



Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences

Department of English Language and Literature

British Cultural Studies Programme


**THE USE OF IDEOLOGICAL APPARATUSES IN THE BRITISH
WAR PROPAGANDA DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR**

Murat Furkan UĞUR

Master's Thesis

Ankara, 2025

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KABUL VE ONAY

Murat Furkan UĞUR tarafından hazırlanan "The Use of Ideological Apparatuses in the British War Propaganda During the First World War" başlıklı bu çalışma, 17 Nisan 2025 tarihinde yapılan savunma sınavı sonucunda başarılı bulunarak jürimiz tarafından Yüksek Lisans Tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.

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Dr. Öğretim Üyesi İmren YELMİŞ (Üye)

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Kübra KANGÜLEÇ COŞKUN (Üye)

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ETİK BEYAN

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Murat Furkan UĞUR

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my beloved wife, Damla USLU UĞUR, who is the primary supporter of my academic career. Her ever-lasting love, patience and encouragement give me strength.



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ABSTRACT

UĞUR, Murat Furkan. *The Use of Ideological Apparatuses in the British War Propaganda During the First World War*, Master's Thesis, Ankara, 2025.

This thesis uses Louis Althusser's concept of Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) to analyse the British government's utilisation of pro-war propaganda during World War I. Althusser's framework provides an understanding of the state's preservation of control through ideology rather than repression. The thesis examines the influences of different private and public institutions including schools, churches, publishers and British War Propaganda Bureau on public opinion and support for the war effort. It focuses on the establishment of Wellington House (British War Propaganda Bureau) and the organisation of propaganda campaigns that presented Britain's involvement as a moral and patriotic duty. The state enlisted recognised literary figures such as Rudyard Kipling, Thomas Hardy, and John Masefield together with academics such as James Bryce and used posters to disseminate ideological discourse based on masculinity, loyalty and national unity. These propaganda campaigns utilised different ISAs such as educational ISA, cultural ISA, communications ISA, political ISA and family ISA to interpellate individuals into accepting the war as just and necessary. However, as the financial and human cost of the war grew, the initial sentimental view changed to public dissent, thus requiring an adaptation in propaganda. More repressive methods were used by the British government to suppress the critics and maintain support for the war. These methods included censorship, legal suppression and psychiatric institutionalisation, while propaganda discourse also evolved into a more aggressive tone that demonised the enemy, invoked fear, and promoted hatred. The state employed different Ideological State Apparatuses in its aggressive propaganda and strategies to shape opinions of individuals. When persuasion with Ideological State Apparatuses were ineffective the state resorted to the Repressive State Apparatus. The 1916 Easter Rising is analysed through this perspective of shift to Repressive State Apparatus. This thesis reveals how British pro-war propaganda utilised Ideological State Apparatuses to preserve ideological hegemony and support for the war effort in World War I through an analysis of poems, propaganda posters, institutional discourse, and state policies.

Keywords

World War I, Wellington House, pro-war propaganda, Ideological State Apparatuses, Louis Althusser, propaganda posters, war poetry

ÖZET

UĞUR, Murat Furkan. *Birinci Dünya Savaşı Sırasında İngiliz Savaş Propagandasında İdeolojik Aygıtların Kullanımı*, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2025.

Bu tez, Louis Althusser'in İdeolojik Devlet Aygıtları (İDA) kavramını kullanarak Birinci Dünya Savaşı sırasında Britanya hükümetinin savaş yanlısı propagandayı nasıl kullandığını analiz etmektedir. Althusser'in kuramsal çerçevesi, devletin baskı yerine ideoloji yoluyla nasıl kontrol sağladığını anlamaya olanak tanır. Okullar, kiliseler, yayınevleri ve Britanya Savaş Propaganda Bürosu gibi çeşitli özel ve kamusal kurumların kamuoyu ve savaşa verilen destek üzerindeki etkilerini incelemektedir. Tez, Wellington House'un (Britanya Savaş Propaganda Bürosu) kuruluşuna ve Britanya'nın savaşa katılımını ahlaki ve vatansız bir görev olarak sunan propaganda kampanyalarının örgütlenmesine odaklanmaktadır. Devlet, Rudyard Kipling, Thomas Hardy ve John Masefield gibi tanınmış edebi figürlerin yanı sıra James Bryce gibi akademisyenleri görevlendirmiş ve erkeklik, sadakat ve ulusal birlik temelli ideolojik söylemleri yaymak için afişler kullanmıştır. Bu propaganda kampanyaları; eğitim İdeolojik Devlet Aygıtı, kültürel İdeolojik Devlet Aygıtı, iletişim İdeolojik Devlet Aygıtı, siyasi İdeolojik Devlet Aygıtı ve aile İdeolojik Devlet Aygıtı gibi farklı İdeolojik Devlet Aygıtlarını kullanarak bireyleri savaşı haklı ve gerekli olarak kabullenmeye çağırmıştır. Ancak savaşın mali ve insani maliyeti arttıkça, başlangıçtaki duygusal bakış açısı yerini halk muhalefetine bırakmış ve bu da propagandanın uyarlanmasını gerektirmiştir. Britanya hükümeti eleştirileri bastırmak ve savaş desteğini sürdürmek için daha baskıcı yöntemler kullanmıştır. Bu yöntemler arasında sansür, yasal baskı ve psikiyatri hastanesine yatırılması yer almaktadır; propaganda söylemi ise düşmanı şeytanlaştıran, korku uyandıran ve nefreti teşvik eden daha saldırgan bir tona evrilmiştir. Devlet, bireylerin düşüncelerini şekillendirmek için saldırgan propagandasında ve stratejilerinde farklı İdeolojik Devlet Aygıtlarını kullanmıştır. İdeolojik Devlet Aygıtlarıyla yapılan ikna etkisiz kaldığında, devlet Baskıcı Devlet Aygıtına başvurmuştur. 1916 Paskalya Ayaklanması, bu Baskıcı Devlet Aygıtına geçiş perspektifinden analiz edilmektedir. Bu tez, şiirler, propaganda afişleri, kurumsal söylem ve devlet politikaları analizi aracılığıyla Britanya'nın savaş yanlısı propagandasının Birinci Dünya Savaşı sırasında İdeolojik Devlet Aygıtları'nı kullanarak nasıl ideolojik hegemonyayı ve savaşa verilen desteği sürdürdüğünü ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler

Birinci Dünya Savaşı, Wellington House, savaş yanlısı propaganda, İdeolojik Devlet Aygıtları, Louis Althusser, propaganda afişleri, savaş şiiri

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ABBREVIATIONS

ISAs: Ideological State Apparatuses

RSA: Repressive State Apparatus

NWAC: National War Aims Committee

WPB: War Propaganda Bureau

PRC: Parliamentary Recruiting Committee

CCNPO: Central Committee for National Patriotic Organisations

WAAC: Women's Army Auxiliary Corps

INTRODUCTION

The geopolitical landscape of the world was drastically and forever transformed by World War I, which led to the shifting of borders, the fall of empires and governments, and significant socioeconomic and political revolutions. The struggle caused immense and long-term consequences on the 20th century discourse of the war while also affecting history for years on end. During this period, pro-war propaganda was important in influencing public sentiment and obtaining support for the war (Ponton 57). In this thesis the use of pro-war propaganda during World War I by the British government is examined through Louis Althusser's concept of Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs). The thesis argues that the pro-war propaganda strategies employed through diverse mediums of publishing, posters, newspapers, poems, reports, novels and books used in education as Ideological State Apparatuses to obtain support for the war, justify the war, antagonise the enemy and suppress the dissent.

Propaganda can be defined as a tool of manipulation and interaction with the public. Jowett and O'Donnell, in their book *Propaganda and Persuasion*, define propaganda as a way of persuasion and communication. Communicating in a way that aims to elicit an answer that supports the propagandist's objectives is known as propaganda. In order to meet the demands of both the persuader and the persuaded, persuasion is interactive (1). Furthermore, the way of information to deliver the wanted idea also plays a crucial role. As Jowett and O'Donnell state, "A model of propaganda depicts how elements of informative and persuasive communication may be incorporated into propagandistic communication, thus distinguishing propaganda as a specific class of communication" (1). Thus, rather than a one-way dissemination of information, propaganda is a symbiotic process where communication is used to mold attitudes and opinions towards an intended course.

In his article "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards an Investigation)," Louis Althusser explains how societies, specifically capitalist ones, are efficiently governed through what he calls Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs), which shape people's thoughts and behaviours. To achieve the intended behavioural change and

discourse, the government uses institutions such as schools, churches, or other establishments, as well as the media. The media outlets used as Ideological State Apparatuses include newspapers, radio, television, books, journals, and other broadcasts and publications. The goal is to influence the thoughts and behaviours of the public unconsciously and encourage individuals to embrace the defined social norms and duties in order to sustain the capitalist regime (Althusser, "Ideology" 143).

Althusser expands on Karl Marx's theory of the State in his article. The state's primary reason for existence is to serve the interests of the ruling class in a capitalist regime. It aims to protect a certain class by controlling the lower-class citizens. This is achieved through the enforcement of legislation and policies that support the capitalist regime and its adherents (Marx and Engels 221, 244). According to Marx and Engels, institutions such as the military, courts, and police all exist to protect the interests of the controlling class. Whenever the class struggle intensifies and there are oppositions, the state enforces order one way or another to prevent the overthrow of the ruling class. Therefore, the role of the state can be understood as an enforcer and keeper of order (244).

Althusser develops Marx's theory by focusing on ideological controlling in addition to the more direct enforcement. He divides the role of the state into the Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) and the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs). The Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) works similarly to the Marxist idea of the State where there is enforcement, which is usually achieved through the means of violence. Regarding this, the institutions of the government, such as the military and police, work as the enforcers of the wanted outcome (Althusser, *On the Reproduction* 244).

In contrast, Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) work by creating discourses and shaping public opinion. Ideological State Apparatuses are not reliant on force directly but achieve the wanted outcome through other means such as media, education, religion, and culture. In his article, Althusser explains that "Ideological State Apparatuses function massively and predominantly by ideology, but they also function secondarily by repression, even if ultimately, but only ultimately, this is very attenuated and concealed, even symbolic. (There is no such thing as a purely ideological apparatus.)" (Althusser, "Ideology" 145).

Althusser further creates a distinction between RSA and ISAs by pointing out that while the Repressive State Apparatus is singular as the government and “belongs entirely to the public domain,” which includes police, army, etc., there are many different Ideological State Apparatuses, such as schools, churches, media, and even family (Althusser, “Ideology” 144). This diversity creates variety because ISAs not only encompass the public sector but also branch out to the private sector, which results in a faster and more efficient way of spreading the desired ideology.

According to Althusser, public and private sectors both function similarly by serving the government and shaping people’s beliefs in accordance with the ruling ideology. It may seem strange that these private sectors and organizations are considered to be part of the state. However, Althusser explains, by referencing Gramsci, that the distinction of public and private is only determined legally by the state itself. Thus, the state does not have to consider the public and the private sectors separate. Therefore, the state can affect both public and private organizations to maintain the authority over the individuals (Althusser, “Ideology” 144).

The interplay between ideological control and state power was especially evident during World War I, when governments aimed to shape public consciousness on an extraordinary scale through propaganda. According to Bruntz, one of the main forces behind World War I propaganda was Great Britain (61–76). In order to shape public opinion and preserve morale within its armed personnel and at home, propaganda was a crucial instrument for Britain. The British used propaganda strategies through media, literature, and ideology to shape public opinion to gain support for the war (Bruntz 61–76).

British pro-war propaganda employed strategies such as portraying the enemy as dangerous and savage while justifying war as a righteous cause and defence of freedom. Hence the British pro-war propaganda would appeal to feelings such as fear and prejudice that British civilisation was targeted. It basically emphasised patriotic duty and loyalty to the nation to be performed during the war. In his book *Propaganda Technique in World War I*, Harold D. Lasswell stresses that effective propaganda ensures that the public perceives the enemy as the initiator of the war and the biggest hinderance to the “profitable and godly peace” (77). To reinforce this idea, the enemy is depicted as corrupt and arrogant which further represented the enemy as inherently evil and “satanic” (77).

This portrayal not only demonises the enemy but also justifies the war as a noble cause. As Lasswell explains, “the collective egotism, or ethnocentrism, of a nation, makes it possible to interpret the war as a struggle for the protection and propagation of its own high type of civilization” (67). This idea was reinforced by the London *Evening Standard* on August 8, 1914, by stating that civilisation was at issue, a theme that remained central throughout the war (68).

While propaganda played a crucial role for Britain’s employment of the Ideological State Apparatuses to develop a favourable public opinion of the war, its execution was initially unstructured. During World War I, centralized and coordinated efforts were required to manage information and influence the thinking of people; however, the British government had no official propaganda department when the war began. As David Monger explains in his book *Patriotism and Propaganda in First World War Britain*, in 1914, Herbert Asquith, the prime minister, gave Masterman, a writer and Liberal MP who had been actively promoting the government’s national insurance program since 1911, instructions to create propaganda for Dominion and neutral audiences. As a result, Masterman founded the War Propaganda Bureau in Wellington House, which later became another name for the organization (24). Institutions like Wellington House were established in haste as a result of the government’s desire for reform in its dissemination of information, and eventually, they became the central part of British war propaganda. The War Propaganda Bureau, commonly known as Wellington House, intended to further Britain’s cause covertly and without explicit propaganda. However, the ability of propaganda in shaping public opinion, sustaining morale and gaining support for the war was realized, thus prompting a need for an organization that would cater for this. Therefore, The War Propaganda Bureau was established with the aim of disseminating pro-war propaganda throughout Britain and abroad (Taylor, *British Propaganda* 42). However, at first it particularly targeted the public in other countries, especially those from neutral nations such as the United States (Taylor, *British Propaganda* 168). A more coordinated version of the propaganda organization emerged in 1918, when a full Information Ministry was founded (Taylor, *British Propaganda* 78).

It is important to first examine both the conditions that led to the outbreak of World War I and the events that took place throughout the war to fully understand the reasons why

Britain relied on Ideological State Apparatuses to create its pro-war propaganda. Commonly referred to as the Great War, World War I was a global conflict that took place between 1914 and 1918. Many world powers joined in the war and divided themselves into two alliances: the Central Powers which were represented by Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire, and the Allies, which consisted of countries such as the United Kingdom, France, and Russia. A wide range of factors led to the outbreak of World War I, including extreme militarization, pacts, imperialism, and the assassination in 1914 of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary (Howard 15–16).

Another reason why Britain relied on propaganda during World War I was the massive scale and the violent nature of the war. As it was the first global war, there was tremendous devastation and loss of lives, but unfortunately it lacked a clear and unavoidable reason. Governments turned to propaganda to justify the “war effort” and maintain public support as millions of soldiers and civilians were experiencing the outcomes firsthand. The term “war effort” is defined in *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* as “things done by all the people in a country to help when that country is at war” (“war effort” *Longman Dictionary* 1855). In this turbulent period governments utilised every ounce of their workforce and resources to maintain their military forces and missions during the war. World War I is described by John Keegan as a “tragic and unnecessary conflict” which was devastating but avoidable (3). He argues that the “outbreak might have been broken at any point” if diplomatic efforts or “prudence” had prevailed during the five-week crisis leading up to the war. Instead, the conflict resulted in the deaths of “ten million” people, serious psychological suffering, and the collapse of Europe’s “benevolent and optimistic culture.” Moreover, he emphasizes that the war’s political and racial tensions were so severe that the “legacy” it left directly contributed to the causes of World War II (3).

This perspective is shared by many historians who consider the causes and eventual consequences of World War I. Christopher Clark in his book *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914*, argues that the war occurred not because it was inevitable but through miscalculations and overreactions on the part of European leaders. As Clark states, “we need to distinguish between the objective factors acting on the decision-makers and the stories they told themselves and each other about what they thought they were doing and why they were doing it” (558). Especially in Chapter 1, “Serbian Ghosts:

The July Crisis,” Clark presents his argument that, as opposed to the deterministic forces, political decisions and choices led to the conflict. While Clark does not pin the conflict on a single state, he does contend that bad decisions made by European leaders contributed to the escalation of hostilities. At the end of his book *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914*, Clark expands on the title of his book, stating that the “protagonists of 1914 were sleepwalkers, watchful but unseeing, haunted by dreams, yet blind to the reality of the horror they were about to bring into the world” (Clark 562). The massive loss of human lives and the consequent emotional and physical suffering caused by World War I are highlighted in Jay Winter in *The Experience of World War I*, too. Winter suggests that “the human cost of the war” made the tragedy more prominent as “an estimate of about 9 million - the total population of New York City - may give some idea of the magnitude of the catastrophe. Over 70 million men were mobilized; thus, over one in eight of those who served was killed or died on active service” (206). Winter compares the total number of people lost in the war to New York City’s population to emphasise the magnitude of the loss and make it more comprehensible. Winter thus demonstrates the war’s reach and the unparalleled magnitude of participation in the conflict.

Other researchers also point out that after-effects of World War I resulted in political bitterness and racial animosity. Margaret MacMillan, for instance, in her book *Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World*, investigates details about the Treaty of Versailles’ punitive terms and subsequent economic crises and political instability that ushered totalitarianism. She argues that the main reason for Hitler to wage war was not because of the Treaty of Versailles. However, the treaty served as a great tool for war propaganda (MacMillan 493). Furthermore, Eksteins explains that, with the destruction of the 19th-century cultural and intellectual paradigms, World War I had cataclysmic effects on society and led towards significant changes within its cultural and artistic fabric. The war destroyed people’s belief in reason, progress, and the achievements of civilisation. Therefore, the only thing left standing in the face of the collapse was people’s personal integrity. (Ekstein 211).

Indeed, tensions had already been building both within and between countries even before the war as the traditional agrarian-based system, centred on land ownership and labour,

shifted towards an industrialized society (*The Great War*, Episode 1). The rise of industrialization significantly shifted the balance of power, particularly in Germany. Following its unification in 1871, Germany quickly transformed into a strong empire. With industrialization, its population expanded rapidly, which fuelled a notable increase in imports and exports. As a result, Germany emerged as one of the most powerful nations globally, second only to the United States, largely due to its growing economic strength (Berghahn 3–5).

One of the main contributors to Germany's economic growth was a pivotal businessman named Friedrich Krupp who transformed Essen to a city of industry. By establishing his first Krupp factory, his major investments throughout Germany began in 1902. Kaiser Wilhelm II, with whom Krupp had a strong connection, personally attended his burial and called him "a German of the Germans" (Manchester 231). To create an integrated industrial community, Krupp also built large complexes that housed his employees' homes, schools, and hospitals (Manchester 146). With this economic and industrial growth, Germany became more militarized and started to become a more army-focused nation. As Germany's military became stronger, the neighbours' uneasiness also increased. Especially France and Britain became concerned about Germany's military power. France had not forgotten its past losses like the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871), which was a major defeat that led to the loss of Alsace-Lorraine (Wawro 229–230). France was a country more focused on land and agriculture instead of industrial development, except for Paris, thus it had reasonable concerns about Germany. In addition to that, France had an inner conflict between the supporters of socialism and capitalism, which resulted in a socialist government in 1914. Therefore, anti-militarism and anti-patriotic propaganda were on the rise in France (*The Great War*, Episode 1).

On the other hand, Britain had its own concerns. Germany's naval breakthroughs made Winston Churchill concerned about the British naval supremacy, as the seas played a vital role in Britain's military power. This issue was also covered in many British newspapers as "the Naval Crisis," and even the public, along with those who were sympathetic to Germany, were displeased with the situation.

Two newspapers *The Birmingham Daily Mail* and *The Galway Express*, introduced Britain's naval problems as "the Naval Crisis." They both highlight the profound fear and

political tension over Britain's loss of naval supremacy in 1909, particularly Germany's substantial production of Dreadnought battleships that directly challenged Britain's established naval supremacy, and criticise the government's lack of transparency and action against the threat. *The Birmingham Daily Mail* in "Naval Crisis. Censure Debate in the Commons," stresses criticisms of the British government's lack of response to the expanding German fleet and covers a parliamentary discussion on Britain's naval readiness. According to the article, insufficient government action put Britain's naval security at risk ("Naval Crisis. Censure Debate" 4). Similarly, the *Galway Express* emphasises, in an alarming tone, that both major political parties agreed on the necessity of maintaining naval supremacy for national security. The paper argues that official assessments understated Germany's ability to produce Dreadnaughts and criticises the government for failing to comprehend the true scope of the threat ("The Naval Crisis" 4).

Evidently, due to the absence of a substantial underlying cause for World War I, the media assumed a critical role in influencing public opinion and shaping narratives before, during, and after the war. The influence of the media became more apparent as the developments about the upcoming war spread among the citizens around the world through newspapers which fuelled the imminent economic crisis further. These developments were grave as The British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr Lloyd-George, wrote: "On the 27th, the volume of selling became such that the foreign exchange market in New York gave way. From there, the financial breakdown spread to other foreign exchanges. It affected Britain especially since London was the financial centre of the world. In the last week of July, there was every prospect of such a crash in London as had never been known" (*The Great War*, Episode 2, 00:28:56). Moreover, Britain faced other challenges. Even though Britain portrayed itself as the empire where the sun never sets, in all this glory people in Britain were mostly working class who were poor and could not afford to eat (*The Great War*, Episode 1, 00:20:30–00:23:10).

According to the BBC's 1964 documentary, *The Great War*, in the early years of the 20th century, 30.7% of London's population was living below the poverty line. This naturally caused a great discontent amongst the working class. This discontent is also supported by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lloyd George who states, "Our working populations, crushed into dingy and mean streets with no assurance that they would not be deprived of

their daily bread by ill health or trade fluctuations, were becoming sullen with discontent” (*The Great War*, Episode 1, 00:23:31). Consequently, the circumstances led to the emergence of labour parties and the rise of socialism. Due to the discontent of the working-class population, there was a class struggle in Britain, which gave rise to significant anarchist activity, including an anarchist manifesto signed by several radical groups such as the Communist Working Men’s Club and the Labour Emancipation League (Shpayer 7, 154).

Another problem that Britain faced before the war was the rising discontent in Ireland. Before World War I, Ireland was demanding for self-rule, but Home Rule was repeatedly delayed by political oppositions and Unionist resistance in Ulster (Jackson 3; Townshend 31-32). Due to the class struggle and Home Rule tensions there was a possibility of rebellion by the Irish (Townshend 61). As the war drew near, Britain became increasingly torn between two choices. Britain would either keep its army at bay to prevent the rebellion and not intervene, or it would join the war against Germany to preserve Belgium’s neutrality. Under the Treaty of London (1839) European countries, including Britain, guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium (Steiner 225). In addition to that, against Germany’s potential threat Britain signed ententes with France and Russia (Steiner 82). Germany’s rapid economic and military growth, the political circumstances and treaties pushed Britain into the war were complex, which involved both legal obligations and informal diplomatic strategies. Furthermore, as Steiner explains, Britain used the violation of Belgium’s neutrality instead of acknowledging their intention of maintaining the power balance in order to justify its decision to the public (237). To achieve this, Britain needed to control the political and social narrative of the war through propaganda and create a strong front in Ireland, Britain and neutral countries such as the United States. As a result, this led to the foundation of the British War Propaganda Bureau.

The War Propaganda Bureau adopted elements from past propaganda campaigns as well as past examples of governments employing communication tactics in times of distress or war. Although, the WPB or The Wellington House was large and complex, it was one of the first government led propaganda campaigns during World War I. In his article entitled “Wellington House and British Propaganda during the First World War,” Sanders states that creation of the British War Propaganda Bureau was triggered by intensive

German propaganda with its posters, brochures and pamphlets widely disseminated in order to legitimize Germany's involvement in the war and belittle allies' intentions. As Sanders states:

The British government was greatly disturbed by the virulence of the German campaign, which was specially directed towards influencing the United States of America. At the end of August 1914, the matter was raised in the cabinet: 'Mr Lloyd George urged the importance of setting on foot an organization to inform and influence public opinion abroad and to confute German mis-statements and sophistries.' (119)

As stated above, neutral nations were at the centre of the propaganda campaigns, as Britain wanted to prevent them from being influenced by the German war narrative. Given that both parties were using complex communication strategies, the British realized they had to shape their war narrative and counter the opposing ideologies and discourse by various means. Therefore, the Propaganda Bureau enlisted authors, academics, and journalists to prepare pamphlets and articles that supported the British viewpoint. However, the approach did not promote elitism that steered readers towards a particular perspective in a way that felt uncomfortable or overtly propagandistic because the propaganda had to be subtle and appear credible so that the individuals would believe they are supporting it by their own free will.

To create an effective propaganda campaign, on September 2, 1914, Masterman, as the head of the Bureau, convened twenty-five prominent British authors at Wellington House, the headquarters of the War Propaganda Bureau, to deliberate on optimal strategies for advancing Britain's interests throughout the war. The attendees of the conference were Mr. William Archer, Sir J. M. Barrie, Mr. Arnold Bennett, Mr. A. C. Benson, Monsignor Benson, Mr. Robert Bridges, Mr. Hall Caine, Mr. G. K. Chesterton, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Mr. John Galsworthy, Mr. Thomas Hardy, Mr. Anthony Hope Hawkins, Mr. Maurice Hewlett, Mr. W. J. Locke, Mr. E. V. Lucas, Mr. J. W. Mackail, Mr. John Masefield, Mr. A. E. W. Mason, Professor Gilbert Murray, M.P., Sir Owen Seaman, Mr. George Trevelyan, Mr. H. G. Wells, Mr. Israel Zangwill.

The aim was to utilize literature, journalism and intellectual forces as Ideological State Apparatuses to counter the German narrative and portray Britain as the innocent party dragged into the war by German aggression (Masterman 272; Simkin, "War Propaganda

Bureau”). Notable poems and pamphlets from this period written in support of the war include Arthur Conan Doyle’s *To Arms!* (1914), Rudyard Kipling’s “Hymn Before Action” (1896), John Masefield’s “August 1914” (1915), Thomas Hardy’s “Men Who March Away” (1914), and Rupert Brooke’s “The Soldier” (1915). Although Kipling’s poem is written before World War I, its themes of patriotism, sacrifice and religious justification for the war took a new significant meaning in World War I.

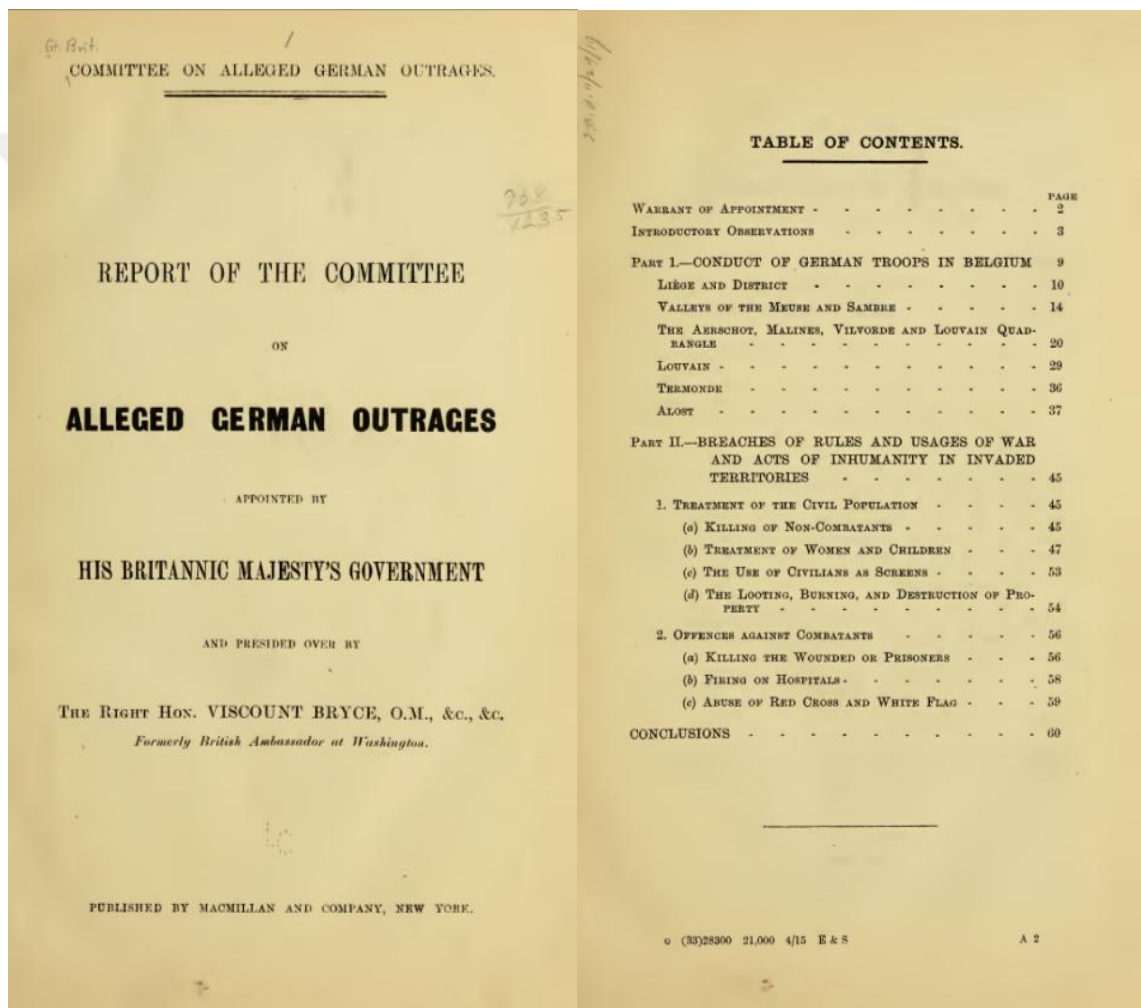


Fig. 1. Great Britain. Committee on Alleged German Outrages, and James Bryce. *Report of the Committee on Alleged German Outrages*. Macmillan & Co. for H.M. Stationery Office, 1915. Library of Congress. Web. 8 Aug. 2024. <http://www.loc.gov/item/a15002686/>.

Moreover, as an important strategy the Bureau began producing pro-war pamphlets as Ideological State Apparatus to promote the justness of the war. One of the initial and most noteworthy pamphlet publications disseminated by the Propaganda Bureau was the Report on Alleged German Outrages (fig. 1), released in May 1915 and edited by the “Bryce Committee” (Altenhöner). The Report on Alleged German Outrages, which was also known as the “Bryce Report” was an important propaganda work that aimed to document German war crimes against Belgium in 1914 when Germany violated Belgium’s neutrality. The British government commissioned Viscount James Bryce, a renowned historian and former British ambassador to the United States, to oversee the project. The pamphlet contained allegations of severe breaches of international law, such as mass executions, the destruction of property, looting, and violence against civilians, including women and children. The report was aimed to convince the neutral countries, especially the United States, and therefore “was translated into twenty-seven languages” (Ryley 81). This pamphlet intended to present Britain as the innocent party who was a defender of democracy and freedom that Germany had forced into the war and Germany as the vicious aggressor with imperialistic ambitions. By highlighting Germany’s atrocities and emphasizing Britain’s noble intentions, Wellington House aimed to garner support for the war effort and rally public opinion in Britain and other neutral nations, especially in the US, against the enemy. James Bryce was chosen because he was a well-known and trusted historian, as well as a respected academic who had many connections in the United States (Fisher vi). Even though the infamous James Bryce was commissioned to bolster the credibility of the study, the credibility of these reports was questionable for being largely based on testimonies of witnesses (Ryley 74). In addition to that, to protect the witnesses, their names were omitted from the document, which raised concerns about the reliability of these testimonies. It is evident that Wellington House wanted to use Bryce’s reputation as an intellectual to ensure that the report’s claims would not be questioned extensively. This can be noticed even from the cover page of the document. In the “Warrant of Appointment” it is written that:

I hereby appoint - The Right Hon. Viscount BRYCE, O.M. ; ... to be a Committee to consider and advise on the evidence collected on behalf of His Majesty’s Government as to outrages alleged to have been committed by German troops during the present War, cases of alleged maltreatment of civilians in the invaded territories, and breaches of the laws and established

usages of war; and to prepare a report for His Majesty's Government showing the conclusion at which they arrive on the evidence now available. And I appoint Viscount Bryce to be Chairman, and Mr. E. Grimwood Mears and Mr. W. J. H. Brodrick, barristers-at-law, to be Joint Secretaries to the Committee. (Great Britain, Committee on Alleged German Outrages 2)

The Wellington House's publication reason for this document was to in a way provide an objective study that presented real and reliable sources with credible authors to ensure that the public opinion was directed to the desired perspective. James Bryce's acceptance of this task stems from many different reasons. James Bryce, being a well-known scholar, had many personal and academic connections with Germany. He studied law in Heidelberg in 1863, and he always remembered his professors, social and academic circle, and Heidelberg fondly (Fisher 59). In addition to that, due to being an intellectual, he also praised influential German philosophers and authors such as Kant, Goethe and Hegel. Despite all these deep-rooted connections, Bryce could not comprehend Germany's aggression towards Belgium (Fisher 59, 68–69). Therefore, according to him, this transgression should be condemned by the international community, and appropriate actions should be taken to hold Germany accountable for their actions. Bryce believed that upholding principles of international law and justice was crucial in maintaining peace and stability in Europe. According to Jameson Ryley's article "The Historian Who Sold Out: James Bryce and the Bryce Report," James Bryce reasoned that "the violation of a small country's neutrality by a Great Power required Britain's defence and, therefore, that Britain needed to take a stand against such a flagrant transgression of elementary morality" (64). Furthermore, James Bryce's nationalist and patriotic ideas were rooted on the belief that Britain's intervention in World War I was ethically justified due to Germany's inexcusable violation of Belgium's neutrality. According to Bryce, this was a serious breach of international, moral, and ethical principles (Ryley 64). Therefore, Britain being the empire where the sun never sets had a duty to protect the smaller countries that were in need.

Clearly, the tactical application of James Bryce's report corresponds with Louis Althusser's notion of Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs). In World War I, it is apparent that the British Propaganda Bureau disseminates its ideology not by violence such as military and police, but by ideology that is through means such as media and other forms of distribution. Therefore, British propaganda uses ISAs to manipulate the stories,

discourses, and people's beliefs to support the ruling ideology. Furthermore, British pro-war propaganda strategies are important examples of ISAs because, as seen in *Report of the Committee on Alleged German Outrages* they are carried out subtly so that they appear real and logical. As a result, propaganda that reinforces the government's ideology is more convincing and successful in influencing public opinion. British pro-war propaganda utilised Ideological State Apparatuses to shape public view in order to raise support for the war, justify Britain's involvement, and antagonise the enemy and critics. To achieve the desired ideology, Britain focused its pro-war propaganda on a variety of themes, but the most prominent ones were the concepts of masculinity, patriotism, nationalism, unity against evil, and global threat. To reinforce men's sense of duty in military service and national defence, appeals were made to ideals of masculinity and the responsibility to protect their families, women, and children.

In his article "Masculinities in an Industrializing Society: Britain, 1800-1914," John Tosh explains that before World War I, British masculinity was characterised by a bourgeois ideal that highlighted hard work, domestic responsibility, self-discipline, and avoidance of physical violence, while also being influenced by Britain's expanding imperial ambitions. According to Tosh, the term "bourgeois" is the most accurate descriptor, as it not only refers to the class where this form of masculinity emerged but also signifies a particular stage in historical development, in which bourgeois masculinity played an integral role (331). These highlighted characteristics could be recognised in the eighteenth-century bourgeois masculinity as well "but the social base of this masculinity was much broader in the nineteenth century" (331). The ideas of "independence" and self-development became prominent (332). One of the most important areas "in which bourgeois masculinity changed in the course of the nineteenth century was in the value placed on the domestic sphere" (333). Therefore, men were expected to be providers, patriarchal figures at home and were encouraged to fulfil the roles of husbands and fathers. The British government was able to successfully create a cohesive narrative that successfully affected public opinion and created support for the military by intentionally intertwining these themes into diverse publishing and media forms, including posters, pamphlets, newspapers and poems. Especially in the posters such as *For the Glory of Ireland: Will You Go or Must I?* and *Your Country Needs You*, men were encouraged to

enlist and interpellated as brave and patriotic subjects who had to protect their families and country from the enemy.

Accordingly, the first chapter of the thesis examines the pro-war propaganda developed by Britain as “Ideological State Apparatuses.” In this context, it argues that posters and poetry of well-known authors such as Rupert Brooke, Rudyard Kipling, John Masefield, Thomas Hardy and Jessie Pope function as Ideological State Apparatus in their advancement of patriotism and heroism in support of the war. The authors Thomas Hardy, Rudyard Kipling and John Masefield were involved in Charles Masterman’s conference, that took place on 2 September 1914, which aimed to coordinate British pro-war propaganda efforts and enlist intellectuals and literary figures to help shape and promote pro-war narrative (Taylor, *British Propaganda* 36; Sanders and Taylor 39). Even though Rudyard Kipling was absent from the meeting, he sent a message offering his service (Masterman 272). Rupert Brooke and Jessie Pope were chosen as patriotic poets who were not formally connected to the War Propaganda Bureau but supported the war effort independently. Their works aligned with the War Propaganda Bureau’s broader pro-war propaganda goals of the time even though they were not part of the official pro-war propaganda machinery. In their poems, Rupert Brooke and Jessie Pope promote enlistment, glorify noble sacrifice and justify the war. Rupert Brooke, in his poem “The Soldier,” glorifies death by portraying it as a noble act for one’s country, while Jessie Pope, in “War Girls,” presents idealised gender roles during wartime, encouraging women to temporarily take over men’s roles while the men fight in the battlefield.

In the second chapter of the thesis, with the change in people’s ideas due to the prolongation of the war, the main focus is on the retaliation of the War Propaganda Bureau (Wellington House) to the anti-war poets, novelists, and opposing ideology. This chapter explores the transformation of the pro war poets who started doubting the war and eventually began opposing the war. The chapter also analyses the government’s response against the rising criticism and the changing discourse of the war including questioning the ideas of masculinity, patriotism and morality. To maintain the pro-war narrative and suppress the opposition, the Bureau started to rely more on Repressive State Apparatus such as legislation, censure, imprisonment and diagnoses of the anti-war figures with mental instability. These changes are further examined through posters, poems,

educational books and reports in Althusser's framework of Ideological and Repressive State Apparatuses.

This thesis concludes that the pro-war propaganda of the British Propaganda Bureau and similar institutions of the British government tried to create a pro-war ideology through the Ideological State Apparatuses. British government used posters, reports, books, literary works such as poems to ideologically influence the public and create a support for the war. When the Ideological State Apparatuses began to fail in producing a pro-war attitude, the pro-war propaganda employed Repressive Apparatus such as imprisoning or executions and more repressive Ideological State Apparatuses such as censorship, legal actions and political decisions.



CHAPTER 1

THE BIRTH OF BRITISH PRO-WAR PROPAGANDA AND THE USE OF IDEOLOGICAL STATE APPARATUSES

When World War I broke out, the British government realized that maintaining the war effort depended on winning public support. Therefore, in 1914 it founded the British War Propaganda Bureau, also known as Wellington House, to influence public opinion. The bureau initiated a deliberate campaign, which included newspapers, books, posters and even popular writers, to propagate the war and create a discourse of the war through the themes such as responsibility, honour and patriotism. The aim was to create a common national perspective that involvement in the war was both a moral obligation and a loyalty to the country. Accordingly, the British War Propaganda Bureau concentrated on presenting Britain's role in the war as a defence of the British values and a stand against oppression. This chapter argues that the British government created its war propaganda through what Althusser calls Ideological State Apparatuses such as poetry, the press and the pro-war posters to shape the attitudes and beliefs of the people and justify the war as a higher cause.

In his book, *On the Reproduction of Capitalism*, Lois Althusser expands on the Marxist theory of the state. According to the Marxist tradition, 'the state' is usually a repressive apparatus which is designed to maintain the interests of the dominant ruling class. In essence, its main function is to protect the bourgeoisie and the large landowners from the working and lower class. As Marx and Engels state in their book *The Communist Manifesto*, "the executive of the modern State is but a committee form managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie" (14). Furthermore, Althusser explains that "the State" works as a "machine" which works in tandem with the ruling class's advantages. It enables the dominant class to impose its rules and ideology through not only legal instruments such as the police force, prisons and courts but also the army when the need arises (*On the Reproduction* 70). While classical Marxist theory describes "the state" and its apparatuses as the repressive means to control the masses, Althusser argues that there

are other factors and apparatuses that the state uses to control the masses. Therefore, Althusser argues that apart from “Repressive State Apparatus” of the traditional Marxist approach, there are also “Ideological State Apparatuses” that are used to maintain control. “Ideological State Apparatuses” imply a more complicated mechanism of power combining repression with ideology.

At the heart of Althusser’s thesis hence is the difference between Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) and Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs). Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) mostly uses brute force and pressure through institutions like the police, the army or the court. In contrast, Ideological State Apparatuses work in a very contrasted manner and are in a way less engaged in direct violence. The Ideological State Apparatuses are not responsible for the detailed aspects of people’s lives; instead, they operate through cultural institutions such as schools, the mass media and religious institutions so as to persuade people’s mentalities and behaviours. By naturalising the dominant ideology in the everyday practices, the Ideological State Apparatuses serve to further the understanding and legitimization of the ideology of the ruling class. This, subsequently, helps in preserving the current order but eliminates the requirement of further suppression (Althusser, *On the Reproduction* 74–79). In addition to this, Althusser presents the idea of “interpellation,” or “hailing,” as a significant process by which ISAs subconsciously mould individuals into subjects who conform to the dominant ideology:

I shall then suggest that ideology ‘acts’ or ‘functions’ in such a way that it ‘recruits’ subjects among the individuals (it recruits them all), or ‘transforms’ the individuals into subjects (it transforms them all) by that very precise operation which I have called interpellation or hailing, and which can be imagined along the lines of the most commonplace everyday police (or other) hailing : ‘Hey, you there !’ (“Ideology” 174)

According to Althusser, individuals are called or in other words “hailed” by ideology in a manner that helps them recognise themselves within certain social positions, such as student, worker, or citizen. It is via the process of reacting to these roles that individuals internalise and reinforce the values that relate to them. This allows individuals to perceive their identities and actions as being personal choices rather than being dictated by ideology. Hence, they voluntarily maintain the existing social structure thus enabling the ISAs to maintain control over people without resorting to repression (Althusser, “Ideology” 174–77).

In order to “hail” or “interpellate” the people into subject positions, the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) exist in multiple forms. These forms are the religious ISA, the educational ISA, the family ISA, the legal ISA, the political ISA, the trade union ISA, the communications ISA and the cultural ISA (Althusser, *On the Reproduction* 243). All Ideological State Apparatuses contribute to the same result, which is securing social conformity and unity through beliefs and values without explicit force.

The religious ISA functions by interpellating individuals as believers and moral subjects. As Althusser states, “the religious apparatus by recalling in sermons and the other great ceremonies of Birth, Marriage and Death, that man is only ashes, unless he loves his neighbour to the extent of turning other cheek to whoever strikes first” interpellates individuals as religious subjects (“Ideology” 154). In this way, religious ideology teaches people to turn the other cheek and accept suffering or inequality as part of a divine plan, which deflects protest and stabilizes the social order. This is how private or public religious organizations still work closely with the government and support its interests.

The educational ISA includes all levels of schooling, both public and private, through which almost the entire population passes, typically beginning in early childhood. Therefore, no other institution has such a broad influence in construction subjectivity. According to Althusser, the educational system is the predominant ISA in modern capitalist society. He states that “the Church has been replaced today in its role as the dominant Ideological State Apparatus by the School. It is coupled with the Family just as the Church was once coupled with the Family” (“Ideology” 157). There are two main functions of educational ISA. On the one hand, it provides individuals with the skills and knowledge needed in the workforce. On the other hand, it shapes their views, behaviours and ideology according to the government’s norms. As Althusser points out, education is “an apprenticeship in a variety of know-how wrapped up in the massive inculcation of the ideology of the ruling class” (“Ideology” 156).

The family is another important Ideological State Apparatus, which works closely with the educational ISA. The family is usually the first ideological influence on an individual’s life. Children learn language, norms, and values from their family long before formal schooling begins. As a child, an individual is taught certain values such as certain religious beliefs, gender roles, or class behaviours. As Althusser points out, “little Louis

is already-subject - not yet religious-subject, but familial-subject” (*On the Reproduction* 193). The family thus pre-conditions children for acceptance of dominant ideologies.

The legal ISA includes not only the law but also the institutions and practices that disseminate the ideology of the law. In this sense, as Althusser argues, “the ‘Law’ belongs both to the (Repressive) State Apparatus and to the system of the ISAs” (“Ideology” 143). In other words, the law as an apparatus has a dual nature. As a Repressive State Apparatus, it can enforce rules through courts and police, but simultaneously as an Ideological State Apparatus it outlines an ideology of justice and morality that people “submit [to] unconditionally” (“Ideology” 167). The legal ISA constructs individuals as legal subjects who are free, equal with rights and obligations. Althusser describes this relation in legal ISA as a “specular relation” in which the subjects are made to perceive ‘justice’ in their consciousness as being free and equal participants in a just system (*On the Reproduction* 198). Therefore, individuals believe that legal ideology must be respected because of its decency (*On the Reproduction* 67).

The political ISA refers to the political system and institutions through which the ruling ideology is expressed in the political sphere. Similar to the legal ISA, the political ISA is both repressive and ideological. As Althusser states, “the political state apparatus (chief of state, government, administration)” is different from the political Ideological State Apparatus. The first one is part of the Repressive State Apparatus, while the second one is one of the Ideological State Apparatuses (*On the Reproduction* 222). Althusser explains that the ideology of democracy and free elections is largely an illusion to preserve the capitalist class structures. Althusser describes the parliamentary political ISA as an “electoral” mechanism that on the surface represents the “will of the people” through elected delegates, “to whom the government, chosen by the chief of state or the parliament itself, is supposed to be ‘answerable’ or ‘responsible’ for its politics” (*On the Reproduction* 222).

Although trade-union ISA does not seem like an ISA because unions are typically considered as representatives of workers’ interests against the state or employers, Althusser treats unions as an Ideological State Apparatus because they often serve to integrate workers into the capitalist system rather than overthrow it. The state may even support some union roles through labour laws, official union recognition or collective

bargaining agreements because this helps contain worker opposition within an institutional form (*On the Reproduction* 134). In a way, trade union ISA works to some extent in tandem with the political ISA to create a sense of free speech and legal opposition.

The communications ISA was used extensively for pro-war propaganda, as discussed below, during World War I. What Althusser calls the communications ISA includes the media such as “press, radio and television, etc.” (“Ideology” 143). Generally, privately owned or run for profit (and thus part of the private sector, though subject to state influence or regulation), the privately owned media institutions “function willy-nilly as component parts of determinate Ideological State Apparatuses, under the State Ideology, in the service of the state’s politics, the politics of the dominant class” (Althusser, *On the Reproduction* 81). Althusser describes the communications apparatus as essentially saturating society with the messages and values that the ruling class desires. He argues that the communications ISA functions “by cramming every ‘citizen’ with daily doses of nationalism, chauvinism, liberalism, moralism, etc, by means of the press, the radio and television” (“Ideology” 145). This becomes more apparent during the World War I period when there is an abundance of themes such as nationalism, courage and patriotism in the media.

According to Althusser, the cultural ISA works through literature, the arts, sports, and other cultural institutions as one of the many Ideological State Apparatuses that uphold the ruling class’s main ideology (“Ideology” 143). Althusser argues that artistic and cultural expressions carry ideological messages, even when they claim to be neutral or independent (*On the Reproduction* 77). For example, “the role of sport in fostering chauvinism is of the first importance” (*On the Reproduction* 144–45). As Althusser explains, the Ideological State Apparatuses mainly operate by ideology, but repression also plays a secondary role even though it is subtle and “the same is true of the cultural ISA (censorship, among other things), etc.” (*On the Reproduction* 244). That is, even when censorship is not explicitly imposed, economic forces and institutional structures shape what cultural products are widely circulated.

In the light of this theoretical framework, it is possible to analyse the ways Wellington House, also known as the British War Propaganda Bureau, used poetry and various forms

of the media as Ideological State Apparatuses to naturalise the war over the course of World War I. Wellington House coordinated an extensive propaganda campaign aimed to develop an understanding of the war as glorious, honourable, and just to increase and maintain the public support for the war effort. The propaganda used a range of media including newspapers, books and posters to promote the ideas that the war represented honour, responsibility, and patriotism. The aim was to construct people as patriotic subjects who would support nationalistic values and believed the war to be a moral requirement.

Indeed, the British War Propaganda Bureau started as an improvised attempt at countering the German propaganda and became a substantial power in the British government's hands. In contrast to Germany, which had made substantial preparations prior to the outbreak of World War I, the British government was originally unprepared to carry out organised propaganda (Radu 63). Almost immediately, Germany bombarded countries such as Italy with literature that explained its motivations and discredited its adversaries (Radu 77). This was a source of concern for the British government, especially considering the success of German propaganda in the United States. In response, at the end of August 1914, Lloyd George encouraged the Cabinet to respond to statements made by the German government and to exert influence over public opinion around the world. As a consequence of this, Prime Minister Asquith entrusted Charles Masterman, a writer and publicist, with the responsibility of building a propaganda organisation. It seemed likely that Masterman's experience working for the National Insurance Commission, which had been responsible for a noteworthy marketing drive to explain the National Insurance Act of 1911, made him an appropriate candidate for the position. Additionally, the organisation of the Commission served as a useful model for organising a propaganda effort during times of war, despite the fact that it was not directly related to the propaganda department (Sanders and Taylor 38–39).

Charles Masterman was assigned with the responsibility of presenting the British case for military involvement in World War I to neutral countries and British Dominions throughout the world. He organised two conferences in order to set the fundamental ideas and strategy for Britain's wartime propaganda. Masterman arranged the first conference with eminent literary personalities, which took place on September 2, 1914. This

conference sought to compile eminent authors like H.G. Wells, Arthur Conan Doyle, John Masefield and Thomas Hardy to explore how best to portray Britain's war participation in a way that would appeal to British Dominions and neutral nations. Masterman aimed to give the propaganda effort legitimacy and cultural depth by including eminent cultural icons, therefore assuring that the messages created would be convincing and well-received by informed viewers outside (Masterman 272). The second conference, which took place on September 7, 1914, included figures from the British press. The principles of the propaganda effort were established at these conferences. These principles included the requirement for unrestricted news broadcast and the assistance of governments in nations that were neutral.

Wellington House was the location where Masterman built his War Propaganda Bureau. He recruited officials who had previous experience working for the National Insurance Commission and organised the bureau into linguistic divisions, with each section focussing on a different region (Taylor, *British Propaganda* 36). In addition to this, he invited literary and academic figures to provide content and engage in media analysis from other countries. To influence opinion leaders in other countries, the guiding idea was to build propaganda on accurate facts and to avoid using overt methods, such as those used by Germany. Instead, the emphasis was placed on secrecy and subtlety. Germany bombarded neutral countries with explicit and persistent propaganda, which was clearly manipulative, lacked credibility and legitimacy. However, "Masterman expected Wellington House pamphlets to be of a highly factual nature with British case only very subtly argued" that appealed to the intellectuals and because "people do not like to think they would buy propaganda" (Sanders and Taylor 104–108). The activities of Wellington House were supplemented by a number of different voluntary organisations that disseminated content. Wellington House grew as the conflict proceeded, adopting new strategies to keep people interested and to combat the forces that were working against it (Sanders and Taylor 39–43). It was obvious that, Masterman sought to give Britain's cause academic weight and respectability by including eminent cultural personalities, thereby assuring that the messages sent would appeal to educated viewers outside.

In addition to the Wellington House, the British government used other propaganda organisations during World War I to support its cause both domestically and

internationally. The most prominent ones were Parliamentary Recruiting Committee (PRC) (August 1914), Foreign Office News Department (1914), British War Mission (1917), The National War Aims Committee (NWAC) (1917) and Ministry of Information (1918). These organisations exemplify how the British government utilized the Ideological State Apparatuses create pro-war propaganda and align public sentiment with the needs of the British government.

For instance, the administration realised it needed a major recruitment campaign given its tiny standing army of 160,000 men which was inadequate for the upcoming war. War Secretary Lord Kitchener, who instantly took steps to expand the army, started a campaign calling for volunteers to fight for Britain with the heading “Your King and Country Need You” (Simkins 39). From 4 to 8 August, a total of 8,193 men enlisted nationwide, with approximately 1,640 recruits per day. On August 9, the number of enlistments increased to 2,433. While Kitchener’s call immediately increased enlistment in the capital, recruitment in the provinces was significantly behind (Simkins 49). However, when the terrible reality of the war struck in, enlistment rates dropped, and Prime Minister Asquith realised he needed a centralised recruiting agency. Inspired by Members of Parliament who had set up local recruiting campaigns, Asquith urged a cross-party effort that resulted in the founding of the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee (PRC) in late August 1914 (Beckett and Simpson 100–101).

Under the direction of eminent political leaders and War Office officials, the PRC sought to unite political parties for the recruiting campaign and coordinated national enlisting initiatives. To maintain recruiting rates, the committee set up demonstrations, handed out pamphlets, and coordinated local party networks such as forming “branch committees based upon similar all-part lines” (Sanders and Taylor 17). Although the PRC was essentially a political entity, it served as a main propaganda tool freely endorsing recruitment as a uniting factor. The PRC’s involvement grew as the war dragged on, working with other government agencies, such as the National War Savings Committee, to support war bonds and the Ministry of Munitions to find manufacturing workers. The PRC backed one more large enrolment campaign before conscription was instituted in 1916. The decline of voluntary recruitment and the conscription signalled the start of PRC’s pro-war campaigns’ fall. Although the demand for the PRC’s recruiting operations

declined with the change from voluntary to required service, it had been crucial in fostering early support for the war and energising public opinion (Sanders and Taylor 16–18).

During this period The British Foreign Office played a great role in disseminating British pro-war propaganda overseas especially in the United States (Taylor, *The Projection of Britain* 68). However, unlike other European countries who had set press bureaus, the British Foreign Office lacked a structured system to give official information to the press prior to World War I (Sanders 123). British officials felt that maintaining public detachment from the complex and delicate world of international relations and properly conducting foreign policy depended on secrecy (Sanders 127). But public interaction with foreign policy started to shift as universal suffrage, developed education, literacy, and developments in communications technology became more common (Taylor, *The Projection of Britain* 12). Consequently, as the main media, the press began to have a major influence on public opinion. Informal interactions between officials and reporters emerged reflecting a greater awareness of publicity's possible influence on diplomacy. Upon realising the need for systematic propaganda during the war Britain also created the Press Bureau and the Foreign Office News Department in August 1914, therefore beginning the systematic propaganda and censorship that would become essential weapons in the war effort. By 1918, Britain had developed a thorough propaganda infrastructure through the Ministry of Information after recognising the power of propaganda and ideological control. The apparent success of these propaganda campaigns caused government-press relations to be reassessed following the war (Taylor, *The Projection of Britain* 11–12).

A cross-party parliamentary organisation known as the National War Aims Committee (NWAC) was established to maintain the morale of the British civilian population during the final, taxing months of World War I. British civilians had experienced three years of substantial disruptions by July 1917, including the fear of casualties at home as a result of enemy action, intensified work demands ideologically linked to the war effort, reduced leisure, supply shortages, economic pressures, and, for the first time in a Continental war, anxiety for loved ones in dangerous roles (Monger 1). Prime Minister David Lloyd George recognised the necessity of a coordinated government-led initiative, as he

recognised that the press and voluntary organisations were unable to provide sufficient independent propaganda. In July 1917, the NWAC began operations amid escalating social unrest, which included strikes and the promotion of workers' councils. In the subsequent 15 months, it conducted thousands of meetings and disseminated more than 100 million publications, delivering a patriotic message that was tailored to the total-war situation that civilians encountered (Monger 1).

As stated above, in addition to these, there were also voluntary organizations that worked together with the government. However, certain organisations, such as the Central Committee for National Patriotic Organisations, presented difficulties by employing methodological approaches that were more forceful. The forceful approach is also explained in John Beckett's article, "Maintaining Morale: promoting the First World War, 1914-16" which highlights an incident in Derbyshire on 18 August 1915 when a Central Committee for National Patriotic Organisations (CCNPO) speaker referred to villagers as "slackers." This label, which had become common for non-volunteers, caused significant unrest, and the meeting had to be prematurely ended due to a riot. Even the local vicar failed to restore order (14). Consequently, one of the initial responsibilities of the NWAC was to incorporate the work of organisations such as the Central Committee for National Patriotic Organisations (CCNPO), which had consistently caused frustration for the official propaganda departments. Frederick Guest had proposed amalgamation to the CCNPO in July 1917 in order to declare the merger at the Queen's Hall meeting on 4 August, which was the occasion for the NWAC's launch (Sanders and Taylor 69).

During World War I, British pro-war propaganda was successful not just because of its compelling content but also because of its carefully designed delivery, which was intended to encourage duty and patriotism. As Taylor observes in his book *British Propaganda in the Twentieth Century*, propaganda campaigns relied on subtle yet persuasive techniques to ensure public trust and enthusiasm without appearing coercive (36). Therefore, as Taylor states, "Wellington House decided wisely to eschew exhortation in favour of explanation" (46).

The key factor that should be understood about propaganda is that it is "a form of communication" and through specific communication techniques one side can "achieve a response that furthers the desired intent" (Jowett and O'Donnell 1). Therefore, the

technique heavily relies on “persuasion” which is “interactive and attempts to satisfy the needs of both persuader and persuadee” (Jowett and O’Donnell 1). Propaganda is predominantly associated with political discourse nowadays. The phrase originates from its use in a religious context. “The Congregatio de Promotion Fide,” established in 1622 by Pope Gregory XV, was an association dedicated to promoting Catholic missionary activities. The term propaganda derives from the ablative singular feminine of “propagandus,” the gerundive of the Latin verb “propagare,” signifying “to propagate.” The initial occurrence of the term propaganda (without the complete Latin title) in English referred to this Catholic organisation. It was not until the early 19th century that the phrase evolved to signify thoughts or facts of questionable truth employed to promote a cause (*Merriam-Webster*). Propaganda underwent a major change in the context of World War I, becoming a sophisticated weapon for mass communication. The theological and etymological foundations of the field helped to shape this transforming process. By means of organisations like Wellington House, the British government utilised the Ideological State Apparatuses to create narratives that were compelling.

By showing Britain’s involvement in the war as a moral obligation and a defence of freedom and democracy respectively, propagandists were successful in defining the war as not just a need but also a responsibility. Jowett and O’Donnell argue that one must know the values and needs of the audience if one wants to create messages that really appeal to them (1). Wellington House clearly used the advantage of knowing the public’s values and needs to develop Ideological State Apparatuses in support of the war. Foregrounding the dominant cultural values of patriotism, duty, and heroism it aimed to interpellate the people accordingly because, as stated, effective propaganda depended not just on spreading information but also creating messages that connected with popular emotions, values, and beliefs. Wellington House, for instance, often appealing to ideas of masculinity, created posters, pamphlets, poems and speeches to encourage men to defend their families and nation.

Accordingly, posters and pamphlets calling the young to action function as important Ideological State Apparatuses. One thing becomes evident in the posters: although their intended audiences vary, these posters and pamphlets addressed men from working-class background and presented and highlighted recruitment as an honourable act of protecting

one's family and nation as their protectors. Accordingly, men were often portrayed as guardians of the family during recruiting campaigns, and they were urged to join the war to protect their families from the dangers of the outside world.

Wellington House developed a campaign using Lord Kitchener's poster *Your Country Needs You* (fig. 2), to encourage enlistment at the start of the war, and it was among the most memorable campaigns (Taylor, *British Propaganda* 1). Using assertive language and pointing directly at the audience to "hail" individuals, in Althusser's words, as loyal citizens, the poster, as Althusser's Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs), shapes public behaviour and attitudes towards the war. Utilising both visual and written components, the poster, as an ISA, subtly interpellates people as patriotic subjects, by directly addressing their perceived status within the social and political system.



Fig. 2. Your Country Needs You. 1914. Poster. Imperial War Museums. Web. 19 Aug. 2024. <<https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/16576>>.

The poster *Your Country Needs You* is a clear product of the communications ISA, created by the state's propaganda bureau to spread its message through mass media. Although the poster is not disseminated through private organisations but through state institutions, it still manages to overflow the nation with the ideology of the state. Lord Kitchener, who was the Secretary of State for War, is presented in the poster as a central figure of authority and leadership. In a way, he becomes the personification of British authority. Kitchener's piercing stare and pointed finger function as direct calls to action. The strong usage of "YOU" supports this hailing effect and generates a personal and unique appeal that links the identity of the audience with their duty to the country. The poster seeks to normalise the idea of wartime sacrifice by portraying enrolment as a moral and patriotic duty, therefore presenting involvement in the war as both natural and honourable. Furthermore, in the poster *Your Country Needs You*, the family ISA's influence is utilised by the communications ISA. The poster in the small print guarantees financial security to the soldiers' family through "separation allowances." The men are subtly interpellated as the providers for the family who can support their family and their country at the same time if they choose to join the war. In addition to that, different amount of separation allowances stresses how each man is compensated according to the number of their family members and how just the state is. For unmarried men, "separation allowance" is extended to their fathers, mothers or sisters.

Moreover, the way the poster uses symbols like Allied flags places Britain's war effort in a greater, unified cause, therefore supporting the validity of the war as a defence of shared ideals like liberty and justice. As ISAs alter people's perspective by means of cultural and symbolic methods rather than overt force, this poster too, uses cultural values to match the personal behaviour with state goals, and focuses on masculinity, honour, and responsibility. Especially for the working-class males, the main targets of such efforts, the visual simplicity and clarity of the message guarantee that the ideology is accessible and quickly internalised. In *Picture This: World War I Posters and Visual Culture*, Pearl James argues that effective propaganda posters must be visually simple, "single, clear, specific" and must focus on emotional appeal over intellectual in order to reach its audience (20–21). Thus, the poster not only promoted enrolment but also helped to strengthen national unity by influencing individuals through subtle emotional persuasion as a communications ISA.

A similar objective can be observed in the pro-war propaganda targeting women's sense of morality and the responsibilities as caretakers of their husbands, children and brothers. The well-known poster, *Women of Britain Say—'GO!'* (fig. 3) reinforced gender stereotypes by showing women sobbing in support of troops leaving the nation, therefore tying women's patriotism with their acceptance to sacrifice their male family members for the war.

Women of Britain Say—'GO!' functions as part of the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) in forming social roles and supporting prevailing ideas in favour of the war. Designed by the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, the poster appeals to women on the home front to encourage their men to enlist. It uses familial and moral pressure as propaganda while centring the ideological messages on gender norms and patriotic duty. Accordingly, the poster *Women of Britain Say—'GO!'* upholds the traditional gender roles: men belong on the battlefield, women on the home front. Thus, the Ideological State Apparatus functions by embedding ideology in familiar social structures like the family. The notion that a good British family encourage their men to enlist thereby reinforces the idea that the home and by extension the family as an Ideological State Apparatus must actively support the state's war aims. Althusser argues that the family is the first Ideological State Apparatus that a person encounters, and therefore, it introduces fundamental ideologies such as loyalty to country, gender roles and class roles (*On the Reproduction* 193). The poster *Women of Britain Say—'GO!'* particularly works through the family ISA to promote the idea that men go to the war and women support them.

In the poster *Women of Britain Say—'GO!'*, we see two women and a small boy standing by a window and observing troops march into combat. The women's faces expose that although they show both resolve and sad acceptance, their national responsibility comes at an emotional cost. This supports society's conviction that women should encourage their male relatives join the war effort from the home front. The little boy's participation highlights even more the intergenerational consequences of the war as it suggests that the sacrifice of the present generation is essential to ensure the future for the next. This story gently interpellates mothers into the wartime ideology by immediately appealing to their instincts and the protective function usually connected with women. In addition to women and mothers, the poster also encourages men to enlist for the war to

protect the women and children of the country. Thus, the poster subtly gives the role of the sole protector to men and encourages them to take this social role on.



Fig. 3. *Women of Britain Say—'GO!'* 1915. Poster. Imperial War Museums. Web. 19 Aug. 2024. <<http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/17002>>.

Moreover, the text, “Women of Britain Say—’GO!’”, gives the poster more convincing authority. Framing women as active advocates of enlisting not only normalises but also honours the act of sending men to fight. It places women as moral compass whose support gives the military effort validity. This is consistent with Althusser’s theory that ISAs operate by embedding prevailing ideas into social and cultural establishments like the family (Althusser, *On the Reproduction* 244). The wording of the poster supports the belief that a woman’s patriotism is shown by her acceptance to let her loved ones serve their country, therefore matching personal sacrifice with national responsibility.

Moreover, the picture of troops walking away contrasts with the home environment of the ladies and child, therefore signifying the different but complimentary duties allocated to men and women throughout the war. It also highlights what the men need to protect, the peace and comfort of the family they leave behind. Men are expected to battle; women are assigned to uphold morale and offer home front emotional and logistical assistance. This division of responsibilities supports the power systems rooted in the state’s pro-war propaganda machine and helps to maintain the social order during war.

Within the larger framework of British pro-war propaganda, *Women of Britain Say—’GO!’* shows how posters as Ideological State Apparatuses used cultural values and social conventions to mobilise diverse groups. It emphasises the subtle but effective strategies the British government used to promote unity and common goal, therefore ensuring that even those not physically engaged in fighting felt a necessary component of the war effort. As Onur Çiffiliz notes, organisations such as RSPCA (Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals) produced propaganda posters and campaigns encouraging public to support the care of animals serving at the front, which demonstrated that even animals were ideologically defined as contributors to the war effort (32). Examining such pro-war propaganda through the prism of Althusser’s ISAs helps one see how media and cultural techniques were employed to normalise and propagate dominant ideas, therefore guaranteeing general support for the war while preserving current power structures.

In fact, British war propaganda ensured that its ideas connected emotionally with a wide range of people while also maintaining the existing social and political order. Accordingly, the Ideological State Apparatuses were not only used to rally support for the war among British men and women but also to incorporate the different nationalities of

Britain, particularly the Irish, as Britain's soldiers. The significance of Ireland and the Irish people in World War I can be seen through their considerable contributions, both in military and humanitarian efforts, despite internal political issues. Before World War I, tension between Ireland and Britain were primarily centred around Irish nationalism, the struggle for Home Rule, and sectarian divisions. Irish nationalists had been demanding self-government (Home Rule) since the 19th century. The Home Rule Bills (1886 and 1893) were introduced but defeated, largely due to opposition and resistance from Unionists in Northern Ireland (Ulster) and Conservative politicians in Britain (Townshend 5). Unionists were opponents of Irish Home Rule, primarily based in Ulster, who wished to maintain Ireland's political union with Great Britain. Their concerns included economic stability, Protestant dominance, and allegiance to the British Crown (Jackson 9–12, 61). The Third Home Rule Bill was introduced in 1912, passing in 1914, but faced strong resistance from Ulster Unionists who opposed being governed by an Irish parliament (Jackson 4, 116).

Keith Jeffery explains in his article “‘Writing out of Opinions’: Irish Experience and the Theatre of the First World War” that the outbreak of the Great War temporarily set aside local Irish political divisions, as both nationalist and unionist leaders, representing most of the Irish political opinion, united in support of the British imperial war effort. Framing the conflict as a fight for the “freedom of small nations,” they actively encouraged Irish and Ulster Volunteers to enlist in the British army (250). As a result, pro-war propaganda in British colonial areas concentrated on racial hierarchy and imperial loyalty. It portrayed colonial people as essential yet dependant to the British Empire. The propaganda often presented and stressed colonial peoples as loyal and prepared to fight for their overlords, which represented Britain's paternalistic approach towards its empire. People were subtly propagated and persuaded into accepting their roles in the wartime narrative through the use of these Ideological State Apparatuses that normalised social roles and power dynamics. As previously noted, personal actions such as enrolling or encouraging others to serve are consistent with popular themes of patriotism, sacrifice, and imperial allegiance.

Recruitment rates in Ireland during World War I were significant, especially in industrial areas. As Niamh Gallaghers notes in his book *Ireland and the Great War: A Social and*

Political History, “by 4 November 1914, industrial areas in Ulster, Dublin, Wicklow and Kildare had produced 127 recruits per 10,000 people, a number just under the contribution of industrial areas in Yorkshire, Northumberland and Durham (150 recruits per 10,000 people)” (34). Therefore, Britain wanted to take advantage of Ireland’s potential in World War I by employing pro-war propaganda strategies targeting the Irish males. These pro-war propaganda strategies focused on Irish people on a personal level.

For the Glory of Ireland: Will You Go or Must I? (fig. 4) was a British pro-war propaganda poster aimed at Irish men in 1915, which cleverly intertwined the communications ISA with elements of cultural and political ISAs. It presents a common strategy employed during World War I to recruit the Irish men into the subject positions helping the war. The poster constructs the Irish as voluntary fighters through its emphasis on the traditional gender roles. The women are to stay and mind the home front while it is the duty and responsibility of the men of Ireland to help save the victims of the war. If he does not enlist, he would supposedly force even women to take up arms, violating both gender norms and national honour. The poster *For the Glory of Ireland: Will You Go or Must I?* hence encourages Irish men to take part in the British war effort by means of culturally relevant symbols and emotions. Similar to *Women of Britain Say—‘GO!’*, this poster, too, presents the war as men’s responsibility.

Clad in traditional Irish clothing, the poster shows a lady pointing towards a backdrop marked “Belgium,” where fire and damage are clearly visible. The portrayal of Belgium’s suffering, which was caused by the violation of its neutrality by Germany and a major cause for British involvement in the war, reflects a moral need for Irish men to pick up weapons. Irish viewers are told that joining the British Army will bring glory to Ireland by upholding justice and protecting the weak. As a result, defending Belgium is considered as an honourable Irish contribution to a righteous cause, which helps connecting Irish national pride with service to Britain. In doing so, the poster works as a Political ISA which mitigates Ireland’s political tensions (Home Rule debates, resentment of British rule) by depicting the war as a higher moral mission that transcends local grievances. The rhetorical inquiry, “Will you go or must I?” places male shoulders directly in charge of safeguarding the weak and maintaining justice. The woman’s strong posture and pointed gesture convey urgency and shame, thereby subtly “hailing” the male viewer

to act. Here, the Ideological State Apparatus (ISA) creates the male subject as a guardian of the family, which is an essential role firmly rooted in both society and cultural narratives of the Irish.

As Garvin argues, Irish national values are deeply rooted in themes of ethnicity, land, language, religion, and a strong sense of historical identity (242–46). As Garvin further states, “Gaelic people or ‘race’ ... had had a great civilisation and ... also great powers of absorption of foreign interlopers” (242). Furthermore, Catholicism played a crucial role in Irish nationalism, particularly after the seventeenth-century English conquest when Catholic Irish were dispossessed of their land (McCaffrey 527). Religion became a key cultural pointer distinguishing the native Irish from the English settlers, especially after the Cromwellian and Williamite settlements (Garvin 245; McCaffrey 527). In addition to Catholicism, Ireland has a long history of resistance to English rule and this struggle reinforced a national identity centred on defiance, resilience, and cultural preservation. Even when faced with military defeat, the idea that Ireland would one day reclaim its sovereignty was a strong national sentiment (Garvin 245–46).

It is clear that the Irish women in the poster *For the Glory of Ireland: Will You Go or Must I?* appeal to the idea of the family in Irish tradition. Family was not only an economic unit but also the centre of social and moral life for Irish people. Irish family structures were traditionally patriarchal, with the male head of the household assuming the role of provider, protector, and decision-maker. The father was considered the undisputed head of the household. His role was to make key decisions regarding farming, marriage arrangements, and property inheritance (Arensberg and Kimball 50). The eldest son was expected to inherit the family farm and continue the lineage. This ensured that land remained within the family and provided economic stability across generations (Arensberg and Kimball 62). As Arensberg and Kimball argue, women played an important role within the home, but public authority and landownership decisions were almost entirely in the hands of men because “it is her husband who stands as representative for his family” (373). Clearly, woman’s “conventional role in this regard is a subordinate one. No matter how much the man may rely on the judgment of his wife, he will remain the responsible head of the family and the shop in the eyes of the community” (373). Therefore, in small farming communities, men and women had

clearly defined roles. Men handled traditional farm work, while women managed tasks like selling eggs and making butter. If a man did “women’s work,” it was seen as laughable. Women, on the other hand, were considered “naturally” better at certain tasks, like milking cows, due to their smaller hands (Arensberg and Kimball 47–48).

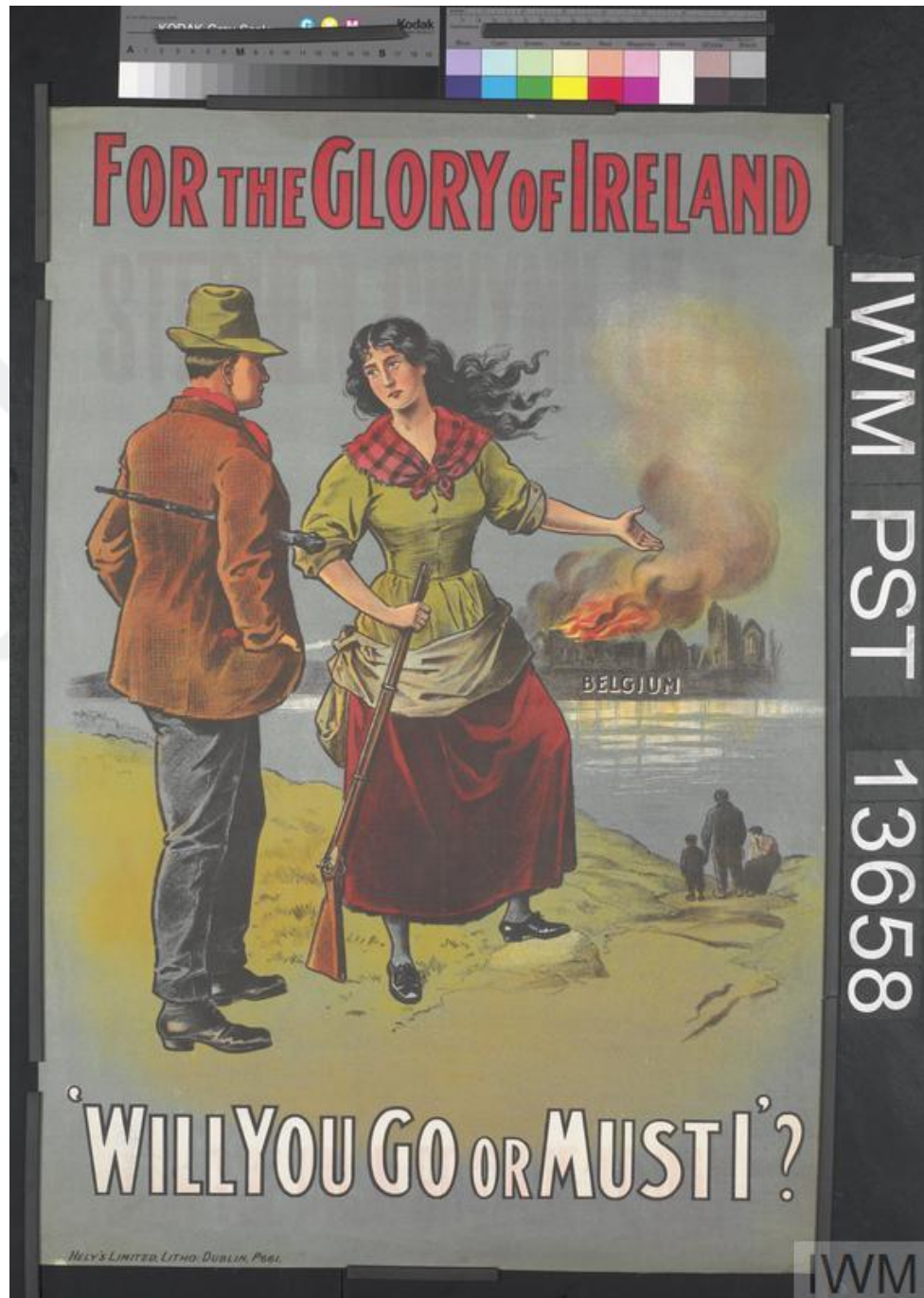


Fig. 4. *For the Glory of Ireland: Will You Go or Must I?*. Poster. Imperial War Museums.

Web. 19 Aug. 2024. <<https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/31651>>

These strict gender roles can be clearly observed in the poster *For the Glory of Ireland: Will You Go or Must I?*. It's clear that the woman is challenging the Irish men in the caption to go to fight, or she, as a woman, will go instead. This scenario creates a strong interpellation by calling out to Irish male viewers and questioning their loyalty and manliness. The way the woman is portrayed as determined yet fragile also supports the idea that as women they need the protection of men. Dependent on men for protection and agency, the woman represents the home front, therefore preserving the belief that men's enrolment is not only a national but also a personal commitment to their families and communities. Her traditional attire highlights this national message even more as it links her Irishness to the moral and cultural norms under defence.

Furthermore, the portrayal of "Belgium" burning in the backdrop helps to universalise the war's stakes and correlate Ireland's possible involvement with a more humanitarian or moral purpose. The poster softens Ireland's problematic relationship with Britain at the time by portraying the war as a virtuous battle, therefore redefining the empire's objectives as shared and honourable. This fits the imperial plan of using ISAs to uphold hierarchical power structures and organise colonial people while avoiding the clear use of force.

The poster basically displays how British propaganda during World War I appealed to certain groups by matching its words to their cultural identity and social positions. It tries to guarantee public support for the war effort by combining emotive images with ideological cues to build a persuasive story of duty, responsibility, and unity.

Despite the fact that posters used the traditional gender roles to encourage men to embrace their part in the war as protecting and defending their loved ones while fighting for their country, British women, in addition to encouraging their men to join the war, also took active part in war by joining the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC). Established in 1917, WAAC was a pioneering British military organisation created to enable women to directly help with the war effort. It was the first time women were formally allowed to serve in non-combat jobs inside the British Army (Noakes 68–69). The pressing demand for personnel during World War I drove the WAAC's expansion as many men were dispatched to the front lines and labour shortages in key support positions arose. Women in the WAAC were assigned to cover these non-combatant responsibilities, therefore

releasing men for combat positions. Their duties varied ranging from clerical to household, mechanical to telecommunications. Women did general logistical support duties, made meals for soldiers, maintained military vehicles, drove transport trucks, ran telephones and telegraphs, and acted as secretaries, typewrites, and administrative assistants. Often serving both on the front lines in France and in rear-area camps close by, women were often the target of air strikes and had to survive in difficult living circumstances. Despite criticism for entering traditionally male-dominated military sectors, the WAAC proved to be a valuable resource in the war effort. Under the leadership of commanders like as Dame Helen Gwynne-Vaughan, the WAAC demonstrated a disciplined and successful approach to dealing with women in military contexts. Even though women in the corps did not have military ranks, their important contributions significantly increased the operational performance of the British Army (Noakes 69–81).

The pro-war poster for the Women’s Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) offers a perceptive illustration of how British propaganda during World War I targeted certain audiences and reinforced social roles in accordance with Althusser’s idea of Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs). The combination of strong red and black images on the billboard draws attention right away and reflects urgency, which is expressed in the text “Women Urgently Wanted” (fig. 5). This poster emphasises the participation of women in the war as important to the continuance of military activities. The graphic design is set to highlight the importance women may play in helping the war effort, whether at home or overseas. It, hence, shows how one poster can use more than one ISA. As a mass-distributed poster, *Women Urgently Wanted for the W.A.A.C.* is evidently a key component of the communications ISA. According to Althusser the communications ISA is responsible for exposing people to the ideologies of the state constantly (“Ideology” 145).

Furthermore, the poster *Women Urgently Wanted for the W.A.A.C.* specifically targets women; therefore, it intersects with the cultural ISA as well. The visual representation of women in various roles such as factory workers, drivers, and cooks starts shifting gender norms while reinforcing new extended gender expectations. This corresponds with Althusser’s explanation that the cultural ISA functions through arts and literature to disseminate dominant ideological values (“Ideology” 143). While the poster appears to

promote empowerment of women, it actually reinforces the idea that women's labour is temporary and secondary to men's, which is a key wartime ideological strategy. Visually and textually, it emphasises that women's war service is an extension of their traditional supportive roles, not a permanent shift of the gender roles. The poster explicitly says that women are wanted "to take the place of men" in certain jobs (*Women Urgently Wanted for the W.A.A.C.*).

However, it is important to note that the new extended gender role expectations of women joining the workforce and military auxiliary services are not forced but rather encouraged using the official ideology. In addition to that, by listing material and economic benefits such as "good wages, uniform, quarters, free rations" for the women joining the WAAC, it also portrays the state as just and fair as a political ISA, which works by creating an illusion of 'free will' to subject individuals to the ruling political ideology (*On the Reproduction* 222). Although not in a formal school setting, the poster *Women Urgently Wanted for the W.A.A.C.* educates and conditions women to see their participation in the war effort as part of their expected social role. Althusser states that the educational ISA is crucial in reproducing the ideology of the ruling class through knowledge and moral teachings ("Ideology" 156). Emphasised depictions of roles like cooks, waitresses and domestic workers reinforce and teach women their new 'appropriate' temporary extended roles in the society in a subtle way.

Examining posters used for pro-war propaganda reveals that, as *Women Urgently Wanted for the W.A.A.C.* does, they frequently target certain audiences like women. As stated, the WAAC recruitment poster appeals especially to women by highlighting the several positions that become available to them as a result of the war: those of chefs, clerks, waiters, drivers, and mechanics. Though non-combatant, these roles present women as essential substitutes for males serving on the front lines, therefore highlighting their critical contributions to the war effort. Indeed, it is clear that as a propaganda strategy, the state relaxes the social standards to temporarily bring women into male-dominated roles, as in "to take the place of men" and met the needs of the wartime society (*Women Urgently Wanted for the W.A.A.C.*).



Fig. 5. *Women Urgently Wanted for the W.A.A.C.* Poster. Imperial War Museums. Web. 19 Aug. 2024. <<https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/41287>>.

Moreover, as stated, the poster stresses the material advantages such as “good wages,” “uniform,” “quarters,” and “rations” as benefits for women who would volunteer. The marketing strategy thus simultaneously creates a sense of national obligation for the maintenance of economic stability. Working like Ideological State Apparatuses; the poster produces institutional and cultural signals to normalise involvement in the war as both a moral need and a personal advantage. As Althusser argues, “this concert is dominated by a single score... the Ideology of the current ruling class which integrates into its music the great themes of ... humanism..., nationalism, moralism and economism” (“Ideology” 154–55). The reference to “work at home and abroad” broadens the pool of possible candidates even further by underlining the concept that women’s involvement in the WAAC goes beyond conventional home limits and nevertheless conforms to assigned responsibilities.

Accordingly, the *Women Urgently Wanted for the W.A.A.C.* poster both undermines and endorses the gendered divides of work as the graphic elements include silhouettes of women engaged in jobs such as cooking, typing, and manufacturing labour. The scenes portray women in hard-working supporting roles, showing their effort as complementing to the warfront run under male direction. This demonstrates how propaganda kept present power institutions intact and gave women additional authority within them. Women working in ordered and disciplined surroundings enhances their function as a resource for the state by allowing them to connect their own ambitions with the national interest.

Another prominent pro-war propaganda theme was the concept of national unity. This concept was not only important for encouraging British unity but also a means of healing political and social divisions. By means of well-constructed propaganda, the government underlined that every person, irrespective of gender or socioeconomic level, or national belonging had a part to contribute to the war effort. Placing emphasis on collective responsibility, posters and publications often depicted the war as a shared struggle to uphold values like liberty, justice, and national honour. Propaganda operations successfully aligned personal sacrifices with a larger national goal by using shared cultural symbols and moral obligations, therefore strengthening the unified national identity.



Fig. 6. *Who Can Beat This Plucky Four?* 1915. Poster. Imperial War Museums. Web. 19 Aug. 2024. <<http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/31631>>.

Fig. 7. *If You Are an Irishman.* 1914. Poster. Imperial War Museums. Web. 19 Aug. 2024. <<http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/26654>>.

As the war progressed, British propaganda started to stress national unity and shared sacrifice more in order to draw in recruits from all regions. These posters serve as examples of Britain's use of pro-war propaganda strategies, employing ideological apparatuses to ensure their messages were effectively internalized by the target audience. The poster *Who Can Beat This Plucky Four?* (fig. 6) is an example of a communications ISA which also functioned as a political and cultural ISA by using patriotic symbolism to interpellate multiple national identities to support the British cause. *Who Can Beat This Plucky Four?* highlights bravery and unity amongst the constituent countries of the United Kingdom which are England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. The poster emphasises a feeling of mutual connection by displaying four soldiers from each nation, where Irish inclusion plays a critical role for the general success and strength of the British army.

Operating as an intelligent recruiting appeal, the phrase “but all the same we’re wanting more” suggests that even if these “plucky four” represent bravery and unity, more men are desperately needed to join the war. The use of patriotic visuals and rhetorical questioning is a common feature of state-controlled or state-aligned media, the communications ISA, which works to circulate the states ideology among the citizens perpetually to ensure military recruitment of all the citizens of Britain.

The poster serves as a political ISA by presenting enlistment for the war as a national duty for every citizen. Althusser highlights how the Ideological State Apparatuses interpellate subjects into categories, in this case, as citizens loyal to the state (“Ideology” 171). Furthermore, the ideological message of *Who Can Beat This Plucky Four?* revolves around unity and equality within the empire, which serves as a political ISA that projects an image of an equal and peaceful United Kingdom. By including an Irish soldier within the group, it attempts to “interpellate” Irish people by presenting recruitment as a shared duty among the United Kingdom’s nations. As Althusser argues, the Ideological State Apparatuses function by utilising cultural imagery that reinforces certain roles, such as the “loyal and plucky soldier.” In this context, the posters *Who Can Beat This Plucky Four?* and *If You Are an Irishman* (fig. 7), the British government creates and normalises military service as a noble and patriotic duty rather than a mandatory service. The poster reduces current political and social tensions by presenting Irish involvement as equal to that of other countries and creates a narrative of unity and shared sacrifice.

Furthermore, the way that troops carrying flags are portrayed helps to underline how closely national pride and honour define involvement in the war. The recruitment poster *Who Can Beat This Plucky Four?*, in which the soldiers wear distinct uniforms and hold their national flags, serves as a cultural ISA that shapes its subjects’ perceptions and ideologies through imagery. Niamh Gallagher emphasizes that Irish regiments in World War I incorporated “distinctively Irish symbols and regional affiliations,” such as “harps, shamrocks, and the mythological figure of Ériu, the goddess of Ireland.” These symbols, along with unique mottos and slogans, reinforced their cultural identity and connection to Ireland (26).

Who Can Beat This Plucky Four?, appealing to conventional ideas of masculinity, bravery, and national loyalty uses masculinity and national identity to further the war

effort. According to John Tosh, before World War I the characteristics of masculinity were shaped by the bourgeois class, which were avoiding physical violence, being hardworking, self-discipline and valuing domestic life (331–33). Prior to World War I, the Irishmen did not fit the bourgeois idea of masculinity, as Irish people usually represented the working class who lacked self-discipline and relied on physical violence (Valente 10). If an Irish individual or group attempted to assert their masculinity by rejecting the expected norms of self-control or resisting the political system, such as through violent rebellion, they would be seen as lacking emotional discipline, which was an essential characteristic of the dominant idea of manliness. This behaviour, which did not fit the idea of masculinity, would only highlight the idea of Irish exclusion as just and logical. Their violent actions would be interpreted as a failure to control their base instincts, in other words “animal spirits,” suggesting that they were racially and culturally inferior (Valente 24). However, it is evident that during World War I, to encourage the Irish men to join the war, the British state tried to naturalise the idea that Irish men were equally masculine as their British counterparts by promoting their bravery, patriotism and loyalty.

Accordingly, the poster, *If You Are an Irishman* appeals to Irish men’s national pride and unity and uses it to promote the war effort. The poster tries to erase any conflict between Irish nationalism and British imperial duty by visually fusing the flags and rhetorically uniting Irish “chums” with others. Therefore, the poster can be considered both as a political ISA and a communication ISA. As a political ISA it propagates an ideology of imperial loyalism to keep the subject nations in line subtly without repression. Additionally, as a visual propaganda it also serves the communications ISA. The depiction of a soldier saluting beneath the flags supports the image of the loyal and disciplined Irish recruit. The poster conceals underlying tensions between Ireland and Britain at the time by portraying the Irishman as a respected and equal participant under the flags of unification. The poster, in this context, presents the war as a moral cause that transcends political differences. The image acts, thus, as an Ideological State Apparatus promoting the notion that Irish loyalty and sacrifice are natural extensions of their identity. It demonstrates how British propaganda aimed at bridging the gap between Ireland’s complex political situation and the Empire’s military ambitions, with the goal of encouraging Irish civilians to enrol.

Significantly, “If You Are an Irishman” personalises the call to action, while “Your Place Is with Your Chums Under the Flags” unites Irish people by linking Irish identity to the Allied cause. The placement of numerous national flags, most notably the Irish flag beside the Union Jack, strategically emphasises Ireland’s shared responsibilities within the British Empire. Thus, the poster functions as Althusserian interpellation, since it “hails” Irish citizens into recognising themselves as patriotic subjects who contribute to the war effort as a whole.

British Propaganda Bureau relied also on literature, particularly poetry as an Ideological State Apparatus to produce pro-war propaganda. As Paul Fussell discusses in his book *The Great War and Modern Memory*, the reason for this was very simple: in 1914, the movie scene was practically non-existent, radio had not yet taken centre stage, and television was clearly absent from the cultural scene. The main source of entertainment, apart from sexual activity and drinking, was elaborate language, which could be found in periodicals and literary works or in performances at theatres and music halls (171). Therefore, the main source of media consumption was predominantly written and oral. Thus, the Propaganda Bureau had to create a pro-war discourse with the use of written and oral mediums.

Moreover, as the Great War unfolded at a moment in Britain’s history that was incomparable to any other, soldiers were not only able to read by the year 1914, but they were also frequently involved with literature. A solid trust in the educational worth of classical and English literature as well as a widespread passion for popular education and self-improvement were two important liberal influences that became consistent throughout this time period. Education continued to be seen from a humanistic perspective, which further supported the integration of literature into the social life (Fussell 170). Thus, many of the soldiers were literate and even men of letters who respected the literature. In addition to that, not only did a sizeable number of the most well-known poets write during the Great War to show their support for the war effort, but they also actively advocated for its continuation. The authors that were included in this group were those who had personally observed the horrible pictures of trench warfare on the western front. By adopting language that was formal and archaic, these well-known poets were able to conceal the terrible reality of current, mechanised combat. This was

done despite the fact that they had directly observed the unceasing cruelty and devastation caused by the war. Furthermore, the use of elevated diction worked to hide the brutal realities that soldiers were forced to experience from the general public (Leadingham 11).

Elevated diction and elaborate language helped to construct a narrative of war that was in accordance with societal standards and maybe fostered a sense of heroism and sacrifice. As a result, the war poets fulfilled a dual function. On the one hand, their work maintained morale and patriotic spirit, on the other hand, it managed to keep the ugly aspects of the war from the people. Thus, literature, too, tried to increase the support for a war that caused a tremendous lot of suffering.

Although it can lead to the concealing of unpleasant reality, the use of literature for propaganda exemplifies how effective poetry, and language, can be in shaping the opinions of the general population. According to Ted Bogacz, in the article “‘A Tyranny of Words’: Language, Poetry, and Antimodernism in England in the First World War”, the significance of poetry in the conflict was attested to by not just journalists but also generals as well. When General Sir Ian Hamilton, who was famous for his role in the Gallipoli campaign, attended a meeting of the Poetry Society on October 20, 1916, he made the statement that “poetry was the highest expression of the moral [sic] of a nation” (657).

Accordingly, poets were seen by the British government and institutions such as Wellington House as having great power to appeal to emotions and ideas. Celebrating patriotism, bravery, and sacrifice, eminent writers including Rudyard Kipling, Thomas Hardy, and Rupert Brooke created works that greatly helped to change public attitude and connect individual sacrifice with the war effort. Providing an idealised narrative that contrasted with the harsh reality on the battlefield, these poets created a military viewpoint that adhered to moral standards and social conventions through the use sophisticated language and classic symbols. As Ted Bogacz notes, many common soldiers in the trenches started to feel as the war dragged on that such outdated and metaphorical language was becoming irrelevant and even appeared ridiculous. Indeed, gradually, an increasing gap began to develop between the brutal reality experienced by front-line soldiers and the idealised images of war created by pro-war writers (643). Paul Fussell explains that the language of pro-war rhetoric leaned significantly on “high” diction used

by authors such as George Alfred Henty, Rider Haggard, Tennyson, Robert Bridges, and William Morris (22). Combining ideas of Christian self-denial with aggressive and protective behaviour, these works relied on archaic, romanticised vocabulary that cast war in a chivalric light. Soldiers were referred to as “warriors” or “the brave.” The dead became “the fallen” or mere “ashes” and “dust,” and their blood was idealised as “the red / Sweet wine of youth” (5) like in Rupert Brooke’s poem “The Dead”. The battlefield became “the field,” the sky was “the heavens,” and death itself was transformed into “fate.” Common actions like attacking or enlisting were elevated to “assailing” and “joining the colours,” while to die was to “perish,” and to show cowardice was to “swerve.” Even mundane objects and experiences were rewritten with grandeur: a horse was a “steed,” a friend became a “comrade,” and sleep turned into “slumber.” This widespread use of noble-sounding language helped to create a romantic mask that disguised the horrors of industrial warfare, therefore supporting an ideal of noble sacrifice and honour that increasingly lost its significance for people living through the reality of the trenches (Fussell 22–23). Surprisingly for a long time, this rhetorical device stayed influential. Some soldiers who had seen the terrible reality of war were nonetheless able to preserve and use this high language even by 1918, proving its amazing resilience against the terrible facts it aimed to honour (Fussell 24).

In his book *Minds at War*, David Roberts examines the absence of personal grounding in several literary works created during the war (17). He argues that the government’s direct influence on the production and development of the literary works supporting the war has led to their superficiality. Although several pro-war poets sincerely believed in the cause they supported, the government frequently used their poems for propaganda reasons. In fact, the Propaganda Bureau demanded the contribution of distinguished authors, like Thomas Hardy, to produce literature that aligned with state-directed objectives (13).

Thomas Hardy’s poem “Men Who March Away” displays this junction of personal belief with state-directed goals. Written at the start of the war, the poem reflects the intellectual foundations of the British propaganda machine while nevertheless capturing the patriotic enthusiasm of the period. Hardy’s poem illustrates Althusser’s concept of ideological interpellation and highlights the role of poetry in shaping public opinion as an Ideological State Apparatus during World War I. The Poem is titled “Men Who March Away” and it

defines the soldiers, those who go to war as dedicated and willing to sacrifice their lives for a just cause:

What of the faith and fire within us
 Men who march away
 Ere the barn-cocks say
 Night is growing gray,
 Leaving all that here can win us;
 What of the faith and fire within us
 Men who march away? (1–7)

The opening verse establishes a sense of resolve and sacrifice. The soldiers march with “faith and fire within” them (1) “leaving all that here can win” them (5). These lines invoke the emotional power and moral conviction needed to sacrifice personal pleasures and support the military effort. The word “faith” (1) refers to a higher moral calling, whereas “fire” (1) conveys passion and urgency, supporting the propaganda narrative that the soldiers’ acts are both essential and honourable. The soldiers’ passion reflects the workings of the Ideological State Apparatuses such as the educational ISA and the cultural ISA that have conditioned them to have these patriotic feelings. Furthermore, the use of phrase “faith and fire within us” (1) indicates that the religious ISA is also utilised in this pro-war propaganda poem. Choosing to depart “ere the barn-cocks say night is growing gray” (3–4) suggests that these men are preparing to go on a major or deadly mission.

In the second verse, Hardy confronts the war’s critics, calling them “Friend with the musing eye” (9), who look at the warriors “with doubt and dolorous sigh” (11). “Dolorous sigh” (11) represents pain and criticism and “musing eye” (9) represents deliberate pondering and portrays the sceptics as detached and melancholic. With the hypothetical question, “Is it a purblind prank, O think you?” (8) Hardy challenges critics’ viewpoints. “Purblind” (8) highlights ignorance, while “prank” (8) makes any argument that the war is illogical or useless insignificant. The question “Can much pondering so hoodwink you!” (12) criticises too much thought which leads to doubt or misjudgement, suggesting that overthinking blinds the sceptics to the justice of the cause. This exchange highlights the role of the communications and cultural ISAs (such as wartime press, patriotic songs, literature) in confronting and overcoming dissent. The verse presents a fundamental propagandistic apparatus in undermining opposition and supporting the narrative that the soldiers’ mission is deliberate and justified. Readers witness the communications ISA in

action as the poem serves as ideological messaging to turn a sceptical or doubtful subject into a loyal one by shaming doubt and endorsing faith for the pro-war ideology. Hardy reduces the ideological gap between those who support the war and those who question its need by portraying the critics as out of touch with the mission of the soldiers:

Nay. We well see what we are doing,
 Though some may not see—
 Dalliers as they be—
 England's need are we;
 Her distress would leave us rueing:
 Nay. We well see what we are doing,
 Though some may not see! (15–21)

Here, Hardy emphasises the soldiers' sense of duty by expressing their conviction and clarity repeatedly, "Nay. We clearly see what we are doing" (15). Emphasising that the soldiers are completely conscious of their acts, even if "some may not see" (16), the poem questions the doubts of outsiders. Addressing sceptics as "dalliers" (17), the poem condemns uncertainty or doubt with regard to the war, which contrasts sharply with the soldiers' resolve. The line "England's need are we" (18) stresses their belief that they are critical to the country's survival and helps them correlate their individual sacrifices with the greater good. By declaring themselves as "England's need" (18), the soldiers align themselves with the role defined by the political ISA. They respond to discourse that if the state calls, they must answer. In this sense, Hardy's pro-war poem appeals to a sense of moral obligation and responsibility by depicting England as a suffering figure whose "distress would leave us rueing" (19), and making the war an unavoidable necessity to avoid future regret. In Hardy's poem, poetry as Ideological State Apparatus tries to persuade people to see war involvement as an intentional, honourable response to a national catastrophe. It thus, promotes the ideological narrative of sacrifice for the common good:

In our heart of hearts believing
 Victory crowns the just,
 And that braggarts must
 Surely bite the dust,
 Press we to the field ungrieving,
 In our heart of hearts believing
 Victory crowns the just. (22–28)

Similarly, the fourth verse highlights the soldiers' strong belief that their cause is just, as reflected in the phrase "in our heart of hearts believing" (22). The idea that "victory crowns the just" (23) portrays the war as a moral battle which will be won and justice will eventually prevail. The idea of divine justice is reiterated in the poem and therefore this stanza underscores the religious ISA. Soldiers believe that God is with them and there will be a divine justice in the end. The characterisation of the enemy as "braggarts" (24) who "must surely bite the dust" (24–25) underscores this dichotomy, presenting Britain's role as honourable while depicting the opponent's as presumptuous and futile. Motivated by their belief in the righteousness of their cause, the soldiers hence "Press ... to the field ungrieving" (26), showing determination to do their duty:

Hence the faith and fire within us
Men who march away
Ere the barn-cocks say
Night is growing gray,
Leaving all that here can win us;
Hence the faith and fire within us
Men who march away. (29–35)

The fifth and final line restates the first, serving as a conclusion that reinforces the poem's main ideas, affirming that all the ideological reasoning above is what fuels the men's enthusiasm for the war. Moreover, it highlights and attests the soldiers' conviction and allegiance by using the word "hence" (29). The last verse, which combines the soldiers' individual "faith" and "fire" (29) with the larger theme of national honour and duty, further solidifies the soldiers' identities as both people and symbols of patriotic duty. The cultural ISA, literature like this poem, plays a crucial role to disseminate the state's ideology by working together with the communications ISA, religious ISA. Every apparatus from the beginning such as school lessons on patriotism to political speeches and posters has done its part to ensure that these subjects march to the battlefield willingly.

A similar idea of war as duty is expressed in Rupert Brooke's poem "The Soldier," which further demonstrates the use of literature in British pro-war propaganda to glorify national sacrifice. "The Soldier," too, presents a romanticised and idealistic view of war. While Hardy's poem calls for national duty and unity, Brooke's poem personalises the war effort, depicting the soldier's sacrifice as a noble act that immortalises the individual

within the nation's collective identity and furthers the nation's glory. Brooke's poem is an example of the ideological framework of pro-war opinion:

If I should die, think only this of me:
That there's some corner of a foreign field
That is for ever England. There shall be
In that rich earth a richer dust concealed;
A dust whom England bore, shaped, made aware,
Gave, once, her flowers to love, her ways to roam;
A body of England's, breathing English air,
Washed by the rivers, blest by suns of home. (1–8)

Brooke's opening lines overflow with nationalist ideology which portrays the soldier's identity as entirely shaped by England. This stanza reflects the influence of the educational and family ISAs. The speaker embodies the idealized voice of a soldier and frames his potential death as an act of eternal devotion to England. The phrase "there's some corner of a foreign field that is for ever England" (2–3) not only honours sacrifice but also transforms the act of dying into a means of immortalising the nation's international presence. The language and phrasing directly credit the country for his very being, like crediting a parent or teacher, while highlighting how the family and educational ISAs interpellated him from childhood as an English subject. Althusser notes that both the educational and family ISAs are crucial in introducing the societal rules and accepted ideology to individuals ("Ideology" 176–177). The concept that the soldier's remains will enhance the foreign soil, which represents the dissemination of Britain's cultural and moral superiority, is further emphasised by the presentation of the soldier's body as "a richer dust concealed" (4) in a foreign land. The soldier is a son "England bore, shaped, made aware" (5), hence inseparable from the nation. The educational ISA (through patriotic history lessons, songs, literature) and the cultural ISA (patriotic cultural myths) have taught the soldier to perceive England as a nurturing motherland. The "flowers of love" (6) and "rivers, blest by suns of home" (8) portray Britain as a pastoral paradise. Viewed according to Althusser's theory of the Ideological State Apparatuses, the poem clearly interpellates people by portraying the soldier as a patriotic figure whose self-sacrifice is both essential and highly honourable:

And think, this heart, all evil shed away,
A pulse in the eternal mind, no less
Gives somewhere back the thoughts by England given;

Her sights and sounds; dreams happy as her day;
 And laughter, learnt of friends; and gentleness,
 In hearts at peace, under an English heaven. (9–14)

In the second and the last verse the ideological narrative of sacrifice is reinforced as the soldier's impending death elevates him beyond the material world, presenting it as a spiritual cleansing. Claiming that his soul, "all evil shed away" (9), will become "a pulse in the eternal mind" (10), the soldier contributes to the war discourse created by Britain. The change implies that the soldier's sacrifice elevates him to a higher moral plane, correlating sacrifice with the protection of national aims. By dying for his country, the soldier "Gives somewhere back the thoughts by England given" (11), that is he repays his motherland for its nurturing by embodying its values even in death and that he will rest "under an English heaven" (14). This illustrates how the religious ISA and the political ISA are combined to celebrate the purity and future of England consequent to the dying of the soldier. Accordingly, the poem constructs a utopian vision of the afterlife, where sacrifice ensures peace and fulfilment under the banner of national identity. British pro-war propaganda by presenting the war as sacred and dying in the war as a noble act that immortalizes both the individual and the nation. The poem serves as a cultural ISA to give England religious significance without the Church's obvious preaching.

Another important poet of the period that contributed to the pro-war narrative was Rudyard Kipling. As Roberts states in *Minds at War*, Rudyard Kipling, as one of his time's most prominent poets, tries honouring England's soldiers and drawing parallels between God and England's victories in "Hymn Before Action" (20). Rudyard Kipling's "Hymn Before Action" was first published in 1896 in his poetry collection *The Seven Seas*. Although the poem predates World War I, it gained renewed significance during the war due to its themes of patriotism, sacrifice, and divine justification for war. Its strong religious imagery and call for divine support in battle made it particularly effective for British wartime propaganda during World War I. Because Kipling was closely associated with the British pro-war narrative and was invited to the War Propaganda Bureau's conference at Wellington House in 1914, "Hymn Before Action" became an influential piece, aligning perfectly with the ideological goals of British wartime rhetoric. Its revival

during the war reinforced the narrative of military action as a sacred duty, blending spirituality with nationalistic pride. It reads

The Earth is full of anger,
The seas are dark with wrath,
The Nations in their harness
Go up against our path:
Ere yet we loose the legions—
Ere yet we draw the blade,
Jehovah of the Thunders,
Lord God of Battles, aid! (1–8)

As the poem's title implies, "Hymn Before Action" immediately utilises the religious ISA to define and justify the war. In the first stanza, Kipling portrays war as both unavoidable and divinely justified. He is able to accomplish this through the incorporation of religious themes and symbols with military importance. First lines, "The Earth is full of anger, / The seas are dark with wrath," (1–2) establish a dramatic tone that suggests a connection between the escalating conflict of the period and the natural world. This connection is suggested by the fact that "the seas are dark with wrath" (2). The phrase "The Nations in their harness" (3) refers to nations that are obligated to fulfil their responsibilities and international pacts, which causes them to get ready for the conflict that is unavoidable. By invoking "Jehovah of the Thunders" (7) and "Lord God of Battles" (8) Kipling appeals to divine authority, positioning war as a righteous endeavour under God's guidance. Furthermore, by referring to God as the "Lord of Battles" (8) the stanza effectively interpellates the soldiers as God's agents and gives divine approval to military action. In this stanza, the religious ISA serves to give soldiers a sense of higher purpose and righteousness because they are not just fighting human enemies, but they also feel supported by the supreme Subject (God), who they pray to. Althusser argues that ideology often works by positioning individuals as subjects with small "s" under a supreme Subject with capital "S" to whom they must obey (*On the Reproduction* 267). In this case, the "Subject" is God, and the "subjects" are the soldiers who must become the instruments of God. Combining religion with the war implies that military action has a moral, justified and holy purpose, therefore, participation in the war is holy and a requirement for the greater good. Hence Kipling's poem states

High lust and froward bearing,

Proud heart, rebellious brow—
 Deaf ear and soul uncaring,
 We seek Thy mercy now!
 The sinner that forswore Thee,
 The fool that passed Thee by,
 Our times are known before Thee—
 Lord, grant us strength to die! (9–16)

In the second stanza, as the soldiers negotiate the reality of war, Kipling reflects over human shortcomings and the need of heavenly pity. Emphasising humanity's moral shortcomings, the words "High lust and froward bearing, / Proud heart, rebellious brow" (9-10) stress qualities like arrogance and defiance. The plea "We seek Thy mercy now!" (12) depicts a moment of regret in which previous misdeeds are atoned for, and pardon is sought. Kipling highlights the idea of ignoring faith and moral duty by detailing the sinner who "forsook Thee" (13) and the stupid who "passed Thee by" (14). Still, the words "Our times are known before Thee" (15) informs us that God sees human frailty as well as the hardships people go through. "Lord, grant us strength to die!" (16) as the last prayer links regret with a request for bravery, and defines the soldiers' deaths as a kind of atonement. Thus, the second stanza reflects the ideological strategy of guilt and redemption which is frequently employed by the religious ISA to ensure enthusiasm for the war and loyalty. The poem, thus, displays the subtlety of the religious ISA's function. Apart from supporting the war, it also disciplines the soldiers spiritually so that they join the war willingly, free of doubt and with a remorseful purpose.

For those who kneel beside us
 At altars not Thine own,
 Who lack the lights that guide us,
 Lord, let their faith atone.
 If wrong we did to call them,
 By honour bound they came;
 Let not Thy Wrath befall them,
 But deal to us the blame. (17–24)

In the third stanza, Kipling addresses the shared sacrifices made by war-torn comrades, especially those from many religions. Although the sentence "Who lack the lights that guide us" (19) suggests a religious difference between the speaker's religion and theirs, the line "For those who kneel beside us / At altars not Thine own" (17–18) notes the

existence of allies of other religions. Still, the appeal, “Lord, let their faith atone” (20) highlights their sincerity and asks divine mercy for them. Apparently, the poet examines the moral weight of enlisting these allies in war in “If wrong we did to call them, / By honour bound they came” (21–22) Kipling emphasises that among the allies there is a feeling of duty even though their involvement was not completely justified. The final lines, “Let not Thy wrath befall them, / But deal to us the blame” (23–24) indicate modesty and guilt as well as asking forgiveness on behalf of others caught in the war that did not belong to them. The stanza talks about fighting together with non-Christian subjects and avoids a possible ideological contradiction by putting it under the umbrella of a broader loyalty and honour code. The tactical avoidance of this ideological contradiction reflects how the political ISA is intertwined with the religious ISA to further the war propaganda. People of all faiths who live under the British Empire are all part of the war according to the state’s ideology. Therefore, imperial nationalism becomes more crucial than the religious differences. This creates the desired narrative of communal sacrifice, duty, and the necessity of divine mercy on the battlefield:

From panic, pride, and terror,
 Revenge that knows no rein,
 Light haste and lawless error,
 Protect us yet again.
 Cloke Thou our undeserving,
 Make firm the shuddering breath,
 In silence and unswerving
 To taste Thy lesser death! (25–32)

In this stanza, Kipling captures the soldiers’ internal struggles, blending their moral vulnerability with a desperate appeal for divine protection. Emphasising the human defects that war reveals, the lines “From panic, pride, and terror, / Revenge that knows no rein” (25–26) depict the volatile emotions and uncontrolled impulses war generates. The plea, “Cloke Thou our undeserving” (29) reflects an acute awareness of their moral failings, as the soldiers seek God’s forgiveness and strength to endure their trials. In addition to that, it is also a direct appeal for help in maintaining discipline and virtue, which reflects how the religious ISA interpellates individuals to follow a strict moral code even during the war. Furthermore, this disciplinary interpellation aligns with what Althusser describes as the disciplinary aspects of ISAs which through churches and

schools impose norms and punishments to shape behaviour (*On the Reproduction* 52). The line “To taste Thy lesser death” (32) portrays their suffering as a holy, redeeming act, and the imagery in “Make firm the shuddering breath” (30) emphasises the physical and psychological toll of battle. This stanza aligns with the ideological narrative of war as a moral test by portraying sacrifice as a necessary step towards spiritual redemption and reinforcing the soldiers’ role within a divinely sanctioned mission:

Ah, Mary pierced with sorrow,
Remember, reach and save
The soul that comes to-morrow
Before the God that gave!
Since each was born of woman,
For each at utter need—
True comrade and true foeman—
Madonna, intercede! (33–40)

In the fifth stanza, Kipling emphasises the common humanity of people on the battlefield by appealing to the Virgin Mary and using her grief and maternal compassion. The line “Ah, Mary pierced with sorrow” (33) draws on her grief during Christ’s crucifixion, creating a parallel with the suffering of soldiers and their families. Through the use of religious figure, the poem aims to utilise the religious ISA’s teachings together with the cultural ISA. The request to “remember, reach and save” (34) the souls of those approaching death depicts war as a spiritual challenge where divine assistance is sought for atonement. Kipling emphasises the universality of human experience by saying “Since each was born of woman” (37) therefore erasing the distinctions between “true comrade and true foeman” (39) to underline the moral difficulty of war. This verse presents death as not only a sacrifice but also as a chance for divine grace and pardon, therefore complementing the ideological narrative of war as both a test of faith and a shared human experience. The invocation of the Madonna reinforces the spiritual dimension of the soldier’s sacrifice, linking it to a broader, redemptive purpose. The use of religious ISA’s teachings thus provides an emotional safety valve by permitting grief and empathy while encouraging the soldiers to continue the holy war.

E’en now their vanguard gathers,
E’en now we face the fray—
As Thou didst help our fathers,
Help Thou our host to-day!

Fulfilled of signs and wonders,
 In life, in death made clear—
 Jehovah of the Thunders,
 Lord God of Battles, hear! (41–48)

In the last stanza of the poem, Kipling depicts the soldiers as part of a heavenly and historical inheritance that links their battle to the wars of their ancestors. The lines, “As Thou didst help our fathers, / Help Thou our host to-day!” (43–44) ask God for the same divine favour granted in earlier battles, therefore strengthening the ideological narrative of war as a good and necessary act. In addition to that, the invocation of historical memory utilises the educational ISA and cultural ISA’s fields. Through the educational and cultural ISAs Kipling reminds the audience of the nation’s past wars and victories which further justifies the cause of war. The phrase “Fulfilled of signs and wonders” (45) suggests that both life and death are imbued with divine purpose, elevating the soldiers’ sacrifices to a sacred level. By requesting help again from “Jehovah of the Thunders” (47) and “Lord God of Battles” (48) Kipling presents the war as a divinely justified, moral and spiritual duty.

Kipling’s poem reflects the propaganda-driven narrative of war as both honourable and inevitable, sanctioned by God’s will. The notion that the supreme Subject, which is God, also defends the British nation’s cause implies a validation of the state’s objectives. Althusser argues that these diverse Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) are unified “beneath the ruling ideology, which is the ideology of ‘the ruling class’” and therefore it is natural for these ISAs to operate closely or utilise each other’s teachings (“Ideology” 146). In this context, Rudyard Kipling’s “Hymn Before Action” demonstrates how poetry was used as an Ideological State Apparatus for interpellation during World War I by combining religious imagery with the patriotic desire to justify the war as a moral and holy duty. By referencing divine power and drawing parallels between the soldiers’ sacrifices and a broader historical and spiritual legacy, the poem reinforces the pro-war propaganda narrative.

John Masefield’s “August 1914” contributes to the war propaganda with its comparable themes that shaped the pro-war discourse around the war during World War I. Masefield, too, presents the war as a necessary sacrifice to preserve justice and British morality. His

description of the English countryside and the soldiers' bond to it is consistent with wartime propaganda, which intended to establish a link between national duty and personal sacrifice. Masfield reinforces the pro-war narrative by depicting the war as a continuation of moral obligation and heritage, implying that soldiers' sacrifices are not in vain and serve a higher purpose in maintaining England's timeless values.

How still this quiet cornfield is to-night!
By an intenser glow the evening falls,
Bringing, not darkness, but a deeper light;
Among the stooks a partridge covey calls. (1–4)

This idyllic English countryside is presented as timeless, peaceful, and sacred. The “quiet cornfield” (1) and “deeper light” (3) create an almost spiritual atmosphere, as if the land itself is alive with reverence and history. Masfield's metaphors romanticise the rural English landscape and present it as worth preserving at all costs. The soft sounds of partridges help to symbolise the beauty of the natural world, which contrasts sharply with the approaching tragedies of war.

Clearly, the rural imagery has ideological implications as cultural ISA in shaping emotional attachment to England as the homeland. The pastoral depiction of Britain, which awakens the nationalistic feelings, as cultural ISA interpellates the soldiers as patriots who deeply value their homeland. According to Althusser, literature and art are key components of the cultural ISA (*On the Reproduction* 243; “Ideology” 143). Similarly, Masfield uses poetry as an ideological narrative linking the conflict to the protection of home and tradition. Accordingly, the poem presents the soldiers' sacrifices and the war as a necessary act of love and duty for the country:

And died (uncouthly, most) in foreign lands
For some idea but dimly understood
Of an English city never built by hands
Which love of England prompted and made good. (45–48)

The emphasis on the brutal reality of sacrifice, that is, the soldiers die far from home for ideas they hardly grasp, captures England's ideals, character, and cultural past as something ethereal but profoundly treasured. Masfield suggests that soldiers' sacrifices for the ultimate good of England are noble and significant, driven by a strong “love of England” (48) that transcends personal understanding. The cultural ISA, hence, produces

a narrative where the peacefulness of home stands in contrast to the horror of the war, thus justifying the war as the means to preserve that peacefulness. Furthermore, the communications ISA also plays an indirect role for the cultural ISAs in the poem. The poem “August 1914” by John Masefield was published in the literary magazine *The English Review*, therefore the communications and cultural ISAs work in tandem to disseminate the pro-war ideology (Masefield, *English Review*).

Another important poet from the period is Jessie Pope, whose poetry can be considered as functioning ISAs in producing war propaganda. Pope was a jingoistic author that supported the war and women’s temporary extended gender expectations “as long as they quit when the men get home” (Kazantzis XXII). During World War I, as it has been seen in the pro-war posters, due to the lack of workforce British women were encouraged to take active part in the war. In 1917, the government established the Women’s Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) to mobilise women for the war effort in non-combat jobs in the British Army (Noakes 68–69). Pope’s contribution to the war propaganda through poetry can be considered as part of this effort, too. As Sherry states, “patriotic poems by women appeared not only in publications like *The Times* and the *Spectator* but were quoted in sermons and reprinted in leaflet form for the troops” (90). Thus, as a woman author, Jessie Pope also served to the pro-war propaganda for enlistment through the communications ISA. She was criticised by Wilfred Owen for her jingoism and her belief in the glory of war. Indeed, “Owen originally addressed *Dulce et Decorum Est* to her,” as she propagated the war as heroic and holy (Roberts 382). One of her famous poems, “War Girls,” portrays women’s contributions to the war during World War I. It, in fact, lists the many jobs undertaken by women in the absence of men during the war and provides emotional support in its guarantee that the home front is protected by women:

There’s the girl who clips your ticket for the train,
 And the girl who speeds the lift from floor to floor,
 There’s the girl who does a milk-round in the rain,
 And the girl who calls for orders at your door.
 Strong, sensible, and fit,
 They’re out to show their grit,
 And tackle jobs with energy and knack.
 No longer caged and penned up,
 They’re going to keep their end up
 Till the khaki soldier boys come marching back. (1–10)

Clearly, the poem celebrates women entering the workforce during wartime, but, instead of challenging the dominant gender and national ideologies, it reinforces them. Pope interpellates women not as independent agents, but as temporary substitutes for men at war. The key ideological message to the girls is clear: you are strong and useful and do your bit, only “till the khaki soldier boys come marching back” (10). In her poem, Pope is careful to encourage women to join the Women’s Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) and further political ISA. Pope ideologically mobilizes civilian women into accepting their place in the war economy without protest, which will encourage men to do their job fighting to defend their country. Furthermore, Pope’s poem, as an educational ISA, educates women about these new temporary extended gender roles. The repeated use of “the khaki soldier boys” (10) at the end of the stanza serves as an ideological reminder of the returning patriarchy, implying that women’s contributions are only temporary and that normalcy (patriarchal capitalism) will resume after the war, that is there is no threat to the established order from the home front.

In conclusion, the War Propaganda Bureau of Britain tried to create a pro-war attitude by using posters, reports and poetry as Ideological State Apparatuses during World War I. The War Propaganda Bureau was founded in 1914 and started its collaboration with prominent authors to depict the war as a moral and national duty. As Althusser’s concept of Ideological State Apparatuses suggests, through the use of cultural tools such as poetry, posters and pamphlets, The War Propaganda Bureau tried to advance the concepts of national unity, duty, and sacrifice in order to gain and maintain support for the war. This chapter, hence, centres on the ways the British pro-war propaganda created ideological narratives through the Ideological State Apparatuses.

CHAPTER 2

SHATTERED ILLUSIONS: THE ROLE OF STATE APPARATUSES IN THE RISE OF DISSENT IN WORLD WAR I

World War I caused not only destruction but also a serious change in people's views about the British government's values. In the early years of the war, most people believed that they were fighting for a just and honourable cause due to the strong propaganda campaigns by the state. However, when people started to see the brutal realities of the war their views drastically changed. In this chapter, through Althusser's theory of Ideological and Repressive State Apparatuses the British governments use of pro-war propaganda strategies to shape public opinion and silence opposition during the war is examined. During World War I, the state used many different State Apparatuses, such as the press, schools, religion, the army, and the family. These apparatuses mainly worked through ideology instead of direct violence. This chapter argues that the war propaganda changed when public support for the war began to decline by mid-1915, as the harsh realities of trench warfare and the rising number of casualties became more prominent despite the use of Ideological State Apparatuses. In response, the state adopted a more repressive and aggressive propaganda through the use of Repressive and Ideological State Apparatuses against the growing dissent during World War I.

Dewey's article "Military Recruiting and the British Labour Force During the First World War," notes that, during the early stages of the war, Britain relied largely on voluntary enlistment thanks to its pro-war propaganda (199). As stated, pro-war propaganda promoted the war as patriotism, sense of adventure, and economic opportunities for people who were unemployed or struggled financially. As a result, one million men joined the war effort. However, when the realities of the war became visible, the enthusiasm faded away and the enlistment numbers dropped sharply. The government started expanding recruitment strategies, changing military age restrictions, and putting policies in place to promote enlistment by the middle of 1915 (Simkins 104–106). In order to address the need for recruits, mandatory military service was eventually implemented (Dewey 199).

As stated in the BBC documentary *The Great War Episode 20 Only War Nothing But War*, as the cruel realities of World War I became impossible to ignore, there was a decline in public enthusiasm. In the primary stages of the war, pro-war propaganda was successful at encouraging people to join the war effort, but as the war prolonged, the psychological and physical weight became non-negligible as “the human cost was appallingly evident” (00:01:18–00:03:47). The Western Front became a “chronic disease” due to the tremendous human cost. Many soldiers who managed to return home were maimed, or suffering from concussion and post-traumatic stress disorder (00:03:23–00:04:00). Therefore, “the war has made soldiers into children, children into soldiers” (00:04:26–00:04:36).

World War I differed from past wars in that it was not a conventional war. With the new technology and the scale of participants it overshadowed the traditional warfare in scale and destruction. This was a war conducted by armies and people who were driven by a desire for complete victory and equipped with all the resources of modern industry and invention. This ambition was the “mainspring of the world’s catastrophe,” thus the one controlling it held the key to total victor. In order to win the war, propaganda was used as “the deadliest weapon” and truth became “the first casualty” (00:05:31–00:05:50).

As the war prolonged, the government censorship and false or exaggerated narratives of German atrocities became fundamental ways to maintain public morale, silence criticism and justify the war. However, due to the extended war time, civilians experienced an economic strain and emotional exhaustion which made sustaining the manipulation of the growing discontent with the war effort difficult (Episode 20).

One of the most prominent forms of pro-war propaganda which overemphasizes or fabricates narratives of German barbarity is the *Report of the Committee on Alleged German Outrages*. The *Report of the Committee on Alleged German Outrages* functions primarily as a communications ISA, utilising the media and publishing mediums to disseminate a highly influential narrative that aligns with the ruling class’s ideological objectives during wartime. With it, British propaganda changed from encouraging patriotism to instilling fear and anger towards Germany and its allies as the war continued. Hence propaganda narrative shifted to emphasis on German war crimes and present the enemy as a worldwide threat. This change was greatly aided by the *Report of the*

Committee on Alleged German Outrages, which detailed horrific narratives of the invasion of Belgium. Claims in the report included “a girl of seventeen dressed only in a chemise alleged that she and other girls had been dragged into a field, stripped naked and violated, and that some of them had been killed with the bayonet” (26), and “at Epeghem, the dead body of a child of two was seen pinned to the ground with a German lance. Same witness saw a mutilated woman alive near Weerde on the same day” (28–29). Although often questionable or exaggerated, these stories helped to dehumanise the enemy and defend the war as a moral mission.

Episode 20 of *The Great War* similarly emphasises how propaganda stoked hatred as “the enemy was to be portrayed as a monster of savagery, worthy only of hate” (00:07:47–00:07:55). The state’s ideological apparatus sustained public support for the war effort by using terror and moral outrage while repression guaranteed that opposing voices questioning these narratives were silenced. This blending of repressive control with fear-driven propaganda emphasises the more entwined functions of the Repressive and Ideological State Apparatuses throughout World War I. However, soldiers’ experiences on the battlefield often conflicted with the demonising portrayals in propaganda, which created a mental and emotional confusion. As Alev Karaduman observes in her study of Gallipoli, “the ‘antagonism and cultural solipsism’ previously held by the Anzac troops gradually changed as a result of first-hand experience of the humane values of many Turkish soldiers” (171). Thus, as the war progressed and more soldiers experienced the war in the front lines, the backing for the war also declined.

Similar evolution and change can be seen in other pro-war propaganda apparatuses. Churches, especially the Church of England, were more directly influential at the start of the war. They played an important role in gathering public support and portraying the war as just, moral and holy. Therefore, the Church of England as a religious ISA interpellated people as moral subjects to persuade them that the war was not just politically necessary but also religiously and morally just. However, as the war continued and the public enthusiasm declined, the Church did not lose its importance but instead adapted to the changing conditions. At the start of the war, the Church used references from the Bible, with religious discourses and sermons to encourage enlistment and portray the war as a religious duty. Andrew Mein analyses how church discourse emphasised the idea of a just

battle by correlating Germany with biblical enemies like Assyria, who are referenced as a powerful and evil nation (Mein 61). Famous bishops like Arthur Winnington-Ingram encouraged Christians to protect civilisation against German savagery and related military participation to a religious duty by referring to the war as a “great crusade” (Mullen 2). As stated above, religious leaders and representatives portrayed the war as a fight for civilisation and a religious duty, to encourage religious subjects to support Britain’s cause and righteousness through these ideological narratives. However, as casualties increased and morale diminished, the Church’s role evolved to consoling the grieving, maintaining unity, and reinforcing resilience at home (Mullen 12–14). This aligns with Althusser’s concept of the Ideological State Apparatuses adapting to reproduce ideology within the society without resorting to repression, as he explains that the function of each ISA is defined by its practice (*On the Reproduction* 260). Thus, the religious ISA evolved but did not abandon its function and instead adapted it.

The Church’s discourse extended to include targeted biblical interpretations that aligned with the state’s ideology of maintaining public support. John Mullen demonstrates how the Church of England rejected “pacifism” and connected Christian duty with national identity by persuading believers to consider war participation as an act of faith and confront any criticism as disloyal (Mullen 5). The Church’s rejection of pacifism and its portrayal of anti-war views as disloyal functioned in tandem with the Repressive State Apparatus. Although the Church did not use brute force, its discourse supported the state’s ideology and effectively delegitimised pacifists, which further supported the state’s repressive policies. Mein, further, describes how religious leaders regarded the war as a test of divine endurance and favour, adapting biblical passages like the Psalms to address collective suffering (67). Churches created another platform where pro-war propaganda was disseminated by sermons reinforcing the state’s ideas and themes such as the justness of Britain’s mission and the necessity of enduring suffering. Indeed, such religious institutions demonstrate the dynamic link between repressive and ideological apparatuses by repressing dissent and integrating their discourse with the state narrative.

Furthermore, the educational ISA played an increasingly important role in maintaining support for the war effort, building on the widespread influence of religious institutions in spreading pro-war propaganda. As stated above, in contrast to direct pressure, Althusser

explains that institutions like families, churches, and schools serve to reproduce the ideology of the ruling class through social and cultural practices (*On the Reproduction of Capitalism* 51–52). Throughout World War I, ISAs collaborated closely with repressive apparatuses to sustain popular support for Britain’s involvement in the war. By presenting the war as a divine duty, as discussed in Chapter 1, the Church of England integrated the state’s objectives within a moral and spiritual framework (Mullen 2). The quick defence of national ideals by academics from all fields helped to ensure that pro-war ideology was ingrained in the educational and cultural framework. For example, biblical studies occupied a space between academics and moral education, and biblical scholars in 1914–1918 were both public intellectuals influencing social ideals and communicators with clergy and preachers (Mein 54). The pro-war stance of educators reflected older ideals from the 19th-century, which promoted a close relationship between the Church, the aristocracy, and education to support national unity and Christian values.

The Young England movement was formed in the 1840s by Benjamin Disraeli and a group of young aristocrats. It reacted against liberal and industrial change and wanted a return to older values based on religion, duty, and moral leadership (O’Kell 9–10). Disraeli and his supporters believed that a strong Church, sense of duty, and monarchy could guide society. According to O’Kell, Disraeli saw values such as home, duty and domestic virtue as “fundamental to humanity’s morality and happiness” (12).

These ideals were part of a political view that highlighted slow and steady progress, which relied on traditional institutions to maintain social order (Faber 251). By the time of World War I, the Young England Movement had disappeared, but its ideas still influenced the use of education to promote values such as duty, sacrifice, and loyalty. The Church, which used to have significant wealth and influence over schools and moral life, helped to lay the foundations for this type of wartime teaching (Faber 251). These ideals continued to shape moral and patriotic education during the war, creating an atmosphere where duty, sacrifice, and loyalty to the nation were strongly encouraged. The war period increased the collaboration of the religious ISA with the educational ISA, where biblical scholars and academics operated together to integrate theological and patriotic messages.

Similarly, the educational system worked to indoctrinate youth with patriotic values, presenting the war as both a moral obligation and a heroic endeavour. As Sanders and

Taylor explain, “children played a central role in this campaign—several posters depicted boy scouts doing their share for the war effort—which attempted to involve the entire population in the conduct of the war” (*British Propaganda* 146). Furthermore, propaganda efforts were framed as educational endeavours. For example, if propaganda tasks had not been handled by a specialized department, they could have been considered the responsibility of the Ministry of Education. These propaganda activities were seen as educational and had enduring effects beyond the war (*British Propaganda* 263). Accordingly, works like *The Child’s ABC of the War* by Geoffrey Whitworth and Stanley North, exemplify how children’s literature became a tool for embedding pro-war ideology. Using rhymes, illustrations, and accessible language, the book not only educated children but also fostered loyalty, bravery, and a sense of patriotic duty among young readers. Each letter of the alphabet was used to highlight key aspects of the war effort, portraying the war as an honourable and inevitable endeavour.

The shift from religion to education as a key Ideological State Apparatus highlights the increasing significance of education as a propaganda weapon. In contrast to religion, which mainly appealed to moral and spiritual beliefs, education aimed to shape susceptible minds and ingrain loyalty to the state and its war goals into the very fabric of their upbringing. By doing this, educational institutions helped to guarantee that pro-war propaganda was methodically incorporated into every aspect of society, as schools were the best place to raise future generations of troops and citizens who shared the beliefs of the state.

This evolution in the tone and reach of pro-war propaganda can be observed in *The Child’s ABC of the War* (fig. 8). Through rhyming verses and colourful illustrations, this children’s book exemplifies the educational ISA in action. As a book that teaches alphabet, it clearly targets children’s earliest learning experiences, mixing elementary education with patriotic indoctrination. The statement that “A stands for Austria, where first was hurled, the bomb that was destined to startle the world,” shown on the first page, demonstrates how children’s books were used to influence public opinion against the enemy (Whitworth and Stanley 1). By depicting Austria as the catalyst for chaos and catastrophe and as the main cause of international strife, the rhyme reduces complex political events to a moralistic binary. In addition to highlighting Austria’s role as the

“villain,” the accompanying illustration of its imperial crest serves to further create fear and hostility towards the Central Powers. Through Althusser’s perspective, this book demonstrates how the state’s educational and cultural apparatuses combined to interpellate even the youngest members of society into the prevailing ideology of the war. Althusser emphasizes that the school system is a key site for instilling the ruling ideology in the vulnerable early years of a child’s life (“Ideology” 132). Instead of ordinary objects, in *The Child’s ABC of the War*, each letter is associated with war-related concepts such as “A stands for Austria...”, “B for Belgium...”, “T for Torpedo...” that promote the British imperial perspective. In Althusser’s terms, the book delivers “know-how wrapped in the ruling ideology” by teaching children the alphabet together with ideas of heroic Allies, loyal colonies and evil enemies which provides them a fundamental knowledge of who is good and who is evil. The explicit propaganda is concealed by the rhyming language and light-hearted format, which instils in children a sense of allegiance, fear, and moral virtue. *The Child’s ABC of the War*, and its ideological content, is presented as natural and fun, but never as propaganda. The child-reader is interpellated as a young patriotic subject who willingly accepts love of country and hatred of the enemy as normal values. Therefore, the educational ISA works in tandem with the cultural ISA, through children’s literature and illustrations, to emotionally and ideologically influence the next generation so that from the early ages the subject complies with the social norms and rules. This strategy not only created a generation of compliant subjects when Ideological State Apparatuses’ influence started decreasing in other areas, but it also demonstrates the complex interplay of propaganda, culture, and education in maintaining public support for the war effort.

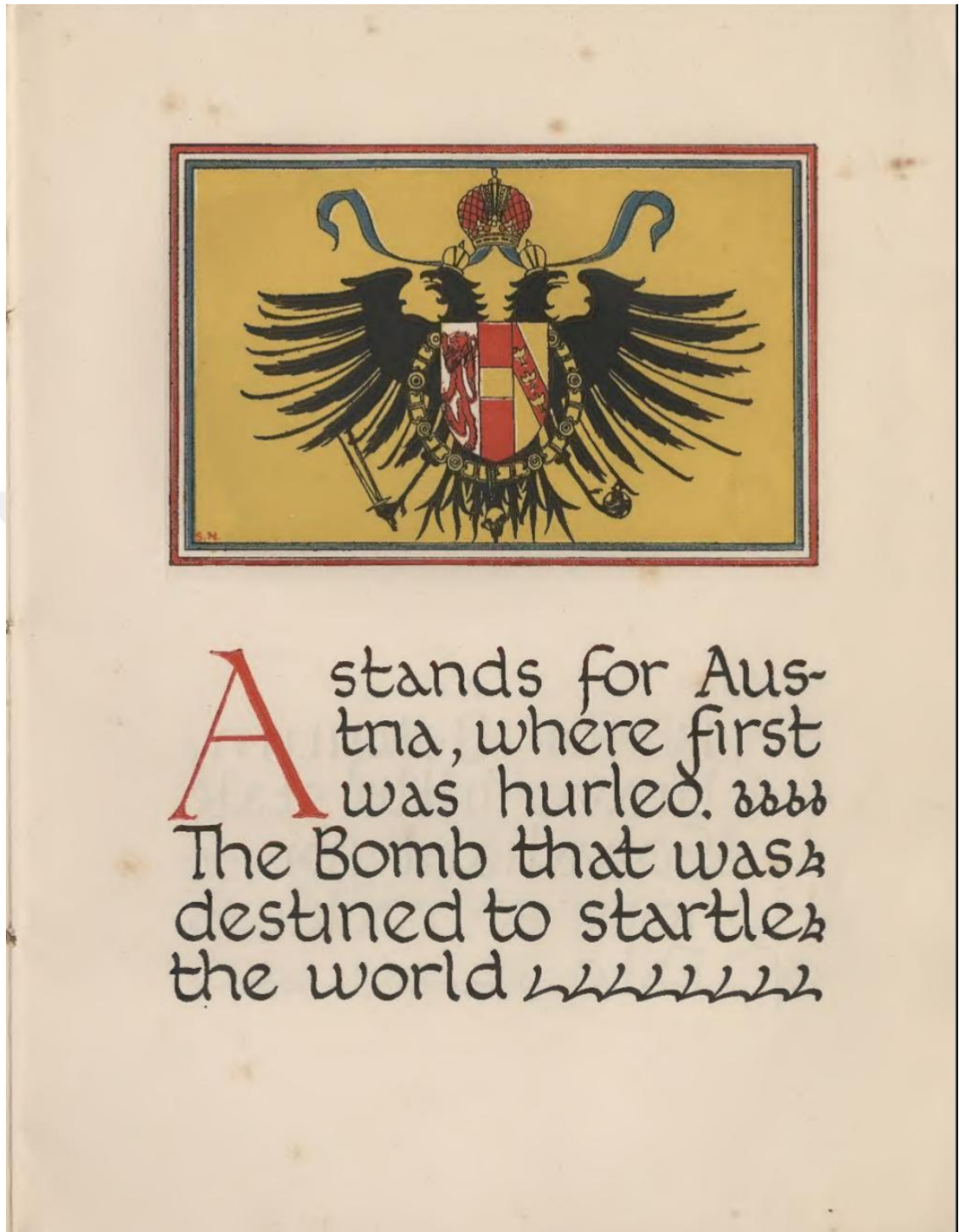


Fig. 8. Whitworth, Geoffrey, and Stanley North. *The Child's ABC of the War*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1914. Print.

In fact, the villanization of the enemy became consistent in the war propaganda as the war drew out. Even though Australia was no longer a colony of the British Empire, it was still under its umbrella and considered Britain as the mother country. In August 1914, Australia, as a Dominion of the British Empire, shared its status with other self-governing colonies such as Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, and Newfoundland. While the Australian Constitution granted the national government authority over “external affairs” following federation in 1901, this did not mean to include control over diplomacy or international relations. Instead, both Australian politicians and the public accepted that foreign policy would be managed by the imperial government in London. Consequently, when Britain declared war on Germany on August 4, 1914, Australia’s involvement in the war was automatic and unquestioned (Beaumont 2–3). Therefore, similar propaganda campaigns were disseminated over Australia as well. One of the most famous pro-war propaganda posters from the period is ? [*The Question Mark*] (fig. 9) (Lindsay).

Designed during the Australian government’s final recruiting campaign during World War I, this poster clearly displays the use of fear-driven propaganda as a powerful Ideological State Apparatus (ISA) to maintain public support for the war effort. As a part of the communications ISA the poster ? [*The Question Mark*] was used to disseminate pro-war ideology and shape people’s mind in public places. Instead of using repressive force to persuade Australians to join the war, it uses ideology to disseminate hatred and fear against Germans in order to encourage Australians to enlist. Wearing a spiked German helmet or pickelhaube, a symbol of German militarism, the dominating image of an ape-like creature depicts Germany as a wild and dehumanised invader. With blood clearly pouring across Europe, its bloodied hands claw at the globe, signifying the terrible results of German crimes on the continent (Imperial War Museums). The poster’s grotesque imagery and emotional tone reflect what Althusser describes as the work of professional ideologues, such as teachers, clergy or politicians, who rely on “threats and demagoguery” and use emotional and often irrational appeals framed in the language of morality, virtue and national pride to shape individual conscience and ensure ideological conformity (*On the Reproduction* 146). Furthermore, the rising question mark suggests a difficult and frightening question for the viewer about what will happen if this creature is not stopped. This visual narrative presents the war as a necessary and moral struggle to protect order and mankind, thus strengthening the narrative of Germany as a fundamental threat to

global civilisation. While reducing difficult geopolitical reality into a clear dichotomy of civilisation vs barbarism, the terrible visual appeals to primitive fears, creates an impression of urgency and moral anger (Lindsay).

This poster exemplifies how ISAs, including media and education, were used to interpellate people into accepting and internalising the dominant wartime ideology through the perspective of Louis Althusser's theory. Presenting Germany as a terrible power guilty for the bloodshed in Europe, the picture subtly encourages the audience to take action, therefore aligning morality with political objectives. The blood dripping over Europe not only highlights the moral and physical consequences of the war but also praises the audience as defenders of civilisation, therefore supporting their position inside the dominant ideological framework (Lindsay). Furthermore, the poster was created during the later stages of the war, when enthusiasm and voluntary enrolment were diminishing, it worked as an Ideological State Apparatus (ISA) working with the Repressive State Apparatus (RSA). Visual propaganda like this aimed to revive popular support for the war effort as public morale dropped and discontent grew. The poster emphasises the critical role ISAs play in maintaining support and recruiting by merging emotional symbolism with ideological discourse, even as the war's human and financial consequences became more apparent.

This development in the use of fear-driven propaganda is additionally exemplified by a striking Australian recruitment poster imagining Australia as occupied "New Germany," where major cities like Sydney and Tasmania are renamed into "Nietzscheburg" and "Kaisermania" (*New Germany* 1918). The poster primarily reflects the communications ISA, functioning as mass-distributed media to convey a political message. It dramatizes an improbable scenario of German invasion which serves not as a real warning but as a powerful ideological tool to provoke fear and reinforce nationalistic duty (*New Germany* 1918). The exaggerated imagery demonstrates how Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) utilised visual propaganda to emotionally manipulate and interpellate people into accepting the state's wartime narrative.



Fig. 9. Lindsay, Norman. ? [*The Question Mark*]. 1918. *Imperial War Museums*. Web. 19 Aug. 2024. <<https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/16786>>.

Furthermore, by renaming famous Australian cities' names with German names, the communications ISA works closely with the cultural ISA to create the desired ideology. In the poster *New Germany* (fig. 10), the culture is attacked through the alteration of the language. Thus, the poster encourages viewers to consider joining the war as a moral obligation by depicting the possible loss of sovereignty and cultural identity. The cultural identity and national language are first instilled and taught in schools to the individuals, and therefore evidently, there is also a reliance on the educational ISA. The viewer is expected to understand that these names are German, and the map is the Australian map with famous cities highlighted. Through the use of visual language of a map, which is an authoritative educational object, the poster reminds the viewers of the cultural knowledge of geography and being a nation. This form of rhetoric simplifies difficult geopolitical issues into an emotionally charged visual narrative that corresponds with the recurring ideas of civilisation positioned against barbarism. Although the scenario portrayed was implausible, the poster's strong message underscored the necessity of wartime participation and demonstrated how the Ideological State Apparatuses changed to maintain public support and counter growing discontent through fear as the war continued.



Fig. 10. *New Germany*. 1918. Poster. *Imperial War Museums*, London. Web. 19 Aug. 2024. <<https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/29215>>.

Similarly, as a communications ISA, the British pro-war propaganda poster *Britain Needs You at Once* (fig. 11) is an example of the use of allegorical imagery to influence the public opinion and raise support for the war. The poster tries to recruit soldiers not by force but by shaping their self-conception by transforming the individual into the heroic subject needed by the nation to defeat the threatening enemy. This interpellation is also supported with the utilisation of the cultural ISA elements of mythology to deliver its message.

The poster's main image is of a knight in shining armour, riding a white horse, and getting ready to defeat a terrifying green dragon against a flaming red background. The knight represents Britain's virtues of honour, courage, and moral superiority, while the dragon represents the dehumanised enemy, who is portrayed as a bestial, serious danger. These allegorical symbolisms and themes convert the war into a moral battle between good and evil. Usually associated with purity, the white horse emphasises the noble character of the knight and promotes Britain act as the protector of world peace and justice. By depicting the opponent as a wild beast, the poster reduces the complexities of the war and provokes fear, anger, and sense of responsibility. In addition, the knight's composed and confident demeanour appeals to the audience's sense of pride and duty, which "hails" ideological roles as the nation's defenders. The call "Britain Needs You at Once," supports Althusser's idea of hailing, as it "hails" the audience directly, establishing a sense of personal responsibility and prompt response similar to the Lord Kitchener's recruitment poster discussed in Chapter 1. The imagery's emphasis on mythological and chivalric elements deeply rooted in Western cultural narratives, as well as references to popular cultural values of bravery and sacrifice, establish the ideological message.

Furthermore, the legend that it utilises is very likely from the Christian folklore of Saint George and the Dragon which is most famously recorded in Jacobus de Voragine's *The Golden Legend*. According to the legend, Saint George, who was a Christian knight, rescues a princess from a dragon by defeating the beast with the sign of the cross. However, he slays the dragon after the townspeople agree to convert to Christianity (238–42). Therefore, by using religious legends, the poster *Britain Needs You at Once* employs the religious ISA to interpellate the viewers as religious subjects. The dragon stands for evil or paganism, while Saint George on a white horse represents faith, bravery and divine

justice. This legend is a famous depiction of good versus evil, which is a common theme that can be seen in British national and cultural stories to inspire heroism. The enemy is further antagonised by the poster's sharp contrast between the noble knight and the terrible monster, and presents the enemy as completely evil and unworthy of mercy. Through the use of the religious ISA and the cultural ISA's teachings, the poster creates a correlation between Saint George and the British people while associating the dragon with Germany. This contrast encourages people to regard the enemy as an existential threat that must be defeated in order to maintain justice and honour, while also defending Britain's actions as morally superior (*Britain Needs You at Once* 1915).



Fig. 11. *Britain Needs You at Once*. 1915. Poster. Imperial War Museums. Web. 19 Aug. 2024. <<https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/27762>>.

One of the most prominent pro-war propaganda strategies that lasted for a long period of time was the White Feather Movement, which relied on fear and threat as means of war support. The movement began on August 30, 1914, when Admiral Charles Penrose Fitzgerald enlisted women in Folkestone to hand out white feathers to men not in uniform to shame them into enlisting (Gullace, "White Feathers" 178). Although correlating nonparticipation in the war with treason and cowardice became more prominent as the war progressed and enlistment declined, the White Feather Movement was the initial pro-war propaganda campaign that employed this form of marginalisation. This group of women was informally known as "The Order of the White Feather" or "The White Feather Brigade," which was seen as a semi-official form of recruitment pressure at the beginning of the war (Gullace, "White Feathers" 178). In her book *The Blood of Our Sons*, Gullace explains that the symbolism of the white feather as a marker of cowardice was popularised by A.E.W. Mason's 1902 novel *The Four Feathers*. In the book a young officer named Harry Feversham resigns from his duty due to the fear of battle. To publicly label him a coward his three friends send him three feathers. The emotional pressure causes him to face his failure to meet masculine ideals of martial honour (85). In addition to that, the white feather's symbolism originated in cockfighting, "where having a white feather is a proof he [i.e. the fighting cock] is not of the true game breed" (Grose 368).

Although the White Feather Movement was not an official pro-war propaganda arm of the state, it still operated through ideology and not force. Unlike the Repressive State Apparatus, which operates through brute force, the White Feather Movement worked through public shaming, emotional pressure and moral symbolism (white feather). It effectively promoted enlistment, national unity and the glorification of military masculinity through shaming and blaming the men who would shun the war. Unlike the pro-war posters and poems, it did not glorify the war but rather psychologically pressured and insulted the male for not joining the war, which served the aims of the state. Indeed, the White Feather Movement operated through multiple overlapping ISAs.

The utilisation of the cultural ISA can be observed in the symbol of the white feather itself. As Gullace explains, in *The Blood of Our Sons*, the white feather's symbolic power originated from popular culture, especially from the novel *The Four Feathers*, where the feather acted as a marker of cowardice. This is a clear act of interpellation through cultural

forms, where a literary symbol is repurposed into a real-world ideological tool. Furthermore, the movement was supported by the communications ISA. As Gullace points out in her article, newspapers such as the *Daily Mail* widely covered and often encouraged the movement, framing the act of handing out white feathers as a patriotic duty for women, which “was widely imitated by women all over the country” (“White Feathers” 178). Therefore, the cultural ISA served to disseminate the campaign so it would become popular. In Althusserian terms, the media here functioned as the communications ISA which saturated the social field with ideological messages that glorified sacrifice and criticised neutrality. Moreover, the participation of women who were the cornerstone of the family as mothers, wives and sisters in the White Feather Movement also reflects the use of the family ISA. Women participated in the states ideological machinery by reinforcing the gender roles expected by the state so the men in their lives would internalise a militarised form of masculinity. Giving a white feather not only interpellated men as cowardly “non-subjects” of the war but also subtly interpellated women as enforcers of the national ideology. As stated, movements such as the White Feather Movement were the result of the decline in enlistments.

The changing view of the war produced political unrest, too. In Ireland, growing opposition to British authority, which clearly had started before World War I, culminated in Ireland’s demand for self-rule. As Jackson explains, “from the early 1870s to the end of the Great War - Home Rule was both the single most important feature of Irish political life and a major influence within British politics” (3). The idea of Home Rule was promised many times but kept getting delayed because of political oppositions and strong resistance from Unionists in Ulster (Townshend 31–32). When World War I started in 1914, the British government postponed Home Rule again, which frustrated many Irish nationalists (Jackson 143). The repeated delay and postponement of Home Rule can be seen as a function of the political ISA. Althusser describes the political ISA as the illusion of “will of the people” (*On the Reproduction* 222). In this context, the British government’s delay of the Home Rule is presented as a consensus in the parliament, which was a necessary compromise during the period and was considered democratic. The British government interpellated Irish subjects as obedient political citizens within the empire by exploiting Ireland’s desire for self-rule through parliamentary system, which temporarily controlled and contained revolutionary inclinations. Leaders like John

Redmond supported the war effort, hoping that Ireland would be rewarded with self-government afterward, while many critics saw the war as “a unique opportunity to trade Irish support for the immediate enforcement of Home Rule” (Jackson 144). Furthermore, John Redmond’s support, while a political position, also indirectly functioned as part of the communications ISA, since such wartime stances were necessarily public and widely reported through speeches and press. Therefore, Redmond’s political stance supported the war effort as a unifying imperial cause. Although Redmond was an Irish leader who believed he was acting of his own free will, he was in fact supporting the dominant state ideology under the influence of the political ISA.

On the other hand, Charles Townshend notes that leaders of the Irish Republican Brotherhood believed that the war gave Ireland a perfect chance for revolution, and England’s difficulty could become Ireland’s opportunity (18). A secret Military Council including Patrick Pearse, Joseph Plunkett, Thomas Clarke, and James Connolly planned a rebellion on Easter Monday, 24 April 1916 by taking over buildings in Dublin and declaring an Irish Republic from the General Post Office (Jackson 152; Townshend 94, 408–409). Although there was a lack of coordination and widespread support, especially from outside of Dublin, the rebels held out for nearly a week. The Easter Rising ended with rebels surrendering on 29 April (Jackson 153; Townshend 252–253). The use of military and police power and the execution of sixteen rebels to re-establish the control and suppress the rebellion is a clear demonstration of the Repressive State Apparatus used by the British government. Althusser explains that “the Army, the Police, the Courts, the Prisons, etc... constitute... the Repressive State Apparatus” and that it “functions by violence” (“Ideology” 143). However, the execution of sixteen rebel leaders caused sympathy among Irish people and shifted public opinion drastically by turning a failed rebellion into a symbol of resistance. As Alvin Jackson explains, “it was these executions, rather than the rebel action, which nudged public opinion from outright hostility towards a degree of sympathy” (Jackson 153). The critical mistake of the British government weakened support for Home Rule and led to a stronger campaign for full Irish Independence. This outcome reflects what Althusser argues about the limits of repression. That is, repression on its own is not enough to maintain the reproduction of the relations of production. It is ideology, through persuasive and often misleading beliefs, that plays a more effective role in preserving the existing social structure (Althusser, *On the*

Reproduction 180). While the British government used the Repressive State Apparatus to suppress the political rebellion in Ireland, it also used ideological pressure to control the individuals at home.

However, the first movement that openly made the pro-war propaganda ineffectual is the anti-war poetry. One of the most famous representative figures of poetic dissent through poetry during World War I was the poet Siegfried Sassoon, successful soldier who was awarded the Military Cross for his bravery and accomplishments in the battlefield (Egremont 96, 100). Although Sassoon was initially a patriotic soldier who supported and accepted the traditional state driven ideas of war as duty and honour, his first-hand experience of the battlefield completely changed his perspective. In 1917, Sassoon submitted a letter as an official protest of the military titled “A Soldier’s Declaration,” in which he states that “the War is being deliberately prolonged” by the state and the war that was initially considered “as a war of defence and liberation” has transformed into “a war of aggression and conquest” (Wilson 373–74). In the letter, Sassoon accuses the government of making political mistakes and dishonesty which caused many soldiers to die in vain (Wilson 374). H. Lees-Smith read out the statement and brought up Sassoon’s case in the House of Commons on 30 July 1917. However, in response, the Under-Secretary for War stated that the officer Sassoon was currently receiving treatment for “shell-shock” and a nervous breakdown. Later, on 31 July, his letter was published in *The Times* and gained widespread public attention (Egremont 163).

The state and the military were ready for Sassoon’s declaration before the public reading in parliament. On 6 July Sassoon writes his statement and sends a private letter to his commanding officer (Egremont 151). Therefore, his military superiors were already aware of Sassoon’s protest and considered its implications. As Sassoon’s intentions became apparent before the public reading in the House of Commons, the government had a chance to respond with an ideologically calculated action. Instead of using a much more repressive legal ISA approach of court-martialling Sassoon, the state declared him mentally unfit for service and admitted him to Craiglockhart War Hospital under the diagnosis of “shell-shock” on 20 July before Sassoon’s intentions became public (Egremont 156). Evidently, as Wilson states, “the Medical Board, which was instantly arranged for the next day, had of course been fixed” (383). This tactic utilised both the

legal and political ISAs while avoided resort to more repressive measures, which aimed to depoliticise Sassoon's protest and undermine his credibility without turning him into a martyr. Clearly, Sassoon's accusations, coming from a respected officer who had won the Military Cross, was politically dangerous. Therefore, the subtle but strategic use of the Ideological State Apparatuses aimed to ideologically neutralise the opposing views while ensuring that Sassoon's threat to the pro-war propaganda was undermined not by force, but by redefining him as a psychologically unwell subject rather than a political protester.

Another important poet who stood in opposition to the British government's pro-war ideology and narrative was Wilfred Owen. Similar to Siegfried Sassoon, Wilfred Owen initially enlisted with a sense of duty and patriotism. However, his first-hand experiences in the trenches and his meeting with Siegfried Sassoon in August 1917 while recovering from shell shock at Craiglockhart War Hospital in Scotland, drastically changed his perspective on the war. Sassoon's influence was critical in Owen's life. Even before he met Sassoon, Owen was an admirer of his works, their subject and was excited to meet with him (Hibbert 263). Owen's impact on Sassoon was pleasant as well; Sassoon was happy to discover "that there was another poet in the hospital and that he happened to be an admirer" of his work (Sassoon 58). He helped Owen to refine his poetic technique and encouraged him to write about the horrors of the war with raw realism, which exposed the horrific realities of modern warfare, the suffering of soldiers and the clear contrast between the government propaganda and the frontline experiences (Stallworthy 210–11). However, Owen's early poems still "the work of a Romantic, Decadent and still patriotic poet who" was "just beginning to absorb new ways of thinking" (Hibbert 269). Therefore, Owen had to let go of both his longing for home and the patriotic ideals that had motivated him throughout his service (Hibbert 270).

According to Stallworthy, Owen was first exposed to the protest poem under Sassoon's guidance but soon moved beyond basic, slogan-like verse and accessed more profound imaginative depths than even Sassoon could not achieve (295). However, despite the literary power and emotional influence of Owen's poems, his dissenting voice was ideologically suppressed during the war, mainly through the family ISA and the cultural ISA, such as the publishing industry, literary journals, and press censorship. Hibbert notes that only five of Owen's poems were published in his lifetime, which were "Song

of Songs,” “The Next War,” “Miners,” “Futility” and “Hospital Barge” (367). According to Fussel, the British reading public was accustomed to literature that emphasised traditional ideals of courage, “personal control” and “sacrifice” (22). Thus, it could be assumed that many publishers were hesitant to print Owen’s work, not because it lacked value, but rather because of the political implications of its content, which strongly opposed the dominant ideology during World War I, and the public’s ideological conditioning. Owen’s poetry directly challenged the state’s pro-war narrative which portrayed the war as noble and necessary. His famous poems such as “Dulce et Decorum Est” and “Anthem for Doomed Youth” satirised patriotic slogans and church rituals presenting them as meaningless apparatuses of ideological manipulation. Especially notable in his infamous poem “Dulce et Decorum Est”, written in early October 1917 while he was in Craiglockhart War Hospital, with a title that reads “It is sweet and meet to die for one’s country. Sweet! And decorous!”, exposed the horrible realities of the war and the trench warfare (Hibberd 276). However, “Dulce et Decorum Est” was not published in his lifetime, although it is a direct challenge to the pro-war propaganda. It describes the death of a soldier as a result of gas used in the attacks and calls the heroic descriptions of war as lies. It reads

If in some smothering dreams, you too could pace
 Behind the wagon that we flung him in,
 And watch the white eyes writhing in his face,
 His hanging face, like a devil’s sick of sin;
 If you could hear, at every jolt, the blood
 Come gargling from the froth-corrupted lungs,
 Obscene as cancer, bitter as the cud
 Of vile, incurable sores on innocent tongues,—
 My friend, you would not tell with such high zest
 To children ardent for some desperate glory,
 The old Lie: *Dulce et decorum est*
Pro patria mori. (17–28)

In his poem, Owen brutally portrays the gruesome realities of the battle. In these closing lines of “Dulce et Decorum Est,” Owen presents disturbing and grotesque images such as “white eyes writhing” (19), “blood...gargling” (21–22) and “froth-corrupted lungs” (22) to reveal the brutal truth behind the glorification of the war. In the line “If in some smothering dreams, you too could pace” (17), Owen criticises people who glorify the war from a safe place and points out that the trauma of war continues even in sleep. Similar

to the state's propaganda, the direct addressing of "my friend" (25) serves as an opposition which criticises the patriotic idealism fed to "children ardent for some desperate glory" (26). In the final lines of the poem, Owen refers to Horace's well-known "*Dulce et decorum est / Pro patria mori*" (27–28), which is famously cited for its glorification of the war, and he turns that classical ideal on its head by calling it as an "old Lie" (28) (Commanger 105; Kendall 58).

Ultimately, Owen's poetry posed a direct threat to the state's pro-war campaigns and narrative, which presented the war as both necessary and honourable. In a way, it could be said that Owen 'counter-interpellated' individuals, encouraging them to become aware of the harsh truths that the British government tried to hide. As Huriye Reis argues, even Owen's preface in his book portrays his opposition to the British government's pro-war ideology. Owen separates his work from traditional war poetry by refusing to promote themes such as heroism, national glory, or military power. Instead of supporting the war, Owen presents his poetry as a means of exposing the "ideological errors" behind such ideals and tries to warn his readers against the cultural and moral illusions that sustain the war effort (233).

Because he was trying to uphold a socially acceptable version of Wilfred that fit the dominant ideology, norms and even masculinity, his brother, Harold Owen, acted in accordance with the family ISA, and tried enforcing ideological control within the private sphere. Harold Owen initially refused to publish Wilfred's letters until his own account of his brother had been released, and he censored parts of their content. His reasons included sensitivity to social class, personal resentment, a desire to protect Wilfred's image, and a fear of fuelling rumours about Wilfred's sexuality (Hibberd 369–70). In time, Harold allowed previously removed sections to be restored, added further details which were not always accurate, and helped clarify references in the letters by researching the people and events mentioned (Hibberd 369–70).

Unlike Sassoon, who was publicly discredited through false medical diagnosis, Owen was silenced more subtly. He was not court-martialled or sent to Craiglockhart, as his anti-war attitude and poetry developed after he met Sassoon in Craiglockhart War Hospital, but he was instead ignored and pushed aside by people who were, willingly or unwillingly, under the ideological influence of the state. Although he wrote his poems

during the war, they were kept from being published at the time and only became well known after his death, when they no longer challenged the British government directly (Stallworthy 298–99).

Throughout the war, British pro-war propaganda changed from promoting patriotism and unity as ideals to be defended to promoting fear and division if the war did not succeed. As the reality of the war sank in, the early excitement for the war effort dropped, and the government became more active in its attempts to keep the public support. Louis Althusser's Ideological and Repressive State Apparatuses (ISAs and RSA) provide insight into this evolution. The media, churches, and educational institutions, among other ideological apparatuses, adapted their narratives to highlight the savagery of the enemy and to generate fear and hatred against Germany by presenting it as a savage threat to civilisation. Moreover, by comparing nonparticipation and passivism to disloyalty these pro-war propaganda campaigns presented anti-war supporters and sceptics as traitors (Ponsonby 26). As the ideological influence of the Ideological State Apparatuses decreased due to the public frustration, the Repressive State Apparatus in accordance with the more repressive Ideological State Apparatuses such as censorship (as a cultural ISA) and court investigations (as legal ISA) started to be employed more prominently to suppress criticism and enforce compliance (Millman 252). The increasing desperation of those in authority to maintain control and support the ongoing war was visible by the change in tone and approach, which demonstrated the interplay between the ISAs and the RSA in upholding the prevailing ideology.

CONCLUSION

The use of pro-war propaganda by the British government during World War I provides great understanding of the connection between the state power, ideological influence, and social control. Based on Louis Althusser's concepts of Repressive and Ideological State Apparatuses (RSA and ISAs), this study examines the creation, dissemination, and evolution of pro-war propaganda as a central tool for promoting and maintaining public support. The results demonstrate how private and state institutions such as publishers, churches, Wellington House and the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee (PRC) were instrumental in organising and coordinating propaganda. They did this through diverse mediums of publishing such as recruitment posters, reports, books and poems, which worked in tandem with Ideological State Apparatuses to create pro-war ideology and adapt to the changing wartime conditions.

At the beginning of the war, the government employed inspirational and sentimental themes in its propaganda to build public enthusiasm and encourage a sense of collective duty. Most of these narratives were disseminated by Wellington House, which was the centre of British pro-war propaganda campaigns. To make these messages more persuasive and credible, the British government enlisted respected authors such as Rudyard Kipling, John Masefield, and Thomas Hardy. These authors portrayed the war as a righteous cause that was worthy of support by promoting ideas of moral justice, patriotism, and masculinity. In addition to these authors, the British government commissioned James Bryce, who was a famous historian and a respected academic in the United States, to oversee the *Report of the Committee on Alleged German Outrages*. The commissioning of James Bryce further proves the British government's desire to create credible propaganda materials that would influence both domestic and international opinion of the war and Britain, especially in neutral countries such as the United States.

Pro-war propaganda campaigns, including posters, pamphlets and poems, aimed to further emphasise the morality of the war by appealing to deeply rooted ideas such as gender roles, patriotism, nationalism, religion, and family. Well-known posters like Lord Kitchener's *Your Country Needs You* and *Women of Britain Say—'GO!'* display how the state can "interpellate" people into certain roles within the wartime narrative. The state encouraged men to enlist in the military to prove bravery and responsibility and women

to help the war effort from the home front. These campaigns utilised different Ideological State Apparatuses to produce a common narrative that encouraged national identity and unity which generated increase in voluntary enlistment.

The use of bold imagery, persuasive slogans, and emotional appeals worked to promote a sense of duty among the public. For example, the poster *Your Country Needs You* became one of the prominent symbols of patriotic duty. Furthermore, pro-war propaganda aimed at colonial subjects presented their involvement as both necessary and submissive which supported the hierarchical systems of the British Empire. These illustrations were not only decorative but also were deeply rooted in the intellectual and cultural context of the time. The state's propaganda was able to gain support from different parts of the society by using existing norms and values such as using dominant definitions of masculinity to interpellate men as patriotic and protective subjects whose responsibility were to protect their family and country. In addition to that, the state used cultural and national imagery to further influence specific groups of people such as the Irish. The use of Irish cultural symbols together with the rest of the union members interpellated Irish men as equal subjects who shared equal responsibility for the war.

Religion and education, as ISAs, played an equally significant role in maintaining ideological hegemony. Schools used textbooks to glorify Britain's participation in the war while also promoting the values of loyalty and sacrifice. On the other hand, religious institutions provided moral justification for the conflict, often portraying it as a battle between good and evil. Sermons and religious texts reinforced the idea of sacrifices made on the battlefield which were considered sacred and necessary. These institutions also offered spiritual relief to those who had lost their loved ones. These institutions worked closely with other Ideological State Apparatuses, creating a uniform narrative of ideological control that influenced every aspect of public life.

On the other hand, the early enthusiasm started to decline as the war continued. The heavy human and economic costs of the long war gradually weakened the sentimental values of the early stages of the war. Over time, themes such as patriotism and justice in state propaganda evolved to more aggressive themes, focusing on fear and the dehumanization of the enemy. The state's shift in discourse from ideological to more repressive reflects the importance of maintaining public support against the growing discontent. For

instance, propaganda began to portray the enemy as savage and frightening, creating fear of invasion in order to justify the war. The antagonised depiction was not only clear in visual propaganda but also in the discourse used by religious and educational institutions which served as Ideological State Apparatuses. Schools presented the war as a heroic battle against evil, teaching younger generations values such as loyalty and sacrifice. Religious leaders also glorified the war as a divine mission which reinforced the idea of war as a moral duty.

The use of censorship as cultural ISA and political decisions as political ISA further illustrates repression's inherent role in the Ideological State Apparatuses. As opposing views became more prominent, especially among poets and intellectuals who had originally supported the war, censorship and discredit were important tools for suppressing criticism and maintaining the control over the intended narrative. Poets such as Siegfried Sassoon, who initially supported the war out of nationalistic feelings, began to question the righteousness of the war when he experienced the war first-hand and started to expose terrible realities of the battlefield in his poems. Similar to Sassoon, Wilfred Owen, described the horrors of trench warfare and provided a striking contrast to the state's narrative of the war. Although censorship, from the private or public sphere, frequently marginalised these voices, their presence emphasises the limits of propaganda against real life and people's experiences.

Furthermore, the Irish rebellion of 1916, known as the Easter Rising, represents another critical example of how ideological control met its limits and required a shift toward repressive measures. Despite Britain's strong pro-war propaganda campaigns in order to maintain support for the war by Irish people, there was strong dissent in Ireland. This discontent led to a nationalistic resistance and eventually a rebellion. The 1916 Easter Rising in Ireland clearly revealed the limits of ideological control. The state responded to this rebellion with its Repressive State Apparatus by enforcing submission through military force and executions. The change from ideological to repressive methods highlights the state's resort to force when persuasion was no longer effective.

In conclusion, this thesis argues that British propaganda during World War I utilised Ideological State Apparatuses such as the religious ISA, the cultural ISA, the family ISA, and the political ISA, to support the war and shape public opinion in accordance with the

state's objectives. Various public and private institutions such as media, literature, religion and education were used to influence people's beliefs and behaviours. Britain's propaganda heavily relied on subtlety and persuasion, therefore the British government enlisted credible academics and authors to further its aims to persuade the domestic and international public. Furthermore, British pro-war propaganda heavily relied on themes of masculinity, gender roles, unity, patriotism, family, morality, religion and dehumanisation of enemy, to promote support for the war effort. But, as the war went on and people saw the true horrors of the battlefield, the limits of the propaganda became obvious. Towards the end of the war, British pro-war propaganda did not disappear but instead became more defensive and desperate in tone as the oppositional voices became more noticeable. In order to maintain the control, more the Ideological State Apparatuses and more repressive strategies such as censorship, political pressure and even medical diagnosis to silence opposition were employed. This shift from persuasion to repression presents the crucial balance between the ideology and repression. After the war, official narratives were increasingly challenged by memoirs of soldiers who had experienced trench warfare, as well as by poems and plays that revealed the brutal realities of the conflict. Therefore, this study presents a better understanding of how states use both ideas and power to manage society during war.

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