Fall 12-16-2011

Promoting Unity Through Propaganda: How the British Government Utilized Posters During the Second World War

Elizabeth Tate Goins
Western Kentucky University, elizabeth.goins506@topper.wku.edu

PROMOTING UNITY THROUGH PROPAGANDA: HOW THE BRITISH
GOVERNMENT UTILIZED POSTERS DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

A Capstone Experience/Thesis Project

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for

the Degree of Bachelor of Arts with

Honors College Graduate Distinction at Western Kentucky University

By

Elizabeth Tate Goins

*****

Western Kentucky University

2011

CE/T Committee: Approved By

Dr. Patricia Minter

Dr. Eric Reed   _____
                                                        Advisor
Dr. Leslie Baylis   Department of History

ABSTRACT

Comprised of four separate countries, the United Kingdom is a state unlike any other. England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland all have distinct identities, which has been a cause for discord throughout British history. However, during the Second World War the Ministry of Information, under the guidance of the Conservative government and Prime Minister Winston Churchill, launched a poster-based propaganda campaign aimed towards unifying the UK under a common national self-identity. By emphasizing shared qualities such as resilience, pragmatism, humor, patriotism and even the concept of unity itself, the Ministry of Information fostered a sense of national self-identity with the goal of winning the war and implementing new policies afterwards.

Dedicated to my grandfather, Robert L. Scrivner.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the support and encouragement of a variety of people, but first of all I must thank God for giving me a hunger for knowledge and a mind able to learn. I hope I will be able to use these blessings to glorify Him as long as I live.

Next, I would like to express my immense gratitude towards Dr. Patricia Minter, my academic advisor as well as my thesis coordinator. It was her class my first semester at WKU that inspired me to become a history major and I could not have done this without her dedication to my success. I am very grateful for her willingness to "push me to the top of the pile," meet with me to discuss my questions and concerns, and critique my work as it progressed. I also owe thanks to my second reader, Dr. Eric Reed, who gave me an insightful, outside perspective during my writing as well as answered any question I asked.

Additionally, I would like to thank my family and friends, particularly Sarah, Danielle, Katie, Josh and Jason for their patience and understanding as I worked on the largest project of my academic career. Having such a great network of support was, and is, of immeasurable value.

Finally, I could never forget the professors at Harlaxton College in Grantham, Lincolnshire, England who caused me to fall madly in love with Cool Britannia. Drs. Edward Bujak, David Green, Helen Snow and Philip Taylor, cheers to you all!

VITA

August 10, 1990………………………………….Born – Lexington, Kentucky

2008………………………………………………Franklin County High School,

Frankfort, Kentucky

2009………………………………………………Study Abroad at Harlaxton

College, Grantham,

Lincolnshire, England

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: History

Minor Field: Political Science

LIST OF FIGURES

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The United Kingdom is a unique state. Rather than being a single entity, it is comprised of four distinctly different countries, each proud of its individuality. For example, while all citizens of the United Kingdom are technically "British," many would prefer the label of their home country within the United Kingdom; those from England say they are English, the Scots tell you they are Scottish, citizens from Ireland are proud to be called Irish, and those from Wales prefer being called Welsh. All four of these nations are located in the British Isles, which include Ireland and Great Britain. The island of Great Britain houses three of these countries, England, Scotland and Wales, while Northern Ireland floats alongside to the northwest on the Irish Island.

These four countries have not always been united, however. Only relatively recently has the United Kingdom come to look the way it does today. It all began with England, whose capital, London, is also the capital of the United Kingdom. The first country to join England in the creation of a united kingdom was Wales. In 1284, the Statute of Rhuddlan was instituted by English king Edward I, with the goal of bringing the Welsh under English control once and for all.[1] Despite giving his son the title, "Prince of Wales" (a title the first-born son of English monarchs still receive today), Wales did

---

[1] http://www.britannia.com/celtic/wales/timeline/tl04.html

not officially join England until the Act of Union was passed in 1536, under English king Henry VIII.[2] Next, Scotland joined England and Wales with another Act of Union passed in 1707, thus giving the island the title of Great Britain.[3] Finally, in 1801, Ireland joined as well, creating the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.[4] However, in 1922 Ireland gained its freedom, save for six counties in Northern Ireland that wished to remain part of the UK.[5]

Because of this unique history of union through both conquest and the merging of power, it has been difficult for the United Kingdom to solidify a common national self-identity, despite the desire for it. According to Krishan Kumar:

> Especially after the parliamentary union with Scotland in 1707, sustained efforts were made both by the government and by writers and poets to establish a British identity suitable to the new political entity. The inhabitants of the kingdom were urged to think of themselves as *Britons*, not as English, Welsh, or Scots. [6]

Each partner nation within it cherishes its individuality, which was made clear through the independence of Ireland in 1922. For a state called the United Kingdom, its history reveals many instances of disunity. It took a time of great crisis to prompt the government to focus on promoting a uniquely British national self-identity. This fabricated national identity was based in part on qualities British citizens already possessed and in part on qualities the government wanted them to obtain, in order to help the war effort as well as foster a sense of solidarity that they hoped would last long enough after the war to push through their policies.

---

[2] John Davies, "The 1536 Act of Union," *BBC Wales History,* http://www.bbc.co.uk/wales/history/sites/themes/periods/tudors_04.shtml.
[3] Jim Smyth, *The Making of the United Kingdom: 1660-1800* (London: Pearson, 2001), 102.
[4] Jonathan Bardon, "The Act of Union," actofunion.ac.uk.
[5] "Ireland Country Profile," *BBC News, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/country_profiles/1038581.stm.*
[6] Krishnan Kumar, "Nation and Empire: English and British National Identity in Comparative Perspective," *Theory and* Society 29 no. 5 (2000): 589.

This crisis began in 1937, soon after Neville Chamberlain became Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Fascist German Chancellor Adolf Hitler wanted to create *Lebenstraum*, or "living space," for the German people by taking over much of Europe. His first initiative was annexation of Austria to Germany, called *Anschluss*. [7] Chamberlain initially supported Hitler's goals, and even sympathized with Hitler's desire to restore Germany to its pre-World War I status.[8] Next, Hitler planned to attack Czechoslovakia, under the guise that it was mistreating Germans living within its borders, particularly in an area known as the Sudetenland.[9] Chamberlain again supported the Fuhrer and convinced the British, French and Czech governments to allow Hitler to annex the Sudentenland, believing that appeasing him this time would satisfy him for good. However, when Chamberlain arrived in Germany to inform Hitler of the agreement, Hitler's demands had increased. France and Czechoslovakia refused to accept the new terms, but Chamberlain clung desperately to his policy of appeasement, declaring to the British people that by appeasing Hitler he had, "secured peace in our time."[10]

Soon after, in March of 1939, Hitler invaded and took over the entirety of Czechoslovakia, as well as an area called Memel from Lithuania.[11] At this point, Poland realized it was next on Hitler's list, and asked the United Kingdom and France for military support if Germany attacked. Finally realizing Hitler's intent to take over Europe, Chamberlain agreed, accompanied by French Premier Edouard Daladier.[12] Sure enough, on September 1, 1939 Hitler invaded Poland, and by September 3, Daladier and

---

[7] Michael J. Lyons, *World War II: A Short History* (New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2004), 59.
[8] Lyons, 61.
[9] Lyons, 60.
[10] Lyons, 62.
[11] Lyons, 62.
[12] Lyons, 62.

Chamberlain honored the agreement with Poland and declared war.[13] Thus, World War II had begun and for the first time since becoming a unified kingdom of four states (which occurred with the joining of Northern Ireland in 1922) the United Kingdom faced an outside force threatening to invade and the government faced immense pressure to unify the people in a total war effort. This was the goal of Ministry of Information (abbreviated MOI) propaganda.[14]

The Ministry of Information technically came to be during the First World War, when a government agency existed under that title for a very brief time in 1918 under Lord Beaverbrook.[15] Although the Ministry only existed for a short time, Beaverbrook took his role very seriously and immediately had propaganda posters printed and distributed both on the home front and abroad.[16] However, in reality a variety of agencies participated in British World War I propaganda and the MOI of the First World War was nothing compared to what it would become during the Second. The MOI that this thesis refers to did not begin to form until October 1935, very much in secret.[17] It was officially re-instated on September 4, 1939, immediately after the United Kingdom entered the war and was disbanded in March of 1946.[18] Throughout the war its goal was to foster unity among the British people in support of the war effort.

---

[13] Lyons, 65.
[14] Yass, 6.
[15] The National Archives, *The Art of War,* "The Ministry of Information," http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/theartofwar/inf3.htm.
[16] *Who's Who,* "Lord Beaverbrook," *firstworldwar*.com/bio/beaverbrook.htm.
[17] The National Archives, *The Art of War,* "The Ministry of Information," http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/theartofwar/inf3.htm.
[18] The National Archives, *The Art of War,* "The Ministry of Information," http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/theartofwar/inf3.htm.

Certainly the reality of being a nation at total war and facing the very real possibility of invasion did much to unify the four kingdoms itself. However, the government heavily promoted this new common bond by attempting to construct a sense of national unity through propaganda. During the Second World War the UK's Ministry of Information was reinstated to keep the British people informed about what was going on, how to help the war effort, and what to do in case of invasion. However, that was not its only task. According to Marion Yass, "it also had to give the government information about public opinion, reactions, and behaviour and advise it on how best to unite and strengthen the people."[19] To achieve this second vital task, the Ministry of Information provided vast amounts of information to the British people while also subtly promoting a common national self-identity by utilizing propaganda.

According to John M. Mackenzie, "propaganda can be defined as the transmission of ideas and values from one person, or groups of persons, to another, with the specific intention of influencing the recipients' attitudes in such a way that the interests of its authors will be enhanced."[20] To examine the entire body of British propaganda from the Second World War looking for all the different ways the unified British self-identity was promoted would be highly insightful. However for the purposes of this thesis the focus will be on the most intrusive type of wartime propaganda: posters. One could choose not to listen to the radio, or not to read the papers, and thereby avoid those forms of propaganda. Walking around with one's eyes closed would be much less practical, so poster propaganda could hardly be avoided. With posters being displayed in train

---

[19] Marion Yass, *This Is Your War: Homefront Propaganda in the Second World War* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1983), 1.

[20] John M. Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984): 3.

stations, underground stations, store windows and business fronts, these images truly were ubiquitous.

The British government, headed during most of the war by the Conservative party, also referred to as the Tories, and Prime Minister Winston Churchill realized the pervasiveness that posters had on the British public. Therefore, they utilized posters to distribute war-time propaganda promoting a fabricated British national self-identity. They emphasized pragmatism, resilience and humor as unifying British traits, as well as focused on the historical pride and patriotism the people felt, or were made to feel, for the British state. In doing all of this, the Conservative government hoped to foster unity that would help them push through reforms after the war. What the Conservatives did not realize is that immediately following the war, in the elections of June 1945, they would lose in a landslide Labour victory. The Labour Party then built upon of the national unity the Conservatives had cultivated during the war to usher in the modern British welfare state.

Almost all of what the Ministry of Information put out could be considered "integration propaganda," meaning that its purpose is to promote acceptance and support among the people for their government.[21] According to Brett Silverstein in "Towards A Science of Propaganda," this type of propaganda, as opposed to "propaganda of agitation," which was used to encourage dissent, can be found "in the main channels of communication," and is "produced by some of the most influential, powerful, and

---

[21] Brett Silverstein, "Towards A Science of Propaganda." *Political Psychology* 8, no. 1 (1987): 49-59, http://www.jstor.org/ (accessed March 23, 2011).

respected people in a society."[22] Another crucial element of integration propaganda is that, "it is based on ideals and biases that are accepted by most members of the society."[23]

In framing my thesis, I was initially drawn to the now-famous "Keep Calm and Carry On" poster (Figure 7), which was initially printed in 1939, to be distributed if the Germans landed on British soil.[24] Since this never occurred, "Keep Calm and Carry On" was never officially distributed, and only became the icon of Britishness that it is today after being discovered tucked away in a vintage book in 2000.[25] The idea that this one poster came to represent British national identity even though it had never been used raised questions and sparked my interest in other posters, particularly those aimed at British citizens during the war that posed a particular way of perceiving themselves. Many scholars have examined British national identity and war-time propaganda, but none have looked closely at how the two are linked. For example, Philip M. Taylor addresses foreign perceptions of Britain during the World Wars in his book, *The Projection of Britain: British Overseas Publicity and Propaganda, 1919-1939*, but doesn't address home-front propaganda at all. Similarly, John M. Mackenzie provides an excellent look at British home-front propaganda in his book, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960*, yet completely overlooks posters in his analysis of the propaganda from the Second World War.

---

[22] Silverstein, 50.
[23] Silverstein, 50.
[24] "History of the Original Poster," *Keep Calm and Carry On,*
    http://www.keepcalmandcarryon.com/pages/history.
[25] Stuart Hughes. "The Greatest Motivational Poster Ever?," BBC News, February 4, 2009,
    http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/magazine/7869458.stm.

My research reveals that the Conservative government, typically via the Ministry of Information, deliberately created and promoted the concept of a distinctly British national self-identity in order to unify the people of the United Kingdom in a total war effort. By encouraging a sense of national self-identify based on what the English, Irish, Welsh and Scottish allegedly had in common, the Ministry fostered the image of four nations coming together as one to fight for the "greatest cause on earth."[26] Although this was a fabrication of identity, rather than how the British people actually viewed themselves, it provides insight into the qualities British government believed the citizen valued enough during the Second World War to accept and embrace as attributes of their own. On the surface, the government used this sense of solidarity to foster support for the war, but they also hoped to benefit from it after the war as well, in order to garner support for their future policies.

The first quality that the government rallied the British people around was their well-known dry sense of humor. Many of the posters feature cartoons, jokes, silly poems or other laughable material, thus making wartime a little lighter. For example, the "Careless Talk Costs Lives" campaign often displayed the caricatures of the enemy eavesdropping on everyday British conversations.[27]

Another aspect of British self-identity that the Ministry capitalized on was British resilience. Allan Nevins, an American visiting the UK during the war, noted the British tendency to have "realistic confidence" and "stubborn determination." The now-famous

---

[26] Allan Nevins, *This Is England Today* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons: 1941), 152.
[27] "Hitler with an ear stretched out to hear careless talk," The National Archives, "Propaganda: Home Front," *The Art of War,* INF 3/238.
http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/theartofwar/prop/home_front/INF3_0238.htm

"Keep Calm and Carry On"[28] poster, which was never distributed during the war, along with its siblings, "Your Courage, Your Cheerfulness, Your Resolution Will Bring Us Victory,"[29] and, "Freedom is in Peril,"[30] which *were* distributed, all exemplify this attitude.

Another British quality that the propaganda posters featured was pragmatism. Reducing waste and stretching resources were things the British people embraced, and even when their lifestyles dramatically changed, they accepted it and did their part. Posters encouraged British citizens to "Walk Short Distances"[31] (Figure 3) and "Dig for Plenty"[32] (Figure 1) as well as to remember not to waste at work just as they would not waste at home.

Next, many of the posters fostered historical pride and patriotism by reminding the British citizens of their country's previous successes. One such example is a poster reminding the British citizenry that, "We Beat 'Em Before; We'll Beat 'Em Again!" (Figures 12 and 13). [33] This could also be considered nationalism, which was a particularly important force driving World War One, to which many of these posters refer. The government also promoted patriotism by portraying prominent leaders that the

---

[28] "History of the Original Poster," *Keep Calm and Carry On,*
http://www.keepcalmandcarryon.com/pages/history.

[29] "Your Courage, Your Cheerfulness, Your Resolution Will Bring Us Victory," Imperial War Museum, *War Shapes Lives,* "Outbreak 1939 Poster Gallery." Image 11.
http://www.iwm.org.uk/server/show/ConGallery.110/imageIndex/11.

[30] "Freedom Is In Peril Defend It With All Your Might," WW2 Posters, *Original Propaganda Designs,*
http://wartimeposters.co.uk/posters/original-posters/your-freedom-is-in-peril.html.

[31] Le Witt and Him, "Walk Short Distances," The National Archives, "Propaganda: Production and Salvage," *The Art of War,* INF 3/89.
http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/theartofwar/prop/production_salvage/INF3_0089.htm.

[32] Le Bon, "Dig For Plenty," The National Archives, "Propaganda: Production and Salvage," *The Art of War*, INF 3/98. http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/theartofwar/prop/production_salvage/INF3_0098.htm.

[33] "We beat 'em before," The National Archives, "Propaganda: Home Front," *The Art of War,* INF 3/140.
http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/theartofwar/prop/home_front/INF3_0140.htm.

people could rally around, such as Prime Minister Winston Churchill as well as the royal family.

Finally, some of the posters simply promoted unity itself, which was the most essential attribute out of the five. The best example of this is a poster featuring men's faces of various ethnic backgrounds all dressed in military uniform with a single word, "together" accompanying the image (Figure 15).[34] After all, unity, or at least the belief in unity, was the goal that all of the other posters were created to achieve. Silverstein argues that, "no modern society can function for long without at least the implicit support of most of its citizens," which suggests that the United Kingdom certainly could not have won the war had its people not been unified towards the common goal of victory.[35] In addition to creating solidarity towards the war effort, the government hoped to take advantage of the unity fostered during the war to make political strides after the war. However, the government that promoted unity during the war never got a chance to do so. Churchill was defeated by Clement Atlee in 1945 which allowed the Labour party to reap the benefits of the Conservative Party's promotion of unity through propaganda.

---

[34] Little, William, "Together," The National Archives, "Propaganda: Allied Unity," *The Art of War,* INF 3/318. http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/theartofwar/prop/allied_unity/INF3_0318.htm.
[35] Silverstein, 50.

CHAPTER 2

PRAGMATISM

When a nation is at war, there are typically two things the government desperately

needs: resources and support. The British government expertly achieved both of these

things by promoting pragmatism as a British quality during the Second World War.

Pragmatism first came about on the philosophical scene in the early 20th century, when

Charles Sanders Peirce wrote that pragmatism occurred when an individual would,

"consider what effects, which might conceivably have practical bearings, we conceive the

object of our conception to have. Then, our conception of those effects is the whole of

our conception of the object."[36] For the British public during wartime, this meant to

rationally decide how best to use resources. The government urged the people to consider

the effects their actions may have and then choose the action that would best benefit the

war effort.

This worked incredibly well, as not only did people actually *do* what the posters

suggested, be it planting a garden or walking short distances, but they felt all the more

British for having done so. Anyone, whether they were Irish, English, Scottish or Welsh,

could contribute to the war effort by practicing pragmatism, so it was a quality they could

---

[36] Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, *Pragmatism,* "The Pragmatist Maxim,"
http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/pragmatism.

each attribute to themselves as well as to the nation as a whole. Not only did the government encourage the people to reduce waste and use resources sparingly, but it also introduced a common quality that could help to unify the people as well.

On May 10, 1940, upon Neville Chamberlain's resignation, King George VI appointed Winston Churchill Prime Minister. He immediately steered the government towards total war, and instituted Emergency Powers just twelve days later on May 22. One of his priorities was to make the most of the United Kingdom's resources, and by April of 1941 Parliament was in total control of the British economy.[37]

This occurred mainly under the direction of economist John Maynard Keynes, who according to Lyons, "embarked on a massive program to harness the entire economy to the formidable task of winning the war."[38] To accomplish this, "a nationwide system soon went into effect to provide for the allocation of all kinds of resources, price controls, and the rationing of a large variety of commodities, including food."[39] Similarly, Harris states that, "the circumstances of total war forced the British government out of its traditional penchant for market economics and administrative muddling-through and into adoption of planning, rationing, and economic management."[40]

As part of their planning, and in addition to their direct control of the economy, the government, via the Ministry of Information and other Ministries such as Agriculture, urged the British people to do their part. The posters born out of this government take-over exemplify the concept of pragmatism that the British embraced as a quality they could share. Because of the war-time rationing, "a millionaire can get no more red meat,

---

[37] Lyons, 241.
[38] Lyons, 241.
[39] Lyons, 241.
[40] Harris, 17.

butter, or jam than a workingman," and "clothes-rationing gives every one much the same wardrobe."[41] This sense of shared burden helped bring the British together as they realized they would have to all sacrifice and work together to save the country they loved.[42] Additionally, from the governmental perspective, rations acted as a leveling device for the British population, because regardless of socioeconomic status, each person received the same basic rations. This leveling set the stage for the social welfare state to come after the war.

The concept of shared burden soon became an essential point for the British people. The Beveridge Report, which was published on December 1, 1942, exemplified this idea.[43] Although it was over three hundred pages long, it was published and distributed to the public under the official title, "Social Insurance and Allied Services." Sir William Beveridge, a British economist, urged the government to attack five major evils present in the UK: want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness.[44] He argued that the largest of these was want, and to eliminate it would go a long way towards eliminating the others. In order to get rid of want, Beveridge suggested that all British citizens who were employed pay a small fee to the state, that would in turn be used to make sure the unemployed, widowed, ill, and retired members of society would not face poverty.[45] This was extremely well received, likely due to the growth of pragmatism that

---

[41] Nevins, 16.
[42] Lyons, 242.
[43] Fordham University, *Modern History Sourcebook,* "Sir William Beveridge: Social and Allied Services (The Beveridge Report, 1942)," http://www.fordham.edu/Halsall/mod/1942beveridge.asp.
[44] "The Welfare State," *The National Archives,*
http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/citizenship/brave_new_world/welfare.htm.
[45] "The Welfare State," *The National Archives,*
http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/citizenship/brave_new_world/welfare.htm.

was an effect of the propaganda posters. The British people had grown used to the idea of shared sacrifice by 1942, since the war had been going on for over three years by the time the Beveridge Report was published. Additionally, the government planned to take advantage of the pragmatic attitude of the British citizens after the war ended to push through their post-war legislation.

Unfortunately for Churchill and the Tories, who were behind the propaganda promoting pragmatism, they never got the chance to do so. Instead, Clement Atlee was elected Prime Minister, and it was the Labour Party that transformed the United Kingdom into a true welfare state. For example, in 1946 the National Insurance Act was passed, which provided pensions, maternity and sick leave as well as unemployment funding.[46] A few years later, in 1948, the National Health Service was enacted, which provides to this day universal health care for all British citizens.[47] This shift towards the left that took off under the Labour Party began with the promotion of pragmatism by the Tories at the start of the Second World War in 1939. According to Philip M. Taylor:

> It is nonetheless important to identify the creation in 1946 of a permanent post-war organisation for the dissemination of official information both at home and abroad as a unique recognition in Britain of the need in peacetime to fuse national policy with propaganda.[48]

One of the posters that exemplified pragmatism was Le Bon's "Dig for Plenty" poster (Figure 1), which was distributed fairly late in the war in 1944. It was a part of the larger, "Dig for Victory" campaign and urged the everyday, common British citizen to,

---

[46] "The Welfare State," *The National Archives,*
http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/citizenship/brave_new_world/welfare.htm.
[47] "The Welfare State," *The National Archives,*
http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/citizenship/brave_new_world/welfare.htm.
[48] Philip M. Taylor, "British Propaganda in the 20th Century: Selling Democracy," (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), 229.

"grow food in your garden or get an allotment."[49] Because of rationing, food was scarce, so people accepted their new role as pragmatists and began growing vegetables wherever they could. Those who had floral gardens turned them into vegetable patches, while those who had no land to grow on received allotments from the government that allowed them to plant in places such as Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens in London. [50]

The fact that beautiful public gardens such as Hyde Park and Kensington were being utilized to grow food reveals that the war effort truly worked as a social leveling tool. It was not only British citizens out on the farms who were being asked to grow food; even well-to-do people in the cities had to face the reality of their fancy public parks being turned into growth plots. The "Dig for Plenty" campaign coincided well with the Beveridge Report, because both suggested that the British people could and should work together and sacrifice when necessary for the common good.

Figure 1

---
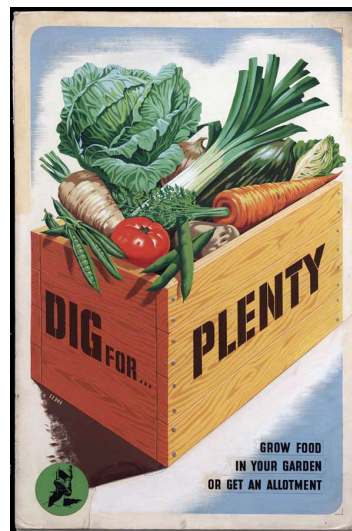
[49] Le Bon, "Dig For Plenty," The National Archives, "Propaganda: Production and Salvage," *The Art of War*, INF 3/98, http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/theartofwar/prop/production_salvage/INF3_0098.htm.
[50] The War Years: The Home Front, 14.

Although the British people had to make serious sacrifices, the Ministry of Information uses posters to convince the public that it would be much better to sacrifice during the war that to face the consequences of losing to the Germans. For example, the following poster, while meant to be humorous, makes it clear that pragmatism is necessary to keep from falling to the Nazis.

Figure 2

Another poster that encouraged pragmatism among the British was Le Witt and Him's, "Walk Short Distances." This poster urged citizens to, "go by Shank's pony," which is a British idiom meaning to walk, and to, "walk short distances and leave room for those who have longer journeys." Because of the shortage of oil and the need to use public transport to move troops, the London Underground and train stations were often crammed with people. According to Marion Yass, the pony with a shoe for a body became a familiar symbol and was successful at reducing the use of public

transportation.[51] Similarly, the Railway Executive Committee stressed the same point

with a poster asking travelers if their journey was really necessary.[52]

Figure 3

---
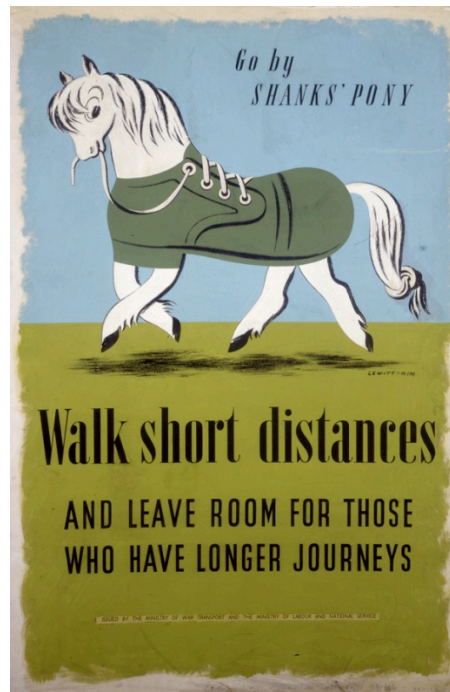
[51] Yass, 50.
[52] Le Witt and Him, "Walk Short Distances," The National Archives, "Propaganda: Production and Salvage"
The Art of War, INF 3/89.
http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/theartofwar/prop/production_salvage/INF3_0089.htm.

Figure 4

According to Burris, "the sense of desperate unity forged by common danger…engendered among the population at large a widespread and unprecedented ethic of self-sacrifice, social leveling and community spirit."[53] The government demanded self-sacrifice from all British citizens and they obliged, believing what the government told them through posters: that if they grew their own food their soldiers would be better able to win; that if they walked, the soldiers could be transported to battle more quickly; that if the United Kingdom is to survive, "all elements of strength have to be mobilized and pitted against the enemy in the most effective way."[54]

The Railway Executive Committee in particular, asking, "is your journey really necessary?" speaks to the social leveling Harris mentions. The cartoon-like people

---

[53] Harris, 17.
[54] Nevins, 16.

featured in the poster are clearly upper or upper-middle class individuals. The poster was not geared towards working class citizens, because most of those people traveled only when they really needed to, such as to and from their place of work. This poster instead targeted those who had enough financial resources to travel for leisure, calling them out for wasting the country's valuable resources on frivolous vacations or leisure activities. This reveals two seemingly contradictory things. First, social leveling was happening all across the United Kingdom due to the war. Secondly, class distinctions and a social hierarchy still existed nonetheless, since there were posters targeted at certain socioeconomic sectors of the British population.

Regardless of what country within the UK a citizen was from, or whether he or she was an elite or a working class person, they were to accept that pragmatism was a necessary trait to possess if the state was going to escape German occupation. Not only did this foster pragmatism itself, which benefited the war effort, but it fostered the belief that British people are pragmatic by nature, and therefore share that trait in common. This belief in a unity, however contrived, was what the British government desperately needed to win the war, in addition to scrap metal or extra oil.

CHAPTER 3

RESILIENCE

When the Second World War initially broke out in 1939, the newly reinstated

Ministry of Information, led by Minister of Information Lord Macmillan, "saw their first

task as keeping the public resolute in face of an immediate onslaught."[55] Immediately, a

series of three posters designed to promote reliance were printed, but only two were ever

used. The two that were distributed informed their British audience that, "Your Courage,

Your Cheerfulness, Your Resolution Will Bring Us Victory," and that, "Freedom is in

Peril: Defend it With All Your Might." These two posters implied that the defense of

freedom was soon going to be necessary, and that the will of the British people would be

the deciding factor in which side won.

Resilience was also emphasized in other ways besides just the first poster

campaign. Prime Minister Winston Churchill gave many speeches with resilience as the

main point, especially at the onset of the war, when the government feared the people

would panic. The most blatant example of Churchill's promotion of reliance is the speech

he gave to the House of Commons on May 13, 1940—his very first speech as Prime

Minister. Following is an excerpt exemplifying his emphasis on resilience:

---

[55] Yass, 10.

I would say to the House, as I said to those who have joined this Government, I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat. We have before us an ordeal of the most grievous kind. We have before us many long months of toil and struggle. You ask what is our policy. I will say, it is to wage war with all our might, with all the strength that God can give us, to wage war against a monstrous tyranny never surpassed in the dark, lamentable catalogue of human crime. You ask what is our aim? I can answer in one word: Victory. Victory at all costs. Victory in spite of all terror. Victory however long and hard the road may be. For without victory there is no survival.[56]

Similarly, in another speech given to the House of Commons on June 4, 1940, he urged the British to never surrender. His speech was given after a disastrous military defeat in France, where Allied troops were surrounded on both sides by the German military. Their only option, aside from surrender or total defeat, was to evacuate as many Allied soldiers as possible.[57] Although the evacuation worked, Dunkirk was by no means a success. Additionally, almost immediately following Dunkirk, France fell to the Nazi army, further dampening the spirit of the British people. Therefore, Churchill urged them to remain resilient by saying:

We shall not flag or fail. We shall go on to the end. We shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air. We shall defend our island, whatever the cost may be. We shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing-grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills. We shall never surrender![58]

[56]Winston Churchill, "Speech to the House of Commons" May 13, 1940, http://www.winstonchurchill.org/learn/speeches/quotations.

[57] Lyons, 90.

[58] Winston Churchill, "Speech to the House of Commons," June 4, 1940, http://www.winstonchurchill.org/learn/speeches/quotations.

Figure 5

Figure 6

Churchill's speeches were warmly received by the public, however these posters,

were not. Their focus on reminding the people about, "the grit and determination

expected of the public" was considered, "rather childish" and was said by the Home

Office to, "greatly undervalue the spirit of our people."[59] In fact, the "Your Courage,

Your Cheerfulness, Your Resolution Will Bring Us Victory" poster was understood by

the citizens to imply that the government wanted the people to fight the war for them,

because of the word choice of "your" rather than "our."[60] Additionally, the image of the

royal crown most likely appeared to be a symbol of the government telling them what to

do in a very top-down kind of way. The crown reminded people that the royal family was

untouchable and hard to relate to, not that the British people were all in the war together.

The British people were so offended by these posters encouraging reliance mainly

because they already considered themselves quite resilient. American historian Allan

Nevins visited England in 1941, and in his book *This Is England Today* he constantly

praises the spirit of the British people. For example, according to Nevins, the British

people accepted the promotion of pragmatism previously discussed to the point that, "this

social and economic reorganization is being carried through with more than Spartan

fortitude—with self-sacrificing cheerfulness."[61] This "self-sacrificing cheerfulness

Nevins speaks of reflects the resilience of the British people. Written in 1941, the

resilience Nevins experienced was likely a combination of the reliance innate within the

British people, which the Ministry discovered after having offended them, as well as the

encouragement and promotion of continued resilience by the Ministry.

Interestingly, *This Is England Today* can itself be considered a form of

propaganda. Because Nevins wrote and published the book prior to the United States

---

[59] Yass 11-12
[60] Yass 12
[61] Nevins, 19.

entering the war, his emphasis on the upstanding qualities of the British people could be

viewed as propaganda aimed towards encouraging the United States to join the Allies.

The best example of this tactic appears at the conclusion of the book, when Nevins points

out that:

> There is something touching in the admiration the British people feel for their
> accepted leader. They criticize Mr. Churchill sometimes; but on the occasions of
> his great speeches the whole population collects about the radio, and their
> patriotism rises with the swell of his eloquence. There is something touching also
> in their faith in Franklin D. Roosevelt and the American people. (One of
> England's popular songs is "Thank You, Mr. Roosevelt.") They have their
> moments of discouragement, and their soft and flabby elements of appeasers and
> defeatists. But both are insignificant. Even if they lost Mr. Churchill, they would
> fight on. Even if they lost the aid of Mr. Roosevelt and the American people (and
> that would be one of the greatest crimes in history), they would fight on. They
> would go on fighting for three reasons. One is that they are Britons. The second is
> that compromise would be surrender, and surrender would be worse than death.
> The third is that they fervently believe they are fighting for the greatest cause on
> earth—the defense of freedom, of democracy, and of civilization itself.[62]

While Nevins' book focuses on England, he also noted the particular resilience of

the Scottish. That is to say, resilience was not simply an English trait, but something the

Ministry wanted all Britons to attribute to themselves. For example, despite the German

bombers' attempts to "break the popular morale as they broke people's hearts…the only

result they accomplished was to fill all Southern Scotland with a burning desire to push

the war to a victorious conclusion."[63] Similarly, Nevins describes the British spirit as one

of "stubborn determination"[64] as well as consisting, "a stern readiness to accept the worst

realities," which was, "especially prominent among the Scots and North-country men."[65]

However, due to the sense of resilience already present in the British people,

---

[62] Nevins, 152.
[63] Nevins, 26.
[64] Nevins, 144.
[65] Nevins, 140.

"encouragement to 'keep calm' seemed…unnecessary."[66] Therefore, the most famous

British propaganda poster from the Second World War, "Keep Calm and Carry On" was

never distributed.

Figure 7

Although the poster in Figure 7 was never widely distributed during the war, it

has found a new life in the 21st century as a resounding symbol of British identity. In

2000, Stuart Manley, an employee at a small British bookstore called Barter Books

stumbled upon a copy of the original poster that had been hidden amongst a pile of books

he bought at an auction.[67] Thinking it was nice, he decided to frame it and display it in

the bookstore. Almost immediately, people began asking where they could buy a copy

and from then on, the poster's popularity has steadily risen. In 2005 it was featured in a

magazine as a gift idea and today it can be found on a variety of things such as t-shirts,

---

[66] Yass, 14.
[67] "History of the Original Poster," *Keep Calm and Carry On,*
http://www.keepcalmandcarryon.com/pages/history.

coffee mugs, and car decals.[68] Although it took almost sixty years longer than they would have liked, the overwhelming popularity of the poster reveals that the Ministry of Information truly did influence British identity.

The official reason "Keep Calm and Carry On" was not put into distribution was because it was meant to be used only if the Germans landed on British soil. However, based on the design, it was clearly part of the set to which the other two posters belonged. Because of the unfavorable reaction by the public to the first two posters, the burial of the third poster suggests that the Ministry simply decided to forgo distributing the final poster in the series. They likely feared the public would become offended at such a direct command coming from the government, especially since the command told the citizens to do something they believed they were already doing. Recalling this series was a wise decision, because despite what the government believed, reliance was not the most important quality to foster in the British people. Although they clearly thought it was the most imperative, they soon realized it already existed due to the outpouring of public outrage. Since the MOI's first initiative to promote resilience failed, they soon decided to take an entirely different and much more light-hearted approach.

---

[68] Stuart Hughes, "The Greatest Motivational Poster Ever?," BBC News, February 4, 2009, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/magazine/7869458.stm.

CHAPTER 4

HUMOR

The British are stereotypically known for their dry sense of humor. However, to

say that all British citizens are funny would be a gross overgeneralization. Regardless of

the individual nature of their citizens, humorous or not, the Ministry of Information

utilized humor as an effective tool to promote unity during the Second World War.

Allan Nevins, the American historian who visited the United Kingdom in 1941

observed that, "the atmosphere of Great Britain is sane and cheerful."[69] Additionally, he

noted that, "their sense of humor has never deserted the British, and in the darker

moments of the war was of inestimable value."[70] The Ministry of Information capitalized

on the idea that a sense of humor was valuable and their "Careless Talk Costs Lives"

campaign, designed by Fougasse and launched in the railways in November 1939, was

intended to be lighthearted.[71] After all, as Lil Lawrence, a British citizen from Kent

during the war said, "a good laugh keeps you going better than anything else."[72]

---

[69] Nevins, 150.
[70] Nevins, 150.
[71] Yass, 25.
[72] Ross, 21.

Figure 8

Figure 9

The propaganda posters in Figures 8 and 9 both feature British men revealing

secrets about the war to their friends, either on the telephone or in person. The humor is

two-fold in these posters. First of all, the dialogue beneath the images is humorous. In the

first poster, the dialogue is very uppity, particularly with the emphasized, "I," which is another British stereotype. Most likely, the viewers could imagine someone they know gossiping the same way as the person in the telephone booth poster. The second poster's dialogue says, "…strictly between these four walls!" while being displayed on one of those four walls is a picture through which Hitler himself is spying.
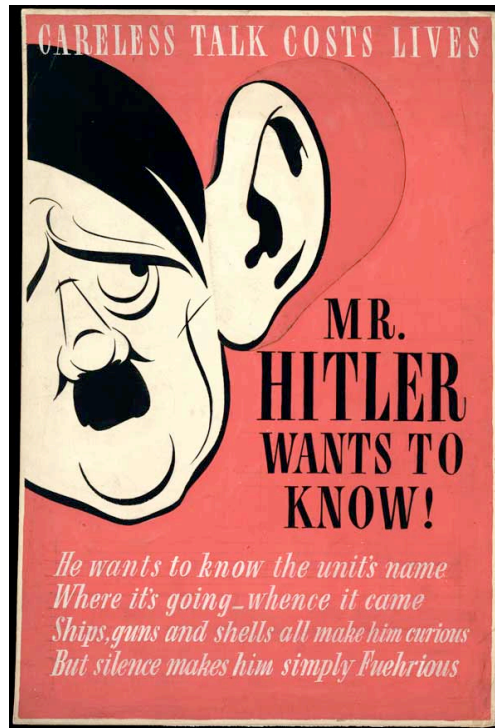
This leads into the next humorous aspect of this campaign—the images themselves. Obviously, Hitler would never be sticking his head through a picture on display in a British home. Even less likely is the idea that numerous Hitlers would be listening in on a conversation taking place in a telephone booth. Clearly, these images were meant to make the audience chuckle, while also reminding them of the very real danger involved if they let secrets about the war slip.

Mocking the enemy was another theme present in the "Careless Talk Costs Lives" campaign. Churchill himself was known for purposefully mispronouncing the word "Nazi" as "Narhzee."[73] This implied that he did not care enough about the enemy to take the time to learn to pronounce their name correctly. Making the enemy appear silly was a clever way of making the British government seem strong, and the Ministry of Information took note.

---

[73] Stewart, 7.

Figure 10

CARELESS TALK COSTS LIVES

MR. HITLER WANTS TO KNOW!

He wants to know the unit's name
Where it's going—whence it came
Ships, guns and shells all make him curious
But silence makes him simply Fuehrious

In Figure 10, above, the German leader Adolf Hitler is portrayed looking distraught, with his ear out of proportion to the rest of his face, so as to overhear British wartime secrets. There is a short, clever poem underneath the cartoon Hitler that reads, "He wants to know the unit's name/Where it's going—whence it came/Ships, guns and shells all make him curious/But silence makes him simply Fuehrious."[74]

---

[74] Hitler with an ear stretched out to hear careless talk," The National Archives, "Propaganda: Home Front," *The Art of War,* INF 3/238.
http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/theartofwar/prop/home_front/INF3_0238.htm

Figure 11

The final example of humor being utilized by the Ministry of Information in their

"Careless Talk Costs Lives" campaign, the poster in Figure 11, is unlike all the others.

Instead of focusing on the enemy, by encouraging the audience to "Be like Dad; keep

Mum!"[75] the Ministry played upon gender roles in the United Kingdom. Clearly, the

poster features a play on words; the British term for mother, "Mum," is also a synonym

for keeping quiet. The poster's purpose is to encourage people to be careful what they

say, and not let military or government secrets out. However, it offers insight into British

---

[75] You Never Know Who's Listening. "Keep Mum."
http://www.homesweethomefront.co.uk/web_pages/hshf_img_ct11_enlargement.htm.

gender roles by inferring that it is up to dad to keep mom around rather than vice versa. Additionally, the image suggests that it is the man's duty to keep his woman quiet. The goal of Dad is to keep Mum mum. The underlying message that women tend to gossip and are otherwise untrustworthy comes through quite clearly. This image reveals that patriarchy was the norm in British society, which is ironic since many women were forced to assume the role of head of the household when their husbands went to war. It is important to keep in mind though that this poster was meant to cause a chuckle, not to be taken entirely seriously. Even still, it provides great insight into British society.

CHAPTER 5

HISTORICAL PRIDE AND PATRIOTISM

By the time the Second World War broke out in 1939, the British state had been
in existence for hundreds of years. Save for the invasion of William of Normandy in
1066, after which he became known as William the Conqueror, British soil had never
been invaded by foreign powers. The Spanish Armada tried and failed in 1688, Napoleon
aspired to attack but never got his chance, and most importantly, the Germans were foiled
during the First World War. Their longstanding history of military dominance was a point
of pride for the British people, and the government capitalized on this through some of
the propaganda posters issued during World War II. As Keith Robbins wrote, following
the defeat of the French in 1940 British propagandists created a situation where, "every
helpful and encouraging aspect of the British past was dredged into the present."[76]

The British victory in the First World War was heavily emphasized by the
propagandists as proof that if, "we beat 'em before, we'll beat 'em again." Two posters
bearing this message were produced, each featuring a German soldier being defeated
from both the First and Second World Wars (Figures 12 and 13). Both posters were most

---

[76] Keith Robbins, *The Present and the Past Great Britain: Indentities, Institutions and the Ideas of Britishness*, (London and New York: Longman, 1998), 234.

likely created and displayed in 1940, soon after the French fell to the Nazis in June of that year. One of the posters was designed by artist Pat Keely, whose use shorthand and bold, simple designs ensured that the message would be understood by all who saw it. The second poster featuring this message was designed by an unknown artist, but is strikingly similar in style.

These two posters both blatantly appeal to the British sense of pride in their nation's past military successes. Because people of English, Irish, Welsh and Scottish heritage were all involved in World War I, this acted as a unifying factor for the British citizenry during World War II. All British people could share in the past successes of the United Kingdom, and as Churchill would point out, all had the chance to be involved in yet another glorious British victory.

Figure 12

Figure 13

Another poster designed by Keely, also with a simplistic design, features a British

solider guarding Dover, famous for its white cliffs. The wording comes from a speech

given by Prime Minister Winston Churchill to the House of Commons on June 18, 1940,

the day after France announced their plan to surrender to the Nazi forces:

> What General Weygand called the Battle of France is over. I expect that the battle
> of Britain is about to begin. Upon this battle depends the survival of Christian
> civilisation. Upon it depends our own British life, and the long continuity of our
> institutions and our Empire. The whole fury and might of the enemy must very
> soon be turned on us. Hitler knows that he will have to break us in this island or
> lose the war. If we can stand up to him, all Europe may be free and the life of the
> world may more forward into broad, sunlit uplands. But if we fail, then the whole
> world, including the United States, including all that we have known and cared
> for, will sink into the abyss of a new Dark Age made more sinister, and perhaps
> more protracted, by the lights of perverted science. Let us therefore brace
> ourselves to our duties, and so bear ourselves that if the British Empire and its

Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will still say, 'This was their Finest Hour.'[77]

Figure 14
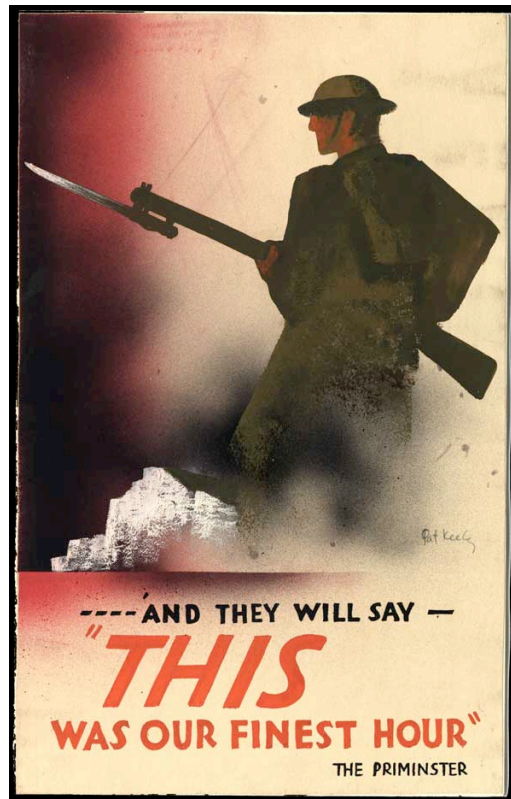
Churchill's speech, as well as the poster based upon it, ingeniously stirred up national pride by listing what the entire world had to gain or lose based on the success or failure of the United Kingdom. He mentions three things in particular that would have aroused feelings of nationalism within his listeners at the time: Christianity, the empire, and the islands themselves. By taking on the responsibility for the continuation of Christian civilization, he subtly suggests that the United Kingdom is the crux of Western

<hr>

[77] Winston Churchill, "Their Finest Hour," Speech to the House of Commons, June 18, 1940, http://www.winstonchurchill.org/learn/speeches/speeches-of-winston-churchill/1940-finest-hour/122-their-finest-hour.

civilization. Additionally, by bringing up the British Empire, he reminds them of their

longstanding status as world power, including the days when allegedly their empire was

so vast that the sun never set on it. Finally, he mentions the islands themselves, which

have long been a point of pride for the British. Since the British Isles had not been

invaded for over 800 years, he stated that Hitler knew he would have to do so in order to

defeat them. The island mentality of the British people, as well as their sense of proud

disconnect from the continent is something they can all share, regardless of national

origin within the UK. As the British novelist J.B. Priestly said in a message broadcast to

an American audience, "we are at bay on our tight little island."[78]

It is also important to recognize that this poster was primarily aimed at the

working class. The use of the slang term, "Priminster" reveals that the government had

moved away from the top-down approach to propaganda as seen in the crown on the

"Keep Calm" posters and towards a more informal approach. The working class people

likely were the right target for a message that promised glory and eternal recognition.

Finally, the main point of the poster taken from Churchill's speech, that, "they

will say this was our finest hour," appeals to the audience's desire to contribute to the

victory and continuity of the state. British history is full of the stories of great men

fighting for the state, yet Churchill and the poster suggest that in June of 1940 the stage

was set for the men of the United Kingdom to surpass them all in glory. As Keith

Robbins stated, "Churchill summoned up the past, in brilliant oratory, to the rescue of the

---

[78] Robbins, 234.

perilous present…past and present did seem for a time to be fused to an extraordinary

degree."[79]

CHAPTER 6

UNITY

By promoting pragmatism, resilience, humor, and patriotism as qualities British

citizens shared, the Conservative wartime government under the leadership of Prime

Minister Winston Churchill ultimately attempted to create a sense of national unity.

Marion Yass explains the Ministry of Information's goal by stating that its purpose was

to, "advise it [the British government] on how best to unite and strengthen the people."[80]

All of the other qualities were emphasized in order to make the British people believe

they had those qualities in common. If they accepted these commonalities, the idea was

that they would also believe they all had a reason to support the war effort: to preserve

what made them British.

Most posters displayed during the war were geared towards promoting one of the

qualities already discussed. However, a few posters blatantly promoted the end goal of

unity itself. The finest example of this is a poster featuring the faces of a variety of

British soldiers from various ethnic backgrounds, with the single word, "together" over

the image. This poster clearly attempts to show its viewers that regardless of their

background, whether they were from England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales or even one of

---

[80] Yass, 1.

39

the colonies such as India or Africa, they should all be united in protecting their

Kingdom.

Figure 15

Interestingly, however, the poster includes some quite obvious racial inequality in

British society. For example, although the poster's goal is to make all British citizens feel

"together," the two non-white members of the military are portrayed as marching behind

the white men. Also, at this time the British empire still contained numerous colonies,

which did not have the same standing as the four countries that made up the United

Kingdom. This reveals that although the government wanted to promote unity, there were

still deep divisions within society. However, the use of the flag is an interesting feature,

probably meant to strengthen the idea of unity by including the symbol that all Britions

could rally around.

Allen Nevins, the American historian who visited England in 1941 and wrote,
This Is England Today, sums up the concept of a unified British consciousness when he
writes that:

A very important element is the remarkable homogeneity (at bottom) of the British people, who have shared the same ideas and ideals, successes and failures, for centuries; disunity is impossible. This is coupled with their patriotism, for the have a love for the tight little island all the fiercer for being inarticulate. Not to be overlooked, too, is their distinct pride in their ancient and present exploits—the pride to which Churchill appealed when he suggested they might write a more glorious page of history than their ancestors in the days of Wellington, Marlborough and Drake. They like to think that when God wants a particularly hard job done he sends for his Englishmen. But this pride, the patriotism, and the dourness are all tempered by a saving sense of humor.

Even if this unity was fostered or even created by the British government, the idea of a truly united United Kingdom was of utmost value to the British war effort, whether it really existed or not.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

As this thesis comes to a close, I have argued that the British government during the Second World War utilized posters as a form of propaganda. The Ministry of Information headed this effort, and fostered unity among the people by emphasizing the qualities of pragmatism, resilience, humor and patriotism as distinctly British.

The Conservative government, led by Prime Minister Winston Churchill, did this not only to breed popular support for the war, but also to build support for the Conservative Party's post-war political goals. Although the Conservative "Tories" initially brought about this unity, they fell from power immediately following and it was the Labour party led by Prime Minister Clement Atlee that ushered in the modern British welfare state, starting with the passage of the National Insurance Act in 1946.

Utilizing propaganda during the Second World War was essential to the British war effort. Simply telling people they had certain traits in common was not enough; the ultimate goal was to use propaganda to subtly cause the British people to realize why being British mattered and was worth fighting for. As Bhikhu Parekh wrote, "being British is not a matter of sharing certain individually possessed contingent attributes but

rather a form of relationship, a way of relating to the country and its people and seeing it as one's country and them as one's fellow members."[81]

Although the United Kingdom consists of two islands and four countries, along with the entire British Empire during the Second World War, the government in conjunction with the Ministry of Information fostered a sense of commonality based on both shared traits and a shared future. Once the government made the people realize that their solidarity as a nation was essential to the continuation not only of the British way of life, but of Christian civilization itself as they defined and understood it, the British people rallied together, focused on their commonalities rather than their differences and ultimately emerged battered but victorious.

---

[81] Bhikhu Parekh, "Being British,"in *Britishness: Perspectives on the British Question*, ed. Andrew Gamble and Tony Wright, (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 33.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Images

"Better Potluck Than Humble Pie-Don't Waste Food!" Imperial War Museum. *Second World War.* http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/27963

Bird, Kenneth. *You Never Know Who's Listening.* "But for Heaven's sake don't say I told you!" http://www.homesweethomefront.co.uk/templates/hshf_frameset_tem.htm

"Freedom Is In Peril Defend It With All Your Might." WW2 Posters. *Original Propaganda Designs.* http://wartimeposters.co.uk/posters/original-posters/your-freedom-is-in-peril.html

"History of the Original Poster." *Keep Calm and Carry On.* http://www.keepcalmandcarryon.com/pages/history

"Hitler with an ear stretched out to hear careless talk." The National Archives. "Propaganda: Home Front." *The Art of War.* INF 3/238. http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/theartofwar/prop/home_front/INF3_0238.htm

Keely, Pat. "We beat 'em before." The National Archives. "Propaganda: Home Front." *The Art of War.* INF 3/136. http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/theartofwar/prop/home_front/INF3_0136.htm

Le Bon. "Dig For Plenty." The National Archives. "Propaganda: Production and Salvage." *The Art of War*. INF 3/98. http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/theartofwar/prop/production_salvage/INF3_0098.htm.

Le Witt and Him. "Walk Short Distances." The National Archives. "Propaganda: Production and Salvage" *The Art of War.* INF 3/89. http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/theartofwar/prop/production_salvage/INF3_0089.htm.

Little, William. "Together." The National Archives. "Propaganda: Allied Unity." *The Art of War.* INF 3/318. http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/theartofwar/prop/allied_unity/INF3_0318.htm.

Squander. "Is Your Journey Really Necessary?"
http://www.homesweethomefront.co.uk/templates/hshf_frameset_tem.htm

"They Will Say This Was Our Finest Hour." The National Archives. "Propaganda: Home Front." *The Art of War.* INF 3/137.
http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/theartofwar/prop/home_front/INF3_0137.htm

"We beat 'em before. We'll beat 'em again." The National Archives. "Propaganda: Home Front." *The Art of War.* INF 3/140.
http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/theartofwar/prop/home_front/INF3_0140.htm

You Never Know Who's Listening. "Keep Mum."
http://www.homesweethomefront.co.uk/web_pages/hshf_img_ct11_enlargement.htm.

You Never Know Who's Listening. "New Slogan for February 1940."
http://www.homesweethomefront.co.uk/web_pages/hshf_img_ct3_enlargement.htm.

"Your Courage, Your Cheerfulness, Your Resolution Will Bring Us Victory." Imperial War Museum. *War Shapes Lives.* "Outbreak 1939 Poster Gallery." Image 11.
http://www.iwm.org.uk/server/show/ConGallery.110/imageIndex/11

Books

Elliott, William Yandell and H. Duncan Hall. *The British Commonwealth at War.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1943.

Nevins, Allan. *This Is England Today.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941.

Nicholson, Nigel, ed. *Harold Nicholson: The War Years 1939-1945 Volume II of Diaries and Letters.* New York: William Collins Sons & Co. Ltd., 1967.

Other

Churchill, Winston. "Their Finest Hour." Speech to the House of Commons. June 18, 1940. http://www.winstonchurchill.org/learn/speeches/speeches-of-winston-churchill/1940-finest-hour/122-their-finest-hour.

Fordham University. *Modern History Sourcebook.* "Sir William Beveridge: Social and Allied Services (The Beveridge Report, 1942)."
http://www.fordham.edu/Halsall/mod/1942beveridge.asp.

Secondary Sources

Books

Briggs, Asa. *The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom.* London: Oxford
    University Press, 1965.

Brown, Richard. *Twentieth-Century Britain.* London: Macmillan Education Limited,
    1982.

Capozzola, Christopher. *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the
    Modern American Citizen.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Cull, Nicholas John. *Selling War: The British Propaganda Campaign Against American
    'Neutrality' in World War II.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Darracott, Joseph. *Second World War Posters.* Imperial War Museum, 1972.

Dewey, Peter. *War and Progress: Britain 1914-1945.* London and New York: Longman,
    1997.

Fox, Jo. *Film Propaganda in Britain and Nazi Germany: World War II Cinema.* New
    York: Berg, 2007.

Gamble, Andrew and Tony Wright, ed. *Britishness: Perspectives on the British Question.*
    Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.

Gilbert, Martin. *The Second World War: A Complete History.* New York: Henry Holt and
    Company, 1989.

Hunt, Jocelyn and Sheila Watson. *Britain and the Two World Wars.* Cambridge:
    Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Jackson, Ashley. *The British Empire and the Second World War.* London: Hambledon
    Continuum, 2006.

Lee, Alfred McClung. *How to Understand Propaganda.* New York: Rinehart and
    Company, Inc., 1952.

Lyons, Michael J. *World War Two: A Short History.* Upper Saddle River, New Jersey:
    Pearson Prentice Hall, 2004.

MacKenzie, John M. *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public
    Opinion, 1880-1960.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984.

Moses, Brian. *The War Years: The Home Front*. East Sussex: Wayland Limited, 1995.

Robbins, Keith. *The Present and the Past Great Britain: Identities, Institutions and the Idea of Britishness.* London and New York: Longman, 1998.

Samuel, Raphael. *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity— Volume One: History and Politics.* London and New York: Routledge, 1989.

Smyth, Jim. *The Making of the United Kingdom: 1660-1800.* London: Pearson, 2001.

Stewart, Ross. *At Home in World War Two: Propaganda*. London: Evans Brothers Limited, 2004.

Taylor, Philip M. *British Propaganda in the 20th Century: Selling Democracy*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999.

Taylor, Philip M. *The Projection of Britain: British Overseas Publicity and Propaganda, 1919-1939*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Yass, Marion. *This Is Your War.* London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1983.

Articles

Bardon, Jonathan. "The Act of Union." http://www.actofunion.ac.uk/actofunion.htm.

Davies, John. "The 1536 Act of Union." BBC Wales History. http://www.bbc.co.uk/wales/history/sites/themes/periods/tudors_04.shtml.

Harris, Jose. "War and Social History: Britain and the Home Front During the Second World War." *Contemporary European History*. 1, no. 1 (1992): 17-35.

Hughes, Stuart. "The Greatest Motivational Poster Ever?," BBC News. February 4, 2009. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/magazine/7869458.stm.

"Ireland Country Profile." *BBC News*. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/country_profiles/1038581.stm.

Kumar, Krishan. "Nation and Empire: English and British National Identity in Comparative Perspective." *Theory and Society*. 29, no. 5 (2000): 575-608.

Silverstein, Brett. "Toward a Science of Propaganda." *Political Psychology. 8, no. 1 (1987): 49-59.* http://www.jstor.org/stable/3790986.

The National Archives. *The Art of War.* "The Ministry of Information."
http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/theartofwar/inf3.htm.

Rothi, Despina M., Evanthia Lyons, and Xenia Chryssochoou. "National Attachment and
Patriotism in a European Nation: A British Study." *Political Psychology.* 26, no. 1
(2005): 135-155. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3792502.

Websites

bbc.co.uk

britannia.com

firstworldwar.com

keepcalmandcarryon.com

nationalarchives.gov.uk

Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. *Pragmatism.* "The Pragmatist Maxim."
http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/pragmatism.

Other

Harlaxton College Lecture Notes