THE IMAGE OF WOMEN IN BRITISH AND AMERICAN
POSTERS OF WORLD WAR I

A Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the degree Master of Arts in the
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by

Elizabeth Jane Butler, B.A.

* * * * *

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Master's Examination Committee: 
Joseph P. McKerns
David Richter
Martha Garland

Approved by
Joseph P. McKerns
Adviser
School of Journalism
BELGIAN RED CROSS

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October 1, 1969 ............. Born - Columbus, Ohio
1991 ........................ B.A., Sweet Briar College,
                     Sweet Briar, Virginia

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"'My Picture Is My Stage, and Men and Women My Players’: The
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"Paul Accola: A Champion On and Off the Slopes."  Sports
Parade (a publication of Meridian International), February,
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The tumultuous events of the First World War become more remote as the turn of the century approaches. Diminishing oral accounts of the generation of 1914 have led historians to speculate about how everyday citizens were motivated to join the cause and support the war effort. Therefore, the recordings of social history can provide greater insight into how the public experienced World War I.

At the turn of the century, posters were the quickest, most effective way to convey a message to a large population. In a world without television, and in a society where illiteracy was still a factor, the poster was an accepted, easily understood, and inexpensive medium that had popular impact and effectiveness.\textsuperscript{1} Posters relay the concerns and values of the time for which they are created, as they express the emotions of the period. They transform the issues of their time into illustrated commentary directed at average citizens. Therefore, because the poster is able to express broad themes in specific visual terms, it has the unique ability to illustrate how the contemporaries of the First World War perceived their place in current events.
The number of posters produced between 1914 and 1918 is overwhelming; they address a variety of subjects and use many visual and thematic devices to communicate their messages. However, the image of women in the posters of Great Britain and the United States is significant because it reflects women's dual role in these societies: first, as the virtuous embodiment of home and family life, needing protection from the evils of the outside world; and second, as increasingly independent individuals who entered the work force, albeit temporarily, to ensure the future of men's jobs when they returned home from the front.

The image of women in posters is therefore tied to two distinct concepts: the dependent female as a passive victim of the war in need of protection; and the independent female as an active participant in the war, either at home or on the front. The image of women in the British and American posters of World War I is positive, reflecting the reality of women's places in wartime society and the value of their efforts. Women are artistically presented, and the end result is an image of women which not only is sensitively portrayed, but also commands attention and respect.

To begin this analysis of the posters of the Great War, a literature review will summarize existing research findings. Categorizing the types of sources consulted will indicate the variety of available resources and will provide a context for this study's conclusions. Discussion of the findings made by
scholars on this topic will lead to an outline of research methodology for this study.

Part of this methodology is achieving a greater awareness of the historical context of the posters of the First World War. A following chapter will provide a descriptive look at the times which generated these posters. It also will give a general background of World War I and the mobilization of public opinion. This will enhance the reader's ability to see the image of women in selected wartime posters as their contemporaries might have perceived them. How messages were put in pictorial form is another point which will be discussed, as this study will address how the poster serves as a form of communication and a persuasive artistic medium.

Then the study will apply this information to the posters themselves. Thirty-six British and American posters will be analyzed and discussed in terms of their artistic design, historical significance and effectiveness. Each poster features a woman, and reflects not only the reality of women's place in society, but also the value of their efforts. Progressing from images of women as passive victims to active war supporters indicates the similarity of intent and artistic rendering which unites these British and American posters.

The study will conclude with an assessment of the significance of the image of women found in these wartime posters. It will also reaffirm the value of posters and their
role as primary historical documents and instruments of mass communication.
CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

In the past few decades, the poster book has enjoyed considerable popularity. A picture-oriented readership has found the images of posters to be powerful artistic communicators; therefore, collections of these images are frequently published. These books containing reproductions of posters assert that the medium has an important place in visual history. Max Gallo’s The Poster in History (1972), Alain Weill’s The Poster: A Worldwide Survey and History (1985) and Stuart Wrede’s The Modern Poster (1988) are all noted examples of these sources.

Books which give a survey of the poster’s history assert that posters have become something to study, preserve and collect. Authors suggest that the poster’s ability to both illustrate and document indicates its value, especially as the poster attracts attention, inform an audience, and has the potential to influence large numbers of people. Poster experts observe that there is a contrast between those who see the visual appeal of the poster alone and those who recognize its suitability as a mechanism for communication. While early poster surveys emphasized graphic technique, more recent works stress the importance of the poster’s message, showing
its ability to represent the period from which it emerges. Therefore, while some books assert that posters are "self-explanatory visual knock-outs," other more valuable sources demonstrate the need for informed interpretation of what we see. By realizing that the poster alone is not enough in assessing its significance, authors are taking more of an interest in providing historical contexts for the images which they discuss in their works. This suggests the value of their study for understanding the context of historical events, in this case, namely World War I. Authors have found that the poster can help to recapture wartime life because it offers insights into the values of a particular time. They promote the poster as a valid example of historical evidence.

Some of the most noted examples of sources addressing the topic of World War I posters are Joseph Darracott's *The First World War in Posters* (1974), the recently published *Persuasive Images: Posters of War and Revolution from the Hoover Institution Archives* (1992), Walton Rawls' brilliant and invaluable *Wake Up, America!: World War I and the American Poster*, Maurice Rickards' *Posters of the First World War* (1968) and Peter Stanley's *What Did You Do in the War, Daddy?: A Visual History of Propaganda Posters* (1983). Each book presents numerous reproductions of the posters themselves, complementing these images with thoroughly researched information about the artists, the messages communicated, the historical context and the graphic elements employed. They
are artistically presented and are grounded in solid historic research, emphasizing the poster’s quality contribution to history. The authors also speculate on the effectiveness of the war posters, bringing valid historical concerns to light as they address their subject matter.

Other sources provide interesting documentation about World War I itself and women’s role in wartime. History books provide comprehensive accounts of battle, while other sources such as Modris Ekstein’s *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (1989) make interesting suggestions about the war’s impact on society. Paul Fussell’s noted *The Great War and Modern Memory* (1975) and Stanley Cooperman’s *World War I and the American Novel* (1967) are examples of how a book can combine two disciplines, namely history and literature, to indicate a historical event’s impact on other facets of study. Books like these not only indicate the war’s pervasiveness, but also provide a context for discussion of background information about the war and the society which it affected.

Authors have also discussed the impact of the war on society in *The Deluge: British Society in the First World War* (Arthur Marwick, 1965), and *The Yanks Are Coming: The United States in the First World War* (Albert Marrin, 1986). Works such as these make a valuable contribution to social history, relating the war’s impact on the common man instead of the government official. Period literature from the time gives
good indications of the war as experienced by its contemporaries. For example, The Last Magnificent War: Rare Journalistic and Eyewitness Accounts of World War I (Harold Straubing, 1989) and How We Lived Then, 1914-1918: A Sketch of Social and Domestic Life in England During the War (Mrs. C.S. Peel, 1929) provide interesting complementary reading to determine how the war was seen by witnesses.

Information about women’s role in World War I derives from both primary and secondary sources. David Mitchell’s Women on the Warpath: The Story of the Women of the First World War (1965) and Lyn McDonald’s The Roses of No Man’s Land (1980) make important contributions to the study of women’s role in the war, asserting their importance and value at a time of great need. However, the information presented in books like these is greatly enhanced by first-hand accounts of what women did to support the war efforts. Peggy Hamilton’s Three Years or the Duration is a stirring account of her memoirs as a munitions worker (1978) while YWCA publications and other similar sources supplement accounts with photographs, providing invaluable information as to what conditions were actually like for females at the front. While not specifically about posters, Working for Victory?: Images of Women in the First World War, 1914-1918 (Diana Condell and Jean Liddiard, 1987) is an excellent account of the subject. Illustrated with period photographs, the book provides insightful text in an effort to interpret the images which
make the case that women achieved a noted degree of independence and respect from their courageous wartime efforts. It makes a significant comparison to the posters of the period.

Primary and secondary sources such as these help to give a balanced picture of society at war from 1914 to 1918. By presenting their cases in both words and pictures, researchers have demonstrated that the poster is an effective wartime communication device. They assert the poster's ability to present a piece of the past for today's historian and they demonstrate its merit and significance. Those researchers interested in the role of women in the war have shown their conviction in women's ability to prove their worth in a temporary situation and have indicated the validity of the subject's importance. By combining the findings of these scholars, it is obvious that informed interpretation of the posters of World War I is essential. It not only helps to assess the image of women advanced in the war, but also to see the poster as an important vehicle in recapturing the essence of wartime life.
CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGY

Research for this study began by reviewing reproduced World War I posters. The author not only observed the themes and artistic techniques used, but also noted the similarity of intent in British and American posters. Therefore, the author chose to study the posters from those two countries because of their common language and the greater accessibility of information.

Women were frequently portrayed in these posters, encompassing a variety of roles and responsibilities. It can be concluded that women were not only a popular subject with appeal, but also expressed something about the time. The author noticed that they were consistently attractive and feminine, but sometimes contradictory in intent. Some promoted the idea that women should be protected from the harm of war, while others asserted women's desire to be involved directly in it. This dual portrayal of the image of women intriguing, for it showed a willingness to support women's temporary responsibilities as workers, yet also demonstrated a reliance on tradition to make messages more clearly understood and appealing.
The posters can be classified into two categories: the images of dependent and independent women. The term "dependent" refers to women as the embodiment of home and family life, as their domain was the home and men defended women's honor and provided for their safety. It became clear that the dependent woman could also be seen as a passive victim in these posters, referring to her susceptibility to danger in war and her need for protection. Seeing the woman as part of an emotional appeal for assistance is particularly powerful, as it defined the woman as a reason for fighting. Men had to enlist to come to their aid.

The term "independent" refers to the woman's increasing ability to take an active role in the war effort. The concept is rooted in the woman's ability to support the war both at home (by making sacrifices of her own will) and in the work force (by assuming the role of men while they were away). It suggests women's bravery, self-sacrifice and patriotic commitment and demonstrates their ability to provide for themselves. It essentially suggests the changing nature of women's role in that society.

Independent images of women are grouped in terms of work done inside and outside the home. Posters have been selected to demonstrate a wide variety of activities to suggest the scope of their abilities in supporting the war effort.
In analyzing the selected posters, the author first looked at the placement of the woman in each poster. Foreground or background position gave an indication of how important the woman was in that poster. If the woman was the only figure in the poster, she was obviously important, but if she was placed in a less prominent position, she could be viewed as a supportive figure to the main emphasis of the poster. The attractiveness of the figure was studied in each poster to suggest the artist’s use of physical beauty in relaying the intended message. Therefore, the author could observe how many figures were matronly, virginal, etc.

Each woman’s expression was studied to determine desired attitudes toward the war, which ranged from cheerfulness to concern. Eye contact was another criterion for study, as it demonstrated how the image of the woman invited the viewer to attend to the poster’s message. Pose of the female figure was another characteristic for study; for example, while outstretched arms and fingers pointing to appropriate items in the poster encouraged the viewer to act, cowering or crouching positions appealed to the viewer for assistance and protection. The author also noted what each woman was pictured doing to get an idea of how the woman was helping the war effort.

Attention to detail was another important part of research; noticing how each woman was dressed (whether in uniform or civilian clothes and the condition of the garments)
both indicated social status and provided a kind of historical documentation of period clothing. Similar details which were observed included props or background objects, such as kitchen appliances and hospital items. To determine accuracy and consistency of what was pictured in the posters, the author consulted photographs of similar situations in World War I, such as women in factories, hospitals or at home to compare uniform and civilian clothes style. Varied representation of social classes in the poster was also considered. Additionally, the author looked at how each woman related to men pictured in the poster, where appropriate.

Other more general items which were considered in analyzing each poster included poster design, shading (use of light and dark), vertical or horizontal placement of figures which influenced movement of the design and eye scan, use of symbolism, and reliance on artistic traditions, if any, to encourage mental associations in the mind of the viewer.

Finally, the author observed the use of language in each poster, noting where it was placed in relation to the figure and whether it added to the figure’s appeal. The author also assessed what items in the poster attracted attention initially and how effective the technique was. Emotional appeal of each poster was also considered, as feelings and reactions evoked were assessed. The author then made a checklist of these items and determined what was included or omitted in each poster to show similarity of intent and
artistic presentation. After considering as many of these items as possible, the author then related what she found in appropriate sections of the text in the following chapters of the study.

Posters have been selected for their artistic merit, their uniqueness of intent, their variety of message content and, where appropriate, their similarities to other posters. They represent the work of both well-known and less prominent artists of the time to give a broader scope of artistic ability. In terms of their historical significance, posters have been chosen to demonstrate the variety of appeals made to the audience of the time. By promoting a number of messages, these posters helped to recreate the context in which these posters appeared.

To determine how poster design progressed through the war, the selected posters were also arranged chronologically. The author arranged the posters by year and country to detect possible progressions in theme or subject matter over the war years. Although no changes in artistic technique or presentation were observed, some obvious similarities between posters were noted and are mentioned in the appropriate sections of the following text.

To assist in recreating the historical context of these posters and understanding the intent and meaning of the messages, sections in the text discuss women’s role in society and give an overview of historical events where appropriate.
This results from a study of the pre-war societies in Great Britain and the United States, noting similarities and differences and how they might have been manifested in the selected posters. This, along with a discussion of the historical events of World War I, essentially strengthens and clarifies the intent of the posters being discussed.

For greater familiarity with the poster as a form of communication, research has been done to understand what makes a successful appeal in a poster and how its artistic merit can be judged. Basic criteria for assessing a poster’s strength of communication have been presented, which can then be applied to the discussion of the selected posters themselves.

Because reproductions of World War I posters appearing in books are more plentiful than their originals, this study relies solely on those reproductions. Although this can be seen as a weakness in research, it must be emphasized that the strength of the message and the graphic layout of the poster remain the same whether in original or reproduced form. Therefore, this study makes a valuable contribution to the study of World War I posters because it presents them with appropriate background and relates their significance as forms of communication without relying specifically on the visual impact of the colors used, which could best be determined by studying the originals.
The posters selected for this study show the variety of techniques and messages implemented during the time. Additionally, they provide repeated testimony of the dual image of women present in this society. What results is a comprehensive, but by no means exhaustive, survey of how women were portrayed in the posters of World War I.
CHAPTER IV

HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE POSTERS OF WORLD WAR I

By the early years of the twentieth century, many believed that Western civilization had reached the pinnacle of maturity and morality. The new century promised great things, as technological developments had improved the quality of life. The world was moving in the right direction, and the new century was the dawn of a new era which exalted patriotism and brotherhood. War seemed impossible, as the world moved away from military ideals and toward worldwide peace and friendship.

Part of this belief is rooted in the very essence of the Victorian era, which ended in 1901. Marked by conservatism, relative international stability, and a high degree of morality, this period relied on peaceful conduct of affairs. However, this stable facade masked underlying tensions, such as national rivalries, colonialism, the intensity of the Industrial Revolution and child labor. Europe, and even America, was ripe for violent and widespread changes, even though the promise of the twentieth century seemed stable and calm on the surface.
The First World War was precipitated by a single event: the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, by a Serbian nationalist member of the Black Hand group. However, the war was also the result of a number of tensions. Complicated alliances between European nations, treaties, desires for military and economic power, sweeping changes in technology, strong feelings of nationalism and widespread ethnic jealousies all drew nations into a war that had not been anticipated. At the outset of the war, how could these nations have known that in four years, millions would be dead and millions more would be wounded?

Every aspect of World War I was significantly different: the mobilization of entire nations for the war effort, the implementation of machine guns and poisonous gas so that killing became a mechanized operation and the duration of continuous fighting all led to significant hardships suffered by people around the world. What made this war different was the brutality which ushered in a century promising tremendous progress and improvement. This made a generation of young men rethink their perceptions of both the world they thought they knew and the world they were introduced to as soldiers. For many, the concept of war, and of life, would never be the same.
Whatever their nationality, people on the home front were confronted with similar hardships and suffering, while soldiers on the front lines shared the same fear, hysteria, anger and exhaustion as their comrades. Regardless of national origins, soldiers had to contend with not only the constant risk of death, but also the less than ideal conditions under which they lived.

Soldiers knew they had to defend their homeland and went off to war to fulfill their duty through sacrifice. Unity was a crucial part of the war effort, as countries expressed their confidence in victory by protecting national honor and interests. Much of this unity was based on the conventional treatment of war with which many nations were familiar. Historical and literary accounts of war were founded on the notion of battle as a spectacular pageant in which heroic young men defended noble causes. One can conclude that to serve one's country in war was both an adventure and a privilege, as heroes either victoriously returned from battle or magnanimously gave their lives for abstract ideals such as freedom and liberty.

Pre-war life in Britain was guided by tradition. Success in imperialism and colonialism led Britons to be proud of their empire, the largest in terms of territory and population. However, the atmosphere of impending change which pervaded the early years of the 20th century led many to reconsider their place in international events. As J.A.S.
Grenville observed in his study of British foreign policy in the years before World War I,

The opening years of the Edwardian era ... were a time of introspective questioning about Britain's role in the world, her relationships with neighboring countries, and about the future of the Empire. The world was rightly perceived to be rapidly changing....

Colin Nicolson concludes that policymakers in Great Britain lacked real options in pre-World War I diplomacy:

British statesmen were propelled by the relentless dynamics of international politics into a position over which they had very little control. The country whose pre-eminence had given her the luxury of choice in foreign policy for generations was faced with remarkably little choice once she had been forced to emerge from isolation.

As Britain was confronted with the reality of war, two conflicting traditions influenced the formulation of foreign policy. Idealism, Nicolson notes, views international problems optimistically, as peace was a natural condition and war was obsolete and expensive. However, realism describes that Britain's pre-eminence as a result of war led to inevitable conflict. At the outbreak of war, realism triumphed over idealism.

Nicolson observes that three recurrent themes surfaced by August, 1914. First, Britain had a special role in world history, and second, only a few people realized what a 20th-century war would entail. Third, and most important, the popularization of codes and values of the Victorian public school was a central development. Strict rules of conduct, discipline and military values complemented the idea that the
moral and historical role of the country was unique and demanded complete loyalty and self-sacrifice, if necessary. A just cause required men to do their duty with courage and discipline. However, there was little desire for conquest and world domination in Britain. Their battles had already been won.\textsuperscript{17}

Great Britain’s decision to declare war was based on the idea that war was an act of state to advance toward democracy. The belief that war would be over in a few months, if not in a few weeks, was prevalent. Since the ordinary citizen would not be affected, the civilian’s duty was to carry on normally.\textsuperscript{18}

World War I dramatized and heightened the changes from Victorian to modern England.\textsuperscript{19} It was the logical, inevitable end of the years preceding it and significantly altered the benevolent assumptions of the Edwardian age.\textsuperscript{20} It indeed had a significant impact on Great Britain, as the war made people become active citizens. They were required to serve the state - a change from the previous practice of the British, as they could choose to ignore the demands of the state in the years before the war.\textsuperscript{21}

Mrs. C.S. Peel’s observations about pre- and post-war life in England are a fitting conclusion to this discussion:

We look back during the first fourteen years of the century to a world less hurried and noisy than it has now become....And, because the wireless was not then in general use, we look back to a less informed, and because there had not been a Labour Government, a less articulate and therefore a less
powerful proletariat. We look back also to a world in which women were still classed with infants and imbeciles and denied the status of citizens....If we compare England of the pre-war years of the twentieth century with England of the early years of the nineteenth century it seems as if we had advanced with almost incredible swiftness. Yet the changes of that hundred years are scarcely as great as those brought about by four years of such a war as no previous civilization had known.22

In England, young men were motivated to join the war through ideals such as patriotism, love of adventure, courage and ambition.23 Volunteering was a duty, as young men were encouraged to bear their part in the tradition of men before them. The British response to recruitment was instantaneous and overwhelming. In September, 1914, 750,000 men joined the army, and eventually the total number of volunteers reached 3,000,000. These British soldiers "were the finest army ever raised in Britain, the pick of the country - healthy, energetic, intelligent, patriotic, and burning to 'avenge Belgium.'"24

One journalist of the time remarked that the English suffered "not from a lack of confidence in the outcome nor from a want of courage, but from a prevailing sentiment, especially among the less intelligent, that the allies are sure to win anyhow...."25 This shows how much the war fostered a sense of national unity in Great Britain, strengthening its national identity.
While Britain opted to enter the war in the summer of 1914, the United States decided to remain neutral. This is an interesting contrast to observe. As Grenville concluded in his foreign policy study,

...The Americans responded to the war by insisting on the observance of their interpretation of neutral rights....It was a policy based on the confidence that the United States could defend itself come what may....Britain's decision for war was 'preventive;' no power planned to attack her. But unlike the United States, Britain felt that she could not afford to stand by....26

However, it was inevitable that the United States would enter the war. Just a century earlier, the nation was a minor group of former colonies, relatively prosperous and with a fair degree of economic potential. But at the dawn of the twentieth century, the country had become a formidable presence in world affairs. With colonies of its own, an aggressive upper class and a significant sense of manifest destiny, the United States had developed an attitude of invincibility and success. Although it had its share of problems, the nation was optimistic about the future. America had become a world power despite traditional isolationism, and forces overseas were drawing the country into war. Many Americans saw the war as a means of protecting national honor and safeguarding national interests.27

Although a formidable world power, the United States was still hesitant to sacrifice its traditional stand of isolationism. However, one month after his inauguration for a second presidential term in 1916, President Wilson delivered
his war message to Congress and led the United States into war against Germany, Austria-Hungary and their allies. Wilson felt compelled to fight, regardless of the consequences, in this explosive situation.\textsuperscript{28} The precipitating factor in Wilson's decision was Germany's belligerent actions, namely the sinking of the luxury liner, the Lusitania, on May 7, 1915.\textsuperscript{29} In 18 minutes, 1198 men, women and children died on the Lusitania. This tragedy became a prime example of propaganda used internationally. For example, the \textit{New York World} ran a powerful cartoon depicting small children rising from the sea, holding out their hands and asking the Kaiser, "Why did you kill us?"\textsuperscript{30}

Similarly, in England, the result of the Lusitania's sinking was to turn public opinion against Germany. Rioting, destruction of property and boycotting of German businesses occurred throughout London and Liverpool.\textsuperscript{31}

At the time, Americans considered the sinking of the Lusitania a deliberate act of murder of over a thousand noncombatants by direct order of the German government, but few wanted to go to war. Although many agreed with Wilson that a man could be too proud to fight, Americans later saw that the United States was in a position where it could neither protect its rights nor preserve its neutrality.\textsuperscript{32} What resulted was the opinion that the only assurance of peace and safety was to bring the war to an end before European civilization was destroyed. Therefore, Americans were
convinced of the need to "make the world safe for democracy." \(^{33}\) This was the essence of Wilson's message to go to war:

...We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts - for democracy, ... for the rights and liberties of small nations ... and [to] make the world itself at last free.

To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood ... for the principles that gave her birth and happiness.\(^{34}\)

Americans wanted to defend things similar to their ideals; the Allied cause of France, Great Britain and Belgium embodied all they believed in, while Germany represented all that they hated and feared. As Henry May noted, the war provided outlets for angry emotions.\(^ {35}\) It was natural that the United States would join the war in an effort to make the world safer and lead the world to peace. Their courage and determination, it was hoped, would do much to repair the damage that the war had done in three and a half years. Half the manhood of Europe, representing the glory and splendor of the promise of the future, had been killed by the war.\(^ {36}\)

American public opinion at the start of the war was largely due to the efforts of President Wilson.\(^ {37}\) The task of mobilizing public opinion seemed immense, for as Wilson noted, the entire nation, not just the army, had to be shaped and trained for war. Wilson saw the need for complete solidarity in mobilizing men, money, resources and emotions. Widespread cooperation was not good enough when the nation's life was at
stake. By stressing the importance of uniting in a common goal of preserving freedom and peace throughout the world, Wilson drew people to his cause. Idealistic motives quickly equated the war with a heroic crusade for national honor and guaranteed an emotional response among the people.\textsuperscript{39}

In \textit{The Marne} (1918), Edith Wharton writes: "America tore the gag of neutrality from her lips, and with all the strength of her liberated lungs, claimed her right to a place in the struggle.\textsuperscript{40} This shows how this crusade for international peace was the end of American neutrality.

The image of the war as a crusade was a central point of mobilizing public opinion,\textsuperscript{41} and how it was presented to the American public was critical. Stanley Cooperman's description of war as a call to adventure seems to be founded on the images of the posters, as shown in later chapters:

Villains were horrible and victims were pitiful, while Americans were pictured ... as antiseptic adolescents untouched by battle and polite to women, Boy Scouts doing their good deeds on a global scale.\textsuperscript{42}

Public opinion certainly centered on America's ability to bring the war to a peaceful conclusion. Much of the written work used to mobilize public opinion about the war focused on America as the savior of the Allied powers. Now that the United States had joined the Allies, they could win the war and end war for all time. This gives the historian a good idea of how effective communication could strengthen public opinion about the war.
Even before the United States entered World War I, the Allies in Europe recognized that America was the richest and most powerful of the neutral nations and decided to concentrate their efforts on the United States. Great Britain and France had to persuade Americans that the Allied cause was just and that the United States should not only support the war effort, but also ultimately join the cause.43

Great Britain’s common language and heritage was a good foundation for its efforts in mobilizing American public opinion about the war. Patriotism and gallant self-sacrifice were central themes expressed in many British posters. Artists were appointed to present the British war effort, as pictures were needed to enliven text and create memorable images inspiring young men to enlist. As Nigel Viney notes, "people ... supposed that the cavalry would charge at the enemy with lances and sabres, exactly as had happened at Waterloo and in the Crimea. In the atmosphere that prevailed, it is not surprising that artists were swept up in this passionate outburst of national emotion. Like so many others, they wanted, as would have been said at the time, to 'do their bit.'"44 British posters were graphic evidence of the attempt to rouse people to action. As American journalist William Edgar observed, "lethargy and self-complacency, a feeling that the war is being conducted on foreign soil and therefore does not directly and immediately affect the individual Briton, retards recruiting to some degree; hence, it is necessary to
stir up the public to the gravity of the situation by every possible means.⁴⁵ In 1915, journalist Albert Beveridge reported that London was literally plastered with posters of patriotic appeals. This, coupled with the appearance of khaki-clad privates, many of whom were "superb examples of vigorous and robust manhood," made a truly picturesque sight for this student of war opinion in England.⁴⁶

Based on this common foundation of language and heritage, and supported by the success of its own efforts, Great Britain was committed to doing a thorough job of mobilizing public opinion about the war in the United States.⁴⁷ For example, Sir Gilbert Parker's job was to ensure the proper distribution of material in the United States. He analyzed the opinion of the American press and universities, and assembled a 13,000-member mailing list of clergy, professionals, members of the press and those affiliated with universities who were in the best position to influence public opinion in the United States.⁴⁸

It is therefore not surprising that the United States later relied on many of the same motives of the English in joining the war. Patriotism, ambition, personal courage and love of adventure were later employed in American recruiting posters.

To understand the motives behind producing the posters of the First World War, it is helpful to first learn more about the Committee on Public Information and its role in making all
Americans take a united stand to make the world safe for democracy. The CPI would show the American people that they should become world citizens.

President Wilson established the CPI on April 13, 1917, one week after the United States entered the war. The purpose of the CPI was to mobilize and express thoughts and emotions supporting the war.49 Under the direction of George Creel, a successful journalist and publicist, the committee was to bring Wilson's idealism to the people. In essence, "the job was to keep the Wilson program before the people and to make it seem like something worth dying for."50 By doing this, the CPI popularized the notion that war was a great crusade to save democracy, which encouraged and promoted patriotism and national unity.

Much of the CPI's work also encouraged a sense of emotional commitment to the war effort. If the world was to be at peace, it required a sense of obligation, and if democracy was to work, all citizens were obliged to adopt responsible attitudes.51

The work of the CPI was clearly directed by the beliefs of Creel. Convinced of "the absolute selflessness of America's aims,"52 Creel was committed to spreading self-sacrifice and cooperation through the country. Therefore, Creel's views shaped the efforts of the committee and largely dictated how messages would be conveyed to the American
people. The importance of sacrifice and unity are obvious in one of Creel’s frequently quoted remarks:

What we had to have was no mere surface unity, but a passionate belief in the justice of America’s cause that should weld the people of the United States into one white-hot mass instinct with fraternity, devotion, courage, and deathless determination. The war-will, the will-to-win, of a democracy depends upon the degree to which each one of all the people of that democracy can concentrate and consecrate body and soul and spirit in the supreme effort of service and sacrifice. What had to be driven home was that all business was the nation’s business, and every task a common task for a single purpose.53

This shows that the CPI realized that the First World War was being fought for the idea of making the world safe for democracy, and it repeatedly emphasized that in its efforts to prepare the minds of the American people to stand behind the war effort.54

The 150,000 employees of the CPI strove to make the First World War a people’s war, disseminating information in a way appealing to the American working man and his family. As George Creel said,

In all things, from first to last, without halt or change, it was a plain publicity proposition, a vast enterprise in salesmanship, the world’s greatest adventure in advertising...that carried to every corner of the civilized globe the full message of America’s idealism, unselfishness, and indomitable purpose....We strove for the maintenance of our own morale and the Allied morale by every process of stimulation...Our effort was educational and informative throughout, for we had such confidence in our case as to feel that no other argument was needed than the simple, straightforward presentation of facts.55
The department of the CPI responsible for taking on this adventure in advertising was the Division of Pictorial Publicity. It assembled the artists of America on a volunteer basis for the use of 58 separate government departments and patriotic societies requesting artwork. Between April, 1917 and November, 1918, the Division of Pictorial Publicity produced 700 poster designs, 122 car, bus and store window cards, 310 ad illustrations, and 287 cartoons for the CPI alone. The Division also designed 19 seals, buttons and banners and even painted a canvas in front of the New York Public Library to stimulate Liberty Bond sales. Artists expressed the aims of the Red Cross, War Savings Stamps, Liberty Loans, the Division of Films, railroad administrations, aviation, tank and Marine corps and fuel and food suppliers. Additionally, some of the first American posters were those promoting the Commission for Relief, the beginning of an international fund-raising network to help Belgium and France. Eight Division artists even went with the United States Army to document fighting in Europe.

The Division's primary function was educational: informing the public and mobilizing public opinion by representing the country's aims and ideas in fighting the war through simple, understandable means of illustration. The purpose of the posters produced by the Division of Pictorial Publicity was to communicate essential information rapidly and efficiently, as message dissemination via the broadcast media
was not available at the time. The Division’s mission clearly emphasizes the strength of visual images in mobilizing public opinion:

To visualize to the people the facts of the great contest; to make the story of the war and what it meant a story that ‘one who runs may read,’ and to place upon every wall in America the call to patriotism and to service - to tell to over one hundred million of our fellow countrymen the story of courage and suffering, heroism and confidence in victory, so necessary to the conduct of the war - and so effective in securing victory.\(^5\)

It is interesting to note the emphasis given to the strength of visual images in communicating the need for patriotism and sacrifice in obtaining victory.

Creel believed that he needed the best posters ever drawn to build morale and stimulate enthusiasm among the people.\(^5\)

While British posters were largely produced by printers and lithographers,\(^6\) some of the most well-known artists of the day worked to help Creel achieve his goal. Division artists worked without compensation, as they put their talent and professional prestige to work to serve their country. Led by Charles Dana Gibson, an immediately recognizable and important part of American culture at the time due to his artistic renderings of his Gibson girls, artists such as James Montgomery Flagg, Howard Chandler Christy, and Joseph Christian Leyendecker dedicated themselves to the cause of mobilizing public opinion. As Gibson’s biographer, Fairfax Downey, notes:
The war had moved him as politics had never been able to do. The scorn, the elation, the passionate conviction which make a great cartoonist now were his... Never had he drawn with such vigor and verve. His soldiers fixed bayonets and leapt into action. Columbia's robe swept back, outlining her beautifully molded body as she rushed forward toward victory.61

Gibson believed that Americans were too far removed to understand the war. As he said,

One cannot create enthusiasm for war on the basis of practical appeal. The spirit that will lead a man to put away the things of his accustomed life and go forth to all the hardships of war is not kindled by showing him the facts.62

Therefore, Gibson believed that war art must appeal to the heart and imagination. Images relayed by the Division should illustrate the appeals of the day if they were to arouse public interest in the war.

Aware that pictorial appeals to the American public would create an understanding among the American people that transcended the literacy rate, George Creel decided that the poster would be a vital link in mobilizing public opinion:

The printed word might not be read, people might not choose to attend meetings or to watch motion pictures, but the billboard was something that caught even the most indifferent eye.63

The ability of Division posters to make such an impression relied on their ability to make people believe in the Allied cause and want to help. Creel wanted to rouse public opinion to intensity. The posters produced by these artists were meant to convey the idea of a strong nation who would lead the world into a new era of peace and hope where freedom and
democracy would flourish. By presenting their case so that they would influence the opinions or actions or the audience, American posters bolstered popular spirit and won the support of the people.
CHAPTER V
THE POSTER AS A FORM OF COMMUNICATION

The British poster artist Fougasse described posters as "anything stuck up on a wall with the object of persuading the passer-by." Even before World War I, posters publicized, informed and advertised products, entertainment and travel to a large audience. The poster's concise text and simple illustration make it an accepted, serious example of visual expression which invite attention because of its striking visual impact. Public display of posters makes subjects known to a large number of people in an attractive, understandable way. Simple images communicate ideas and social messages by capturing the viewer's attention, delivering the message quickly and succinctly, and making the importance of the image instantly apparent by strengthening audience associations. The visual or pictorial element is the initial attraction, suggesting its artistic strength and merit, as the poster's use in advertising and making the public travel-minded made it a well-defined art form. Novel arrangement of design elements combine with use of color and artistic treatment to express the main intent of the design, while sentimental or emotional overtones give the image human appeal.
Accordingly, the poster can also make a quick but lasting impression on its busy viewer from its psychological strength. As Maurice Rickards notes, posters must embody a message, not just a decorative image. They become instruments of persuasion as they raise audience consciousness. Essentially, posters rely on emotional appeal to mobilize the audience. This is especially effective among audiences with low literacy levels.

As a result, the poster surpassed the newspaper as a medium of persuasion, and this distinction is an important one in evaluating its wartime role. Persuasion was crucial in the poster’s purposes and functions in reaching the maximum audience. This is echoed in Josef and Shizuko Muller-Brockman’s assertion of what the poster’s function is: “to inform, stimulate, activate, mobilize, expound, query, provoke, motivate and convince.” But, as noted World War I artist Joseph Pennell observed, the poster is worthless if the audience is not able to understand its objective.

At the advent of World War I, posters relayed prominent messages to the audience. As Harold Hutchinson observes, they "were no longer merely selling merchandise; they were pleading causes, stimulating emotions and playing on human hopes, fears, and ambition." Artistic and psychological appeal joined to create mass persuasion in the poster.
In reviewing the poster’s role in World War I, it is evident that the poster became a forceful medium of persuasion, not just a decoration. Posters grew to have a distinct function and purpose in war, and they became identified as a mass medium with the specific purpose of achieving a common goal. For countries involved in the war, that purpose was victory.

Because governments needed to encourage patriotism and a sense of responsibility among their citizens while promoting the war effort, the First World War created a new need for communication. Government officials had to give men from all levels of society a personal reason for fighting because they were nonprofessional soldiers. These officials had to have concluded that posters were the most effective medium to communicate this sense of duty to civilians and to shape public opinion about the war. Posters had become a new, subtle way to join people in a common cause, as they communicated essential information rapidly and encouraged patriotism and sacrifice, often through the use of emotional symbols for individual countries.72

It is natural to consider how much of what appears in posters was a result of propaganda policy. Images, symbols and portrayals used can very well be influenced by certain government recommendations as opposed to the artist’s own selection of images.
Propaganda can be defined as "the presentation of a case in such a way as to influence in a desired direction the opinions and actions of others by continually repeating expressions of a dominant fact, idea or principle."\textsuperscript{73} Essentially, the aim of propaganda is to persuade people to believe in a certain way and act on their beliefs, not to inform people by telling the truth.\textsuperscript{74}

Judging from previous discussions of pre-war society in Great Britain and the United States, what appears in the posters of World War I is not the result of malicious propagandistic aims. Rather, the images, symbols and portrayals used were part of a desire to help people believe in the Allied cause and want to help. National leaders found it necessary to present the intents of war in a compelling war rhetoric. "War fever" had to be established.\textsuperscript{75}

Propaganda did not seem to have the same negative connotations then as it did after World War I. For example, the CPI reflected a "naive faith in the integrity of the American government and its leaders and in the power of ideas to transform men and society. If some of the committee's work did foreshadow the sinister propaganda engines of the future, the great power of government propaganda and its disturbing implication for democratic government were only dimly perceived in 1917-1918."\textsuperscript{76} This conclusion can also be reached after consideration of the fact that Creel in particular was a respected journalist. His reputable
background shows his commitment to quality journalism, so his campaigns to influence public opinion were done ethically and soundly, with little practice of deceptive techniques.

But the poster can be a definite propaganda tool. James Morgan Read relates the poster to an atrocity propaganda campaign, suggesting throughout his work that there are five objectives of posters as a form of propaganda. This is a natural outgrowth of the poster’s function as a persuasive medium: 1) to strengthen the fighting spirit and bolster morale of both soldiers and civilians; 2) to raise war loans; 3) to encourage enlistment; 4) to influence neutrals; and 5) to kindle the passions of fighters with hints of the atrocities committed by enemy nations. 77 Harold Lasswell found similar aims in his study of the propaganda techniques used in World War I. These included mobilizing hatred against the enemy, preserving the friendship of allies and the possible cooperation of neutrals, and demoralizing the enemy. 78 Maurice Rickards suggests that poster use followed the sequence of war itself. First, posters asked for men and money to mobilize countries. Then, posters called for help and sacrifice on the home front. Third, posters appealed to the audience’s conscience by enlisting aid for wounded soldiers, orphans and refugees. Finally, posters sought to alleviate the shortage of both men and supplies. 79 This shows that wartime posters worked as a unit, complementing each other in their purposes.
The lasting visual impression which posters made also indicates a more psychological technique used in poster communication. Max Gallo observes that posters were to "make every individual feel that he was being appealed to personally and to make each one feel guilty if he did not sign up and help." 80

Holding the attention and interest of the audience had to have been a central concern for artists who had to design such powerful and important communication outlets in the First World War. To appreciate the success of their efforts, it is valuable to evaluate some of the considerations artists must apply to their work.

John Morgan and Peter Welton pose several helpful questions for artists in their introduction to visual communication, See What I Mean. By considering these, we can better understand why World War I poster artists had to have employed similar guidelines in their work. To capture attention and interest, artists should know their audience and effectively tailor the design so that they will look at it. After considering the circumstances under which the audience will view the poster, artists must seek the right balance between words and images as they communicate their message. Finally, artists should analyze the memorability and persuasiveness of the image to determine how much of the audience’s imagination will contribute to the success of the image. 81
This is directly related to the idea that visual communication is an experience shared by the producer and the receiver of the message. To produce the desired effect in the minds of the audience, the artist should begin with what is shared (such as language, knowledge and values) and then incorporate common experience to build on the meaning of the message. Inherent in this are the roles of feeling, intention, tone and reality in achieving the desired effect. By employing these techniques, communication will be enhanced and the audience can learn and understand the message more efficiently.

Poster designs must be functional, simple, and appropriate to their viewing context. Symbols should be easily identified and understandable, and they should be organized for visual effectiveness. Clever graphic arrangement not only can get attention, but also can present ideas quickly and memorably. Simplicity is also paramount, as open space and bold forms can be quickly seen, easily identified and readily understood.

Use of color is also important, as it is based on cultural associations and helps to express the character of the image being presented. Purity of color, as well as its value and intensity, are other important things to consider when evaluating the appeal and effectiveness of visual communication.
With these basic considerations, it becomes clear why certain visual designs are more striking and appealing. Most importantly, viewers can form sentimental attachments to those images by associating emotional meanings to an object through personal recollections of experiences. This is perhaps the most central desire of the poster in communicating its intent in a memorable way.
CHAPTER VI

THE DEPENDENT IMAGE OF WOMEN IN THE POSTERS OF WORLD WAR I

In the posters of World War I, women were frequently portrayed in traditional roles. They were depicted as devoted wives and mothers who supported men as they joined the war, emphasizing the values of the home. At a time when there was a great need for heroines, women exhibited courage and sacrifice as they supported the war effort. This became an example of civilian dedication to a country's wartime needs which encouraged emulation. Rickards found that "the role of the female as government spokesman, whether as wife, sweetheart, mother, daughter, or battlefield guardian angel, was common to the war effort." Women were excellent morale builders.

Additionally, women were symbolic representations of ideals which were important to the war. Female allegorical figures such as Britannia, Columbia and the Statue of Liberty resembled the highest qualities of nobility in war. They also stood for the soldiers' homelands, representing the common themes of national strength, unification and preparedness for battle. In posters featuring these allegorical figures, strong, robust women suggest allied cooperation in war as a group effort for victory. They are attractive females who
asserted courage and unfailing devotion to the cause. This image of women encouraged others to face the challenge of wartime duty.89

As these women became national symbols of courage, they provided inspiration by example as they simultaneously acted as active supporters of the war. Women provided men with reasons for fighting. Their appeal in posters was thought to inspire men to be brave, patriotic, devoted and to endure the hardships of war. They taught lessons of patience and fortitude and instilled a sense of duty in men and women alike.

Early posters from Great Britain and the United States placed a significant emphasis on the importance of the family, and it was common for men to defend their dependents from the dangers of war. Therefore, posters focusing on a central female subject reminded men of the need for sacrifice to achieve a safe environment for women to live and to protect them from defilement. Romanticism and chivalry were common themes which needed attractive, delicate heroines and masculine heroes to emphasize their importance. One can easily apply the description of women as symbols of higher ideals which Mary Ryan utilizes in her discussion of the American parade:

The female symbols were serviceable in a variety of ways. Their status as the quintessential "other" within a male-defined cultural universe made them perfect vehicles for representing the remote notion of national unity and local harmony. Similarly, as nonvoters they could evoke the ideal of a nation or
a city freed of partisan divisions. As supposedly domestic creatures, they could stand above the class conflicts generated in the workplace. Defined by their roles as wives and mothers, women provided excellent symbols for ethnic solidarity: through marriage and childbirth they knit the bonds of ethnic communities.90

Additionally, these images helped to make attractive posters which caught viewers' attention. In essence, traditional portrayals of women as feminine dependents in need of protection gave men the incentive to fight and reminded them of their patriotic duty. These images of women reflected the significant need for heroines who could inspire victory and support of the war effort at such a crucial time. By portraying women as supportive of the war, posters essentially could make men see the need to enlist. Therefore, women were important devices in sending men to war.

In Victorian England, the basic social unit was the household, not the individual. The head of the house was "presumably male, the breadwinner, responsible for maintenance of his whole family....The head of the household was responsible for all, and spoke for all.91 While the father presided over the economic aspects of home life, the mother was in charge of teaching morals, for she was considered to be naturally pure.92 This is strengthened by the pre-war sentiment in Edwardian England which affirms the role of women in the home. In an article entitled "Women and Patriotism," the woman’s place is described as being "in the background, breeding little patriots and fuelling the patriotism of the
Imperialists promoted motherhood, so "women of all classes were urged to see their duty and reward in bearing healthy members of the imperial race." They emphasized that "a mother neglected her duty if she failed to devote her time to the care of her children."  

When the war broke out, then, men needed to protect and defend their women and children. Women became the communicators of that message in early posters of the war.

This analysis of the image of women begins in World War I posters with perhaps one of the most memorable examples of wartime posters: Fred Spears' "Enlist" (USA, 1915) (Plate I). One of the first American posters devoted to World War I subject matter, it was inspired by a news report from Cork, Ireland about the sinking of the Lusitania:

On the Cunard wharf lies a mother with a three-month-old child clasped tightly in her arms. Her face wears a half smile. Her baby's head rests against her breast. No one has tried to separate them...  

Issued by the Boston Committee of Public Safety, Spears' poster is a provocative and emotional display of a drowning mother and child. The emotional image of the figures is strong, but it gains added persuasive impact because of its timeliness. Darracott and Loftus note that "without the particular occasion and the word 'Enlist,' the dreamlike image of two figures under the sea would arouse no strong response."
But it is the image itself which commands the viewer’s attention. The image of a mother and her child, synonymous with home and family life, was something to which all viewers could relate. This particular image equates the death of these two figures with enemy actions and the war itself and urges men to prevent similar occurrences and defend their own dependents. Once again, this image is attention-getting because it begs for help.

The poster effectively recreates the environment of the Lusitania incident. The viewer feels the figures sinking to the bottom of the ocean and observes their expressions of death, all artistically handled by the artist.

One purpose of the wartime poster was to mobilize hatred for the enemy by arousing public emotion with hints of the atrocities committed by the Germans and illustrating the Germans’ weaknesses in comparison to the Allies. They emphasized the enemy’s deliberate cruelty toward prisoners, the wounded, and civilians. By making these atrocities come alive, both words and pictures strove to stir hatred and fear of the enemy and strengthen the fighting spirit of soldiers and civilians alike.

Because governments had to keep hatred for the enemy in the minds and hearts of the people, the audience had to be convinced that the Germans were beasts, or Huns (referring to Attila and his acts of barbarity), capable of all kinds of savage behavior. Therefore, the symbol of the Hun became an
easily recognizable equivalent to German militarism. The "Hun" always wore a spiked helmet, part of the Prussian officer's uniform. By representing the enemy as a menacing, aggressive obstacle to national ideals, these messages perpetuated the belief that the enemy violated moral standards. As Peter Paret noted, "accusations of assaults on women by German soldiers reinforced and helped explain the German government's assault on international law - both were actions of a barbaric people who had invaded peaceful countries and now imposed their will on defenseless civilians." 98

Posters pictured the enemy as "inhuman fiends who had to be eliminated, like germs or monsters, from all influence on world affairs," especially since President Wilson said that "we are going to save civilization against a natural foe to human liberty." 99 Artists were obliged to illustrate the duty of killing Germans, for as George Harvey noted in his piece, "We Must Kill to Save":

The more Germans we kill, the less danger to our wives and daughters; the more Germans we kill, the sooner we shall welcome home our gallant lads. 100

Peace will come only when the fangs of the mad beast of Europe have been drawn, when the military power of Germany is broken; when the German people are under the harrow, sweating to pay the indemnity that is the price of their crime, in their poverty and suffering made to realize the suffering they have brought to the world. 101
Nowhere was this symbol more prominent than in H.R. Hopps' famous poster, "Destroy This Mad Brute" (USA, ca. 1916) (Plate II), which shows the German as a drooling beast, clutching a helpless woman. Choosing to portray the German as a gorilla is significant, as it represents the uncivilized side of men, which was an interesting comparison to the pre-war belief that the bestial periods of history were over. Armed with a club representing German "culture," the gorilla sets foot on American soil. The purpose of this poster was obviously to frighten people into believing that the enemy naturally relished the opportunity to inflict pain on a defenseless woman through the poster's blatant sexual overtones. Here, the woman is presented as a helpless victim of a "mad brute." Her hair in disarray, her chest exposed from torn clothes, and her hands covering her face in despair all contribute to the scene of destruction. The viewer sees her, perhaps after having fainted, as one of many American women who might fall victim to this beast if he is not destroyed. Her helplessness cries out for her rescue, and young men looking at the poster, prompted by their imagination of what other German "brutes" might do to American women, are encouraged to rescue others by enlisting. The image is emotionally powerful and effective, as it juxtaposes the drooling beast with the helpless woman with flowing robes and graceful pose - still feminine despite the horrible circumstances. The dominant image commands the viewer's
attention. His size is made even more frightening by comparing it to the smallness of the woman he carries.102

The Hun reappears as a menacing threat in "Halt the Hun!" (USA, 1918) (Plate III). Dressed in uniform and clutching a bayoneted weapon, the German figure in the center of the poster exudes force. However, what makes the image most powerful is the artist’s treatment of the woman on the left and the soldier on the right. Cowering in fright, the innocent woman protects her child from the Hun. Her expressive face gives the poster emotional strength as her imploring eyes focus on the soldier who is able to rescue her from danger. Her torn clothes and disheveled hair make an excellent contrast to the Hun’s large and powerful hand resting on her shoulder.

The portrayal of the American soldier is obviously the focus of the poster, as it promotes the strength of American character in defending the innocent against the brutal enemy. The soldier’s pose suggests his strength of body and character, while his arms powerfully push the Hun away from his victim.

This poster obviously relies heavily on the audience’s imagination; the viewer can picture what would have happened to the woman if the American soldier would not have arrived to defend her honor. What it shows, therefore, is how effectively a poster can create the message of American
resolve by using three very prominently placed and carefully executed figures to illustrate its point.

Other elements make this poster an effective one. Strong, emphatic language at both the top and bottom of the poster captures attention and encourages action. The viewer's eyes are drawn to the image of the American soldier, obviously the centerpiece of the poster, and viewers are encouraged to buy bonds in their own efforts to halt the Hun and therefore be like the American soldier. Visual placement of the figures is the real strength of the poster, as the viewer's eyes move down from soldier to Hun to woman to rest on the message promoting the desired action. While this placement makes the woman the most subordinate figure in the poster, it emphasizes her as the figure most in danger and therefore makes her easily identifiable to the audience. She is an excellent example of the innocent woman in need of protection, very much in keeping with the ideas of the time. The man's role as protector and defender of female virtue and well-being is what makes this poster easy to understand.

The Hun once again leads an innocent girl into danger in Ellsworth Young's "Remember Belgium" (USA, 1918) (Plate IV). The image of the young girl is simply portrayed, as she and the German soldier are silhouetted against a background of fire and destruction. Her long hair, small size and delicate features emphasize her femininity, and her open mouth suggests the terror which she feels. Once again depicted as an
innocent victim of destruction and brutality, the young girl reminds us to remember Belgium and support loan drives for the war effort. It is assumed that the audience's recollection of such a horrible event will encourage them to prevent this from happening elsewhere by helping to destroy the Hun.

The evilness of the enemy was a marked contrast to the pureness and goodness of the Allies. Posters like this one were a key factor in mobilizing public opinion. The lives of women and children were considered sacred, and anything which posed a threat to their safety was considered as the result of savagery. The effect of this image is great, as the idea of the defilement of womanhood had great potency in the context of the time. Young men would have realized that this might be the fate of their sister, mother, wife or girlfriend, and the image would have immediately attracted their attention.

What was difficult about the atrocity poster was that it had to reverse public opinion about the Germans. Many Edwardians found it difficult to see the Germans as enemies since the French had been their traditional foes. Also, Germany had never seemed to be bestial before; indeed, Americans and British alike had been taught that the Germans should be admired for their culture and heritage. German scholars were internationally admired, and American colleges were filled with German intellectuals. Prior to the war, they seemed to be culturally and morally supreme, but with the
advent of the war, Americans were concerned about Germany’s development, especially the powerful Prussian military tradition. Therefore, while atrocity posters resorted to stereotyping and character defamation to portray the enemy, posters mobilized people to take action in the war. As J.D. Squires notes in discussing the effect of propaganda in the United States, "Fired by notions about the behavior of the enemy ... the American people launched themselves into war with an emotional hysteria that can only be understood by realizing the power of propaganda in generating common action by a nation under belligerent conditions." 107

In England, the arrival of some hundred thousand Belgian refugees increased the hysteria about alleged German atrocities such as nuns who had been sexually assaulted and babies who had their hands severed. 108 Recruiting meetings built up an exaggerated hatred of Germans. In fact, 2.5 million men enlisted before voluntary recruitment ended in March, 1916. 109

"Women of Queensland!" (Great Britain, 1914-1918) 110 (Plate V) exemplifies the early recruiting posters which appealed to women to encourage enlistment among men. This role was considered to be an important one, as women were seen to be key elements in the recruiting process. Many recruiting posters directed at women emphasized that it was a man’s duty to fight; if he neglected to serve his country, he might also neglect the women in his family. The poster encourages women
to send their men to fight for them, so it is still representative of the early idea that women were to be protected and defended. Therefore, this image shows the woman as somewhat active, yet still dependent.

The poster also relies on the female audience’s awareness of war events, as it refers to the destructive activities of the enemy in France and Belgium and implies that treatment of women "would be worse" if the enemy attacked Queensland. This saves the artist from incorporating more explanatory elements in his design and enables him to capitalize on a particularly strong and effective image. In this case, the central figure is a mother who raises her arms in protest of the death of her children. The woman’s clothes are torn, perhaps an indication of her being attacked or assaulted. It is a powerful, expressive pose for the woman to assume, for it emphasizes her need for help and protection. Therefore, this direct appeal to women becomes more powerful through the visual images used and the strong mental associations which it conjures in the minds of the audience.

While this poster suggests one type of recruiting poster aimed at women, others were just as significant. Women could also urge men to enlist and uphold the honor of the country so women would be proud of men. It became a woman’s duty to see that men enlisted, so she took a significant role in recruiting efforts. For example, members of the Women of England’s Active Service League signed this form:
"At this hour of England's peril, I do hereby pledge myself most solemnly in the name of my King and Country to persuade every man I know to offer his service to his country. I also pledge myself never to be seen in public with any man who being in every way fit and free for service, has refused to respond to his country's call." \[III\]

One English advertisement promoted this idea not through images, but through straightforward language. "Four Questions to the Women of England" raised these issues of concern to female audiences:

Do you realize that the one word 'Go' from YOU may send another man to fight for our King and Country?

When the War is over and your husband or son is asked, 'What did you do in the Great War?' - is he to hang his head because YOU would not let him go?

Women of England, do your duty! Send your men today to join our glorious army. God save the King! \[III\]

Part of this message was the idea of sacrifice and service to one's country. By promoting higher ideals such as courage and bravery in achieving victory in war, communication emphasized the importance of sacrificing men's presence at home. Selflessness became intricately tied to service.

The image of the passive, dependent woman continues in two British posters promoting Belgian relief funds. John Hassall's "Belgian Canal Boat Fund" (Great Britain, 1914-1918) (Plate VI) makes a strong appeal for relief due to its delicate technique and the pathos it arouses. The poster promoted the Belgian Canal Boat Fund, which provided food, clothes and medical aid to Belgian civilians and sent supplies
to Belgian soldiers, although the original intent to send these supplies by the canals never materialized." As a grief-stricken woman comforts her daughter, her son’s gaze is what attracts the viewer’s attention. His sorrowful, expressive eyes urge the viewer to "send them something." Surrounded by a desolate landscape marked by the remnants of a destroyed windmill, the woman is dressed in simple clothing, her eyes hidden from view. What is interesting about this image is that while the woman comforts and gives strength to her daughter, her son is her protector, as he stands above them and implores the viewer to help. Therefore, the woman is dependent upon the relief which her son asks for on her behalf. Her suffering is magnified by her hidden face and pose. Other than the words telling the viewer the main message and where to send donations, the poster relies solely on the image presented to make its point. The starkness and simplicity of the visual image heighten its strength.

The Red Cross also took up the Belgian cause as promoted in "Belgian Red Cross Fund." (Great Britain, 1914-1918) (Plate VII) The central figure in the poster is a woman, presumably a Belgian survivor, and she provides the strength of the composition. Surrounded by men and women, she stands out, meeting the viewer with a steady gaze. The pleasantness of her expression, despite the terrible circumstances, is appealing, as she makes a heartfelt plea for the viewer’s support. The white background above her head draws attention
to her and clarifies her prominent position in the poster. Again, she is dependent on the audience for help and is in need of protection and aid. She truly stands out in the crowd of refugees and commands the viewer's attention and respect.

Another emotional image of the dependent woman in posters was the female refugee. Her imploring look and sense of helplessness which she projected convinced those at home to contribute to her cause. The strength of these posters lies in their ability to capture the sense of utter helplessness and despair continually while still using attractive female faces. W.T. Benda's "Give Or We Perish" (USA, 1914-1918)\textsuperscript{14} (Plate VIII), relies heavily on the Pre-Raphaelite female image popular in the late 19th century. Again, persuasion was the key in making the audience attentive to the poster's aim. Huddled against a dark background, this woman clutches her arms to her body in what is assumed to be an act of fear. Faced with the possibility of perishing, she makes a strong appeal for relief and is dependent on the audience's donations. Executed in black and white, the image is strong and its simplicity heightens its romantic appeal. The attractive face of the subject adds to its strength, as her delicate features, dark hair and full lips make her undeniably feminine. This, combined with her pitiful expression, gives this real artistic merit and persuasive ability. She desperately needs the viewer's help.
But the most powerful image of the woman as victim is Louis Raemaekers' "After a Zeppelin Raid in London" (US, ca. 1917) (Plate IX). The poster refers to the bombarding of London by Zeppelin raids, first on December 29, 1914 and again in April, 1915. These dramatic events not only caused profound dislocation for London citizens, but also heightened popular hysteria. Raemaekers' effort makes a strong statement about the brutality and injustice of war by showing its effect on family life. The central image is of a father comforting his daughter at his wife's deathbed. What gives the image its pathos is the quote from the child at the bottom of the poster: "But Mother had done nothing wrong, had she, Daddy?" This embodies the idea of the woman as an innocent victim of war and emphasizes the poster's plea to prevent similar occurrences on American soil. How the image is artistically presented adds to the poster's strength. The roughly sketched drawing makes contrasts more vivid, as with the starkness of the sheet and the blackness of the cross laying on the top of the bed. Tragedy permeates the scene, adding to the poignancy and despair which the message communicates.

The woman as the embodiment of home life is expressed in Kealy's "Women of Britain Say - 'Go!'" (Great Britain, ca. 1915) (Plate X). The poster is a persuasive example of women encouraging men to join the ranks. The image of the brave, courageous woman is an inspiring one, reminding men of their
duty to defend their families from the horrors of war. Max Gallo agrees with this assessment, observing:

Women were presented as strong-willed, determined, but essentially in need of protection. War posters made use of traditional family relationships. Many of them show children clinging to their dignified, courageous, beautiful mothers. It was imperative to unify society so that it could focus its efforts, and for this reason much of the war propaganda emphasized men’s traditional role of defending family and home against the enemy.\[16\]

By portraying the woman as supportive of the war, posters essentially could make men see the need to enlist, and wives and mothers therefore became important devices in sending men to war. As Peter Paret notes, "the double message of the text directed simultaneously at women and by women at their men - manipulated the image of mother, wife and child within the home into a noble motivation for enlisting, but also assigned women the responsibility for ordering men into war."\[17\]

It is interesting to compare the similarities between Kealy’s poster and American Laura Brey’s "On Which Side of the Window Are You?" (USA, 1917) (Plate XI). This poster displays many of the characteristics of the effective American poster: the patriotic symbol of the flag, the dutiful procession of soldiers, and the civilian pondering what may be the most important decision of his life. These elements form an emotionally powerful appeal which inspires Americans to think about the war. The poster’s layout is similar to Kealy’s in that the figure is placed on the right side of the poster looking inward out the window toward a procession of soldiers
marching by. Both promote enlistment, and are directed at male viewers. However, Brey’s poster is more sophisticated graphically. While the window in Kealy’s poster is open, Brey’s is symbolically shut. Paret goes on to observe that Brey’s poster depicts "private space as feminine and public space as masculine." Therefore, this appeal to enlist "exploits men’s anxiety over their masculinity by suggesting the effeminacy of the man who does not enlist."\(^{118}\)

One traditional image of women which was heavily employed in World War I posters was motherhood. The maternal image was an easily identifiable one, as mothers who saw posters using this image were reminded of the important role they played in war: encouraging their sons to enlist. This suggests that women were seen as key receivers of the poster’s message, for they had significant influence in the home and an ability to encourage and support the war effort, not only for recruiting efforts, but also for loan drives. What results from these appeals was that the woman, while still seen in a traditional way, could take an active part in the war effort and make real contributions to victory.

The maternal image is featured in two posters which are strikingly similar. "Women! Help America’s Sons" (USA, 1917) (Plate XII) shows the 1917 stereotype of the American mother: clean, strong and warm-hearted. With a kindly look on her face, she exudes affection, and her outstretched arms offer a direct appeal to the viewer. Her clothing plays an important
part in the formation of her image. Her white blouse indicates purity, while its lace trim and her cameo brooch suggest an old-fashioned nature firmly rooted in the ideals of home and family life. Her neat white hair and matronly figure give the image respectability, completing a picture of an easily identifiable woman. She stands in front of an American flag, adding to the poster’s patriotic mood. As civilians were once again reminded that the war needed more resources than expected, posters like this one gave them the opportunity to help the cause. Buying government bonds as part of a Liberty Loan drive is thus equated with being a good mother.

The poster makes an interesting comparison with an Australian effort with the same pose and message (Great Britain, 1914-1918) (Plate XIII). While it is less sophisticated in terms of artistic rendering, the message is the same. Mothers could help their sons win the war.119

Women begin to emerge from their dependent societal roles in a few early American recruiting posters. One of these is Howard Chandler Christy’s "Gee! I Wish I Were A Man" (USA, 1918) (Plate XIV), which promotes the image of the woman as fully behind the war effort - so much so that she wishes she could do her part by actively serving in the Navy.

However, while the poster expresses a novel concept, it still relies on a traditional image of women to secure its appeal to a male audience. An attractive girl models a Naval uniform, posing as if for the benefit of her audience. She
effectively dares the viewer to "be a man and do it," equating enlistment with masculinity. This World War I "pinup" girl has become one of the most memorable posters of the period, obviously because of its appeal to its intended audience.
CHAPTER VII

THE INDEPENDENT IMAGE OF WOMEN IN THE POSTERS OF WORLD WAR I

Soon, the idea of sacrifice seemed to permeate the actions of women at home. The longevity and ferocity of battle called for strong displays of virtues and sacrifices. Women's self-sacrifice earned them esteem and respect. Part of the image of the independent female was the idea that she could help the war effort from her own home. While the activities varied, the theme was consistent; the woman could do her part through simple tasks which required little extra effort.

One female image used in these posters is that of the woman at home who inspires soldiers to fight for victory. John Sheridan's "Write, Write, Write" (USA, ca. 1918) (Plate XV) is an artistic example of the devoted female doing her part to encourage her loved one in the trenches. This is a truly persuasive image, as women could identify with the girl and follow her example. With a picture of her soldier above her, the subject of the poster writes a letter, carrying out the wishes of General Pershing. The shadow which she casts on the wall, the soft lighting of the room and the cozy environment make an attractive scene. A smaller image of the soldier reading the letter carries out the theme.
Writing letters was of paramount importance for the woman actively supporting the war effort at home: "The woman who wants to help her man sends him bright cheerful letters, ... with all the news he would like to have, and the messages that count for so much. Every woman who writes to a soldier has in that an influence and a power worthy of all her best." 120 What better way could a woman bring the comforts of home to her beloved soldier than with a letter?

In her memoirs, World War I munitions worker Peggy Hamilton recalled how important letter-writing was because of its value to increasing troop morale:

On Sundays, when we weren't required to work overtime, we could relax and write home or to the front. Looking at those letters now, I find that most of them were filled with funny stories, usually based on some true occurrence but highly decorated for the amusement of the reader. 121

Women could also help the war effort by using their talents to help the soldiers. In "You Can Help" (USA, ca. 1918) (Plate XVI) a young woman dutifully knits for a soldier overseas. With downcast eyes, she intently works on her project, showing dedication and thoughtfulness. The message personalizes the intent, showing that even the simplest activities can make a difference to the war effort.

Even housewives raising families could do their part in the war. Working in the kitchen took on considerable importance, as posters emphasized sacrifice in cooking and eating. Rawls notes that 20 million Americans joined the Food Administration, conserving scarce food so that European allies
would not go hungry. Americans were urged to cut back on meat, eggs and wheat, a vital food item, and to eat corn meal and barley instead, which were more plentiful.  

In both Great Britain and the United States, posters promoted thrift as the key to victory. A poster issued by the British Ministry of Food (Great Britain, 1914-1918) (Plate XVII) shows a young woman standing in front of her oven, holding a steaming pan of food. Dressed in a simple housedress and wearing a cheerful smile, she is easily identifiable to other young housewives. By eating less bread, she and her family saved food in the spirit of wartime sacrifice. In terms of its graphic design, this poster emphasizes the concept over the figure; the key, used as a symbol, not a word, is the main idea in achieving victory, and the woman essentially carries out its message. Additionally, the poster’s similarity to everyday advertisements made the message easily communicated, for the woman could just have easily been advertising a type of kitchen product or appliance.  

"In Her Wheatless Kitchen" (USA, ca. 1918) (Plate XVIII) is a far more sophisticated and appealing poster, as Howard Chandler Christy enhances the same message with artistic skill and know-how. Here, the young woman is actively baking, pausing as she catches the viewer’s eye. Her simple, direct expression is what gives the poster life, and her neat appearance enhances our image of the good, capable housewife.
In her own way, she is just as appealing and attractive as Christy’s other more well-known poster heroines.

But what gives this poster added impact is the integration of persuasive language into the visual image. Christy emphasizes the fact that her kitchen is wheatless - as the key to victory is thrift - and that "she is doing her part to help win the war" in simple but important ways. Our eye is brought down to the final point of the poster, a direct question of our own performance in the wheatless drive, which signifies the importance of the message.

Posters often made connections between civilians' economic hardships and those endured by soldiers. The appeal to sacrifice continues in two very similar posters, again featuring hard-working women. A Canadian poster executed by the Brown brothers (Great Britain, 1914-1918) (Plate XIX) shows three French women working in the fields as an example of patriotic service for the war effort. With their backs turned to the viewer, the simply dressed women are obviously working hard. Their poses suggest physical endurance and strength, and the viewer is encouraged to emulate their efforts by serving Canada by buying Victory bonds.

Edward Penfield uses a similar image in his "Will You Help the Women of France?" (USA, ca. 1917) (Plate XX), but renders his message in a more graphically sophisticated way. Penfield's French women are dressed in more detail, as their printed bandannas are a marked contrast to the black
background. It is interesting to note that the ground is more detailed in the Penfield poster, showing the aridness of the soil and the intensity of the effort required. Also, while the Brown brothers’ poster is vertically designed, Penfield’s choice of the horizontal plane widens the action and allows more room for detail. Penfield’s message also differs from the Canadian artists’ intent. The American poster asks Americans to save wheat to help the women of France as they struggle against starvation, while the Canadian poster is directed toward serving the country by buying bonds.

Active service by women becomes a frequent theme in the posters of the Great War as women began taking a more active role in the war effort outside the home. They carried out their duties with efficiency, knowledge and courage. Helen Fraser describes it well in *Women and War Work*:

> The spirit of our women shows, like that of the French women who tend their farms, ... work ceaselessly everywhere ... [T]hey care for the wounded and the sick and the dying, bringing consolation, love, skill, heroism, patience and all fine things as their gift. From myriads of homes they pour forth to their daily toil, carrying on the work of their country, educating the children, taking the place of their men on the railways, the factory, the workshop, the banks and offices .... [T]hey work in tens of thousands - risking life and health in some cases, but thinking little of it, compared with what their men are doing, knee-deep in snow and mud and water in the trenches.124

As this passage indicates, women began taking the place of men more frequently as the war continued. Paret notes that casualties brought a need for replacements, so women were employed in industry and served in military auxiliaries.125
Most importantly, a labor shortage brought women into the work force. While some women went to work because of patriotism, the rising cost of living made them get a job. Prior to 1914, women who worked either were engaged in domestic jobs or in manufacturing, specifically the dress and textile industries. Women were paid less because it was assumed that they were living with husbands or fathers who worked. Similarly, women were supposed to be separate from the work environment. Because women were seen as being the "guiding light" of the home, they were kept from the work force. Women’s work was often regarded as a means of destroying the comfort of the home and restricting the amount of time women could spend ensuring the physical and moral health of their husbands and children.

Expanded employment opportunities in the dress and textile industries in pre-war England also reflected the progression of the suffragette movement. As women tried to arouse sympathy among men who were fighting their own injustices, it became clear that women wanted the vote on the same terms as men.

Later, the Representation of the People Act of 1918 appeared to be the culmination of suffragettes’ efforts:

After generations of struggle some women supposedly could begin to ‘exercise everywhere [their] most beautiful prerogative to help, to support, to comfort.’ It would require the rude experiences of subsequent years to demonstrate that the vote had been given rather than won, and therefore that women’s prerogative would be exercised in a subordinate rather than co-ordinate role.
Enfranchisement of women may have slightly modified the patriarchal political system, but it did not alter the patriarchal ideals. This type of change would have required radical rather than reform measures. Foremost among these would have been an attack upon the patriarchal family structure, which either shaped or reinforced the ideals. But ... few perceived the existing family structure as an obstacle to equality. It would in fact have been difficult to do so, in view of the strong institutional and ideological bulwarks for the family. Furthermore, few wanted to perceive the family in such a light. Whatever the class, most women saw the family as a symbol of order and comfort in a world apparently marked by disorder and discomfort.\textsuperscript{128}

The suffrage movement is important to consider in this study because it addresses the issue of traditional home and family life and the growing independence of the working woman. One author has found that most researchers "have concentrated on the politics and tactics of the struggle. Recently, historians have begun to show interest in how the feminist movement is related to the wider economic and social context in which it functioned."\textsuperscript{129}

World War I also led to a shortage of labor. The need for everyone, not just male recruits, to help win the war eventually surfaced. The same themes of sacrifice and heroism first directed at men eventually became important in attracting women to support the war effort in more active ways. Service and sacrifice were expressed in new images, as women took on more participatory roles in the war effort, whether supporting the war in the home or in jobs. Posters emphasized what women were doing to help win the war, stressing their endurance, devotion and sense of national
responsibility. Posters expressed these new roles by illustrating women's efforts as members of international service organizations, such as the Red Cross and the YWCA, but still in traditional ways that were easily understood and accepted by the public. Essentially, these images provided a real wartime heroine who had direct persuasive appeal while remaining reassuringly feminine.

In any event, World War I was the first time when women were employed to perform skilled labor. German women dug ditches and paved streets, while French women acted as letter carriers and gardeners. In England, women did everything but fight; they drove trucks, delivered food and made fuses for artillery shells. Nearly 200,000 entered government departments, while one-half million were in clerical work in private offices. 30,000 women served in the YMCA, while more than 100,000 became nurses. The greatest increase was in engineering shops - almost 800,000 were recruited. Their American counterparts worked as telephone operators, typists and stenographers in the Navy and Marine Corps (complete with full military rank), but they also rolled bandages and saved cooking fat to be converted into chemicals for explosives. Women did everything from attending elevators to building airplanes and conducting streetcars. They had to keep trade and industry active and supply war demands while men were gone.
The willingness of women to fill the vacancies created by men when they enlisted shows something of their strength and devotion. They were just as ready as men to sacrifice their own comfort to the demands of the wartime cause. All classes of society joined the work force, as common tasks united women of varying backgrounds. Much of the success of wartime efforts could be seen as a result of women’s enthusiasm and ability to do the job well.

Women’s service, therefore, became a common theme, and women became a specific audience to target. "Service" (USA, ca. 1917) (Plate XXI), a poster for the National League for Womans Service, is an appropriate introduction for discussions of these posters. Here, a woman on horseback carries the American flag, leading a procession of women engaged in a variety of wartime services. They include a member of the Women’s Land Army, a Red Cross nurse, and even a housewife carrying canned food. Encouraging other women to "fall in" to the ranks of women’s service, this poster is a patriotic appeal sure to capture the viewer’s attention. Service was paramount, and this message was communicated in especially appealing visual ways.

One outlet for national service was the Women’s Land Army, an organization in both Great Britain and the United States. The Women’s Land Army carried the war effort onto the farm, enabling women to enroll in duties which would help soldiers and civilians alike in providing food. Tending the
land was an especially important job for women to perform, as farmers and other male land workers were serving their countries in active duty.

But a handbook of the Women's Land Army made this serious reminder to volunteers:

You are doing a man's work and so you are dressed rather like a man, but remember just because you wear a smock and breeches, you should take care to behave like a British girl who expects chivalry and respect from everyone she meets.  

This emphasizes that while job opportunities for women were expanded, these changes remained in a traditional conception of women's role in society.

The posters for the Women's Land Army embody this message in a graphically powerful way. In a Women's Land Army poster from Great Britain, a country girl feeds farm animals, caring for the land while the farmer is away (Great Britain, 1914-1918) (Plate XXII). A pastoral feeling permeates the image, lending a feeling of tranquility and stability to an environment otherwise disrupted by war. The attractive girl, pleasantly and cheerfully doing her job, adds much to the impact of this poster, encouraging other women to join.

Land service in Britain was also promoted by posters asking for young women to work on the land. In a poster for the Women's Land Service Corps (Plate XXIII), a newly enlisted soldier leaves the land to his wife to care for. How this message is visually portrayed is especially powerful, as the family scene is set against the backdrop of the land. The
image depicts family solidarity, especially important since both husband and wife are doing their part for the war effort.

Another British poster makes an appeal for women fruit-pickers in an effort to pick crops before they spoil (Great Britain, 1914-1918) (Plate XXIV). By joining other women in a wartime effort on the land, the woman could provide nourishment for soldiers. While the image is not as visually sophisticated as others, it includes all the essential elements: the female volunteer, the troops receiving the food and the information on where to apply. It also makes the appeal an urgent one, encouraging women to join the cause.

H.G. Gawthorn’s poster (Great Britain, 1917) (Plate XXV) also promotes national service through an idealistic portrayal of a woman driving a plough. Although the visual space is confined, it gives the impression of movement, as the horse leads the way to the sun rising over the horizon (perhaps suggestive of post-war life). The rays of the sun provide effective contrast with the plowed land. While the importance of the woman’s work is emphasized, it also encourages the viewer to support her efforts.

Supporting the efforts of the Women’s Land Army volunteer is the predominant message of "Get Behind the Girl He Left Behind Him." (USA, ca. 1918) (Plate XXVI) In this poster, a cheerful, innocent-looking girl tends the fields, sensibly dressed in overalls and a hat. Behind her is an image of her loved one in his wartime uniform, and both carry the
appropriate "weapons" for their service to their country. While the image is simple and uncomplicated, the message which it promotes is crucial: a united effort for victory will help to win the war.

Helping the farmer fight the food famine is the message of Herbert Andrew Paus' "The Woman's Land Army of America" (USA, 1918) (Plate XXVII). Again, women are shown cheerfully and dutifully doing their job, carrying a full basket of vegetables. Many other women can be seen in the background, and the centerpiece of the poster is the woman on horseback (similar to the one in "Service" (Plate XXI)) who patriotically carries her American flag.

Women enjoyed the new sense of status their new jobs provided. The war enabled women even to go abroad and serve the troops on the battlefield, getting as close to actual fighting as they could. Women elected to go abroad out of patriotism and from a longing for adventure and even romance. Service overseas gave women a great sense of usefulness. Determined, competent and independent, these women were staunch supporters of the war effort. The Schneiders give some valuable impressions of American women overseas:

By the outbreak of the war, there was an image of the 'independent American girl,' who could engage in work and play unthinkable to her European sister, associate freely with men, and remain a 'nice girl.' She was, said legend, doubly protected by her own virtue and the chivalry of American males - wherever they went, whatever they
did, recognition of their moral superiority would earn America’s daughters gallant treatment.¹³⁵

Another organization which enabled women to support the war effort in more active ways was the YWCA. The YWCA set up "hostess houses" overseas, not only for entertaining soldiers, but also for providing comfortable places for nurses to enjoy companionship in cheerful surroundings. In these hospitality rooms, (often called "sunshine rooms")¹³⁶ YWCA volunteers brought the comforts of home to soldiers and female volunteers alike. These women played an important role in preserving morale and their efforts became the focal point of selected wartime communication. In their discussion of American women overseas during the war, Dorothy and Carl Schneider observed that the United States called soldiers 'our boys' and sentimentally enshrined them as 'some mother's son.' They felt a need for someone to entertain them, sew on their buttons, cook treats for them, hand them cigarettes and sweets and whenever possible provide them with a homelike atmosphere. How else were they to be kept in order, reminded of their mothers' teachings, and protected against evil influences? Unprecedented as it was, sending out virtuous women to 'keep the boys straight' appealed to the American public."¹³⁷

The safety of these volunteers relied heavily on the traditional concepts of defending a female's virtue and providing for her needs. The Schniders later relate an interesting account of a woman who volunteered during the war:

Was there ever an army where a girl could live alone in a tent in the middle of an enormous aviation camp and feel as safe as in a church and be treated with the utmost respect and consideration by everyone?¹³⁸
The United War Work Campaign promoted this form of active service through Clarence Underwood's "Back Our Girls Over There" (USA, ca. 1918) (Plate XXVIII). Here, a volunteer operates a switchboard on the line of battle. Intent on her work, she shows us the value of war efforts and encourages us to support work overseas. The same theme is echoed in Neysa Moran McMein's "One of the Thousand YMCA Girls in France" (USA, 1918) (Plate XXIX), a poster which illustrates a volunteer actively serving in France. The attractive girl is placed against the YWCA symbol, so both images serve as important parts of the poster.

But one of the most prevalent images of the independent woman in these wartime posters is that which applauds her efforts in promoting the Red Cross. Care of the sick was central to women's roles, for nursing was an acceptable part of the traditional image of the "selfless woman, dedicated to an ideal outside the home and family circle"^139 and provided a real wartime heroine who had direct, persuasive appeal while still remaining reassuringly feminine. Michael Isenberg agrees, commenting that nursing "put women in an idealized role of ministering to the sick; it got them into dangerous battlefield situations, and it was a device that brought romance to the trenches."^140 However, while the Red Cross nurse might have brought romance to the trenches, she also experienced the same battlefield horrors as her soldier comrades. Lyn Macdonald's assessment of the suitability of
young Edwardian girls in actively serving in the war is a thought-provoking and valid one:

... no one could have been less equipped for the job than these gently nurtured girls who walked straight out of Edwardian drawing rooms into the manifold horrors of the First World War. It was all a far cry from the old myth of the ‘ministering angel.’ These girls had to be tough....They nursed men with terrible wounds and saw them off to convalescent camps, or laid them out when they died. They nursed in wards where the stench of gas-gangrenous wounds was almost overpowering. They nursed men choking to death as the fluid rose in their gassed lungs, men whose faces were mutilated beyond recognition, whose bodies were mangled beyond repair, whose nerves were shattered beyond redemption.¹⁴¹

The examples of Red Cross posters are marvelously persuasive. The nurses’ commitment to duty is clearly evident, and this became a strong persuasive element in their appeal. Posters proclaim these nurses’ bravery and conviction in the cause, as they caught the popular imagination and persuaded audiences to follow the examples of these women.

The maternal image of women returns in one of the most persuasive and recognizable images of the First World War. Alonzo Earl Foringer’s "The Greatest Mother in the World" (USA, ca. 1918) (Plate XXX) makes a powerful appeal for the Red Cross as it suggests motherly love and comfort. However, the key to the poster’s persuasiveness is its religious affiliation. The reduced scale of the wounded soldier cradled in the arms of a Red Cross nurse reminds us not only of an image of the Nativity, but also of Mary with the dead Christ in the Pieta. This, coupled with the serene, yet pleading
gaze of the Red Cross nurse, is a testimony to the strength and success of this emotional appeal. The muted sepia tones of the poster make the Red Cross symbol especially vivid and emphasize the organization's work.

The commitment and devotion of the Red Cross nurse in caring for the wounded soldier is the central message of Iciek and McCoy's "If I Fail He Dies" (USA, ca. 1918) (Plate XXXI). The two nurses are attractive and command respect in their immaculate uniforms and serious nature. The detail of the poster is seen in the careful drawing of the figures and the battlefield environment. The Red Cross symbol is placed in the center of the poster, adding to its significance in recruiting more Red Cross nurses.

Albert Sterner's poster makes a dramatic appeal for support. "We Need You" (USA, 1914-1918) (Plate XXXII) not only comments on the need for nurses on the front, but also emphasizes the seriousness and honor involved in being a member of the organization. The poster features a Red Cross nurse with her arm around a woman's shoulders, pointing to another nurse as she cares for a wounded soldier. The rays of light coming from the top left of the image call attention to this and serve to lighten the otherwise dark scene. The poster makes strong use of shading contrasts, as dark and light play off each other. This heightens the emotive and dignified appeal of the poster.
The image of the Red Cross nurse working on the battlefield returns in W.B. King's "Hold Up Your End!" (USA, 1918) (Plate XXXIII). Surrounded by exploding shells and hard at work, the nurse still is neatly dressed, so her appearance is appealing. By placing the stretcher in the plane of the viewer, the artist emphasizes the need to participate in War Fund Week and therefore makes the message clear. The nurse’s determined expression furthers the persuasiveness of the poster, as the viewer feels compelled to assist her in her work.

Joining the work force was a novel opportunity for women during World War I. Although the situation was temporary, women could gain respectable amounts of independence by working outside the home and earning their own money.

Three British posters are good examples of how women undertook rather unique jobs to serve their country.

One example of those posters which recruited women to fill the vacancies in the workforce after men enlisted was the work done by the Underground. A.S. Hartrick was commissioned to design posters showing women’s war work, and the results are interesting examples of how women filled these vacancies. The female bus conductor is featured in one poster, while a female elevator operator is the dominant image in another (Plate XXXIV). This poster has obvious associations with the front; Dover Street not only was a tube station on the
Piccadilly Line, but also was symbolic of the trenches, as soldiers often christened their dugouts with names from home.

Even the Royal Air Force appealed to women to help, asking them to enroll "as clerks, waitresses, cooks, experienced motor cyclists and in many other capacities." The woman in uniform in the poster (Great Britain, 1914-1918) (Plate XXXV) was easily identifiable to her female audience and calls the viewer’s attention to the bull’s eye containing enrollment information. According to the poster, what woman would turn down the opportunity to work surrounded by airplanes?

British women could also join the Women’s Auxiliary Army Corps (commonly known as the WAAC). Comprised mostly of working-class women, the WAAC was "to help where help was needed, to meet situations, to form the connecting link where the line of demarcation between the provinces of other organizations left a gap...."142 Women enrolled, not enlisted, in the WAAC, so they did not achieve full military status. Still regarded as civilians, WAAC volunteers wore uniforms with skirts 12 inches above the ground, which was considered almost scandalously short.143

Munitions workers were an integral part of the war effort, and they were motivated strongly by patriotism, as soldiers depended on their work. Septimus Scott’s poster encourages women to "do their bit" by learning to make munitions (Great Britain, 1917) (Plate XXXVI). Scott shows a
woman actively joining the other munitions workers, putting on her uniform as the soldier she replaces waves goodbye. Paret makes an interesting observation, suggesting the emphasis on the changing position of women in society:

Within the frame of the windows, the feminine interior is light, ... and filled with women working at industrial tasks. The soldier, with a long backward glance, seems reluctant to move into an indistinct world, while the woman becomes the centerpiece as the strong active figure preparing for industrial work.

However, Peggy Hamilton expressed some of the irony of a munitions worker’s job in her memoirs:

... the thought of what I was doing often worried me. Every night I prayed for the safety of those dear to me who were at the front, and yet here I was working twelve hours a day towards the destruction of other people’s loved ones. It was a terrible dilemma: indirectly I was responsible for death and misery. But what about those men at Mons? They had said it was ‘all hell let loose and we had nothing to fight with.’ Faced with the fact of war, the individual is swept away by it as by an avalanche. We were buoyed up by the belief that this was the ‘war to end war,’ the phrase produced by H.G. Wells which provided the ideal of saving future generations from such hell and gave us the vision of a better world. It was a comforting formula but it did not succeed in assuaging all my unspoken but very real guilt at manufacturing weapons of terrible destructiveness.

This is a thought-provoking comment, especially when we consider the importance of women’s work in wartime and the consequences of their actions. It provides an interesting perspective on a wartime role which was taken for granted.
The idea that a woman could take on a man's job was a novel one, especially that of a munitions worker. Because making weapons was not a traditional female pastime, it was common to present its novelty in more traditional ways which emphasized the worker's femininity and characteristic upbringing. For example, novelist Arnold Bennett saw a female worker 'delicately rolling a nine-inch shell with her foot, her fashionable glace kid boot showing beneath her overall. These things, happily, will peep out,' he observed. Therefore, female delicacy and charm could help to promote often unglamorous jobs.

But the value of the opportunity to work in munitions factories cannot be overlooked. As Hamilton recalled,

I read in a recent account of those far-off days that munitions work was not considered suitable for girls of gentle birth, a category in which I suppose I would be included. All I know is that once I had overcome my lack of confidence and had discovered that the work was not beyond my capabilities, I felt a curious satisfaction and happiness in being just an ordinary worker pushing my way in through the gates with hundreds of others and receiving money I had actually earned myself gave me much more satisfaction than being given it by my parents...

Many of these posters suggest the permanence of the traditional image of women and its importance in presenting women's new roles promoting understanding and acceptance in an audience essentially raised in late Victorian society. While this technique demonstrates reliance on accepted stereotypes, it does not hide the importance of the message sent by this image of women. The war enabled them to serve their
countries, to feel as if they were part of a larger cause, and to be needed in an entirely new way. What they did was essential not only to the war effort, but also to their own cause in promoting their own independence. Marwick supports this assessment by listing some results of women's wartime employment opportunities. Women gained economic independence, but more importantly, they achieved an increased self-confidence in their own worth. Self-reliance brought about more social freedom, and women's suffrage eventually became a more pressing issue.\textsuperscript{148}

Independence was one of the most important changes which resulted from women's work in the First World War. Because they had a wider choice of jobs and more pay, women had a greater desire for equality.\textsuperscript{149} Their additional responsibilities helped to change their personalities, giving them more confidence and independence.\textsuperscript{150} But most importantly, the restrictive Victorian image of women as being physically frail and sheltered had been altered. Women were now seen as courageous, responsible and strong, enduring physical hardship and achieving financial independence.\textsuperscript{151}

What we see from this is that women proved their ability to work in new roles. Their efficiency and high degree of output supported their worth. For example, 25 percent of the male work force in Britain employed in the chemical or engineering trades were drafted into the army. Had British women been unable or unwilling to fill these vacancies, the
war could very easily have been lost not only on the home front but also on the battlefield. Women cheerfully carried on while their men were away: "In her hour of greatest need, Britain has called to her daughters. She has not called in vain. By their industry, their efforts and their heroic sacrifice, the women of Britain have saved their country and saved the world."\[^{152}\]

Despite its temporary nature, women’s work in the First World War provided for some changes in attitude. Society was very conscious of the role of women in war. Promoting their new status was highly marketable, as their patriotism encouraged other women to follow their example. However, there was some resistance to women workers. Irene Andrews and Margarett Hobbs observed in one study that

women's lack of trade training, their inferior strength, the special restrictions of the factory acts, moral objections to having men and women in the same workshop, and the need of increasing sanitary accommodations and providing women supervisors had been from the first alleged as objections to putting women in men's places.\[^{153}\]

But most importantly, some ascribed to more traditional beliefs - for example, that a woman’s first responsibility was to her home and family, as "general expectations that women’s energies and time should be spent on homes, husbands and children dominated discussions about the desirability of paid work for them, the suitability of certain jobs, and their capabilities as workers."\[^{154}\]
While society had not been transformed, the outlook of women was altered dramatically. The Schneiders observe that despite the fact that women were accustomed to the responsibilities of their duties in war, men were eager to reclaim their jobs. Therefore, the public soon forgot women's contributions.\textsuperscript{155} However, other researchers have argued that while young men became increasingly alienated as a result of the war, women became more powerful from doing things they had never done before.\textsuperscript{156} Andrews succinctly sums up the wartime contributions of women by observing:

While the disadvantages of war work, its long hours, overstrain and disruption of home life, seem likely to pass as conditions return to normal, the gains in the way of better working conditions, higher wages and a wider range of opportunities, seem more likely to be permanent. Many professional doors have for the first time been opened to her. Most important of all is the fact that because of her awakened spirit and broader and more confident outlook on life, the woman worker is able consciously to hold to the improved position to which the fortunes of war have brought her.\textsuperscript{157}

Perhaps the woman's confidence is bolstered by her positive wartime image, as posters expressed approval with her new activities and encouraged others to admire her efforts and join her in the cause.
CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

The posters of World War I played a significant role in mobilizing public opinion about the war. Posters demonstrated that the same techniques used to sell a product in an advertisement could be effectively employed for political causes. Artists were sensitive to the culture of the time and frequently incorporated not only symbols of popular culture, such as fashion and furnishings, but also widely held values and beliefs of the time to make the posters especially identifiable to the audience and appropriate for the time. The posters of the Great War were part of a successful campaign that yielded an impressive body of artwork, not just a propaganda drive. They have become a valuable primary source for today’s historian about this period of history and its impact on people.

These posters incorporate images, concepts and slogans which represent values and beliefs unique to the time period. As Peter Stanley notes in his study of World War I posters, "If we dismiss them as mere propaganda, or as indications of the gullibility of our grandparents, we will neglect an important link with the minds and feelings of humanity at war."\textsuperscript{158} Perhaps because artists did their jobs so
effectively, people had both an informed mind and a sound heart.

However, some researchers have observed that World War I posters are unrealistic in their depictions of war, which serves as a detriment in that audiences were convinced to back the war effort as a result of appeals to their emotions, not their intellect. For example, Barbara Jones and Bill Howell suggest that the figures are pretty ornaments that merely "created their own casualty world of red crosses against stainless white, a charming world where bandages went becomingly round the head over a slight scalp wound and most bullets went in at the shoulder."\(^{159}\) Whatever the drawbacks to such unrealistic portrayals of war may be, it is evident that these posters played an important role in mobilizing public opinion. The poster became a forceful medium of communication as a result of the war and consequently assumed a more serious role in message dissemination, as the World War I poster became a model for subsequent wartime efforts. As these posters were adapted to the needs of war, they make a significant contribution, not only to journalism and mass communication, but also to the disciplines of history, art history, and political science. Because the poster elevated advertising from a consumer-oriented practice to one which promoted international mobilization for the war effort, this persuasiveness is a significant part of mass communication.
By studying the posters of the First World War, historians can realize that the works of artists have captured the reality of wartime life and have provided an opportunity to become immersed in the first years of the twentieth century. The "fighters that trooped from the studio door" were obviously well aware of how influential the poster would be, but historians can wonder whether these artists realized the significance of their work as historical documents.

The posters of World War I are both valuable historical documents and valid examples of artwork. In a sense, they can be classified as historic arts, if we apply the definition Alan Gowans established in his Learning to See: Historical Perspectives on Modern Popular/Commercial Arts: illustration employs images to tell stories; beautification makes the image's function deliberately clear to audiences; persuasion evokes associations in the minds of viewers and imagery preserves the memory of things or ideas.  

Imagery indeed invokes past associations in these posters, preserving the memory of the way things used to be before the advent of the war. The posters presented in this study represent the fusion of the old and the new. First, a familiar communications device was employed for promoting political messages. But the posters of World War I also represent a growing awareness of the dual role of women in society. The images of women featured in these posters suggest the continued appeal of the traditional depiction of
the woman as the embodiment of home and family life. However, they also cast strong approval of the female war worker, liberated from the confines of her position in society to enjoy the freedom of the workplace. Essentially, these posters document a period with the potential for great change, as they boldly assert women’s newly acquired independence. However, they also cling to tradition, spotlighting some women as angelic figures who still inspire men to do great things.

The image of women can be seen in numerous wartime appeals. Stanley observes that as British women "were depicted as patriots prepared to tell their menfolk to ‘Go,’ as damsels in need of protection, as good sports willing to don khaki, as frugal housewives holding the key to victory and as cheerful workers on farms or in hospitals." Women’s dedication to the cause, their ability to inspire victory and their exhibition of bravery and courage all serve to heighten their importance in this society. Thus, one can conclude that the image of women in the posters of World War I is a positive one, representing the reality of their place in society and the value of their efforts.

While women’s contributions to the war effort did not result in permanent changes in their position, their presence in the work force - and its approval in posters - established new images and ideas of women which challenged pre-war ideals of femininity." Because posters presented women as able to achieve independence outside the home, they encouraged
audiences to rethink traditional concepts of the woman as being merely a dependent wife and mother. However, it is also important for historians to not dismiss the image of women as passive victims in need of protection. Viewed from the context of the time, we can understand what a visually powerful appeal this was. Audiences could directly understand what they saw and could be motivated to act as a result.

As historians begin to understand how the posters of World War I convey important messages about the changing nature of society, they can assess their value as relics of the past. Posters document how a society utilized and emphasized change and tradition simultaneously in motivating audiences to join the war effort. This also suggests that the dual image of women was not unique to one country. Regardless of national origin, women were confronted with similar problems and were encouraged to undertake similar tasks. As a result, the similarities between the posters noted throughout this study take on added significance when viewed with an understanding of the context of the time. However, these similarities are not the result of plagiarism. They are often the result of designers arriving at solutions to common problems, as war efforts were similar. While stylistic differences occurred, the intent remained similar and the images were utilized in similar ways.¹⁶
If one appreciates the image of women presented in the posters of World War I and considers the appropriateness of the poster as an essential wartime communication device, one can see that "no other kind of relic or text from the past can offer such a direct testimony about the world which surrounded other people at other times" than the visual image. To look at this group of posters together is to sense the immediate response which they inspired. Their sentiment, their personal appeals, and their emotional effects all contribute to how they would have been received by the contemporaries of the war.

Historians have often dismissed the posters of the Great War as propaganda, and have either ignored or forgotten their power of visual communication. However, taking a second look at the images disseminated in these pieces of paper demonstrates how successful these posters were as instruments of persuasive communication executed with an extraordinarily artistic touch. Based on an understanding of the context of the period, it becomes apparent that the posters of the First World War recreate all the emotions and feelings of the time. As primary sources, these posters give valuable insight into the values and aims of countries at war. Neglecting these posters can lead to a dismissal of valuable historical documents which indicate how a generation thought and felt.
With concise text and simple illustrations, the poster mobilized public opinion about wartime aims and communicated essential information to civilians. Because the poster was publicly displayed, it also had the potential of reaching a large audience, making it a true mass communications medium with visual appeal. Poster artists worked much in the same way as journalists: in little space, they captured the attention of the audience, delivered their message quickly and succinctly and made the subject’s importance clear. The poster truly was a unique mass communication device in World War I.

Posters, like articles in the print media, had to relate facts in a way to make the story of war and what it meant come alive for the audience. Just as articles rely on concise, precise language for their strength, the visual images of posters made every individual feel that he was specifically being addressed and essentially reduced the war to a more personal level.

By observing "how Art put on khaki," historians can learn more about how ordinary people witnessed the Great War. Researchers can develop a feel for the emotions which give force to posters and they can restore some of their immediacy. They can feel the pressure to enlist, to conserve food, and to contribute to war loans, all in an effort to make the world safe for democracy. Posters also teach historians about the kinds of ideals and attitudes which the American public was to
have if war was to be successful. How the character in the poster responded to the war was to be an example for the audience.

As 1914 fades deeper into the past, these posters are a critical link to the generation of World War I.

2. For discussion about this observation, see *What Did You Do In the War, Daddy?: A Visual History of Propaganda Posters* (Peter Stanley, 1983), and *Wake Up, America!: World War I and the American Poster* (Walton Rawls, 1988), passim. Maurice Rickards also draws this conclusion in his works, specifically in *Posters of the First World War* (1968), passim.


4. Rawls, passim.


9. Lewis, introduction.


11. Disillusionment and alienation from society are popular themes in the literature of World War I. Profoundly affected by their experiences in the trenches, young men wrote their accounts of the war, its impact on their attitude and their inability to adjust to post-war life.

    The idea that life would never be the same again for these soldiers was frequently expressed in their writing. As they reflected on their past and their experiences in the war, soldiers came to realize that only their comrades understood the feelings of lost innocence, hopelessness, disgust with statesmen and their inability (or reluctance) to end war. What resulted was a commonality of feelings and of shared experiences which united this generation, especially in the post-war years.
World War I was a literary war in that many gifted soldiers expressed their feelings and reactions to the war in prose and poetry. The poems of Wilfred Owen, Rupert Brooke, Siegfried Sassoon, Isaac Rosenberg, Edward Thomas and Ivor Gurney (as collected in works such as The Oxford Book of War Poetry) have become highly regarded testimony to the poetic talents of soldiers.

By 1929, a rash of war novels appeared, as World War I veterans published fictional accounts of the war, perhaps largely influenced by their own experiences. Ernest Hemingway’s Farewell to Arms, Erich Maria Remarque’s All Quiet on the Western Front, Frederick Manning’s Her Privates We, Robert Graves’ Good-bye To All That, and Siegfried Sassoon’s The Memoirs of George Sherston are all excellent accounts of life in the trenches and how each novel’s main character reacts to the war and returns to civilian life.

War literature provides us with another link to the generation of 1914. Contemporaries of the war have recorded their assessments of events in literary, sophisticated ways. Indeed, some of these war novels can be classified as literary journalism, as they combine the factual accuracy and attention to detail which are so vital to journalists with the expressive literary style to which authors subscribe. However, because these novels were largely written a decade after the war, they cannot provide the same immediacy and value as the posters in serving as true primary sources for historical research.


20. Hynes 358.


23. For further discussion about this concept, see World War I and the American Novel (Stanley Cooperman, 1967), The Great War and Modern Memory (Paul Fussell, 1975), and The Realistic War Novel (Sophus Wiither, 1930).


26. Grenville 177-78.


30. Peel 36.

31. Peel 36.

32. Link 164.


34. Marrin 52.

35. May 385.

37. Phipps 47.


39. Phipps 47.

40. Cooperman viii.

41. Phipps 47.

42. Cooperman 29.


44. Viney 14.

45. Staff 150.


47. Buitenhuis, passim.


52. Vaughn 20.


55. Creel 112.


57. Rawls 167.

58. Rawls 150.


61. Mock and Larson 104.

62. Vaughn 150.

63. Rawls 149-50

64. Stanley 7

65. Rawls, passim, and Rickards, Posters of the First World War, passim.


68. Rickards, Posters of the First World War, 12.


70. Rawls 14.

72. Rawls 25.


74. Marrin, *passim*.

75. Cooperman 9, 12-13.

76. Vaughn xii-xiii.


79. Rickards, Posters of the First World War, 8.


82. Morgan and Welton 8.

83. Morgan and Welton 8.

84. Morgan and Welton 8.

85. These ideas are explored further in John Morgan and Peter Welton’s *See What I Mean: An Introduction to Visual Communication* (1986) and Gregg Berryman’s *Notes on Graphic Design and Visual Communication* (1979).


89. Rawls concludes that posters served as a call to action and reinforced pride in one’s country, readiness for sacrifice in her defense and patriotism by dramatically
using emotionally weighted symbols like the Statue of Liberty and Britannia. (Rawls 25)


92. May 341.


95. Rawls 81.


97. For example, the Committee of Enquiry into German Atrocities investigated reports of "pregnant women being violated and bayonetted, women who had their breasts slashed and legs cut off, women being publicly raped, babies bayonetted and crucified to doors by their hands and feet; whole families burned alive; civilians machine-gunned en masse; and priests tortured and murdered. But it was the first-hand accounts of women who by some chance had been in the thick of the fight that played most tellingly on the ... nerves of the ... British public. (David Mitchell, Women on the Warrpath: The Story of the Women of the First World War (London: Jonathan Cape, 1965) 42)


100. Harvey 89-90.

101. Harvey 91.
102. It is interesting to note the parallel images of this "beast" with King Kong, which developed some 15 years later.

103. Cooperman 15.

104. Comparisons between "Destroy This Mad Brute" (Plate II) and "Remember Belgium" (Plate IV) indicate allusions to sexual assault. While it is interesting to compare the degree of blatant imagery present in the poster, it also becomes clear that this idea is what made the atrocity poster so powerful.

105. Read 29.


110. This poster was obtained from Peter Stanley's book, which does not give specific dates for the posters. Therefore, "1914-1918" is given as the date for posters deriving from this source.

111. Mitchell 40.

112. Staff 148-9.


114. Again, this source does not indicate specific dates for its reproduced posters, so "1914-1918" is given as the poster date.

115. Taylor 43-4.


117. Hoover 52.

118. In other words, Paret sees "private space" as representative of a home's interior, suggesting that it is symbolic of home and family life. By staying "indoors" with
his wife, the man neglects his duty to go "outdoors" and join other men enlisting for service. If men are content to remain at home, they could be seen as unworthy protectors of their family, shirking their duty for their own safety.

It is interesting to consider why the British poster made a woman the predominant image, while the American poster focused attention on a man. Although the intents were similar, the posters appeal to different emotions or attitudes among the viewer. One glorifies the image of the selfless woman, while the other seems to chastise the coward. Hoover 56.

119. Because the actual date of the Australian poster is not given, it is hard to determine whether the similarity of the images are coincidental or the result of copying. It is possible that one image was patterned after the other, showing the impact of the image and its potential for success with the intended audience. This conclusion seems logical since one poster is more artistically done than the other and therefore one artist applied more skill and technique to the poster.


122. Rawls 118.

123. Stanley 11.

124. Fraser 29.

125. Hoover 62.


127. Donald Read 23-4.

128. Buckley 143.

129. O’Day 9-10. For additional information on the topic, consult page 10 for a summary list of these findings.

131. Taylor 38.
132. Marrin 135.
135. Schneider 5-6.
137. Schneider 118.
138. Schneider 264, 266.
143. Mitchell 222.
144. Hoover 62.
145. Hamilton 29.
146. Mitchell 249.
147. Hamilton 37.
148. Marwick 76-77.
151. Condell and Liddiard, *passim*.


154. Braybon 12.

155. Schneider 276.


161. Stanley 16.

162. Hoover 50.

163. Stanley 16.


APPENDIX A

Plates
Plate I, Enlist
Plate II, Destroy This Mad Brute

DESTROY THIS MAD BRUTE

ENLIST
Plate III, Halt the Hun!

HALT the HUN!

BUY U.S. GOVERNMENT BONDS
THIRD LIBERTY LOAN
Plate IV, Remember Belgium

REMEMBER BELGIUM

Liberty Loan
Plate V, Women of Queensland!

WOMEN OF QUEENSLAND!

REMEMBER HOW WOMEN AND CHILDREN OF FRANCE AND BELGIUM WERE TREATED

DO YOU REALISE THAT YOUR TREATMENT WOULD BE WORSE

SEND A MAN TO-DAY TO FIGHT FOR YOU
Belgian Canal Boat Fund
For Relief of Belgian Population behind the Front Lines
Send them Something.

112
BELGIAN RED CROSS FUND

Please send Donations to:
The President, Baron C. GOFFINET,
3 Savoy Court, LONDON, W.C.
GIVE OR WE PERISH

AMERICAN COMMITTEE
FOR RELIEF IN THE NEAR EAST
ARMENIA - GREECE - SYRIA - PERSIA
CAMPAIGN FOR $30,000,000
Plate IX, After a Zeppelin Raid

AFTER A ZEPPELIN RAID IN LONDON
"BUT MOTHER HAD DONE NOTHING WRONG, HAD SHE, DADDY?"

Prevent This in New York
Invest in

LIBERTY BONDS
Plate X, Women of Britain Say - "Go!"
Plate XI, On Which Side of the Window Are You?
Plate XII, Women! Help America's Sons

WOMEN!
HELP AMERICA'S SONS
WIN THE WAR
Plate XIII, Women! Help Australia's Sons
Plate XIV, Gee!! I Wish I Were A Man

GEE!!
I WISH I WERE
A MAN

I'll JOIN
The NAVY

BE A MAN AND DO IT
UNITED STATES NAVY
RECRUITING STATION
34 East 23rd Street, New York
Plate XV, Write, Write Write

Those of you who have loved ones in France must write, write, write.

Gen'l Pershing

HART SCHAFFNER & MARX
Good Clothes Makers
Plate XVI, You Can Help

You can help
AMERICAN RED CROSS
Plate XVII, The Kitchen Is the Key To Victory

THE KITCHEN IS THE KEY TO VICTORY

EAT LESS BREAD
In her Wheatless Kitchen

she is doing her part to help win the war

Are you doing yours?

UNITED STATES FOOD ADMINISTRATION
Plate XIX, They Serve France

How can I serve Canada?

They serve France

Buy Victory Bonds
Plate XX, Will You Help the Women of France?

Will you help the Women of France?

SAVE WHEAT

They are struggling against starvation and trying to feed not only themselves and children, but their husbands and sons who are fighting in the trenches.
Plate XXI, Service

NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR WOMAN'S SERVICE
NATIONAL SERVICE
WOMEN’S LAND ARMY

APPLY FOR ENROLMENT FORMS AT YOUR NEAREST POST OFFICE OR EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGE
Plate XXIII, Women's Land Service Corps

WOMEN'S LAND SERVICE CORPS

WANTED 5000 EDUCATED WOMEN BETWEEN 18 & 35 FOR WAR WORK ON THE LAND
4,000 WOMEN WANTED FOR FRUIT PICKING
from the end of July to Mid-September
in the BLAIRGOWRIE and AUCHTERARDER districts.
NATIONAL SERVICE
WOMENS
LAND ARMY

GOD SPEED THE PLOUGH
AND THE WOMAN WHO DRIVES IT

APPLY FOR ENROLMENT FORMS AT YOUR NEAREST POST OFFICE OR
EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGE
Get behind the Girl he left behind him

Join the land army
Plate XXVII, The Woman's Land Army of America

THE WOMAN'S LAND ARMY OF AMERICA

WOMEN enlist now and help the FARMER FIGHT THE FOOD FAMINE

APPLY: National Office, 19 West 44th Street
New York State Office, 303 Fifth Avenue
OR: Nearest U.S. Employment Bureau office
Plate XXVIII, Back Our Girls Over There

Back our girls over there
United War Work Campaign
Plate XXX, The Greatest Mother in the World

Red Cross
Christmas
Roll Call
Dec. 16–23rd

The Greatest Mother in the World
Plate XXXII, We Need You
Plate XXXIII, Hold Up Your End!

Hold up your end!

WAR FUND WEEK
One Hundred Million Dollars.
Plate XXXIV, Playing the Game - War Work
British Women! — the Royal Air Force needs your help

as CLERKS, WAITRESSES, COOKS, experienced MOTOR CYCLISTS and in many other capacities.
Enrol at once in the
W•R•A•F.
WOMEN'S ROYAL AIR FORCE
Plate XXXVI, These Women Are Doing Their Bit

These Women Are Doing Their Bit

Learn to Make Munitions
APPENDIX B

List of References for Plates
The following is a list of references for each plate. Information includes title, country, date (when known), artist, measurement (in inches unless otherwise specified) and source.


II. Destroy This Mad Brute. USA. ca. 1916. H.R. Hopps. 28 x 41. Stanley 55.

III. Halt the Hun! USA. 1918. Henry Patrick Raleigh. 20 x 29 1/2. Stanley 61.

IV. Remember Belgium. USA. 1918. Ellsworth Young. 20 x 30. Rawls 29.


X. Women of Britain Say - "Go!" Great Britain. ca. 1915. E.V. Kealy. 20 x 30 1/2. Stanley 51.

XI. On Which Side of the Window Are You? USA. 1917. Laura Brey. 26 x 38 1/2. Rawls 82.


XIV. Gee!! I Wish I Were A Man. USA. 1918. Howard Chandler Christy. 41 x 27. Darracott 5.

XV. Write, Write, Write. USA. ca. 1918. John Sheridan. 20 x 30. Rawls 263.
| XVII. | The Kitchen Is The Key To Victory. Great Britain. 1914-1918. Anonymous. 76 x 51 cm. Stanley 44. |
| XVIII. | In Her Wheatless Kitchen. USA. ca. 1918. Howard Chandler Christy. 15 x 30. Rawls 118. |
| XIX. | They Serve France. Great Britain. 1914-1918. The Brown Brothers. 89 x 61 cm. Stanley 70. |
| XXI. | Service. USA. ca. 1917. Lucille Patterson. 17 1/2 x 29 1/2. Rawls 62. |
| XXVII. | The Woman's Land Army of America. USA. 1918. Herbert Andrew Paus. 20 x 26 1/2. Rawls 63. |
| XXX. | The Greatest Mother in the World. USA. ca. 1918. Alonzo Earl Foringer. 20 1/2 x 27 1/2. Rawls 124. |
| XXXI. | If I Fail He Dies. USA. ca. 1918. S.A. Icik and A.G. McCoy. 28 x 21. Rawls 125. |

XXXIII. Hold Up Your End! USA. 1918. W.B. King. 20 1/2 x 27 1/2. Rawls 127.


APPENDIX C

Chronological Order of Plates
1915

Women of Britain Say - "Go!"
Enlist

1916

Destroy This Mad Brute

1917

National Service - Women's Land Army Service
Will You Help the Women of France?
Women! Help America's Sons
On Which Side of the Window Are You?
After a Zeppelin Raid in London

1918

Hold Up Your End!
If I Fail He Dies
The Greatest Mother in the World
One of the Thousand Y.M.C.A. Girls in France
Back Our Girls Over There
The Woman's Land Army of America
Get Behind the Girl He Left Behind Him
In Her Wheatless Kitchen
You Can Help
Write, Write, Write
Remember Belgium
Halt the Hun!

1919

Playing the Game - War Work
1914-1918

Women’s Royal Air Force
We Need You
Women Fruit Pickers
They Serve France
Gee!! I Wish I Were A Man
Women! Help Australia’s Sons
Women of Queensland!
Give or We Perish
Belgian Canal Boat Fund
Belgian Red Cross Fund
The Kitchen Is the Key to Victory
National Service - Women’s Land Army
Women’s Land Service Corps
These Women Are Doing Their Bit
LIST OF REFERENCES


"Carry On": British Work in War Time. London: Harrison, Jehring & Co., Ltd. (no date)


Peel, Mrs. C.S. How We Lived Then, 1914-1918: A Sketch of Social and Domestic Life in England During the War. London: John Lane/The Bodley Head Ltd., 1929.


Roberts, William. Memories of the War to End War, 1914-1918. Lund Humphries, no date of publication.


Yates, L.K. *The Woman's Part: A Record of Munitions Work.* New York: George H. Doran Company. (No date)