier chapters, this was a significant period in British social and economic history, and the manner in which Hooper's recommendations were rejected can help to reveal how the armed forces responded to the challenges presented by the emergence of an 'affluent society' in Britain, and how youth became a key demographic in official promotion.

Discourse Analysis: Examining Primary Sources and Defining Discourses

From this description of the case studies it should be clear that this thesis has drawn from a wide range of archival materials and academic literature, and that it has tried to combine

analyses of recruitment campaigns (and their associated practices) with discussions of historiography. Discourse theory provides a methodology for exploring and assessing archival sources, and its utility to the research presented here will form the basis of this section.

As the discussion that opened this chapter demonstrated, there are several approaches towards studying discourse, and this thesis has drawn from more than one of them. In addition to the work of McFall and Cronin, it has consulted the literature on critical discourse analysis, a discipline that emerged in the 1990s out of the field of applied linguistics.[42] Prior to the emergence of critical discourse analysis, there were two main approaches towards studying discourse. The first of these, associated with studies of language, viewed discourse as a form of social action and interaction. The second, which has already been mentioned, regarded discourse as a social construction of reality and a form of knowledge which is often expressed in language (both written and verbal) but not reducible to it; discourse, according to this interpretation, structures not only what it is possible to say at any given moment in time, but what is excluded from discussions and other forms of social interaction.[43] Critical discourse analysts endeavour to integrate both understandings to explore language, social action and interaction, and the social construction of knowledge simultaneously. In the work of Roger Fowler, Guy Cook and Norman Fairclough, this methodology has been applied to various aspects of the mass media, including studies of commercial advertising.[44]

However, while critical discourse analysis seeks to assimilate Foucauldian understandings of discourse with those found in studies of language, it has tended to apply this method to studies of media *texts* rather than the institutions that produce and distribute them. Fowler, Cook and Fairclough have each studied different aspects of media communication, but their research has remained overwhelmingly concerned with how texts 'position readers to view social and political events in a particular way'[45] – not how media institutions come into being or are themselves constituted by discourses. Despite the attempt to merge Foucauldian and linguistic understandings of discourse into a single explanatory framework, furthermore, there are fairly significant differences between the work of Fowler, Cook and Fairclough on the one hand and the research of McFall and Cronin on the other. Apart from devoting their time to studies of institutions rather than texts, McFall and Cronin also work within a more traditional Foucauldian perspective that eschews studies of language for analyses of the social construction of meaning and the processes by which advertising is institutionally sustained.

Reviewing this literature in the latter half of the research process, it became apparent that each approach contained its own advantages and shortcomings. The research of McFall and Cronin provided a good epistemological foundation on which to explore the development of military advertising, while the work of Fowler, Cook and Fairclough seemed useful for studying advertisements and other forms of promotional communication. Since this thesis examined both advertisements and advertising, a decision was made to draw on both approaches. In the writing that follows, how each approach was applied to military advertising, and how archival sources were used and selected, will be discussed.

Discourse Analysis and Media Institutions

All forms of discourse analysis rely on examinations of historical artefacts or texts. The kinds of texts studied will depend on the analysis in question, and on the particular approach taken to the subject matter. Among the texts considered in *Advertising: A Cultural Economy* (2004), for example, are newspapers, magazines and circulars, dictionaries and reference works, memoirs, biographies and autobiographies, company records and holdings, records of regulators and authorities, drawings, images and illustrations, as well as advertisements themselves (including posters, leaflets, pamphlets, billboards and various printed ephemera).[46] In Cronin's various publications (which examine the contemporary advertising industry and are therefore concerned with a different type of text) the trade press, the work of regulators like the Advertising Standards Authority, and interviews with practitioners and various individuals involved in the advertising industry provide the main source of texts.[47]

By systematically analysing these texts McFall and Cronin partake in a form of discourse analysis, although the precise ways in which they go about their research differs according to the subject matter (or texts) at hand. McFall restricts her analysis to historical studies of the advertising industry, and thus relies to a considerable extent on archival sources. Cronin, on the other hand, engages with advertisers 'directly' through ethnographic studies and other forms of observation. Though there are differences in the kinds of text they examine, however, both authors are ultimately concerned with the process by which advertising is *institutionalised*. This process shapes how each author approaches the texts that make up their respective analyses, and can be applied to studies of recruitment advertising as well. It is through institutions, after all, that military promotion was produced and organised.

The approach of studying the texts advertisers produce and circulate within institutions has been applied in specific ways in this thesis. As noted earlier, the historian of military advertising is confronted not with a paucity of archival materials but a profusion, and it is useful to distinguish between two categories of text. The first of these, records of advertisements, will be discussed below. The second, records of the business of adverti*sing*, lends itself to the kind of discursive analysis of the advertising industry advocated by McFall and Cronin. The records of military advertising, as opposed to military advertisements, include memoranda, production logs, correspondence, minutes of meetings, reports, memoirs and auto-biographies. These kinds of text represent, in the Foucauldian sense of the term, 'systematically-organised sets of statements which give expression to the meanings and values of institutions'.[48] Memoranda, for instance, often contain directives written by superiors to subordinates, proposals, descriptions of ideas and general notes. Production logs represent important sources of information regarding how campaigns progressed and how advertising was carried out. Correspondence between recruiters, on the other hand, provide an insight into the kinds of internal communication that exists behind advertisements, while minutes of meetings illustrate how campaigns were planned and organised, and how different aspects of the campaigns were viewed and commented on by recruiters.

This thesis has examined large quantities of these texts, and has sought to reconstruct a history of recruitment advertising by examining them as products of institutions. According to the management theorists Phillips, Thomas Lawrence and Cynthia Hardy, it is through the production and circulation of 'meaningful texts' (their definition comprises 'written documents, verbal reports, artwork, spoken words, pictures, symbols, buildings and other artefacts') that institutions come into being.[49] By applying this method to the archival sources found in the PRO, the BL and the IWM, this thesis has sought to explore how recruitment campaigns were institutionalised, and how advertisements were produced by these institutions.

Discourse Analysis and Media Texts

While the work of McFall and Cronin offers a good example of discursive analyses of media institutions, the work of Fairclough, Fowler and Cook in particular can inform the analysis of media texts.[50] Cook, whose *The Discourse of Advertising* (1992) applies critical discourse analysis to the study of advertisements, has suggested that analyses of discourses (he does

not restrict himself to media texts, although his book is essentially a study of them) involves the study of textual *content* and an appreciation and awareness of textual *context*. This distinction is fundamental to all critical discourse analysis, and though it has mostly been applied to studies of media texts it can also be introduced to studies of the institutions and individuals that produce them. According to Cook, the 'context' of a text can be taken to mean the social, political and economic conditions within which it is produced, circulated and consumed, while its 'content' can be regarded as the particular manner in which it communicates a message or addresses a reader or viewer. By integrating both content and context into a single analysis, analysts engage in a form of critical discourse analysis.[51]

This approach is useful for studying the wide range of individual advertisements – from posters, to leaflets to newspaper and magazine plates – that are associated with the business of military recruitment. However, as noted above these texts have mostly been divorced from the 'contexts' within which they occur. This creates a methodological problem, and for this reason the only advertisements that have been examined in this thesis are those which can be directly tied to particular recruitment campaigns which provide one part of the requisite 'context' of advertisements. Advertisements, by extension, need to be studied as part of the campaigns of which they are a part, and not (as has sometimes been the case) as standalone images or texts that can be divorced from the particular uses to which they were put.

There is a second, and highly significant, consequence of Cook's distinction between context and content. In this thesis, a large part of the 'context' within which advertisements *and* advertising were produced and circulated has been provided by analyses of historical literature. In addition to the literature on commercial advertising and war propaganda (see chapter three), general social and political accounts of British history have been consulted. In some cases (see chapter seven) literature that is not explicitly historical has also been examined. This literature has helped to place the analysis of both recruitment advertising and recruitment advertisements within the context within which it occurred, and has enabled a more reflexive approach to discourse analysis that does not rely overwhelmingly on 'systematic' analyses of archival sources or texts. In each of the six case studies examined in chapters four-nine, military promotion has been analysed both discursively and as part of broader debates within the literature not connected to the discourse analysis. This approach is designed to circumvent the problems associated with the study of discourse mentioned by

Marwick and Jordanova,[52] and tries to integrate a discursive analysis of media institutions and the forms they produce with the more empirical historical literature.

Conclusion: The Case for a Discursive History of Military Advertising

This chapter has tried to show how this thesis was designed, researched and written. Starting from the premise that recruitment advertising should be studied in relation to the specific historical circumstances that give rise to it, and that the business of advertising can be treated as a form of discourse, it explored the various ways in which the concept of discourse has been understood by philosophers, historians and linguists and the particular ways in which it has been used and applied in this thesis. Though some historians have taken issue with the notion of discourse, this chapter has sought to show how discourse analysis can be integrated into a historical analysis of advertisements and the advertising industry that produces them. In the work of McFall and Cronin, a precedent exists for applying discourse to the study of commercial institutions, and the same methodological procedures can be applied to the study of the institutions which make up military advertising at any given historical moment. In the critical discourse analysis of authors like Cook, on the other hand, a model for deconstructing advertisements and for placing promotional communication within its social, political and economic context can be applied to both advertisements and advertising.

Key to this approach has been an interdisciplinary understanding of military advertising that recognises the value of different academic fields and the utility of bringing certain elements from them together as part of the same research project. Discursive studies of media institutions and media texts can provide a theoretically richer account of military advertising to that typically found, for example, in the literature on war propaganda. Yet the literature on war propaganda can aid a discourse analysis of recruitment advertising because it can help to establish the broader context within which recruiters worked, and can demonstrate how ideas about promotion in one field of production (or in one form of advertisement or) influenced and shaped another. Each case study has thus sought to strike a balance between the discursive analysis of military advertising based on a review of existing archival resources, and an appraisal of available literature. Though they have not attracted a great deal of attention in the historiography of war propaganda or promotional culture, recruitment campaigns have, in this sense, been explored and assessed *in relation to* these literatures. The results of this particular methodological approach will be examined in the writing that follows.

Chapter Four

The 'Rush to the Colours': The Great War and the Emergence of Modern Military Advertising, 1913-15

> There is something infinitely greater and more enduring which is emerging already out of this great conflict – a new patriotism, richer, nobler, and more exalted than the old.[1]
>
> David Lloyd George, 1914

> When we say to our men 'Your Country Needs You', we do not mean that Parliament, or the Government, or Lord Kitchener, or the King or Mr Asquith needs them. It is Britain – British cottage homes, British women and children, peaceful fields and villages – that need them.[2]
>
> Parliamentary Recruiting Committee pamphlet, 1915

> Day by day the advertisements went out. Day by day the recruits came in.[3]
>
> Hedley Le Bas, 1916

When Britain declared war on Germany on August 4th 1914, a 'rising tide of patriotism' swept through the country.[4] Crowds that had gathered outside the Foreign Office to await the announcement responded with 'loud cheering' and 'patriotic demonstrations' which, according to the *Times*, 'continued until an early hour [in the] morning'.[5] The outburst of public enthusiasm extended well beyond the capital to the northern and western reaches of the British Isles, and has been accounted for by one historian as a product of 'a widespread fascination with war' which extended across Europe and had been 'brewing for a long time'.[6] This fascination manifested itself in a variety of ways. Within weeks of the declaration of war, books and articles began to appear that sought to explain British intervention as a product of a 'chivalric struggle against the forces of evil'.[7] Anti-German hostility quickly spiralled out of control, leading to rioting in London's East End in April 1915 after the sinking of the *Lusitania*,[8] and to the renaming of the Royal Family's House name from Saxe-Coburg-Gotha to Windsor in the spring of 1917. Most conspicuous of all, however, was the flood of volunteers to recruiting stations. Between August and September 1914, just shy of half a million men enlisted in the British armed forces. So great was the 'rush to the Colours', the phrase now used to describe the extraordinary intake of recruits during this period, that the War Office (WO) was at one point enrolling more men in a day than it would normally expect

to receive in a *year*.[9] This was no ordinary war, as its advocates were keen to point out; it was also, as we shall see, a war that laid the groundwork for modern military advertising.

In three recruitment campaigns waged in Britain between January 1914 and December 1915, military advertising began to take shape as a coherent discipline and profession.[10] The first of these campaigns, organised by the Caxtons Publishing House (hereafter Caxtons), an instalment publisher and mail-order advertiser, was launched over the winter of 1913-1914. The second and third, a great deal larger than the first and subjects of more academic attention, coincided with the establishment of the New Armies in Britain on August 11th 1914 and with the ensuing expansion of the British Expeditionary Force.[11] Given the initial response to the call to arms, which was so emphatic steps were actually taken to *decrease* volunteering by raising the entrance criteria for new recruits,[12] it is perhaps unsurprising that some contemporaries believed advertising was responsible for luring men to the recruiting depots. Hedley Le Bas, Caxtons' owner, was just shy of claiming sole credit for the 'rush to the Colours' in 1916, suggesting that it was 'by the help of newspaper advertising' that the British Empire had rallied 'great armies to the flag'.[13] Eric Field, a colleague of Le Bas' at Caxtons, repeated the view in *Advertising: The Forgotten Years* (1959), a book published forty years after the war that claimed Caxtons were responsible for the 'first real government advertising', and that this advertising had made 'men risk their lives'.[14] The belief in the power of advertising to 'risk lives' was expressed by a number of commentators in the interwar years, who blamed recruitment advertising and war propaganda for convincing an otherwise peaceful nation to take up arms,[15] but it has not gone unchallenged.

Since the 1960s, social historians have tended to account for the 'rush to the Colours' not by stressing the importance of 'propaganda' but by acknowledging the culture of 'war enthusiasm' that prevailed in Britain in the run up to 1914. Arthur Marwick, whose *The Deluge* (1965) appeared in the same year as A. J. P. Taylor's *English History*, claimed there was actually 'no need for complete control of popular opinion' because there was a 'general wish for war' in the United Kingdom long before it had actually transpired.[16] Cate Haste, in *Keep the Home Fires Burning* (1977), followed Marwick's lead by suggesting there was '[no] need to establish organised propaganda since the [British] population supported [the government's] policies', while Peter Buitenhuis (1989) and Lloyd Clark (1996) have since put forward variants of this argument.[17] However, while underlying social and political factors have served

to dilute any claim that the mass media were potent recruiting agents, interest in such media and the recruitment campaigns that utilised them has not waned with the passing of time. Indeed, compared to other recruitment drives considered in this thesis, the work of Le Bas, Field and the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee (PRC), the government's preeminent recruiting body and the institution responsible for the third recruitment campaign considered in this chapter, has attracted a wealth of scholarly attention. Roy Douglas, Nicholas Hiley, Phillip Dutton and James Aulich have all studied different aspects of the PRC and Caxtons-WO recruitment campaigns.[18] Yet there are still a number of gaps in the literature. Much of the research on the PRC, for example, has focused on its poster campaign, which in turn has diverted attention from other forms of promotion. Advertisements in their conventional 'paid-for' sense have been extensively assessed but other forms of promotion, including public meetings and public spectacles, have not received comparable attention. Furthermore, while research on First World War recruitment has tended to be polarised across two extremes, with Dutton and Hiley stressing the commercial origins of recruitment advertising and Douglas focusing almost entirely on its political manifestations, little is currently known about how the official and commercial components of the campaigns interacted or interrelated.

By exploring the planning and organisation of all three recruitment campaigns, this chapter seeks to fill in some of those gaps. Arguing that the First World War acted as a catalyst for the emergence of modern military advertising, it suggests the world of commercial advertising helped furnish the government with a language or 'grammar' of opinion control[19] that would subsequently be used to promote enlistment. In three articles on First World War recruitment Hiley has stressed the centrality of commercial publicists like Le Bas to the development of this language, and has argued that it stood at odds with the traditional values and philosophy of government.[20] The research presented here emphasises how the state borrowed from, and appropriated, techniques of 'commercial' communication, making use of the administrative and organisational machinery of political parties and central government to promote enlistment. Beginning with an analysis of the first two recruitment campaigns, both of which were organised by Caxtons, it continues with an examination of the third and final campaign organised by the PRC. Taken together, these campaigns changed the way in which the military authorities viewed advertising and other forms of promotion, produced and circulated a wide range of promotional devices, and impacted on how the government as a whole approached the matter of communication. After the recruitment drives of 1914 and 1915,

indeed, other government departments began to take an interest in advertising, suggesting military recruitment carried repercussions far beyond the realm of manpower policy.

Selling War Before the War: Clients, Agencies and the Advertising Industry

Recruitment campaigns were often conceived in the corridors of power, and this seems to have been the source of the PRC (see below). Yet the first campaign considered in this thesis, and perhaps the first 'real' example of government advertising,[21] was conceived not in Parliament or in Whitehall, but in the picturesque surrounds of a Surrey golf club. According to Le Bas, Field and, latterly, Hiley, the 'origins' of First World War recruitment advertising can be traced to Walton Heath Golf Course, and to a chance meeting between Le Bas and Colonel John Seely in 1913. Recounting this meeting in *The Lord Kitchener Memorial Book* (1916), Le Bas claimed Seely, then Secretary of State for War, had approached him to ask how to 'find 35,000 men' for the Army. Le Bas' response, based on his belief that 'publicity will find or create anything', was fairly predictable: 'I should advertise for them'; and led to the first military recruitment campaign of 1914.[22]

In 1913 advertising for the Army was, by all accounts, a novel proposition. The state had made use of newspaper classifieds to publicise recruitment to the civil services and to put government contracts out to tender, but it had yet to engage in a large-scale advertising campaign of the kind frequently witnessed in the commercial world. There was no Ministry of Information, and the Public Relations Departments of individual ministries (see chapter six) had yet to be established. From the late 19th century onwards the Post Office appears to have engaged in some billposting and leafleting work,[23] although this seems to have grown out its commercial activities rather than its political status, and while it is likely that the Army did advertise for recruits during the Boer War there have been no historical studies demonstrating a major recruitment drive in that period. The most conspicuous form of promotion associated with the military before 1913, in fact, appeared in the form of commercial advertising. Britain's military image, and the image of the Empire itself, became a defining motif of late 19th and early 20th century advertising, which identified brands with famous military figures like General Robert Baden-Powell (see figure seven).[24] However, while this kind of promotion clearly advertised the military, it did not, at least directly, advertise recruitment.

Given the apparent reluctance on the part of the Army to partake in advertising,[25] it would not be surprising if Seely rejected Le Bas' overture. Yet the discipline of advertising had grown

Figure Seven

An example of a commercial advertisement that used the military to sell products, this poster was distributed in 1906.

In Britain, Robert Baden-Powell was regarded as a military hero on par with Lord Kitchener. In the run up to the First World War, he campaigned for the introduction of nationwide conscription or 'national service', although that did not appear to detract from his commercial appeal. Baden-Powell was among many Empire figures used to sell products to British consumers in the 19th and early 20th centuries

significantly in the wake of the emergence of the British consumer society, and by the start of 1914 official reluctance to make use of advertising to boost military enlistment appeared to have softened. On January 15th, a series of newspaper advertisements appeared in the London dailies, and within four days a two-hour recruiting film entitled *The British Army Film* (1914) had premiered at the Palace Theatre in the West End.[26] Caxtons, responsible for the first of these ventures, had been awarded a contract from Seely to advertise on behalf of the Army, and set to work by consulting two well-known newspaper advertisers: Wareham Smith, advertising manager of the *Daily Mail*, and Thomas Russell, former advertising manager of the *Times*.[27] The fruits of their collaboration were evident in the advertisement that launched the Caxtons campaign, a front-page spread in the *Daily Mail* which professed to reveal what the Army 'offer[ed]' to new recruits. Loaded with copy and designed to appear like an ordinary

front-page, the advertisement reeled off a list of 'opportunities' of a career in the infantry. The Army paid well, or well enough to compare favourably with civilian employment; it offered its recruits a greater chance of promotion than had hitherto been the case; it provided ample opportunities for leave and for recreational activities; and it afforded the possibility of 'seeing the world' from the sanctuary of 'comfortable quarters' (see figure eight).[28]

Figure Eight

According to Eric Field, writing in *Advertising: The Forgotten Years* (1959), this newspaper advertisement represented the first 'real advertisement' used by the British government.

Released in January 1914, it was part of a small-scale campaign waged by the Caxtons Publishing House in conjunction with the War Office. The military turned to advertisers periodically during the 20th century.

These features of Army life, which became key motifs of military advertising, chimed with the 'factual, down-to-life appeals' favoured by Caxtons in its normal business operations. Indeed, as Field suggested when recalling the January-February campaign some years after helping to coordinate it, both the 'recruiting season' and the season for selling books overlapped since it was during winter that men were least likely to be found 'on street corners' and most likely to be seen searching for employment.[29] Utilising the same marketing techniques it had

used to sell books, though making use of the expertise of Thomas Russell for drafting the copy,[30] Field approached the issue of military recruitment in the manner in which he had treated the sale of encyclopaedias and instalments. He even borrowed the favoured Caxtons convention of attaching a coupon to advertisements that offered readers a 'book' on the Army which would be sent to their address free of charge. (This 'book' was followed promptly by a call from a recruiting sergeant, who visited the interested reader at his home and continued the endorsement of the military in person.)[31]

The accumulation of personal details would later be used in the drive to impose conscription, albeit in a totally different context (see below). Yet the most significant aspect of the pre-war recruitment campaign was the system of client-agency procurement it heralded. Caxtons, commissioned by the WO to promote the Army on its behalf, performed a similar function to Keith, Prowse & Co., the firm hired to produce *The British Army Film*.[32] This arrangement, whereby the state outsourced certain aspects of its communications infrastructure to outside agents in exchange for a commission or a rolling fee, represented one of the principal means through which the military was brought to the British public as a career choice during the first half of the 20th century. However, as Hiley has made clear, though recruitment was the principal aim of the campaign it was also intended as an exercise in public relations. The WO envisaged advertising as a means of initiating a 'broader educational campaign' that presented an image of the Army as an institution shaped by civilian values, an approach to promotion that would be revived in the late 1950s (see chapter nine). Seely himself 'hoped to change the whole structure of military recruiting...by carefully manipulating its public image'.[33] Reflecting on the campaign in Parliament in March 1914, he claimed there was a 'need to make a complete change in the attitude of the great mass of the people towards the Army',[34] but since this kind of work represented a departure from earlier practices the campaign was treated as a strictly 'controlled experiment on which future planning would be based'.[35]

'Your King and Country Need You': The First Wartime Recruitment Campaign

After the WO had judged the January-February campaign a success, planning for a second, much larger campaign began in the summer of 1914. The first venture had been financed by a £6,000 grant, but that figure was more than trebled for the second campaign to £20,000, with Caxtons authorised to carry out an intensive four-month recruitment drive beginning on the eve of the recruiting 'season' in September.[36] Britain's entrance into the war brought

forward any existing plans, however, and within less than a day of the declaration of war a recruiting appeal had appeared in all major newspapers bearing the famous slogan 'Your King and Country need You' (see figure nine). This slogan is sometimes attributed to Kitchener, although Field has claimed credit for coining it and has also claimed responsibility for writing the advertisement's copy, which warned of grave 'possibilities' befalling the Empire and the world being catapulted into the 'greatest war in...history'.[37] On August 11th, another advertisement appeared in the national dailies which substituted the earlier sign-off 'Join the Army To-day' with 'God save the King' and made direct mention of to Kitchener's now widely-publicised appeal for 100,000 men (see figure ten).[38]

Figure Nine

The first newspaper recruiting appeal released during the First World War, this advertisement was developed by the Caxtons Publishing House in conjunction with the War Office.

The slogan 'Your King and Country need you' was apparently coined by Eric Field, who has also claimed credit for developing the copy and for including the royal coat of arms.

There was a marked difference in both tone and content between the first and second recruiting campaigns, a difference that can be explained at least in part by the change in international circumstances between January and August 1914. In the months leading up to the war, though some patriotic organisations had taken to prophesising an impending

European conflict,[39] it was generally believed that the next war would be fought not on the continental mainland but in the towns and cities of Ireland (see chapter five). After Germany invaded Belgium and King Albert requested British aid, attention turned to the Central Powers and the more serious threat to British interests and supremacy they represented. Advertisements, like the columns of the popular press, were laden with theatrical denunciations of 'Prussian' barbarity,[40] and though the recruitment drive was only one voice among many that represented what David Lloyd George called a 'new patriotism, richer, nobler, and more exalted than the old',[41] it was fundamental to establishing a new military ideal in Britain that shaped the representation of soldiers in the mass media. Thus whereas the January-February campaign made references to material inducements such as pay and travel, the wartime campaign turned to principles of duty, honour and sacrifice. In *"The Blood of Our Sons"* (2002), Nicoletta Gullace has referred to the second category of appeals as a form of 'propaganda in action' that altered the 'language of citizenship' in Britain during the war and revolutionised the popular image of the soldier.[42] The 'cynical, working-class soldier whose bravery and patriotism offset his vulgarity' was, Gullace claims, 'domesticated and refined' in the First World War.[43]

However, while the second and third recruitment campaigns were at least partly responsible for the dissemination of a new military ideal, it is worth noting that large-scale publicity efforts did not begin immediately after the war was declared. In fact, because so many men joined up so quickly, it was only *after* the 'rush to the Colours' had taken place that the WO sanctioned a major advertising campaign. Caxtons, much to Le Bas' chagrin, had been restricted to what Hiley has called 'restrained announcements' in the press and on the hoardings until late October, when the WO permitted both Caxtons and the PRC, which operated independently of WO oversight, to redouble their efforts. As it happens, a combination of official heel-dragging and the alleged poor quality of official advertising actually led to the establishment of at least two unofficial recruitment advertising committees, one overseen by Le Bas (and containing staff from the first WO campaign), and the other presided over by H. E. Morgan, director of W. H. Smith's publicity department.[44] By 1915, in one more twist in the second recruitment campaign, Le Bas found himself on a boat to Ireland to oversee, or rather to reorganise, Irish recruitment advertising (see chapter five).

Given that major recruiting efforts only began *after* the initial 'rush to the Colours' had subsided, it is hard to accept the view that recruitment advertising triggered the flood of volunteers to the New Armies. In fact, as Peter Simkins has shown, it was only after enlistment had dropped to levels considered unacceptable by the WO that attempts were made to apply advertising on a large scale.[45] The organisation tasked with reversing that decline, the PRC, will be examined next.

Figure Ten

Your King and Country need you.

A CALL TO ARMS

AN addition of **100,000** men to His Majesty's Regular Army is immediately necessary in the present grave National Emergency.

Lord Kitchener is confident that this appeal will be at once responded to by all those who have the safety of our Empire at heart.

TERMS OF SERVICE.

General Service for a period of 3 years or until the war is concluded. Age of enlistment between 19 and 30.

HOW TO JOIN.

Full information can be obtained at any Post Office in the Kingdom or at any Military Depot.

God Save the King.

The second First World War newspaper recruitment advertisement released by Caxtons, this image appeared in the national newspapers on August 11th 1914, a week after the original. According to Field, Kitchener personally rewrote it, and insisted on signing off the advertisement with the phrase 'God save the King' rather than 'Join the Army To-day'.

The Parliamentary Recruiting Committee: The Second Wartime Recruitment Campaign

There can be little doubt that commercial advertisers had a foundational role in the genesis of military advertising. Yet while publicists like Le Bas and advertisers like Field had a hand in drafting advertisements, the state's administrative machinery and financial resources provided something individual advertisers lacked. The defining feature of the wartime campaigns – their scale – was achieved not because of the skill of commercial advertisers in drafting compelling appeals, but because of the willingness on the part of politicians, civil

servants and members of the public to lend a hand to the recruitment drive. The desire to boost enlistment was expressed in various ways: the staffs of political parties were offered freely to the PRC, as were government offices and buildings. As we shall see, even though it has received less attention in the literature than recruiting advertisements, the mobilisation of the resources of the state is vital for understanding how the PRC's campaign came into being, and how the state itself responded to the demand for recruits.

Conflicting accounts have been given for the emergence of the PRC. According to Haste, the committee grew out of the activities of the National Liberal Federation, a party campaign group that responded to the outbreak of the war by circularising its constituency bodies with a call to arms.[46] Dutton has traced the source of the committee to 'behind-the-scenes activities of Parliament', and specifically to a trip made by L. S. Amery, a Unionist politician appointed Director of Civilian Recruiting for the Army's Southern Command on the outbreak of the war,[47] who subsequently recommended a 'systematic scheme for enlisting public opinion and civilian drive behind recruiting over the whole country'.[48] Douglas, who appears to have written the first academic article on the PRC, has claimed it was 'taken for granted [within Parliament] that the people best able to campaign for recruitment were the political parties', and has suggested the PRC grew partly on the initiative of Cabinet ministers (including Asquith) and partly because of the 'vigorous and effective organisations' for conducting political campaign work already extant in the Liberal and Unionist parties.[49] Before the war, the latter organisations had been preparing for a general election; with balloting temporarily suspended, they were mobilised to aid recruitment at the WO's discretion.

Despite its official origins, however, the PRC has in recent years been treated as more than the sum of its parts. In particular, it has been regarded, to quote Dutton, as a 'semi-official' organisation that drew heavily from the world of commercial advertising to construct appeals and exhortations intended for British citizenry.[50] With the exception of Douglas' early research, much of the historiography on the PRC has struck a similar tone, stressing what Aulich has called (in relation to the war poster) the '[intimate] relationship between propaganda, public information and advertising' that grew in Western societies during the early 20th century, and giving private advertisers and printers a prominent role in the overall development of the recruitment campaign.[51] Dutton, Hiley, Joseph Darracott and Belinda Loftus are among those to emphasise the role played by private individuals such as the

printer Arthur Gunn, who claimed to have been responsible for the notorious Savile Lumley image 'Daddy, what did YOU do in the Great War?' (see chapter one), and Le Bas himself, who declared with more than a little pomposity to have been the 'nominal head' of government advertising from the outbreak of the war until the introduction of conscription.[52]

While there can be little doubt that posters in particular were produced using outside practitioners, the organisational network that lay beneath these images was set up using the machinery of the state. Though it did not house the PRC (whose offices appear to have been spread out across a number of locations, including 11 Downing Street and St. Stephen's Chambers in Westminster), the WO provided it with a small grant to conduct its work. Voluntary contributions, requested in Parliament by the Prime Minister on November 19th 1914,[53] were also received from certain unnamed individuals. The grant and the contributions helped to pay for the production of advertisements, including the (often lucrative) contracts awarded to printers,[54] but they did not pay for the staff. The PRC's personnel, on the contrary, were drawn from the ranks of the National Unionist Association, the National Liberal Federation and the Labour Party, from the benches of the House of Commons and the House of Lords, and from the Cabinet itself. A number of military personnel were also connected to it, including Major-General Lorn Campbell and Major (later Colonel) A. B. Gossett.[55] The coming-together of so many disparate figures led R. H. Davies, a recruiter involved in the PRC, to claim that the outbreak of war had precipitated an end to

> political controversy...in Great Britain. The "cannon's opening roar" found political parties and political organisations quickened by a common impulse and a common desire to be of service to the country...[and] a channel for a full expression of that harmony of action speedily opened out'.[56]

As joint-chairman of the Publications Sub-Department of the PRC, Davies had helped to open up this 'channel', and was not alone in believing that the war had brought a new sense of unity and togetherness to the state. Writing a couple of years later in *Raising and Training the New Armies*, the author Basil Williams claimed that the machinery of the major political parties had been co-opted into the recruitment drive to allow the government to reach every single 'voter'.[57] Williams' interpretation, which has been corroborated by Douglas' detailed case study analysis of the PRC, is not without foundation.[58] The PRC appears to have been established at the request of the Prime Minister sometime in August 1914; staffed by the Whips of the three major political parties and by the agents employed by those parties; and

overseen by Asquith, the leader of the opposition Bonar Law, and the leader of the Labour Party (following Ramsey Macdonald's resignation in protest at the war) Arthur Henderson. It was, as Haste has remarked, an 'all-party group' designed to mobilise the various institutions of the state to boost enlistment in the Army and, to an extent, the Navy.[59]

In a letter to the British Museum some years after the war, Davis described the PRC as evidence of a 'remarkable and spontaneous display of British patriotism at a time of extreme peril to the nation'.[60] However, if politicians, civil servants and officers had contributed to the recruitment effort, their 'display' of patriotism had come at a financial cost. All those who had volunteered for the PRC continued to receive their normal salaries as elected officials or employees of party campaign groups, and some of those politicians who had joined the WO as recruiters received an additional salary on top of their existing salary.[61] Nor would it be accurate to characterise the work of the PRC as in any way 'spontaneous'. As Davies himself acknowledged in a report on the PRC written sometime between 1915 and 1916, shortly after the committee had held its first 'formal' meeting in the Reception Room at 12 Downing Street, the decision was made to send

> [c]ommunications...to Peers and Members of Parliament inviting their co-operation, and letters were dispatched by the Chief Whips [of the Liberal and Conservative parties][62] to the Party Agents urging them to unite and form a Joint Committee in each Constituency for the purpose of obtaining Recruiting by the holding of meetings and other forms of propaganda, and by working with existing recruiting agencies.[63]

These 'joint committees', which have been referred to variously as Parliamentary Recruiting Committees, Parliamentary and Joint Labour Recruiting Committees or simply Recruiting Committees, were established in every constituency in England and Wales.[64] Staffed by Lord-Lieutenants, Lord Mayors, Mayors, local counsellors, party agents (who often served as Honorary Secretaries) and sometimes the parliamentary representative – or MP – of the constituency, they were charged with 'watching the interests of the Service'.[65] Utilising the administrative machinery of local government and the political parties that ran it, they represented the eyes and ears of the central PRC. Yet despite their seeming significance, and even though the First World War recruitment drive required a contingent of local recruiters to properly function, Joint Committees have received little attention in the literature.[66] Haste, who provides a brief account of their work in a chapter on 'getting the troops', has described how these 'constituency organisations' distributed the PRC's

pamphlets and leaflets, carried out a house-to-house recruitment canvass and compiled a Householders Return to estimate the number of potential recruits. Nightly meetings and patriotic rallies were addressed by speakers provided by the [central] Committee, often accompanied by music hall artists, the singing of patriotic songs, and much flag waving. In constituencies it was a source of local pride to match recruiting figures with the national average.[67]

This summation downplays their importance and the variety of promotional techniques they deployed. Indeed, while the central PRC produced advertisements that have provided the basis for so many case-study analyses of First World War recruiting, local committees distributed and exhibited these texts, arranged public meetings, marches and events, produced their own local promotions (see figure eleven), and coordinated meetings.
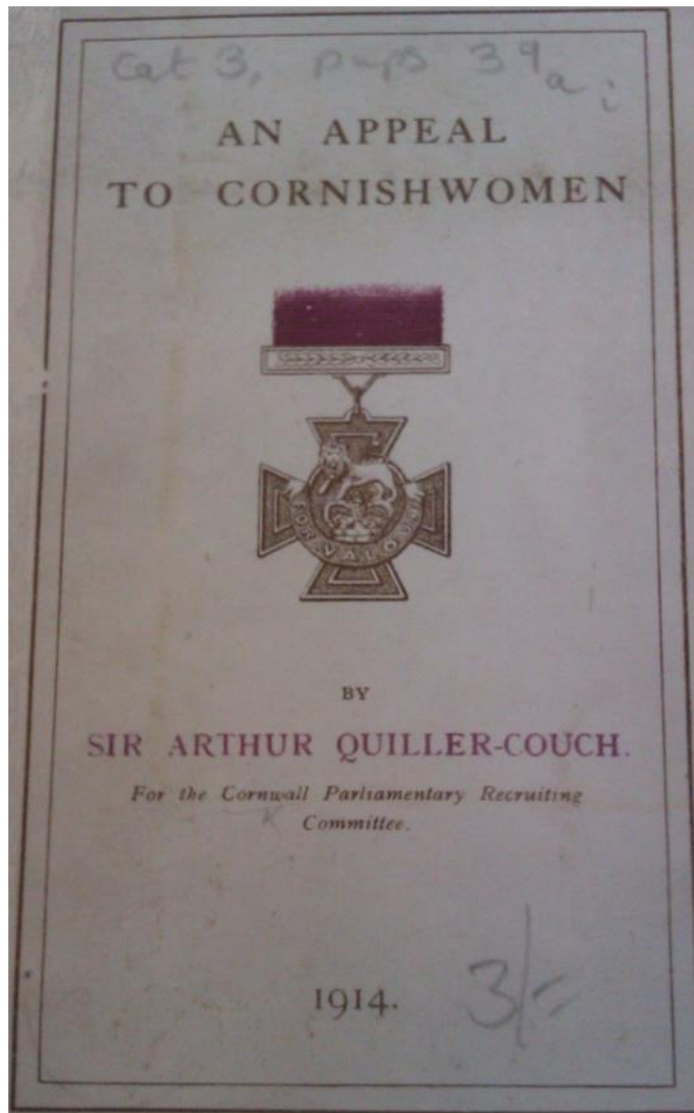
Figure Eleven

An example of a Parliamentary Recruiting Committee advertisement produced not by the central London branch but by a regional equivalent, this pamphlet was circulated in Cornwall in the early stages of the First World War.

Advertisements that targeted men through women were not uncommon during the First World War. However, it is difficult to say how many regional promotions of this kind were produced, or what impact they had on the overall campaign.

Furthermore, while Hiley, Dutton and Aulich have each examined the posters produced by the PRC, other kinds of work carried out by the central PRC have so far largely been overlooked. The body responsible for producing the posters, the Publications Sub-Department was in fact only one of *four* Sub-Departments set up by the PRC in 1914, the other being Publicity (defined by one official as a body designed to 'keep the press informed of the activities of the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee'), Householders Return and Information (concerned with information gathering), and Meetings (tasked with organising public marches and meetings).[68] Since it was responsible for producing posters, leaflets and a range of printed ephemera, historians have tended to focus on the work of Publications rather than the other Sub-Departments. This has diverted attention from the role played by Publicity, Householders Return and Information, and Meetings in the overall recruitment campaign, and has prevented an analysis of other forms of promotion not produced by the Publications Sub-Department. In fact, in the files of the former Sub-Departments, and even in records of the Publications Sub-Department itself, there is plenty of evidence to suggest that the PRC was not driven by the whims of a handful of 'advertising men', as Le Bas and Field claimed, but by the politicians, party agents and civil servants who staffed and maintained it.

Householders' Returns, Canvassing and the Information Gathering Apparatus

The idea of a Householders' Return appears to have been put forward by Sir Jesse Herbert, a Liberal campaign organiser and one of three honorary secretaries to the central PRC. Envisaged as a means of establishing how many men were available for the New Armies, forms were sent to every householder in the country requesting details – age, marital status, occupation and so on – of men willing to enlist. Described by one politician in early 1915 as a type of 'informal census',[69] it may have represented the first attempt by a British government to gauge the opinions of a significant cross-section of the population. By determining how many men would be willing to join the armed forces, recruiters could not only estimate the total pool of available recruits, but establish where such men lived, whether they were concentrated in certain areas, and whether there was a particular region within the United Kingdom that proved especially amenable to enlistment.[70]

The first step in the drive towards greater scrutiny of the home populace, the Householders' Return represented a watershed moment in the history of military advertising. Without accurate information on where those interested in military service lived, recruiters could waste

valuable resources campaigning in areas that had already been drained of young men. The original Caxtons campaign had included a coupon for precisely this reason. Furthermore, though the national Census and the Electoral Register, both products of the pre-war era,[71] had given the state a rough idea of how many men were currently residing in Britain, they were not effective barometers for determining how many of these men would be willing to enlist in the armed forces. Recruiters required not only the whereabouts of men of military age, but their *opinions* with regard to military service as well. Thus, when the returns were first drafted they requested details not only of those willing to serve but of all men of military age. Such an 'inquisitorial' stance led Arthur Steel-Maitland, chairman of the Unionist Party, to press for a revision of the returns so that they requested information only of those willing to enlist.[72] By mid-1915, the revised forms had been sent out to all householders in England, Wales and Scotland,[73] together with a covering letter (or advertisement) that implored men to 'attest' their willingness to serve on grounds of moral conscience. It would not be the last time the postal service would be involved in delivering promotion, and nor would it be the last time, as chapter seven will show, when attempts were made to monitor public opinion.

The agency that organised the returns, the Householders Return and Information Sub-Department, was also responsible for a second and more significant attempt to monitor public opinion. In July 1915, after the Householders' Return had been completed but before Lord Derby (a noted conscriptionist) had been appointed Director-General of Recruitment,[74] the Coalition government passed the National Registration Act, a bill authorising the state to gather information on all men residing in the country. The householders return had not been legally binding, but the National Registration Act was, and though it was not enforced by the PRC it became the foundation of much of its campaign work in the months to come. By mid-1915, voluntary enlistment had petered out, and Derby was appointed to reignite the campaign in a last-ditch attempt to 'save' the voluntary system. As appointments go, Derby's was unusual. Before the war, his voice had been among those who had called loudest for compulsory military service, and when he was appointed Director-General in October 1915 he was approached by an influential group of MPs (Winston Churchill among them) to refuse the post to accelerate the introduction of conscription.[75] Derby declined their request, and set to work by instituting the so-called 'group system' of voluntary enlistment whereby men were asked to 'pledge allegiance' to their country (that is, to the Army) and were subsequently divided into twenty groups according to their age and marital status. Utilising both the

National Register and the administrative machinery of the Joint Committees, this 'system' favoured door-to-door canvassing over postal communication as a means of reaching men, and targeted the unenlisted not just in their homes but in their workplaces as well. Canvassers were given a series of detailed instructions on how to interact with members of the public, and the following advice was given to them in the form of a leaflet:

> Put before him plainly and politely the need of the Country. Do not bully or threaten. If he agrees, give him all the necessary information as to where and how he may enlist. If he hesitates or refuses, try to find out what are his reasons. Note these carefully. Ascertain whether his difficulties or objections can be removed by furnishing him with information on any specific point...or by some possible action with his employer or relations.[76]

These instructions, which were directed to the staff of Joint Committees and to the various volunteers (often party agents) that carried out the canvass, highlighted the promotional function of the group system, which was not intended simply as a means of finding out how many men were willing to 'pledge allegiance' to the Army, but to actively *encourage* such men to do so.

> Canvassers must endeavour to get all the men they possibly can for the infantry. It is the Infantry that is required to man the Armies in the Field, and the issue of the War largely depends on this Arm. They [the potential recruits] should be told that their services are equally useful whether they join the Regular, New, Special Reserve or Territorial Force.[77]

When it was concluded in December 1915[78] more than 2¼ million men had 'enlisted' under the Derby Scheme, but since the majority of these men had done so knowing that they would not be called upon (these men had been 'starred', which is to say exempted from enlistment owing to their connection to vital war work), it was not considered a resounding success. Within little more than a month, conscription had been enforced throughout the United Kingdom, although crucially not in Ireland, and the PRC and its various affiliates sank into obscurity. While the attempt to enlist men using a canvassing system failed, however, it provided a model for other governments to follow, as they did in the run up to the Second World War when a National Register was completed.[79]

Recruiting Meetings, Recruiting Rallies and the Organisation of Public Spectacle

Before steps were taken to introduce a Householders' Return, and before any advertisements had been produced by the PRC or its affiliates, the Meetings Sub-Department was formed to 'undertake the arrangements for meetings and speakers to stimulate recruitment throughout the country'.[80] While the work of the Householders Return and Information Sub-Department was concerned predominantly with information gathering or 'market research', the Meetings Sub-Department was concerned with what would today be considered a form of public relations. The term 'PR', apparently coined in the 1920s by the American practitioner Edward Bernays,[81] does not appear in the official records of the PRC, although that should not be taken as evidence that the PRC itself carried out no public relations. Understood as a means of creating goodwill or interacting with the public,[82] public relations defined much of the work of the PRC, and was particularly important in the planning and organisation of public meetings, marches and recruiting rallies.

While it was tasked with organising meetings to drum up enthusiasm in the war, over 12,000 of which were held in England, Scotland and Wales between 1914 and 1916, its work snowballed into something much larger as the war rumbled on. The proprietors of cinemas, theatres and music-halls were lobbied to allow recruiters to speak during intervals and before and after shows; lantern lectures, complete with scripts prepared by staff[83] at the central PRC, were delivered continuously through the winter of 1914/1915; military processions and rallies passed through towns and other residential areas; a campaign of 'aggressive open-air propaganda' was waged in London in the spring of 1915, complemented by a range of advertisements and editorial publicity (see below); 'brilliantly decorated and illuminated tramcars', accompanied by bands and speakers who used the trams as platforms for promoting the Services, were despatched to Huddersfield, Halifax, Leeds and Bradford; permanent outdoor stages were erected in market squares and open spaces as podiums for speakers and bands; and the entire Sub-Department, in common with the rest of the PRC, was involved in canvassing for Derby's 'group system' in October-December 1915.[84] Describing the results of the campaign in Britain's capital city, Sub-Department staff claimed:

> London was ringing with appeals, [and] meetings were held morning, noon and night... In the parks and open spaces, in workshops and factories, in theatres, music halls and cinemas, wherever the united experience of the three party organisations

showed that crowds large or small could be gathered together, there meetings were held.[85]

It is clear that by 'meetings' officials had in mind something quite different to the dry congregations of village notables and recruiting officers implied by the term. They meant – and helped to carry out – a form of public spectacle that sought to seize control of public space, imposing a 'central, collective definition of patriotism'[86] and exploiting it for the purposes of the New Armies. As the labour historian Brock Millman has argued, control of public space was crucial in the struggle to combat dissent in Britain between 1914 and 1919, and yet surprisingly little is known about its role in manufacturing *consent* or of the place of 'meetings', in their various forms, in the broader context of the recruitment campaign.[87] Existing accounts on the PRC do not do justice to the scale of its meetings work. Douglas, who dedicates a section in his paper to meetings, devotes much of the ensuing space to discussing enrolment rates, and though he does acknowledge that meetings were 'evidently considered...to be of substantial importance as a means of recruitment' his discussion is restricted mostly to piecemeal references drawn from the *Times* and *Hansard*.[88] Dutton, though recognising the PRC's 'comprehensive provision of meetings, speeches and rallies', follows the general trend within the literature of focusing on advertisements rather than the wider business of producing a range advertising, while Hiley makes only passing references to meetings in his article on the government's poster campaign.[89] Haste, finally, mentions meetings only once in her discussion on recruitment, in the paragraph cited above, and also devotes more space to the subject of posters and pamphlets than to the public spectacles that took place alongside them.

By searching beyond conventional advertisements to the structures and practices that produce them historians are presented with a more comprehensive picture of how advertisers actually operated. The 'great national effort to secure recruits', as one official described the PRC's work,[90] was carried out on multiple fronts and using multiple media. Similar, though perhaps not quite so grand campaigns were probably waged by political parties in the run up to elections, and there is also reliable evidence that commercial enterprises partook in various forms of public spectacle, dubbed by McFall an 'exhibitions culture', from at least the 19th century onwards.[91]

Conclusion: Military Advertising as a Synergy of Public and Private Communications

The first campaign for new recruits waged in January-February 1914 was a relatively small-scale affair; the second and third were not. Though contrasting estimates have been put forward by historians, the PRC's own records claim the committee produced 54,260,500 copies of posters, leaflets, pamphlets, taxi-strips (designed to be affixed to government vehicles, public buses and train carriages, and taxis) and cards (designed to be displayed in recruiting offices, in public buildings and in offices); organised 12,705 meetings, incorporating 21,400 speeches across 422 constituencies; and arranged miscellaneous other promotions including marching bands, special exhibitions and a range of press work whose full extent may never be known.[92] In the face of such figures it is not hard to see why Jay Winter has described the PRC as the source of the 'most spectacular' recruitment campaign ever waged,[93] although there remains an enduring belief amongst other historians that the PRC's output was not particularly significant, either in terms of its scale or in terms of its subsequent impact on other forms of government promotion. Marwick and Taylor, for instance, claimed that the PRC's posters were of a 'rather low quality', and that their 'method' was distinctly 'clumsy'.[94] Haste has echoed these sentiments by suggesting the government betrayed an 'imperfect grasp of the significance of manipulating public opinion' at the outset of the war, only to discover its feet in 1917, while Clark, in a confident statement of falsehood, even suggested (in 1995) that the 'government decided it was not worth spending time and energy on domestic propaganda, as the nation's mind was already made up in favour of the war'.[95]

Part of the reluctance to treat recruitment advertising seriously can be explained by the stress laid on the study of advertisements rather than the business of adverti*sing*. While the Publications Sub-Department of the PRC has provided the basis of many analyses of its poster and leaflet work, and while the advertisements that appeared in the press in the early months of the war have been cited in many social and political studies of the war, historians have in general appeared reluctant to move beyond these sources to other forms of archival material. Advertisements, as this chapter has tried to show, were only part of the business of recruitment, which extended to a series of public 'events' around which recruitment could be organised, to more surreptitious forms of promotion found in newspapers, to lantern lectures, to elaborate publicity marches involving enlisted men and displays of military weaponry and vehicles. These kinds of promotion would represent the stock-in-trade of military advertisers in the years to come. What Le Bas called 'editorial matter',[96] for example, would become

known in recruiting circles as 'editorial publicity', a subject that was considered so important that the government set up dedicated offices to deal with it (see chapter six). Furthermore, while certain historians of propaganda have emphasised the importance of the major propaganda agencies – the 'literary propaganda' created under Charles Masterman at Wellington House has been subjected to many critiques[97] – the great recruiting campaigns of 1914 and 1915 influenced how other departments interacted with the public, a fact that can be demonstrated by the wartime career of Le Bas, which involved stints at the WO, at its counterpart in Ireland (see chapter five) and at the Treasury, where he organised a campaign for War Bonds that eventually earned him a knighthood.[98] Recruiters even influenced how the wartime propagandists went about their work, with organisations like the National War Aims Committee modelled on the PRC and bodies like Wellington House (set up shortly after the PRC had held its first meeting) producing (in at least one case) a recruiting pamphlet authored by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle.[99]

If the work of the PRC, Caxtons and the WO laid a path for other departments to follow, however, it is worth noting that they only managed to operate on such a grand scale because of the unique conditions they faced in England, Scotland and Wales in the early years of the First World War. There can be little doubt that large sections of the British population supported the war, and lent their hand to recruiting efforts by aiding official organisations and establishing their own voluntary organisations. The Pals battalions, raised independently of WO oversight and outside of the machinery of the PRC and Caxtons, are evidence of that.[100] Such 'war enthusiasm' did not, however, pervade all aspects of British life, and in the next chapter we will turn to a part of the United Kingdom that responded to the war in a quite different way to England, Scotland and Wales.

Chapter Five

'The Irish Problem': Recruiting, Rebellion and Conscription in a Divided Country, 1914-19

[W]e are dealing with a very difficult problem. We are discussing in this House, certainly not for the first time, or the hundredth or the thousandth time, the most baffling problem that ever comes up for consideration by Government or Parliament...the Irish problem.[1]

David Lloyd George, 1918

We...joined voluntarily for the purpose of taking human life, in order that the principles for which this country stood should be upheld and preserved. These principles, we were told, were Self-Determination and Freedom for Small Nations… We came back from France to see that Self-Determination had been given to some Nations we had never heard of, but that it had been denied to Ireland.[2]

Reggie Dunne, 1919

On the eve of the Great War the island of Ireland was on the verge of its own civil war.[3] Since the passage of the third Home Rule Bill in 1912, tensions between nationalist and unionist communities had been strained. Ulster Unionists, who counted among their allies several high-ranking military officials and the Unionist (or Conservative) Party,[4] opposed any attempt to enforce self-government in Ireland, believing that, as a Protestant minority in a predominantly Catholic country, they would be subjected to religious persecution. Nationalists, on the other hand, argued that Home Rule would wrestle back the independence Ireland had lacked since the destruction of its Parliament in 1876, and were represented in Westminster by the Irish Parliamentary Party and, to an extent, the ruling Liberal Party.[5] In 1913, unionists under the auspices of Sir Edward Carson founded a private army, the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), to resist any attempt to impose Home Rule in Ulster; nationalists, supported by the leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party John Redmond, formed the Irish Volunteers (IV) as a counterpoise. With the two sides squaring up for an armed conflict, it is perhaps surprising that the British government included Ireland in its plans to mobilise men for the New Armies in the summer of 1914. Yet in spite of its instability and the complexity of its internal politics, Ireland was the site of a host of recruitment campaigns waged both during the Great War and *after* the Armistice had been signed. More surprising still, the private armies that had been raised in the run up to 1914-18 soon became 'feeders' to the New Armies, with republicans and unionists joining forces to aid the Empire.[6]

As in England, Scotland and Wales, the campaigns waged to attract men to the army were organised by a series of specialist recruiting bodies which made use of the machinery of political parties and the resources and expertise of private enterprise. On the outbreak of the war, a Central Council for the Organisation of Recruitment in Ireland (CCOR) was established in Dublin.[7] In files stored in the National Archives references have also been made to a Dublin and County Recruiting Committee and to a separate Naval Recruiting Committee, although little is known about when these organisations were established or how they operated.[8] In 1915, under the direction of the publicist Hedley Le Bas (see chapter four), the Department of Recruiting (DOR) superseded the CCOR. Tasked with 'making public in all quarters the need for recruits', the DOR used methods comparable to those seen in the rest of the United Kingdom, producing posters such as 'Will you go or must I?' (see figure twelve) which played on male anxieties about gender identity.[9] In 1918, one final body, the Irish Recruiting Council (IRC), was established in an attempt raise 50,000 men.

Many of these organisations have attracted the attention of historians, not least because of what they seem to say about Ireland's response to the war. Remarking on the 'escalating demand for manpower to feed Kitchener's mass armies', Charles Townshend, for instance, has suggested that the Irish Parliamentary Party found itself '[c]aught up in the high-pressure British war effort, [where] recruiting came to be the overriding priority in...party policy', and where 'recruitment became a kind of test of the Redmondite credibility'.[10] Other authors have commented on the mobilisation of political parties, with James McConnel suggesting that the portrayal of nationalist MPs as 'recruiting sergeants' for the New Armies requires systematic revision,[11] and the subject of recruitment has also entered general social and political accounts of the war, such as Keith Jefferys' *Ireland and the Great War* (2000) and Richard Grayson's *Belfast Boys* (2010).[12] Nevertheless, in keeping with the literature on the British experience of the First World War, most of the attention has been directed towards questions of mobilisation rather than persuasion. No study, furthermore, has sought to examine the connections during the war years between British (English, Welsh and Scottish) and Irish recruitment work, or the continuation of the IRC into the postwar era.

This chapter, which explores the many attempts to boost enlistment in the New Armies, the Royal Air Force and the Navy in Ireland, describes both the differences and similarities between recruitment campaigns waged on either side of the Irish Sea. While both Britain and

Ireland utilised existing political structures and drew from outside expertise to construct appeals for the civilian public, the organisation of recruitment in Ireland changed in the wake of a series of ground shaking social and political events. In 1914, recruitment proceeded on the assumption that what (allegedly) worked in England, Scotland and Wales would also work in Ireland. In 1915, appeals to 'King and Country' and to the Union Jack were modified to suit the values and principles of the nationalist community. In 1916, after republican revolutionaries attempted to overthrow British rule to trigger the birth of a new 'Irish republic',[13] efforts to boost recruitment stagnated until, in 1918, the IRC was formed in a last-ditch attempt to raise men before Britain (that is, Westminster) imposed conscription in Ireland for the first time. Taken together, these campaigns represented important interventions into civil society, not least because they occurred alongside, and in response to, a series of great events in Irish history. Indeed, while recruitment in Britain occurred against a backdrop of patriotic sentiment, in Ireland after the initial surge of war enthusiasm it became a highly controversial subject amongst both nationalists and unionists. The ways in which Ireland responded to the call to arms can thus reveal how official institutions tried to attract recruits in a society not necessarily predisposed towards supporting the British armed forces.

Recruiting Politics and the Politics of Recruitment

Even though Ireland seemed to be perched on the brink of a civil war in August 1914, the Irish public appear to have responded to the Great War in a manner befitting a loyal member of the Union. Adrian Gregory and Senia Paseta have described the early stages of the war as an 'epoch of volunteer action' that led to the creation of a 'plethora of small bodies keen to do their bit [for the war]'. The war itself created an 'unprecedented unity, both within the island of Ireland and between Ireland and Great Britain', and suggested 'Ireland [had] behaved in ways that were recognisable in the rest of the United Kingdom'.[14] As with Britain, political parties and politicians also swung their weight behind the war. The same men who had advocated a military struggle against the forces of the Crown or against the forces of their opponents were seen extolling the virtues of enlistment in the New Armies. Bonar Law, leader of the Unionists, joined the nationalist MP Joseph Devlin in endorsing recruitment to Kitchener's Armies, with each man believing the enlistment of Irish men could aid the causes of their respective ideals. Devlin suggested enlistment would 'not only...maintain our national rights, but...[ensure] a full and an increasing share in the work and the glory of the Empire',[15] while Carson believed it

would help further the unionist cause and set to work advocating the mass-enlistment of Protestant loyalists to try to prevent Home Rule.[16]

Figure Twelve

A poster aimed expressly at Irish men, this image typified the approach taken to recruitment in Ireland in the early stages of the war.

Keen to avoid issues of a sectarian nature, recruiters such as Hedley Le Bas tried to present the conflict as a matter of masculine pride.

Other appeals were also directed at Irish men and women that emphasised the similarities between Catholic Ireland and Catholic Belgium.

The UVF and the IV, which had close ties to a number of politicians in Westminster, were soon actively involved in recruiting for the New Armies.[17] Carson, who was eager to establish an Ulster Division in Ireland, received War Office (WO) approval to do so using the ranks of the volunteer force he had helped to create; Redmond, though he was not responsible for the formation of the IV, was nevertheless 'able to use his influence to take control of it' in an attempt to press for a separate Irish Brigade.[18] The organisation of military advertising in Ireland during the early stages of the war has often been told through the eyes and deeds of these men, partly because they have been regarded as authority figures within the main communities of Irish society and partly because Irish MPs have in general been accused of acting as 'recruiting sergeants for John Bull'.[19] Yet recent historical scholarship has tended to

stress the role of 'factors other than the agency of MPs in accounting for the enlistment of approximately 144,000 Irishmen (in addition to the 58,000 Irish military personnel and reservists who were mobilised)'.[20] MPs might have urged young Irishmen to enlist through their political speeches – and they appeared to do so in numbers equivalent to those witnessed in Britain during 1914 and 1915 – but they were only part of a broader promotional culture that was orchestrated and developed by a series of recruiting organisations.

Many of these organisations had direct or indirect connections to the authorities in Whitehall and to the War Office (WO) in particular. The CCOR, for example, has been described by one historian as a body with a 'superficial civilian profile [designed] to camouflage the military's control over recruiting matters'.[21] Its perceived inadequacy at drumming up enthusiasm for enlistment has been put forward as a principle reason for Le Bas' involvement in military advertising in Ireland in 1915. According to Nicholas Hiley, it was only after the WO had been 'impressed' by his work in England that the decision was made to send Le Bas to Ireland to embark on what Hiley has called a more 'sensitive mission'. The Parliamentary Recruiting Committee (PRC), which published a number of posters that subsequently appeared in Ireland, had deemed it unwise to set up a permanent presence in the country, and so Le Bas was sent as a 'special representative' of the WO to inspire recruiting and create what Hiley has called a 'firm base for future British propaganda in Ireland'.[22] Arriving in Dublin sometime in February 1915, and tasked with 'mak[ing] public in all quarters the need for recruits',[23] he discovered that the kinds of recruiting appeals deemed effective in Britain did not appear to have the same effect in Ireland. In Dublin, the stronghold of Irish republicanism, posters had apparently appeared references speeches from prominent British politicians, including the Unionist leader Law, and the phrase 'God Save the King' was also to be found. Overhauling the CCOR's existing arrangements and setting up a new organisation,[24] Le Bas then set to work on an 'intensive poster and leafleting campaign that substituted messages like 'God save the King' with 'God save Ireland' and introduced new appeals that adapted the earlier work of the PRC.[25]

Nicoletta Gullace, whose *The Blood of our Sons* (2002) examines the impact of the First World War on notions of British citizenship, has suggested that Le Bas' work in Ireland in the first half of 1915 circumvented the difficult issue of appealing to Irishmen hostile to the British armed forces by constructing appeals designed to '[encourage] men to defend their women

and their own sense of honour'.[26] Some contemporaries of Le Bas, nevertheless, felt that early attempts to mobilise Ireland's population, particularly its nationalist population, had been deliberately scuppered by figures in the WO. In the House of Commons in 1916, one Irish Parliamentary Party MP spoke of an 'Unseen Hand' and a 'Curragh Camp'[27] within the latter department that did '[e]verything...in a Machiavellian spirit, not to encourage but to *discourage* recruiting'. Referring to Le Bas' earlier visit, the same politician claimed Le Bas had found little evidence of any serious recruiting work in Ireland, that 'all over the country [the WO] employed the very last type of men [required] to make a successful recruiting appeal', and that most recruiting jobs were given to unionist politicians who had a vested interest to enlist as few nationalists as possible in Kitchener's armies.[28] This view was later echoed by Sir Henry Robinson, former executive of the Irish Local Government Board, who claimed recruiting in Ireland had been 'handled rather badly',[29] and was echoed by A. J. P. Taylor in *English History* (1965) in relation to the appointment of Lord Kitchener as Secretary of State for War. According to Taylor, it was '[t]hanks to Kitchener [that] the surge in Irish loyalty' witnessed at the outset of the war was replaced with an attitude of 'sullen indifference'.

> Both [the UVF and the IV] were anxious to be embodied in the British army. Kitchener, who had been born and partly brought up in Ireland though not an Irishman, shared the outlook of the Protestant garrison. He accepted the Ulster organisation; he rejected the Home Rulers. The Red Hand of Ulster was acknowledged [as a divisional symbol]; the Irish Harp was not. Recruits from Ulster had their own officers; those from the south of Ireland were placed under Protestants.[30]

Taylor's intervention, as the title of his book suggests, approached the subject of recruitment largely from the perspective of English (or British) history. More recent research by D. G. Boyce, however, has sought to explain the low numbers of Catholic officers in the New Armies as the upshot of an absence of officer training schools in Ireland, and the refusal to sanction an Irish insignia for the predominantly Catholic 16th Division as a reflection of the values of that division's commanding officer rather than an indication of any institutionalised prejudice at the WO.[31] Nevertheless, even if nationalists were not on the whole treated differently to unionists it is important to recognise the suspicion held *at the time* by certain individuals and republican groups that men with nationalist sympathies were being unfairly persecuted.[32] It is also important to acknowledge, both in the early part of the war and towards its conclusion, that a number of republican groups had set up their own 'anti-

recruiting' campaigns designed to offset any publicity created by the authorities, and that these campaigns often made use of the same promotional imagery and rhetoric. According to Patrick Pearse, the leader of the Easter Rising (see below), both the IV and the New Armies made use of the image of the Irish flag in their recruiting marches.[33]

Thus while Kitchener may have allowed 'every conceivable obstacle to be placed in the path of the formation of a specifically Irish Nationalist division like the one he had sanctioned for Ulster',[34] the Irish themselves, or more precisely certain elements of radical republicanism, also sought to discourage enlistment. In leaflets, speeches, newspapers and public meetings recruitment to the New Armies was derided and disparaged, with the British Army portrayed as a threat to Irish sovereignty. Such 'anti-recruitment propaganda', as Peter Simkins has called it,[35] competed with the pro-recruitment materials developed by the official recruiting agencies. When enlistment began to tail off in 1915 (a trend apparent throughout the United Kingdom) the ire of certain politicians was directed towards the 'seditious meetings and utterances' of those opposed to recruitment. One member of the unelected Upper House suggested Sinn Fein propaganda had affected the 'minds of many young [Irish] men [otherwise] anxious to serve', and calls were made for a military crackdown.[36] The military crackdown would come in 1916, and would have such a devastating impact on voluntary enlistment that it was not until 1918 that a serious attempt to mobilise the public was made. Before dealing with this attempt, however, it is necessary to consider some of the events that preceded, including in particular the Easter Rising and the 1918 conscription crisis.

The Easter Rising, the Spectre of Conscription and a 'New Nationalism' in Ireland
On the morning of April 24th 1916, a small force of armed men comprised of soldiers from the IV, the Irish Citizen Army and the Irish Republican Brotherhood seized control of key public buildings in Dublin's city centre. Proclaiming the birth of a new 'Irish Republic' on the steps of the General Post Office, the force was surrounded and subsequently overwhelmed by members of the 18th Royal Irish Guards.[37] In the midst of the rebellion, the government of Ireland, which had been controlled by the country's Chief Secretary Sir Augustine Birrell,[38] was effectively handed over to the military authorities. Major-General Sir John Maxwell, a Colonial governor and veteran of several of Britain's imperial wars, was appointed 'military governor' with 'plenary' powers to put down the rebellion.[39] Maxwell's response, and the response of the British government *per se*, would have a profound effect on recruiting in

Ireland, both in the immediate aftermath of the rebellion and for a period in 1918 when Ireland was threatened with conscription if it failed to muster enough volunteers.

The fear that Westminster would impose conscription had played an important part in the events of the Easter Week of 1916. In England, Scotland and Wales, conscription had come into force in January after it had become clear that the WO's insatiable demand for new recruits would not be satisfied by existing voluntary arrangements. Redmond had managed to secure the exemption of Ireland from the draft, but as British military losses on the Western Front grew so too did Irish anxiety that compulsory military service would be applied to the four counties.[40] After the interment and subsequent execution of the leaders of the rebellion, public opinion swung behind the rebels, having previously broadly rejected their insurrection. The treatment of Irish prisoners, over 1,800 of whom had been sent to England in the aftermath of the rebellion, many under the false apprehension that it was Sinn Fein that had planned and organised the rebellion, did not help the situation, and nor did the continuation of martial law, which remained in force throughout the summer despite the appointment of a new Chief Secretary in the form of H. E. Duke.[41] Most damning of all, however, was the failure of the British government to execute a workable plan of Home Rule, which had been brought forward in the wake of the Rising in an attempt to placate the nationalist community, only to be exposed as a piece of gamesmanship by David Lloyd George.[42]

The cumulative effect of these events was a change in feeling and sentiment that drastically altered Ireland's experience of the war and popular attitudes towards the British armed forces. Remarking on the impact of the Easter Rising on Irish society, the historian W. E. Vaughan has claimed a 'new nationalism' began to take shape in the wake of the Easter Rising that was both vehemently anti-British and fundamentally opposed to any form of voluntary or compulsory military service. This nationalism expressed itself in a 'groundswell of discontent and frustration', and in the widespread belief that the execution of the rebels was little more than cold blooded murder. 'During that dismal summer of 1916', Vaughan claims, 'stroke after stroke seemed to emphasise that Ireland's fate was a matter almost of indifference to her rulers'. A 'mood of savage resentment' set in, and 'expressed itself most dramatically in a rapidly developing cult of the dead leaders, a cult that found expression in the frequent commemorative masses then being held in Dublin churches, and that easily passed into the singing of patriotic songs and the formation of vast processions, highly charged with

emotion'.[43] Ireland, in short, had changed beyond recognition and experienced a 'transformation'.[44]

Ireland's 'new nationalism' presented a significant obstacle for military recruiters, not least because it positioned them in direct opposition to the very people they were supposed to persuade. In a climate of deep-seated public hostility, in which the armed forces were viewed as agents of British rule and as executors of martial law, military recruiters could not draw on the culture of 'war enthusiasm' or the 'epoch of volunteer action' that had characterised much of Britain in 1914.[45] How they responded to the challenges presented by this dilemma, and what techniques and methods of persuasion they sought to apply, will be the subject of the remainder of this chapter.

The 'Conscription Crisis' and the Irish Recruiting Council

In October 1917, Russia's imperial government was overthrown by Bolshevik revolutionaries. By March the following year, Russia had signed a peace treaty with the Central Powers that freed up a sizeable proportion of the latter's military resources for an assault on the Western Front.[46] On March 21st, the Germans staged the first of five major offensives using reinforcements assembled from the east, with the bulk of the attack falling on the British 5th Army at the Somme. Nearly 40,000 British soldiers were killed or captured on this day alone, and for the first time since 1916 it seemed likely that Britain might lose the war.[47] As Gregory has noted, '[u]nless the British army could be provided with manpower to rebuild the shattered divisions, the B[ritish] E[xpeditionary] F[orce] would cease to exist'.[48] To find this manpower the War Cabinet was presented with two options. The first, to extend the age limit of conscription in England, Scotland and Wales from 42 to 49 and to make use of the many thousands of 18-year-old recruits trained but disbarred from fighting, might provoke the wrath of the British public. The second, to extend conscription to Ireland, would probably inflame an already volatile situation and lead to a full-scale armed rebellion which, to be effectively put down, would require the transferring of troops from the Western Front to Ireland.

Both options were fraught with difficulties, and even Carson, an avowed unionist, suggested conscription was 'not worth contemplating [in Ireland]'.[49] In the event, Lloyd George's government decided to implement both – or rather, resolved to authorise a new Military Service Bill that gave the Irish authorities the power to conscript men for the Army and their counterparts in England, Scotland and Wales the power to extend it. By conscripting the Irish

Lloyd George 'guaranteed the failure of any attempt to settle the Irish question on the basis of Home Rule... wrecked the credibility of the Irish Parliamentary Party and permanently alienated a wide swathe of Irish opinion'.[50] Yet conscription, as Alan Ward, Gregory and a number of other historians have shown, was never actually enforced in Ireland despite being on the statute books, and despite the passage of the Act leading to a General Strike in Ireland on April 23rd.[51] In that respect, conscription was rather like Home Rule: both policies had been promised to the Irish people only never to materialise, and both had triggered heated debate and public discussion during the war.

The decision to extend conscription to Ireland but not to actually enforce it was part of a shrewd diversion devised by Lloyd George to give the *impression* that the government was extending the call-up to Ireland. This impression would appease public opposition to the mobilisation of 'English grandfathers',[52] but it did not resolve the problem of recruiting shortages. The government still required an influx of new soldiers to replace those killed, wounded or captured on the Western Front, and in the summer of 1918 a new voluntary recruiting organisation came into being.[53]

The IRC, formed nearly three months after the attack on the Somme and nearly four months before the end of the war,[54] was given a single task – to raise 50,000 men. Presented as an intrinsically 'Irish' body, it was actually set up by the Ministry of National Service (MONS), a department that had been established in 1917 to assume control of mobilisation from the WO. According to Lieutenant-Colonel G. J. S. Scovell, a recruiting official at the latter department, there was a 'necessity for disguising, as far as possible, the identity of the Ministry of National Service [in the recruitment campaign], and the consequent necessity for avoiding [adverse] publicity'.[55] On June 24th 1918, some tentative steps were taken in this direction. In an article published in the *Irish Times*, a newspaper that had campaigned in the early stages of the war for voluntary and subsequently compulsory enlistment in the New Armies,[56] an appeal was made to Irish men. It read

> Fellow Countrymen – At the request of His Excellency, we four Irishmen have undertaken to organise a campaign of voluntary enlistment, to be carried on by our own people, by their own methods and in their own way. We are quite conscious of the difficulties that beset our path; nevertheless, we believe that we shall receive the willing support of all, even those who are suffering under mismanagement and disappointed hope, for all must realise that the first necessity for the peaceful

settlement of our country's troubles must be the defeat of the traducer of honour and of our common Christianity [sic].[57]

Ireland's 'troubles' were well-known to the authors of the appeal, and indeed to anyone who had paid attention to the shifting dynamics between the state, the armed forces and the public in Irish society in the wake of 1916. Yet what distinguished this appeal from those circulated earlier by the DOR (see above) was the explicit emphasis placed on military recruitment as a solution to Ireland's social, political and religious problems. Referring to the 'mismanagement and disappointed hope' of those disillusioned by the war, a plea was made to the 'common Christianity' that united Irishmen and Irishwomen and apparently distinguished them from the 'un-Christian' Germans. Tales of German barbarity can be traced to the pre-war era,[58] and took on a particularly malicious tone during the war years when a stories surfaced alleging a British soldier had been 'crucified' by German cavalrymen.[59] These tales were designed to position the Central Powers as outside the realm of normal human activity, and beyond the pale of normative Christian values. In the case of Ireland, however, an additional problem existed: the religious divisions that existed between Catholics and Protestants, and the need to resolve these to receive the 'willing support of all'.[60]

The main figures behind the IRC seem to have been aware of this problem, and put forward various schemes designed to encourage Ireland's catholic majority to accept the religious grounds for supporting the war. One plan necessitated constructing 'War Honour Shrines' as a 'salutary effect in bringing the Catholic religion into touch with the war'. Another involved paying the clergy, apparently 'not above giving useful advice to their parishioners for a good addition to the "Poor-box"'. It is hard to determine the impact of such schemes, although their intention was clearly stated in official files: recruiters sought to 'exercise a very "wholesome" influence in certain neighbourhoods of ill repute', and would do so using the promotional techniques and methods witnessed in Britain and Ireland earlier as well as any new appeals they could develop. As with the PRC, the IRC was expected to 'run the [recruiting] campaign just as if it were an election campaign'.[61] Despite its best efforts, the IRC would not, however, succeed in doing so.

The Origins of the Council: The War Cabinet and the Ministry of National Service

The appeal reported in the *Irish Times* on June 24th was authored by four men, three of whom were prominent figures in Irish society.[62] Stephen Gwynn, an MP for the Irish Parliamentary

Party, was a serving officer in the 16th Division. Maurice Dockrell, a Dublin-based businessman, had received a Knighthood for his business work and would win one of three unionist seats outside Ulster in Ireland's postwar general election. Alexander Martin Sullivan, finally, was a well-known lawyer who had defended Sir Roger Casement, the British counsel implicated in the Easter Rising, before his execution in London in 1916. Presenting themselves as 'Irishmen' who sought to 'organise a campaign of voluntary recruit enlistment, to be carried out by *our own people*, by their own *methods*, and in *their own way*',[63] they sought to present the IRC as a quintessentially Irish body.

There is reliable evidence, all the same, suggesting that the origins of the IRC can be traced to the deliberations of the War Cabinet. On May 30th, almost two months prior to the IRC's first appeal, a meeting was held to review the possibility of implementing conscription in Ireland. Ireland's available manpower was at that point unknown – unlike the rest of the United Kingdom, no National Register had been compiled and no Derby Scheme had ever been carried out – so an arbitrary figure of 50,000 men was set. Agreeing to sponsor a voluntary recruitment campaign before conscription was introduced, the Cabinet gave a deadline of August 1st to avert conscription, a deadline that would subsequently be pushed forward to October 1st, November 1st and December 1st. On June 3rd, the government took steps to publicise its intentions via a press release, targeting young Irish men aged 19-27 who lived in towns and not rural areas, and making clear that conscription would not be needed if 50,000 men promptly came forward to the Colours.[64]

In the meantime, a review of existing recruiting procedures was undertaken on behalf of the MONS to determine where improvements could be made and to outline a possible plan of action for the new recruitment drive. This review, which made a series of implicit criticisms of existing arrangements, confirmed the belief that recruiting in Ireland had been rather 'handled rather badly' (see above) and made eight recommendations to the government. New recruits should be given a bonus of between £2 and £5, and 'a better class of recruiters' would be required. A 'great propaganda [campaign]' should be commenced; '[n]ot a recruiting propaganda [campaign], as such, but [one] on War Aims', which would help to nullify anti-recruiting sentiment. Soldiers should be given 'preferential treatment' in the distribution of land after the war,[65] and those from poor backgrounds should be advanced a bulk sum from their Separation Allowance. Boys between the ages of 17 and 18 should be allowed to join

up, and should be given the right to a preference of choosing which Unit they would join. Finally, 'the bringing over of Colonial soldiers as propagandists and recruiters, and the giving of long leave to soldiers in Irish Regiments who have won decorations or otherwise distinguished themselves in [some way]', should be considered.[66]

Apart from the 'great propaganda campaign' and the use of 'colonial' (that is, American) soldiers, many of these appeals were material inducements on par with those advertised by the Caxtons Publishing House in January-February 1914 (see chapter four). Attracting civilians using financial inducements might have seemed a sensible approach to military advertising. In 1914, as Arthur Marwick has argued, there were fundamental differences between Great Britain ('comprising England, Wales and Scotland') and Ireland ('lacking the mineral bounty with which Britain was blessed...poverty-stricken and, save for the Belfast area, almost entirely agrarian').[67] Yet the war had actually brought a level of relative prosperity to Ireland. Wages increased and the need for work, both agricultural and industrial, likewise grew. Irish firms were also involved in the production of goods for the British armed forces,[68] and since Irish men could not be conscripted they also found employment across the Irish Sea in England, Scotland and Wales. Increasing affluence might be put forward as a factor to explain the relatively poor performance of the 1918-19 recruitment campaign (see below), but it was not the only challenge the recruiters would face.

The MONS review of existing recruiting procedures concluded that it was paramount to conceal Whitehall involvement in the project. 'As far as possible, from the top to the bottom of the organisation, it should be Irish'.[69] Nevertheless, the question remained as to how it would appear 'Irish' and what particular shape the organisation would take. In this regard, the MONS appears to have consulted recruiting bodies then operational in Ireland, including the aforementioned Dublin and County Recruiting Committee and the Naval Committee, but it dismissed both for different reasons. According to report's author, the Dublin Committee was discounted because of its 'Unionist Reputation': of 29 members, it contained only four nationalists. The Naval Committee, on the other hand, was dismissed for being too small for the task, and for being presided over by a man, P. J. Andrew, seemingly 'anxious to have any big paid appointment that may be going'.[70]

Having dismissed these organisations (the DOR does not appear to have operated beyond 1915), the decision was made to establish an entirely new body that came into being in June

1918. Given the rather sizeable task of enlisting 50,000 men from a population already drained of manpower, it would also conflict with the various nationalist paramilitary groups operational in Ireland at the time. In July, Lloyd George's government engineered a scandal that implicated Sinn Fein in a 'German plot'. Serving many purposes, the plot provided a pretext for rounding up known rebels and interning them in England, and for appointing General Sir John French as Viceroy of Ireland, essentially resurrecting the 'military governor' post formerly held by General Maxwell.[71] Ward has suggested that the 1918 German conspiracy 'marked a new wave of oppression in Ireland which was really directed at anti-conscription agitation', but it can also be interpreted as a step in the direction of voluntary recruiting and the 'great propaganda' campaign on which it would be based. The MONS report on recruiting in Ireland had warned of 'statements detrimental to recruiting' and 'literature of a similar kind', and spoke prophetically (if inaccurately) of the absence of a single 'prosecution' against the perpetrators of seditious utterances. 'Our Recruiting Officers', its author wrote, 'complained bitterly of this, and asserted that it was one of the greatest hindrances to recruiting they had to contend with'. French himself believed the removal of the leaders of the rebels would help boost enlistment and promote acceptance of British military rule.[72] In the event, the interments only served to radicalise the population. The IRC would have its work cut out.

Setting up the Recruitment Machinery: Producing and Disseminating Promotion

As we have already seen (see chapters one-three) the work that goes on behind the production of advertisements is often more useful for analysing a campaign than are advertisements themselves. This was the case for the recruitment campaigns waged in England, Scotland and Wales in 1914-15, and it is also the case for the work of the IRC, which mirrored the constitution of the PRC by operating on both a local and a national level. In addition to a central headquarters located in Ireland's capital city, ten regional offices were set up throughout the country.[73] A building on St. Stephen's Green, one of the locations held by the rebels during the Easter Rising, provided the location of the head office, but as the work of the organisation expanded the office was moved to the Maples Hotel on Kildare Street. The latter hotel was requisitioned under the Defence of the Realm Act, and would become a topic of some controversy after the war (see below), but for the three months of intensive wartime recruitment work it became the main centre of official publicity in Ireland. In England, on the other hand, a 'London Council' comprised of representatives from the IRC,

the MONS, the Irish government and the Army Council was set up, superseding the IRC and tasked with forming a 'constitutional link' between the IRC and the 'Imperial Government'.[74]

On paper, this system gave the IRC little autonomy because its 'general policy' was dictated by the London Council.[75] Yet a review of the council's work undertaken after the war suggests it did enjoy some measure of independence. While it took some time to become operational – a meeting on the subject of a new recruitment drive was held in London in late July,[76] but work does not appear to have begun in earnest until August – the IRC was soon recycling the full repertoire of promotions undertaken and perhaps pioneered by the PRC and the Caxtons Publishing House. Press releases and 'specially written articles' were drafted. Press and poster advertisements, using a local advertising agency called Kenny's, were also made, with nearly £15,000 spent, a colossal figure when compared to the PRC.[77] Leaflets were distributed and a weekly magazine called *Irish Soldier*, edited by Gwynn's son and apparently suggested by a Ministry of Information official, was published.[78] A special film was commissioned by the IRC in conjunction with the Army Photographic Unit, and was shown in cinemas and from cinemotor vans travelling through the country. In addition, a series of exhibitions were held around the country containing 'war trophies'.[79]

The records of these promotions, including the hard copies of advertisements, appear to have perished. Some of the files may have been held in the Irish Public Records Office, but this was destroyed in a battle between the Irish Republican Army and the Provisional Government of Arthur Griffith in 1922, while a number of important records of the IRC also perished in the Kildare Street fire in 1920.[80] While some advertisements from the early part of the war have found their way into scholarship of Hiley and Gullace,[81] those released in 1918 are more difficult to trace. Nevertheless, according to invoices sent to the Treasury detailing the expenses of the IRC, a total of 114 newspapers 'received payment for service[s] rendered', while 34 posters were designed and issued by the IRC and produced in 'very large' batches because they were frequently destroyed by anti-recruiting agitators. An unknown quantity of leaflets, some produced under Stationary Office oversight, was distributed 'by every conceivable means, including a daily distribution over all Ireland from aeroplanes of the Royal Air Force'.[82] As many as 35,000 copies of *Irish Soldier* were distributed each week, 'reaching individually Clergy of all creeds, National School Teachers, Doctors, and every official listed in any number of books of reference, as well as all book stalls, railway stations, etc.'; and a

further 'large supply of photographs, war trophies, and aeroplane parts [were] secured and arranged into ten travelling exhibits' designed to 'leave a mental picture of the war upon the minds of hundreds in Ireland who do not see printed matter'.[83]

The emphasis on scale, and the corollary belief in its effects, suggests the IRC approached the subject of recruitment from a similar standpoint to its predecessor, the PRC. Yet any similarities in organisation should not distract from the fundamental differences between recruiting in Ireland in 1918-19 and recruiting in the rest of the United Kingdom in 1914-15. The work of the IRC coincided with a crucial period in Irish nationalist history, a time when the country was once again placed under martial law and once again governed by a British General with known unionist sympathies.[84] The internment of all but a few of Ireland's *de facto* leaders in mid-May had precipitated a deep-seated 'hatred of L.G. and the government', according to one of the imprisoned,[85] and by early July all organisations that could be identified with Sinn Fein, including the Irish Volunteers and the Gaelic League, were summarily banned. The effect the banning had on Irish opposition, as had been the case with the reprisals associated with the Rising, was not so much to end agitation but to accelerate it. Sinn Fein and other groups were pushed underground, a precursor to their transition from a passive to an active resistance movement that paved the way for the War of Independence. Popular membership of, and support for, revolutionary nationalism grew,[86] and a 'systematic campaign' against recruitment to the British armed forces was waged in the popular press.[87]

Ireland, in short, had no groundswell of patriotism from which to draw new recruits, it is difficult to see how recruiters could seek to win over a population largely sceptical towards service in the British army. In the event, fewer than 10,000 volunteers enrolled at recruiting stations, a figure described by Ward as a 'dismal failure' and lampooned by a Treasury official after the war in a cost analysis of the campaign.[88] The IRC, the official claimed, 'was, it may now be permitted to say so, one of the most ridiculous instances of waste that have been incurred [during the war]... It was obvious from the first to everyone in Ireland that it would fail to obtain recruits, it was conducted on the most lavish and expensive lines – and the persons employed (such as Col. Lynch)[89] have blamed "Treasury parsimony" for the failure'.[90] These sentiments were echoed during the war by another Treasury official who, confronted with spiralling costs of the campaign and the request to extend the IRC's budget, claimed the IRC

was 'typical of the new Departments' created during the war, 'whose argument seems to be: I spend money lavishly, therefore I must succeed'.[91]

Given the absence of broad public support for recruitment, it is perhaps unsurprising that the IRC cost more than the recruitment work of the PRC relative to the 'results' of either campaign. As one recruiter said to the Treasury when trying to justify the IRC's expenses, politicians in Westminster 'only have a distant view of the extraordinary conditions arising locally'. Repeated attempts to scupper enlistment took place, and ranged from 'open obstruction, passive resistance...[to] general indifference'. It was 'impossible to lay down any local plan of action', and even when meetings were held speakers were howled off stage.[92]

The IRC in Peacetime: From Recruiting to 'Steadying Nerves'

The IRC had been given a provisional date of December 1st to raise 50,000 men to avert conscription. On the morning of November 11th 1918, the armistice between the Entente and the Central Powers was agreed, thus bringing to a conclusion the First World War. Yet the IRC was not wound up. Indeed, and despite a communiqué from the Secretary of the MONS to the IRC requesting that all exhibits be closed down and shipped to London, all cinemotor vans be recalled, all posters and 'poster boards' be collected and destroyed and all local recruiting staff be dismissed,[93] the IRC did not cease recruiting. On the contrary, its own files and correspondence between London and Dublin suggest that it continued to endorse British enlistment long after the war had ended. What is more, some areas of its work, such as the publication of *Irish Soldier* and the use of cinemotors, were actually augmented when compared to the war years.[94]

In light of its apparently poor results and the large sums spent on the campaign, it is worth briefly considering why the IRC was continued after the war had ended. One possible explanation is that the council, having cost a great deal to set up, was asked to continue its work in order to lure any men willing to serve now that peace had arrived. Though the war had ended, the requirement for new recruits did not wane because large numbers of New Army soldiers had enlisted 'for the duration', and were now entitled to (though were not all granted) demobilisation.[95] Yet that does not appear to have formed the basis of the decision. On the day before the armistice, Ireland's new Chief Secretary Edward Shortt reportedly approached the IRC to ask them to 'tender to him any advice, not on recruiting, but on the general Government of Ireland'.[96] This was a remarkable request, not only because it

represented an admission on Shortt's part of an acute lack of awareness of how the country should be run, but also because it suggested the IRC was considered by the government to be something of an authority on Irish public opinion. The IRC's response to Shortt, however, was almost as remarkable: all but one of its members suggested imposing conscription as a means of dealing with the 'present situation of the country'.[97]

Whether conscription would have been imposed is of course impossible to tell, because within less than 24 hours of the meeting the war had ended. Yet what can be determined from official files and correspondence between IRC recruiters and the Treasury is that the IRC soon took on a new task: combating dissent. By the end of November, with a hotly-anticipated General Election approaching,[98] the IRC was given a brief to produce and disseminate a variety of 'instructional' materials, including handbills, pamphlets and small posters that dealt with 'general questions affecting Ireland', a large collection of photographs of 'world interest', films that depicted a 'wide selection of world events', and the *Irish Soldier*.[99] Earlier in October Shortt had apparently signalled his reluctance to disband the IRC, claiming that it would not 'help' public opinion and would lead to the deterioration of public order. Citing an 'improvement' in public mood that has not since been confirmed by historians, he claimed the IRC was 'in large measure' responsible for it.[100] The IRC itself, according to another official, provided a 'very satisfactory and efficient machine for conducting publicity or propaganda', the results of which were described as follows:

> Throughout the whole of Ireland it is publicly recognised that that the educational affect of the propaganda campaign conducted by the [Irish Recruiting Council] has been most marked and to this publicity has been attributed much of the stability of public opinion during the four months past... [No] part of the country has refused to absorb this publicity...[and a] further publicity campaign [should be carried out].[101]

In a memorandum written by on December 2nd, an additional attempt was made to stress the palliative effects of the IRC's new functions. 'The result of our work during the past five months', a recruiter claimed, has amounted to 'good educative results in the broad principles of citizenship'. The 'particular phase that we had in view was the national obligation to support the war by recruiting, but entirely apart from [the] direct result in the end sought for, propaganda of that kind has [had] a general steadying effect on the nerves of a country'.[102] The IRC, these remarks suggest, had become an arm of the British state designed to counteract revolution.

Conclusion: Recruitment, Rebellion and the Significance of Public Opinion

The various attempts to recruit in Ireland, and the opposition these attempts met, can serve as a useful example of the importance of public opinion in shaping the organisation, dissemination and reception of military advertising. As Simkins has noted in reference to the mass armies raised in Britain in the first part of the war, the mobilisation of 1914-16 was 'essentially a national effort'.

> In the sense that it was raised for the most part by civilian committees and *ad hoc* voluntary organisations in all corners of the country, Kitchener's army was the closest thing to a true citizen army that Britain has ever produced. Without the support and enthusiasm of the majority of the population, no administration could have secured nearly 2,500,000 men purely by voluntary methods in less than seventeen months from the outbreak of the war.[103]

Ireland may have possessed some of that enthusiasm in the early stages of the war; indeed, as two historians have argued, it experienced its own 'epoch of volunteer action'.[104] Yet it was also beset by deep-seated social, political and religious grievances that predated the war and would resurface yet again in the years that followed it. That major recruitment campaigns were waged in the midst of era-defining events like the Easter Rising, and even as martial law was enforced using the same armed forces Irish men were encouraged to join, might be interpreted as evidence of the general ignorance of the authorities in London towards events in Ireland. Alternatively, it might be regarded as evidence of the belief within government, on both sides of the Irish sea, that advertising was, in the words of Le Bas, a 'force which might develop an idea, a school of thought, a political personality, or a national policy, as easily as it expanded the commercial interests of private enterprises like my own'.[105] This idea was conveyed by other contemporaries. Charles Higham, an advertiser who had (unsuccessfully) lobbied the government before the war to make greater use of the techniques of commercial advertising, suggested in a book published in 1925 that advertising

> is one of the mightiest and consequently one of the most dangerous forces in the modern world. If we dispute its danger we deny its might, since all powerful forces are dangerous if they are improperly used. This is a point that critics of advertising generally forget, and it is certainly one that all users of advertising should remember.[106]

A belief in the power of the mass media is fundamental to all campaigns examined in this thesis, but in Ireland the particular ways in which this idea was applied to the unique

conditions witnessed in the country warrants special attention. As one IRC recruiter claimed in October 1918, the IRC's 'propaganda...has without doubt been of the greatest value, and considerable progress has been made by way of educating Irish opinion which since 1916 has in the main been apathetic or sullen in its outlook on the War'. Suggesting the campaign should not be judged on the merits of its recruiting returns but on its impact on mass feeling, he claimed the true 'value of the propaganda work will be most clearly recognised in the future'.[107] Given that Ireland slipped into a War of Independence shortly after these words were written, historians might be disinclined to share the belief in the efficacy or 'value' of the IRC's work. Yet it is important, all the same, to recognise the significance of the thinking or philosophy towards promotion that lay behind it. In Ireland, military advertising was viewed not just as a means of promoting service in the New Armies but as a solution to underlying social problems. That a major recruiting body was continued into the postwar era, seemingly to 'educate' the public rather than to recruit, suggests that the practice of military advertising could be adapted to suit new circumstances, and that the techniques and methods of persuasion developed to promote enlistment could be applied to other topics or policies.

In the next chapter, how military advertising responded to, and adapted in line with, the demands created by the impending Second World War will be discussed, not in relation to the conventional armed forces but in relation to the eleven branches of civil defence set up in the 1920s and 1930s.

'To encourage, inspire and guide': National Service, the 'People's War' and the Promotion of Civil Defence in Interwar Britain, 1938-39

> It is our war because the working people have flung their energies into the work of equipping the fighting forces, [and] have surrendered for the time being vital safeguards of normal industrial life, in order that the war trades shall be kept in continuous production and to ensure swift and ample supplies of every essential weapon.[1]
>
> John Marchbank, 'This is the People's War', 1941

In the dying days of 1938 Ernest Brown rose in the House of Commons to deliver a speech. Known for his thunderous voice and for the affectionate ridicule it sometimes earned him,[2] the Minister of Labour carefully unpacked a project that would become central to the way his department communicated with the British public. National service, a term usually identified with the postwar conscript Army (see chapter eight), would be a campaign for Britain's civil defences and auxiliary and reserve forces. Comparable in scale to the great recruiting drives of the First World War, it would surpass the latter if only because of the variety of positions on offer. Land tillers, tree surgeons and tractor drivers were required for the Women's Land Army; current and ex-policemen were needed in the Police War Reserve, the Special Constabulary and the First Police Reserve; and the institution of Air Raid Precautions (ARP), a body that could be traced to the mid-1920s and the work of a sub-committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence, sought everything from ambulance drivers to decontamination squads, to demolition parties.[3] Announcing the campaign to its readers the following year, the *Daily Mirror* called it 'Britain's greatest defence drive…a citizen "army"'.[4] Brown, for his part, was more prescriptive. The 'scheme' for national service, he claimed,

> has two aims. The first is to encourage, inspire and guide a free people to enrol themselves to undergo training in peace time for the services they could best render on the outbreak of war. The second is to ensure that volunteers for service should not be enrolled if they would not be available to be called on for such service in war time owing to the essential nature of their occupation.[5]

That Parliament was once again discussing war illustrated the precariousness of the peace on which the interwar years were founded. Less than three months prior to Brown's

announcement, the Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain had returned from Germany brandishing a 'pact' that was supposed to end Anglo-German hostilities. The Munich Agreement, which has since been treated as a case study in failed diplomacy (and in historical revisionism generally)[6] did not, however, preclude contingency plans for another war, and nor did it prevent Britain embarking on a massive and costly rearmament programme designed to put it on a level footing with Nazi Germany and imperial Japan.[7] Remarking on the paradox of these seemingly conflicting aims, the historian A. J. P. Taylor claimed the 1930s told two stories both 'true in their own terms and yet seemingly contradictory': one of 'steadily accelerating preparations for an inevitable war', the other of 'groping attempts to prevent war – attempts which failed regretfully and by mistake'.[8] National service, a network of 'passive' defences designed to complement the 'active' forces of the Army, Navy and Air Force, embodied this paradox: both a means of preparing Britain for an 'inevitable war' and of discouraging such a war from taking place, it was presented by Chamberlain's government as a manifestation of Britain's voluntary spirit and a harbinger of a new era in its democratic history.[9]

The press and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) seemed all too willing to accommodate this view, describing national service as a 'campaign for the defence of civil life', for example, or a 'plan for mobilising democracy'.[10] Given the large numbers of civilians involved – the military historian Peter Doyle has suggested that ARP alone attracted as many as 400,000 full-time and 150,000 part-time volunteers[11] – it is not surprising that the contributions of national servicemen and national servicewomen to the defence of Britain have attracted historical attention. While the fighting forces repelled the *Luftwaffe* and embarked on the Normandy landings that paved the way for the Allied victory, the men and women who served on the home front during the war ensured the Army, Navy and Air Force had sufficient supplies to prosecute the war, and that Britain's resources were effectively marshalled and protected. These 'heroes within the domestic context', as the social historian Asa Briggs has called them,[12] have formed the basis of countless histories of wartime Britain, and their contribution to the war effort has often been evoked to illustrate what one historian has called, in reference to the popular memory of the conflict, the 'British spirit of unquestioning unity and dogged resistance'.[13] Suffice it to say historians have treated the 'story' of the Second World War with more caution, but the overwhelming focus on the wartime period has served to distract attention from the years that preceded it. Little is known

about how the government sought to attract men and women to the various branches of civil defence, what advertising and public relations techniques were used, and how the institutions, structures and discursive practices of military advertising were utilised for the campaign.[14] The literature on interwar propaganda, the first place one might expect to find an account of these developments, has remained distinctly silent on the subject, while even Mariel Grant's *Propaganda and the Role of the State in Interwar Britain* (1994), a detailed survey of the 'considerable expansion' of official 'publicity' during the interwar years, makes no reference to the drive for national service.[15]

By examining how the campaign was organised and executed, this chapter seeks to fill in some of the gaps that have appeared in the literature. Focusing on the institutions and individuals most intimately connected to the campaign, it argues that the drive for national service was not simply intended to attract new recruits, but to cement the idea in Britain that any future conflict would represent a 'people's war' in which all citizens contributed an equal share towards victory. The idea of collective sacrifice and national unity represents an enduring theme in popular recollections of the conflict, and though the concept of the 'people's war' has been questioned it continues to cast a long shadow over the historiography of British society in the 1930s and 1940s.[16] However, as with the commentary on national service historians' attention has been devoted almost exclusively to the wartime period and to the consequences the 'people's war' had (or did not have) for postwar social change.[17] No work has sought to uncover the emergence of the idea as a distinct way of viewing the war or of describing Britain's response to it. Through an analysis of the organisation and execution of the campaign for national service, this chapter suggests that the key tenets of the 'people's war' were communicated forcefully and vigorously *before* that war had actually taken place. Utilising newspapers, magazines, posters, leaflets, pamphlets, guides, BBC broadcasts, speeches and public meetings, the government tried to instil the notion that service in Britain's 'citizen army' would enhance its democracy and pave the way for victory *should* war be declared. Making use of a host of Public Relations Departments (PRDs), bodies established within government ministries during the interwar years, this campaign involved several departments, a powerful coordinating committee (see below), and what one observer called a "red-hot" recruitment campaign' that was designed to bring 'national service' into every household in the country.[18]

Promoting the State in a 'Morbid Age': The Rise of the Public Relations Department

Crucial to this chapter is an awareness of the culture of promotion that grew in Whitehall between the wars. During the First World War, as we have already seen, recruitment campaigns were organised for the most part by committee, and although the campaign for national service also utilised committees (see below) it made extensive use of PRDs, organisations established within individual ministries during the interwar years that employed a host of public relations officials, press officers and advertisers. How these positions came into being will be the subject of this section, which argues that the interwar years heralded a new system of producing military advertising that differed in some respects from the work of the 1913-19 period but also continued many of the techniques, practices and conventions pioneered during that latter years.

If the First World War had been a catastrophe and a crisis, the interwar years were similarly tumultuous. After a brief economic boom in the immediate aftermath of the war, the British economy slid into a deep recession followed by a long period of stagnation that culminated, after another downturn and another boom, in the Great Slump of 1929-32. This was an age, as Richard Overy has argued, characterised by 'morbid' ideas about the future of the British Isles and its peoples,[19] a time of hunger marches, National and Coalition governments, Blackshirts and industrial unrest. Though it has also been credited with establishing a 'new consumerism' in Britain that brought with it 'important shifts in the levels and distribution patterns of consumer expenditure',[20] the period between the wars is not usually regarded as a time of prosperity and peaceful accord. Some historians have taken to describing the interwar years as a mere cessation in hostilities between the European powers – a long pause in a European 'civil war' that began in 1914 but did not reach a conclusion until the summer of 1945 – and there is an abundance of evidence suggesting conflicts within nations between different classes and social groupings.[21]

As one of its principal architects, this 'civil war' had a pronounced affect on Britain's global economic standing. Before 1914-18, the United Kingdom had been the largest trading economy and the third largest manufacturing economy in the world. Within two decades, its major industries were in sharp decline, long-term unemployment had blighted its northern and eastern regions, and the state had reverted from the favoured *laissez-faire* approach to international trade to protectionism.[22] Fears of national decline manifested themselves in a

variety of ways. Eugenicists, for instance, took to popularising theories that Britain's 'island race' was deteriorating, and used a method of statistical modelling that would contribute, albeit in an indirect way, to the emergence of Social Survey (see chapter seven). There was also, according to the political historian Keith Jefferys, a 'pronounced growth of new forms of social enquiry' dedicated to resolving the problems of mass unemployment and poverty.[23] Mass Observation, an organisation that prided itself on providing a 'science of ourselves', was just one of several bodies established in the 1930s that tried to understand and predict public opinion: a subject that had grown in importance in the wake of industrial unrest and the partial enfranchisement of women, and which interested governments as much as it did corporations, industrialists and commercial advertisers and public relations experts.[24]

For its part, the state was involved in development and expansion of new forms of promotional practices in two key respects. Firstly, as Jacquie L'Etang has argued, local government the first steps towards 'professionalising' government public relations in 1922.[25] Secondly, and more importantly for the present analysis, PRDs, themselves a relic of the first world war, were set up by central government within the major ministries and departments of state. According to Grant, whose analysis of interwar propaganda remains the only comprehensive study of the subject, despite pressure to reduce expenditure six Whitehall departments employed staff 'specifically for publicity purposes' in November 1923, and by 1937 that figure had almost tripled, to seventeen.[26] These 'branches', like the public relations officials retained in local government, were given two main tasks: liaising with the public, and cultivating a relationship with the press and (from 1923 onwards) the BBC. Their work varied from department to department, and from campaign to campaign. In 1919, for example, after Britain's veterans had been hastily demobilised,[27] the War Office recommended voluntary recruiting using a medium – the poster – that had been used extensively during the opening stages of the war.[28] By 1937, with appeasement and rearmament operating in unison,[29] their work transcended the routine activities of recruitment to taking press cuttings of important articles and circulating them in memoranda to relevant officials, responding to 'misstatements' in the press and on the BBC, dealing with press and BBC enquiries, providing information to the press and the BBC that might make for an interesting 'story', liaising with the regional Commands to find material that would interest journalists, carrying out so-called 'editorial publicity'[30] on behalf of the War Office, and hiring film and newsreel companies to produce or distribute films designed to boost enlistment or 'inform' potential recruits of life in the Army.[31]

Compared to the volumes of published materials concerning wartime propaganda, the work of PRDs has received short shrift. Summarising the neglect of the subject area, Grant writes:

> To date, peacetime publicity in the domestic sphere has been virtually ignored by historians. Although the use of propaganda in and by Britain in the twentieth century has been the subject of extensive research in recent years, most modern scholarship has focused on the concept of propaganda, the emergence of its pejorative connotations in the aftermath of the First World War, and its role as a weapon of war... Such studies are not intended, nor do they attempt, to provide an overview of and explanation for the growth of government publicity at home...[and] even general publications overlook the subject of the normal activities of government as opposed to the aberrant or secretive.[32]

PRDs were neither aberrant nor secretive. It was their function, indeed, to remain visible, and to liaise with the press and the public on matters pertaining to government policy. At the same time, it is important to recognise the *promotional* function these organisations served, and the fact that, as instruments of government ministries and the elected officials who ran them, they were implicated in activities that were by their nature politically contentious. How PRDs carried out their work varied from department to department. At the Ministry of Health, for example, promotion was geared towards correcting the parlous state of public health. The Great War had exposed chronic health problems amongst the poor,[33] and educating the public on the importance of subjects like nutrition was, according to Grant, regarded as an 'essential means of promoting national health'. Yet the ministry's promotion also reflected what Grant called the 'growing emphasis...on prevention rather than cure in the treatment of disease', and therefore the importance of public opinion *per se*.

> An educated public opinion came to be regarded as a necessary impetus to reform, and, once new services were in place, instruction the chief means of ensuring their use. More than an arm of policy, propaganda became an essential aspect of health administration, even to the extent of substituting for, or replacing, services when further expansion was deemed impossible.[34]

'Information' and 'instruction' would become integral to the reform of government promotion in the postwar era (see chapter eight), and would also play a part in the campaign for national service which provides a useful illustration of how multiple PRDs worked together on the *same campaign*. This campaign, planning for which began in 1938, involved the PRDs of the Ministry of Labour (MOL), the Home Office (HO), the Lord Privy Seal's Department, Office of

Works and the three Service departments. The resourced allocated to it far outweighed those given to individual departments for their own publicity purposes, and the campaign itself demanded promotion that was by definition exceptional because of the exigencies of the post-Munich climate.[35] In what follows, how the campaign was planned and organised will be discussed, before exploring how national service was promoted in the mass media and how it came to be expressed in a series of public events. As with the analyses of recruitment carried out in earlier chapters, the topics examined here are not intended to provide an exhaustive survey of the campaign, but to give the reader an snapshot of how promotion was *practiced* at a particular moment. The scale of the campaign combined with the variety of promotional techniques used suggests the British government was not a 'reluctant' propagandist, but an enthusiastic participant.

Planning for the Apocalypse: The Origins of the Campaign for National Service

> We all hope that an emergency will not arrive, but we know that it may, and in those circumstances it would be madness to run the risk of delaying until the event had occurred… We must refuse to either be bombed or cajoled into slavery.[36]
>
> Herbert Morrison, January 25th 1939

On January 24th 1939, a recruiting rally was held in the vast auditorium that is the Royal Albert Hall. Attended by the Lord Privy Seal, Sir John Anderson, the Lord Mayor of London, the Leader of the London County Council and the Minister of Labour, it signalled the start of a campaign described by the *Manchester Guardian* as the harbinger of 'a new chapter in our history as an island people'.[37] Patriotic chest beating was par for the course in a recruitment rally, and set the tone for the evening's speeches and ceremonies. Anderson, who had been involved in the subject of air raid defences since the 1920s, said to the crowd gathered in the hall that any future war would be a 'test of the courage and steadiness of the ordinary citizens'.[38] In a simultaneous address to the British people broadcast on the BBC on the same day, Chamberlain spoke of a 'scheme to make us ready for war…to defend ourselves and resist attack'.[39] Both of these speeches, and one by Herbert Morrison cited above, gave national service its first dose of publicity, with the national press reporting a 'London rally', the 'Premier's Call' and the 'New Duty' the following day.[40]

Before the doors of the Royal Albert Hall had opened to welcome London's political elite however, and before Brown had broached the subject of national service in Parliament, secret discussions on a new recruiting campaign were held in the MOL. In November 1938, serious

consideration was even given to using the King's annual Christmas broadcast to promote national service. That plan was eventually shelved for fear that it would 'sting him [Hitler] into action',[41] but work continued on the administrative machinery for attracting and processing new recruits and on the appointment of key staff to carry out this task. On December 6th, a fortnight before Brown's speech, Anderson introduced a scheme for national voluntary service in the House of Commons that involved National Service Committees established in every borough and county borough in England and Wales, and a *National Service Guide* that contained information on the various branches of service. The committees continued the model of promotion established by the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee and the short-lived Ministry of National Service in 1917-18,[42] while the explanatory pamphlets or 'guides' conveyed, according to Anderson, 'a great deal of information...in language both simple and lucid'. Together, they were designed to

> stimulate interest in the whole *problem* of National Service, and to see that *impartial advice* is given to people who, after they have *studied* and digested this improved handbook,[43] are still in doubt as to what they should do; to hold the *balance* fair between the different services; to remove *misunderstandings* and suspicions; and generally to bring public opinion to bear on the *working* of the National Service machine.[44]

Envisioning national service as a 'problem' that required a 'solution' allowed the government to present its promotional work as an exercise in impartiality. Misunderstandings would be corrected, and by informing citizens of their duties both the handbook and the NSCs would ensure a suitable public response. Nine separate government departments and the various local authorities would be involved in recruitment, with the three Service ministries also setting up dedicated 'in-house' recruiting departments.[45] The HO, which had traditionally overseen matters of domestic security, would organise ARP, a series of interconnected services that included first aid, evacuation, chemical decontamination, fire fighting and bomb disposal. It passed responsibility for these services to local authorities, and after a dispute over funding agreed to subsidise the majority of expenses incurred. The Ministry of Health would preside over the St. John's Ambulance Brigade, St. Andrew's Ambulance Corps and the British Red Cross Society, each of which was recognised as a separate branch of national service. The MOL, on the other hand, had control over matters related to the acquisition of wartime resources and materials, and set to work compiling a register of reserved occupations that would be circulated alongside the Guide in the spring of 1939. The same

department was also tasked with any 'general publicity' the campaign required, which in effect meant anything that promoted national service as a whole rather than with reference to a specific service or branch. The three Service departments, finally, would recruit for their respective reserve and auxiliary forces, including the Royal Naval Voluntary Reserve, the Army Supplementary Reserve and the Royal Air Force Volunteer Reserve.[46]

Bringing together so many different institutions for a single recruiting campaign required a degree of administrative skill, most of which appears to have been proffered by Anderson[47] and Brown's deputy secretary, Sir Humbert Wolfe. A poet and a playwright Wolfe was, by any measure, an unusual civil servant.[48] Yet his penchant for the arts did not appear to dampen his enthusiasm for bureaucracy. By February 1939, less than three months after the campaign had first been mentioned in Parliament, a Central National Service Committee (CNSC) sat in the MOL above the local National Service Committees (NSCs) and alongside a National Service Department which had been given the task of implementing the recommendations of the central Committee.[49] Together, these institutions acted like a giant production house churning out advertising and public relations and organising a series of elaborate 'events' designed to generate news coverage. The First World War had witnessed similarly expansive measures to stimulate recruitment, but the variety of the positions on offer and the fact that it called for both women and men, distinguished national service from the campaigns for Kitchener's Armies. Celebrating this variety to its readers, a *Times* editorial made a 'supreme recommendation' for all Britons to join up, citing the interests of 'peace-loving and liberty-loving people'.[50] However, not all observers were quite so enthusiastic.

Launching a devastating attack on the composition of NSCs in the House of Commons, the MP Arthur Greenwood claimed the latter organisations reflected an 'order of priority': 'the Service interests first, the local authorities [second], local employment committees [third] and then, as a sop to this side of the House, Labour'. Supposedly 'representative' of the local areas they operated in, NSCs would contain representatives of the relevant recruiting departments, local authorities, local employment committees and certain trades unions. But they would be *led* by Mayors, Lords-Lieutenants and Chairmen and Chairwomen of county councils. Suggesting this amounted to a democratic deficit which undermined the very principles of national service outlined by the government, Greenwood claimed a 'movement directed from the top by a handful of people with honorific titles and wearing fancy uniforms'

failed to embrace what he called the 'democratic movements of this country'. The campaign for national service should rather be organised 'overwhelmingly [by] those who can *speak for* the masses of the people', a reference not to the masses themselves, but to the party Greenwood himself represented: Labour.[51]

The struggle to define what national service meant and how it was organised was short-lived, however, as Chamberlain's government continued with its plans to mobilise a citizen 'army' regardless of opposition or dissent. The NSCs, the CNSC and the National Service Department would cultivate a sense of national identity and belonging that would encourage citizens to do their part 'for the country'. However, what that country stood for varied according to where one sat in the political arena, in the House of Commons and elsewhere. As Angus Calder has argued, the state might have presented a picture of national unity and togetherness during the war to bolster Britain's chances of defeating Germany, but many of the old prejudices and inequalities within British society remained.[52] Despite being offered jobs in the Land Army, munitions factories and in parts of the armed forces, women entered and exited the war on less pay and with fewer rights than their male counterparts.[53] The working class, though they made up the bulk of the armed forces and industrial and agricultural labour, disturbed but did not disrupt the established class hierarchy.[54]

In light of these material inequalities, it is not surprising that attempts were made to present national service as a collectivist endeavour that involved all quarters of British society. Recruiters themselves seemed to be aware of the importance of portraying the campaign as an embodiment of classless unity. The 'good will of Labour', Wolfe said in a meeting in his office a few days after Anderson's speech, was an 'obvious' requirement, as was 'special publicity for women's services'.[55] How mass and interpersonal media were utilised to create this publicity, and how different sections of the population were appealed to, will form the basis of the remainder of this chapter.

National Service and the Mass Media: Films, Newspapers and Broadcast Media

As the main engines of recruitment promotion, the CNSC and the National Service Department were responsible for much of the publicity considered in this chapter. The first of these bodies was comprised of representatives from various recruiting authorities, the Treasury, the Stationary Office and the Post Office,[56] and was attended by 'Special Officers' elected to represent local NSCs. For logistical purposes, the United Kingdom had been

divided into 12 separate recruiting regions, each of which was presided over by a Special Officer who liaised with the NSCs located in those regions and subsequently presented their progress on recruitment to the Central National Service Committee.[57] Separating Britain into regions allowed central control to be maintained without sacrificing a local presence on the ground, a prerequisite for a campaign that required recruits from all over the country for services that were also diversely situated.

On February 21st 1939, a meeting was called in the MOL to discuss how the Guide and the NSCs could be complemented by an 'intensive [recruitment] campaign'.[58] The belief in the efficacy of 'intensive' promotion had been expressed before. In correspondence between Anderson and E. T. Crutchley, a public relations official who had a made a name for himself working under Sir Stephen Tallents at the Post Office,[59] mention was made of a 'quick "red-hot" recruiting campaign' to promote ARP.[60] Crutchley's request was subsequently granted by the Treasury,[61] and although the resulting advertising was not authorised by the CNSC – it began before that body had held its first meeting – it represented one aspect of the overall campaign. Between February 15th and March 20th, a series of newspaper advertisements appeared in the national press for ARP.[62] Some of these targeted men, others women, but all played on fears of air raids and the effect they could have on loved ones, women and children. ARP, as one advertisement (see figure thirteen) put it,

> is going forward splendidly. But there is a difficulty. It is some mysterious power referred to by people as "they".
> "They" will see to it that there is no war. "They" will come round at once if the house is set on fire. "They" will bandage me if I'm hurt...
> There is no such thing as "they". No longer, as in days gone by, can you leave the protecting of your home to soldiers and warships. In an emergency, your family doctor, your local Fire-Brigade, may have their hands too full to "come at once".
> There is no "they" today.
> There is only "you".[63]

Portraying national service as the last line of defence in war, as the institution on which 'rests the safety of yourself and your family',[64] became a key theme in the ARP newspaper advertisements which warned of the dangers of modern war and targeted different sections of the population accordingly. Women were asked to serve as nurses, cooks, ambulance drivers and guardians of children, while men were compelled to join up as firemen, stretcher-carriers

and as part of bomb disposal teams. Since 'modern war' did not 'discriminate between civilian and solder; between men, women, [and] children', all were asked to 'work-in' with others'.[65]
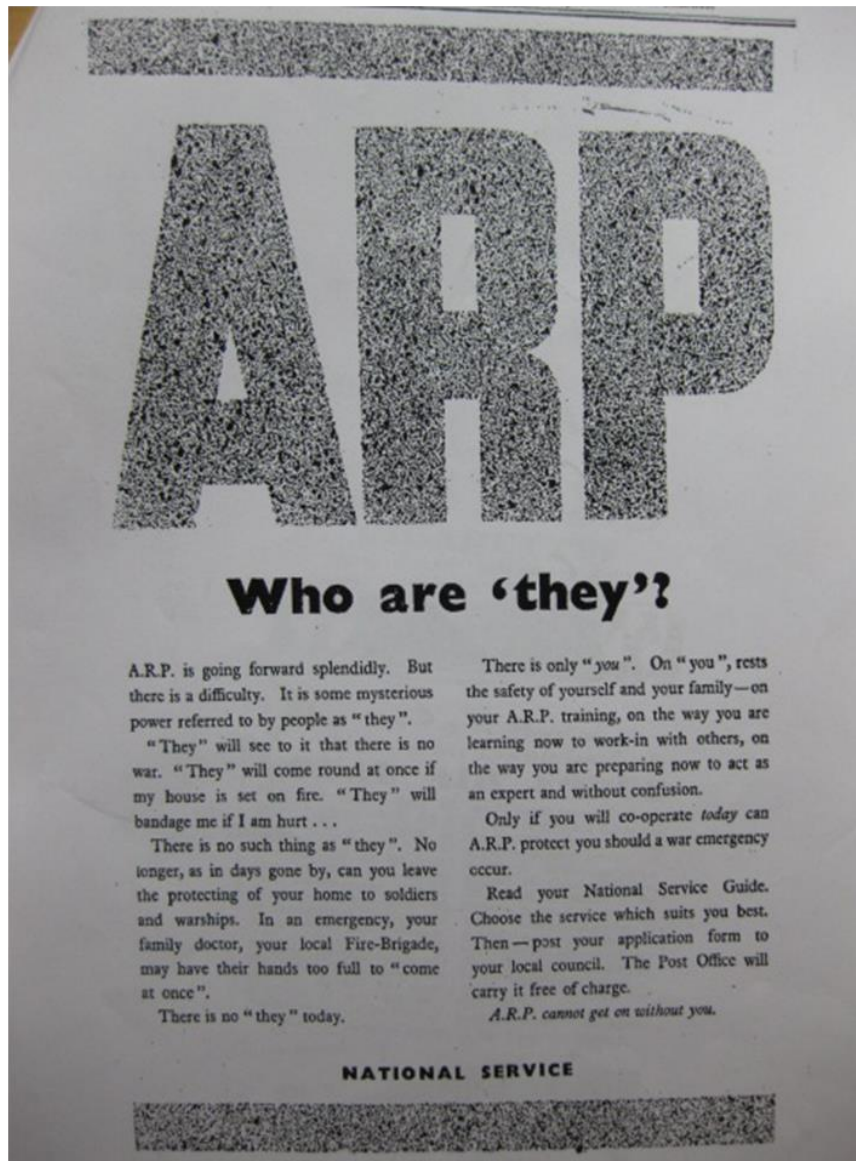
Figure Thirteen

A civil defence newspaper advertisement, this image appeared in many of the British national newspapers in February 1939.

A promotion for Air-Raid Precautions, it was part of the larger campaign for 'National Service'. Presenting civil defence as a subject that needed to be mastered by 'expert' citizens, it emulated the conventions of news writing by dividing the copy into columns and by describing civil defence in short sentences.

With their colossal circulations the newspapers of the 1930s were the medium of choice for advertisers both corporate and governmental.[66] Yet they were not the only medium appropriated for the purposes of recruitment. Posters were draped on commercial hoardings, on government buildings and in places of interest such as Trafalgar Square; placards and hanging cards were distributed to recruiting offices and to those shops that would display them; leaflets, pamphlets and the *Guide* were distributed by hand at recruitment meetings, in recruiting offices and at rallies; stickers were prepared for government vehicles such as Royal Mail post vans; films and newsreels were produced to be displayed at cinemas; and the BBC

was lobbied to include material in its programming. Each of medium was discussed separately by the CNSC, which sought to coordinate the different strands of publicity in accordance with the ideas it had about their respective merits, the requirements of the relevant recruiting departments and the cost and feasibility of production.[67]

In the discussion on film, for example, a great deal of time was spent exploring the problems of distribution and exhibition peculiar to that medium. The Film Unit of the Empire Marketing Board and its successor at the Post Office had produced scores of official documentary films during the 1920s and 1930s, some of which had been critical and commercial successes.[68] But the market for films was driven by feature (that is, fiction) films, and short of forcing exhibitors to display 'factual' national service texts the CNSC could do little to get their films into cinemas. Government quotas introduced in the 1920s-1930s to curb the influx of foreign, mostly American films had been a disaster, and did not endear cinema owners – organised into regional chains or 'circuits' – to the government.[69] The campaign's flagship text, *The Warning* (1939), which contained a message by Anderson was nevertheless screened in cinemas up and down the country.[70]

Problems associated with distribution were not isolated to film. On May 5th, NSCs in 'most areas' had expressed in 'emphatic terms' their disappointment at not receiving, or receiving late, many different kinds of poster. According to Special Officers, continuous shortages and complaints were noted 'everywhere' while some regions had yet to receive their 'initial supply of posters', to say nothing of the more recent productions.[71] The Stationary Office, which produced various types of printed publicity on behalf of the government, claimed millions of posters had already been distributed but that mix-ups in correspondence between various parties had created problems.[72] One such incident occurred when Shell-Mex, a major corporate advertiser in the interwar years,[73] had offered to lend its hoardings to national service only for production to be delayed and the window for display lost.[74] Another setback centred on misplaced supplies. Posters were delivered by post, train or van, but the possibility that some had been lost in transit led to concerns about over-production. Special Officers were adamant that 'posters were still required for effective sites', although one official queried whether posters were being 'effectively used'.[75]

Recruitment advertising was not a straightforward affair, and the CNSC and the National Service Department did not simply produce advertisements and send them to distributers or

exhibiters. Advertisements, rather, needed to suit the requirements of the media they appeared in, and any publicity conveyed in the BBC would also need to be adapted to suit the conventions of the broadcaster. At a CNSC meeting, Frere Reeves, the MOL's Director of Public Relations, claimed the government would need to adapt its promotion to suit the news values of the Corporation. Listing examples of potential 'stories' involving national service that could be presented to audiences as 'news', he claimed '"black outs"…demolition of old houses involving demonstrations of ARP units…special mass meetings of employers to stimulate recruitment…[and] statistics of enrolment position in any town of exceptional interest' would appeal to the programme makers.[76]

At the same time, according to the government's owns records the Corporation had 'offered' its services freely to the Lord Privy Seal and the Minister of Labour at the beginning of the campaign, an offer that Wolfe welcomed with open arms. The BBC's capacity to reach so many people simultaneously was of 'very great value', Wolfe claimed, 'and every endeavour should be made to take full advantage of the opportunity afforded'.[77] By March 24th, and for a three-week period until April 14th, 3-4 minute slots in the 6 o'clock and 9 o'clock news bulletins conveyed national service as a news 'story'.[78] However, though it would be tempting to characterise this publicity as another instance of government intervention in the BBC,[79] there is evidence that the BBC did not simply accede to the state's demands. Certain unnamed figures within the Corporation were apparently reluctant to display national service stories as 'news' items, and tensions between the government and the BBC's regional production teams have been recorded in some official files.[80]

Recruiting Rallies and a 'Royal Review'

The rally at the Royal Albert Hall was one of many events organised by the government to promote national service in a form different to conventional (that is, 'paid-for') advertisements. Steps were taken to incorporate ARP into the demonstrations and exhibits of the annual Empire Air Day in May. The Football Association, the governing body of the sport in England, was lobbied to include announcements at matches during the Easter period and to exhibit '[recruiting] posters prominently displayed at exits'. County Cricket Clubs were similarly petitioned to circulate appeals to spectators at their own matches. Large shopping stores were asked to establish 'information bureaux' that would allow recruiters to target female

consumers, an important demographic, and recruiting meetings organised by NSCs were held in local towns and villages as they had been in 1914-16.[81]

The attempt to 'reach' a number of people simultaneously using different channels of communication confirms yet again the conviction within government of the value of promotional saturation. The organs of the mass media played an important part in the campaign, but so too did public spectacle which was regarded as equally valuable to recruiters. As Grant has shown, the PRDs of the major ministries attached some importance to 'prestige publicity' in the 1930s, a category of promotion that included public meetings, lectures, speeches and testimonies by eminent individuals.[82] This publicity differed from the 'paid-for' publicity conveyed in newspapers and on hoardings, and from the editorial publicity carried by the BBC. On July 2nd 1939, a 'great National Service Parade and Demonstration' was arranged in London's Hyde Park, hosted by an individual the organisers felt was the most eminent of all: King George VI.[83]

Judging by the coverage the event received in the national press, 'prestige publicity' was a clear success. The *Times*, using familiar terminology, described the rally as evidence of a 'Citizen Army of Defence' comprised of men and women 'whose love of country has moved them to devoting energy and leisure to making sure of its defences'. 'Many Hyde Park Demonstrations have been held on Sunday afternoons', the article continued, 'but never has there been one more memorable than that of yesterday…where [others] were sectional, this one was eloquently expressive of complete national unity'.[84] Describing national service as a 'Fourth Arm' of the military, the *Manchester Guardian* claimed inquiries to recruiting booths set up in the park had been received 'at about a rate of a hundred a minute'.[85] The *Daily Mirror*, finally, devoted part of its front page, part of page 5 and a double page spread on pages 14-15 to the story. 'It was a spectacle never before seen in British history', a special correspondent said, 'thousands of spectators went home knowing that the civilian army of to-day is all right'.[86] So impressed with the event was the *Daily* Mirror, indeed, that it concluded with a rallying cry of its own concerning Britain's voluntary 'spirit':

> Britain and the peace-loving nations that are her friends are being assailed with threats…with insults…with outpourings of hate…by men who boast that they rely on deed, not words. And Britain answers in the spirit in which she has always answered such threats…the spirit of voluntary service.[87]

If the object of public relations is to generate favourable coverage in the news media, the government seemed quite adept at it. Putting aside the responses of the press, however, it is worth stressing the degree to which officials sought to shape the ways in which the rally was presented to the public. A detailed 'order of march' was worked out and subsequently sent to King George VI, who saluted each branch as they passed the 'Royal Dais' at the centre of the park. Badges and helmets were supplied for all ARP staff who, unlike the other branches of national service, marched in civilian dress. A Guard of Honour for the monarchs was stationed directly in front of the dais, while uniformed and plainclothes policemen were positioned throughout the area. Armed troops of the Territorial Army lined the route from Hyde Park Corner to Grosvenor Square, and the Army also sent mechanised infantry units on motorcycles, trucks and armoured personnel vehicles to take part in the procession. The Air Ministry launched six balloons into the skies above the park, and a 'massed band' from the Brigade of Guards provided music throughout the day that was broadcast on loudspeakers erected on a series of large scaffolding towers.[88]

The event was, in a word, a meticulously planned extravaganza. Making use of military symbolism and iconography and the (believed) prestige of the royal family, it was designed according to one official to 'stimulate' recruitment by showing '[what] this country can achieve, and has achieved, upon a voluntary basis'.[89] Both in the pre-rally publicity and in the speeches delivered on the day, the principles of voluntarism were continually stressed and contrasted with the approaches of Britain's continental 'neighbours'. Yet conscription had already been enforced in Britain by the time troops began to march down the East Carriage Drive, and would be extended to a large proportion of the population within a year of the rally taking place.[90] Such paradoxes were lost in the speeches and the coverage of the event, however, which presented national service as a symbol of civic responsibility, national unity and collective sacrifice that came from the *ground up.* In this way it concealed how the campaign had been organised and orchestrated by a handful of civil servants and a retired Army general working in Whitehall.[91]

Recruiting Meetings and the Women's Voluntary Services

Recruiting rallies of the kind pursued in Hyde Park on July 2nd 1939 represented major, albeit exceptional events. A more frequent occurrence during the months January-July was the recruiting meeting, a form of promotion that may have originated during the First World War

under the auspices of the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee. Unlike major rallies, meetings were not driven by lavish displays of public spectacle. Their appeal was based rather on the peculiar charm that came from holding a national political event in a town hall, a local pub or another place of interest.[92] Using orators either known to the audience or of some local or national significance, they were designed to bring the subject of national service to places usually far removed from Westminster.

NSCs again played a part in organising these events, and were offered a rota of speakers compiled by the Parliamentary Secretary of the MOL Alan Lennox-Boyd.[93] Since they specialised in public oratory, politicians may have seemed a natural choice for the role of recruiting speaker, a role they had played before, with some notoriety, during the Great War.[94] Yet they were not the only figures on Lennox-Boyd's list. Chosen specifically because of their sex, women were appointed to give talks on the subject of ARP and other services that targeted female applicants. The body that provided these speakers, Women's Voluntary Services, was established in 1938 after a request by the HO.[95] However, while it prized itself on being 'representative' of women's interests',[96] Women's Voluntary Services was markedly undemocratic, as the historian James Hinton has shown, partly because of its hierarchical structure and partly because of the kinds of women (who included the Dowager Marchioness of Reading Stella Issacs) who sat on its Advisory Council.[97]

Nevertheless, like other forms of recruitment for national service these features of the campaign were concealed, or at least obscured, by the promotion itself. In a document sent to all speakers issuing them 'instructions', women were told to 'avoid politics' and 'not to be drawn into political discussions'[98] to give the impression the campaign was apolitical. In additional instructions delivered to speakers in the form of a speech delivered in Montagu House, Whitehall, women were told that national service transcended 'all questions of party policy and party tactics'. Using the same language that Brown and Anderson used in the House of Commons, and the same language that infiltrated the newspaper magazines that would appear in press advertisements, members of Women's Voluntary Services were told that national service was a product of 'centuries' of history.

> You know the spirit of our people – you know the determination to preserve our heritage of liberty – handed down from past centuries; our nation has always commanded willing service. Remember the eager response, nearly twenty five years ago, to the call which then came – we have no doubt that freely given service will

once again speedily make our defences secure. But the essential condition is that people should be convinced that what is at stake is the preservation of their country, of their homes, of their families: and that can only be guaranteed by fully manned defence services trained *now*.[99]

Recruiters were employed to make compelling appeals to the public, but they were also, as these instructions illustrate, appealed to themselves. Attempts to control the precise meaning and tone of promotion, to manipulate what national service meant and how it was presented in the news media, suggested senior officials were eager to impose their own values on the concept of civil defence. The MOI performed a similar function during the war, but what distinguished that body's work from that of the campaign for national service was the apparent ease with which the official message was accepted and repeated by some journalists. Whereas the MOI became legendary for its cumbersome dealings with Fleet Street,[100] the campaign for national service seems to have been so successful it passed without causing much controversy or scandal. This may serve to explain why so few historians have devoted attention to it, but it should not distract from the significance of the campaign itself or the many and varied attempts made to 'encourage, inspire and guide'.

Conclusion: National Service, Media Effects and a 'People's War'

Mulling over the progress of the campaign for national service shortly after the July rally, Anderson suggested that there could be 'no doubt that as a result of the effort which has been made during the last six months, the idea of National Service has been firmly established in the minds of people throughout the country'.[101] Another official, writing shortly before the rally, claimed recruiters 'shall have a very fine story to tell of the success of our voluntary effort' by the 'time the King takes the March past on 2nd July'.[102] To both individuals, the campaign of 1938-39 was nothing short of a roaring success, and even though they could offer no proof that it was a success that could be attributed directly to *their* efforts they were more than willing to take credit for the mobilisation. In the House of Commons in mid-July, Anderson declared himself thoroughly satisfied with the campaign he had helped to organise: 'we are all proud', he maintained, of the public response 'to the call to National Service'.[103] Though it is difficult to find concrete figures – one historian has suggested that just shy of 1.7 million individuals volunteered for ARP, the Women's Voluntary Services, and Auxiliary Fire Service; another has proposed that ARP alone attracted a million recruits[104] – it is clear that a

response did occur, and that the numbers involved were equivalent to, though not quite so large as, those witnessed in the opening stages of the Great War.

Since recruiters publicised the subject of national service, directed individuals to recruiting depots, and gave them (via the *National Service Guide*) the requisite information to make a choice about which branch or service to join, it would be unkind not to recognise the part they played in the mobilisation. Yet it would be equally unkind, to the men and women who came forward in their hundreds and thousands, to regard their allegiance to the concept of civil defence as something that had been 'established' by recruiters over the course of a few months. There was in Britain in the 1930s a genuine fear of war that transcended the pronouncements of politicians and civil servants and predated the government's campaign for national service by many years. This was, as Overy has argued, a 'morbid' age characterised by fears of racial or genetic deterioration, slow economic decline and public anxiety about the prospect of another world war.[105] Pacifist movements sprung up in an attempt to stave off conflict between European nations, and there was even in the 1920s and 1930s a 'remarkably widespread enthusiasm' for an international air police force that would ensure no nation could attack another 'from above'.[106] The attack on Guernica in 1937 shattered any illusions that European citizens would be safe from the widely-prophesised 'knock-out blow', and after Hitler continued his antagonistic posturing in the wake of the Munich Crisis it is likely that many Britons considered war a foregone conclusion. For those too old to serve in the conventional armed forces or disbarred for reasons of sex or health, enlisting in the eleven branches of civil defence set up to protect Britain from invasion, whether aerial or sea-borne, may have seemed a sensible response to the acceleration of hostilities on the continent.

However, while a general recognition of the importance of defence or (to use a term favoured by recruiters) 'preparation' may explain why so many Britons answered the call to national service, it only tells half the story. Behind all the promotion lay an extremely well organised and well developed recruitment machinery that extended across the major departments of the state to the arms of local government. PRDs, staffed with their own promotional experts, liaised with NSCs set up in every borough and county borough in Britain, and with the CNSC housed in the MOL. Committees, as we have seen, can be traced to the First World War, but the development of PRDs represented a new development in the history of military advertising that warrants attention. In 1913-19, many of the departments involved in recruiting

did not possess the machinery to produce large-scale advertising campaigns themselves, and so turned to the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee and to the Caxtons Publishing House for expertise (see chapter four). At the tail-end of the 1930s, the same problem did not exist, as all the major departments of state employed public relations officials, press officers and advertisers skilled in various fields of media production. The contributions of these individuals, as Grant has shown, have tended to be written out of the historiography of propaganda, which has reserved space only for the pre-war planning of the Ministry of Information or the development of propaganda as a diplomatic tool to be used to gain strategic alliances in discussions of the interwar years.[107] Yet the campaign for national service demonstrates that the government, despite lacking a single, centralised propaganda agency, did possess the means to 'manufacture' consent. Whether it succeeded in convincing British citizens that national service would strengthen the bonds between citizens and ensure an equality of sacrifice – that is, that national service would form the basis of a 'people's war' – is impossible to say in the absence of evidence. What can be demonstrated, however, is that the government to steps to improve its information-gathering machinery shortly after the campaign for national service, and it is to that subject that we now turn.

Chapter Seven

Social Survey and the Rise of 'Publicity in Reverse': Military Advertising, Opinion Polls and the Construction of Public Opinion, 1940-60

> A tea-tester spends his life sampling; the analyst will condemn a water supply by testing a few drops; the doctor will pronounce on a patient's blood after examining only 1/25th of a cubic meter. The taking of samples and the drawing of deductions concerning the whole is recognised as a valid process when applied to the inanimate world. Is it also valid when applied to human beings?[1]
>
> Political and Economic Planning, 1946

When war finally did arrive, for Britain on September 3rd 1939 but for Poland (and Germany) on September 1st, there was no repeat of the farcical scenes of August 1914. In place of unbridled enthusiasm, as Michael Paris has argued, came a 'sombre mood of grim determination overshadowed by the expectation of an immediate air attack by the Luftwaffe'.[2] The campaign for Air-Raid Precautions had continually warned of just such an attack, and of the eleven branches of civil defence recruited the largest number of civilians in order to repel it.[3] Since most Britons were aware of the destructive power of modern aeroplanes – their use in Abyssinia in 1935 and Spain in 1937 had seen to that[4] – it is perhaps unsurprising that gusto was replaced with a mixture of fear and anxiety. Mothers and children were evacuated from cities in what Juliet Gardener has called the 'largest mass movement in British history'; theatres and cinemas were shut for fear that they would make attractive targets for German bombers; and even the fledgling BBC Television was taken off the air.[5] Unlike 1914, the government had prepared 'methodically for a long war from the start', and contrary to the Great War it had seen fit to enforce conscription from the outset.[6] It had also, however, taken steps to centralise all official communications under a single ministry: another 'lesson', Angus Calder suggests, drawn from the experience of the previous war[7] and an indication of the awareness within government of the need to control and manage channels of communication.

The Ministry of Information (MOI) oversaw no massive recruitment drives of the kind witnessed in 1914 and 1915, although it did play a significant role in recruiting for the various industries assigned to produce war materials.[8] Among a string of new departments created especially for the war, the MOI was designed to coordinate government communications and

censorship in the manner of its First World War namesake.[9] On a functional level, there was little to distinguish the 1918 and 1939-45 Ministries of Information: both had been formed to try to monitor and manipulate public opinion, and each was envisaged as a means of providing a greater degree of executive control over the various channels of communication established by the state from 1914 onwards.[10] Yet there were some differences in the ways in which each institution went about its work. The Second World War MOI, for a start, circulated no stories of Germans grinding down corpses to make pig food, a type of 'propaganda' that had been widely discredited during the interwar years.[11] While its 'propaganda' (or misinformation) was not necessarily more subtle – a series of early blunders exposed the department to widespread and lasting ridicule[12] – it was generally less hostile towards German '*kultur*'. Furthermore, though the Political Intelligence Division of the First World War MOI had been concerned with the state of public opinion throughout the world,[13] its Second World War counterpart, the Home Intelligence Unit, was formed expressly to examine fluctuations of public opinion at home, and to monitor the spread and diffusion of wartime resources requisitioned by the state.

As the campaign for 'National Service' demonstrated (see chapter six), the examination of public opinion represented both a troubling and a perplexing subject to those charged with prosecuting the war. Wary of a repeat of the 'seasons of discontent' witnessed in 1917-18 (see chapter five),[14] steps were taken to ensure the government could respond to any change in national feeling by proactively seeking, and subsequently analysing, public opinions.[15] In the latter stages of the Great War, this work centred on gauging public opinion via the press, and specifically via the press barons whose ownership of newspapers was deemed equivalent to a special grasp or comprehension of mass feeling and sentiment.[16] During the Second World War, new techniques were developed and applied. In the spring of 1940, the survey organisation Mass Observation (MO) was appointed by the government to compile reports on home morale, and in the same year the Wartime Social Survey was formed to act as the government's own pollster.[17] These organisations adopted contrasting approaches towards the study of public opinion, and their epistemological differences may explain why MO, rather than Social Survey, has attracted an abundance of scholarly attention. Whereas the Survey treated public opinion as something that could be measured with statistical precision, MO adopted a more reflective and open-ended approach to researching British society that drew from the first-hand accounts of its voluntary 'observers'.[18]

The accounts of these 'observers' have added colour and depth to social histories of the war, but the work of Social Survey can also aid historians interested in how public opinion was isolated, defined and measured by individuals connected to the state. Social Survey provides a wealth of information on official attitudes towards public opinion, and in those studies that specifically concern official publicity offers a revealing insight into how advertisers and public relations officials viewed and understood their work. From 1941 until 1945, a number of surveys were produced to explore various aspects of government communications.[19] The MOI, for instance, commissioned a survey into the public reception of its films in 1941, while an investigation into the efficacy of an 'information campaign' for diphtheria immunisation was carried out on behalf of the Ministry of Health in 1942. Apart from a 1943 study into war workers' transport difficulties carried out at the behest of the Ministry of Supply, the Service departments did not order any enquiries into their publicity during the war,[20] but they did become regular users of surveys and opinion polls in the postwar era after Social Survey was transferred to the Central Office of Information (COI) in 1946 (see chapter eight). Between 1947 and 1960, no less than six surveys were commissioned into different aspects of military advertising. As with the literature on the Wartime Social Survey, little is known about these surveys or the impact they had (or did not have) on the recruitment process.[21]

This chapter explores how Social Survey came into being during the war years, and how its approach to monitoring public opinion was applied to matters of military recruitment in the postwar era. Emphasising the historical, institutional and methodological origins of the Survey, it explores the relationship its research shared to other practices and ideas prevalent in Britain at the time. Crucial to this approach is a recognition of the importance of the *context* within which Social Survey operated, and the distinct methodology or methodologies it developed to try to isolate and define public opinion. Encouraging a form of 'publicity in reverse' that provided a 'source of information about what people are thinking and doing',[22] it was designed to aid government departments eager to understand how the electorate responded to their activities and policies. In the case of military recruitment, this reverse 'publicity' involved asking respondents to questionnaires, polls and surveys what they felt about military service, how they viewed military advertising, and what recommendations they had for improving existing recruiting arrangements. Comparable to the research carried out by commercial advertising agencies,[23] military surveys were designed to survey, categorise and interpret public opinion. Regarded by their practitioners as instruments of 'scientific'[24]

measurement, they were assimilated into the broader process of producing advertisements and became part of the promotional field within which military recruiters operated.

Publicity 'in Reverse': Theorising the History of Social Survey

Before exploring how publicity 'in reverse' was applied to military advertising, it is necessary to consider how Social Survey came into being. A number of historians have commented on the organisation in general accounts of the wartime home front, with both Angus Calder and Paul Addison acknowledging the importance of the Survey (along with MO and the Gallup Poll) in establishing new ways of communicating with the public.[25] Yet while their accounts have helped to place Social Survey within the broader context of the war, they have left several important questions about the work of the Survey unanswered. Both Calder and Addison, for example, have suggested that the work of Social Survey represented a more 'systematic' form of opinion-gathering than the techniques used by earlier governments, but neither author has examined the system behind this work in any detail or demonstrated how Social Survey 'systemised' earlier practices.[26] There has been virtually no commentary, furthermore, on the methodology and epistemology behind Social Survey, with most historians content to cite the results of individual surveys without considering how these surveys were produced, who produced them and with what intentions.

By exploring not only the emergence of Social Survey but the distinct methodologies and epistemologies it pioneered, a more comprehensive picture of how it went about its work can be given. As we shall see, government polling came about because of a confluence of influences and pressures. Though it was formed to deal with the specific problems created by the war, the Survey drew from techniques and practices pioneered in the world of commercial opinion polling, and also came about because of a connection to a major British university and a particular tradition of intellectual enquiry. To its adherents, Social Survey provided a distinctly 'scientific' method of analysing public opinion that mapped the shifting contours of public opinion with forensic precision. However, following the work of Herbert Blumer, Jurgen Habermas and Justine Lewis it is possible to regard polls not as 'scientific' instruments but as indices of social practice.[27] In this section, the various influences and pressures that combined to create publicity 'in reverse' will be discussed. Beginning with an analysis of the emergence of Social Survey and the difficulties it faced during its formative years, it continues by examining the influence of both commercial opinion polling and the science of statistics as

conveyed in academia. Since all three topics are crucial for understanding how military surveys were themselves produced – it was during the war that the 'sampling method' the Survey specialised in was developed – they will be explored in some detail.

<u>Controversies, 'Facts' and Opinions: The Emergence of Social Survey, 1940-45</u>

When Social Survey was formed in the spring of 1940 it was not intended as a means of examining public opinion, but rather the allocation of certain wartime materials.[28] Overseen by the National Institute for Economic and Social Research, the majority of its executive staff had been drawn from the London School of Economics, an academic lineage that helps to explain how the body approached its work. Its director, professor Arnold Plant, was an economist in the mould of the liberals of the 18th century, a man who had made a name for himself studying the impact of state controls on labour in pre-Apartheid South Africa. Known for his *laissez-faire* views, Plant was once described by Harold Macmillan as a disciple of a 'hard boiled…free Capitalism',[29] and seems an unusual choice for a post concerned predominantly with monitoring the use of national resources. If his appointment suggested a narrow concern with economies of expenditure, however, it was not long before the Survey was involved in matters considerably more controversial. Two crises, one in 1940 and another a year later, propelled the Survey into the world of public opinion polling, set the tone for its future research, and shaped the ways in which its work was presented to the public.

On July 27th, 1940, the *Daily Herald* published an article accusing the Survey of spying on British citizens. Its source, an unnamed MP,[30] had apparently told reporters that canvassers working for the Survey were instructed to 'listen in' to public conversations to gauge home morale. The technique of 'listening in' had been borrowed from MO, whose claim to offer a 'science of ourselves' mirrored the rhetoric of the Survey,[31] and suggested polls were designed to investigate more than just economic affairs. Indeed, while it had been overseen by the National Institute for Economic and Social Research, Social Survey was subsequently moved to the offices of the MOI sometime between March and May 1940.[32] According to one official writing shortly after the war, the latter department had expressed an interest in establishing its own 'survey unit' to monitor the 'impact of Government advertising and...investigate home morale',[33] and had created the Home Intelligence Unit under the aegis of the broadcaster Mary Adams to oversee it.[34] Adams, who provided the Cabinet with daily updates on the state of home morale during the Blitz, borrowed from MO the technique of

employing anonymous 'observers' to eavesdrop on and record public conversations, but envisaged the Survey as a repository of more statistical (that is, quantitative) information.[35]

The technique of 'observing', and the furtive approach to opinion-gathering it required, aroused suspicion in the press, and by the end of July the original *Herald* story had snowballed into a minor crisis. Duff Cooper, the minister responsible, was called to the House of Commons to defend what had become known, in journalistic parlance at least, as 'Cooper's snoopers', and government polling was in this way implicated in a wider debate on the role of the state in wartime. One MP, responding to Cooper's assertion that the Survey was merely attempting to understand the wants, needs and beliefs of the people, queried whether that function was best left to politicians who, as the nation's elected representatives, were naturally best placed to 'represent' public opinion. Another, suggesting the work of the Survey was nothing less an affront to civil liberties, claimed its tactics were perilously close to those of a certain, well-known continental police force, and that such behaviour could not be tolerated in a war fought against totalitarianism.[36] Cooper, who opted to defend the Survey rather than deny the allegations, claimed his department aided the democratic process by 'keep[ing the government] as closely in touch as possible with public opinion'.[37] Polls, in other words, allowed politicians to govern *by* opinion, an admirable ideal few were willing to contest even if there were no guarantees the state would actually *listen* to what it was told.

Cooper's defence seemed to satisfy Parliament, and by the end of August the controversy had all but died down. Within a year, however, Social Survey was once again mired in controversy, this time over budgeting. How much a department cost and whether its work could be considered beneficial to the war effort had been a sensitive issue since the infamous 999 staff affair, which centred on the MOI's supposedly extravagant staffing,[38] and a Select Committee on Expenditures was called to review the operations of the Survey and, crucially, its methods. In a report released the following year, the committee acknowledged the 'essential service' and 'useful work' performed by Social Survey, but recommended that it should be restricted to 'factual' rather than 'opinion'-based enquiries, a judgement that effectively ruled out investigations of home morale.[39]

Confining the Survey to 'factual' research gave it a semblance of objectivity, but it did not presage a new era in opinion polling or a new kind of 'factual' poll. Opinions, on the contrary, were still sought after the recommendations of the Select Committee had been endorsed in

February 1942. Within a month of that date, the Ministry of Labour and National Service had commissioned a study into the attitudes of women towards conscription, and by 1943 the MOI had itself authorised a poll into the audiences of its publicity and their newspaper-reading habits.[40] Making Social Survey available to other departments represented a watershed moment in its history. Used exclusively by the MOI, publicity 'in reverse' could be applied only to those problems or issues that confronted its home department, but it took on a new lease of life when it was made available to other ministries. These 'clients' liaised with Social Survey as an 'allied service agency', which is to say they commissioned surveys with the prior approval of the Treasury,[41] and used it for reasons that varied from study to study and department to department. The Ministry of Works was interested in matters of housing and accommodation, for instance, while the Ministry of Transport studied road safety.[42] From 1942 until 1945, Social Survey was responsible for more than a hundred 'factual' enquiries of this kind. As the war rumbled on, its list of clients grew: from the Ministry of Food to the Treasury, to the Board of Trade to the Ministry of Education. The expansion of its work owed something to the expansion of the state during the war, which assumed control of the bulk of domestic industry and exerted a powerful influence on everyday life through the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act.[43] Yet it also revealed shifting conceptions of the nature of public opinion in the upper echelons of government. According to Calder, before 1939 the 'old gentlemanly notion that the Government was doing all right if the habitués of London clubs approved of it' had provided Westminster with its 'connection' to mass opinion.[44] Another technique favoured by politicians was reading the editorials of popular newspapers and 'inferring' popular opinion accordingly – a practice, as Addison has noted, that did not so much reveal 'how many [people] read the leaders, agreed with them, or were influenced by them' as what the editor or proprietor of the relevant publication 'wanted to say'.[45]

Commercial Undercurrents: Opinion Polling as a 'Private' Practice

Commercial opinion pollsters, who claimed their research provided an accurate means of 'measuring' public opinion, afforded the government with a new and potentially fruitful method for gauging the national mood. Though surveys of one kind or another had been carried out since the 19th century, the development of modern 'systematic' polling is usually attributed to the interwar years.[46] The business historian Stefan Schwarzkopf has found evidence linking polling to the market research of the 1920s, which made use of both qualitative and quantitative research in an attempt to 'understand' (and thus better exploit) the consumer.

The advertising agency J. Walter Thompson was integral in introducing these methods as a service for its clients, but by the 1930s a number of purpose-built agencies had emerged in both Britain and the United States.[47] As Gerben Bakker's case study on Hollywood film suggests, the 'growing need for market information' within the film industry led to the adoption of 'newly available research techniques', with questionnaires and surveys used to explore both cinema-going habits and the popularity of film stars.[48]

If polls contained a utility for corporations, they were also valued by journalists. In 1937, two polling agencies were established in Britain with the intention of monitoring social and political rather than commercial views. Social Surveys (Gallup Poll) Limited, an organisation unrelated to Social Survey set up by the American Harry Field, was quickly followed by the British Institute of Public Opinion, a body established by Field in collaboration with Henry Durant.[49] These agencies carried out surveys for media organisations such as newspapers and newsreels, and prided themselves on 'predicting' election results by consulting cross-sections of the voting public in advance of a ballot. Newspapers found their results exceedingly useful: polls of political parties' popularity, or of the popularity of individual politicians, could form the basis of news stories and could also be used to attack those who had fallen foul of the fourth estate. Pollsters themselves rarely missed an opportunity to promote their profession or to emphasise its supposedly 'scientific' credentials. The American George Gallup, usually regarded as an industry pioneer, is reputed to have said 'I could prove God statistically',[50] and similar sentiments were expressed in Britain before the war. The British Institute of Public Opinion, an agency that would late collaborate with Social Survey and dominate the field of commercial opinion polling until the 1950s, claimed its polls, for example, allowed 'not only the man in the street, but the statesman, politician and economist [to] discover within a *few percentage points of accuracy* how opinion divides on any question of public interest'.[51]

Percentage points, accuracy, division: for pollsters public opinion was not something that arose organically in a Habermasian style rational-critical debate, but phenomena, rather, that could be traced to answers to pre-determined questions. These questions were structured in such a way as to restrict replies. Respondents might be asked, for instance, whether they liked the idea of military service, disliked it or felt no strong feelings either way. Restricting responses to questions allowed pollsters to quantify opinions: if a thousand respondents gave a thousand different answers, after all, no numerical conclusions could be drawn from the

study apart from the fact that a thousand different answers had been given. The emphasis on quantification extended beyond the polls themselves to the selection of the individuals consulted to answer them. Individuals were selected on the basis of criteria that, according to the pollsters, made them 'representative' of a wider social group or (to use the terminology of Social Survey) 'universe'.[52] Since this 'universe' could not be examined in its entirety, cross-sections of it were sought in an attempt to convey the opinions of the whole. A cross-section (or sample) was chosen to represent the views or attitudes of a particular social class, gender or profession. The responses it gave could then be extrapolated to make generalisations about the wider group, or 'universe', of which the sample was apparently a part.[53]

This approach to public opinion differed from speculative attempts to 'infer' mass sentiment from conversations in London clubs or leaders in the national newspapers, but that should not be taken as evidence that it was a more sophisticated or 'systematised' form of information gathering. In Parliament, Cooper had suggested the most reliable 'channel of information' to public opinion was 'undoubtedly Parliament' itself, because the 'elected representatives of the people' were best placed to represent the views of those people. Yet he did concede 'limits, valuable and immense as is the information which can be obtained through Members, to [their] accuracy' at monitoring public opinion.[54] The notion that polls represented a more 'accurate' alternative appealed to those who relied on public approval for their livelihoods, and it is not surprising, in retrospect, that the institutions of government showed a willingness to assimilate new-fangled methods of 'measuring' or 'monitoring' opinions that had been developed outside government.[55] The history of military advertising tells a similar story itself, and by bringing the practice of polling into government the government could afford to surreptitiously conceal the results of its investigations.

In any case, figures behind Social Survey were unequivocal that their work was based on the pioneering practices of Gallup, Field and Durant. Accounts of the Survey's work designed to inform politicians of its activities trumpeted the same '[s]ound statistical methods' that the British Institute of Public Opinion highlighted when describing its methodological bent,[56] and when Cooper defended the Survey in Parliament in 1941 he claimed his department drew inspiration from the 'newspapers and commercial firms' whose method of sampling the public preceded the Survey by 'at least thirty years'.[57] A similar defence had been made of recruitment advertising during the First World War (see chapters one and four), and when the

future of Social Survey was subjected to a Cabinet review in 1946 the use of polls by bodies like the British Institute of Public Opinion was put forward as a *raison d'etre* for continuing government polling in some form or another.[58]

The 'Science' of Statistics: Social Survey and Academia

While Social Survey made use of techniques pioneered in the commercial world, it also drew from the wellspring of British academia. Tasked with monitoring public opinion and the distribution of wartime materials, it required experts in the same way that the Services demanded laboratory scientists to commandeer their wartime 'operational research' units.[59] Whereas the 'warfare state' needed physicists, engineers and biologists in order to properly function, however, Social Survey required economists and statisticians.[60] Plant and the staff he drew from the London School of Economics were not pollsters in the traditional sense of the term, but economics graduates; and the Survey also appointed a Scientific Advisory Committee, chaired by the provost of the London School of Economics Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders, to keep it abreast of the latest developments in scientific method. Carr-Saunders, who trained as a biologist before working under the renowned statistician Karl Pearson, had fashioned a career applying modern, 'mathematical' statistics to the study of human populations. Like other early statisticians, Carr-Saunders' work hinged on eugenicist interpretations of human behaviour and evolution, and like his mentor Pearson he believed Western societies were undergoing a process of 'racial' degeneration brought about by a combination of massive population growth and low birth rates amongst the upper-classes.[61]

Social Survey does not appear to have been involved in anything quite so controversial, but it did rely on the same methodological procedures to carry out its research and appealed to the same higher authority of mathematics when asked to justify it. Both social Darwinism and public opinion polling applied mathematical models to the study of human behaviour, and both practices reified their objects of analysis, which is to say they converted abstract concepts into material things. Reification allowed eugenicists and pollsters alike to reduce complex phenomena into simple figures: intelligence could thus be condensed into a single 'quotient' that apparently defined an individual's intellectual worth, while opinions (which were by their nature diffuse, conflicted and variegated) could be consigned to unambiguous categories. Reification was a pre-requisite of ranking, and of quantification in general. By reifying opinions or attitudes, pollsters could assign a value to them on a pre-determined

scale. In eugenics, the process of ranking led to thinly veiled attacks on the poor, on women and on ethnic minorities generally, but in Social Survey its use was, with a want of a better word, 'democratic'. Those opinions which were held by the highest number of people were regarded as the most significant or portentous expressions of 'public opinion', while minority opinions, by the same token, were disregarded as 'statistically insignificant'.[62]

Searching for majority opinions gave the Survey a veneer of democratic respectability, but it is worth remembering that both the questions and the answers of surveys were determined by pollsters, *not* the public. When responding to an open-ended question, interviewees' opinions would be categorised by Survey staff; if the opinion did not fit into a pre-defined category, it would be listed under the catchall phrase 'other'. This method differed markedly from the kinds of techniques applied by MO, relying on what Pierre Bourdieu has called a 'series of epistemological and methodological procedures whose factual appearance significances a survey rationality'.[63] Expanding on Bourdieu's argument, historians might argue that Survey staff gave the *appearance* of reasoned, 'scientific' analysis, and eagerly cultivated this image whenever their methods were placed under question. In 1946, when the future of the Survey was debated by Clement Attlee's Labour government, the MOI compiled a report describing its wartime work that stressed the 'really disinterested scientific approach' the Survey took to its subject matter, and the knowledge about 'social facts' the organisation acquired.[64] This emphasis on 'facts' came to define the presentation of the government's promotional work in the postwar era, as the following chapter will demonstrate.

Yet perhaps the biggest problem associated with Social Survey was the failure to address the question of what public opinion actually *was*. Writing after the war, the American sociologist Herbert Blumer and the German philosopher Jurgen Habermas each attacked opinion pollsters for losing sight of what it is they were (in the former's words) 'supposedly seeking to study'. Blumer, who picked up on the theme of polling as a 'science', argues that since polls adopted a method of sampling the public that 'intrinsically [determined] its own objective', they conflated the object of their investigation – the study of public opinion – with its results.[65] In so doing, pollsters never addressed the crucial question of what *constitutes* public opinion. According to Habermas, public opinion was not something that could be elicited by answers to predetermined questions. Rather, it was a phenomenon that came about organically through rational-critical debate between informed citizens.[66] Could a meaningful engagement

of this nature exist in a climate of total war, when the government censored news and when even Social Survey concealed the results of its own investigations from the very people it was supposed to be 'sampling'? There is little evidence in the official files that pollsters examined these problems seriously.[67] Indeed, though criticisms of polling methodology and epistemology would be aired after the war by those unconnected to the polling establishment,[68] the Royal Statistical Society's wartime review of the Survey championed the 'very young science' it specialised in. According to the Society, polls only suffered from two difficulties: the 'danger of asking for an opinion where in the majority of cases no formed opinion exists', and 'framing opinion questions...[that] suggest an answer to the informant' or respondent.[69] The sampling method, in other words, need only pick the right respondents and structure questions in such a way as to ensure their responses were not implied by the interviewers themselves.

Social Survey in the Postwar Era: 'Sampling' the Public

When the war ended in 1945, Social Survey was among the services transferred from the MOI to the COI. The individual responsible for this decision, Herbert Morrison, had replaced Sir John Anderson as Home Secretary during the war before taking up the mantle of Lord President of the Council in the wake of Labour's general election triumph. Morrison played an important role in reforming the government's communications infrastructure, a subject that will be examined in the following chapter, and was similarly influential in shaping the future of Social Survey. The only 'doubt' that could be expressed about the Survey's post-war work, he claimed, was not whether it was accurate or useful, but whether it 'would not be enough to rely on commercial agencies to carry out such survey work as was necessary'.[70] The 'sampling method', like advertising, public relations and press relations, had established itself as an integral part of modern government, and since this method (to quote another official summarising the utility of the Survey to the government) was 'developing in the United States and in India very fast indeed', it was considered extremely 'important that we should not be left behind in this country but rather that the Survey should have highly trained statisticians capable themselves of introducing improvements and economies'.[71]

This belief explains why the Survey was continued into the postwar era, although it was agreed by the Labour government that the first two years of peacetime would function as a trial period for Social Survey after which its operations would be reviewed. That 'trial' actually

began in July 1946, and turned out to be little more than a formality, as the Survey set to work on a number of projects that confirmed its apparent usefulness to the state. A monthly digest of the economy was organised by the Board of Trade; a Survey of Sickness provided information for medical authorities and the Registrar General; and there was even a study of the recruitment publicity of the mining industry after it had struggled to attract the required number of volunteers.[72] As in 1939-45, the kinds of research Social Survey produced revealed as much about the preoccupations and problems of the state as it did about the citizens whose attitudes and opinions were sought. Like the COI, the department to which it would be attached until 1976, the Survey was implicated in the struggle to reform and reconstruct Britain, and although it lost its Scientific Advisory Committee (a decision that enjoyed the approval, incidentally, of Saunders) it retained a veneer of factual impartiality befitting an agency ostensibly concerned with the 'scientific collection of social facts'.[73]

The Military Survey: Constructing Polls and Drawing 'Conclusions'

How did the military make use of these facts, and what role did the Survey have in recruitment? Judging by the spread and frequency of surveys, they were considered useful for a number of reasons. In 1947, the same year the National Service Act was passed (see chapter eight), the Air Force commissioned a survey into the 'attitudes of young men into re-enlistment into the RAF'. Like the other Services, the Air Force was interested in targeting veterans to make up for the loss demobilised regulars, and consulted both Social Survey and the British Institute of Public Opinion (which appears to have collected the responses and tabulated them) in order to do so.[74] In 1949, at the start of the post-war civil defence recruitment campaign, the Survey was asked to draft a question on behalf of the Ministry of Health for its National Hospital Service Reserve campaign. Its authors got straight to the point, opening with following: 'Have you seen any posters, leaflets, or adverts about [civil defence]?'.[75] In the 1950s, three surveys were carried out for various departments, including one for the Ministry of Labour that explored the relationship between National Service, voluntary enlistment and civilian employment (1951) and another for the War Office exploring the main attitudes towards voluntary enlistment in 1957.[76] The previous year, the Ministry of Defence had ordered an enquiry into the publicity of all three services with the intention of seeing whether the 'attitudes' of potential recruits squared with the 'themes' of recruitment publicity, and by 1960 the Air Force had once again used the Survey to try to understand why those seemingly interested in a Service career never followed up their enquiries.[77]

Confidence in the ability of polls to 'scientifically' analyse society did not, it would be fair to say, wane in aftermath of the war,[78] and though military surveys represented an innovation of a sort when compared to work of the wartime years the methods they used did not. In place of questions on home morale and rationing came related enquiries, for example, on how many respondents 'approved' or 'disapproved' of the Services or what (out of a pre-determined list of categories) were the main 'attractions' or 'shortcomings' of military life. All the surveys examined, or aspired to examine, what drove or pulled men and women to the forces, and what drove them away from them, though they also examined subjects that were peculiar to their own time. In 1957, for instance, the same year the abolition of conscription was announced by the Macmillan government (see chapter nine), the attitudes of young men towards regular Army service became the main driver for research. In 1961, after the recruitment of children had been accelerated as part of the attempt to replenish the Services with regulars, school children who had requested information on recruitment to the Air Force but not followed up their interest represented the main problem area.[79]

Given the shortcomings associated with polling mentioned above, these enquiries might not seem significant, particularly in the context of the Survey's wartime work. However, because surveys were designed to inform policy they need to be treated seriously. It was on the basis of the results they gave that military advertisers organised future campaigns; and like the 'pitches' advertising agents gave to government departments to try to win contracts, the reports the Survey produced for its clients were promotional devices in their own right. Putting forward recommendations or 'conclusions' intended to improve existing publicity arrangements, they became part of the process of making advertising and therefore, of bringing the military to the public. These conclusions varied from study to study, and in most cases were fairly obvious. In the tri-Service report for the Ministry of Defence, for example, each Service was said to have its own 'special' appeal. The Navy attracted those who believed it offered the freedom of movement and travel and (more plausibly) the ability to go to sea; the RAF appealed to those who wanted to fly or develop a special knowledge of planes; and the Army's 'main attraction' was offering the opportunity to 'learn a trade or make a career'. Each Service was thus advised to focus on different themes in their publicity.[80]

Yet they were also sometimes shrewd. In the 1947 *Re-enlistment in the Royal Air Force* survey, the business of recruitment advertising was related specifically to the broader social

context within which recruiters worked. 'The problem of recruitment', the report's author Leslie Wilkins claimed, 'is not unique to the Armed Services' and if the 'Royal Air Force can offer terms and conditions which when compared with those offered by others competing in the labour market seem...preferable, then we may expect these men to volunteer'. Advertising, in other words, counted for little 'when few rates of payment are below the poverty line' and when 'the general level of wages [was] high'. Yet it was also important to acknowledge that men were not inclined to 'sell their services necessarily to the person or organisation which offer[ed the] most money'. The 'amount of pay received will always remain important, but it meets stronger competition from other factors when the general level of wages is high', factors that included family accommodation, job security, good conditions for advancement, social prestige, desire for self-expression and recreation.[81]

It is worth asking how Wilkins drew such a comprehensive criticism from the seemingly limited 'data' his report proffered. Though questions were asked regarding the pitfalls of Service life and the attitudes of recruits' dependents towards it, the 'general conclusions' Wilkins listed veered from the results his report presented. They also chimed with certain views espoused by economists and social scientists in the 1940s and 1950s. The notion that job satisfaction and not just remuneration determined the appeal of a given job, for example, was put forward by the management consultant Frederic Hooper at roughly the same time Wilkins released his report, and would be incorporated into the review of military recruitment examined in chapter nine. It is difficult to reconcile these views with the more circumscribed 'social facts' generated by surveys, and it is possible that Wilkins drew from his evidence a conclusion that was actually rooted in his own experiences of military recruitment rather than the evidence or 'data' his report had accumulated.

Whether Wilkins' 'general conclusions' flowed naturally from the evidence or not, however, it is important to recognise that all polls and surveys performed the important discursive function of translating the myriad tables, figures and formulae that accompanied surveys into the language of politics. Though statistics were utilised, and though the 'science' behind statistics was presented as a general framework through which recruiters could view military advertising, it was in passages of text that the results or 'general conclusions' of surveys were presented. These passages, designed to convey the 'social facts' Social Survey gathered, were intrinsically promotional, in that they were designed to convince recruiters of a particular

course of action. Feeding into broader discussions on recruiting policy, they tended to offer broadly similar 'conclusions'. Clients were often told, for example, that their promotion needed to change or 'improve' in some way; that respondents had a tendency to disbelieve military advertising (though this was often qualified with a claim that disbelief was not 'crystallised');[82] that each Service had its own peculiar shortcomings in the eyes of recruits; and that there was a fairly small number of reasons why people enlisted or did not enlist. What impact these 'conclusions' had on the process of military advertising will be discussed below.

Negotiating with Clients and Assimilating Polls into Advertising Campaigns

Of course, whether the Services actually heeded the advice of Social Survey is another matter. In the files examined during the course of this chapter, little evidence has been found connecting the work of the Survey to changes of policy. While this does not, of course, suggest policy was not affected by sampling, it does emphasise the need to treat surveys with a degree of caution. To draw a parallel with the history of commercial advertising, polls and other forms of market research were rarely regarded as authentic insights into consumers' minds, and though they were considered beneficial for clients, who desired research to provide a firm 'empirical' footing to their campaigns, they were often disregarded by creative staff, who viewed such research as an impediment to the process of constructing advertisements. The advertising scholar Jib Fowles has spoken of the tensions or 'churning dynamics' that exist between those tasked with research and those charged with developing appeals in the advertising industry, and there may have been a similar 'dynamic' at play in the interrelations between the Services and Social Survey.[83] What can be deduced from official records is a complex and nuanced interplay between the Survey and its clients that mirrored the interaction between the COI and the defence departments in matters of advertising, and was characterised by negotiation rather than unilateral decision-making.

In the only survey concerned with civil defence, for example, the Survey was called upon to complement the drive for recruits by providing 'evidence of the extent of existing public interest [in civil defence] and the desire to know more about [its] role'. Such evidence, the campaign organisers claimed, would prove 'useful in working out a theme for the [forthcoming] winter campaign', which ran from 1949 until 1950.[84] The resulting enquiry gave the advertisers evidence of 'general public opinion towards civil defence' and the 'most promising groups of the population on which recruiting publicity should be concentrated'.[85]

Apparently, only between four and seven percent of those eligible for service would be attracted to the idea of civil defence and, crucially, suited for it, and so the campaign would need to focus on those 'inclined to view Civil Defence favourably', and who picked amongst the reasons given by the pollster for joining up as 'helping to protect one's own family' and a 'sense of duty [and] patriotism' as major incentives.[86] Framing recruitment appeals in relation to families, patriotism and a sense of duty did not, as we have already seen, represent a significant departure from existing recruiting practice (see chapter six), and the Survey's recommendations did not so much revolutionise the approach taken by the Ministry of Health to recruiting as confirm it. In an advertisement released months *before* the Social Survey had completed its enquiry, 'duty' and 'patriotism' were used as the main appeals.[87]

Shortly after the civil defence campaign, another recruiting drive was organised by the Defence Publicity Committee for all three Services, and Social Survey was called upon by the Admiralty to examine what discouraged civilians from joining the Navy. Interestingly, the Admiralty had ordered an internal enquiry of its own into the reasons why current sailors enlisted, but suggested an additional enquiry overseen by the Survey to ask 'why people do *not* join the Navy' and to provide a 'very desirable compliment' to their own internal investigation.[88] Far from allowing Social Survey to carry out research on their behalf, however, Navy officials compiled a dossier for the Survey suggesting its main lines of enquiry. The dossier, which was designed to 'anticipate, so far as possible, the kinds of answer to be expected' from respondents, emulated the Survey's own techniques for measuring opinions. There were apparently four reasons why civilians did not to enlist: because they have 'not heard of the opportunities offered', have 'not heard in sufficient detail, or...in a form suitable for action', have 'heard, or believe in a general way, that the prospects are not attractive, either generally or in respect of some specific Branch or aspect of [service]', or, despite having the 'relevant information' do not view the Navy as a 'possible career for them'.[89]

Conclusion: Social Survey and the Construction of Public Opinion

From its beginnings as a body tasked with gauging home morale and monitoring the allocation of wartime materials to its standing, in the post-war era, as a 'research organisation whose work...provide[d] data to be used in policy formation',[90] Social Survey was engaged not so much in the measurement of public opinion as in its *construction*. Opinions, though they could not be subjected to the kind of quantification desired by pollsters, were

nevertheless reified and ranked. During the war, this process served a clear function: to give the state a more accurate and supposedly objective way of measuring the wants, needs and desires of those who made up the home front. After it, the utility of publicity 'in reverse' was still broadly accepted even though there were no 'emergencies' comparable to those witnessed in 1940. Departments could use polls to better understand the public reception of their policies, and the Services could utilise them to try to boost enlistment by improving the kinds of appeals they used in advertisements and public relations materials. The need for polls, according to the COI, 'arose out of the new functions which departments assumed during the war', but since those 'functions' were continued and in some cases even extended in the post-war era Social Survey was deemed 'essential to administrative and executive efficiency' well after 1945.[91] Its work continued, indeed, into the 1970s, and there is also evidence that the armed forces consulted private opinion polling firms during this period.[92]

Military recruiters, whose work was regarded as a matter of both policy and administration, made use of the Survey almost as soon as voluntary recruitment resumed in Britain. Through studies of different groups of people or 'universes', the opinion poll was thus assimilated into the practice of military advertising, which used surveys to try to produce more compelling and effective recruiting appeals. In the absence of corroboratory evidence, it is difficult to say whether these surveys had a lasting effect on the ways in which recruitment was promoted to the British public in the post-war era, although on the basis of the material examined here it seems likely that polling did not so much revolutionise military advertising as become part of the broader process of promotion. In the realm of commercial advertising, as Anne Cronin has shown, 'research' into the targets of campaigns represents just one of the many forms of discourse that the advertising industry produced.[93] This discourse began to take shape during the interwar years,[94] and would soon be applied to the problems of democratic government in the wartime era. For some observers, the adoption of polls and surveys represented a positive step in the direction of greater democracy.[95] Yet such a characterisation does not necessarily hold in the realm of military advertising, which was concerned not so much with democracy but with matters of persuasion. In the next chapter, how the government responded to the challenges posed by the postwar era, and how military recruitment was itself subjected to a substantive reform, will be discussed.

<u>Chapter Eight</u>

From Advertising to 'Information': Military Recruitment in an Era of Reform, 1944-51

On December 17th 1945, Clement Attlee, Britain's new Prime Minister, introduced what he called a 'new organisation' of the 'information services'. Attlee's government is often remembered for steering Labour to its first absolute majority in the House of Commons, and for embarking on an ambitious programme of social and economic reform that helped to establish a 'postwar consensus' in Britain that was only seriously challenged in the 1970s.[1] Yet it can also be credited with reforming the ways in which the state interacted with the public and the mass media. The 'information services', a term used by civil servants to describe the collective endeavours of the government's press officers, public relations officials and advertisers,[2] was popularised by the Attlee government, and the Central Office of Information (COI), successor to the wartime Ministry of Information (MOI), was established under Attlee's watch. These reforms to 'information' policy were not accidental but part of an expansive review of how politicians and civil servants organised their communications work and how this work was subsequently presented to the outside world. Incorporating both the Public Relations Departments (PRDs) that had been established during the interwar years (see chapter six) and the single, centralised 'propaganda' ministry that had come into being in 1939, this review was as bold as any of Labour's reforms. It was also, like those reforms, designed to reflect what Attlee called the 'modern conditions' that prevailed at the time.

> [T]he information services...have an important and permanent part in the machinery of government under modern conditions. It is essential to good administration under a democratic system that the *public shall be adequately informed about the many matters in which Government action directly impinges on their daily lives*, and it is in particular important that *a true and adequate picture of British policy, British institutions and the British way of life should be presented overseas*.[3]

There was something of the fourth estate in Attlee's description of the postwar information services: the government, a source of impartial and apparently innocuous 'facts', would spread information and in so doing enlighten the public; the COI, which would take on some but not all of the functions of the MOI, would perform 'certain common technical and production functions'; and the whole system would run on the circulation and dissemination of 'information', both between the COI and its departmental clients and between departments

and the wider public they served. Perhaps because the Opposition was still reeling from its shock defeat in the general election of July,[4] or perhaps because it was close to Parliamentary recess, Attlee's announcement passed without much controversy at the time. Most of the ensuing debate, indeed, centred on the implications of the reforms for relations with the British Council and the renewal of the British Broadcasting Corporation's (BBC) Charter;[5] and although the COI would come in for considerable criticism in the following year (see below) the notion that Labour had introduced a 'new organisation' of political communication quickly became an orthodoxy in postwar literature. In *The Civil Service and the Changing State* (1947), for example, the political scientist H. R. G. Greaves described the rise of 'educative publicity' in Britain in the wake of the war and the corollary need to 'organise and foster, at every level of the execution of [government] plans, the understanding and cooperation of the public'.[6] Writing four years later in *The Civil Service and the Public*, the civil servant T. A. Critchley put forward an almost identical assessment that suggested the events of 1939-45 forced governments to curry the 'full understanding and cooperation of the public';[7] and a similar view can be found in Fife Clark's *The Central Office of Information* (1970), a book that claimed that the

> need for a free market for information and criticism [represented] the surest guarantee of continuing accuracy and rectitude [in government, and that]...the methods used to [establish this free market] must be acknowledged to be right.[8]

Historians have tended to take a more sceptical view of the claims of the Attlee government, not least because the rhetoric surrounding Labour's reforms leaves little room for exhortation and manipulation. In *Coercion or Persuasion?* (1989), William Crofts has claimed that the Attlee governments' flagship social reforms were promoted by a massive campaign of 'economic propaganda' that made a mockery of any claim to impartiality. While acknowledging the presence of 'information' in the government's communications arsenal, Crofts suggests the 'proper role of information...is to create or to maintain states of mind that are conducive to the required end'; though '[g]overnments prefer the term "information services"', they fail to mention that 'information is a necessary *component* of propaganda'.[9] The press historian John Tulloch, meanwhile, has poured scorn on the 'self-serving myth' that 1945 heralded a new era in political communications, arguing that this interpretation was 'concocted for political convenience, serviced by an information establishment that stretched from the BBC, through Fleet Street and Reuters to the COI, and faithfully regurgitated in

accounts like Sir Fife Clark's account of the COI'.[10] Mariel Grant, finally, has highlighted the important transitional role played by the MOI in establishing its postwar successor and the continuity and change at the heart of the information services.[11]

The latter interventions, based on detailed analyses of the campaigns of PRDs and the COI, have painted a more pessimistic picture of the role of the postwar information services. Yet while they have sought to draw attention to the range and extent of government promotion in aftermath of the Second World War, they have not addressed the impact of Labour's reforms on military recruitment. No research, furthermore, has sought to examine how the discourse of 'information' embodied in the government's reforms impacted on the practices of individual PRDs, or how military recruitment was itself promoted and endorsed under the two Attlee governments. A cursory glance at official records suggests that a number of advertising campaigns were waged between 1946 and 1951. These campaigns extended beyond the realm of military recruitment to promotion which stressed the essential 'rationality' of rearming for another war.[12] The introduction of conscription or 'National Service' in 1947 was also promoted in official publicity, which portrayed compulsion as a means of protecting British interests and preventing another world war even as British troops were sent to Korea to fight alongside Americans in the summer of 1950.[13]

It is not possible to examine the scale and breadth of this promotion here, but we can sketch out the relationship these campaigns shared to the reforms of the government's communications infrastructure. These reforms endeavoured to portray the work of all advertising and public relations staff as a 'technical' activity shorn of bias and impartiality, but the case of military advertising belies this interpretation. Recruiters, indeed, continued to practice and organise promotion using the methods and procedures witnessed before the war – utilising 'paid-for' advertising for multi-media campaigns, for example, and lobbying the BBC to include promotional material in its normal schedule of broadcasting. The absence of any substantive change in the ways in which recruiters operated suggests the 'new organisation' Attlee announced in 1945 belied its epithet, and contains some important implications for historical understandings of the postwar Labour governments. While much of the commentary on 1945-51 has stressed the 'progressive phase' this period represented,[14] the attempt to recruit for and justify the existence of the postwar armed forces indicates a less progressive

undercurrent to the government's work that is typified by the attempt to recruit children into the armed forces using a variety of cadet programmes and scholarships.

The Origins of the Postwar 'System' of Communications, 1944-45

Discussions about the future of the information services in peacetime had been held in government since 1942, and were among the many subjects examined by the Machinery of Government Committee created in 1944 under the aegis of the War Cabinet.[15] The latter committee, which was comprised of the most senior figures in British government and included amongst its members the future Prime Minister and Chancellor,[16] was presented with a report by Sir Alan Barlow, a Treasury mandarin, arguing for the continued existence of public relations in peacetime and for some kind of central coordinating authority to oversee them.[17] Barlow's report reignited old debates about the centralisation of government communications, but what distinguished earlier discussions from the present recommendations was sensitivity to the expansion of the information services in peacetime.[18] There could be 'no doubt', Barlow claimed, that 'an elaborate or blatant government publicity policy on the home front would arouse suspicion and antagonism' amongst the general public, partly because it would occur in a context where 'Party Government' existed, and partly because 'Parliamentary opinion' on the matter remained 'extremely sensitive'.[19]

Attitudes towards the information services appear to have been 'sensitive' for some time. While the First World War was still being fought, the Conservative minister Stanley Baldwin suggested that the term propaganda was 'not a word that has a pleasant sound in English ears'.[20] Propaganda may have been a necessary evil of war, but it was to Baldwin a vulgar and 'un-English activity' in peacetime. The historian of propaganda Phil Taylor has suggested that 'overwhelming degree of prejudice' in Britain against the continued use of 'propaganda in peacetime' contributed to the dismantling of the First World War propaganda bureaus, and has even claimed that 'British government was prepared to forfeit the considerable lead it had gained by 1918 and surrender the initiative to other governments' to appease the electorate.[21] Misgivings about the use of propaganda in peacetime might explain why planning for the Second World War MOI, begun 1935, remained a closely kept secret, and why the MOI was itself designed to deal with the special circumstances created by war only.[22] By continuing the body into peacetime, the government would seem disingenuous, if not duplicitous: that was certainly the view taken by the Postmaster-General Harry Crookshank,[23] and there were

enough journalists on Fleet Street who would echo it following Attlee's announcement. Yet it was not a view endorsed in 1944 by the Machinery of Government Committee or the War Cabinet. According to a minute of the latter body dated June 22nd, despite being politically contentious the information services were considered 'an established feature of government and one essential to its success'.[24] The proliferation of PRDs in the 1920s and 1930s was not something the Cabinet wished to reverse, and according to Grant planning proceeded on the assumption that the 'status quo *ante bellum* would not only be revived but also solidified in the postwar period' – that is, that the information services would in peacetime operate with 'greater coordination and professionalism' than they had done so before the war.[25]

The drive for greater coordination and professionalism would have important repercussions for military advertising in the years to come, but it was not until March 1945 that the basic components of the new system had been ironed out. Winston Churchill, who had ensured the future of the information services could be settled by the Prime Minister and the Prime Minister alone,[26] outlined a strategy for the operation of the information services in peacetime that hinged on three proposals. Firstly, the MOI would be abolished when war with Japan ended. Secondly, other departments would resume control over their public relations work in peacetime; and finally, a common service agency, a term used throughout Whitehall to describe a department formed to provide assistance to other departments,[27] would be set up to provide 'technical' assistance to any department that required it. The emphasis on the 'technical', a term that carried none of the negative connotations of propaganda and implied matters of practical construction,[28] was a sign of what was to come.

The Central Office of Information and the Emergence of a 'Technical' Service Agency
Designed to produce advertising on behalf of its 'clients' and to provide services such as lectures and public exhibitions,[29] the COI may have required a degree of 'technical' expertise to operate, but it traded in matters of rhetoric and persuasion. The Coalition government seems to have been aware of this, and so too was Attlee who announced the formation of the COI in Parliament in 1945 in language derived from the Churchill's proposals. All post-war governments, Attlee claimed, would require 'certain common technical and production functions', and an 'information unit' would be formed to provide them. It soon became clear, however, that the COI would not be a unit but an office, and that this office would employ almost as many staff as its predecessor – and effectively *more* when making an allowance for

wartime censorship.[30] The Conservatives, despite supporting the idea of a common service agency in 1945, attacked Labour in 1946 for creating a 'propaganda bureau' in peacetime, while the press began recycling old stories about the extravagance of government press officers, public relations officials and advertisers. One newspaper, the *Evening News*, even branded the COI a 'Ministry of Culture and National Enlightenment',[31] and the criticism the new department received mirrored that which had been directed towards its predecessor.

The 'technical' services the COI provided may have involved a degree of information, as Attlee and others have claimed, but they were ultimately concerned with the passage of policy. All government information staff, whether they were described as advertisers, public relations officials, press officers or propagandists, were tasked with a clear and well-defined objective of serving the departments to which they were attached, and by extension the government as a whole. In 1945-51, this work tended to fall into two categories: publicity designed to ease the transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy, and promotion intended to endorse Labour's programme of social and economic reforms.[32] The latter, which have dominated the discussion on the Attlee governments, were, as Crofts has shown, the subject of massive advertising campaigns that demonstrated the Attlee governments' commitment to an expansion of 'economic propaganda'.[33] Yet they were not the only subject to receive official endorsement in the aftermath of the war.

The Return of Voluntary Recruitment and the Continuation of Conscription

In 1946, while wartime veterans were still being demobilised, the Services began recruitment for regulars once more.[34] In the same year, the decision to continue conscription into the post-war era was announced, and the information services of the relevant departments were mustered to justify that decision while *at the same time* promoting voluntary enlistment. In a broadcast by the Secretary of State for War Jack Lawson, the importance of voluntary service with or without conscription was emphasised. There was, Lawson claimed, a 'great difference' between the call for volunteers made in 'earlier years' and the present recruitment drive, a difference that centred on a shift from 'patriotism and [an] urge for adventure of the young' to an appeal to 'good sense when…choosing a career'. The Army, Navy and Air Force would now offer a 'really attractive, healthy, interesting, useful and properly paid career', and what is more they were as important to post-war recovery as the 'civilian' work required to rebuild Britain's cities and essential industries.

> [L]et us get this matter quite straight. Security and world stability are necessary if we are to get on with any real reconstruction and prosperity. If your house has been burgled you naturally want to replace your lost property and get your house tidied up as soon as you can but, the first thing to replace is the lock on the door.[35]

Replacing the 'lock on the door' became the official narrative for justifying military service in the years to come, with Britain's armed forces portrayed as benign peace-keepers that ensured the world remained safe and secure. This narrative did contain a kernel of truth; under the terms of the Potsdam Agreement and other treaties, Britain was obligated to occupy the territories of former Axis enemies.[36] Yet it could not account for the aggression or grandstanding of Britain's military and its role as an occupying power in the colonies. In 1945, Britain stationed troops across the world, from Austria to Tanganyika (Tanzania), and treated some of these nations, continuing Lawson's metaphor, as Empire 'property'.[37] Countries like Malaya were regarded as lucrative assets. The raw materials and cheap labour they proffered were crucial for Britain's export industry, which would allow the government to repair its finances and repay the debts Britain had accrued during the war. The military, for its part, would provide Britain with the means of protecting these assets, and would extract from them the raw materials and commodities necessary to bring about a state of 'prosperity' at home. Tasked with informing the British public about the country's global commitments, the information services would try to justify Britain's global military presence.

The attempt to reinvigorate the Empire would ultimately end in failure, but before the process of decolonisation had begun to accelerate the British armed forces were confronted with another challenge. In 1948, after a coup in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet blockade of Berlin, Britain entered the Cold War on the side of the United States. Pitting the capitalist societies of the West against the communist nations of East, this conflict was not as deadly as the world wars that had preceded it, but it was equally influential in shaping how the government organised and promoted recruitment.[38] Civil defences were once again established after the passage of the 1948 Civil Defence Act, and recruitment of conventional forces was hastened after Britain deployed troops in Korea in 1950. These developments presented the reformed information services with their first real challenge, and will be examined in this chapter's final two sections. In what follows, how the reforms of the information services discussed under the wartime Coalition government impacted on individual departments, and how PRDs were themselves implicated in them, will be explored.

Managing 'Information': Herbert Morrison and the Information Service Committees

Before the Cold War had begun to change the complexion of Britain's post-war recovery, a series of discussions were held in the Labour Cabinet to determine how 'information' would be used to promote the government and how the government would coordinate the reformed information services. During the war, the subject of government publicity had only infrequently figured on the Cabinet agenda,[39] but in the post-war era it became a topic of some concern. Senior figures in the Labour government, including in particular Herbert Morrison, took a special interest in advertising and public relations. Credited by his biographers Bernard Donoughue and G. W. Jones with being 'in advance of his time in his awareness that governments in the twentieth century must communicate to the people and that public relations had become an essential instrument of modern mass politics',[40] Morrison was chosen by Attlee to put the plans of the Coalition (and now Labour) into practice. His response centred on six key proposals, delivered to the Cabinet in 1945.

1. Overseas publicity should be continued in peace-time.
2. Subject to vigilance against abuse by the government of the day, provision must be made for the continuance of Government information and publicity services at home.
3. The Minister…should be responsible for the publicity of his Department, and Departmental Public Relations or Information Divisions, whose staffs should be strictly limited in numbers but should be of good quality and status, should continue as the primary instrument for Departmental publicity and for keeping Ministers…in touch with public opinion.
4. There should be a single organization – which might be called a Central Information Office[41] – to carry out centrally certain common technical and production functions… It should not be under close day-to-day direction of a Minister appointed exclusively for this purpose, though there would have to be a responsible Minister…
5. There should be machinery for the coordination of both overseas and home publicity, so that the different Departments concerned with overseas publicity present a "common line", which, where necessary, is related to home publicity, and so that, as far as possible, publicity at home is consistent and overlapping and conflicts are avoided…
6. For political as well as financial reasons, there should be a substantial reduction in the total government expenditure on different kinds of publicity.[42]

These proposals, with minor alterations, were ratified by the Cabinet, and Morrison tasked a committee of civil servants with creating the administrative machinery necessary for executing them. This committee, chaired by Barlow and known as the Official Committee on Government Information Services,[43] made several of its own recommendations. Firstly, in

order to achieve the desired 'common line' between home and overseas publicity, two ministerial committees would need to be formed to examine these subjects and keep publicity 'constantly under review'. (These committees would be chaired by Cabinet ministers and would contain representatives from many of the major departments in Whitehall.) Secondly, a detailed outline of the function and remit of the COI would need to be developed; Barlow wrote one himself. Finally, individuals involved in the information services would need to be elevated to a position of authority within their respective departments because they required access to senior staff in order to work effectively.[44]

Together with the Morrison proposals, these recommendations helped to establish the main direction of official publicity in the post-war era. The 'constant review' of the information services would be realised through various committees, some chaired by civil servants tasked with organising promotion, others overseen by Cabinet ministers.[45] The COI would be formed from the remnants of the MOI, and though it would lose its censorship staff it would retain other divisions, including Social Survey (see chapter seven). In the summer of 1947, a third and final report was commissioned to gauge the feasibility of imposing 'one Information Service' across government. That report, known as the Crombie Report after its chairman,[46] made a series of recommendations that did represent a meaningful reform of existing departmental procedure and practice. Information staff, for a start, should be allowed to move freely between departments; their pay and recruitment should be regimented according to existing civil service criteria; and a 'coherent' system of promotion should be enforced to ensure all departments paid equivalent rates for equivalent work.[47]

Existing literature on the COI and the postwar information services has acknowledged the significance of the Crombie Report, but since both Crofts' and Grant's work concludes in 1951 while Tulloch's veers from the information services to the secretive propaganda agency, the Information Research Department,[48] little is known about the impact of the report on political communications post-1951. What can be determined, on the basis of reactions recorded at the time, is that Crombie's recommendations did not sit well with many departments. The War Office (WO), for example, was unhappy with the notion of formalising criteria for hiring staff, was unsure about the feasibility of allowing staff to be transferred from department to department, and contended that its promotional work required military experience and an awareness of the 'individual' (that is, unique) character of publicising the armed forces.[49] As

the experience of the MOI demonstrated, departments tended to regard centralised information machinery as an infringement on their right to organise and control their own communications apparatuses,[50] and it is perhaps unsurprising that the WO, which possessed one of the oldest and largest PRDs, was reluctant to relinquish control.

Yet by far the greatest controversy centred on the language used in the reforms. Picking up where Churchill, Attlee and Morrison had left off, Crombie claimed that government advertisers, press officers and public relations officials were employed to 'create and maintain an informed public opinion about the subject with which the [government] deals', and therefore that their work was in reality 'much wider in scope than what is usually associated with the term "Public Relations"'. Suggesting the latter term should be replaced with the more inoffensive 'information', he urged all ministries to abandon public relations in their job titles and in the titles of their PRDs in favour of two new coinages: the Information Officer and the Information Department.[51] Information, which had not yet been tainted by association with government communications, would substitute existing terminology and provide a catchall phrase for every kind of political communication.

Since it appeared to absolve PRDs from their more controversial activities, we might expect departments to accept this facet of Crombie's report. Yet by November 1947, only 17 out of a total of 28 departments had accepted Crombie's recommendations, and there were still a number of ministries (the WO included) that pointedly refused to redefine their agencies.[52] Information, according to the WO, seemed to 'be far more restricted than Public Relations' and since the Army had 'built up a very good atmosphere with the Press and with the public under the present title' there did 'not seem to be any great reason for altering it'.[53] Echoing these sentiments, an official from the Post Office, which had the distinction of being both a commercial and a governmental concern, suggested public relations was more widely accepted amongst 'most large businesses', and therefore more desirable for the purposes of its work. A representative of the Home Office, meanwhile, was concerned that an indiscriminate application of the term 'information' to all government departments would lead outsiders to regard all PRD staff as agents of the COI.[54]

There seemed to be, as one official remarked in a letter to the Treasury dated November 5th 1947, a 'burning question of "Information" versus "Public Relations"' which showed little signs of resolution even after the first information officers had been appointed by the government in

1950.[55] Yet in all the wrangling over nomenclature there was no indication that the transition from 'public relations' to 'information' involved any corollary changes to how the government actually *organised* its advertising and public relations machinery. The main thrust of Crombie's report, on the contrary, was the promotion (in the sense of rank and status), recruitment and remuneration of staff. At no point in his recommendations does he make sweeping recommendations regarding a change in the ways in which such staff interacted with public or the mass media. Yet to both Crombie and Morrison the issue of how PRDs were defined was of crucial importance to presentation. In a memorandum to all public relations officials dated November 22nd 1947, the latter claimed there was 'no basis in fact' for some departments to retain public relations while others used information, and gave a hint as to why he – and perhaps Labour as a whole – might have objections to the use of 'public relations' in official titles. Information, he claimed, was more 'modest and less open to [political] objection' than its counterpart, and the title 'Information Officer' was 'less provocative' for the same reason.[56] Since public relations had acquired negative connotations in the wake of the two wars – one official suggested it had 'come to suggest in most people's minds a function of manipulation'[57] – information would allow the government to deflect criticisms that it was manipulating the public. This was an essential pre-requisite of justifying the existence of an expanded postwar communications apparatus; by portraying the staff appointed to PRDs as arbiters of impartial information, the Labour government sought to free the leopard of its spots.

Military Advertising in an Era of Reform and Consolidation

The 'burning question' of information versus public relations occurred against a backdrop of a series of massive advertising campaigns organised by both military and non-military departments. Since they extended into the 1950s these campaigns provide a useful resource for examining how Labour's reforms of government communication impacted on military advertising. As we shall see, though recruiters did make an effort to convey information in various educational media, the lion's share of their work was still geared towards promotion. Moreover, though the Attlee government promised a new 'organisation' of government communications, compared to the campaign work of 1913-19 or 1938-39 recruitment advertising was characterised not so much by a departure from existing practices and procedures but by a maintenance and continuation of them. How these practices and procedures will be the subject of the remainder of this chapter.

Negotiating Recruitment in an Era of Shortages

When the COI was established in 1946, a long line of departments from the Ministry of Agriculture to the WO requested the use of its Advertising Division. Following the MOI's model (itself derived from the BBC) the COI was subdivided into Divisions overseen by Controllers, with a single Director General (at that time, Sir Eric Bamford) positioned at the top of an institutional hierarchy.[58] The COI's Advertising Division incorporated all 'paid-for' publicity across all media, but most departments, including the three Services, were interested in newspaper advertising only. Before the age of commercial television, newspapers and magazines represented the medium of choice for many advertisers.[59] The COI, which had been formed expressly to deal with such enquiries, was relatively well equipped to juggle the demands of several departments simultaneously. However, what it could not do (and what military recruiters quickly discovered) was control how much space *newspapers* gave to the government for its advertising. Paper and ink had continued to be rationed since the war, and the UK's press, in a very literal sense, had shrunk because of it.[60] Because there was less space, moreover, competition *between* departments increased.

By 1947 the 'demands of departments', according to Crofts, 'had reached unprecedented proportions';[61] and while the Service departments were involved in their own internal wrangles – the new National Service Act was in the process of being passed through Parliament and the Ministry of Defence had just been established[62] – they quickly discovered that their needs would not, for once, trounce others'. Ahead of the Service departments, and a reflection of the shifting priorities of the state in the period before the Cold War, came the Ministry of Food, the National Savings Committee and the Board of Trade.[63] The latter departments were all involved in work judged crucial for Britain's economic recovery, and though the Services had vigorously lobbied the COI for a greater proportion of the existing advertising budget they received a fraction of the overall amount. This arrangement did not endear the COI to the Services, and demonstrated that although the information office was conceived of as a 'technical' agency it contained the ability to determine which departments (and therefore which policies) received the oxygen of publicity.[64]

That decision, in truth, was not made by Bamford or his successor Sir Robert Fraser. The various information committees, which had been established in 1946 and continued to operate until the return of Conservative government in 1951,[65] determined not only how much

the COI had to spend on staffing, but how much individual ministries could spend on advertising and what proportion of the COI's annual advertising budget they would receive. The Services, which were in competition with each other for the same recruits – under the terms of the National Service Act, volunteers could choose any Service while conscripts were by default sent to the Army[66] – were now effectively competing with other departments for advertising space.[67] While this arrangement did not signal an end to recruitment drives, it did limit the scale of recruitment work. There were no giant campaigns of the kind witnessed in 1915 and 1939, and though a Services Recruiting Publicity Committee was established in 1946 it was not involved in a large-scale advertising campaign until Britain had decided to commit to another war in South-East Asia.[68]

The Return of Civil Defence: National Service in All But Name

Before Britain was involved in Korea, however, steps were taken revive the wartime civil defences. In 1948, the Civil Defence Act was passed, and by the following year, after the Soviet Union had successfully tested its first H-bomb, recruitment officially began for the Auxiliary Fire Service, the Civil Defence Corps, the Special Constabulary and the National Hospital Service Reserve.[69] The initial campaign, waged in the latter half of 1949, proved a disaster. The Home Office, which had been given control over civil defence in a reversal of the 1939 arrangement, complained about the lack of interest shown by journalists in civil defence.[70] As in the campaign for national service, potential recruits were targeted via advertisements placed in the mass media and the editors of major newspapers were lobbied to include civil defence more regularly as an item of news. When this failed, and it is worth noting the campaign did rely on a degree of 'information' to inform the public of the roles and functions of the civil defences, a large-scale campaign was authorised in the spring of 1950. This too proved a disappointment, however, and by autumn an even larger campaign had been authorised – and instigated, as in 1939, by a press conference.[71]

Designed to 'ensure that the general public were [sic] aware of the need for recruits', the last of these campaigns was waged in the same year in which Britain committed troops to Korea, and against a backdrop in which expenditure on civil defence 'almost doubled' when compared to 1949.[72] Emulating the campaign for national service in the interwar years, recruiters operated on both a national and a regional level, and as in the interwar years a balance was struck between the needs of local authorities, which were made responsible for

the enrolment of staff, and the work of central government, which organised all the major publicity including the advertising and editorial publicity in the national newspapers and any promotions that appeared on the BBC.[73] The COI, which handled all paid-for publicity on behalf of the Home Office and the local authorities, worked in conjunction with the public relations staff or 'information officers' of the Home Office, including T. A. O'Brien, a civil servant who chaired a committee from his office in Horseferry House, London.[74]

Apart from obvious differences in content – the absence of a mention of the threat of Germany, for example – little separated the post-war civil defence recruitment drive and the work of 1938-39. Both campaigns made use of 'information', which is to say they utilised leaflets and pamphlets to inform members of the public about certain aspects of the civil defences, but since civil defence required an informed public in order to function properly[75] it is unlikely that the post-war reforms had any impact on this aspect of promotion. Both campaigns, furthermore, made use of more conventional appeals to emotion and feeling, with one advertisement (appearing in the national and provincial press in March-April 1950) claiming civil defence is a 'commonsense [sic] peacetime precaution against war' (see figure fourteen).[76] Other advertisements made appeals related to specific services. According to one, released as a poster at some point between 1950 and 1953, there was 'a "special" job waiting for you. Join your local Special Constabulary' (see figure fifteen).[77]

Remarking on the function of these images, the commercial advertising agent which produced them suggested the 'national publicity' utilised for civil defence in 1950-51 served two functions

> besides attracting recruits directly; one is to lead and encourage local authorities in their own efforts [to promote civil defence], and another is to sustain the morale and enthusiasm of those already enrolled so that may in themselves act as recruiting agents.[78]

Another recruiter connected to the National Hospital Service Reserve campaign emphasised the value of 'free' publicity inserted in the press and the BBC. According to this official, steps should be taken to 'secure free publicity in the local press' because this allowed the government to insert recruitment into 'local news items'.[79] In the same year, the Cabinet itself had examined the use of 'un-paid, non-official media', with Morrison endorsing their use in a meeting with Chief Information Officers held at 11 Downing Street on January 17th 1951.

Public relations, he claimed, 'was often more *effective* than paid publicity, and it was more *desirable* in view of the further cuts which it was necessary to impose on the [information services] in the interests of the economy'.[80] Since the material that appeared in the press and on the BBC Rearmament had induced those cuts, and it is perhaps ironic that the retrenched information services were expected to promote them. Yet more significant than the subjects military advertisers were expected to promote was the manner in which they were expected to promote. Envisioning advertising as a means of bolstering morale and sustaining enthusiasm clearly had little to do with 'information' and a lot to do with persuasion, and making use of 'free' publicity in newspapers and on the BBC, which was inserted without the knowledge of the audiences who consumed these media, suggested a more secretive form of promotion that did not so much inform the public as exhort and inveigle them.

Recruiting for the 'Forgotten War': The Defence Publicity Programme of 1950-51

The Korean War, which is often referred to as the 'forgotten war' because of an apparent lack of public interest in it,[81] represented Britain's first major conflict of the postwar era. Almost 100,000 British troops were involved, many of them conscripted national servicemen, and though this number paled in significance when compared to the mobilisations of the two world wars, it was large enough to have a significant impact on the Labour government and the British economy. The rearmament programme that helped to finance it, some £4,7000 million spread out over three years,[82] led to the resignations of Nye Bevan and Harold Wilson, both of whom were aggrieved at the diversion of public resources to the arms industry, and is usually credited with taking the wind out of the sails of Britain's recovery, although that argument has recently been challenged.[83] In terms of casualties, Britain lost only a fraction of the troops sent – a little over 1,000 men – and a minute proportion of those killed from Korea itself, whose deaths both north and south of the 38th parallel numbered not in the thousands or even the hundreds of thousands, but the millions.

To conflict of 1950-53 is sometimes regarded as a 'limited war' that did not did not involve (for Britain at least) the mobilisation of the entirety of the nation's resources, and did not leave the same enduring impressions on British society. For historians of military advertising, however, Korea and the 'war' in Egypt that followed it (see chapter nine) are important for other reasons. Representing the last wars Britain fought with a partly-conscripted, partly-volunteer Army, they epitomised a period in recruitment in which the armed forces, and the Army in

particular, struggled to attract enough volunteers. Conscripts, who arrived in relatively stable numbers and whose terms of service had been increased from 12 to 18 months by the time of the Korean War,[84] required Regulars to train them; Regulars, for their part, occupied the senior positions in the command structure but required national servicemen as subordinates. The War Office, which had energetically campaigned for conscription in 1945, found it exceedingly difficult to recruit volunteers and believed that the Army was identified, in the public mind, with compulsion. Aside from the immediate need to recruit regulars, there was thus an additional need, according to one official, to develop a 'long-term policy…to build up the *right atmosphere* for successful recruitment'.[85]
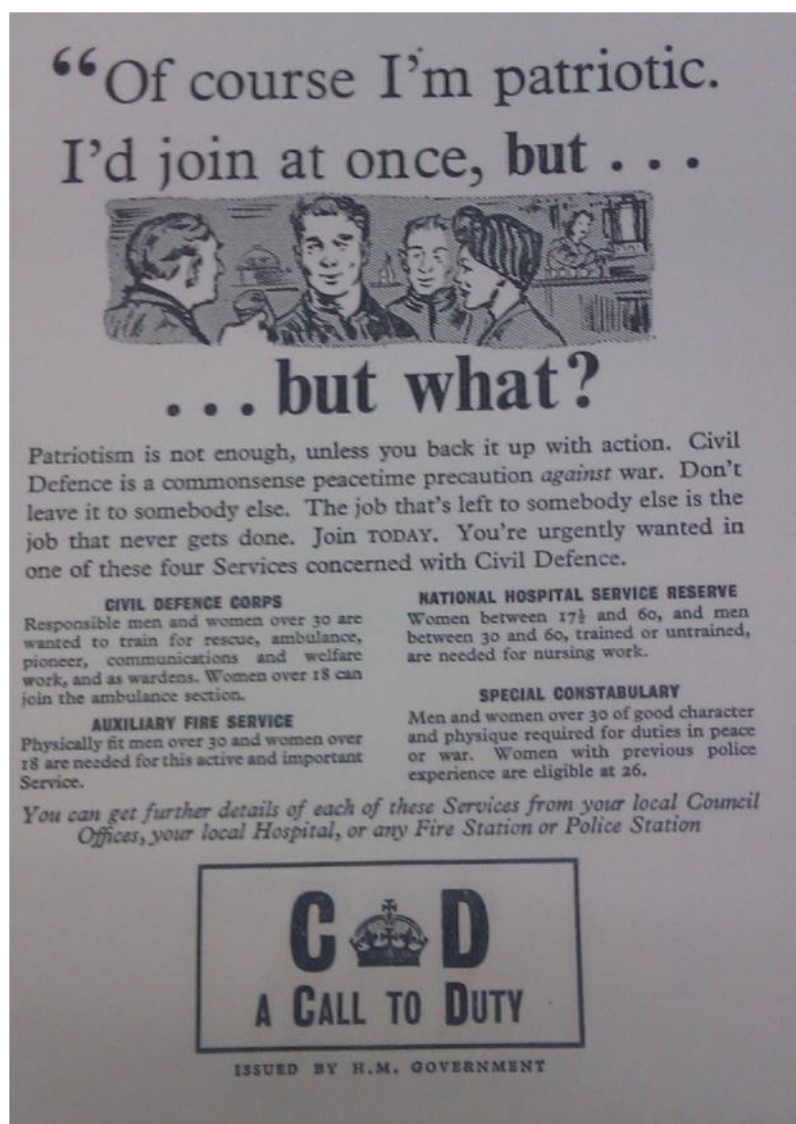
Figure Fourteen

A postwar recruitment advertisement for civil defence, this image appeared in the national newspapers in Spring 1950.

Billed as a commonsense 'precaution' against war, recruitment for the four branches of civil defence stood in uneasy relation with recruitment for the conventional armed forces carried out at the same time. Shortly after this image was released, Britain committed troops to the war in Korea.

The first steps towards creating this atmosphere were taken in June 1950, a week before the Korean War started.[86] The Home Information Service (Official) Committee, which coordinated

all home publicity and had recently taken to categorising its work into three categories – defence, social and economic[87] – set up a Defence Publicity Sub-Committee that became known, in government, as the Defence Publicity Programme.[88] This programme incorporated both armed forces and civil defence publicity, but its remit stretched beyond conventional recruiting work. A number of long-term measures were discussed with an eye to improving the public relations of the forces because, according to one memorandum prepared by the sub-committee, recruitment represented only part of the problem. Just as important for the programme, and listed as the first of its two objectives, was the provision of a 'continuous flow of information and explanation' to foster 'understanding and goodwill between the forces and the general public which they serve'.[89]

Such 'goodwill' was deemed necessary because of awareness within Britain of the cost of rearmament. In his meeting with senior public relations officials, Morrison had warned of the prospect of 'economic disturbances' as a result of rearmament, and claimed the main gist of future government publicity would be divided between two, related subjects: the economic consequences for rearmament and Britain's place in the wider world.[90] The Festival of Britain (1951), an event personally overseen by Morrison to commemorate the centenary of the Great Exhibition, fell firmly into the latter category, and was designed, in the Lord President's words, to allow Britons to 'take pride in themselves'.[91] The Defence Publicity Programme, in contrast, was concerned not so much with how Britain related to the rest of the world, even if it had obvious implications in that regard, as with how ordinary members of the public perceived and understood the armed forces.

> The public's estimation of the sailor, soldier and airman, the Services' own idea of what the public knows and thinks about them, the serving man's conceit [sic] of himself, and the job he is doing for his country, these intangibles influence the barometer of recruitment just as much as the potential recruit's picture of the material conditions he will find inside the Service in which he is interested. Without such a climate of general opinion, reasonably well-informed and sympathetic, no recruiting campaign can succeed.[92]

'Informing' the public took many guises, from describing rearmament as a necessary counterpoise to 'Russian imperialism', to emphasising the role the forces played in local communities, to the development of campaigns on the basis of Social Survey investigations.[93] One of the more controversial measures, and something that had been in place for virtually

the entirety of the first Attlee government,[94] was the targeting of children in schools and colleges. Each of the three Services ran cadet programmes designed to encourage enthusiasm in the armed forces and increase adult enlistment,[95] but the public relations officials within the Service departments felt that there was an additional need to correct the 'very great ignorance of life in the Services' betrayed by young people in 1950.[96] In 1946, the Services had approached the Ministry of Education to try to gain access to schools, receiving the latter's 'general blessing' to do so.[97] By 1950, opposition from certain headmasters and headmistresses, and from Education Committees, had scuppered this work, as had 'competition' with the Youth Employment Service, a body charged under the Youth Employment and Training Act (1948) with finding employment for school-leavers.[98]

Figure Fifteen

A recruiting poster for the Special Constabulary, this advertisement made use of colour photography and techniques of modernist art to try to lure civilians to one branch of the postwar civil defence services.

The introduction of methods of photographic reproduction changed the art of poster designing, and this kind of advertisement could not have been produced during or between the two world wars.

Recruiting children for the armed forces was not a new phenomenon,[99] but the expansion of recruiting programmes for children under the Attlee governments warrants additional

attention. In its 1945 general election manifesto, Labour made no mention of conscription or another war – indeed, it made several, explicit references to peace[100] – and there was no indication that the 'very great ignorance of Service life' betrayed by children would be confronted head on. In popular memory, the Attlee governments are remembered as great reformers of the 20th century, and the reforms of their information services were designed to construct a narrative that chimed with this representation. Nevertheless, there was nothing 'democratic' about lobbying schools to include recruitment material as part of secondary education, and nor were the various attempts to justify Britain's rearmament programme borne of a progressive attempt to 'inform' the public. As Crombie himself claimed in his 1947 report, government 'information' contained a single overriding purpose: to 'help the Department to achieve its purpose'.[101] That purpose, though it might have required 'information' in order for consent to be given, was determined not by the people to whom the government directed its campaigns, but by those who acted, ostensibly, in their interest.

Conclusion: The 'Postwar System' in Historical Context

This chapter, which has explored the origins of the postwar 'system' of communication and its subsequent application to military recruitment, has revealed how key figures within the wartime and postwar governments tried to redefine official promotion in order to justify its continued existence as part of the administrative machinery of the state. Aware that any attempt to expand or continue the work of the wartime MOI would attract public censure, steps were taken to change how members of the public viewed the information services. The MOI was speedily wound up and replaced with an apparently innocuous successor billed as a 'technical' production body; PRDs, whose existence can be traced to the interwar years and ultimately to the First World War itself, were renamed Information Offices – although certain ministries, including the WO, resisted this change. At the same time, the many vehicles of government promotion that had been developed in preceding years, including the 'paid-for' advertisements displayed on hoardings and in newspapers, the editorial publicity conveyed in print and on radio, and the public events designed to promote the government interpersonally, were couched in terms of a discourse of 'information' that sought to redefine advertising, public relations and propaganda as conduits of impartial facts. This discourse was evident in the kinds of language officials used, and in the ways in which the work of the information services was presented to the wider public and outside world. In a speech to journalists on June 15th 1964, Clark (by then Director General of the COI) captured the key tenets of this

redefinition well. Suggesting it was necessary to arrange a 'flow of information out of as well as into official institutions', he claimed governments not only had a 'need to spread information...to oil the wheels of administration and...make new schemes work more smoothly', but a 'duty'. A

> democratic government has a duty of popular enlightenment. Members of the public need information in two capacities – as householders and consumers who have to find their way around a complicated and quickly changing world and as citizens who, without facts, cannot understand what is going on in public affairs and form their own opinions.[102]

The terminology adopted by individuals like Clark suggested a willingness to conceal behind a facade of objectivity the rhetorical or promotional functions of government communications. Yet a closer analysis of how PRDs and the COI actually operated in the 1946-51 period suggests 'information' did not lead to a 'new organisation' of the information services. On the contrary, many of the practices and techniques associated with the business of military advertising in earlier times were continued in the postwar era. Just as they had done so during the 1938-39 period, the Services organised multi-media campaigns, and once again they lobbied both the BBC and the national newspapers to include the subject of recruitment as a regular news item. Admittedly, the scale of this work paled in significance when compared to the recruitment campaigns of the First World War (see chapters four and five), but after the decision to commit Britain to the Cold War the pace of promotion accelerated. Advertising campaigns were soon organised not just for recruitment for the conventional armed forces and the branches of the civil defence, but for the subject of rearmament as well. Conscription, a necessary component of Labour's commitment to retaining a British colonial presence across the globe,[103] was presented as a means of 'protecting' the nation.

In the context of existing debates about the nature of government communications in the postwar era, the work of recruiters between 1946 and 1951 lends credence to the notion, advocated in separate accounts by Crofts, Tulloch and Grant, that there was actually a greater degree of continuity than change between the wartime and postwar information services. According to Grant, the campaign work of the post-1945 era could even be traced to the interwar period, with the war itself acting as a 'catalyst for, rather than the source of change'.[104] In the context of the history of military advertising, however, we can regard the reforms of 1944-51 as the first of two attempts in the postwar era to 'rebrand' how recruitment

advertising was perceived by members of the public. The second attempt, which occurred against a backdrop of large-scale reform of the military, will be examined in the following chapter which explores how WO and the MOD responded to the transition from a National Service to an all-volunteer Army with new advertising and public relations.

Civilising the Services: Frederic Hooper, the Termination of Conscription and the 'Modernisation' of the Military, 1957-63

[Today] we are between two worlds, one dying and the other struggling to be born.[1]

Frederic Hooper, 1948

A cartoon after the [1959 general] election showed the prime minister sitting back and saying "well, gentleman, I think we all fought a good fight" to the "colleagues" who had made victory possible – a motor car, a television set, a vacuum, and so on.[2]

T. O. Lloyd, 2002

The notion that Britain stood on the precipice of a 'new world' became something of a cliché in the mid-20th century. Talk of a 'new Jerusalem' dominated the general election of 1945, and a similar theme was resurrected in 1964 after Labour promised to create a 'New Britain' forged from the 'white heat' of a scientific revolution.[3] Politicians were of course in the business of making promises, and had a well-earned reputation for breaking them, but they were not alone in thinking (or at least asserting) that Britain was on the cusp of something new. Talk of a 'space age' infiltrated popular culture and the mass media,[4] and newspapers and hoardings were filled with futuristic portrayals of everyday household items – washing machines, television sets, microwave ovens, and so on – that both symbolised and helped to create the modern 'affluent society'.[5]

Compared to the doom and gloom of the 1940s, this society seemed a brighter and altogether more prosperous place for many Britons, not least because it marked an era of full employment, high levels of economic growth and a series of sweeping technological advancements.[6] Yet while there may have been a general sense that the world as a whole was moving forward, some observers felt that Britain as a nation had begun to lag behind.[7] Its major continental rivals, France and West Germany, were in the ascendency, and the prospect of catching up with the great powers that had risen to the west and east of Britain's shores had almost disappeared by the time the Soviet Union and the United States entered the space race.[8] Britain barely had the wherewithal to develop its own nuclear weapons, let alone satellites, and spent a greater proportion of its GDP on 'defence' than its resources strictly allowed. In the first half of the 1950s, pressure grew on the government to slash

military expenditure, and by 1957 a new direction in defence policy had been announced by the Macmillan government. Billed as the 'biggest change' to military strategy in modern peacetime history, the Sandys Doctrine, as it has since become known,[9] embodied the futurism of the times: National Service, which had defined the experiences of a generation of British men,[10] would be terminated; the armed forces, swelled by various international and imperial commitments, would be slashed; and a new emphasis on ballistic missiles and a nuclear 'deterrent' would help to offset the reduction in the numerical strength of the conventional armed forces.[11]

Judging by the reaction of the popular press, the Sandys Doctrine was a policy broadly supported by Britain's media establishment. The *Daily Mirror*, which had campaigned for an end to conscription since 1956 and had even employed the military commentator Basil Liddell Hart to draft a 'defence policy' that pre-empted the government's, responded to the announcement with dramatic imagery of nuclear weapons and guided missiles: high technology that came to symbolise the new age the military was apparently embarking on. The *Times*, usually an ardent supporter of British military power, also endorsed the reforms, claiming they would 'balance the budget'.[12]

However, while some journalists regarded the restructuring as a step in the right direction, the transition from a partly-conscripted to an all-volunteer military created a problem. Throughout the 1950s, and despite the reform of the 'information services' ushered in by Labour (see chapter eight), the Services and the Army in particular had struggled to attract enough regulars. From 1962 onwards, the scheduled date for the demobilisation of the last national serviceman,[13] they would be expected to rely exclusively on volunteers to make up their respective trained requirements. Given the approach taken to recruitment by successive governments since August 1914, it is perhaps unsurprising that a series of advertising campaigns were planned for the 1957-1962 period.[14] Yet that was not the only response to the 'radical reappraisal' of military policy demanded by the Macmillan government.[15] At some point in the late 1950s or early 1960, Sir Frederic Hooper, an industrialist and industrial relations expert, was appointed by the War Office (WO) to carry out a review of their recruiting machinery and advertising and public relations activities. Author of a series of articles and a book on management practice, Hooper was not an advertiser in the mould of Hedley Le Bas (see chapter four) or a 'scientist' of the kind consulted by Social Survey (see

chapter seven), but a businessman who had made a name for himself espousing a philosophy of management that regarded the welfare and wellbeing of workers as paramount to the success of all hierarchical organisations.[16] That he was appointed to review military recruitment, with a brief to explore not just promotion but all aspects of military life, was in itself a remarkable development.

In the summer of 1960 Hooper delivered his recommendations, in the form of two reports, to officials at the Ministry of Defence (MOD). Suggesting an exercise in 'rebranding' comparable to the reform of the information services undertaken by the Attlee administration, he proposed overhauling not just the presentation of the Army in the media but how recruits were trained and treated within the Services. Adopting a more expansive approach to the problem of recruitment than many of his predecessors, Hooper's proposals were largely ignored by officials within the MOD, even though Hooper was himself credited with singlehandedly revolutionising the Army's public 'image' and accelerating the rate at which recruits enrolled in a *Times* obituary.[17]

A great deal has been written about the Sandys Doctrine and its relationship to the social, political and economic climate of 1950s and 1960s. Historians from David French to Frank Myers, to Martin Navias have examined different aspects of the termination of conscription,[18] and the subject has routinely figured in discussions on the rise of a 'youth culture' in Britain and in general social and political accounts of the period.[19] Nevertheless, little is known about Hooper's work for the military or how the Army responded to the events of 1957 with recruiting campaigns. Furthermore, though much has been written about the impact of the Sandys Doctrine on military strategy, no work has yet sought to trace the effect the doctrine had on the military's advertising and public relations.

This chapter, which explores Hooper's reports and their place within military advertising in the years 1957-63, aims to fill in some of these gaps. Beginning with a discussion of Hooper's philosophy of management as articulated in his published works, it continues to examine Hooper's recommendations and their subsequent impact (or lack thereof) on military recruitment in the early 1960s. Arguing that Hooper's reforms were for the most part disregarded by recruiters in the Army, it suggests the Army passed up the opportunity to (in Hooper's words) embrace the ideals of 'modernity', preferring rather to continue the methods, techniques and practices it had utilised in earlier times. The rejection of the lion's share of

Hooper's proposals can help to reveal how the military dealt with the reorganisation and restructuring of the military initiated in 1957, and can also demonstrate how military recruiters responded to the challenges presented by the 'affluent society'.

Managing the Military: Civilianisation and a 'Modern' Approach to Recruitment

Though it is unclear who appointed Hooper, one can speculate with a reasonable degree of accuracy as to *why* he was appointed. Managing Director of a major British company with a reputation for creative advertising,[20] he was also known as a writer and lecturer on management studies and as an authority on what he called 'internal public relations': the ability to manage relations between employers and employees in large institutions.[21] Since these relations were deemed crucial to the ability of the armed forces to attract recruits – the subject of discipline alone had spawned a full-blown parliamentary enquiry that reported before Hooper published his recommendations[22] – Hooper's ideas on reforming institutions had a clear utility to the 'radical reappraisal' of military organisation desired by the government. His experience of advising politicians, furthermore, which began with a post as Director of Business Training at the Ministry of Labour and National Service and included appointments on the Committee on the Employment of National Servicemen and the Resettlement Advisory Board, gave him an awareness of military procedure he would not otherwise have acquired working as an executive of a private company.[23]

There was, it would be fair to say, a common theme running through all of these appointments. In the broader sense, they were concerned with the relationship between the armed forces and society; in the narrower, they explored the difficulties of moving from military to civilian life after a period of fixed service. Since Hooper was considered an expert on employment – his work for the Ministry of Labour centred on finding jobs for ex-servicemen – he may have been picked to provide an insight into the shortcomings of the Services' arrangements for attracting civilian recruits. However, whether he was chosen for his political experience, his commercial experience or both, there can be little doubt that Hooper based his recommendations – which appeared in two reports on military recruitment, the first on the enlistment of Other Ranks in the Army, the second on recruitment in the Navy and the Air Force[24] – on the general philosophy of management articulated in *Management Survey* (1948). The latter book, originally published by Hooper in 1948 but re-released as a Penguin title in the same year he was appointed to advise the military, made a strong

argument for reforming the ways in which employers (or 'managers') liaised with their employees.

> At times like the present, when we are between two worlds, one dying and the other struggling to be born, the daily, quiet, common-sense human influence of sound and steady management may stabilise millions of people and thousands of homes without any fuss being made about it or indeed anyone recognising consciously that a job of such magnitude is being done.[25]

Hooper's conception of management was not unique, and had a precedent in the work of the Australian psychologist Elton Mayo. Mayo, whose studies of workers' behaviour in factories inspired the 'human relations movement' in the social sciences,[26] suggested that a change within western societies from the 'village or small town type of social economy to the city or industrial centre type has occurred without attracting the attention of intelligent management'. Both the Great Depression and the second world war had demonstrated the drift within nations and between them 'not only toward chaos but also toward anarchy', and it was paramount for governments and corporations to reassert social order by recognising the importance of good leadership. This involved acknowledging the 'social needs' of workers and citizens, and it also required a greater degree of accountability within hierarchical institutions. As with Hooper, Mayo viewed 'intelligent management' as a solution to certain social problems and a safeguard against class conflict.[27]

For Hooper, management was thus about more than simply exercising 'power over' subordinates. It was about changing the culture of a workplace to promote harmony between employers and employees. 'Nothing', he claimed, 'has done more to widen and embitter the cleavage between capital and labour than the economic materialism of the last century, which degraded human beings into "hands", into units in an economic structure'.[28] This view, part and parcel of the post-war consensus ushered in by the 1945 Labour government, was articulated by a number of contemporaries; even Winston Churchill adopted a conciliatory approach to industrial relations that recognised the legitimacy of trade unions.[29] Yet Hooper may have been the first to apply it to the military, at least in the context of the material examined in this thesis. Indeed, while calls for the improvement of the working conditions of soldiers and terms of service had been made before,[30] few recruiters had publicly countenanced introducing a collectivist approach to military life. In this respect, Hooper's recommendations for reforming the military are worth considering.

Management, Modernity and the Reform of Military Recruitment

Hooper's reports, which brought to a conclusion a review of enlistment that probably began in early 1960, were aimed for the most part at the Army. Though the second report described the organisation of recruitment in the Air Force and the Navy, it was considerably shorter than its predecessor; the Air Force and the Navy, according to Hooper, were 'getting the recruits they need' and were therefore spared comprehensive 'criticism…of the methods by which they get them'.[31] The Army, however, required nothing short of a complete overhaul of its recruiting machinery, and its public relations and advertising activities. The majority of Hooper's recommendations concerned the former – how civilians were attracted to, processed at and subsequently trained by various military stations and depots – but since he considered public relations an activity that extended beyond the world of media representation he included many of his recommendations under the general category 'public relations'.[32] Moreover, though he took great pains to spell out the ways in which the armed forces could improve their 'internal public relations', he was clear that in order for recruitment to be successful a reliance on 'ephemeral tricks' and 'artificial gimmicks' would need to be abandoned.[33] The Army, in short, would need to reform itself before it could begin advertising, and such an exercise in re-branding would require more than just a deft hand at presentation.

Recruiting Machinery: The Need for Good First Impressions

Each of the three Service departments maintained a number of recruiting stations or 'depots'. Tasked with processing new recruits and liaising with individual members of the public, these depots performed an important function in the recruiting process.[34] To enlist in the military, civilians had to visit one such depot to sign up; if interested in additional information – a detail that could not be obtained from advertisements, for example, or something that could not be gleaned from the news – they could consult the recruiting staff deployed within. Military advertisements actively encouraged civilians to visit their nearest recruiting station, having done so at least since the first world war, and all depots possessed an important promotional function: their staff, as Hooper said in the first of his reports, were effectively 'unofficial Public Relations Officers' tasked with presenting the Services in a favourable light.[35] They were also, in the vast majority of cases, the first *human* point of contact between the civilian potentially interested in joining up and the serving soldier; the first place, that is to say, where civilians came into contact with members of the armed forces.[36]

For Hooper, these depots were as important as advertising and public relations in the struggle to attract civilians to the forces. The first impressions of military life were gained there, and the staff civilians met would require what he called 'social talents' to 'bridge the gulf between Army and civilian life'.[37] A recurring theme in his reports and something that, as we have already seen, entered his work for the Ministry of Labour, civilian life was considered crucial for enticing men and women to the Services. With Britain on the cusp of an era of affluence, a so-called 'golden age',[38] Hooper believed the Services should emulate all that was revered in the civilian world. Staff at the recruiting depots, furthermore, would need to convince prospective recruits that the values of military life chimed with their own aspirations and desires. The Services, however, already did this. The Air Force, regarded by Hooper as the best 'recruiting system' of the three, offered its recruiting staff a series of training courses designed to improve their powers of persuasion, gave control to its recruiting apparatus to a 'young Captain', and ensured there was a regular turn-over of recruiters so that no member of staff served in depots for longer than three years. The Navy also delegated control of its machinery to a single Director, but its regional apparatus was overseen by retired officers 'of middle seniority' and recruiting staff were mostly older men.[39] The Army, which according to Hooper possessed the worst of the three systems, decentralised its recruiting machinery, sharing the responsibility among the WO, the Adjutant-General[40] and the Home Commands, and making recruitment 'but one function among many', a policy, he claimed, that ensured it lacked the 'attention and encouragement' it deserved.[41]

As the largest of the three Services, the Army possessed the most voluminous recruiting machinery. As many as 128 recruiting depots were established in the United Kingdom, and while each of these stations was governed by a national policy dictated by the WO and the Adjutant-General Hooper believed their proliferation across Britain represented 'too cumbersome a machinery' for the job at hand. Echoing calls made between the wars for a more streamlined and centralised apparatus (see chapter six), he suggested adopting a system closer to the Air Ministry's: overseen by a 'central recruiting organisation specialising in its task', and staffed with 'officers and other ranks…[who would] receive a standard training in their duties designed to animate them with an *esprit-de-corps* [sic] and a sense of mission'. At the time, the Army pitted individual recruiting depots in competition with each other, with incentives offered for good results, and Hooper believed this created 'wasteful rivalry' between recruiters and a 'duplication of effort'. Competition between staff in the same

organisation was anathema to his attitudes towards 'internal public relations', and Hooper proposed a more collaborative system of mutual cooperation. He also described in some detail the importance of making appointments. In the past, Hooper claimed

> the tendency has been for recruiting to be considered a dead-end job suitable for middle-aged officers and NCO's [sic] who have not yet completed their engagements; for those considered in other ways unsuitable for combatant appointments; or for those who have already retired.[42]

This gave an unfavourable impression of the Army, not least because it suggested a generational gap between recruiters and civilians. Keen to stress the importance of appearing 'modern' (something that, he claimed, the RAF managed to do simply by being the youngest of the Services), Hooper recommended overhauling the Army and Navy systems to ensure recruiters were well versed in what he called (but did not elaborate on) 'the problems of modern youth'.[43] Young people had grown in both numbers and stature in Britain in the wake of the post-war baby boom, and had acquired a degree of economic and cultural power that their predecessors lacked.[44] Since the Army required young men for the vast majority of its regular posts, a focus on youth was understandable. Yet there were other reasons for prioritising the 'rising generation'.[45]

By employing young people, the tri-Service could present itself as a *youthful institution*. By training young people to act as recruiting sergeants, it could improve its chances of recruiting their peers. The Air Force, which ran a series of courses designed specifically for this purpose, was again held up by Hooper as a model of good practice, partly because it sent recruiters on courses dedicated to teaching good communication practice and partly because these courses personally impressed Hooper (who attended three of them). Teaching recruiters to be aware of body language and facial expression might sound remarkable, but the other Services ran similar courses. The Navy even tasked its most 'senior psychologist' with training recruiters on the 'technique of interviewing' applicants, while the Army outsourced its training to an unnamed private 'sales consultant'.[46]

Hooper regarded the first of these courses as too 'concentrated and specialised' for its own good, and claimed the Army's emphasis on 'recruiting young men by means of "sales talk"' undermined its activities.[47] 'Sales talk' appears to have been a euphemism for conventional advertising pitches, and though Hooper did not discount advertising or promotion he was

unequivocal that such 'talk' cheapened the Services. Though he referred elsewhere to the business of recruitment as a business centred on the sale of a 'product',[48] he did not advocate emulating the practices and techniques of private industry. Recruiters, on the contrary, should not regard their 'work as a "sales job", but as an exercise in public relations…[which] present[s] the facts about the [military] and the advantages of a Service career over civilian employment'. The emphasis on 'facts' might be interpreted as a product of the earlier attempted reform of the information services (see chapter eight), but it is clear from the context that Hooper regards public relations as something that involved more than just presentation. There could be no question of 'pulling the wool over the eyes of prospective recruits' because public relations 'should never overtake reality', and for this reason it was paramount that the Services *did* possess certain advantages over their civilian competitors.[49] How these advantages were conveyed in mediated promotion will be examined below.

Public Relations, Advertising and the Importance of Being Earnest

Many definitions of effective promotion had been articulated in the history of military advertising, but for Hooper the 'true concept' of public relations was an 'ability to discover what grips the public imagination, coupled with the administrative skill necessary to meet this demand'.[50] On the face of it, this definition was not unlike those articulated by military advertisers in earlier years (see chapters one and two) and it was similar in both tone and content to what the American commentator Walter Lippmann had to say about the 'manufacture of consent' in the early 1920s:

> When public affairs are popularised in speeches, headlines, plays, moving pictures, cartoons, novels, statues or paintings, their transformation into a human interest requires first abstraction from the original, and then animation of what has been abstracted. We cannot be much interested in, or much moved by, the things we do not see. Of public affairs each of us sees very little, and therefore, they remain dull and unappetising until somebody, with the makings of an artist, has translated them into a moving picture.[51]

Translating words into pictures and policies into stories became a lifelong concern of Lippmann's, who, as Stewart Ewen has shown, was one of many early 20th century liberal commentators interested in the question of 'how to mediate between the democratic aspirations of ordinary men and women and the conviction that elites must be able to govern without the impediment of an active or participatory public'.[52] Public relations, according to Lippmann, was not simply about understanding the public mind. It was about manipulating

'symbols' and 'pictures' to transform what people believed.[53] In America, this attitude served a clear purpose: the suppression of an increasingly vocal working-class. In Britain after 1945, it became, in the words of one official connected to the reform of the information services under Attlee, a 'struggle of ideas' involving governments on the one hand and those that they claimed to represent on the other.[54]

Like Lippmann, Hooper believed in the power of media to transmit compelling messages, and recommended television to 'tell a story of this kind'.[55] Where he differed from Lippmann, however, was in the belief that public relations required more than just a deft hand at manipulating the press or constructing persuasive 'pictures'. Public relations, for Hooper, demanded an appreciation and consideration of material conditions that would have seemed alien to Lippmann. Indeed, while the latter believed ordinary people were essentially irrational entities incapable of reasoned thought,[56] Hooper was convinced that the targets of military recruitment campaigns would only respond to appeals if you gave them a presentation of Service life that was empirically accurate. 'No campaign of public relations', he claimed, 'can succeed unless the product we are advertising is (a) good, and (b) all we say that it is', and to that end the Army, Navy and Air Force were advised to look beyond the work of their information services to the material conditions that hindered further enlistment.[57]

Many of these dissatisfactions and disgruntlements had already been unearthed by Social Survey (see chapter seven), but Hooper was more concerned with what he called the 'image' of the forces in public life. This image needed to be 'brought more up-to-date', and recruits would need to move beyond both the pre-war Regular Army (identified as 'providing a career only for those unable to find fruitful employment in civilian life') and the post-war National Service Army ('too often…judged through the eyes of those who found its restrictions both irritating and frustrating') to achieve this.[58] In *Management Survey*, Hooper had spoken of a 'revolution whose full implications may be harder to assimilate than all the combined technological changes of the century',[59] and it is not hard to see the genesis of this idea in his reports, which announced new 'habits of modern civilian life' and a 'modernity' per se.[60] In his book, Hooper suggested the 'scales of power' that balanced relations between employers and employees had 'veer[ed] over from management to men'. 'People', he argued, 'are no longer content to do as they are bid, just because they are told to. They will question and revolt if answers do not square with their views of sense and justice', and individuals in positions of

power would do well to bear this in mind.[61] The 'strong-arm methods' of the past, by which management exercised '"power over" the working group', were being superseded by a 'modern conception' of '"power with" the working group', which heralded a greater degree of collectivism in the workplace, a rise in collective decision making or 'joint consultation', improved working conditions, better pay and the cultivation of a working environment where no employee

> dreads the return of Monday, hates work, goes to it reluctantly, feels exploited while doing it, wishes while at it that he was elsewhere, and would leave it gladly at once if it were not that he needed the money.[62]

These ideas reflected a broader shift in attitudes and values associated with the post-war settlement,[63] and were not, when Hooper wrote *Management Survey*, intended expressly for the armed forces. Nevertheless, when he reported on recruitment Hooper was explicit that a 'close parallel' should be drawn 'between what has taken place in industry since the war and what, in some form, ought to take place in the Army. Before the war', he continued, 'employers relied on the threat of the sack as their main inspiration in getting men to work; today, no business can thrive unless there is mutual trust between employers and the people they employ'.[64]

The need to cultivate 'trust' between new recruits and those who trained them was necessary not only because conscription was in the process of being phased out. In an 'age of full employment', Hooper claimed, the Services will be unable to attract volunteers if they continue to rely on what he called an 'out-of-date code of discipline'.[65] Discipline had been a concern of the armed forces for some time. Stories of authoritarian and dictatorial drill sergeants littered the press in the mid-1950s, and were among the critiques of National Service voiced by its detractors in the run up to 1957.[66] Citing the Grigg Report of 1955, an investigation into the future manpower of the armed forces, Hooper identified 'unnecessary parades…over-frequent kit inspections, guard duties which have no obvious purpose, [and] excessive fatigues' as 'breeders of discontent' amongst the ranks. His solution was an end to those 'irksome regulations and customs' which clashed with the ideals of 'modernity' and an attitude towards discipline that reflected the civilian 'way of life'.[67]

On their own terms, these suggestions for the improvement of military recruitment departed radically from other suggestions for boosting enlistment considered in this thesis. Yet Hooper

did not stop there. The deployment of military police in public places was, he claimed, an 'instrument of intimidation' which succeeded only in repelling potential recruits. Military language, examples of which were given as 'fatigue' and 'desertion', carried 'undertones of menace and harsh discipline', and would not compare favourably with the language of private industry. Court-martials were given similarly short thrift, because they represented the clearest expression of military authority, and because they amounted to 'bad publicity for the Army'. The military's intransigence, finally, and its general reluctance to introduce a system of 'joint consultation' whereby 'comments are invited from men on [the] means of achieving greater efficiency or of removing unnecessary causes of irritation', was critiqued. The vision of an Army driven by collective decision-making destabilised the very concept of the command structure, and Hooper was careful to hedge his words. He did not, he claimed, wish to 'raise the spectre of Soldiers' Soviets', or indeed to abolish discipline *per se*, but to

> emphasise that the modern soldier is an intelligent human being devoting his life to a career of supreme importance, and that he deserves to be treated as such.[68]

Public relations, for Hooper, was not simply about changing perception; it was about changing the 'reality' upon which that perception was based. How his ideas were received by the military, and what impact they had on military recruitment, will be the subject of this chapter's final section.

Business as Usual: Promoting the Services After Hooper

A week after Hooper's reports were published, the Minister of Defence Peter Thornycroft called a meeting with the Secretary of State for War, Christopher Soames, to 'consider what action should be taken to secure early improvements in recruitment' for the Army.[69] Hooper's report, according to one official, had caused something of a stir in the WO, although not because of its call for an end to excessive discipline and a relaxation of military hierarchy. The one recommendation that had, in the same official's words, 'engendered' the most 'heat' amongst recruiters was the centralisation of recruitment machinery,[70] a proposal roundly rejected by Thornycroft, Soames and Soames' successor, John Profumo. According to the latter politicians, it would take around 9 months for the centralisation of existing machinery to be imposed, by which point the 'recruiting battle might well have been lost'. The Army had only recently decentralised its recruiting machinery, furthermore, after a centralised system controlled by the WO had been wound up in June 1958, and the existing system, whereby the

Home Commands oversaw recruitment in the country's nine defence regions, was already apparently 'highly centralised' in nature.[71]

The subjects of discipline and military hierarchy, on the other hand, were conspicuous by their absence. Indeed, beyond a brief reference to having '[o]ver-strict' discipline 'stopped', neither subjects featured prominently both in the July 26th meeting and in subsequent correspondence between the various officials involved in recruitment. Since Hooper's reports were intended for those who, through political office or military rank, dictated how the military was run, it is perhaps unsurprising that the latter issue was not raised. Of all Britain's established institutions, the armed forces were most used to exercising 'power over' their subordinates, and showed little desire to relinquish this authority in the spirit of 'modernity'. Indeed, in both the meeting and the correspondence between the various officials tasked with overseeing recruitment in the WO, only one reference to hierarchy was made in the official records: an oblique allusion to a 'new outlook on our all-Regular Army' which incorporated the Army's 'method of dealing with recruits'.[72]

Where concrete suggestions were made, and where the vast majority of firm commitments to new policies appeared, was in the realm of advertising and public relations. Hooper had made it abundantly clear that recruitment drives should only proceed after certain 'defects' in the Services had been corrected. Claiming the aim of any recruitment campaign would be to present the military as 'important, patriotic, manly and adventurous', he had put forward television as the most appropriate medium for these purposes. Despite a convincing counter-argument from a chief information officer, which indicated that any further reduction of the press advertising budget would 'emasculate' the entire campaign, steps were taken to introduce a programme of television advertising on an 'experimental basis' during 1960-61, and the BBC would also be lobbied (as in 1939 and 1946) to 'make feature programmes of the Army at work overseas'.[73] Within a few years, the three Services had begun producing films of their own, intended to be screened at cinemas and broadcast on television. *Jubilee 1912-62* (1962), *Youth Gets Wings* (1965), *Jungle Lifetime* (1965) and *Falls Patrol* (1966) were produced in conjunction with the Services' Photographic Units, though there is evidence that the BBC was also involved in the production of at least one of these texts.[74]

Since the work of British soldiers abroad was a matter of 'public interest', including recruitment material as part of the BBC's normal schedule of programming was not hard to

justify. Yet recruiters were in little doubt that these texts were designed to promote rather than to inform and entertain in the Reithien sense of the words, and that they would form part of a wider recruitment campaign that made use of multiple media, including newspapers and posters.[75] While television was increasingly prioritised, however, doubts were expressed over the direction of the campaign as outlined by Hooper. The Director of Public Relations at the WOclaimed it would be difficult to portray the Army as a life of a 'manly, adventurous nature' because the vast majority of soldiers led a life that was 'anything but' – 'and this fact is well known throughout the country'. In keeping with Hooper's general philosophy on public relations, the Director suggested the Army should be

> very careful not to present a brand image which is, in a considerable number of cases, not only manifestly, but also demonstrably, biased or untrue.[76]

To ensure the Army's 'brand image' cohered with public opinion, steps would need to be taken to improve pay, accommodation and leave, end excessive discipline, and water down hierarchy. Apart from a vague reference to keep the issue of 'discipline in mind', these reforms were not considered seriously. Indeed, of the five key proposals put forward by the MOD for improving recruitment, none concerned issues not directly connected to matters of media representation. The reluctance to implement Hooper's proposals might be interpreted as a rejection of the fundamental principles of his approach to 'management', although in the absence of corroboratory evidence it is impossible to draw a firm conclusion. What can be determined, on the basis of production records and correspondence between recruiters is what impact the actual reforms had on military advertising.

By 1961, it had become clear that the measures introduced by Soames had not produced the desired effect. While voluntary enlistment had increased, a development attributed to television advertising,[77] wastage had also increased to such an extent that gains in enlistment were being 'neutralised' by poor retention. This was blamed partly on the right to purchase discharges, afforded to new recruits within the first three months of service, and steps were taken to remove that right with the introduction of a clause in the Army Bill.[78] Other plans to reduce wastage included a relaxation of medical standards to decrease the quantity of discharges and a reduction of discharges *per se*, but these alone could not resolve the problem. The recruiting situation, according to Profumo, gave 'rise to considerable concern'.[79] With the last National Servicemen scheduled to leave their posts in December 1962, and with

no new conscripts arriving to replace them, the Army required what Profumo called in a note to his staff a 'new and radical attack on the whole problem of voluntary recruiting' that involved a number of different campaigns.[80]

Figure Sixteen

A full-colour magazine advertisement, this image appeared in publications like *Reader's Digest* between 1962 and 1963. With the conscription being phased out and manpower being replaced by new technology like jet aeroplanes, advertisements of the period tried to depict the military as a 'modern' employer that embraced science and technology.

Since this 'attack' hinged on proposals lifted from Hooper's reports and from his work on the Committee on the Employment of National Servicemen, it would be inaccurate to describe it as 'new'. Nevertheless, some novel proposals were put forward. Using the Territorial Army as a recruiting agent was suggested, because the 'Territorial Army has the Regular Army at heart',[81] and an attempt to increase the recruitment of so-called 'coloured personnel' was also mooted. The latter suggestion presented problems for Thornycroft. While non-white recruits could fill the gap left by departing conscripts, questions were raised about the 'loss of prestige' the British Army would apparently suffer if it recruited too many non-white soldiers. It was even suggested, in fact, that by recruiting black soldiers in large numbers the government would effectively hinder the recruitment of their white counterparts. An informal (and entirely illegal) 2% limit of non-white personnel had been imposed on the Army,[82] but the

pressures to meet the shortfall led the Minister of Defence to reconsider this figure. However, since the Army was not close to breaching it anyway, a debate on whether it should be increased was regarded by the latter politician as 'academic'[83].

Figure Seventeen

A poster distributed sometime in 1962-63, this image also placed an emphasis on military hardware in its depiction of Service life. A series of 'snapshots' that depicted what the Royal Air Force was apparently like to recruits, it combined images of servicemen and servicewomen with photographs of the technology they used. It is worth remembering that commercial air travel was still in its infancy in the 1960s, and that flying jet fighters may have held some appeal.

Women, turned to in times of shortages throughout the 20th century, were also the subject of a new recruiting drive. However, as with the appointment of ethnic minorities the Army was so far away from filling posts already allocated to them that any attempt to expand the role of women in the post-war Army 'would not, even if they were available in sufficient numbers, assist in lowering the demand for men'.[84] It was not until the late 1970s that women were permitted to occupy combat roles,[85] and since their service was typically restricted to administrative, clerical or secretarial duties it was suggested that civilianisation of these kinds of posts – whether occupied by men or women – would represent a more profitable avenue

for increased enlistment.[86] Hooper had of course called for a wave of civilianisation in 1956, although there were many problems associated with it, not least increased costs. While transferring military jobs to civilian ones would help reduce the overall number of military personnel, and would thus reduce the number of individuals the WO needed to recruit on conventional terms of service, civilians commanded higher salaries than soldiers, worked fewer hours, enjoyed more leave and were not obliged to work under the threat of court martial. While Hooper had claimed such a policy would bring the Services in line with modern conditions,[87] it would thus also cost more, something that would be hard to justify given the emphasis placed on cost-cutting as a principal reason for abolishing conscription.

Figure Eighteen

A newspaper and magazine advertisement aimed at working and lower-middle class applicants, this image appeared in many of the major red-top newspapers. Targeting individuals through the newspapers they read was standard practice in military advertising. In the context of the cultural and social 'revolution' of the 1960s, however, it took on a special meaning. Texts like these maintained but did not, crucially, challenge the status quo.

In the event, the MOD did try to 'devise new ways of linking the Army with the community', largely by improving liaisons with schools and by expanding the 'youth work' soldiers

undertook in local areas. Such proposals, Thornycroft claimed in a note to the WO, represented 'one of the best ways of putting the idea of an Army career into the minds of young men',[88] though like increased civilianisation and the recruitment of women it was not a particularly novel suggestion. Children had been targeted for apprenticeships, trainee programmes and military educational courses since the first Attlee government (see chapter eight), and the same programmes were offered to minors under successive Conservative administrations.[89] In 1958, an intensification of recruitment activities in public schools was authorised after a decline in the quality of applicants. One official even claimed the 1957 White Paper had precipitated the decline, though left no explanation as to why.[90] In any case, according to Major-General Gordon Lennox only 10% of the current Cadet Force was deemed suitable for a future commission, a figure that threatened the 'Army of the future' being 'officered largely by mediocrities'. The response of the WO was two-fold: redoubled efforts were made to improve recruiting in the so-called 'officer producing schools', and a headmaster was appointed as a 'schools liaison officer' to lobby schools.[91]

Historically, the British Army had drawn a significant proportion of its senior staff from public schools, and had earned a reputation for elitism because of it. Yet while recruiters in the WO continued to regard private education as the best source of future 'officers', they required secondary technical and secondary modern schools for positions that were, by comparison, less glamorous. As mechanisation in the tri-Service increased, the demand for semi-skilled and skilled tradesmen – mechanics, technicians, machine operators and so on – also increased. Though the latter positions were precisely those earmarked for civilianisation, the armed forces maintained a network of schools, colleges and universities to train young men on the principles of military life well into the 1970s, and endorsed these institutions in official advertising.[92] Between 1961 and 1962, for example, the RAF ran a series of advertisements in national newspapers aimed at entrants to the Service's 'university of the air' at Cranwell, Lincolnshire, and at apprentices (for Other Ranks) for its various schools and colleges. Both kinds of advertisement emphasised travel, adventure and the importance of learning a trade or profession, and each, in its own way, stressed the importance of the future: applicants were continually informed of what to expect *after* completing their prospective courses. But what distinguished each kind of advertisement was where they were displayed. Promotions targeting officer entrants tended to appear in mid-market and broadsheet newspapers such as the *Telegraph*, while those aimed at Other Ranks were exhibited in the red-tops.[93]

Figure Nineteen

In contrast to the earlier advertisement (see figure eighteen) this newspaper advertisement was aimed at middle and upper-class applicants invited to apply in order to 'take command'.

As with other advertisements released during this period, social class plays an important role in framing the appeal. The two central figures are identified as officers by their attire, while the line of men in the foreground appear to be their subordinates.

The 1960s was a time of reform or 'liberalisation' in both secondary and higher education.[94] The tripartite system of schooling, whereby children were sent to different categories of schools on the basis of their performance in the 11+ examination, was partially overhauled under the 1964-1970 Labour government; new 'redbrick' universities were built; and leading technological colleges were rechristened 'polytechnics'. The recruitment campaigns of 1960-63 preceded these reforms, but they should not be divorced from the broader context with which they occurred. Prior to Labour's return to power, Britain was said to be a 'stagnant society' that failed to embrace the ideals of progress, and was particularly reluctant to nurture the growth and development of science.[95] A belief in a fundamental opposition to change provided the backdrop to the 1964 general election, and explains why Labour, after winning that contest in convincing fashion, proceeded to set up a Ministry of Technology to fuel the

'white heat' of the scientific revolution they had promised voters. It also explains why so many recruitment advertisements of the period conveyed lavish images of military technology – planes, tanks, helicopters and so on – that presented the armed forces as progressive and forward-looking *vehicles of change*. 'The future is with the R.A.F.' declared a series of recruiting advertisements released in 1962-1963 (see figures sixteen and seventeen), the implication being that by enrolling in the Service applicants would become part of that future.

However, while the imagery and rhetoric of recruitment advertisements embodied the futurism of the times, the structures and practices of recruitment *advertising* remained intrinsically reactionary. Targeted via the newspapers their parents read, children were offered positions in the forces that recruiters believed befitted their social standing. With newspapers regarded as accurate barometers of social class and, by extension, military potential, those born into moneyed families were encouraged to join as commissioned officers while children of parents who did not read the so-called 'quality' papers were urged to apply for less prestigious positions. This approach to recruitment reflected long-standing attitudes towards social class in British society,[96] and found expression in the language of recruitment advertisements. In texts displayed in the *News of the World*, the *Sunday Pictorial* and other popular newspapers, for instance, the target audience – 'a trained man with a good trade' – was inveigled on the assumption that he would want the same life for his son 'when he is your age'.[97] In a separate advertisement targeting officers, potential recruits were invited to apply to have a chance to become 'future leaders'.[98] Those attending training schools could expect a 'valuable trade' and 'good money when so many of the necessities of life are provided free',[99] while their counterparts (and future superiors) in Cranwell were told to 'take command' by joining the 'executive arm' of the RAF (see figures eighteen and nineteen).[100]

Advertising, in this instance, was not so much a portent of a 'New Britain' as something that reflected, in Hooper's words, the 'struggle' of the 'New Britain' to be 'born'.[101] Tensions between old and new, between parents and children, and between social class and social mobility were hallmarks of British society in the 1960s, and would erupt in the latter half of the decade in a series of protest movements involving feminists, students, anti-war activists and campaigners for nuclear disarmament.[102] In the period immediately following the recruitment campaigns of 1960-63, Britain embarked on what is sometimes called a cultural revolution whose denunciation of the various pillars of the Establishment included opposition to the

Services. How the military responded to this revolution falls outside the scope of this study, and more work needs to be done to examine the response of recruiters to the 'New Britain' Howard Wilson prophesised in 1964. What can be concluded from the campaign work of the preceding years is that the image of military service presented in advertisements and public relations materials tried to embrace the broad currents of feeling that ran through British society, but that the methods of attracting recruits and of recruiting for the armed forces 'of the future', belied the modernity so frequently portrayed in the media.

Conclusion: The Return to Voluntarism and the 'Modernisation' of the Military

When the last National Serviceman left his post on May 1963, a new era in the British military armed forces commenced. The old partly-conscripted, partly-volunteer Army was drastically reduced in size as part of a series of reforms designed to 'streamline' the military and emphasise 'strategic deployment' over a global military presence. Excluding a number of small-scale 'limited wars', it was not until the 1980s that the new forces would be involved in a major military conflict. Before then, in a crucial transitional period between 1957 and 1963, steps were taken to reform how the military interacted and communicated with the wider civilian public. The Public Relations Departments that had been established during the interwar years (see chapter six) were part of this review, but its main inspiration came from a man who had no previous connection to military advertising. Sir Frederic Hooper, whose expertise lay in industrial relations and an approach to management that embodied the 'human relations' movement of the 1930s and 1940s,[103] was in many respects an unusual candidate to bring forward the 'modernisation' of the military. Though he had held various advisory positions on committees concerned with improving men's transition from Service to civilian life, he had no experience in the area of trying to encourage civilians to switch to khaki. Yet his work for the military made, according to some, a vital contribution in the transition to an all-volunteer military. Recounting the 'great success of the 1961-62 [recruiting] campaign', the *Times* claimed it was 'largely due to [Hooper's] advice and imagination, and to the expert knowledge which he contributed', that the military was able to make up the projected shortfall in recruiting numbers.[104]

In light of the WO and MOD response to Hooper's reports, historians might challenge this interpretation. The main substance of Hooper's recommendations was not, after all, implemented. Suggesting that the Army should abandon unnecessary discipline, promote a

greater degree of equality in the 'workplace' and look to private industry and civil society for inspiration on how to treat its staff, Hooper painted a picture of a kind of armed forces that probably seemed alien t those in senior staff positions. While his recommendations for improvements in accommodation, pay and terms of service were not particularly radical – similar proposals had been recorded as early as 1904[105] – dampening down military hierarchy certainly was, and ran against the grain of what had defined the armed forces as an institution for at least 50 years. The muted response to Hooper's reports and the fact that most of the resulting 'reforms' centred on changing media representations rather than the material conditions of service, indicates that the projected 'modernisation' of the military only went so far. Rather than overhauling the ways in which the Services treated their staff, a series of measures were considered which in some cases veered towards desperation. National servicemen were implored to extend their terms of service with 'bounties', children were targeted for cadet programmes and educational courses before they had even left school, and women and so-called 'coloured' entrants were put forward as temporary replacements for absent men.[106] The Army, in this instance, did not so much embrace the ideals of the 'new Britain' as follow the rest of Britain's 'Establishment' in vigorously resisting change.

Reflecting on the campaign work of 1960-63, we can argue that while advertisements conveyed a sense of modernity based on what seemed to be, at the time, a defining feature of a 'new Britain',[107] the military recruitment machinery did not itself embrace the ideals of this society. In this sense, a tension between the image of the armed forces as conveyed in advertisements and the structure and organisation of the armed forces can be discerned in the early 1960s.

<u>Chapter Ten</u>
Conclusion: Military Advertising in Perspective

In 1998, a year into Tony Blair's first term as British Prime Minister, a series of recruiting advertisements appeared on hoardings and in newspapers and magazines. Images of soldiers staring ominously into the distance under the now-famous slogan 'Your country needs you', these advertisements bore a striking resemblance to Alfred Leete's original design save for one significant detail. In place of Field-Marshal Horatio Herbert Kitchener stood either Warrant Officer Ashok Kumar Chauhan or Captain Fedelix Datson of the Royal Artillery. Neither individual was regarded as a 'military hero' in the sense in which Kitchener once was,[1] but more significant than their apparent lack of celebrity was the colour of their skin. Both Chauhan and Datson were black soldiers, and had been chosen to spearhead a recruiting campaign in Britain that specifically targeted ethnic minorities. This campaign, which was organised by the Ministry of Defence in conjunction with Saatchi & Saatchi, a major advertising agency, represented one element of the official response to mounting concerns that the armed forces were plagued with institutional racism. In 1997, after evidence had emerged of bullying and racial discrimination in the Household Cavalry the Ministry of Defence was threatened with a non-discrimination notice by the Commission for Racial Equality.[2] The department's response, and the fruit of its collaboration with Saatchi & Saatchi, was summed up in the small-print of the advertisements released the following year. 'Britain is a multi-racial country', they claimed, '[i]t needs a multi-racial Army' (see figure twenty).[3]

Designed to evoke a 'patriotic response from those who might otherwise feel excluded from the national collective',[4] this campaign can serve as a useful reminder of the need to probe beneath advertisements to unearth the conditions of production and reception that surround and envelop them. Black soldiers in a predominantly white Army, Chauhan and Datson were chosen as figureheads of a recruitment drive not because they represented (as with Kitchener) past glories, but because they personified an image of a new and apparently inclusive Army that welcomed all recruits irrespective of ethnicity or heritage. This image was popularised through a range of mass and interpersonal media, and like the campaigns examined in preceding chapters was fashioned by a number of individuals working across several institutions. A special recruiting 'cell' comprised of ethnic minority personnel in the armed forces was set up in 1997, and by the close of that year pilot initiatives to target

members of ethnic minority groups had been launched in Newham, East London and Sandwell in the West Midlands. Chauhan, one of the figureheads of the campaign, would later move from the Royal Artillery to work as a recruiting officer himself, while Saatchi & Saatchi, an agency with an established history of working for politicians,[5] would win an Effectiveness Award from the Institute of Practitioners of Advertising in 1999.[6] Reflecting on the results of the campaign in the House of Lords, the Minister of State for Defence Procurement John Gilbert lauded the 'considerable efforts which have been made over the last two years' by the Ministry of Defence to stifle racial discrimination, and suggested that such efforts demonstrated the willingness on the part of the military 'to make real, permanent progress' towards racial equality in the ranks.[7]

Figure Twenty

A revived copy of Alfred Leete's 'Your country need you', this poster was released in 1997 as part of a campaign to attract a greater number of ethnic minority applicants to the armed forces.

Produced by Saatchi & Saatchi in conjunction with the Ministry of Defence, it mirrored the agency-client model of production established in 1913 under the War Office. The soldier depicted in this image is Captain Fedelix Datson of the Royal Artillery.

This was not the first time the armed forces responded to a problem in manpower by organising a recruitment campaign, and nor was it, as we have seen, the first time the military

turned to private enterprise to improve its 'brand image'. From 1913 until 1963, the armed forces turned to advertising agencies and to promotion in general for all kinds of different reasons. During the First World War, the need to swell the ranks of the New Armies led to perhaps the largest advertising campaign in the history of the practice, and certainly the most extensive campaign examined in this thesis in terms of the number of advertisements produced and the number of recruiters involved.[8] During the interwar years, and again in the postwar era, recruitment campaigns were waged to boost enlistment in the various branches of civil defence set up to protect Britain's home fronts. From 1945 onwards, campaigns were organised not just for recruits but for controversial policies such as rearmament and conscription; and by the time National Service was phased out in the early 1960s a new attempt had been made to reform the Army's image in order to attract youth.

Ideas about promotion shifted during this period in line with changes to social, political and economic context. During the First World War, when the state lacked the in-house resources to organise large-scale recruitment campaigns it turned to the machinery of the political parties and to the expertise of private advertisers. In the interwar years, steps were taken to institutionalise government promotion with the formation of Public Relations Departments in the major ministries, institutions that would go on to be deployed, and subsequently adapted, in the 1938-39 and 1944-51 periods. By the postwar era, pressure on the incoming Labour government to justify the continued existence of government promotion led to an elaborate exercise of rebranding that endeavoured to portray all official publicity as a form of impartial 'information'. By the close of the following decade, the military and the Army especially was once more subjected to review, this time regarding its advertising and public relations work and the material conditions of military service.

There are many parallels between the attempt to boost enlistment of ethnic minorities in Britain in the 1990s and the work of earlier recruitment campaigns. Perhaps the most obvious of these lies in the realm of media imagery and rhetoric; Saatchi & Saatchi, after all, made a conscious decision to play on intertextuality by resurrecting an historic and well known recruiting poster to suit the requirements of a new era. But apart from similarities in media form and function there lies an *organisational* equivalence. In 1913, as in 1998, individuals working across media and political cultures and as part of institutions produced promotion to try to effect a change in public opinion. Their work, referred to in this thesis with the phrase

'military advertising', involved not only conventional (that is, 'paid-for') advertising, but public relations, news management and (after 1940) public opinion polling as well. Carried in newspapers, magazines, leaflets and films, on posters and television, over the airwaves and via public meetings, marches and rallies, military advertising infiltrated virtually every channel of mediated communication utilised in Britain in the first half of the 20th century. Though it is difficult to pass judgement on the impact this work might have had – any evaluation of its 'effects' runs against the grain of media studies[9] – the very fact that it appears to have occurred warrants historical attention. Recruitment campaigns and the discursive practices associated with them represented important interventions into civil society and the public sphere, and this thesis has tried to examine how they came into being and evolved.

Theorising Military Advertising: 'Effects', Promotion and Production

As the case of the original 'Your country needs you' suggests military advertisements have been implicated in some of the key debates regarding the relationship between war and society, advertising and democracy and politics and the mass media. Artefacts that apparently symbolise the 'national self',[10] they both celebrate the common soldier and implicitly or explicitly castigate those who choose not to enlist.[11] A great deal has been written about these artefacts, particularly in the literature on the First World War poster which, according to Joseph Darracott and Belinda Loftus, perpetuated a 'psychology' whose 'undertones' may not have been recognised by the audiences to whom they were directed. 'Today', Darracott and Loftus wrote in 1981, 'a constant barrage of publicity has created a critical awareness of the means of persuasion which must then have been largely absent; further, our eyes can translate a more abbreviated visual language and often find war posters over-emphatic'.[12] Given the rate at which posters were produced during the Great War, with one estimate suggesting that the government alone produced 11,886,560 copies of 164 designs,[13] it seems likely that the eyes of past observers were also subjected to a 'constant barrage' of publicity; and recent research into the history of commercial advertising has suggested that this 'barrage' predated the war by many decades.[14] Yet it also seems probable that these advertisements affected onlookers in different ways according to the beliefs and principles they 'brought' to them, and that onlookers themselves were actively involved in deciphering their imperatives. The response of certain New Army soldiers to recruiting images is well-known: having faced the 'enemy' in the trenches, they regarded the

means used to 'sell' the war with ironic bemusement. 'Your country needs you' became a stock phrase in the trenches, although not a phrase that was used to inspire patriotism:

> By 1915 British soldiers were already using the catchphrase 'Kitchener Wants You' whenever anyone was selected for an especially filthy job or a particularly dangerous duty, and this was not the only such adaptation from the recruiting campaign. The slogan 'Remember Belgium'...was also used by soldiers with bitter irony, often attracting the reply 'As if I'm ever likely to forget the place!'[15]

Recent historical scholarship has revealed the complex ways in which civilians interacted with and responded to recruitment advertisements,[16] and combined with the shift within media studies from self-contained messages to polysemic 'texts' capable of being interpreted in myriad ways suggests the approach to studying recruitment advertisements for their 'effects' is beset with limitations. Audiences, media theorists have been keen to point out,[17] do not absorb the meanings imprinted onto media texts unconsciously, but are rather active contributors to the process of meaning making. Such findings suggest the need to move beyond 'effects' to other aspects of promotional culture, and to move beyond advertisements themselves, which remain only part of what marketing theorists sometimes call the 'promotional mix',[18] to other kinds promotion and communication. Advertisements are part of wider recruitment campaigns, and campaigns themselves are products of what James Aulich has called the 'shifting and symbiotic relationships' between governments, armed forces, commercial culture and the media industry in Britain in the 20th century.[19]

This thesis has chosen as its main subject area the work that goes on behind recruitment advertisements, and has thus eschewed questions of media texts in favour of analyses of media institutions. Offering a history of military advertising rather than a history of military advertisements,[20] it has placed a particular primacy on the institutions, individuals and discursive practices involved in the production and dissemination of advertisements rather than the vehicles through which promotion was 'carried' or conveyed. An account rooted in the perspectives and experiences of those who produced and planned military advertising, it has explored a range of recruitment campaigns waged in Britain in the first half of the 20th century, as well as some of the institutions, policies and social developments associated with these campaigns. This approach has emphasised the interactions, interrelations and connections that lie beneath advertisements, and has entailed an examination of a number of activities not usually considered part of advertising. Under the umbrella of military advertising,

it has explored public relations, opinion polling, aspects of manpower policy and the broader role of politicians and civil servants in the government's 'information services'. These subjects, where they have been discussed, have tended to be explored in relation to detailed case studies, or as part of analyses that only indirectly relate to the subject of armed forces mobilisation.[21] There remains no wide-ranging history of military advertising.

Furthermore, in accounts that do consider recruitment advertising historians have often pointed to a lack of sophistication and complexity of recruitment campaigns. This strain of criticism is evident in some of the commentary on 'Your country needs you', and it is also apparent in accounts of the development of war propaganda which have tended to overlook the subject of recruitment. Since the 1960s, various arguments have been put forward to explain the emergence of propaganda in Britain in the 20th century. One argument, found in the work of Arthur Marwick, Cate Haste, Peter Buitenhuis and Lloyd Clark, has suggested that the business of recruitment advertising during the First World War was a matter of mere 'routine' when compared to the more significant and apparently more portentous activities of the wartime propaganda agencies.[22] Another argument, voiced by authors such as Phil Taylor, Iain McLaine and Michael Balfour although convincingly critiqued by Mariel Grant, has contended that, apart from the work associated with the 'projection of Britain' to foreign nations and the planning of the Ministry of Information (MOI), little propaganda work was carried out in the interwar years.[23] Yet another argument, critiqued by both William Crofts and John Tulloch, has suggested that the postwar era signalled an end to large-scale propaganda work, with only the clandestine Information Research Department (an anti-Soviet, Cold War propaganda agency) continuing the work of the wartime information services.[24]

The research presented here has critiqued these interpretations and, following in the footsteps of Crofts, Tulloch and Grant, has sought to examine the under-explored and, for the most part, under-theorised work of military recruiters. Moving beyond the established propaganda agencies, most of which have been subject to detailed historical monographs, it has shined a light on organisations such as the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee (PRC) (1914-15), the Caxtons Publishing House (1913-15), the Department of Recruiting (1915), the Irish Recruiting Council (1918), the Public Relations Departments of individual ministries (circa 1938-63), the Central National Service Committee (1938-39), Social Survey (1940-60), the Central Office of Information (COI) (1946-63), the myriad Information Services

Committees (1948-51), and the Defence Publicity Programme (1948-51). In addition to these institutions, it has also explored the role of individuals in the production and planning of recruitment campaigns, from Eric Field and Hedley Le Bas during the First World War, to Sir John Anderson and Sir Humbert Wolfe during the interwar years, to Herbert Morrison and Sir Alan Barlow in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, to Sir Frederic Hooper in the transitional period in the 1950s/1960s when National Service was gradually phased out.

The kinds of promotion produced by these organisations and individuals, and the extent of their role in the development of new forms of political communication, should not be overestimated. Nor should the complexity of the work in which they engaged. Recruitment campaigns were structured events organised by a range of participants and stretching across a number of institutions. Involving 'outside' advertisers or experts and internal institutions they cannot be dismissed as purveyors of 'fairly routine' activities or as attempts to manipulate opinion that lacked the 'organisation' of other forms of communication.[25] In the case of the PRC, (admittedly an exceptional example) the scale on which promotion was carried out rivalled any campaign of propaganda or information, governmental or otherwise, in Britain in the 20th century.[26] However, though the PRC has attracted a wealth of attention, perhaps because of the scale of its work and perhaps because of its connection to two of the war's most famous images, other institutions have been cast to the fringes of historical writing. Furthermore, while the PRC has inspired a number of case studies, the lion's share of historical writing on it – as with military advertising in general – has been dedicated towards detailed textual analyses of its poster and leafleting work. This emphasis on advertisements rather than advertising has served to distract historians' attention from other aspects of its operations, and has contributed to the enduring belief that no major attempts were made to manufacture opinion during the early stages of the First World War.[27]

Techniques of Persuasion and Discourses of Promotion

Interpreted in this light, the history of military advertising can be used to challenge existing understandings of the emergence of propaganda in Britain in the 20th century. Yet it also carries important implications for how historians understand the development of advertising and public relations. In the literature on promotional culture, advertising and public relations tend to be studied as forms of commercial communication that originate in, and help to sustain, private enterprise (see chapter two). Though some research has been done

examining the interrelations between the commercial and the political in the literature on the war poster, this has tended to offer a history of advertise*ments* rather than a history of adverti*sing*.[28] Furthermore, while the field of promotional culture has itself expanded in recent years to consider a range of promotional activities not directly connected to the development of commercial communication,[29] the field of military promotion remains under-developed and under-theorised when compared to its commercial counterpart. In both the literature on war propaganda and the literature on promotional culture, in other words, there has been a marked tendency to overlook or undervalue the subject of military advertising, although some work has been carried out into the use of military advertising in the present day.[30]

Through a series of case studies, this thesis has show the wide variety of promotional techniques used by recruiters and the prevalence of promotion in matters of recruitment. These case studies explored different aspects of military advertising, and though several points of intersection linked them together each case study was intended to function as a discrete 'snapshot' that revealed what Liz McFall has (elsewhere) called the 'diverse, haphazard, and uneven array of institutions [and] practices...adapted to fit specific contextual circumstances at different historical moments'.[31] This approach has called attention to the rich variety of techniques, methods and devices adopted by recruiters in the 1913-63 period.

As chapters four-five demonstrated, the authorities organised not only a major poster and leaflet-based recruitment campaign, but a series of activities that transcended the normal parameters of conventional advertising. The Householders' Return and the canvassing of the British population conducted on behalf of Lord Derby's 'group system' of voluntary enlistment, for example, represented an early attempt at gathering information on the targets of government promotion. They were also important in laying the groundwork for conscription: it was only by surveying the population that the government established a rough estimate of how many men would be available for service in the advent of conscription. The recruiting meetings and rallies which made up a significant proportion of the PRC's campaign, meanwhile, demonstrated a willingness to move beyond the 'paid-for' publicity produced by Caxtons to public spectacles designed to catch the eyes of passersby. These 'spectacles' performed an important function in recruitment promotion, which was conveyed both interpersonally and in mass media. The formation of Joint Recruiting Committees, on the other hand, provided a link between central and local government, while the attempt to insert

recruitment promotion into the newspapers as an ordinary 'news' story demonstrated the close relationship recruiters shared (or at any rate tried to share) with journalists.

Chapter six illustrated that many of the devices and techniques adopted by recruiters would be continued into the interwar era, but it also revealed the general proficiency of recruiters when working across several departments for the same campaign. Involving multiple media and multiple institutions, the idea of a 'people's war' was carried in a range of 'paid-for' and 'above-the-line' promotions, including the *National Service Guide* (printed and distributed to every householder in the country using the machinery of the Stationary Office and the Post Office); a series of oratorical speeches to the public by senior politicians and civil servants; a new batch of local committees equivalent to their PRC predecessors; a Central National Service Committee comparable to the PRC; a programme of public meetings and events, held both locally and nationally; advertisements carried in the national newspapers; promotional material conveyed in the programming of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC); and, to round the entire campaign off, an important march or 'Royal Review' held in Hyde Park in London in the summer of 1939.

In the early stages of the Second World War the government sought to work out more accurate ways of monitoring and measuring public opinion, and chapter seven explored this topic. In the run up to the war, most attempts to divine public opinion centred on 'inferring' that opinion indirectly. As Angus Calder remarked in *The People's War* (1969), the 'old gentlemanly notion that the Government was doing all right if the habitués of London clubs approved of it' provided Westminster with its 'connection' to mass opinion, and politicians also took to reading opinion pieces in newspapers in an attempt to 'read' public opinion via the material they could find in the press.[32] The unique strains placed on the government during a total war encouraged a review of these informal procedures, and Social Survey was formed in 1940 to monitor public opinion inspired by the work of commercial advertising agencies, which had carried out 'research' on behalf of clients since at least the 1920s,[33] and by the 'mathematical statistics' favoured by key figures in the London School of Economics. Applying this method to the subject of recruitment helped to create a new discourse of advertising effectiveness that portrayed promotion as something that could be measured and *predicted* using methods derived from the 'science' of statistics.

Chapters eight and nine, finally, highlighted the willingness on the part of governments to apply the methods and techniques of recruitment advertising to policies related to it, and to consider reforming these methods and techniques to suit the requirements of new situations. When the decision to extend conscription into the postwar era was made, for instance, steps were taken to promote that policy as a sensible means of 'replacing the lock on the door'.[34] When a substantial rearmament programme was ordered by the first Attlee government, the staff at the information services were ordered by Morrison to use their 'ingenuity' to get 'stories of news value into the press, on the wireless, and in other media' that portrayed that policy as a level-headed decision.[35] More committees were established during this period, and the COI was formed as an in-house advertising agency that could be used by any department that saw a need for it – recognition of the continued importance of state advertising. Newspapers and the BBC were lobbied, a 'continuous flow of information and explanation' designed to foster 'understanding and goodwill between the [armed] forces and the general public which they serve'[36] was orchestrated, and a more expansive approach to public relations within the Services was considered but rejected in the 1960s.

As well as making a contribution to general historical understandings of the development of advertising, propaganda and public relations, these techniques and methods can shed light on a series of specific ideas and concepts associated with the historiography of contemporary Britain. The work of recruiting organisations in England, Scotland and Wales during the First World War may explain why those countries experienced a prolonged bout of 'war enthusiasm'. In Ireland, the difficulties recruiters faced in the wake of the Easter Rising might be interpreted as evidence of the profound social, political and religious changes that occurred in that country after 1916. At the tail-end of the interwar years, the government's attempts to cement the idea that Britain would be fighting a 'people's war' should conflict with Germany resume may explain why that notion was popularised widely during and indeed after that war had actually taken place. By the same token, the emergence within government of an internal opinion polling agency and its subsequent continuation after the war can be used as evidence that the war changed how political leaders and civil servants viewed and understood public opinion. The attempt by the postwar Attlee governments to redefine official promotion as a form of 'information', and the subsequent role of advertisers and public relations officials in promoting rearmament, conscription and Cold War-era recruitment campaigns can shed light on a series of reforms not often associated with that government.

Finally, the response taken to the termination of conscription in 1957 can show how the armed forces used promotion to try to convey an air of 'modernity' to the Services that was designed to appeal to the changing customs and habits of Britain's 'affluent society'.

Researching Military Advertising: Archival Research and Discourse Theory

Crucial to each case study, and to this thesis as a whole, has been a reliance on a range of archival materials. In order to get to grips with how recruitment campaigns were planned, organised and executed at particular historical moments, a decision was made to consult the holdings of the Public Records Office, the Imperial War Museum and the British Library (see chapter three).[37] The review of the resources held in these institutions revealed an uneven spread and diffusion of sources, with the Public Records Office holding vast quantities of records on various aspects of recruitment advertising, and the Imperial War Museum and the British Library holding a small number of recruiting advertisements and other texts. The historical reconstruction of military advertising made extensive use of these records, and each chapter could not have been written without the range of archival sources that have been incorporated into the thesis and studied through the prism of discourse analysis.

In this respect the work of McFall, Anne Cronin and Guy Cook proved particularly important. All three authors stressed the importance of the notion of discourse when studying advertising, and from their writings several concepts and theories were taken and applied to the research presented here. McFall's *Advertising: A Cultural Economy* (2004), which made a case for a discursive history of commercial advertising that eschewed a developmental or 'teleological' narrative in favour of one that shows 'what it is possible to think, say and do under various contingent conditions', has been especially important.[38] Yet it has also drawn from the writings of Cronin, which suggest that the business of advertising was constructed through and by discourses that determined at any given moment how promotion was practiced and organised, and from Cook's *The Discourse of Advertising* (1992) which provided a method for analysing discourse that sought to place the language of advertisements into the wider social, political and economic context of its use.[39]

These authors have all restricted their analyses to studies of commercial communication, but comparable methods can be applied to the history of recruitment advertising. This thesis has made an effort to combine discourse theory (or rather theories of discourse) with archival research. This approach has not gained currency in the literature on war propaganda (which

may explain why the commentary on military advertising emanating out of that discipline tends to be restricted to advertisements), but it has gained traction in the study of promotional culture. Envisioning discourse as a means of analysing the relationship between language and social action and as a social construction of reality that determines not only what it is possible to say at any given moment in time but what is excluded and prohibited from discussions, this methodology has been applied to the various records this thesis examined. These records have included, but have not been limited to, memoranda, production logs, letters of correspondence, minutes of meetings, reports, memoirs, autobiographies, opinion polls, White Papers, newspaper articles, and a host of original advertisements. When studied together, these sources can provide an insight not only into how recruitment campaigns were planned and organised but how recruiters viewed advertising, and how ideas towards advertising shifted and changed across the six case studies.

Furthermore, though McFall, Cronin and Cook approach the subject of discourse from different epistemological frameworks – with McFall and Cronin operating very much within a Foucauldian perspective and Cook adopting a critical discourse stance – this thesis has incorporated elements from the writings of all three authors. In that respect, it has advocated an interdisciplinary approach towards the study of military advertising that cuts across many of the epistemological boundaries that have separated the literature on promotional culture, war propaganda and social and political history. Key to this approach was the recognition of the importance of social, political and economic context which shapes how military advertising was thought about and produced and how its discourses were constructed and maintained.

Limitations of the Present Study and Criticisms of its Methodology
As with all historical research, the findings presented here are open to criticism. The emphasis placed on the planning and organisation of campaigns has diverted attention from their subsequent execution; there is a difference, after all, between how promotion worked in theory and how it worked in practice. Furthermore, though studies of advertisements have not been excluded from the analysis, they appear with less frequency than studies of advertising, and although the case study on Social Survey tried to introduce the problem of audience reception this thesis cannot be used to demonstrate how audiences responded to recruitment campaigns or adapted and appropriated the 'messages' they received from recruiters.

A third criticism centres on the use and application of sources. In offering a discursive history of military advertising, this thesis has placed great stock on archival sources and on the holdings of the Public Records Office in particular. The records that have been accessed via the latter institution have given a particular shape and complexion to the research presented here, and even though every effort was made to use a variety of sources (and to counteract a general overreliance on archival sources by consulting academic literature) there can be little question that each case study was fundamentally reliant on the kinds of 'official' records preserved in the archives. Here some general observations can be made about the nature of these records and their limitations. Most of the material on recruitment campaigns is written prior to these campaigns occurring; though some documents are written retrospectively (that is, looking back at recruitment work) the majority serve to sketch out what will or might happen. Of the records that do describe the consequences or 'results' of recruitment campaigns, both the 'official' reports found in the Public Records Office and the 'unofficial' memoirs and autobiographies found elsewhere have tended to exaggerate and embellish the apparent 'effects' of recruitment advertising. This is not surprising – recruiters were *paid* to change people's minds, after all, and were prone to claiming great success at doing so – but it should nevertheless serve as a reminder of the fallibility of these kinds of source.[40] Last but not least, the ways in which records have been preserved has influenced how the research was carried out. The Public Records Office, as chapter three noted, has tended to separate records of advertisements from those pertaining to the business of advertising. This has reinforced the distinction between advertisements and advertising, and while this distinction has been accepted it has had the effect of excluding a great deal of valuable archival material. Hundreds of advertisements stored in the archives have not found their way into this thesis, many of which could have formed the basis of new case studies.

A fourth criticism, and one relevant to the structural composition of the thesis, can be directed towards the case studies that were chosen. As we have seen, each case study grew out of a preliminary survey of archival materials, and all were chosen in the initial stages of the research and subsequently redrafted after an analysis of available literature. As in all wide-ranging analyses, some case studies are more effective than others. Chapter seven, for instance, stands alone as an analysis on opinion polling and therefore departs to some degree from the main subject area of the thesis. It is also heavily reliant on a small selection of official files created between 1940 and 1945 which, though they provide a good indication

of the particular method Social Survey took towards studying public opinion, reveal comparatively little about how this method was appropriated by military advertisers. By examining Ireland, chapter five also embarked on something of a detour, although unlike chapter seven this detour concerned social context. Ireland, as a quick review of the historiography reveals, was a world apart from the rest of Britain towards the end of the war, and one might question why it appeared as a standalone chapter in a thesis on Britain. By the same token, it is worth asking why no other studies of Irish recruitment advertising were carried out; there is evidence that recruiters targeted Ulsterman during the Troubles.[41]

A fifth and final criticism might be levelled at the length of the sample considered during this thesis, and at the particular approach taken towards dividing up and categorising that sample. Each chapter, as we have seen, was intended (following McFall) as an individual 'snapshot' of military advertising, and no attempt was made to impose a 'teleological' narrative onto all of them. Yet in order to write a single the*sis* a number of connections between the case studies needed to be drawn. These connections – such as the development of Public Relations Departments during the interwar years and their subsequent continuation into the postwar era – may stand at odds with the notion of a history composed of self-contained 'snapshots'. Since there is a degree of continuity between the case studies, furthermore, it seems reasonable to ask what happened *between* the various periods considered in this chapter. There is some evidence, for example, that the British army continued recruiting in Britain in 1919,[42] although it is unclear how it did so; the wartime machinery for recruitment had been wound up, and even the Caxtons Publishing House had folded by the end of the war.[43]

Contrasting Interpretations and Implications for Future Research

With these criticisms in mind, it is worth briefly considering what kind of alternative explanations might be given for the research presented here. One of these explanations could emphasise the power recruiters exerted over the targets of their campaigns. Recruiters used a wide variety of techniques and devices to get the subject of enlistment into newspapers, onto television screens and over the airwaves, and it is not beyond the realm of possibility that this promotion affected its audiences. To demonstrate this kind of 'effect', more research would need to be carried out, perhaps by consulting the diaries of servicemen and servicewomen. In *With a Machine Gun to Cambria* (1969), a servicemen's account of the First World War written by George Coppard, an overt example of the kind of influence recruiters

had was recounted by the author: 'Rumours of war broke out and I began to be interested in the Territorials… News placards screamed out at every street corner, and military bands blared out their martial music in the main streets of Croydon. This was too much for me to resist, and *as if drawn by a magnet* I knew I had to enlist straight away'.[44]

Another explanation might take a conflicting stance by maintaining that the accounts of military advertising given by its practitioners were deliberately exaggerated, because it was in the interest of recruiters to overstate the scale and reach of their work. Though certain kinds of promotion have left an identifiable trace for historians – posters have been preserved by the Imperial War Museum; newspaper advertisements can be found in digitised archives and in library microfilms – other kinds have not. The subject of 'editorial publicity' is particularly hard to trace because of the manner in which authorship is deliberately concealed. Recruiters were routinely keen to stress the acquiescence of newspaper editors and journalists to include promotional material in articles and editorials, but it is impossible to tell whether articles that advocated enlistment were produced under the influence of political pressure, or whether they were written independently of government duress.

By eschewing the notion of media effects, this thesis has left such questions unanswered, and more work clearly needs to be carried out to fill in some of the gaps that have appeared. At the same time, the research presented here carries important implications for how we understand the use of promotion in Britain in the 20th century. Whether it was 'effective' or not, existing explanations do not do justice to the breadth and range of recruiters' work, which extended from national to local government and from the state itself to private enterprise.

As noted above, some historians have sought to account for the rise of 'modern' propaganda by describing the unique pressures placed on the state by total war, but attempts to mould and fashion public opinion actually began before the Great War commenced, and before any of the major propaganda agencies had been formed. Certain commentators on commercial advertising, on the other hand, have tended to regard early forms of advertising as somehow less sophisticated attempts to mould public opinion as those found in later years of the 20th century. The history of military advertising presented here challenges both arguments by highlighting the myriad ways in which governments tried to attract men, women and even children to the armed forces and civil defences. The techniques, methods and devices of persuasion deployed by recruiters cannot be explained solely by the development of modern

political propaganda, but nor can they be accounted for with resource to the 'language' of commercial advertising identified by Nicholas Hiley.[45] They came about, rather, because of a symbiotic relationship of the state and private industry which not only changed the ways in which the military was represented in the mass media, but also collapsed the distinctions that had historically prevailed in British society between public and private, politics and commerce and military and industry. This symbiosis extends beyond the world of mass media representations to the many institutions of Britain's 'warfare state', as the military historian David Edgerton has made clear in a spate of recent publications. Perhaps it is high time, as Edgerton argues, to do away with the vocabulary used to describe how the state operates, vocabulary that tends to emphasise the dichotomies and oppositions that distinguish government from private industry, to demonstrate instead interactions and connections.[46]

It remains only to be said that the material examined here is only one part of a wider range of 'official' promotion that extended far beyond military recruitment. In the First World War, campaigns for war loans, tobacco funds, recruitment to essential (war) industries, and various charitable causes were organised, with either direct or tacit state support. In the interwar years the various socio-economic problems caused by the Great Depression led to more permanent attempts to 'manufacture' or 'engineer' consent. In the postwar era, social and economic reforms were advertised alongside the (less admirable) venture of full-scale military rearmament. Whilst the latter are not wholly unchartered territory,[47] the academic research they have attracted pales in comparison to the wealth of publications on subjects like the Second World War MOI. It is hoped that the approaches to studying military recruitment developed and applied here might encourage others to redirect their attention to other areas of official publicity, and in so doing shed new light on how governments interact with citizens.

Bibliography – Organised in Ascending Order by Chapter

Chapter One
'Your Country Needs You': Military Advertising Behind the Image

1 Keith Surridge, 'More than a great poster: Lord Kitchener and the Image of the Military Hero', *Historical Research* (no: 74: vol. 185, 2001).

2 Both the *Independent* and the British Broadcasting Corporation's educational resources have described the Leete design as the 'most famous British Army recruiting poster of all time'. See David Benady, 'Analysis: Government Adverts', *Independent* (January 30th 2006: accessed online on March 26th 2013 via http://www.independent.co.uk/news/media/analysis-government-adverts-525079.html) and 'Lord Horatio Herbert Kitchener', *BBC History* (undated: accessed online on March 26th 2013 via: http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic_figures/kitchener_lord_horatio.shtml).

3 Maurice Rickards, *Posters of the First World War* (London: Evelyn Adams & Mackay, 1968): 11-12.

4 Pearl James, 'Introduction: Reading World War One Posters', *Picture This: World War I Posters and Visual Culture* (Lincoln: Nebraska U. P., 2009): 8.

5 'Chapter One', *1984* (London: Penguin, 2008): 4.

6 According to the art historian Carlo Ginzberg, Italian, Hungarian, American, Russian and even German versions of the poster appeared during or immediately after the First World War. These posters, which substituted Kitchener for an equivalent national figure or, in the case of Germany, an ordinary soldier, adopted the same convention of 'frontal, all-seeing figures with foreshortened pointing fingers'. '"Your Country Needs You: A Case Study in Political Iconography', *History Workshop Journal* (no: 52, 2001): 7, 12.

7 Cate Haste, 'Getting the Troops', *Keep the Home Fires Burning: Propaganda in the First World War* (London: Allen Lane, 1977): 53-55.

8 H. R. C., 'The Appeal of the Poster', the *Manchester Guardian* (April 5th 1915): pg. 10.

9 Opposition to advertising reflected a long-standing aversion, to quote one 19th century critic, to the 'stupid mechanical tenacity with which [advertisers] do their work'. See Richardson Evans, 'Advertising as a Trespass on the Public', *The Nineteenth Century and After: A Monthly Review* (vol. 37: no. 220, 1895): 971. Evans, it is worth noting, was a member of the National Society for Checking the Abuses of Advertising, an organisation that campaigned for increased regulation of the advertising industry in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Though the encroachment of commercial advertising into public spaces had been curbed by the start of the First World War, any existing controls on advertising were quickly abandoned after war was declared. See Anne Cronin, 'Advertising as a Site of Contestation: Criticisms, Controversy and Regulation', *Advertising Myths: The Strange Half-Lives of Images and Commodities* (London: Routledge, 2004).

10 This belief, it should be noted, is confirmed by a variety of primary sources. See 'Recruiting', *Hansard* (House of Lords debate: vol. 18, November 26th 1914) and 'Army Estimates, 1915-16', *Hansard* (House of Commons debate: vol. 69, February 18th 1915); [Anonymous] 'Efforts to Stimulate Recruiting', *Manchester Guardian* (November 7th 1914), [Anonymous] 'Through the Mirror', *Daily Mirror* (November 12th 1914): pg. 5, [Anonymous] 'Successful Recruiting Effort', *Manchester Guardian* (October 13th 1915): pg. 3, George Chioza, 'Recruiting and Organisation for War', *Fortnightly Review* (vol. 98: no. 584, August 1915) & Arnot Page, 'The War and Wages', *Athenaeum* (vol. 4611, November 1916).

11 'The First World War', *Munitions of the Mind: A History of the World form the Ancient World to the Present Day* (Manchester: Manchester U. P., 2003; 3rd ed.): 193.

12 Micro-history, the study of the 'intricate textures of a limited area', can be contrasted with the 'histoire totale' of the French 'Annales' school. See Ludmilla Jordanova, 'Mapping the Discipline of History', *History in Practice: Second Edition* (London: Hodder, 2006): 45.

13 *Op cit* (2001): 7.

14 'The Abuse of the Press', *The Psychology of Jingoism* (Leipzig: Forgotten Books, 2012 [1901]): 107.

15 See Bernard Taithe and Tim Thornton, 'Propaganda: A Misnomer for Rhetoric and Persuasion?', *Propaganda: Political Rhetoric and Systems of Beliefs* (Manchester: Sutton, 1999) & John Corner, 'Mediated Politics, Promotional Culture and the Idea of "Propaganda"', *Media, Culture & Society* (vol. 29: no. 4, 2007).

16 *Propaganda Technique in World War I* (Cambridge: MIT, 1971).

17 The most important works produced by the School in the interwar and wartime periods were Walter Benjamin's 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' and Theodor Adorno's and Max Horkheimer's 'The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception'. See chapter two (and below) for a discussion of one of these texts.

[18] Corner, *op cit.* (2007) & Taithe & Thornton, *op cit.* (1999).

[19] According to the recruitment advertiser Eric Field, Kitchener did play some part in the development of newspaper advertising. Yet his contemporary (and boss) Hedley Le Bas complained about the general unwillingness of Kitchener and the War Office to engage in large-scale advertising work. 'The First Real Government Advertising', *Advertising: The Forgotten Years* (London: Ernest Benn, 1959): 29. See chapter four for a discussion of this subject.

[20] Official estimates can be found in WO 106/367: 'Publications Sub-Department Report', *Parliamentary Recruiting Committee* (N[ational] A[rchives], undated). Historians, it is worth noting, have tended to submit lower estimates.

[21] Taylor, 'The Great War: Old Style, 1914-15', *English History 1914-1945* (London: Oxford U. P., 1966 [1965]): 20 & Marwick, 'Early Days: August 1914-March 1915', *The Deluge: British Society and the First World War* (London: Macmillan, 1978 [1965]): 6

[22] Nicholas Hiley, '"Kitchener Wants You" and "Daddy, What Did You Do in the Great War?": The Myth of British Recruiting Posters', *Imperial War Museum Review* (vol. 11, 1997): 40.

[23] Dutton, 'Moving Images? The Parliamentary Recruiting Committee's Poster Campaign, 1914-1916', *Imperial War Museum Review* (vol. 4, 1989): 46.

[24] Hiley, *op cit.* (1997): 47.

[25] An account of *London Opinion's* wartime travails can be found in both Henry Simonis' early history of British journalism, *The Street of Ink: An Intimate History of Journalism* (London: Cassell & Co. 1917): see, in particular, 'Some Well-Known Journals and Journalists'; and in the autobiography of its editor, Lincoln Springfield, *Some Piquant People* (London: J. Fisher Unwin Ltd., 1924): see 'Chapter XXIV' and page 257 in particular.

[26] That is, according to John McEwen, 'The National Press during the First World War: Ownership and Circulation', *Journal of Contemporary History* (vol. 17, 1982).

[27] Interestingly, although the origins of the Leete as a front cover on *London Opinion* are widely known, Springfield does not mention it in his auto-biography, implying, as Hiley has suggested, that the notoriety of the image can be traced to the interwar years rather than wartime period. Hiley, *op cit.* (1997): 53 & Springfield, *op cit.* (1924): 257.

[28] Peter Simkins, 'Recruiting in Decline, October 1914-May 1915', *Kitchener's Army: The Raising of the New Armies, 1914-1916* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2007 [1988]): 122.

[29] See James Aulich's entry on Leete in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford U. P., 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/57159, accessed 7 Feb 2013]).

[30] 'The Poster, Propaganda and Publicity', *War Posters: Weapons of Mass Communication* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007): 14-15.

[31] *Op cit.* (2001): 310.

[32] *Op cit.* (1997): 55.

[33] 'The First World War: Selling the War and the Peace', *op cit.* (2007): 44.

[34] In his article on the PRC, Dutton speculates that the Leete poster (figure one in this chapter) may have been the 'product of a different recruiting campaign', although in the resulting footnote he suggests, following Simkins (*passim*), that the PRC began producing the poster in late September. *Op cit.* (1989): 46, 58 [footnote].

[35] The inclusion of the phrase 'God save the King' also appears to have affected the historiography. See Joseph Darracott and Belinda Loftus, 'Alfred Leete', *First World War Posters* (London: Westerham, 1981; 2nd ed.): 37.

[36] Aulich, *op cit.* (2007): 8.

[37] Simon Cottle, ''Media Organisation and Production: Mapping the Field', in Cottle (ed.) *Media Organisation and Production* (London: Sage, 2003): 5.

[38] See Stuart Hall's classic article, 'Encoding, Decoding', in Simon During (ed.) *The Cultural Studies Reader: 2nd Edition* (London: Routledge, 1999 [1973]).

[39] I am indebted to Liz McFall for this distinction. See chapter three and below for a discussion of her work.

[40] See During, 'Editors' Introduction', *op cit.* (2004).

[41] Williams, 'Advertising: A Magic System', in S. During (ed), *op cit.* (1999 [1980]): 411, 418-419.

[42] Nixon, *Advertising Cultures: Gender, Commerce and Creativity* (London: Sage, 2003); McFall, *Advertising: A Cultural Economy* (London: Sage, 2003) & 'What about the Old Cultural Intermediaries? An Historical Review of Advertising Producers', *Cultural Studies* (vol. 16: no. 4, 2002); Cronin, 'Gender in the Making of Commercial Worlds: Creativity, Vitalism and the Practices of Marketing', *Feminist Theory* (vol. 9: no. 3, 2008), 'Currencies of Commercial Exchange: Advertising Agencies and the Promotional Imperative', *Journal of Consumer Culture*

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[43] 'Advertising and Commercial Culture', *op cit.* (2003): 16.

[44] ''Introduction: The Quaint Device of Advertising', *op cit.* (2004): 5.

[45] See, for example James Dertouzos & Steven Garber, 'Effectiveness Of Advertising In Different Media: The Case of U.S. Army Recruiting', *Journal of Advertising* (vol. 35: no. 2, 2006); P.L. Brockett *et al.,* 'Alternative Statistical Regression Studies of the Effects of Joint and Service Specific Advertising on Military Recruitment', *Journal of the Operational Research Society* (vol. 55, 2004) & John Eighmey, 'Why Do Youth Enlist?: Identification of Underlying Themes', *Armed Forces & Society* (vol. 32: no. 2, 2006).

[46] Simkins, 'The Pals Battalions', *op cit.* (2007).

[47] Hiley, 'Sir Hedley Le Bas and the Origins of British Domestic Propaganda in Britain 1914-1917', *Journal of Advertising History* (vol. 10: no. 2, 1987): 35.

[48] That loyalty was eventually rewarded, in Harmsworth's case, with an appointment to head the British mission to the United States in 1917, a lobbying exercise designed to encourage the US entrance into the war, and subsequently as Director of Enemy Propaganda at the Ministry of Information in 1918.

[49] A copy of one of the 'Help Series' pamphlets is held in the British Library. See A. J. Dawson, *How to Help Lord Kitchener* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1914; available under 08027.de.40/1.).

[50] Hiley, *op cit.* (1997): 45.

[51] On the history of the wartime home front, see Lloyd Clark, "Civilians Entrenched – The British Home Front 1914 -1918", in Ian Stewart and Susan Carruthers (eds.) *War Culture and the Media: Representations of the Military in 20th Century Britain* (London: Flicks Books, 1996) & Nicoletta Gullace, *'The Blood of Our Sons': Men, Women and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship During the Great War* (New York: Palgrave, 2002).

[52] According to Eric Field's recollections of early advertising, H. E. Morgan, the advertising manager of W. H. Smith's, 'came into prominence in the early days of th[e First World W]ar as the promoter of the slogan: "Business as usual", which had quite a vogue till it fell terribly out of favour as being, firstly, terribly untrue and, secondly, hopelessly inappropriate'. 'A Postscript and an Apology', *op cit.* (1959): 113

[53] Brian Bond, 'Armageddon, 1914-18', *War and Society in Europe, 1870-1970* (Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1998): 108.

[54] Terence Nevett, 'The First World War', *Advertising in Britain: A History* (London: Heinemann, 1982): 140.

[55] Hiley, *op cit.* (1987): 47.

[56] See Peter Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words: Literature as Propaganda 1914-18 and After* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1989) & Clark, *op cit.* (1996).

[57] Taylor, *op cit.* (2003): 194.

[58] Marwick, *op cit.* (1965), Haste, *op cit.* (1977), Clarke, *op cit.* (1995) & Taylor, *op cit.* (2003).

[59] *Op cit.* (1978): 51.

[60] 'The Nature of Propaganda in the First World War', *op cit.* (1977): 2.

[61] Marwick, 'Seasons of Discontent', *op cit.* (1978): 211.

[62] Taylor, *op cit.* (2003): 194.

[63] *Op cit.* (1977): 2.

[64] The distinction between different kinds of propaganda clearly does not centre on organisation because, as Haste herself acknowledges, the recruitment campaign was highly organised and, apparently, highly successful. 'By the end of 1914', after the Football Association had put its facilities at the disposal of recruitment bodies, 'an estimated 500,000 men had joined [the New Armies] via footballing organisations'. *Op cit.* (1977): 59.

[65] See, for example, Michael Paris, *The First World War and Popular Cinema* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh U. P., 1999), Richard Taylor, *Film Propaganda: Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1998 [1979]; 2nd ed.); Nicholas Reeves, 'Film Propaganda and its Audience: The Example of Britain's Official Films during the First World War', *Journal of Contemporary History* (vol. 18, 1983); Steve Baker, 'Describing Images of the National Self: Popular Accounts of the Construction of Pictorial Identity in the First World War Poster', *Oxford Art Journal* (vol. 13: no. 2, 1990) & Ruth Wallon, 'Four in Focus', in Margaret Timmers (ed.) *The Power of the Poster* (London: V & E, 1998).

[66] In that respect, they reflect the general problems of historical writing on the media. See James Curran, 'Media and the Making of British Society, c.1700–2000', *Media History* (vol. 8: no. 2, 2002).

[67] Corner, *op cit.* (2007) & Taithe & Thornton, *op cit.* (1999).

[68] Taylor, 'Looking Through a Glass Onion: Propaganda, Psychological Warfare and Persuasion', *op cit.* (2003).

69 See, for example, Michael Balfour, *Propaganda in War 1939-1945: Organisations, Policies and Publics in Britain and Germany* (London: Routledge, 1979) & Taylor, *op cit.* (1979).

70 *Op cit.* (2007): 676.

71 'The Cutting Edge of Corporate Power', *A Century of Spin: How Public Relations Became the Cutting Edge of Corporate Power* (London: Pluto, 2008): 5.

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73 ''Propaganda', *Propaganda and the News, or: What Makes you Think So?* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1936): 3.

74 *Op cit.* (2007): 670.

75 See Trevor Wilson, 'Lord Bryce's Investigation into Alleged German Atrocities in Belgium, 1914-15', *Journal of Contemporary History* (vol. 14, 1979) for a case in point. Gullace has examined the interwar literature on propaganda and its effects on historical understandings in, 'Allied Propaganda and World War I: Interwar Legacies, Media Studies and the Politics of War Guilt', *History Compass* (vol. 9: no. 9, 2011).

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77 *Ibid.*; see also Tamar Liebes, 'Viewing and Reviewing the Audience: Fashions in Communications Research', in Curran & Gurevitch (eds.) *Mass Media and Society: 4th Edition* (London: Hodder Arnold, 2005).

78 Liebes, *op cit.* (2005) & Corner, *op cit.* (2000).

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80 'Imagining Commodities' & 'The Vortex of Publicity', *Promotional Culture: Advertising, Ideology and Symbolic Expression* (London: Sage, 1991): 18 & 93.

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82 Brian Bond, 'The Approach to Armageddon, c. 1900-14', *op cit.* (1998): 72.

83 See, for example, Thomas Hennessey, 'National Identity, Home Rule and the Ulster Question', *Dividing Ireland: World War 1 and Partition* (London: Routledge, 1998); Keith Jefferys, *Ireland and the Great War* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 2000); Richard Grayson, *Belfast Boys: How Unionists and Nationalists Fought and Died Together in the First World War* (London: Continuum, 2010; revised ed.) & Adrian Gregory & Senia Paseta's edited anthology *Ireland and the Great War* (Manchester: Manchester U. P., 2002).

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88 The only dedicated study of Social Survey can be found in a brief introduction of Paul Addison's & Jeremy Crang's *Listening to Britain, May-June 1940* (London: Vintage, 2011).

89 The last National Serviceman enrolled in 1959, but only departed the Army in 1963 after extending his term of service for an extra year. Some historians have, as a result, given the date of the end of National Service as 1963, but since no men were conscripted in the 1960s this thesis uses the earlier date of 1959.

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93 John Street, 'Youth Culture', in Paul Johnson (ed.) *Twentieth-Century Britain: Economic, Social and Cultural Change* (London: Longman, 1994).

Chapter Two
Propaganda, Advertising and Promotional Culture: Reviewing the Literature

[1] Yet there have been many histories of 'recruitment' – see, for example, Peter Simkins' *Kitchener's Army: The Raising of the New Armies 1914-1916 Kitchener's Army: The Raising of the New Armies, 1914-1916* (Guildford: Manchester U. P., 1988) – and countless histories of propaganda. In the United States, however, historians have studied the relationship between recruitment promotion and commercial advertising. See, for example, Maureen Honey, 'The "Womanpower" Campaign: Advertising and Recruitment Propaganda during World War II', *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies* (vol. 6: no. ½, 1980) & 'The Working-Class Woman and Recruitment Propaganda during World War II: Class Differences in the Portrayal of War Work', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* (vol. 8: no. 4, 1983); Mark Grandstaff, 'Visions of New Men: The Heroic Soldier Narrative in American Advertisements During World War II', *Advertising & Society Review* (vol. 5: no. 2, 2004) & Bilge Yesil, '"Who Said This Was A Man's War?": Propaganda, Advertising Discourse And The Representation Of The War Worker Women During The Second World War', *Media History* (vol. 10: no 2: 2004).

[2] See, for example, Andrew Wernick, *Promotional Culture: Advertising, Ideology and Symbolic Expression* (London: Sage, 1991) & Eric Louw, *The Media and the Political Process* (London: Sage, 2006).

[3] Ludmilla Jordanova, 'History and Other Disciplines', *History in Practice: Second Edition* (London: Hodder, 2006): 82.

[4] 'Perceptions of Propaganda in Inter-war Britain: An Overview', *Propaganda and the Role of the State in Inter-war Britain* (Oxford: Oxford U. P., 1994).

[5] In 2003, the historian of propaganda Phil Taylor offered an especially broad definition of propaganda that suggested propaganda represented 'the deliberate attempt to persuade people to think and behave in a desired way'. 'Looking Thorough a Glass Onion: Propaganda, Psychological Warfare and Persuasion', *Munitions of the Mind: A History of the World form the Ancient World to the Present Day* (Manchester: Manchester U. P., 2003; 3rd ed.): 6. His definition has been criticised by John Corner (see below) for lacking precision.

[6] 'Propaganda', in Edgar & Peter Sedwick (eds.) *Cultural Theory: The Key Concepts* (London: Routledge, 2005): 313.

[7] 'Introducing Advertising and Promotion', *Advertising and Promotion: Communicating Brands* (London: Sage, 2008): 9.

[8] See Michael Freeden's entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online ed.; accessed September 1st 2013 from http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33909).

[9] Lenin's *Imperialism: The Highest Stages of Capitalism* was published in early 1917, shortly before Lenin would himself be involved in one of the key events in the 20th century – Russia's October Revolution.

[10] Although Hobson uses the term 'jingoism', he has been credited by the social historian Nicoletta Gullace with kick-starting the 'modern' study of propaganda. See 'Allied Propaganda and World War I: Interwar Legacies, Media Studies and the Politics of War Guilt', *History Compass* (vol. 9: no. 9, 2011): 687.

[11] 'Jingoism: Its Meaning and Origins', *The Psychology of Jingoism* (Leipzig: Forgotten Books, 2012 [1901]): 9.

[12] See Stuart Ewen's discussion of Le Bon, 'Controlling the Chaos' & 'Social Psychology and the Quest for the Public Mind' *PR! A Social History of Spin* (New York: Perseus Books, 1996).

[13] Brian Bond, 'The Wars of the 1860s and Their Aftermath', *War and Society in Europe, 1870-1970* (Guernsey: Sutton, 1998 [1984]): 13.

[14] See Benedict Anderson's classic work, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2003 [1991]; revised ed.).

[15] Ewen, *op cit.* (1996): 133.

[16] *Op cit.* (2012): 10.

[17] 'The Abuse of the Press', *op cit.* (2012): 110, 113.

[18] 'Platform and Pulpit', *op cit.* (2012): 126.

[19] *Op cit.* (2012): 134, 136, 138.

[20] A copy of the lecture can be found in *Free Thought and Official Propaganda* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1922).

[21] Despite the protestations of colleagues, he lost his lectureship at the university. See A. J. P. Taylor, 'The Pressures of War', *English History 1914-1945* (London: Oxford U. P., 1966 [1965]): 51-52.

[22] Russell, *op cit.* (1922): 35.

[23] *Propaganda Technique in World War I* (Cambridge: MIT, 1971).

24 Established to encourage the American entrance into the First World War, the Creel Committee was widely pilloried for its apparent role in turning a peaceful nation into a bloodthirsty belligerent one. Its case was not helped by its director, George Creel, who wrote shortly after the war that its work had been 'a vast enterprise in salesmanship, the world's greatest adventure in advertising'. Cited in Gullace, *op cit.* (2011): 687.

25 Hobson routinely referred to the 'collective suggestion' whipped up by jingoism, and also used the phrase the 'manufacture of opinion', a term that would later be adapted by another American commentator, Walter Lippmann.

26 Cited in Arthur Marwick, 'Seasons of Discontent: 1917-1918', *The Deluge: British Society and the First World War* (London: Macmillan, 1978 [1965]): 210.

27 See, for example, Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (Miami: BN, 2008 [1922]); Edward Bernays, *Propaganda* (Brooklyn: IG, 2005 [1928]) & Arthur Ponsonby, *Falsehood in War-Time: Propaganda Lies of the First World War* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1928).

28 Daniel McDonald, '20th Century Media Effects Research', in John Downing *et al.* (eds.) *The SAGE Handbook of Media Studies* (London: Sage, 2004).

29 Gullace, *op cit.* (2011); see also Zara Steiner, 'Views of War: Britain Before the Great War – and After', *International Relations* (vol. 17: no. 1, 2003): 26.

30 John Corner, 'Mediated Politics, Promotional Culture and the Idea of "Propaganda", *Media, Culture & Society* (vol. 29: no. 4, 2007): 670 & Bernard Taithe and Tim Thornton, 'Propaganda: A Misnomer for Rhetoric and Persuasion?', in *Propaganda: Political Rhetoric and Systems of Beliefs* (Manchester: Sutton, 1999).

31 Hobson, *op cit.* (2012); Russell, *op cit.* (1922), Bernays, *op cit.* (1928) & Lippmann, *op cit.* (2008).

32 For a review of audience studies, see Corner, '"Influence": The Contested Core of Media Research', in James Curran and Michael Gurevitch (eds.) *Mass Media and Society: 3rd Edition* (London: Hodder Arnold, 2000) & Tamar Liebes, 'Viewing and Reviewing the Audience: Fashions in Communications Research', in Curran & Gurevitch (eds.) *Mass Media and Society: 4th Edition* (London: Hodder Arnold, 2005).

33 Taylor, 'The Great War: Old Style, 1914-15', *op cit.* (1965): 20 & Marwick, 'Early Days: August 1914-March 1915', *op cit.* (1978): 44-53.

34 One might, conversely, trace the literature on the war poster to Martin Hardie's and Arthur Sabin's *War Posters: Issued by Belligerent and Neutral Nations 1914-1919* (London: A & C Black, 1920).

35 Rickards, *Posters of the First World War* (London: Evelyn Adams & Mackay, 1968), Darracott and Loftus, *First World War Posters: Second Edition* (London: Westerham, 1981 [1972]); & Zeman, *Selling the War: Art and Propaganda in World War II* (London: Orbis, 1982 [1972]).

36 'Introduction', *op cit.* (1981): 9.

37 *Film Propaganda: Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1998 [1979]; 2nd ed.).

38 *Film and Radio Propaganda in World War II* (Knoxville: Tennesse U. P., 1983).

39 See Michael Paris' edited anthology, *The First World War and Popular Cinema* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh U. P., 1999); Nicholas Reeves, 'Film Propaganda and its Audience: The Example of Britain's Official Films during the First World War', *Journal of Contemporary History* (vol. 18, 1983) & Michael Paris, *The First World War and Popular Cinema* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh U. P., 1999).

40 'Media and the Making of British Society, c.1700–2000', *Media History* (vol. 8: no. 2, 2002):135. For a good example of media history, see Jane Chapman, *Comparative Media History – An Introduction* (Cambridge: Polity, 2005).

41 Haste, *Keep the Home Fires Burning: Propaganda in the First World War* (London: Allen Lane, 1977).

42 McLaine, *Ministry of Morale: Home Front Morale and the Ministry of Information in World War II* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979) & Balfour, *Propaganda in War 1939-1945: Organisations, Policies and Publics in Britain and Germany* (London: Routledge, 1979).

43 'The Power of Propaganda', *Journal of Contemporary History* (vol. 35: no. 4, 2000): 681, 688.

44 Leavis, 'Mass Civilisation and Minority Culture', in John Storey (ed.) *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: Third Edition* (Harlow: Pearson Ltd., 2006): 17, 13.

45 *Ibid.*: 14-15.

46 *Ibid.*: 16.

47 Cited in Raymond Williams, 'T. S. Eliot', *Culture and Society* (London: Hogarth, 1993 [1958]): 230.

48 Simon During, 'Editor's Introduction', *The Cultural Studies Reader: Second Edition* (London: Routledge, 2004): 31.

49 Adorno & Horkheimer, 'The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception', *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford U. P., 2003): 132-136.

[50] 'The Theory of Social Balance', *The Affluent Society: Second Edition* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977 [1958]): 207.

[51] *Ibid.*: 214-215.

[52] 'The Propaganda Function in Marketing', *Journal of Marketing Research* (vol. 12: no. 3, 1958).

[53] Simone Weil Davis used this term to describe the main function of advertising in America during the interwar years. 'Introduction', *Living Up to Ads: Gender Fictions of the 1920s* (United States: Duke, 2000): 1.

[54] The Depth Approach', *The Hidden Persuaders* (Brooklyn: IG, 2007 [1957]): 312.

[55] *Ibid.*: 32; for a review of the concept of hidden persuaders, see also Geoffrey Hodgson, 'The Hidden Persuaders: Institutions and Individuals in Economic Theory', *Cambridge Journal of Economics* (vol. 27: no. 2, 2003).

[56] 'Introduction', in Packard, *op cit.* (2007): 12.

[57] 'The Economics of Advertising', *The Imagery of Power* (London: Heinemann, 1972): 19, 37, 39.

[58] A copy of this essay, known as the 'Rhetoric of the Image' in English, can be found in Barthes [translated by Stephen Heath], *Image, Music, Text* (London: Fontana, 1977 [1964]).

[59] *Decoding Advertisements* (London: Marion Boyars, 1978).

[60] 'Encoding, Decoding', in During, *op cit.* (2004 [1977]).

[61] See Stern's review article, 'Textual Analysis in Advertising Research: Construction and Deconstruction of Meanings', *Journal of Advertising* (vol. 25: no. 3, 1996).

[62] 'The Social Crisis of the Mass Culture', *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of Consumer Culture* (New York: Perseus, 2001 [1976]): 187.

[63] 'Advertising: Civilising the Self', *op cit.* (2001): 44.

[64] 'The Emergence of New Consumer Patterns: A Case Study of the Cigarette', *Advertising, The Uneasy Persuasion* (London: Routledge, 1993 [1989]): 179.

[65] See, for example, Naomi Klein, 'Culture Jamming: Ads Under Attack', *No Logo* (London: Flamingo, 2000).

[66] On public relations, see Tim Vos, 'Explaining the Origins of Public Relations: Logics of Historical Explanation', *Journal of Public Relations Research* (vol. 23: no. 2, 2011) David Miller and William Dinan, 'The Rise of the PR Industry in Britain, 1979-98', *European Journal of Communication* (vol. 15: no. 1, 2000); Jacquie L'Etang, 'Public Relations Education in Britain: An Historical Review in the Context of Professionalisation', *Public Relations Review* (vol. 25: no. 3, 1999) & 'State Propaganda and Bureaucratic Intelligence: The Creation of Public Relations in 20th Century Britain', *Public Relations Review* (vol. 24: no. 4, 1998). On accounts of advertising inspired by variants of anthropology, see Sut Jhally, *The Codes of Advertising: Fetishism and the Political Economy of Meaning in the Consumer Society* (London: Francis Pinter, 1987) & Timothy de Wall Malefyt, 'Models, Metaphors and Client Relations: The Negotiated Meanings of Advertising', in Malefyt & Brian Moeran (eds.) *Advertising Cultures* (Oxford: Berg, 2003). On branding, see Liz Moor, *The Rise of Brands* (Oxford: Berg, 2007); Adam Arvidesson, *Brands: Meaning and Value in Media Culture* (London: Routledge, 2006) & Klein, *op cit.* (2000).

[67] See Paul du Gay's edited anthology, *Production of Culture/Cultures of Production* (London: Sage, 1997).

[68] For a review of Foucault's work, see Stephen Ball, 'Introducing Monsieur Foucault', *Foucault and Education: Disciplines and Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1992).

[69] 'Advertising and Commercial Culture', *Advertising Cultures: Gender, Commerce and Creativity* (London: Sage, 2003): 34.

[70] McFall, *Advertising: A Cultural Economy* (London: Sage, 2004) & 'What About the Old Cultural Intermediaries? An Historical Review of Advertising Producers', *Cultural Studies* (vol. 16: no. 4, 2002); Cronin, 'Gender in the Making of Commercial Worlds: Creativity, Vitalism and the Practices of Marketing', *Feminist Theory* (vol. 9: no. 3, 2008), 'Currencies of Commercial Exchange: Advertising Agencies and the Promotional Imperative', *Journal of Consumer Culture* (vol. 4: no. 3, 2004) 'Regimes of Mediation: Advertising Practitioners as Cultural Intermediaries?', *Consumption, Markets and Culture* (vol. 7: no. 4, 2004).

[71] 'Introduction: The Quaint Device of Advertising', *op cit.* (2004): 3, 5.

[72] 'Pervasive Institutions and Constituent Practices', *op cit.* (2004): 118, 123, 133, 122.

[73] 'Sir Hedley Le Bas and the Origins of British Domestic Propaganda in Britain 1914-1917', *Journal of Advertising History* (vol. 10: no. 2, 1987): 47.

[74] Cronin, *op cit.* (2004, 2004, 2008), McFall, *op cit.* (2004, 2002).

[75] Cronin, 'Regimes of Mediation...', *op cit.* (2004): 352-353.

[76] Chapman, *op cit.* (2000): 681.

Chapter Three
Researching, Designing and Writing the Thesis: A Methodological Survey

[1] See Stephen Ball, 'Introducing Monsieur Foucault', *Foucault and Education: Disciplines and Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1992) & Chris Hackley, 'Theorising Advertising and Promotion', *Advertising and Promotion: Communicating Brands* (London: Sage, 2008 [2005]).

[2] Guy Cook, *The Discourse of Advertising* (London: Routledge, 1992).

[3] 'The Uses of History', *Advertising: A Cultural Economy* (London: Sage, 2004): 103; emphasis added.

[4] 'Regimes of Mediation: Advertising Practitioners as Cultural Intermediaries?', *Consumption, Markets and Culture* (vol. 7: no. 4, 2004): 352-353.

[5] 'Currencies of Commercial Exchange: Advertising Agencies and the Promotional Imperative', *Journal of Consumer Culture* (vol. 4: no. 3, 2004): 340.

[6] 'History, Philosophy and Interdisciplinary Studies', *The Nature of History: Third Edition* (London, Macmillan, 1989): 308-309.

[7] 'History and Other Disciplines', *History in Practice: 2nd Edition* (London: Hodder Educational, 2006): 76.

[8] *Ibid.*; see also Marwick, *op cit.* (1989): 308-309.

[9] Fowler, *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press* (London: Routledge, 1994); Fairclough, *Discourse and the Media* (London: Hodder, 1995) & Cook, *op cit.* (1992).

[10] Caroline Coffin, Theresa Lillis & Kieran O'Halloran, 'Critical Discourse Analysis', *Applied Linguistics: A Reader* (London: Routledge, 2010): 96.

[11] This exhibition provided the basis for James Aulich's *War Posters: Weapons of Mass Communication* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), and Aulich was himself curator of the exhibition.

[12] The first of these books, *Advertising Goes to War* (U. S. A.) was published anonymously by the Bureau of Advertising and the American Newspaper Publishers Association; Begley, *Keep Mum! Advertising Goes to War* (London: Lemon Tree Press, 1975) & Cate Haste, *Keep the Home Fires Burning: Propaganda in the First World War* (London: Allen Lane, 1977).

[13] See *Four Propaganda Postcards – Cartoons Relating to the Death of Nurse Cavell* (under 22 (=41) [Cavell, Edith] Acc.: K. 48954); *Maidstone Borough Council Posters, First World War* (under Misc 146: ITEM 2293) & *To the Women of the Nation* (under Miss D Ferrar 92/30/1).

[14] See the files of Lady Rhys Williams under 94/9/1 & 94/9/2.

[15] In the Williams files, see 'Home Publicity: Note on Machinery (P[H]14, September 9th 1938).

[16] The records of the PRO are organised departmentally, and this thesis has drawn from the following: AIR (records created or inherited by the Air Ministry, the Royal Air Force and related bodies), CAB (records created by the Cabinet Office), DEFE (records created or inherited by the Ministry of Defence), INF (records created or inherited by the Central Office of Information), HO (records created or inherited by the Home Office, the Ministry of Home Security and related bodies), PREM (records of the Prime Minister's Office), LAB (records of departments responsible for labour and employment matters and related bodies), NATS (records created or inherited by the Ministry of National Service), WO (records created or inherited by the War Office, armed forces Judge Advocate general and related bodies), RG (records created by the General Registrar Office, the Government Social Survey Department and the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys) and T (records created by the Treasury).

[17] A term used to describe the collective endeavours of the government's press officers, public relations officials and advertisers, information service became *à la mode* in the postwar era. See chapter eight.

[18] Key files in this regard are WO 296/7, WO 296/8 & WO 296/9.

[19] For material on the organisation and planning of the Ministry of Information, see INF 1/8 & INF 1/26. For records of recruitment films, see INF 6/102, INF 6/103, INF 6/105 & INF 6/109. For files related to information gathering or intelligence, see INF 1/26 & CAB 158/71.

[20] As part of the application for a scholarship, the terms of the research were restricted to a 20th century history of military advertising. The earliest reference to military advertising found in the Public Records Office can be found in WO 32/6879: *RECRUITING: General (Code 25(A)): Use of pensioners to aid recruiting. Responsibility for recruitment as between Commander in Chief and Secretary of State for War* ([N]ational Archives, 1857). 'Pensioners', according to this file, were deployed in Britain to travel the country and encourage recruitment by word of mouth. Judging by the date of the record, their work coincided with the end of the Crimean War.

[21] To access advertisements in the Public Records Office readers need to use a separate reading room to those used for conventional written materials, which lends credence to this interpretation.

22 Andrew Wernick can probably claim credit for introducing the concept of 'promotional culture'. See *Promotional Culture: Advertising, Ideology and Symbolic Expression* (London: Sage, 1991).

23 Hiley, *op cit.* (1987) & '"Kitchener Wants You" and "Daddy, What Did You Do in the Great War?": The Myth of British Recruiting Posters', *Imperial War Museum Review* (vol. 11, 1997); Simkins, *Kitchener's Army: The Raising of the New Armies, 1914-1916* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2007 [1988]); Crofts, *Coercion or Persuasion? Propaganda in Britain After 1945* (London: Routledge, 1989); Tulloch, 'Policing the Public Sphere – The British Machinery of News Management', *Media, Culture & Society* (vol. 15, 1993) & Grant, *Propaganda and the Role of the State in Interwar Britain* (Oxford: Oxford U. P., 1994).

24 Nixon, *Advertising Cultures: Gender, Commerce and Creativity* (London: Sage, 2003)

25 Cited in McFall, *op cit.* (2002): 533.

26 'Introduction: The Quaint Device of Advertising', *op cit.* (2004): 5.

27 Higham, *Advertising: Its Use and Abuse* (London: Thornton Butterwood, 1931 [1925]; available in the B[ritish] L[ibrary] under 12199.p.1/122); Russell (ed.) *Harmsworth Business Library: Advertising and Publicity* (London: Educational Book Co., undated [vol. 5]; available in the BL under 08225.h.26.) & Tallents, *Post Office Green Papers* (vols. 1-10, 1934-35; available in the BL under BS 31.34).

28 Douglas, 'Voluntary Enlistment in the First World War and the work of the Parliamentary Recruitment Committee', *Journal of Modern History* (vol. 42: no. 4, 1970); Haste, *op cit.* (1977)*;* Hiley, *op cit.* (1987) & (1997); Simkins, *op cit.* (2007); see also Philip Dutton, 'Moving Images? The Parliamentary Recruiting Committee's Poster Campaign, 1914-1916, *Imperial War Museum Review* (vol. 4, 1989).

29 Marwick, *The Deluge: British Society and the First World War* (London: Macmillan, 1978) & Gullace, '*The Blood of Our Sons': Men, Women and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship During the Great War* (New York: Palgrave, 2002).

30 See, for example, Keith Jefferys' *Ireland and the Great War* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 2000) & Richard Grayson's *Belfast Boys: How Unionists and Nationalists Fought and Died Together in the First World War* (London: Continuum, 2010; revised ed.)

31 Adrian Gregory & Senia Pesata, 'Introduction', *Ireland and the Great War* (Manchester: Manchester U. P., 2002): 2.

32 See, for example, *Hansard*, 'Statement by Chief Secretary' (H[ouse of] C[ommons debate]: June 25th 1918: vol. 107) & *Hansard*, 'Recruiting' (HC: vol. 73, July 14th, 1915).

33 Angus Calder, *The People's War* (London: Pimlico, 2008 [1969]).

34 Grant, *op cit.* (1994) & Calder, *op cit.* (2008)..

35 Thomas Critchley, 'The Civil Service and the Public', *The Civil Service Today* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1951): 95.

36 Paul Addison & Jeremy Crang have also provided a brief description of the Survey in 'Introduction', *Listening to Britain, May-June 1940* (London: Vintage, 2011).

37 Justin Lewis, *Constructing Public Opinion* (New York: Columbia, 2001) & James Beniger, 'The Impact of Polling on Public Opinion: Reconciling Foucault, Habermas and Bourdieu', *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* (vol. 4: no. 3, 1998).

38 Peter Hennessy, *Never Again: Britain, 1945-51* (London: Penguin, 2006) & Marwick, *British Society Since 1945* (London: Penguin, 2003; 4th ed).

39 Crofts, *op cit.* (1989); Tulloch, *op cit.* (1993) & Grant, 'Towards a Central Office of Information: Continuity and Change in British Government Information Policy, 1939-51', *Journal of Contemporary History* (vol. 34: no. 1, 1999).

40 Though the end of National Service was announced in 1957, it was gradually phased out over the next six years, ending in May 1963. See Matthew Grant, 'Home Defence and the Sandys Defence White Paper, 1957', *Journal of Strategic Studies* (vol. 31: no. 6, 2008).

41 John Kennet Galbraith, *The Affluent Society* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970 [1958]); see also Kevin Jefferys, '"Content, Complete, Complacent": Affluence and Popular Politics in the 1950s', *A History of British Democracy Since 1918* (London: Atlantic Books, 2007)

42 See Coffin, Lillis & O'Halloran's edited anthology, *Applied Linguistics: A Reader* (London: Routledge, 2010).

43 Coffin, Lillis & O'Halloran, 'Introduction', *op cit.* (2010).

44 Fowler, *op cit.* (1994); Fairclough, *op cit.* (1995) & Cook, *op cit.* (1992)

45 Coffin, Lillis & O'Halloran, *op cit.* (2010): 96.

46 McFall, *op cit.* (2004).

47 Cronin, 'Gender in the Making of Commercial Worlds: Creativity, Vitalism and the Practices of Marketing', *Feminist Theory* (vol. 9: no. 3, 2008) & *op cit.* (2004) & (2004).

[48] Gunther Kress, cited in Fowler, 'Language and Representation', *op cit.* (1991): 42.

[49] 'Discourse and Institutions', *Academy of Management Review* (vol. 29: no. 4, 2004): 635.

[50] Fairclough, *op cit.* (1995); Fowler, *op cit.* (1991) & Cook, *op cit.* (1992).

[51] 'Introduction', *op cit.* (1991): 3-4; see also Hackley, *op cit.* (2008): 41.

[52] Marwick, *op cit.* (1989) & Jordanova, *op cit.* (2006).

Chapter Four
The 'Rush to the Colours': The Great War and the Emergence of Modern Military Advertising, 1913-15

[1] Cited in Arthur Marwick, 'Early Days: August 1914-March 1915', *The Deluge: British Society and the First World War* (London: Macmillan, 1978): 49.

[2] Cited in Nicoletta Gullace, 'The Making of Tommy Atkins: Masculinity, Propaganda and the Triumph of Family Values', *'The Blood of Our Sons': Men, Women and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship During the Great War* (New York: Palgrave, 2002): 48.

[3] 'Advertising for an Army', *The Lord Kitchener Memorial Book* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1916): unnumbered.

[4] Peter Simkins, 'The Recruiting Boom, August-September, 1914', *Kitchener's Army: The Raising of the New Armies, 1914-1916* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2007 [1988]): 49.

[5] [Anonymous], 'Awaiting the Declaration: The Scene at the Foreign Office', the *Times* (August 5th 1914): pg. 2.

[6] Brian Bond, 'The Approach to Armageddon, c. 1900-14', *War and Society in Europe, 1870-1970* (Guernsey: Sutton, 1998): 72; see also Marwick, *op cit.* (1965).

[7] Michael Paris, 'Paths of Glory: 1914-18', *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture, 1850-2000* (London: Reaktion, 2000): 111.

[8] Marwick, 'Gentlemen in England Now Abed: 1915-1916', *op cit.* (1978): 131.

[9] Simkins, 'The Recruiting Boom, August-September, 1914', *op cit.* (2007).

[10] There were other recruitment campaigns, waged by voluntary organisations such as National Association of Patriotic Organisations, but these fall outside the scope of this study.

[11] Since Britain's armed forces were smaller than many of their continental counterparts, Kitchener believed that a total of four 'New Armies' would need to be raised to defeat Germany. As a combination of high casualty rates and military incompetence accelerated the demand for new recruits, the 30 divisions he originally envisaged were soon expanded to 70. Simkins, 'Kitchener and the Call to Arms', *op cit.* (2007): 40.

[12] When enlistment began to decline, the raising of the admission criteria was reversed in an attempt to revive the early success of the campaign. See Simkins, 'Recruiting in Decline: October 14-May 1915', *op cit.* (2007).

[13] Le Bas, *op cit.* (1916): unnumbered.

[14] 'The First Real Government Advertising', *Advertising: The Forgotten Years* (London: Ernest Benn, 1959): 30.

[15] For a useful discussion of this literature, and of its impact on the development of modern media studies, see Nicoletta Gullace, 'Allied Propaganda and World War I: Interwar Legacies, Media Studies and the Politics of War Guilt', *History Compass* (vol. 9: no. 9, 2011).

[16] Marwick, *op cit.* (1978): 51. Taylor spoke of the 'staggering [achievement]' of the call to arms, but like Marwick *et al* he dismissed the recruitment campaign conducted in the name of voluntarism as 'clumsy'. 'The Great War: Old Style, 1914-15', *English History, 1914-1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966 [1965]): 20.

[17] Haste, 'The Nature of Propaganda in the First World War', *Keep the Home Fires Burning: Propaganda in the First World War* (London: Allen Lane, 1977): 2; Buitenhuis, 'Introduction', *The Great War of Words: Literature as Propaganda 1914-18 and After* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1989): xvii & Clark, "Civilians Entrenched – The British Home Front 1914 -1918", in Stewart and Carruthers, *op cit.* (1996): 41.

[18] Douglas, 'Voluntary Enlistment in the First World War and the Work of the Parliamentary Recruitment Committee', *Journal of Modern History* (vol. 42: no. 4, 1970); Hiley, '"Kitchener Wants You" and "Daddy, What Did You Do in the Great War?": The Myth of British Recruiting Posters', *Imperial War Museum Review* (vol. 11, 1997) & 'Sir Hedley Le Bas and the Origins of British Domestic Propaganda in Britain 1914-1917', *Journal of Advertising History* (vol. 10: no. 2, 1987); Dutton, 'Moving Images? The Parliamentary Recruiting Committee's Poster Campaign, 1914-1916, *Imperial War Museum Review* (vol. 4, 1989) & Aulich, 'The First World War', *War Posters: Weapons of Mass Communication* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007).

[19] Hiley can be credited with coining this phrase. *Op cit.* (1987): 47. Jay Winter subsequently adapted it in an article on the war poster and the 'lost generation'. See 'Imaginings of War: Posters and the Shadow of the Lost Generation', in P. James (ed.), *Picture This: World War I Posters and Visual Culture* (Lincoln: Nebraska U. P., 2009): 38.

[20] Hiley, (1997): 47, '"The British Army Film", "You!" and "For the Empire": Reconstructed Propaganda Films, 1914-16', *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* (vol. 5: no. 2, 1985) & *op cit.* (1987).

[21] Field, *op cit.* (1959).

[22] Le Bas, *op cit.* (1916): unnumbered; Field, *op cit.* (1959): 26; Hiley, *op cit.* (1987): 31.

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[23] Mariel Grant, "'Bringing Alive' the Post Office', *Propaganda and the Role of the State in Inter-War Britain* (Oxford: Oxford U. P., 1994): 83. The Stationary Office also printed official documents and sold them to the public 'at the lowest price they...could be [sold for]'. See 'The Stationery Office and Government Information' in the same volume (pg. 55).

[24] See Robert Opie, *Rule Britannia: Trading on the British Image* (Middlesex: Viking, 1985) & Anandi Ramamurthy, *Imperial Persuaders: Images of Africa and Asia in British Advertising* (New York: Manchester U.P., 2003).

[25] Though the Army may have been unwilling to make use of advertising, there is evidence it paid some thought to the question of press relations. In 1898, the Services appointed a special committee to ensure the 'coordinal cooperation of both Service and Press' in the reporting of the military. DEFE 53/1: 'The Publication of Information Affecting the Fighting Services of the Crown', *ADMIRALTY, WAR OFFICE, AIR MINISTRY AND PRESS COMMITTEE: Papers concerning creation of the committee, minutes of meetings and related correspondence* (NA, May 1923): 5.

[26] For an account of this film and two others, see Hiley, *op cit.* (1985).

[27] Field has included biographical information on various early 20th century British advertisers. See 'A Postscript and an Apology', *op cit.* (1959). For an account of newspaper advertising written by Smith and edited by Russell, see 'The Newspaper and its Management', in Russell (ed.) *Harmsworth Business Library: Advertising and Publicity* (London: Educational Book Co., undated [vol. 5]; available in the B[ritish] L[ibrary] under 08225.h.26.)

[28] A copy of this advertisement can be found in Field, 'Appendix 1: A Few Early Advertisements', *op cit.* (1959): 132.

[29] *Op cit.* (1959): 26.

[30] Russell, the *Times'* Advertising Manager and a well-known figure in commercial advertising, would later sit on an unofficial recruiting committee designed to advise the government on recruitment advertising in 1914-15. See Terence Nevett, 'The First World War', *Advertising in Britain: A History* (London: Heinemann, 1982): 141-2.

[31] Hiley, *op cit.* (1987): 34 & Field, *op cit.* (1959): 27.

[32] Hiley, *op cit.* (1985): 166.

[33] Hiley, *op cit.* (1987): 33.

[34] *Hansard*: 'Army Estimates, 1914-15' (H[ouse of] C[ommons debate]: vol. 60, March 24th 1914): 229.

[35] Hiley, *op cit.* (1987): 33.

[36] Hiley, *op cit.* (1987): 34 & Field, *op cit.* (1959): 27.

[37] 'Your King and Country need You', the *Daily Mail* (August 5th 1914): pg. 2.

[38] Field, *op cit.* (1959): 29 & 136; 'Your King and Country need you', the *Times* (August 11th 1914): pg. _. According to Simkins, Kitchener had little concrete idea about how to fill the Army'. *Op cit.* (1988): 62-3.

[39] See R. J. Q. Adams, 'The National Service League and Mandatory Service in Edwardian Britain', *Armed Forces & Society* (vol. 12: no. 1, 1985) & George Shee, *The National Service Journal vols. 1-2* (1903-4, available in the BL under PP4050CB) for some rare ephemera.

[40] Analyses of these posters can be found in See Aulich, *op cit* (2007); Hiley, *op cit.* (1997) & Dutton, *op cit.* (1989)

[41] Lloyd George, cited in Marwick, *op cit.* (1978): 49.

[42] Gullace, 'Introduction', *op cit.* (2002): 3.

[43] Gullace, *op cit.* (2002): 36.

[44] Hiley, *op cit.* (1987): 35-36.

[45] Simkins, 'Recruiting in Decline, October 1914-May 1915', *op cit.* (2007).

[46] Haste, 'Getting the Troops', *op cit.* (1977): 53; see also Simkins, *op cit.* (2007): 53.

[47] Dividing the country into regional 'Commands' was considered a pre-requisite of defending Britain from a sea-borne (and later aerial) invasion. Yet it also represented the main administrative machinery for the organisation of recruitment, and appears to have influenced the campaign for national service examined in chapter six.

[48] Dutton, *op cit.* (1989): 44.

[49] Douglas, *op cit.* (1970): 566.

[50] Dutton, *op cit.* (1989): 44.

[51] Aulich, *op cit.* (2007): 44.

[52] Dutton, *op cit.* (1989); Hiley, *op cit.* (1997); Joseph Darracott and Belinda Loftus, 'Introduction', *First World War Posters* (London: Westerham, 1981; 2nd ed.) & Le Bas, *op cit.* (1916): unnumbered.

[53] *Hansard*, 'Parliamentary Recruiting Committee' (HC, November 16th 1914, vol. 68: col. 198).

[54] Artists themselves were not so handsomely rewarded. Indeed, according to the American artist Joseph Rennell '[t]he artists of this county have given their services freely to this country. The printers of the country have been paid'. Cited in Steve Baker, 'Describing Images of the National Self: Popular Accounts of the Construction of Pictorial Identity in the First World War Poster', *Oxford Art Journal* (vol. 13: no. 2, 1990): 29.

[55] A list of the PRC's members can be found in *Hansard*, '[Untitled]' (HC, March 10th 1915, vol. 70: cols. 1432-3) and in WO 106/367: 'The Lord Derby Recruiting Scheme', *op cit.* (N[ational] A[rchives], undated): 1.

[56] WO 106/367: 'Parliamentary Recruiting Committee', *op cit.* (NA, 1915-16): 1.

[57] 'The Recruiting Rally', *Raising and Training the New Armies* (London: Constable, 1918; BL: 09083.c.37)

[58] Douglas, *op cit.* (1970).

[59] Haste, *op cit.* (1977): 53. For files on the committee, see WO 106/367: *op cit.* (NA, 1915-16).

[60] Cited in Dutton, *op cit.* (1989): 45.

[61] Lord Strachie, a chairman of a Joint Committee, highlighted the injustice of this in a debate in the House of Lords, suggesting speakers in meetings were bombarded with questions of why poor men and women should be encouraged to save money while a new team room had just been installed in the House of Commons. 'These are difficult questions to answer', he said. *Hansard*, 'Public expenditure' (H[ouse of] L[ords debate], September 14th 1915, vol. 19): 792.

[62] John Gulland and Lord Edmund Talbot respectively.

[63] WO 106/367: 'Parliamentary Recruiting Committee', *op cit.* (NA, undated): 3-4.

[64] Scotland possessed its own central PRC, while little work appears to have been carried out by the PRC in Ireland, even though advertisements produced in England were shipped into Belfast, Dublin and Cork. For an account of the emergence of the Joint Committees, See WO 106/357: Davies, 'Parliamentary Recruiting Committee', *op cit.* (NA, 1915-16). For an analysis of the impact of the PRC on Irish recruiting, see chapter five.

[65] WO 106/367: 'Advisory Committees', *op cit.* (NA, undated): 1. According to one source in the same file series, there were 463 Joint Committees. 'Meetings Sub-Department', *op cit.* (NA, March 1916): 8.

[66] Douglas (*passim*) dedicates an entire section of his article to the organisation of local recruitment, but uses this to describe the Householders' Return and canvassing, while both Dutton and Hiley (*passim*) make only passing references to the local committees. The relative lack of attention directed towards the committees contrasts markedly with the emphasis placed in all three authors' accounts on the advertisements these committees distributed.

[67] *Op cit.* (1977): 53.

[68] WO 106/367: 'Meetings...', 'Publications Sub-Department' & 'Publicity Sub-Department', *op cit.* (NA, March 1916): 1.

[69] *Hansard*, 'Form to Householders' (HC: November 16th 1914, vol. 66: col. 239) & 'Parliamentary Recruiting Committee' (HC, February 4th 1915, vol. 69: col. 126).

[70] It is worth noting that the Post Office, with some reluctance, agreed to the PRC's request to offer free postage on all recruiting circulars, and thus lent its own resources to the campaign in the way party organisations and local government had. See T 1/11720: *Admiralty. Improvement in scale of pay of certain ranks; Stationery Office and Post Office. Free supply of stationery printing, and postage to the Parliamentary Recruiting C[…]* (NA, 1914) & *Hansard*, 'Recruiting (Postage on Circulars)' (HC, November 19th 1914, vol. 68: cols. 538-9).

[71] Both population censuses and electoral registers had been compiled in Britain since the mid-19th century.

[72] Douglas, *op cit.* (1970): 571 & Dutton, *op cit.* (1989): 58 [footnote no. 20].

[73] The exclusion of Ireland led to some Unionist handwringing in Parliament. See *Hansard*, 'Parliamentary Recruiting Committee (Household Canvass)' (HC, February 11th 1915, vol. 69: cols. 714-5) and chapter five.

[74] Files on the canvassing campaign can be found in WO 106/367: 'Report on the Derby Scheme', *op cit.* (NA, undated) & in WO 106/366: *op cit.* (NA 1915-1916).

[75] Randolph Churchill, 'The Derby Plan', *Lord Derby: King of Lancashire* (London: Heinemann, 1959): 187-192.

[76] WO 106/367: 'Parliamentary Recruiting Committee: Directions for Canvassers', *op cit.* (NA, undated): 2.

[77] *Ibid.*: 4.

[78] It has been suggested that the canvass concluded on November 30th, but according to the report authored by Derby it was extended to December 12th. The results of Derby's canvassing can be found in WO 106/366: 'Report on Recruiting', *Lord Derby's Group System* (NA, December 20th 1915).

[79] This Register, coincidentally, was completed in the same month – October – that the first 'informal' census had begun in Britain some twenty four years earlier. See Angus Calder, 'This Strangest of Wars": September 1939 to April 1940', *The People's War: Britain 1939-45* (London: Pimlico, 1996 [1969]): 66.

[80] WO 106/367: 'Meetings...', *op cit.* (NA, March 1916): 1.

[81] Though he has claimed responsibility for the term 'counsel on public relations', Bernays has continued to use the term propaganda despite the pejorative overtones it assumed in the wake of the First World War. See Mark Crispin Miller's introductory chapter in Bernays, *Propaganda* (Brooklyn: IG., 2005 [1928]) as well as the book itself.

[82] Chris Hackley, 'Sponsorship, Brand Placement and Evolving Aspects of Integrated Marketing Communications', *Advertising and Promotion: Communication Brands* (London: Sage, 2008): 150-1.

[83] The retired MP J. S. Arkwright appears to have prepared the first of these lectures, while G. H. Ward-Humphreys wrote the second. WO 106/367: 'Meetings...', *op cit.* (NA, March 1916): 6.

[84] WO 106/367: 'Meetings...', *op cit.* (NA, March 1916): 1-16.

[85] *Ibid.*

[86] See John Morton Osborne's insightful article, 'Defining Their Own Patriotism: British Volunteer Training Corps in the First World War', *Journal of Contemporary History* (vol. 23, 1988): 61.

[87] Brock Millman, 'HMG and the War Against Dissent, 1914-19', *Journal of Contemporary History* (vol. 40: no. 3, 2005): 415.

[88] *Op cit.* (1970): 569-71. Writing in 1970, Douglas does not appear to have had access to the WO file series cited throughout in this chapter.

[89] Dutton, *op cit.* (1989): 45 & Hiley, *op cit.* (1997): 41.

[90] WO 106/367: 'Meetings...', *op cit.* (NA, March 1916): 2.

[91] 'Pervasive Institutions and Constituent Practices', *Advertising: A Cultural Economy* (London: Sage, 2004): 129.

[92] WO 106/367: 'Publications...' & 'Meetings...', *op cit.* (NA, March 1916): 3 & 4.

[93] J. Winter, 'Propaganda and the Mobilisation of Consent', in Hew Strachan (ed.) *Oxford Illustrated History of the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford U. P., 1998): 216.

[94] Marwick, *op cit.* (1978): 51 & Taylor, *op cit.* (1966): 20.

[95] Buitenhuis, *op cit.* (1989) & Clark, *op cit.* (1996): 46.

[96] *Op cit.* (1916): unnumbered.

[97] See, for example, Steed, *op cit.* (1996) & Buitenhuis, *op cit.* (1989).

[98] Field, *op cit.* (1959): 31.

[99] Buitenhuis, 'The Pamphlet War', *op cit.* (1989): 24.

[100] Simkins, 'The Pals Battalions', *op cit.* (2007).

Chapter Five
'The Irish Problem': Recruiting, Rebellion and Conscription in a Divided Country, 1914-19

[1] *Hansard*, 'Statement by Chief Secretary' (H[ouse of] C[ommons debate]: June 25th 1918: vol. 107): 955.

[2] Cited in Keith Jefferys, 'Participation: Sulva Bay, the Somme and the Easter Rising', *Ireland and the Great War* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 2000): 65.

[3] Ben Novick, 'The Arming of Ireland: Gun-Running and the Great War', in Adrian Gregory & Senia Paseta (eds.) *Ireland and the Great War* (Manchester: Manchester U. P., 2002).

[4] In the wake of the late 19th century botched Home Rule bills, the Conservatives adopted the term Unionist until the partition of Ireland effectively rendered it redundant. Unionists, distinct from the separate political party of the Ulster Unionists, are referred to in this chapter to denote members of the British Conservative party. Supporters of the concept of unionism, on the other hand, are referred to as unionists without the capitalisation of the word's first letter.

[5] A number of smaller political parties committed to the doctrine of constitutional nationalism also vied for Irish votes, but their significance (and in particular the significance of Sinn Fein, a party formed by Arthur Griffith in 1902 and committed to the formation of a united Ireland) has been doubted in the period before the Easter Rising. For a history of Irish politics and the 'Ulster question', see Thomas Hennessey, 'National Identity, Home Rule and the Ulster Question', *Dividing Ireland: World War 1 and Partition* (London: Routledge, 1998).

[6] Richard Grayson, 'Volunteers and Reserves', *Belfast Boys: How Unionists and Nationalists Fought and Died Together in the First World War* (London: Continuum, 2010; revised ed.): 11.

[7] Keith Jefferys, 'Objection: Irishmen Remember Belgium', *op cit.* (2000): 17 & *Hansard*, 'Recruiting Department (Dublin)' (HC: vol. 88, December 14th 1916): 823-824.

[8] The Naval Recruiting Committee was said to be under the direction of P. J. Andrew, although no biographical information on him has been found. NATS 1/249: 'Report on Recruiting – Ireland', *Treasury refusal to pay expenditure incurred in connection with Irish Recruiting Council's propaganda work* (N[ational] A[rchives], 1919).

[9] *Hansard*, 'Recruiting' (HC: vol. 73, July 14th, 1915): 814 & Nicoletta Gullace, 'The Making of Tommy Atkins: Masculinity, Propaganda and the Triumph of Family Values', *The Blood of Our Sons': Men, Women and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship During the Great War* (New York: Palgrave, 2002): 45.

[10] 'England's Difficulty', *Easter 1916: The Irish Rebellion* (London: Penguin, 2006): 73.

[11] 'Recruiting Sergeants for John Bull? Irish National MPs and Enlistment during the Early Months of the Great War', *War in History* (14: no. 4, 2007).

[12] Jefferys, *op cit.* (2000) & Grayson, *op cit* (2010)

[13] Townshend, 'The Battle of Dublin I: To the Barricades', *op cit.* (2006): 160-161.

[14] 'Introduction', *op cit.* (2002): 2.

[15] Cited in Grayson, *op cit.* (2010): 18.

[16] The 36th Ulster Division even became informally known as 'Sir Edward's Army' or the 'Carson (36th) Division. Grayson, 'The British Expeditionary Force, 1914-15', *op cit.* (2010): 28.

[17] See Peter Simkins, 'Recruiting in Decline, October 1914-May 1915', *Kitchener's Army: The Raising of the New Armies, 1914-1916* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2007): 112-117.

[18] D. G. Boyce, '"That Part Politics Should Divide our Tents": Nationalism, Unionism and the First World War, in Gregory & Paseta *op cit.* (2002): 192.

[19] Peter Martin, 'Dulce et Decorum: Irish Nobles and the Great War, 1914-19', in Gregory & Paseta, *op cit.* (2002): 31; Townshend, *op cit.* (2006): 73-5 & Grayson, *op cit.* (2010): 10-14.

[20] McConnell, *op cit.* (2007): 410.

[21] Patrick Callan, cited in Simkins, *op cit.* (2007): 115.

[22] 'Sir Hedley Le Bas and the Origins of British Domestic Propaganda in Britain 1914-1917', *Journal of Advertising History* (vol. 10: no. 2, 1987): 37.

[23] *Hansard*, 'Recruiting' (HC: July 14th, 1915: vol. 73: cols. 813-15).

[24] Hiley has referred to this new organisation as the 'Central Recruiting Council for Ireland', although Jefferys' more recent research has suggested it was called the 'Department of Recruiting'. *Op cit.* (2000): 17.

[25] Hiley, *op cit.* (1987): 38.

[26] *Op cit.* (2002): 45.

[27] A reference to the Curragh incident of March 1914, where a number of high-ranking staff officers in the British Army signalled their intention to resign if ordered to enforce Home Rule in Ulster. For analyses of the significance of this incident, see Robert Blake, 'The Curragh Incident', *History Today* (vol. 6: no. 6, 1956) & M.

L. Connelly, 'The Army, the Press and the "Curragh Incident", March 1914', *Historical Research* (vol. 84: no. 225, 2011).

[28] *Hansard*, 'Irish Administration' (HC: August 22nd 1916: vol. 85): 2562.

[29] Henry Robinson, 'Growth of Sinn Fein', *Memories and Wise and Otherwise* (London: Cassell & Co. 1924; available in the B[ritish] L[ibrary] under [document supply B] *1073*): 232.

[30] A. J. P. Taylor, 'The Great War: Old Style, 1914-15', *English History 1914-1945* (London: Oxford U. P., 1966): 21.

[31] Boyce, *op cit.* (2002): 203.

[32] See, for example, Arthur Greenwood, 'Tracts for the Times', *Irish Publicity League* (undated; available in the BL under x708/10396).

[33] See F. X. Martin, *The Irish Volunteers 1913-15: Recollections and Documents* (Dublin: James Duffy & Co., 1963; available in the BL under X.639/6).

[34] Simkins, *op cit.* (2007): 114.

[35] Simkins, *op cit.* (2007): 115-117.

[36] *Hansard*, 'Army Reinforcements' (H[ouse of] L[ords debate]: vol. 18, January 8th 1915): 360, 358.

[37] For a detailed account of the Rising, see W. E. Vaughan, 'The Rising and After', *A New History of Ireland, Volume VI: Ireland Under the Union, II: 1870-1921* (Oxford: Oxford U. P., 2010) & Townshend, *op cit.* (2006).

[38] Birrell resigned his post in the wake of the Rising, having been taken completely by surprise, and the Rising itself represented a 'shattering' event for British Liberalism according to Arthur Marwick. 'The Challenge to Laissez-Faire', *The Deluge: British Society and the First World War* (London: Macmillan, 1978 [1965]): 181.

[39] The appointment of Maxwell and the imposition of martial law would lead to a number of complaints in the Houses of Parliament. See *Hansard*, *op cit.* (August 22nd 1916). As late as 1918, one minister even suggested Ireland was controlled by a 'military dictatorship'. *Hansard*, 'Statement by Chief Secretary' (HC: vol. 107, June 25th 1918): 1002.

[40] Vaughan, *op cit.* (2010): 209.

[41] When Duke delivered his opening statement on Ireland in the House of Commons, he denied both that the WO was involved in sabotaging enlistment and that Ireland was in a state of martial law. *Hansard*, *op cit.* (August 22nd 1916).

[42] Lloyd George had achieved this by giving conflicting accounts of the precise nature of the settlement to Redmond and Carson. To the latter, he gave a 'written promise that it [the exclusion of Home Rule] would be permanent', and to the former he gave a verbal assurance that the question would be reviewed after the war. Both leaders managed to marshal their respective parties behind the settlement, only for Lord Lansdowne, a prominent supporter of the unionist case, to declare in the House of Lords that any settlement would be based on the 'permanent and enduring' exclusion of Ulster from the bill. Redmond subsequently withdrew the support of his party. Vaughan, *op cit.* (2010): 221-222.

[43] Vaughan, 'The New Nationalism, 1916-18', *op cit.* (2010): 225.

[44] Townshend, 'Transformation', *op cit.* (2006).

[45] Gregory & Paseta, *op cit.* (2002): 2; see also chapter four.

[46] Hew Strachan, 'Revolution', *The First World War: A New Illustrated History* (London: Pocket Books, 2006): 254-257.

[47] Strachan, 'Germany's Last Gamble', *op cit.* (2006): 283-292.

[48] Adrian Gregory, '"You Might as Well Recruit Germans": British Public Opinion and the Decision to Conscript the Irish in 1918', in Gregory & Paseta, *op cit.* (2002): 113.

[49] Cited in Boyce, *op cit.* (2002): 119.

[50] Gregory, *op cit.* (2002): 113.

[51] Ward, 'Lloyd George and the 1918 Irish Conscription Crisis', *The Historical Journal* (vol. 18: no. 1, 1974): 125; see also Gregory, *op cit.* (2002): 128 & Taylor, 'A Nation at War, 1916-18', *op cit.* (1965): 103-4.

[52] Though no men aged 42 or above ever served on the front after the extension of conscription, it led to heated debates in the House of Commons. Devlin cut to the point with the following: 'Everyone knows why conscription has been introduced in Ireland...Ireland has been brought in because [the government] wants to create a series of battalions of English grandfathers'. Cited in Gregory, *op cit.* (2002): 126.

[53] Ward has given the official commencement of the campaign as June 3rd 1918, but official files examined in this chapter suggest a much later date, August 12th. See NATS 1/248: 'Sir', *Treasury refusal to pay expenditure incurred in connection with Irish Recruiting Council's propaganda work* (NA, September 10th 1918): 1.

54 As Ward has shown, it was only at the end of May that anyone in the Cabinet began to seriously consider the issue of Irish manpower. Until then, it was simply assumed that Ireland could spare the men. *Op cit.* (1972): 121.

55 NATS 1/249: 'Memorandum of Conference', *op cit.* (NA, July 26th 1918): 1.

56 See Martin, *op cit.* (2002): 30, 31 & 34.

57 See the cutting in T 1/12472: *Ministry of National Service. Arrangements for recruiting members of H.M. Forces in Ireland: relations with the Irish Recruiting Council; staffing; financial arrangements* (NA, June 24th 1918): 1.

58 Michael Paris, 'Preparing for the Great War to Come', *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture, 1850-2000* (London: Reaktion, 2000).

59 Fussell, 'Myth, Ritual and Romance', *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York: Oxford U. P., 2000 [1975]): 117.

60 T 1/12472: *op cit.* (June 24th 1918): 1.

61 That is how Duke, then Chief Secretary, described it. See *Hansard*, op cit. (June 25th 1918): 916.

62 A fourth figure, W. E. McLaughlin, appears under the title of the article, although his name does not appear anywhere else in the files examined in this chapter.

63 T 1/12472: *op cit.* (June 24th 1918): 1; emphasis added.

64 Bizarrely, alongside this new campaign were two separate recruiting campaigns for farmhands in France and for Army labourers serving in the French Army 'behind the lines', both of which, according to Ward, had been 'secretly authorised' by Lloyd George. These campaigns were subsequently abandoned, although it is unclear why they were authorised in the first place, since they would undermine military recruiting efforts. Ward, *op cit.* (1974): 121-123.

65 According to one official speaking in the House of Commons, luring Irishmen to the Services with the promise of land was the brainchild of Lord Wimborne. *Hansard*, *op cit.* (June 25th 1918): 914-915. According to other parliamentary sources, much of the IRC's promotion was conducted on the basis of promises of land. *Hansard*, 'Recruiting, Ireland' (HC: vol. 108, July 9th 1918): 155-6 & 'Recruiting' (HC: vol. 109, August 1st 1918): 600-1.

66 A copy of this report can be found in NATS 1/249: 'Report on Recruiting – Ireland', *op cit.* (NA, undated).

67 'Early Days: August 1914-March 1915', *op cit.* (1978): 17.

68 Theresa Moriarty, 'Work, Warfare and Wages: Industrial Controls and Irish Trade Unionism in the First World War', in Gregory & Paseta, *op cit.* (2002): 78.

69 NATS 1/249: 'Report on...', *op cit.* (NA, undated): 14.

70 NATS 1/249: 'Report on...', *op cit.* (NA, undated): 4.

71 French proceeded to ban all public meetings, although they continued regardless. Ward, *op cit.* (1979): 120.

72 See Taylor, *op cit.* (1966): 104 & Ward, *op cit.* (1974): 120.

73 In addition to Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Tyrone, Armagh, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Westmouth, Galway and Sligo were chosen as locations for Area Offices. The division of Ireland into 10 recruiting regions reflecting the erstwhile division of the England, Scotland and Wales into 10 regions, and was done so to aid 'administrative efficiency' according to official files. See NATS 1/249: 'Headquarters of Recruiting in Ireland', *op cit.* (NA, undated).

74 NATS 1/249: 'Irish voluntary Recruiting Scheme', *op cit.* (NA, undated): 1.

75 *Ibid.*

76 NATS 1/249: 'Memorandum of...', *op cit.* (NA, July 26th 1918).

77 The entire Parliamentary Recruiting Committee's poster and leafleting work, which amounted to over 54 million copies of advertisements, cost a little over £40,000. No equivalent figures for quantities of advertisements are listed for the IRC in official files, though it is unlikely to have worked on a comparable scale. The £15,000 figure relates to orders placed with a single advertising agency between June and October. An invoice from that agency can be found in NATS 1/248: 'Kenny's Advertising Agency', *op cit.* (NA, December 16th 1918). For PRC figures, see chapter four.

78 There is some evidence that the MOI, though it had no role in the recruitment campaigns assessed in chapter four, did have some part to play in Irish promotion. See *Hansard*, *op it.* (June 25th 1918): 917 & NATS 1/248: 'Dear Mr Morris', *op cit.* (NA, March 5th 1920): 1.

79 NATS 1/248, 'Sir' (NA, October 9th 1918): 2-3. A copy of this letter can also be found in T 1/2472.

80 While there is continuing debate amongst historians about whether the Irish Public Records Office was deliberately or accidentally destroyed, it seems unlikely that the fire at the Maples Hotel was a deliberate act of sabotage. By February 18th 1919, the IRC had effectively shut down, although it had yet to vacate the Hotel or

remove its records. See NATS 1/249: 'REPORT on fire loss of Ministry Headquarters', in 'Sir', *op cit.* (NA, February 21st 1919).

[81] Hiley, *op cit.* (1987) & Gullace, *op cit.* (2002).

[82] The use of aeroplanes in Ireland could form the basis of an historical monograph in its own right. During and immediately after the Easter Rising, aeroplanes were apparently used to 'disperse' crowds. In the recruitment campaigns of 1918, a single 'recruiting aeroplane' toured the country, landing on airstrips and in fields. Their apparent use for airdropping leaflets, a tactic usually reserved for enemy countries in a total, provides a telling indication of how the British authorities viewed Ireland. See *Hansard*, 'Statement by...', *op cit.* (June 25th 1918): 1001, NATS 1/248: 'Sir', *op cit.* (NA, October 9th 1918): 3, & NATS 1/249: 'Report on...', *op cit.* (NA, undated): 12.

[83] NATS 1/248, 'Sir' (NA, October 9th 1918): 2-3.

[84] French, whose mishandling of Britain's defences in the German spring offensives led to his appointment as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (he preferred the term Viceroy), was, like Maxwell before him, transferred directly from the front line to control a civilian population. It is not surprising that each brought a battlefield mentality to the home front.

[85] John Dillon, cited in Vaughan, *op cit.* (2010): 237.

[86] Membership of Sinn Fein alone expanded from 66,270 to 112,020 in 1918, an indication of the failure of the War Cabinet's attempt to suppress anti-British separatist sentiment. See Vaughan, *op cit.* (2010): 237-239.

[87] Files on this campaign can be found in NATS 1/263: *Press campaign against Irish recruitment* (NA, 1918).

[88] *Op cit.* (1974): 125.

[89] Colonel Lynch was another well-known unionist, and his deployment to recruitment work created some controversy in the House of Commons. See *Hansard*, *op cit.* (June 25th 1918): 1001.

[90] T 1/12472: '3815/20', *op cit.* (NA, February 18th 1920): 1.

[91] T 1/12472: '38747', *op cit.* (NA, October 21st 1918): 1.

[92] NATS 1/248: Dear Headlam', *op cit.* (NA, August 21st 1918): 2.

[93] NATS 1/251: 'Sir', *op cit.* (NA, November 11th 1918): 1-2.

[94] This can be determined by the IRC's own accounts, preserved in NATS 1/248: 'Kenny's Advertising Agency' & 'Propaganda' (NA, December 21st 1918 & undated). Expenditure on cinemotor vans, though only £77 in October and £4 in November, grew to £137 in December. The amount expended on *Irish Soldier*, on the other hand, grew steadily from £22 in September to £27 in October to £51 in November to £61 in December.

[95] James Aulich has unearthed a copy of a postwar recruiting poster designed by Alfred Leete, who, as one of the New Army volunteers, left the Service and returned to civilian life and his trade. See 'The First World War', (*War Posters: Weapons of Mass Communication* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007): 125.

[96] A copy of the IRC's response to this alleged request can be found at NATS 1/265: 'Notes of a Conference held 10th November 1918', *op cit.* (NA, November 18th 1918): 1.

[97] *Ibid.* It was left to Gwynn to voice the case for opposition.

[98] Balloting began in mid-December, with the results announced shortly after Christmas. The results confirmed what many in the Irish Parliamentary Party had feared: an obliteration of their mandate and a near-landslide for Sinn Fein.

[99] NATS 1/265: 'Irish Publicity', *op cit.* (NA, November 30th 1918): 1

[100] NATS 1/265: 'Dear Sir John Leslie', *op cit.* (NA, November 1st 1918): 1.

[101] NATS 1/265: *op cit.* (November 30th 1918): 1.

[102] NATS 1/265: "Memorandum by A. M. Sullivan' (NA: December 2nd 1918): 1.

[103] 'Conclusion', *op cit.* (2007): 326.

[104] Gregory & Paseta, *op cit.* (2002): 2.

[105] 'Advertising for an Army', *The Lord Kitchener Memorial Book* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1916): unnumbered.

[106] 'A General Survey', *Advertising: Its Use and Abuse* (London: Thornton Butterwood, 1931 [1925]): 7.

[107] NATS 1/248: 'Sir', *op cit.* (NA, October 9th 1918): 1-2.

Chapter Six
‘To encourage, inspire and guide’: National Service, the ‘People’s War’ and the Promotion of Civil Defence in Interwar Britain, 1938-39

[1] Cited in Asa Briggs, ‘Prelude’, *Go To It! Working for Victory on the Home Front, 1939-1945* (London: IWM, 2000): 8.

[2] When seeing Brown making a call in the telephone booth of the House of Commons, the British Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin was reputed to have said, ‘I didn’t know Brown needed a telephone to reach his constituents in Leith’. See A. P. Ryan’s entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford U. P., 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32103, accessed 20 Dec 2012]).

[3] All told, there were 21 services and 55 different occupations. A complete list can be found in *National Service: A Guide to the Ways in Which the People of this Country May Give Service* (London: HMSO, 1939; available in the B[ritish] L[ibrary] under YD.2005.a.6354).

[4] [Anonymous] ‘Citizen Army of 1,800,000 – How to Serve’, *Daily Mirror* (January 25th, 1939): pg. 2.

[5] ‘National Service’, *Hansard* (vol. 342: December 20th 1938): 2713.

[6] Sidney Aster, ‘Appeasement: Before and After Revisionism’, *Diplomacy & Statecraft* (vol. 19: no. 3, 2008).

[7] Gaines Post, ‘Mad Dogs and Englishman: British Rearmament, Deterrence and Appeasement, 1934-35’, *Armed Forces & Society* (vol. 14: no. 3, 1988) & Uri Bialer, ‘Elite Opinion and Defence Policy: Air Power Advocacy and British Rearmament during the 1930s’, *British Journal of International Studies* (vol. 6: no. 1, 1980)

[8] ‘Appeasement, 1936-9’, *English History, 1914-1945* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965): 409.

[9] ‘National Service’, *Hansard* (vol. 342: December 20th 1938): 2719.

[10] [Anonymous] ‘Volunteer Campaign for Defence of Civil Life’, *Daily Mirror* (December 2nd 1938): pg 2 & [Anonymous] ‘Mobilisation by a Handbook’, *Manchester Guardian* (January 22nd 1939): pg. 15

[11] ‘Britain in the Frontline’ & ‘The ARP Services’, *ARP and Civil Defence in the Second World War* (Oxford: Shire Books, 2010): 8 & 18.

[12] *Op cit.* (2000): 8.

[13] Juliet Gardiner, ‘Afterword’, Wartime Britain, 1939-1945 (London: Headline, 2005): 689; see also Arthur Marwick, *The Home Front: The British and the Second World War* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1976). For a review of the literature on the wartime home front, see Jose Harris, ‘War and Social History: Britain and the Home Front during the Second World War’, in Gordon Martel’s (ed.) *The World War Two Reader* (London: Routledge, 2004).

[14] Gardiner is among several historians to make passing references to the promotional imagery used to attract civilians to the myriad volunteer organisations established in Britain in the run up to the war. However, her commentary is restricted to a few references to ‘recruiting posters’. “Go to it! Go to it! That’s the way to do it!”’, *op cit.* (2005): 523.

[15] ‘Introduction’, *Propaganda and the Role of the State in Interwar Britain* (Oxford: Oxford U. P., 1994): 5.

[16] Among the earliest and still best-known critique of the ‘people’s war’ is Angus Calder’s *The People’s War: Britain, 1939-1945* (London: Pimlico, 1996 [1969]).

[17] See, for example, Sonya Rose, *Which People’s War: National Identity and Citizenship in Wartime Britain, 1939-45* (Oxford: Oxford U. P., 2004) & Arthur Marwick, *British Society Since 1945* (London: Penguin, 2003; 4th ed).

[18] HO 45/18207: ‘The Lord Privy Seal’, *CIVIL DEFENCE: A.R.P. publicity: recruiting posters, leaflets, etc.* (N[ational] A[rchives], February 6th 1939): 1-2.

[19] *The Twilight Years: The Paradox of Britain Between the Wars* (New York: Penguin, 2009).

[20] Sue Bowden, ‘The New Consumerism’, in Paul Johnson (ed.) *Twentieth-Century Britain: Economic, Social and Cultural Change* (London: Longman, 1994): 242.

[21] Brian Bond, ‘The Twenty-Year Truce, 1919-39’, *War and Society in Europe, 1870-1970* (Guernsey: Sutton, 1998); Hobsbawm, ‘Into the economic abyss’, *The Age of Extremes* (London: Abacus, 2009) & Kevin Jefferys, ‘Britain’s “Near Democracy”, 1918-39’, *Politics and the People: A History of British Democracy Since 1918* (London: Atlantic, 2007).

[22] Overy, ‘The Death of Capitalism’, *op cit.* (2009).

[23] Jeffreys, *op cit.* (2007): 35.

[24] On Mass Observation, see Penny Summerfield, ‘Mass-Observation: Social Research or Social Movement?’, *Journal of Contemporary History* (vol. 20, 1985). See David Miller and William Dinan for an analysis of

corporate propaganda, *A Century of Spin: How Public Relations Became the Cutting Edge of Corporate Power* (London: Pluto, 2008).

[25] Jacquie L'Etang, 'State Propaganda and Bureaucratic Intelligence: The Creation of Public Relations in 20th Century Britain', *Public Relations Review* (vol. 24: no. 4, 1998).

[26] Grant, *op cit.* (1994): 5.

[27] Arthur Marwick, 'The End of the War', *The Deluge: British Society and the First World War* (London: Macmillan, 1978): 266-70.

[28] See Martin Hardie & Arthur Sabin, *War Posters Issued by Belligerent and Neutral Nations, 1914-1919* (London: AC & Black, 1920) & James Aulich's *War Posters: Weapons of Mass Communication* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007)*.

[29] David Edgerton, 'The Assurance of Victory', *Britain's War Machine: Weapons, Resources and Experts in the Second World War* (London: Penguin, 2012): 30.

[30] Taken to mean newspaper articles written by government official or their agents that are then included as ordinary 'news' in the newspapers, the term 'editorial publicity' routinely crops up in official files. It is difficult to determine how widespread the practice was, although declassified files of the Ministry of Information's Home Publicity Committee have shown that at least one newspaper, the *Daily Mirror,* was secretly involved in drumming up enthusiasm for military service in 1938. See 'Memorandum by Commander King-Hall', *Lady Rhys Williams* (I[mperial] W[ar] M[useum]: 94/9/2 [P (H) 15], September 9th 1938).

[31] WO: 32/4827: 'Press and Publicity Arrangements at the War Office' and 'Confidential', *WAR OFFICE: General (Code 1(A)): Director of Public Relations; appointment* (NA: August 3rd 1937 & June 8th 1937).

[32] *Op cit.* (1994): 6-7.

[33] See Jay Winter, 'Military Fitness and Civilian Health in Britain During the First World War', *Journal of Contemporary History* (vol. 15, 1980).

[34] Grant, 'Health Publicity 1919-1939', *op cit.* (1994): 124.

[35] In 1938, the Treasury placed a blanket ban on all display advertising, except classified, after a number of departments had planned large-scale campaigns unrelated to national service. This ban did not apply to the campaign for national service, which in the case of the Air Raid Precautions newspaper advertising campaign alone cost more than an entire department's average annual allocation for newspaper publicity. See, respectively, Grant, 'Conclusion', *op cit.* (1994): 230 and HO 45/18207: 'The Lord Privy…', *op cit.* (NA, February 6th 1939): 2.

[36] See [Anonymous] 'The London Rally', *Manchester Guardian* (January 25th, 1939): pg. 7.

[37] [Anonymous] 'The New Duty', *Manchester Guardian* (January 25th, 1939): pg. 11.

[38] Excerpts of Anderson's speech can be found in [Anonymous], 'Big London Rally', *The Manchester Guardian* (January 25th 1939: accessed via the *Guardian and Observer Historical Archive*): pg. 11. On the politics of air raid precautions, see Jonathan Holder, 'The Threat of Air Attack and its Effects on Britain's European and Defence Policies, 1937-39', *International Relations* (Sage, vol. 6, 1979) & Brett Holman, 'World Police for World Police: British Internationalism and the Threat of a Knock-out Blow from the Air, 1919-1945', *War in History* (vol. 17: 3, 2010).

[39] See [Anonymous], 'The Call to Service: The Prime Minister's Broadcast', the *Times* (January 24th 1939): pg. 12.

[40] See the newspaper articles cited above.

[41] LAB 25/161: 'Confidential: Deputy Secretary', *National Service Handbook publicity: broadcast by HM the King* (NA: November 23rd 1939): 2.

[42] The Ministry, a Department until 1917, was run by Chamberlain until his resignation in August 1917. Sir Auckland Geddes replaced Chamberlain in the same month, and appears to have played some role in the 1938-39 campaign. For the records of the First World War Department (later Ministry) of National Service (1914-20), see NATS 1 in the National Archives. For some rare publicity and ephemera of these bodies, see *National Service Department: List of NSCs* (St. Ermin's: Westminster, 1918; available in the BL under 08285.e.11.) and *Weekly Bulletins of the Ministry of National Service* (vols. 1-6: 1917-18; available in the BL under BS.54/7(2)).

[43] The first draft of the Guide was criticised for being written in an extravagant language that failed to speak to common people in their own tongue. It was subsequently redrafted to, in Anderson's words, appear more 'lucid'. 'National Voluntary Service', *Hansard* (HC: vol. 342, December 6th 1938): 1023.

[44] *Ibid.*: 1023-1024; emphasis added; see also LAB 6/102: 'National Service Publicity', *Publicity arrangements for broadcasting regarding the National Service handbook* (NA, December 9th 1938).

[45] H. M. D. Parker, 'Munich to the Outbreak of War', *op cit.* (1957): 52.

46 HO 186/108: 'The National Organisation for Civil Defence', *WOMEN'S VOLUNTARY SERVICES, Material for speeches on women's place in national service* (NA, undated).

47 Anderson's skill as an administrator was well-known in Whitehall, and led to his appointment of Minister of Civil Defence in 1939. His biographer, John Wheeler-Bennett, ascribes some importance to his work on air raid precautions, although considers his role in the General Strike of 1926 more important in helping to advance Anderson's career. See 'A Civil Servant in Peace and War. 1905-1920', 'Home Office. 1922-1932' & 'Cabinet Minister: Civil Defence. 1938-1940', *John Anderson* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1962).

48 See Philip Bagguley's entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford U. P., 2004; online edn, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36988, accessed 24th Dec 2012).

49 HO 186/108: 'The National Organisation…' *op cit.* (NA, undated); see also H. M. D. Parker, *op cit.* (1957).

50 [Anonymous] 'National Service', *The Times* (January 24th 1939): pg. 13.

51 *Hansard*: 'National Voluntary Service' (HC: vol. 342, December 6th 1938): 1040-41.

52 Calder, *op cit.* (2008) & Rose, *op cit.* (2008).

53 On the employment of women in the armed forces, see D'Ann Campbell, 'Women in Combat: The World War II Experience in the United States, Great Britain, Germany and the Soviet Union', in Martel (ed.) *op cit.* (2004). On their exploitation, see Cynthia Enloe, 'Women – the Reserve Army of Army Labour', *Review of Radical Political Economies* (vol. 12, 1980).

54 For a useful review of the impact of the war, see Peter Kerr, 'The Postwar Consensus: A Woozle That Wasn't?', *Postwar British Politics in Perspective* (Malden: Polity, 1999).

55 LAB 6/102: 'National Service Publicity', *op cit.* (NA, 9th December 1938): 2, 6.

56 The Post Office's Public Relations Department was highly regarded within Whitehall. In 1938, the Home Secretary, Sir Samuel Hoare, reassigned the department's Controller of Publicity, Alexander Highet, and its chief Public Relations Officer, Crutchley, to the Home Office to work on recruitment for Air Raid Precautions. The Post Office's Public Relations Department was also used as a model for planning the Ministry of Information's Home Publicity Division. See, respectively, POST 108: Post Office: Public Relations Department, predecessors and successors (available in the Royal Mail Historical Archive) and 'General Post Office, Public Relations Department', *Lady Rhys Williams* (IWM: 94/9/2 (P[H]6), July 20th 1938); see also Grant, '"Bringing Alive" the Post Office', *op cit.* (1994).

57 A map carving up the regions of England, Scotland and Wales can be found in HO 186/108: *op cit.* (NA, 1939).

58 HO 186/110: 'Note of a Meeting…', *PUBLICATIONS AND PUBLICITY, Pre-war meetings on National Service publicity held at the Ministry of Labour* (NA, February 21st 1939): 1.

59 Tallents is usually regarded as a pioneer of government public relations and a crucial figure in the establishment of the state's first Public Relations Department in 1934. For an account of his own views on public relations, see Tallents, *op cit.* (1934-35). For an account of the work of the Post Office written by one of its employees, see Crutchley, *GPO* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1938).

60 HO 45/18207: 'The Lord Privy Seal' (NA, February 6th 1939): 1.

61 *Ibid.*: 2.

62 The advertisements appeared in the *Times,* the *Sunday Times*, the *Observer*, the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Daily Mirror.* See, for example, 'ARP: Here is a job for real men!', *Manchester Guardian* (March 1st 1939): page 5 & 'ARP: We want ninety thousand fearless women', *Daily Mirror* (February 21st 1939; accessed via ukpressonline.co.uk on December 20th 2012): page 13.

63 'ARP: Who are "they"?', *Times* & *Daily Mirror* (February 15th 1939): pages 9 & 7 respectively.

64 *Ibid.*

65 'ARP: Would you leave a child to be bombed?', the *Manchester Guardian* (March 5th 1939): pg. 12

66 As David Clayton has argued, it is difficult to work out national aggregate spending on advertising in relation to individual media before the 1950s. 'Advertising Expenditure in the 1950s', *Business History* (vol. 52: no. 4, 2011). Nevertheless, various case studies of advertising expenditure before that decade have affirmed the importance of newspaper advertising in the 1930s. See, for example, Peter Scott and Lucy Ann Newton, 'Advertising, promotion, and the rise of a national building society movement in Interwar Britain', *Business History* (vol. 54: no. 3, 2012).

67 The Committee held ten meetings between February 21st-June 31st. Records of its proceedings can be found at HO 186/110: *op cit* (NA, 1939).

68 On the Empire Marketing Board, see Stephen Constantine, '"Bringing the Empire Alive": The Empire Marketing Board and Imperial Propaganda 1926-33', in J. Mackenzie (ed.) *Imperialism and Popular Culture*

(Manchester: Manchester U. P., 1986). On documentary films, see Rachel Low, *Films of Comment and Persuasion of the 1930s* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979).

[69] The quotas were designed to boost domestic film production, but succeeded only in producing two kinds of film which failed to compete with the dominance of Hollywood: low-cost and poor-quality films designed to allow cinemas to reach their quotas, and extravagant high-budget films that failed to recoup the outlay expended on them. See Rachel Low, *Filmmaking in 1930s Britain* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1985).

[70] See Low, *op cit.* (1979).

[71] HO 186/110: 'Supply of Posters' in 'Notes of a...', *op cit.* (NA, May 5th 1939): 4.

[72] *Ibid.*: 5.

[73] John Hewitt, 'The "Nature" and "Art" of Shell Advertising in the 1930s', *Journal of Design History* (vol. 5: no. 2, 1992).

[74] HO 186/110: 'Notes of a...', *op cit.* (NA, May 5th 1939): 5.

[75] *Ibid.* No clarification was provided as to the definition of 'effective sites', though one can assume it referred to sites *considered effective* by figures within individual NSCs.

[76] HO 186/110: 'B.B.C. Bulletin' in 'Notes of a...', *op cit.* (NA, March 24th 1939): 2.

[77] *Ibid.*

[78] *Ibid.*

[79] Jean Seaton, 'The BBC and Political Independence', *Power Without Responsibility: The Press, Broadcasting and New Media in Britain* (London: Routledge, 2003, 6th ed.)

[80] HO 186/110: 'Notes of a...', *op cit.* (NA, June 19th 1939): 1.

[81] Under HO 186/110: 'Notes of a ...' (NA, May 5th, 1939): 4; 'Notes of a...' (NA, March 31st 1939): 5; 'Notes of a...' (NA, May 1st 1939): 4 & 'Notes of a...', *op cit.* (NA, April 4th 1939): 3; see also MH 79/184: *Demonstration on Empire Air Day, 20 May 1939: National Service Rally in Hyde Park, 2 July 1939* (NA, 1939).

[82] Grant, *op cit.* (1994): 243.

[83] HO 199/1: *National Service Rally, Hyde Park on 2 July 1939* (NA, 1939).

[84] [Anonymous] 'Citizen Army of Defence', the *Times* (July 3rd, 1939): pg. 14.

[85] [Anonymous] 'The King Reviews Britain's "Fourth Arm"', *Manchester Guardian* (July 3rd 1939): pg. 9.

[86] [Anonymous] 'The King Salutes 20,000 of his "Fourth Arm"', *Daily Mirror* (July 3rd 1939): pg. 14.

[87] [Anonymous] 'The Spirit Beyond All Praise', *Daily Mirror* (July 3rd 1939): pg. 15.

[88] HO 199/1: *op cit.* (NA, 1939); see also MH 79/184: *op cit.* (NA, 1939).

[89] HO 199/1: 'Memorandum', *op cit.* (NA, undated): 1.

[90] In April 1939, the Military Training Act imposed conscription for all men aged 20-21. By the time war was declared later that year, the National Services (Armed Forces) Act conscripted all men aged 18-41. Two years later, unmarried women between the ages of 18-30 were drafted according to the National Service Act (1941), the first and as yet only time that women were conscripted in Britain.

[91] Major-General Russell Luckcock was appointed 'Organiser' for recruiting and worked on a committee established specifically for the rally that was chaired by Wolfe. Its records can be found in HO 199/1: *op cit.* (NA: 1939).

[92] HO 186/110: 'Notes of a...' (NA, March 17th 1939): 3.

[93] The scale on which these meetings took place should not be underestimated – 500 were apparently planned for one week alone – but how many speakers were employed in total and over what period of time, was not revealed. HO 186/110: 'Notes of a...', *op cit.* (NA, March 31st 1939): 4.

[94] Nicoletta Gullace, 'The Rape of Belgium and the Wartime Imagination', *'The Blood of Our Sons': Men, Women and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship During the Great War* (New York: Palgrave, 2002).

[95] For a copy of the original letter from Sir Samuel Hoare to Lady Reading, see HO 186/108: 'Lady Reading', *op cit.* (NA, May 20th 1938).

[96] HO 186/108: 'Speakers' Notes', *op cit.* (NA, January 1939): 7.

[97] 'Women's Voluntary Services and the Voluntary Sector' & 'Lady Reading Women's Voluntary Services', *Women, Social Leadership and the Second World War* (Oxford: Oxford U. P., 2002).

[98] HO 186/108: 'Speakers' Notes', *op cit.* (NA: January 1939):1-2.

[99] HO 186/110: 'Not to be published before 6 P.M. on the evening of Tuesday, 28th March, 1939', *op cit.* (NA): 1.

[100] Iain McLaine, *Ministry of Morale: Home Front Morale and the Ministry of Information in World War II* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979) & Michael Balfour, *Propaganda in War 1939-1945: Organisations, Policies and Publics in Britain and Germany* (London: Routledge, 1979).

[101] HO 199/1: 'Dear Sir Herbert', *op cit.* (NA, July 14th 1939): 1.

[102] HO 199/1: 'Lord Privy Seal', *op cit.* (NA, June 6th 1939): 1.

[103] *Hansard*: 'Propaganda' (HC: vol. 350, July 17th 1939): 23.

[104] The first estimates come from Doyle, *op cit.* (2010), the second from Robin Woolven, 'Pre-War Preparations', in Tim Essex-Lopresti's (ed.) *A Brief History of Civil Defence* (Derbyshire: Civil Defence Association, 2005): 7.

[105] *Op cit.* (2009).

[106] Holman, *op cit.* (2010).

[107] Grant, *op cit.* (1994). For a case study on the planning of the Second World War Ministry of Information, see Temple Willcox, 'Projection or Publicity? Rival Concepts in the Pre-war Planning of the British Ministry of Information', *Journal of Contemporary History* (vol. 18, 1983). For an account of interwar 'diplomatic' propaganda in Britain, see Phil Taylor, *The Projection of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 1981).

Chapter Seven
Social Survey and the Rise of 'Publicity in Reverse': Military Advertising, Opinion Polls and the Construction of Public Opinion, 1940-60

[1] *The Social Use of Sample Surveys* (Political and Economic Planning: no. 250, May 24th 1946): 3.

[2] 'Fighting the People's War: 1939-45', *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture, 1850-2000* (London: Reaktion, 2000): 186.

[3] Peter Doyle, *ARP and Civil Defence in the Second World War* (Oxford: Shire Books, 2010).

[4] Jonathan Holder, 'The Threat of Air Attack and its Effects on Britain's European and Defence Policies, 1937-39', *International Relations* (Vol. 6, 1979); see also Brett Holman, 'World Police for World Peace: British Internationalism and the Threat of a Knock-out Blow form the Air, 1919-45', *War In History* (vol. 17: no. 3, 2010).

[5] Gardiner, 'Evacuate forthwith', *Wartime: Britain 1939-45* (London: Headline, 2005): 17 & Paris, *op cit.* (2000): 186-7.

[6] Norman Davies, 'Warfare: Military Action in Europe', *Europe at War: 1939-45* (London: Macmillan, 2006): 75.

[7] 'Prelude: Munich and the Thirties', *The People's War* (London: Pimlico, 1996 [1969]): 34.

[8] See Sonya Rose, '"Be Truly Feminine": Contradictory Obligations and Ambivalent Representations' & 'Temperate Heroes: Masculinity on the Home Front', *Which People's War: National Identity and Citizenship in Wartime Britain, 1939-45* (Oxford: Oxford U. P., 2004).

[9] The Second World War MOI had actually been modelled on its First World War predecessor, as Phil Taylor and others have demonstrated. See '"If War Should Come": Preparing the Fifth Arm for Total War', *Journal of Contemporary History* (vol. 16, 1981).

[10] On the First World War Ministry of Information, see Cate Haste, 'Machinery of Propaganda', *Propaganda in the First World War* (London: Penguin, 1977), and on its Second World War counterpart see Iain McLaine, *Ministry of Morale: Home Front Morale and the Ministry of Information in World War II* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979) & Michael Balfour, *Propaganda in War: Organisations, Policies and Publics in Britain and Germany* (London: Routledge, 1979).

[11] Nicoletta Gullace, 'Allied Propaganda and World War I: Interwar Legacies, Media Studies and the Politics of War Guilt', *History Compass* (vol. 9: no. 9, 2011).

[12] See Mariel Grant, 'Towards a Central Office of Information: Continuity and Change in British Government Information Policy, 1939-51', *Journal of Contemporary History* (vol. 34: no. 1, 1999): 49-50.

[13] Arthur Marwick, 'Seasons of Discontent', *The Deluge: British Society and the First World War* (London: Macmillan, 1978 [1965]; 2nd ed.): 212.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] Temple Willcox, 'Projection or Publicity? Rival Concepts in the Pre-war Planning of the British Ministry of Information', *Journal of Contemporary History* (vol. 18, 1983); Michael Stenton, 'British Propaganda and Raison d'Etat, 1935-40', *European History Quarterly* (vol. 10, 1980) & Taylor, *op cit.* (1981).

[16] *Ibid.*; see also Haste, 'Propaganda for Peace', *op cit.* (1977).

[17] Penny Summerfield, 'Mass-Observation: Social Research or Social Movement?', *Journal of Contemporary History* (vol. 20, 1989): 446.

[18] Not all of Mass Observation's work was qualitative, however. See Tom Harrison & Charles Madge, *War Begins at Home* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1940) for an example of a study that veered from its favoured qualitative model.

[19] See *The Social Use of Sample Surveys* (Political and Economic Planning: no. 250, May 24th 1946).

[20] For a list of wartime studies of Social Survey, see CAB 124/637: 'The Social Survey: Field Surveys Made from 1941 Until December 1945', *The Social Survey* (N[ational] A[rchives], undated).

[21] Calder, *op cit.* (1996); Crofts, *Coercion or Persuasion? Propaganda in Britain after 1945* (London: Routledge, 1989).

[22] Thomas Critchley, 'The Civil Service and the Public', *The Civil Service Today* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1951): 97.

[23] Anne Cronin, 'Currencies of Commercial Exchange: Advertising Agencies and the Promotional Imperative', *Journal of Consumer Culture* (vol. 4: no. 3, 2004): 340.

[24] That is how A. P. Zentler, a commercial statistician, described the work of Social Survey to the Royal Statistical Society. A copy of his speech can be found in CAB 124/637: 'Contribution by A. P. Zentler, statistician of Horlicks Company to Discussion at Royal Statistical Society', *op cit.* (NA, undated): 1-2.

[25] Calder, *op cit.* (1996), Addison, *The Road to 1945* (London: Pimlico, 1994 [1975]) & Gardiner, *op cit.* (2005).

26 Addison, 'Introduction', *op cit.* (1994): 15 & Calder, 'War on the Mind: Science, Religion and the Arts', *op cit.* (1996): 471. William Crofts offers a brief discussion of post-war survey methods which suggests the 'image of public opinion presented by the Social Survey reports is an oscilligraph's fluctuating trace, whose peaks and troughs correspond to the timings of media headlines'. Yet even his analysis is restricted to two paragraphs. See 'No paper. No ink. No Minister', *Coercion or Persuasion? Propaganda in Britain After 1945* (London: Routledge, 1989): 33.

27 See Lewis, *Constructing Public Opinion* (New York: Columbia, 2001) & James Beniger, 'The Impact of Polling on Public Opinion: Reconciling Foucault, Habermas and Bourdieu', *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* (vol. 4: no. 3, 1998).

28 See CAB 124/637: 'Report by the Committee on Government Information Services' (NA, March 27th, 1946) & *The Social Use... op cit.* (May 24th 1946): 3.

29 Cited in Keith Tribe, 'Plant, Sir Arnold (1898-1978)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford U. P., 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/46108, accessed 20 Dec 2012]).

30 Labour MP Harold Nicholson. The *Manchester Guardian* reported the affair in an article entitled, 'Discovering Public Opinion' (dated August 1st, 1940: pg. 4). For a copy of a report into home morale and a subsequent meeting, see HO 262/12: 'Report by Sub-Committee', *Report on home morale* (NA, 1940)

31 Summerfield, *op cit.* (1985): 440.

32 It is worth noting, indeed, that Social Survey was not figured into the planning of the MOI in the run up to the war. See Wilcox, *op cit.* (1983) & INF 1/8: *Organisation of the Ministry* (NA: 1939-41)

33 CAB 124/637: 'The Social Use...', *op cit.* (1946): 7.

34 Adams played a part in the founding of the BBC television service, and was Britain's first female television producer. See Jean Seaton, 'Broadcasting and the Blitz', in Seaton and James Curran's *Power Without Responsibility: The Press Broadcasting, and New Media in Britain* (London: Routledge, 2003; 6th ed.): 122.

35 Paul Addison & Jeremy Crang, 'Introduction', *Listening to Britain, May-June 1940* (London: Vintage, 2011): xii; Summerfield, *op cit.* (1985): 446.

36 *Hansard*: 'Wartime Social Survey' (H[ouse of] C[ommons debate]: 31 July, 1940, vol. 363): 1216.

37 *Ibid.*

38 The led to some interesting exchanges in the Houses of Parliament. Opening a debate on the Ministry of Information on October 25th 1939, Sir William Broderick, for example, chose to critique the work of the new ministry by comparing it to its First World War predecessor. *Hansard*: 'The Ministry of Information' (H[ouse of] L[ords debate]: October 25th 1939, vol. 114).

39 Cited in *The Social Use of... op cit.* (May 24th 1946): 4.

40 CAB 124/637: 'The Social Survey: Field Surveys Made From July 1941 to December 1945', *op cit.* (NA, undated): 2.

41 Fife Clark, 'Purposes and Functions of the COI', *The Central Office of Information* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1970): 21.

42 CAB 124/637: 'The Social Survey: Note by the Lord President of the Council', *op cit.* (NA, March 27th 1946): 3.

43 Passed in 1939, the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act gave the government the power to pass any legislation that allowed it to effectively prosecute the war.

44 Calder, *op cit.* (1996): 471.

45 Addison, *op cit.* (1994): 15.

46 Matt Henn, 'The Development of Opinion Polling in Capitalist Societies: Britain', *Opinion Polls and Volatile Electorates* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998).

47 'Discovering the Consumer: Market Research, Product Innovation, and the Creation of Brand Loyalty in Britain and the United States in the Interwar Years', *Journal of Macromarketing* (vol. 29: no. 1, 2009).

48 'Building Knowledge about the Consumer: The Emergence of Market Research in the Motion Picture Industry', *Business History* (vol. 45: no. 1, 2003): 121.

49 Henn, *op cit.* (1998).

50 This comment has been widely attributed to Gallup. See Una McGovern's 'Gallup, George Horace', *Chambers Dictionary of Quotations* (Edinburgh: Chambers, 2005).

51 *What Britain Thinks* (BIPO, 1939; available in British Library under 08026.66.72): 1; see also Mark Roodhouse, 'Durant, Henry William', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008).

52 *The Social Use of... op cit.* (May 24th 1946): 4.

53 On polling methodology, see James Vicary, 'Word and Opinion Research – "Advertising" – An Illustrative Example', *Public Opinion Quarterly* (vol. 12: no. 1, 1948); Julian Woodward, 'Public Opinion Research 1951-

1970: A Not-Too-Reverent History', *Public Opinion Quarterly* (vol. 15: no. 3, 1951); Elmo Wilson, 'World-wide Development of Opinion Research', *Public Opinion Quarterly* (vol. 21: no. 1, 1957); and Leo Bogart, 'Opinion Research and Marketing', *Public Opinion Quarterly* (vol. 21: no. 1, 1957).

[54] *Hansard*: 'War-time Social Survey' (HC: vol. 363, August 1st 1940,): 1548.

[55] On the relationship between polls and politics, see Mark Abrams' accounts in the *Public Opinion Quarterly*: 'Public Opinion Polls and Political Parties' (vol. 27: no. 1, 1963) & 'Opinion Polls and Party Propaganda' (vol. 28: no. 1, 1964).

[56] *Ibid*. The BIPO went further when expounding the benefits of the poll, claiming a 'sampling referendum' changed the entire organisation of modern commerce. 'With the development of advertising and mass production, manufacturers and business men realised that to see into the public mind was to see the way to fortune'. *Op cit.* (1939): 2-3.

[57] *Hansard*: *op cit* (HC, August 1st 1940): 1550.

[58] CAB 134/306: 'Future of the Wartime Social Survey: Note by Chairman', *Official Committee on Government Information Services* (NA, 1945-46).

[59] Calder, *op cit.* (1996): 464-469.

[60] David Edgerton, *Warfare State: Britain, 1920-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 2006).

[61] For a discussion of eugenics, see Richard Overy, 'A Sickness in the Racial Body', *The Twilight Years: The Paradox of Britain Between the Wars* (New York: Penguin, 2009); see also Henry Phelps Brown, 'Saunders, Sir Alexander Morris Carr-', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008) & Joanne Woiak, 'Pearson, Karl', Keith Tribe, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004).

[62] I am indebted to Steven Jay Gould for these criticisms. See *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York: WV Norton, 1981).

[63] Cited in Lewis, 'Why Numbers Matter and why we Should be Suspicious of Them', *op cit.* (2001): 10.

[64] See CAB 134/306: 'Official Committee on Government Information Services: Future of the Wartime Social Survey', *op cit.* (NA, March 1st 1946) for a discussion of this report. It is worth noting, furthermore, that the Scientific Advisory Committee was used during the war to '[allay]...hostility' towards the Survey. See pg. 2 in the above file.

[65] 'Public Opinion and Public Opinion Polling', *American Sociological Review* (vol. 13: no. 5): 543.

[66] 'Manufactured Publicity and Non-public Opinion: The Voting Behaviour of the Population', *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007 [1962]).

[67] Morale was the subject to an internal MOI investigation in 1941, but that must be distinguished from the broader concept of public opinion. See Addison & Crang, *op cit.* (2011) & McLaine, 'Introduction, *op cit.* (1979): 6.

[68] Michael Wheeler, 'Interviewing the Public, *Lies, Damn Lies, and Statistics* (New York: Liveright, 1976): 87.

[69] Box & Thomas, *op cit.* (1944): 159.

[70] CAB 124/637: 'Memorandum by the Lord President of the Council' (NA, July 1st, 1946): 1.

[71] CAB 124/637: 'The Social Survey', *op cit.* (NA, January 18th, 1947): 2.

[72] CAB 124/637: 'The Social Survey: Note by the Central Office of Information' (NA, April 10th, 1947): [appendix] 1-2. See also CAB 13/379: 'Conclusions of a Meeting of the Cabinet', *Social survey work: General* (NA, 8th July, 1946).

[73] CAB 134/306: 'Official Committee on Government...', *op cit.* (NA, 1946): 1.

[74] RG 23/125: *Re-enlistment in the Royal Air Force* (NA, July 1947).

[75] MH 55/982: 'Recruitment to Civil Defence', *NHSR Civil Defence Recruitment Publicity* (NA, undated): 1.

[76] LAB 19/424: *Review of the employment and social background of boys aged 15 to 18: Central Office of Information Social Survey reports on National Service and enlistment in armed forces and employment of adolescents* (NA, 1951) & RG 23/254: *Enquiry into the main attitudes towards voluntary recruitment to the army, for the War Office* (NA, 1957).

[77] RG 23/250: *op cit.* (NA, 1956) & RG 23/284: *Enquiry into the number of young men who applied for information about recruitment to the Royal Air Force but did not enlist for the Air Ministry* (NA, 1960).

[78] In 1946, the Home Information Committee described the Survey as a 'useful instrument of modern administration, which a large number of Departments are employing and propose to continue to employ'. See CAB 124/637, 'Memorandum by the...', *op cit.* (NA, 1946).

[79] Respectively, RG 23/254: *op cit.* (NA, 1957) & RG 23/284: *op cit.* (NA, November 1961).

[80] RG 23/250: *op cit.* (NA, 1956): 3.

[81] RG 23/125: *op cit.* (NA, July 1947): v.

82 When respondents gave a wide array of views, Survey staff tended to dismiss their views as not being sufficiently 'crystallised'. Since they required distinct categories of opinions to 'measure' public opinion, a lack of 'crystallisation' of opinions could actually be interpreted as an indication that opinions were not amenable to *quantification*.

83 'The Dynamics Behind the Advertisement', *Advertising and Popular Culture* (London: Sage, 1996).

84 MH 55/982: 'Civil Defence Recruitment Meeting: Minutes', *op cit.* (NA, April 27th 1950): 3-4.

85 MH 55/982: *NHSR Civil Defence Recruitment Publicity*, 'Civil Defence Recruitment Meeting: Minutes' (NA, April 27th 1950): 3-4.

86 MH 55/982: 'Recruitment To Civil Defence' (NA, undated): 1-2. Copies of the original survey and earlier drafts can also been found in this series.

87 MH 55/982: 'Of course I'm patriotic. I'd join at once, but...', *op cit.* (NA, March-April 1950).

88 INF 12/322: '[Untitled document]', *Home Information Services (Official) Committee: Defence Publicity Committee (PART B)* (NA, undated): 1.

89 *Ibid.*: 1-2.

90 CAB 123/637: 'A Suggested Charter for the Social Survey', *op cit.* (NA, undated): 1.

91 CAB 124/637: 'Note by the Central Office of Information', *op cit.* (NA, April 5th 1945): 2.

92 Though it was detached from the COI in 1967, Social Survey continued to operate well into the 1990s according to official files. Files of its work can be found under RG 40; see also RG 23/497: *Enquiry into attitudes towards HM Forces as a career for the Ministry of Defence* (NA, 1970-71) for an example of a private opinion poll.

93 Cronin, *op cit.* (2004).

94 Schwarzkopf, *op cit.* (2009), Bakker, *op cit.* (2003) & Henn, *op cit.* (1998).

95 Critchley, *op cit.* (1951): 95 & Greaves, *op cit.* (1947): 215.

Chapter Eight
From Advertising to 'Information': Military Recruitment in an Era of Political Reform, 1944-51

[1] Paul Addison, *The Road to 1945: British Politics and the Second World War* (London: Pimlico, 1994) & Arthur Marwick, *British Society Since 1945* (London: Penguin, 2003; 4th ed).

[2] See Bosworth Monck, *How the Civil Service Works* (London: Phoenix House, 1952) & G. A. Campbell, *The Civil Service in Britain* (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1965; 2nd ed.).

[3] *Hansard*: 'Government Information Services (New Organisation)' (H[ouse of] C[ommons debate]: December 17th, 1945, vol. 417): 916; emphasis added.

[4] Against most predictions, Labour won by a margin of 180 seats. See Addison, 'Conservatism in Eclipse Mass 1943-1945', *op cit.* (1994): 267.

[5] *Hansard:* 'Government...', *op cit.* (HC, December 17th 1945): 916-918.

[6] 'The Administrative Class: An Assessment' & 'The Machinery of Central Direction', *The Civil Service in the Changing State* (London: George Harrup, 1947): 64 & 213.

[7] 'The Civil Service and the Public', *The Civil Service Today* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1951): 92.

[8] 'Reflections and Conclusions', *The Central Office of Information* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1970): 158.

[9] 'Self-Inflicted Wound' & 'Crisis Years', *Coercion or Persuasion? Propaganda in Britain After 1945* (London: Routledge, 1989): 232 & 12-13.

[10] 'Policing the Public Sphere – The British Machinery of News Management', *Media, Culture & Society* (vol. 15, 1993): 364.

[11] 'Towards a Central Office of Information: Continuity and Change in British Government Information Policy, 1939-51', *Journal of Contemporary History* (vol. 34: no. 1, 1999): 50.

[12] On rearmament, see T. O. Lloyd, 'The Post-War World: Dream and Reality (1945-49)' & 'The Afterglow (1949-56)', *Empire, Welfare State Europe: History of the United Kingdom 1906-2001* (Oxford: Oxford U. P., 2002; 5th ed.). On defence policy during the Cold War, see Till Geiger, 'The British Warfare State and the Challenge of Americanisation of Western Defence', *European Review of History* (vol. 15: no. 4, 2008) & Harriet Jones, 'The Impact of the Cold War', in Paul Addison and Harriet Jones (eds.) *A Companion to Contemporary Britain 1939-2000* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005).

[13] On National Service, see L. V. Scott, *Conscription and the Attlee Governments: the Politics and Policy of National Service* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993) & Lloyd, *op cit.* (2002).

[14] Peter Hennessy, 'Mid Twentieth-Century Britain', *Never Again: Britain, 1945-51* (London: Penguin, 2006): 454.

[15] Grant, 'Towards a Central...', *op cit.* (1999): 53. The files of this committee can be found under INF 1/941: *Post war activities of Ministry of Information* (N[ational] A[rchives], 1943-44) & T 222/68: *Future of Ministry* (NA, 1944-45).

[16] Clement Attlee and Sir Stafford Cripps. Herbert Morrison, a figure of some importance in post-war information policy, also appears to have attended the meetings, and had access to the Barlow report. See Grant, *op cit.* (1999).

[17] The report can be found in INF 1/941*: ibid.* (NA, 1943-44).

[18] For a review of interwar publicity and propaganda, see Grant, *Propaganda and the Role of the State in Interwar Britain* (Oxford: Oxford U. P., 1994).

[19] Grant, *op cit.* (1999): 53.

[20] Cited in Phil Taylor, '"If War Should Come": Preparing the Fifth Arm for Total War', *Journal of Contemporary History* (vol. 16, 1981): 31.

[21] Taylor, *op cit.* (1981): 31.

[22] Temple Willcox, 'Projection or Publicity? Rival Concepts in the Pre-war Planning of the British Ministry of Information', *Journal of Contemporary History* (vol. 18, 1983) & Michael Stenton, 'British Propaganda and Raison d'état 1935-40', *European History Quarterly* (vol. 10, 1980).

[23] In a departmental memorandum, Crookshank claimed the continuation of public relations after the war 'would lead the Government into very deep waters'. Cited in Grant, *op cit.* (1999): 54.

[24] INF 1/941: 'Private Secretary to...', *op cit.* (NA, April 11th 1944); see also Grant, *op cit.* (1999): 53.

[25] *Op cit.* (1999): 53.

[26] Grant, *op cit.* (1999): 54.

[27] See Critchley, *op cit.* (1951); Monck, *op cit.* (1952); G. A. Campbell, *op cit.* (1965). See also Gavin Drewry and Tony Butcher, *The Civil Service Today* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988) & Geoffrey Fry, *Reforming the Civil Service* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh U. P., 1993).

[28] Raymond Williams, 'Technology' in *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (London: Fontana, 1998): 315.

[29] See *An Outline of... op cit.* (1968); see also INF 12/997: 'The Central Office of Information', *op cit* (NA, undated).

[30] See Tulloch, *op. cit.* (1993) & Crofts, *op. cit.* (1989). According to Clark, overall expenditure on the COI (as distinct from staffing) remained high until the early 1950s. See 'Appendixes', *op cit.* (1970): 172.

[31] Cited in Crofts, *op cit.* (1989): 219.

[32] On postwar reform, see David Childs, 'Achievement and Austerity Under Attlee, 1945-51', *Britain Since 1945: A Political History* (London: Routledge, 2001; 5th ed.); Robert Pearce, 'Labour and the Economy', *Attlee's Labour Governments* (London: Routledge, 1994); & David Howell's biography, *Attlee* (London: Haus, 2006).

[33] *Op cit.* (1989).

[34] For an account of this campaign, see INF 12/316: 'Recruiting Campaign: A Preliminary note upon Requirements and Recommendations', *Home Information Services (Official) Committee: Government Press Advertising* (NA, October 21st 1948). On demobilisation, see Rex Pope, 'British Demobilisation after the Second World War', *Journal of Contemporary History* (vol. 30, 1995).

[35] PREM 8/281: 'Broadcast Speech by Secretary of State for War', *Voluntary recruitment in fighting services: recruiting publicity campaign for the army* (NA, May 16th 1946): 1-3.

[36] Geiger, *op cit.* (2008).

[37] For an account of Britain's many 'limited wars', see David French, 'Duncan Sandys and the Projection of British Power After Suez', *Diplomacy & Statecraft* (vol. 24: no 1, 2013).

[38] Jones, *op cit.* (2005).

[39] There were exceptions, as when the ministry was implicated in the infamous '999' staff affair and when its mishandling of censorship propelled it into the public limelight. See Iain McLaine, *Ministry of Morale: Home Front Morale and the Ministry of Information in World War II* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979).

[40] *Herbert Morrison. Portrait of a Politician* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1973): 358; see also Tulloch, *op cit.* (1993): 375; Herbert Morrison, *Herbert Morrison: An Autobiography* (London: Odhams Press, 1960) & David Howell, 'Morrison, Herbert Stanley, Baron Morrison of Lambeth (1888-1965)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford U. P., 2004; online ed., accessed March 23rd 2012).

[41] The name was soon changed to avoid confusion with an American organisation with the same acronym.

[42] CAB 134/306: 'Note by the chairman', *Official Committee on Government Information Services* (NA, December 15th 1945): 2-3; see also Tulloch, *op cit.* (1993): 375.

[43] Its files can be found at CAB 134/306: *op cit.* (NA, 1945-46).

[44] CAB 134/306: 'Note by the...', *op cit.* (NA, December 15th 1945): 3-13.

[45] There were several post-war committees of information. The Official Committee on Government Information Services held 5 meetings from 1945-46, while the Ministerial Committee on Information Services held 10 meetings in 1948 and was reconstituted in 1950 for another seven meetings. See CAB 134/ 306: *op cit* (1945-46), CAB 134/357: *Ministerial Committee on Home Information Services* (NA, 1948) & CAB 134/359: *Ministerial Committee on Home Information Services: Official Committee on Home Information Services: Meetings 1-7; Papers 1-38* (NA, 1950).

[46] Sir James Crombie. The committee also included Sir Robert Fraser, then Director General of the COI, and the Prime Minister's Press Adviser, Mr (later Lord) Francis Williams. See Crofts, *op cit.* (1970): 36.

[47] T 219/156: 'Report of the Committee on Departmental Information Officers and Information Divisions', *Crombie Report & Wardley Committee on Information Officers in Government Departments* (NA, July 2nd 1947 [PART A]): 4

[48] David Miller and William Dinan have also analysed this organisation in 'Pulling Labour's Teeth', *A Century of Spin: How Public Relations Became the Cutting Edge of Corporate Power* (London: Pluto, 2008)

[49] T 219/156: '[Anonymous] to Sir Edward Bridges', *op cit.* (NA, September 3rd 1947).

[50] Willcox, *op cit.* (1983) & Grant, *op cit.* (1994).

[51] T 219/156: 'Report of the...' *op cit.* (NA, July 2nd 1947): 1.

[52] T 219/156: 'Robert Fraser to Mr Stephens', *op cit.* (NA, November 3rd, 1947): 1.

[53] T 219/156: *op cit.* (NA, September 3rd 1947): 2.

[54] T 219/156: '[Anonymous] to Sir Edward Bridges' (NA, October 1st 1947): 2 & '[Anonymous] to Sir Edward Bridges', *op cit.* (NA, September 27th 1947): 2

[55] T 219/156: '[Anonymous] to Donald Wardley', *op cit.* (NA, November 5th 1947): 1.

[56] T 219/156: 'The Title "Public Relations Officer"', *op cit.* (NA, November 22nd 1947): 2-3.

[57] T 219/156: 'N. G. S to Ashcroft', *op cit.* (NA, January 2nd 1948): 1.

[58] On the various functions of the COI, see *An Outline of... op cit.* (1968) & Clark, *op cit.* (1970).

[59] Terence Nevett, 'The Postwar Era', *Advertising in Britain: A History* (London: Heinemann, 1982).

[60] Crofts, 'No Paper. No ink. No Minister', *op cit.* (1989): 22.

[61] *Op cit.* (1989): 23.

[62] The establishment of the Ministry of Defence signalled an end to the Committee of Imperial Defence, a body responsible for a range of defence policies and procedures, including Air Raid Precautions. See *Central Organisation for Defence* (London: HMSO, 1946; available online via *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*).

[63] By 1948, despite heightened tensions between Britain and the Soviet Union, the Services still received only 10% of the total overall allocation of government press advertising. The biggest single advertiser was Report to the Nation, which received a percentage of 25% of the overall budget, followed by the National Saving Committee and the Ministry of Food. CAB 134/357: 'Notes of a Meeting Held', *op cit.* (NA, May 28th 1948): 1.

[64] Grant, *op cit.* (1999).

[65] Winston Churchill's government, in keeping with its earlier hostility to government 'propaganda', initiated an enquiry into the COI and temporarily ended ministerial coordination of publicity. The latter returned within a year, however, and the COI was retained on the grounds of its formation: economisation. Clark, *op cit.* (1970): 37.

[66] Scott, 'The 1947 National Service Act', *op cit.* (1993).

[67] When the Air Ministry proposed expanding its ratio of press advertising allocated to the Services, one COI official warned that approving an increase would 'doubtless provoke a reaction from the War Office' and subsequently lead to a promotional 'arms race'. See INF 12/316: '[Anonymous] to Mr Watson' & 'Advertising Space Priorities', *op cit.* (NA, October 20th 1946 & undated respectively).

[68] Files of this committee can be found at INF 12/316: *Home Information Services (Official) Committee: Government Press Advertising* (NA, 1946-49).

[69] See CAB 130/41: *Civil Defence: meeting 1 and papers 1-2 & Size of the Armed Forces in the years 1949-51: Meetings 1-4 and papers 1-2* (NA, 1948).

[70] CAB 134/359: 'Defence Publicity Programme 1950-51', *op cit.* (NA, June 17th 1950): 6.

[71] *Ibid.*; see also CAB 130/41: *op cit.* (NA, 1948).

[72] CAB 134/359: 'Defence Publicity...', *op cit.* (NA, June 17th 1950): 6 & CAB 134/359: 'Home Information Services: Estimated Expenditure 1951-52', *op cit.* (NA, November 11th 1950): 1.

[73] The BBC, according to one official, had 'made available to the Government, first through the Ministry of Information and subsequently through the Central Office of Information, a ten-minute period for official announcements'. According to the same official, the BBC had expressed 'grave dissatisfaction with the use made of this period, and it was essential that it should be used for greater effect [thereafter]'. CAB 134/359: 'Notes of a Meeting', *op cit.* (NA, September 20th 1950): 3.

[74] Files of this committee can be found at MH 55/982: *National Hospital Service Reserve Advisory Committee: civil defence recruitment publicity* (NA, 1949-50); see also CAB 134/359, *op cit.* (NA, 1950).

[75] Peter Doyle, 'Britain in the Front Line', *ARP and Civil Defence in the Second World War* (Oxford: Shire Books, 2010).

[76] The notion that civil defence represented 'commonsense' was continually stressed during the course of the campaign, and was even articulated in public speeches and ministerial announcements. See MH 55/982: 'Of Course I'm patriotic. I'd join at once, but...' & 'Speakers' Notes', *op cit.* (NA, 1950).

[77] HO 303/3: 'There's a special job waiting for you', *Recruiting publicity, recruitment statistics 1950-1953* (NA, undated).

[78] HO 303/3: 'Memorandum from Everetts Advertising Ltd.', *op cit.* (NA, undated): 2.

[79] MH 55/982: 'National Hospital Service Reserve Proposed Publicity Campaign', *op cit.* (NA, undated): 2.

[80] CAB 124/78: 'Minutes of an Informal meeting', *Information: meetings with departmental Chief Information Officers* (NA, January 17th 1951): 1.

[81] Hennessy, 'Shot and Shell', *op cit.* (2006): 404.

[82] T. O. Lloyd, *op cit.* (2002): 274.

[83] Bevan also resigned after charges were introduced to the National Health Service, although he stressed the 'irreparable damage to the British economy' the rearmament programme would have in his resignation speech. See Hennessy, *op cit.* (2006): 385 & Lloyd, *op cit.* (2002): 274. On the economic impact of the Korean War, see Catherine Schenk, 'Austerity and Boom', in Paul Johnson (ed.) *Twentieth-Century Britain: Economic, Social and Cultural Change* (London: Longman, 1994).

[84] This decision had effectively been made in 1948. See CAB 130/41: 'Notes of a meeting' (NA, November 1st 1948).

[85] CAB 134/359: *op cit.* (NA, June 17th 1950): 3.

[86] *Ibid.*

[87] INF 12/321: *Home Information Services (Official) Committee: Defence Publicity Committee* (NA, 1950-51).

[88] INF 12/321: 'Defence Publicity Committee: Chairman's Notes', *op cit.* (NA, September 28th 1950).

[89] INF 12/322: 'Defence Publicity Programme: 1951-52', *Home Information Services (Official) Committee: Defence Publicity Committee* (NA, July 1951-Decemeber 1951): 8.

[90] CAB 124/78: *op cit.* (NA, January 17th 1951): 3. For files on the Festival of Britain, see CAB 21/2203: *Festival of Britain 1951* (NA, 1947-56)

[91] *Ibid.* For files on the Festival of Britain, see CAB 21/2203: *Festival of Britain 1951* (NA, 1947-56).

[92] CAB 134/359: *op cit.* (NA, June 17th 1950): 1.

[93] CAB 124/78: 'Notes for Meeting with Chief Information Officers', *op cit.* (NA, undated).

[94] According to the files of the Services Recruiting Publicity Committee, the recruitment of children began in 1946 along with other measures. INF 12/316: 'Services Recruiting Publicity Committee', *op cit.* (NA, August 30th 1946).

[95] For a useful graph listing the location of recruiting colleges and training schools in the Army, see WO 163/750: 'UK Individual Training Schools', *Executive Committee of the Army Board: meeting 75-77* (NA, 1972).

[96] INF 12/321: 'Home Information Services (Official) Committee', *op cit.* (NA, September 29th 1950): 3.

[97] INF 12/316: *op cit.* (NA, August 30th 1946): 3.

[98] INF 12/321: 'Home Information Services (Official) Committee', *op cit.* (NA, September 28th 1950): 3. The Education Committees had claimed children were 'too impressionable and therefore restricted the Service approach to Grammar and High Schools'.

[99] The Navy, for example, had an established history of recruiting children that dates back to pre-industrial times. For a pre-first world war pamphlet promoting recruitment of children in this service, see Geo Thomas, *The Training of Boys for the Sea Service and Recruiting for the Royal Navy* (Navy League: Miller & Co., 1905; available in the British Library under 08806.f.10).

[100] Labour's manifesto can be found via the party's website, at: http://www.labour-party.org.uk/manifestos/1945/1945-labour-manifesto.shtml (accessed June 3rd 2013). For a review of the general election, see Henry Pelling, 'The 1945 General Election Reconsidered', *The Historical Journal* (vol. 23: no. 2, 1980).

[101] T 219/156: 'Report of the...' *op cit.* (NA, July 2nd 1947): 1.

[102] INF 12/997: 'Speech to the CPU', *Regional Unit: Publicity for COI Services* (NA, June 15th 1964): 2.

[103] Scott, *op cit.* (1993).

[104] 'Report to the Nation', *op cit.* (1999): 67.

Chapter Nine
Civilising the Services: Frederic Hooper, the Termination of Conscription and the
Modernisation of the Military, 1957-63

[1] Frederic Hooper, 'What Management Is', *Management Survey* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1960 [1948]): 22.

[2] T. O. Lloyd, 'They "Never Had it So Good"', *Empire, Welfare State Europe: History of the United Kingdom 1906-2001* (Oxford: Oxford U. P., 2002; 5th ed.): 314.

[3] David Edgerton, 'The White Heat Revisited: The British Government and Technology in the 1960s', *Twentieth Century British History* (vol. 7: no. 1, 1996).

[4] Dominic Sandbrook, 'Space Age', *White Heat: A History of Britain in the Swinging Sixties* (London: Abacus, 2006).

[5] On post-war affluence, see John Kennet Galbraith, *The Affluent Society* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970 [1958]); Kevin Jefferys, '"Content, Complete, Complacent": Affluence and Popular Politics in the 1950s', *A History of British Democracy Since 1918* (London: Atlantic Books, 2007) & Richard Whiting, 'Affluence and Industrial Relations in Post-war Britain', *Journal of Contemporary History* (vol. 22: no. 4, 2008). On new media, see Raymond Williams, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form* (New York: Shocken Books, 1974) & Lisa Parks, *Cultures in Orbit: Satellites and the Televisual* (Durham: Duke U. P., 2005).

[6] On social and economic transformation, see Catherine Schenk, 'Austerity and Boom', in Paul Johnson (ed.) *Twentieth-Century Britain: Economic, Social and Cultural Change* (London: Longman, 1994); Andrew Rosen, *The Transformation of British Life 1950-2000* (Manchester: Manchester U. P., 2003) & Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy and the United States* (Oxford: Oxford U. P., 1998).

[7] In the early 1960s, several books were published prophesising a British decline. Drawing on several common themes, these books claimed Britain was lagging behind its major rivals because of failures in management, governance and intransigent trades unions. See Sandbrook, *op cit.* (2006): 51; Hugh Pemberton, 'The Transformation of the Economy', in Paul Addison and Harriet Jones (eds.) *A Companion to Contemporary Britain 1939-2000* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005) & Edgerton, *The Warfare State: Britain, 1920-70* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 2006).

[8] Till Geiger, 'The British Warfare State and the Challenge of Americanisation of Western Defence', *European Review of History* (vol. 15: no. 4, 2008) & Harriet Jones, 'The Impact of the Cold War', in Paul Addison and Harriet Jones (eds.) *A Companion to Contemporary Britain 1939-2000* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005).

[9] Matthew Grant, 'Home Defence and the Sandys Defence White Paper, 1957', *Journal of Strategic Studies* (vol. 31: no. 6, 2008).

[10] Tom Hickman, *The Call-Up: A History of National Service* (London: Headline, 2004)

[11] See Duncan Sandys' revised White Paper, *Defence: Outline of Future Policy* (London: HMSO, 1957) & [Anonymous], 'Defence Forces to be Nearly Halved', the *Times* (April 5th 1957): pg. 10

[12] [Anonymous], 'A Startling New Defence Plan', *Daily Mirror* (January 21st 1957): pg. 1 & [Anonymous], 'Cuts in Defence Costs and the Budget', the *Times* (April 5th 1957); see also Alastair Buchan, 'Risk and Realism', the *Observer* (April 7th 1957): pg. 10.

[13] A key component of Sandys' reforms would be the phased demobilisation of conscripts over a five-year period beginning in 1957. In the event, and after the Army had failed to meet its trained requirement, this date was pushed forward to May 1963, when the last national servicemen left his post. See Hickman, *op cit.* (2004).

[14] For accounts of some of these campaigns, see INF 12/297: *ADVERTISING CAMPAIGNS: RAF recruitment: press advertising* (N[ational] A[rchives], 1961); INF 13/7: *Naval Recruitment: 3 Posters* (NA, 1960) & INF 2/176: *Royal Air Force: Advertising Expenditure and Results Summary* (NA, 1962-63).

[15] CAB 128/31: 'Minutes of a Meeting', *Cabinet conclusions: 1(57)-86(57)* (NA, March 18th 1957): 4-5.

[16] Kenneth Rose, 'Hooper, Sir Frederic Collins', in H. C. G. Mathew's and Brian Harrison's (eds.) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 2004; vol. 27).

[17] 'Sir Frederic Hooper', the *Times* (October 5th 1963): pg. 10. 'The great success of the 1961-62 [recruiting] campaign', the author of the obituary claimed, 'was largely due to [Hooper's] advice and imagination'.

[18] David French, 'Duncan Sandys and the Projection of British Power After Suez', *Diplomacy & Statecraft* (vol. 24: no 1, 2013); Myers, 'British Trade Unions and the End of Conscription: The Tripartite Committee of 1950-56', *Journal of Contemporary History* (vol. 31, 1996) & Navias, 'Terminating Conscription? The British National Service Controversy 1955-56', *Journal of Contemporary History* (vol. 24, 1989).

[19] See, for example, Bill Osgerby, 'Youth Culture', in Addison and Jones (eds.) *op cit.* (2005) & John Street, 'Youth Culture', in Paul Johnson (ed.) *op cit.* (1994)

[20] Hooper has been credited with developing the branding concept of 'Schweppeshire', though according to his biographer a 'contented labour force was his first concern; advertising was his plaything and delight'. Rose, *op cit.* (2004): 994.

[21] 'Management and the Climate of Work', *op cit.* (1960): 91.

[22] The Grigg Committee, which examined various aspects of the Army's manpower needs, was particularly critical of excessive discipline. Space does not exist to examine it here. WO 32/17108: 'Report on the Advisory Committee on Recruiting', *Recruitment of officers for regular army* (NA, September 29th 1958).

[23] Files for these appointments can be found at LAB 8/2214: *Resettlement Advisory Board Appointments* (National Archives, 1957-61) & WO 32/17243: *Wolfenden Report ('Report of the Committee on the Employment of National Servicemen')* (NA, October 1st 1956). For a history of the Ministry of Labour and National Service, see H. M. D. Parker, *Manpower: A Study of War-time Policy and Administration* (London: HMSO, 1957).

[24] These reports, cited throughout, can be found in two separate files series: DEFE 7/1224 and WO 32/20397.

[25] *Op cit.* (1960): 22-23.

[26] Human relations theory represented an approach to the study of social organisations that priorities the psychology of workers and their relationship to social issues over their functional role within organisations. Mayo's work inspired other studies, included that movement Formed to deal with the specific problems created by wartime mobilisation, the Tavistock Institute carried out a number of studies into commercial organisations, including a 1948 study into the productivity and internal relations within a single firm. A summary of its work can be found Eric Trist & Hugh Murray, 'Historical Overview: The Foundation and Development of the Tavistock Institute to 1989', *The Social Engagement of Social Science: A Tavistock Anthology* (London: Free Association Books, 1990).

[27] 'The Seamy Side of Progress', *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization* (Massachusetts: Andover, 1945): 11.

[28] *Op cit.* (1960): 107.

[29] Jefferys, *op cit.* (2007): 127.

[30] As early as 1904, figures within the War Office had spoken of the 'evils' of recruitment machinery in an attempt to explain Britain's poor performance during the Boer War and the problems the Army faced when trying to attract fit men. The outcome of that discussion would not look out of place in this chapter: new recruiting depots – 'well built, well lighted, and attractive' – should be built; barracks, mess-rooms, canteens and recreation rooms should be made both 'large and comfortable'; a wide range of sporting opportunities and facilities should be offered to soldiers; and recruiting staff should be 'composed of officers and men specifically selected for their ability to instruct and inspire young men'. See 'Memorandum Relating to Some Defects in the Existing System of Infantry Organisation and Recruiting', *Balfour Papers: Reports on Military and Naval Questions* (vols. 1-6: parts 1 & 2; available in the B[ritish] L[ibrary] under BP 13/34 (i)).

[31] DEFE 7/1224: 'Recruiting in the Navy and Royal Air Force', *Report on Army recruiting problems by Sir Frederick Hooper, adviser on recruiting to MoD: on Navy and RAF recruitment* (NA, July 28th 1960): 1.

[32] Among the subjects examined under that heading, were the image of the Army, discipline, the Grigg report, military police, military language, court-martials, joint consultation, press relations and future campaigns.

[33] WO 32/20397: 'Public Relations and the Army', *Sir F Hooper's report on his examination of Army Recruiting Organisation* (NA, December 5th 1960): 1.

[34] In 1951, the RAF alone maintained 60 such depots. See INF 13/99: 'If it's your ambition', *RAF Recruitment: 6 Leaflets, 5 Pamphlets, 4 Display Boards* (NA, 1951): 4.

[35] DEFE 7/1224: *op cit.* (NA, July 28th 1960): 5.

[36] The point was not lost on Lord Derby during the First World War, when he spoke of the 'inadequacy of the arrangements of recruiting offices'. See WO 106/366: 'Report on Recruiting', *Lord Derby's Group System* (NA, December 12th 1915).

[37] WO 32/20397: *op cit.* (NA, July 28th 1960): 4.

[38] Eric Hobsbawm, 'The Golden Years', *The Age of Extremes* (London: Abacus, 2009); see also Rosen, *op cit.* (2003).

[39] DEFE 7/1245: 'Recruiting in the Navy and the Royal Air Force', *Report on Army recruiting problems by Sir Frederick Hooper, adviser on recruiting to MoD: on Navy and RAF recruitment* (NA, July 28th 1960): 1-3.

[40] The Adjutant-General was the second most senior in the Army's chain of command behind the Chief of Staff, and usually occupied by a Lieutenant-General. From 1958 onwards, Adjutant-Generals represented the most senior point of contact between the military and political components of the War Office when it came to matters of recruitment policy. See WO 32/20397: 'PS/S of S', *op cit.* (NA, July 12th 1960).

41 WO 32/20397: *op cit.* (NA, July 28th 1960): 2.

42 WO 32/20397: *op cit.* (NA, July 28th 1960): 3-6.

43 DEFE 7/1245: *op cit.* (NA, July 28th 1960): 2.

44 Street, *op cit.* (1994): 463.

45 *Op cit.* (1960): 19; see also WO 32/ 20397: *op cit.* (NA, December 5th 1960).

46 DEFE 7/1245: *op cit.* (NA, July 28th 1960): 1-4; see also WO 32/20397: *op cit.* (NA, 1960): 5-6.

47 *Ibid.*

48 WO 32/20397: *op cit.* (NA, July 28th 1960): 10.

49 DEFE 7/1245: *op cit.* (NA, July 28th 1960): 3.

50 WO 32/20397: *op cit.* (NA, December 5th 1960): 1-2.

51 Walter Lippmann, 'Interests', *Public Opinion* (USA: BN Publishing, 2008 [1922]): 136

52 'Unseen Engineers: Biography of an Idea', *PR! A Social History of Spin* (New York: Perseus, 1996): 147.

53 Lippmann, *op cit.* (2008); Ewen, *op cit.* (1996).

54 CAB 124/78: 'Notes for Meeting with Chief Information Officers', *Information: meetings with departmental Chief Information Officers* (NA, 1950-51): 5.

55 WO 32/20397: *op cit.* (NA, July 28th 1960): 8.

56 Ewen, op cit. (1996): 147. In this regard, Lippmann borrows from the early 'crowd' psychology of Gustave Le Bon.

57 WO 32/20397: *op cit.* (NA, July 28th 1960): 10.

58 WO 32/20397: *op cit.* (NA, July 28th 1960): 11.

59 *Op cit.* (1960): 21.

60 WO 32/20397: *op cit.* (NA, July 28th 1960): 1, 10.

61 *Op cit.* (1960): 21.

62 *Op cit.* (1960): 83-84.

63 Galbraith, *op cit.* (1970), Jefferys, *op cit.* (2007) & Whiting, *op cit.* (2008).

64 WO 32/20397: *op cit.* (NA, July 28th 1960): 11.

65 WO 32/20397: *op cit.* (NA, July 28th 1960): 12.

66 The problem had become so severe, indeed, that by late 1955 a review of existing public relations had been undertaken at the War Office. See WO 32/15569: 'Minutes of a meeting', *War Office organisation: public relations branch staffing* (NA, December 21st 1955).

67 WO 32/20397: *op cit.* (NA, July 28th 1960): 12.

68 WO 32/20397: *op cit.* (NA, July 28th 1960): 12-14.

69 DEFE 7/1244: 'The Minister of Defence', *op cit.* (NA, July 26th, 1960): .

70 DEFE 7/1244: 'Secretary: Sir Frederic Hooper's Report to the Secretary of State for War', *op cit.* (NA, July 20th, 1960): 1.

71 WO 32/20397: 'PS/ of S', *op cit.* (NA, October 12th 1960): 1.

72 WO 32/20397: *op cit.* (NA, October 12th 1960): 2-3.

73 WO 32/20397: 'PS/ of S', *op cit.* (NA, October 19th 1960): 1.

74 See the files held in INF 6/102: *Youth Gets Its Wings (flying scholarship)* (NA, 1965); INF 6/103: *Jungle Lifeline (RAF supporting troops in jungle)* (NA, 1965) & INF 6/105: *Falls Patrol (British soldiers patrolling)* (NA, 1966).

75 *Ibid.*; see in particular INF 6/103: *op cit.* (NA, 1965).

76 WO 32/20397: *op cit.* (NA, October 19th 1960): 3.

77 *Ibid.*

78 WO 32/19450: 'Note by the Minister of Defence', *Army recruitment: notes by Minister of Defence* (NA, undated): 2.

79 WO 32/19450: 'Recruiting: Draft Memorandum by the Secretary of State for War', *op cit.* (NA, undated): 1.

80 WO 32/19450: 'Note by the...', *op cit.* (NA, undated): 2.

81 *Ibid.*

82 While there was no 'statutory limit to the number of coloured soldiers' and 'no discrimination in the United Kingdom between the enlistment of white and coloured applicants', care was 'at the same taken to ensure that the regular content of coloured soldiers in their corps [did] not exceed 2%'. See WO 32/19450: 'Manning Situation in the Army in 1962', *op cit.* (NA, undated): 8-9.

83 *Ibid.*

84 WO 32/19450: 'Manning Situation in...', *op cit.* (NA, undated): 12.

[85] L. V. Scott, 'The 1947 National Service Act', *Conscription and the Attlee Governments: the Politics and Policy of National Service* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993): 105.

[86] WO 32/19450: 'Manning Situation in...', *op cit*. (NA, undated) 7.

[87] WO 32/17243: *op cit.* (NA, October 1st 1956).

[88] WO 32/19450: 'Note by the...', *op cit.* (NA, undated): 2.

[89] For examples of advertisements targeting children, see INF 2/194: *War Office Recruitment Campaign: The Regular Army* (NA, 1959-60) & INF 2/176: *op cit.* (1962-63). See also WO 32/17108: *op cit.* (NA, 1957-62).

[90] WO 32/17108: 'Recruitment of Regular Officers', *op cit.* (NA, January 2nd 1958): 1.

[91] WO 32/17108: 'The Royal Military Academy Sandhurst 1960', *op cit.* (NA, June 1960): 1.

[92] Among the educational establishments still operational in 1970 were the Royal College of Defence Studies, the National Defence College, the Royal College of Artillery and the Royal School of Engineers. See WO 163/750: 'UK Individual Training Schools', *Executive Committee of the Army Board: meeting 75-77* (NA, 1972).

[93] See INF 2/176: 'In six months you could go solo in a jet' & 'Air Marshals in the making', *op cit.* (NA, 1961).

[94] Arthur Marwick, 'The End of Victorianism', *British Society Since 1945* (London: Penguin, 2003; 4th ed): 121-122.

[95] Kenneth Morgan, 'The Stagnant Society', *Britain Since 1945: The People's Peace* (Oxford: Oxford U. P., 2001; 3rd ed.): 235.

[96] Marwick, 'Social Structure and Social Strains', *op cit.* (2003).

[97] INF 2/176: 'When your son is 15...', *op cit.* (NA, August 1961-March 1962).

[98] INF 2/176: 'Air Marshals in the making', *op cit.* (NA, September 1961).

[99] INF 2/176: 'Learn a valuable trade...', *op cit.* (NA, September 1961) & 'Good pay, security – friends all over the world', *op cit.* (NA, August 1961-March 1962).

[100] INF 2/176: 'If you take command...', (NA, October 1961) & 'Cranwell: University of the Air', *op cit.* (NA, July 1961-February 1962).

[101] *Op cit.* (1960): 22.

[102] Jefferys, 'The Age of "Democratic Transformation", 1964-79', *op cit.* (2007).

[103] Mayo, *op cit.* (1945).

[104] *Op cit.* (October 5th 1963): pg. 10.

[105] 'Memorandum Relating to...', *op cit.* (BL: BP 13/34 (i)).

[106] See the WO and DEFE file series cited in this chapter.

[107] Sandbrook, *op cit.* (2006), Marwick, *op cit.* (1998), Osgerby, *op cit.* (2005) & Street, *op cit.* (1994).

Chapter Ten
Conclusion: Military Advertising in Perspective

[1] Keith Surridge, 'More than a great poster: Lord Kitchener and the Image of the Military Hero', *Historical Research* (no: 74: vol. 185, 2001). Surridge dates these posters to 1997, but I have followed the account given by Ware below.

[2] The Committee for Racial Equality was established in 1976 under the Labour government of James Callaghan, ad as part of the Race Relations Act introduced in the same year.

[3] I am indebted to Vron Ware for all contextual information on this campaign. See 'The Race to Recruit' in his *Military Migrants: Fighting for YOUR Country* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2012).

[4] Ware, *op cit.* (2012): 39.

[5] Saatchi & Saatchi was responsible for the famous 1979 general election advertisement 'Labour isn't working', and worked for Conservatives in both the 1979 and 1984 general elections before working for their rival (New) Labour in 2007. In 1984, Camille Elebash suggested that the use of commercial advertising agencies for the purposes of general elections suggested that British politics was moving in a direction of its American counterpart. 'The Americanization of British Political Communications', *Journal of Advertising* (vol. 13: no. 3, 1984).

[6] Ware, *op cit.* (2012): 38-40.

[7] *Hansard*: 'Racial Equality in the Armed Forces' (H[ouse of] L[ords debate]: vol. 588, March 31st 1999): 16WA.

[8] Phillip Dutton, 'Moving Images? The Parliamentary Recruiting Committee's Poster Campaign, 1914-1916, *Imperial War Museum Review* (vol. 4, 1989): 43.

[9] See John Corner, 'Mediated Politics, Promotional Culture and the Idea of "Propaganda", *Media, Culture & Society* (vol. 29: no. 4, 2007).

[10] Steve Baker, 'Describing Images of the National Self: Popular Accounts of the Construction of Pictorial Identity in the First World War Poster', Oxford Art Journal (vol. 13: no. 2, 1990).

[11] See Nicoletta Gullace, 'Introduction', *'The Blood of Our Sons': Men, Women and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship During the Great War* (New York: Palgrave, 2002): 7-8.

[12] 'Introduction', *First World War Posters: Second Edition* (London: Westerham, 1981 [1972]): 9.

[13] WO 106/367: "Publications Sub-Department Report', *Parliamentary Recruiting Committee* (N[ational] A[rchives], undated): 3.

[14] Liz McFall, 'Pervasive Institutions and Constituent Practices', *Advertising: A Cultural Economy* (London: Sage, 2004); see also Terence Nevett, *Advertising in Britain: A History* (London: Heinemann, 1982).

[15] Nicholas Hiley, '"Kitchener Wants You" and "Daddy, What Did You Do in the Great War?": The Myth of British Recruiting Posters', *Imperial War Museum Review* (vol. 11, 1997): 53; see also Gullace, 'Redrawing the Boundaries of the Private Sphere: Patriotic Motherhood and the Raising of Kitchener's Armies', *op cit.* (2002): 68-69.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] See Stuart Hall, 'Encoding, Decoding' in Simon During (ed.) *The Cultural Studies Reader: Second Edition* (London: Routledge, 2004); Corner, '"Influence": The Contested Core of Media Research', in James Curran and Michael Gurevitch (eds.) *Mass Media and Society: 3rd Edition* (London: Hodder Arnold, 2000) & Tamar Liebes, 'Viewing and Reviewing the Audience: Fashions in Communications Research', in Curran & Gurevitch (eds.) *Mass Media and Society: 4th Edition* (London: Hodder Arnold, 2005).

[18] The notion of a promotional mix suggests advertisements are only one part of commercial communication, the other parts being public relations, personal selling, sales promotion and corporate communication. See Chris Hackley, 'Introducing Advertising and Promotion', *Advertising and Promotion: Communicating Brands* (London: Sage, 2008): 7.

[19] 'Introduction', *War Posters: Weapons of Mass Communication* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007): 14.

[20] Liz McFall, *Advertising: A Cultural Economy* (London: Sage, 2004).

[21] The key text in this regard being Mariel Grant's *Propaganda and the Role of the State in Inter-war Britain* (Oxford: Oxford U. P., 1994); see also William Crofts, *Coercion or Persuasion? Propaganda in Britain after 1945* (London: Routledge, 1989) & John Tulloch, 'Policing the Public Sphere – The British Machinery of News Management', *Media, Culture & Society* (vol. 15, 1993).

[22] Marwick, *The Deluge: British Society and the First World War* (London: Macmillan, 1978); Haste, *Keep the Home Fires Burning: Propaganda in the First World War* (London: Allen Lane, 1977); Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words: Literature as Propaganda 1914-18 and After* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1989) & Clark, "Civilians

Entrenched – The British Home Front 1914 -1918", in Ian Stewart & Susan Carruthers (eds.) *War, Culture and the Media: Representations of the Military in 20th Century Britain* (Trowbridge: Flicks, 1996).

[23] Taylor, *The Projection of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 1981), 'Propaganda in International Politics, 1919-1939', in Karen Short (ed.) *Film and Radio Propaganda in World War II* (London: Croom Helm, 1983) & '"If War Should Come": Preparing the Fifth Arm for Total War 1935-1939', *Journal of Contemporary History* (vol. 16, 1981); McLaine, *Ministry of Morale: Home Front Morale and the Ministry of Information in World War II* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979) & Balfour, *Propaganda in War 1939-1945: Organisations, Policies and Publics in Britain and Germany* (London: Routledge, 1979); see also Grant, *op cit.* (1994).

[24] Crofts, *op cit.* (1989) & Tulloch, *op cit.* (1993); see also Fife Clark's official account of the postwar information services, *The Central Office of Information* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1970).

[25] Marwick, 'Seasons of Discontent: 1917-1918', *op cit.* (1978): 210-11 & Haste, 'The Nature of Propaganda in the First World War', *op cit.* (1977): 2.

[26] Jay Winter, 'Propaganda and the Mobilisation of Consent', in Hew Strachan (ed.) *Oxford Illustrated History of the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford U. P., 1998): 216.

[27] Clark, *op cit.* (1996): 46.

[28] Aulich, *op cit.* (2006); Zeman, *Selling the War: Art and Propaganda in World War II* (London: Orbis, 1982 [1972]) & Darracott and Loftus, *op cit.* (1981).

[29] Andrew Wernick, who can probably claim credit for introducing the concept of 'promotional culture' in 1991, suggested promotion had infiltrated such domains as the university and politics. See *Promotional Culture: Advertising, Ideology and Symbolic Expression* (London: Sage, 1991) & Eric Louw for a case study on the impact of promotion on the political (rather than military) process, *The Media and the Political Process* (London: Sage, 2006).

[30] See David Gee's report, *Informed Choice? Armed Forces Recruitment Practice in the United Kingdom* (Joseph Rowntree Trust, 2008; accessed online on September 3rd 2013 via www.informedchoice.org.uk/informedchoice/informedchoiceweb.pdf) & Ware, *op cit.* (2012).

[31] McFall, Introduction: The Quaint Device of Advertising', *op cit.* (2004): 5.

[32] 'War on the Mind: Science, Religion and the Arts', *The People's War* (London: Pimlico, 1996 [1969]): 471.

[33] Schwarzkopf, *op cit.* (2009); see also Gerben Bakker, 'Building Knowledge about the Consumer: The Emergence of Market Research in the Motion Picture Industry', *Business History* (vol. 45: no. 1, 2003).

[34] PREM 8/281: 'Broadcast Speech by Secretary of State for War', Voluntary recruitment in fighting services: recruiting publicity campaign for the army (NA, May 16th 1946): 1-3.

[35] CAB 124/78: 'Minutes of an Informal meeting', *Information: meetings with departmental Chief Information Officers* (NA, January 17th 1951): 1.

[36] INF 12/322: 'Defence Publicity Programme: 1951-52', *Home Information Services (Official) Committee: Defence Publicity Committee* (NA, July 1951-Decemeber 1951): 8.

[37] In addition to the records of the proceedings of the Houses of Parliament (or Hansard) and the records of four national newspapers: the *Daily Mirror*, the *Manchester Guardian* and *Observer*, and the *Times*.

[38] ''The Uses of History', *op cit.* (2004): 102.

[39] Cronin, 'Gender in the Making of Commercial Worlds: Creativity, Vitalism and the Practices of Marketing', *Feminist Theory* (vol. 9: no. 3, 2008), 'Currencies of Commercial Exchange: Advertising Agencies and the Promotional Imperative', *Journal of Consumer Culture* (vol. 4: no. 3, 2004), 'Regimes of Mediation: Advertising Practitioners as Cultural Intermediaries?', *Consumption, Markets and Culture* (vol. 7: no. 4, 2004) & Cook, *The Discourse of Advertising* (London: Routledge, 1992).

[40] Readers should be reminded here of Charles Higham's assessment of advertising as 'one of the mightiest and consequently one of the most dangerous forces in the modern world'. 'A General Survey', *Advertising: Its Use and Abuse* (London: Thornton Butterwood, 1931 [1925]): 7.

[41] See, for example, DEFE 24/874: *Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR): recruitment* (NA, 1973) & DEFE 24/875: *Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR): recruitment, intelligence* (NA, 1974).

[42] Martin Hardie and Arthur Sabin give a description of a new batch of recruiting posters appearing in Britain in 1920, while James Aulich has also found a poster dated 1919 designed by Alfred Leete. See *War Posters Issued by Belligerent and Neutral Nations, 1914-1919* (London: AC & Black, 1920) & Aulich, *op cit.* (2007).

[43] That is, according to official records. See BT 31/1054/1850C: *Board of Trade: Companies Registration Office: Files of Dissolved Companies: Company No: 1850C; Caxton Publishing Company Ltd. Incorporated in 1865. Dissolved before 1916* (NA, 1865-1916).

[44] 'I Join the Queens, 2nd of Foot', *With a Machine Gun to Cambria: The Tale of a Young Tommy in Kitchener's Army, 1914-1918* (London: HMSO, 1969): 1; emphasis added.

[45] 'Sir Hedley Le Bas and the Origins of British Domestic Propaganda in Britain 1914-1917', *Journal of Advertising History* (vol. 10: no. 2, 1987): 45.

[46] 'Introduction', *Warfare State: Britain, 1920-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 2006): 6-7.

[47] Crofts, *op cit.* (1989), Tulloch, *op cit.* (1993), & Grant, *op cit.* (1994, 1999).