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'Your Country Needs You': A Case Study in Political Iconography

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Courtesy of the Imperial War Museum, London.

Fig. 1. Alfred Leete, Lord Kitchener, 'Your Country Needs You', recruitment poster, UK, 1914.

ARTICLES AND ESSAYS

‘Your Country Needs You’: a Case Study in Political Iconography by *Carlo Ginzburg*

In his last book, *Theatres of Memory* (1994), Raphael Samuel wrote:

A historiography that was alert to memory’s shadows – those sleeping images which spring to life unbidden, and serve as ghostly sentinels of our thought – might give at least as much attention to pictures as to manuscripts or print. The visual provides us with our stock figures, our subliminal points of reference, our unspoken point of address.¹

I am confident that Raphael Samuel would have approved of the topic I have chosen for this lecture in his memory, which deals not only with images but also with patriotism, another issue on which he spent a considerable amount of intellectual energy. I am not sure that he would have agreed with my approach. I shall return to this possible area of disagreement in my conclusion.

* * *

‘A poor general, but a wonderful poster’: this comment, attributed to Lady Asquith, has long been associated with the memory of Lord Kitchener.² (Fig. 1).

A historical evaluation of Lord Kitchener’s long military career would be out of place here. What concerns me today is not the reality but, in a most literal sense, the image: the poster itself, seen as both the outcome and the catalyst of a series of intricate processes which deserve a closer look.

Lord Kitchener, at the time the military governor of Egypt, arrived in England on 23 June 1914. On 28 June Francis Ferdinand of Habsburg, the Austrian archduke, was murdered in Sarajevo; on 28 July, having seen its ultimatum to Serbia rejected, Austria initiated hostilities. On 3 August, the eve of Great Britain’s declaration of war, *The Times* published an article urging the Prime Minister, Lord Asquith, to yield his position as Secretary of War to the vacationing governor of Egypt:

[Kitchener] is at home, and his selection for this onerous and important post would meet with warm public approval . . . It is earnestly to be hoped that . . . the Field Marshal will accept it, if only for the period of the war.³

Lord Kitchener, then sixty-four, was indeed a very popular figure. For many

years the press had been describing in romantic, nearly legendary terms the man who had crushed the Mahdist rebellion at Omdurman, dubbing him 'the avenger of Gordon'. But G. W. Steevens, the journalist whose account of the march to Khartoum had made Kitchener famous, had also stressed the inhuman aspects of his hero. Kitchener was, according to Steevens, 'The Man Who Has Made Himself a Machine', a man who 'ought to be patented and shown with pride at the Paris International Exhibition, British Engine: Exhibit No. 1, *hors concours*, the Sudan Machine'.⁴

Even Kitchener's most sympathetic biographers made no attempts to conceal that he was widely-perceived as a distant, stern figure – although they claimed that the real man was less inaccessible than he seemed.⁵ Many politicians shared a critical view of Kitchener. The most vocal among them was Winston Churchill, who had served under Kitchener in the Sudan ('It was a case of dislike before first sight', was his later comment). In his book on the Sudan campaign Churchill wrote:

[Kitchener] treated all men like machines, from the private soldier whose salutes he disdained, to the superior officers he rigidly controlled . . . The stern and un pitying spirit of the Commander was communicated to the troops, and the victories which marked the progress of the River War were accompanied by acts of barbarity not always justified even by the harsh custom of savage conflicts or the fierce and treacherous nature of the Dervish.⁶

A harsh, ruthless, implacable soldier; a skilful military organizer; a faithful servant of the British Empire across the continents – from Africa, to Australia, to India. This was the man called on by *The Times* on 3 August 1914 to play the role of a dictator in the true Roman sense: the victorious soldier ready to serve his country in a time of danger.

That same day Kitchener made his way to Dover in an unsuccessful attempt to leave.⁷ He tried again the day after, 4 August; but at the very last minute a message from the Prime Minister arrived and Kitchener went back to London. A day passed. Britain entered the war without having appointed a new Secretary of War. Clearly things were not going smoothly. Presumably Lord Asquith was not particularly eager to offer Kitchener a position traditionally given to civilians; and Kitchener was apparently hesitant to accept it. On 5 August *The Times* pressed again for Lord Kitchener's nomination, launching a full-fledged attack against his most serious competitor: Haldane, the Lord Chancellor. The military correspondent of *The Times*, Charles à Court, Colonel Repington, who had been a member of Kitchener's staff during the Sudan campaign, wrote a long article in which he sharply juxtaposed Haldane's pro-German image and Kitchener's immaculate pro-French record (as a young man, he had enrolled as a volunteer in the Franco-Prussian war). After having once more stressed Kitchener's organizational gifts and the confidence he was sure to inspire in the nation, the military correspondent concluded:

We are well aware that Kitchener is not a party man, and the suggestion is without a precedent; but the situation is wholly exceptional, and calls for exceptional measures . . . The War Office really needs Lord Kitchener, and ought to have him.⁸

In a few hours those words had become reality. Late in the evening of 5 August Lord Kitchener was appointed Secretary of War. It has been noted that he was the first serving soldier to sit in any Cabinet since George Monk in 1660.⁹ Lord Northcliffe, the strong-willed and fiercely pro-war owner of *The Times* and the *Daily Mail*, had succeeded in overcoming all resistance including Lord Kitchener's.¹⁰

Also on 5 August, *The Times* had issued an appeal, a call to arms:

Your King and Country Need You
Will you answer your Country's call?

Each day is fraught with the gravest possibilities, and at this very moment the Empire is on the brink of the greatest war in the history of the world.

In this crisis your Country calls on all her young unmarried men to rally round her Flag and enlist in the ranks of the Army.

If every patriotic young man answers her call, England and the Empire will emerge stronger and more united than ever. If you are unmarried and between 18 and 30 years old will you answer your Country's call? And go to the nearest Recruiter – whose address you can get at any Office, and

Join the Army
Today!¹¹

The propaganda machine of wartime had begun rolling, the message was there – only Lord Kitchener's name and face were missing. The Call to Arms was republished the following day; on 7 August a request from Lord Kitchener for 'an addition of 100,000 men to his Majesty's regular Army' was published: 'Lord Kitchener is confident that this appeal will be at once responded to by all those who have the safety of our Empire at heart'.¹²

The impact of this personal appeal, which was repeated over and over, was enormous. The hordes of volunteers climbed to thirty-five thousand a day. From September 1914 onwards the appeal was reinforced by the poster with Kitchener's face. Although the initial recruiting boom declined, in the first eighteen months of war, before the adoption of compulsory service, 'Kitchener's armies', or 'Kitchener's divisions' (even some official documents used these terms) swelled to two and a half million men – a very high figure, which Kitchener's obituaries turned into five million.¹³

This massive phenomenon ultimately collapsed the distinction between Lord Kitchener the poster and Lord Kitchener the general, contributing to the victory of the former over the latter. Kitchener's eyes, staring from the ubiquitous posters, left a deep impression on his contemporaries:



Courtesy of the Imperial War Museum (Ref. Q 30072).

Fig. 2. Photograph of a group of volunteers, 1914.



Fig. 3. A. L. Mauzan, 'All of you, do your duty', poster for defence bonds, Italy, 1917.



Fig. 4. 'YOU! shirker, defeatist, counter-revolutionary BE AFRAID!' Hungarian World-War-One recruitment poster.

Their colour is quite beautiful [a journalist wrote] – as deep and as clear a blue as the sea, in its most azure moments – and they look out at the world, with the perfect directness of a man who sees straight to his end.¹⁴

Kitchener's eyes reappear, as an epitome of his life and character, in the official three-volume biography published in 1916, shortly after his tragic death in the wreck of the *Hampshire*:

Even the eyes, on whose steely qualities so many have dwelt, were not young or brilliant – too much sand had blown in them for that; and there was a slight – a very slight – divergence between them. But they looked very straight at any person Lord Kitchener wanted to see . . .¹⁵

A journalist had indicated the same detail, in a rather disparaging tone, while Kitchener was still alive:

About the eyes of Kitchener it may be said without offence that the terror they inspire is heightened by a squint which has tended to grow more pronounced with age. The eyes are blue, penetrating, and full of judgment; without their irregularity, they would be difficult eyes to face, but with this irregularity they fill certain men with a veritable paralysis of terror. Some one who knows him very well has described to me the effect of those eyes upon people who meet him for the first time: 'They strike you', I was told, 'with a kind of clutching terror; you look at them, try to say something, look away, and then trying to speak, find your eyes returning to that dreadful gaze, and once more choke with silence'.¹⁶

For Kitchener's admirers even his slight physical defect, barely visible in the posters, became part of his posthumous legend: 'His gaze was somewhat strange, due, no doubt, to a slight divergence of the visual axes – a gaze which no one talking to him could wholly meet, however boldly he might stare. The Sphinx must look like that'.¹⁷

* * *

I will return to Kitchener's gaze later. Let us now focus on the poster's impact. A photograph from the Imperial War Museum Archive shows a group of volunteers who responded to Kitchener's call to arms. (Fig. 2) A careful reader of this picture stressed the social mix of the recruits.

In a group of half a dozen can be seen at least three classes, each identified by appropriate head-gear: the cloth-cap of the working-man; the straw-boater of the 'gent' or 'toff'; the trilby of the man of business or professional man.¹⁸

This comment sounds unexceptionable, but it raises a further question.



Courtesy of the Stuttgart Staatsgalerie.

Fig 5. J. U. Engelhardt, 'You too must enlist', recruitment poster, Germany, 1919.



Courtesy of the Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Fig 6. J. M. Flagg, 'I want you for U.S. Army', recruitment poster, US, 1917.



Courtesy of the Library, Wellcome Institute, London.

Fig 7. D. Moor, 'Have YOU Enrolled as a Volunteer?', Red Army recruitment poster, Russia, 1920.



Courtesy of the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam.

Fig 8. Dirk Bouts, Christus Salvator Mundi (Vera effigies), c. 1464.

Since the recruitment centres were located in different neighbourhoods, the social mix represented in the picture would have been unlikely – except in a staged picture.¹⁹ In this case, the comment would make explicit a deliberately subliminal message – to use Raphael Samuel's words. We would get the message, namely, that different social groups equally responded to Lord Kitchener's appeal, but we would miss the code. Even propaganda, an allegedly self-evident, transparent language, needs to be deciphered.

During the war, or immediately after the war, more or less reworked versions of the Kitchener poster were made in Italy, Hungary, and Germany.²⁰ In the United States and the Soviet Union Lord Kitchener reappeared, disguised as, respectively, Uncle Sam and Trotsky.²¹ (Figs 3,4,5,6,7) This long series of imitations and variations (along with, as we shall see, inversions and parodies) proves the effectiveness of Lord Kitchener's poster: arguably the most successful ever.

We'll never know how many people decided to volunteer under the impulse of Kitchener's image. In some cases the ultimate reason for that choice must have been opaque to the actors themselves.²² It is certainly inscrutable to later observers like us. But we can safely assume that the imperatives conveyed by those posters – YOUR KING AND COUNTRY NEED YOU, KITCHENER WANTS MORE MEN, and so forth – affected many onlookers. The depiction of authority acted like authority itself. A discharge of social energy took place; a command was introjected and turned into a decision which was, literally, a matter of life and death.

This effectiveness has usually been taken for granted – preventing a closer analysis of the visual and verbal mechanisms involved. How did the poster act?

* * *

The tool I shall use to answer this question is Aby Warburg's notion of *Pathosformeln*, formulas of emotion.²³ For a long time Warburg's legacy – his library and the institute attached to it – obscured the importance of his own writings. During the last few decades the seminal ideas he worked out in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century have become more and more influential. The idea of *Pathosformeln*, one of the most important among them, was introduced by Gertrud Bing, the distinguished scholar who was at one time director of the Warburg Institute, in the following terms:

it was pagan culture, both in religious ritual and in imagery, that supplied the most telling expression of elemental impulses [*Pathosformeln*]. Pictorial forms are mnemonics for such operations; and they can be transmitted, transformed, and restored to a new and vigorous life, wherever kindred impulses arise.²⁴

In the Middle Ages, when 'the expression of elemental impulses' was banned for religious reasons, that 'primeval vocabulary of passionate

gesticulation' (as Warburg labelled it) had been forgotten. Warburg came to realize that the formula – the emotional gesture – was a neutral force, open to different, even opposite interpretations. Those Renaissance artists who recovered such gestures occasionally inverted their classical meaning.²⁵

My attempt to act out Warburg's argument will start with three passages from the thirty-fifth book of Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, a section entirely devoted to Greek and Roman artists.²⁶ The first deals with Famulus, a painter from the time of Emperor Augustus. He was, Pliny wrote (XXXV, 120), 'a dignified and severe but also very florid artist; to him belonged a Minerva who viewed the viewer no matter where he looked from' (*spectantem spectans, quacumque aspiceretur*).²⁷

The second passage (XXXV, 92) is about Apelles, the famous Greek painter:

He also painted Alexander the Great holding a thunderbolt, in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, for a fee of twenty talents in gold. The fingers have the appearance of projecting from the surface, and the thunderbolt seems to stand out from the picture (*digiti eminere videntur et fulmen extra tabulam esse*); readers must remember that all this was produced by four colours . . .²⁸

A third passage (XXXV, 126) indirectly clarifies the meaning of the previous one. Apelles's depiction of Alexander as Zeus, with projecting fingers and holding a thunderbolt, relied upon extreme foreshortening, a visual device which had been brought to perfection by another painter, Pausias. Here is Pliny again:

But Pausias also did large pictures, for instance the sacrifice of oxen which formerly was to be seen in Pompey's Portico. He first invented a method of painting which has afterwards been copied by many people but equalled by no-one; the chief point was that although he wanted to show the long body of an ox he painted the animal facing the spectator and not standing sideways, and its great size is fully conveyed (*adversum eum pinxit, non traversum, et abunde intellegitur amplitudo*).²⁹

* * *

What made Lord Kitchener's poster possible is in my view a long chain-reaction ignited by the combined reading of these passages. Let us listen to the voices of three among the many witnesses who attested to the ubiquitous presence of Lord Kitchener's poster during the First World War. The first is Michael MacDonagh, a journalist on *The Times*, who in January 1915 wrote:

Posters appealing to recruits are to be seen on every hoarding, in most shop windows, in omnibuses, tramcars and commercial vans. The great

base of Nelson's Pillar is covered with them. Their number and variety are remarkable. Everywhere Lord Kitchener sternly points a monstrously big finger, exclaiming: I Want You.³⁰

The second witness is Mont Abbott, at the time of the First World War a young farmworker from Enstone, Oxfordshire. In his recollections he said:

The gwoost of Kitchener had been fading his finger at me for some time on they washed-out posters outside the Post-Office, 'Your King and Country NEED YOU'. Being up to me eyes the last few years in 'Rosy's rump', lone calves, mad bulls, and hungry horses out at Fulwell I hadn't had time to list at Kitchener. But by 1918 the old gwoost were cropping up afresh, pointing at me from barn doors and tree trunks, 'Your King and Country NEED YOU'. The Germans were hammering yet again at our exhausted lads in the fifth army, 90,000 of our men and 1,300 of our guns taken at Lys. I'd be sixteen in July. I only hoped the lads could hold out till I got there

– which they did.³¹

The third witness is H. D. Davray, the author of a biography published in France after Lord Kitchener's death and immediately translated into English. In June 1916, Davray writes, at a time when Lord Northcliffe's press had started to attack Lord Kitchener for his failure to provide the necessary quantity of bomb shells to the French front:

the Central Recruiting Committee posted on the walls of London and all over Great Britain a poster displaying an enormous full-face portrait of Lord Kitchener. From whatever angle it was regarded the eyes met those of the onlooker and never left them; and on one side in large letters was the laconic appeal: Kitchener Wants More Men!³²

Mont Abbott never heard of Pliny the Elder. MacDonagh and Davray certainly were not thinking of him when they commented on Kitchener's poster. But when we read the words 'from whatever angle it was regarded the eyes met those of the onlooker and never left them', we may ask ourselves: whose image is being described here, Minerva's or Lord Kitchener's? who is pointing a monstrously big finger, Lord Kitchener or Alexander the Great? These echoes recapitulate the historical trajectory that I am going to sketch.

* * *

My digression will start from a well-known passage from the introduction to *De visione Dei sive de icona liber* (On the vision of God or on the image), a treatise written in 1453 by the great philosopher Nicholas of Cusa, known as Cusanus.³³ To give his readers some idea of the relationship between God



Courtesy of Graphische Sammlung der Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg (B12).

Fig. 9. Crossbow Archer, Austria, c. 1430.



Courtesy of the National Gallery, London.

Fig. 10. Antonello da Messina, Christ Blessing, c. 1465.



Sinai Archives, University of Michigan. Reproduced courtesy of Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai.

Fig. 11. Icon of Christ Pantocrator, Mount Sinai Monastery of St Catherine, sixth-seventh century.



Courtesy of Norton Simon Art Foundation, Pasadena.

Fig. 12. Hans Memling, Christ Giving His Blessing, Flemish, 1478.

and the world, Cusanus wrote that the most appropriate image they could picture would be the face of somebody who sees everything. There are many such images, he went on, wonderfully painted: the face of the archer in the market-square of Nuremberg; that of Roger, the great painter, in the precious panel of his, now on display in the hall of the Brussels tribunal; that of the Veronica in my own chapel, in Koblenz; that of the angel who holds the insignia of the church in Brixen.³⁴ Cusanus accompanied the manuscript of his treatise with a little panel showing the image of Jesus as it had been impressed on Veronica's veil. If you hang it on a wall, he explained, each of you will see that from whatever angle the image is viewed, you will have the feeling of being, so to speak, the only one regarded by it.³⁵

The paintings Cusanus mentioned in this passage are lost, but we can reconstruct their appearance. Some of them, like the true image (*vera icon*, hence Veronica) of Christ, belonged to well-known types. (Fig. 8)

In articulating the experience of viewing the Veronica, Cusanus reworked Pliny's allusion to the 'Minerva who viewed the viewer no matter where he looked from' (*spectantem spectans, quacumque aspiceretur*). A very learned reader who had (as the aforementioned passage shows) a keen interest in the visual arts would have been familiar with Pliny's work.³⁶ One wonders whether Cusanus's reference to the all-seeing archer – also a rather widespread type (Fig. 9) – may have implied a reference to Pliny's discussion of the depiction of Alexander the Great holding a thunderbolt.³⁷ Even more speculative, of course, would be a connection between the Nuremberg archer and Pliny's. But this sort of connection can be assumed, in my view, in the case of a famous painting which did survive: Antonello da Messina's *Blessing Christ* (London, National Gallery). Antonello started from a venerable iconographic type, the so-called *Salvator Mundi* (the Saviour of the World), a figure who 'viewed the viewer no matter where he looked from', and included the blessing gesture represented by innumerable icons. (Figs 10, 11)

Initially Antonello, who was deeply interested in the works of contemporary Flemish painters like Petrus Christus or Hans Memling, (Fig. 12) followed the traditional iconography; then he modified Christ's blessing hand by introducing a bold, innovative foreshortening. Much has been written on this dramatic *pentimento*. In my view Antonello was inspired by Pliny's passage on Alexander the Great depicted as Zeus: 'the fingers have the appearance of projecting from the surface, and the thunderbolt seems to stand out from the picture' (*digiti eminere videntur et fulmen extra tabulam esse*). Pliny's *Natural History* was published in Latin in 1469. The first Italian translation was issued in Venice in 1476 by the French printer Nicolas Jenson.³⁸ This huge publishing effort, involving approximately one-thousand folio pages, involved lengthy preparations. Cristoforo Landino's translation must have been available in Venice in 1475, when Antonello, freshly arrived from Sicily, revised and signed his painting.³⁹

'*Pare che le dita sieno rilevate et el fulgore sia fuori della tavola*': this

momentous sentence came to be regarded – for instance in Ludovico Dolce’s dialogue on painting (1557) – as the *locus classicus*, the foremost authority on foreshortening.⁴⁰ Pliny gave no indication of how to go about achieving the remarkable effect and so his laconic description became a challenge to those who aimed to recreate (or invent) a fragment of a lost tradition. Pliny’s words urged on those who laboured to create pictorial illusion. Foreshortening became increasingly popular among artists anxious to prove their ability to overcome difficulties.⁴¹ The crucial influence in this domain was of course Michelangelo. In the *Creation of Sun and Moon* and other frescoes in the Sistine Chapel, projecting fingers, gesticulating hands and bold foreshortenings stressed spatial and narrative relationships.⁴² (Fig. 13) Beyond God’s imperious gesture one can see the painter’s gesture: a not-so-hidden analogy inspired by the Neoplatonic idea of art as divine creation.⁴³

In a splendid drawing, now at the British Museum, Pontormo, the great Mannerist painter, articulated Michelangelo’s idea in a non-narrative context. (Fig. 14) Here the protruding arm creates a sense of close intimacy between the painter’s self-image, seen in a mirror, and the viewer as onlooker.⁴⁴ Nearly a century later, Caravaggio reworked the gesture with which Michelangelo endowed God the Father calling Adam to life, in order to express a different event: St Matthew summoned by the Son of God.⁴⁵ (Fig. 15)

Can we interpret Kitchener’s pointing finger as a secular, foreshortened version of Jesus’ horizontal gesture in Caravaggio’s painting? After all, in both cases we have a call – a call to arms, a religious call. But the two images are so different in their formal arrangement that one assumes that there were some (maybe many) missing links in between. I have been unable to find them. My provisional conclusion would be the following: Lord Kitchener’s poster could emerge because two intertwined pictorial traditions existed, involving frontal, all-seeing figures as well as figures with foreshortened pointing fingers.

But those pictorial devices, by themselves, would have been insufficient to generate Lord Kitchener’s poster. Its birthplace was located in a different visual environment: the demotic language of advertisement.⁴⁶ (Figs 1, 16)

* * *

The poster for Godfrey, Phillips and Sons cigarettes was reproduced and much praised in a little book by H. Bridgewater, the advertising manager of the *Financial Times*, entitled *Advertising or the Art of Making Known. A Simple Exposition of the Principles of Advertising*, published in 1910.⁴⁷

I have come to regard commercial warfare [Bridgewater wrote] as merely a higher type of the warfare of ancient times. To compete successfully in modern warfare – Commerce – one must possess the same attributes that led men to victory in the days of yore, namely, courage,



Sistine Chapel, Vatican, Rome.

Fig. 13. Michelangelo, Creation of the Sun and Moon, 1508–12.



Courtesy of the British Museum, London.

Fig. 14. Pontormo, Nude Study, c. 1525.



San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome.

Fig. 15. Caravaggio, Calling of St Matthew.

perseverance, the ability to rough it, and last, but not least, resourcefulness.⁴⁸

Technical devices were not less important. Among them Bridgewater stressed 'the value of Perspective':

By a proper appreciation and use of perspective an artist can depict a landscape covering a large tract of country (possibly thousands of square miles) in a few square inches.⁴⁹

A foreshortened finger could also demonstrate the value of perspective. An equally aggressive YOU could reinforce the message. 'The you style of advertisements also has come in for a great deal of attention', wrote S. R. Hall in his *Writing an Advertisement* (Boston 1915):

Certain writers were able to get attention and good results by a forceful style of copy addressed to the reader as a letter would be, in which the pronoun 'you' was freely used. It was 'You, Mr. Reader', 'You Need This', and so on.⁵⁰

In the front cover of the *London Opinion* of 5 September 1914, Alfred Leete's portrait of Lord Kitchener was framed by two messages: 'This paper insures you for £1,000', '50 photographs of YOU for a shilling'. The same techniques used to hit a target (in a commercial sense) were used to sell the war. Incidentally, in 1971 the Committee to Unsell the War – the Viet-Nam war – published just one poster, whose image and caption reversed Lord Kitchener's message: 'I WANT OUT'.⁵¹ (Fig. 17)

* * *

Alfred Leete's weekly drawings for the *London Opinion* had invariably a humorous character, even when they dealt with political matters.⁵² The serious mood of his Kitchener portrait was quite exceptional. On 14 November 1914, Leete quoted his own work in a more jocular vein, by representing Lord Kitchener in the act of catching a young man reading 'Football Special', when he ought to have been volunteering. (Fig. 18) On 26 December Leete contributed again to the recruiting campaign, playfully reworking John Hassall's poster 'Skegness is so bracing' (1908), 'with acknowledgement to the well-known poster'.⁵³ (Fig. 19)

But in the meantime the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee had asked Alfred Leete to transform his cover for the *London Opinion* into the poster which was going to become so famous.⁵⁴ The reasons for this choice have been stressed countless times. One writer recently suggested that Uncle Sam, Lord Kitchener's American counterpart, was 'a strong authority figure with whom the viewer could identify'.⁵⁵ But was it possible to identify with such an authoritarian figure? The stern glance, the stabbing

finger, the perspective as though seen from below, must have usually elicited a feeling of awe, of hierarchical distance, of submission. Even a sophisticated observer like Osbert Sitwell, who started his recollections of Kitchener with a slightly ironical tone, ultimately fell back upon a quasi-religious attitude – as if he were responding to the poster's ancient prototype:

With an altogether squareness and solidity, [Kitchener] sat there as if he were a god, slightly gone to seed perhaps, but waiting confidently for his earthly dominion to disclose itself . . . a slightly unfocused glance which seemed almost in its fixity to possess a power of divination . . . And you could, in the mind's eye, see his image set up as that of an English god, by natives in different points of the Empire which he had helped to create and support, precisely as the Roman Emperors had formerly been worshipped. Within a few months' time, when from every hoarding vast posters showed Lord Kitchener pointing into perspectives in space, so steadily perceived, if focused with uncertainty, and below, the caption 'He wants YOU!' I often thought of that square figure . . .⁵⁶

Osbert Sitwell's imperial mystique was shared by less snobbish observers. The poster's power ignored class distinctions – a tiny detail in the vast defeat of European workers.⁵⁷

* * *

But the visual device chosen by Leete could be developed in a different direction. Let me quote once again Pliny (XXXV, 92) on the depiction of Alexander the Great by Apelles: 'The fingers have the appearance of projecting from the surface, and the thunderbolt seems to stand out from the picture'. Thus far I have focused mainly on projecting fingers; I was unable to decide whether Cusanus's archer aiming his arrow at the viewer was a deliberate response to Pliny's. Apelles depicted Alexander the Great as Zeus: his thunderbolt was an attribute of power. In the early twentieth century the mythical thunderbolt became a weapon, an updated bow: a handgun. (Figs 20, 9)

'Halt! You are not allowed to go further without having read that the typewriting machine Polygraph is a first class German product': these words were shouted by a Montenegrin bandit in an advertisement of about 1908 for a typewriter made by a Leipzig firm, Polyphon Musikwerke.⁵⁸

The poster's aim was to arrest the viewer's attention and bring him to a halt. In this case no identification mechanism was involved, of course. The Montenegrin bandit embodied not authority but a (playful) threat. The Phillips cigarette poster, praised by the advertising manager of the *Financial Times* as an admirable illustration of the arresting power of a forceful illustration, achieved its aim by sending a more subdued message.⁵⁹ But both posters embody a visually-aggressive quality, related to the crowded,



Fig. 16. Advertisement for Godfrey Phillips Cigarettes, London, c. 1910.



Fig. 17. 'I Want Out', poster, US, 1971. Issued by the Committee to Unsell the War.

Photo: Larry Dunst, Daniel and Charles Agency.



Fig. 18. Alfred Leete, Lord Kitchener, *London Opinion*, 14 Nov. 1914.



Fig. 19. Alfred Leete, 'The East Coast is Bracing - to Recruiting', *London Opinion*, 26 Dec. 1914.

tense, frenetic urban scene where they would have been seen. I wonder whether an analogous visual event, albeit projected on to a nearly metaphysical plane, might have inspired the note Aby Warburg wrote on 27 August 1890: 'Assumption that the work of art is something hostile moving towards the beholder'.⁶⁰ Five years later the Lumière brothers plunged cinema audiences into terror by projecting their 'Arrival of a Train into the Station of La Ciotat'. Figures running toward the viewer became a recurrent feature of early movies.⁶¹ Lord Kitchener's poster relied upon the same visual devices and was addressed to an audience accustomed to cinema and its range of sophisticated visual tricks, including Griffith's close-ups. Visual devices invented by Hellenistic painters were successfully adapted to twentieth-century life and its demands. But as Warburg came to appreciate as he analyzed the art of the Italian Renaissance, the meaning of ancient formulas sometimes got reversed in transmission.

A chilling illustration of this symbolic inversion is provided by a German poster made in 1944, during the occupation of the Ukraine.⁶² (Fig. 21). This ugly piece of Nazi propaganda turned the discovery of a mass grave, the result of Stalinist extermination, into an incitement to slaughter Jews and Bolsheviks. Through the visual device that we have come to know quite well, the viewer, symbolically affronted and threatened by the Jewish commissar, is urged to take a quite literal revenge, by re-enacting an all-too-familiar event – a pogrom. The import of this reversal of Apelles's lost depiction of Alexander the Great, possibly inspired by the Polyphon Musikwerke poster, is clear. The embodiment of authority and legitimate power has been turned into a target of hatred.

* * *

This shift brings us, once again, to the reception of the recruitment poster. 'The whole country', a biographer of Kitchener wrote, 'was soon placarded with posters depicting Kitchener in the character of Big Brother, with a Field-Marshal's cap, hypnotic eyes, bristling moustache, a pointing finger, and the legend "Your Country Needs YOU"'.⁶³

'In the character of Big Brother': this passing reference to George Orwell deserves a more serious scrutiny. At the very beginning of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1949) the reader is confronted with the description of

[a] coloured poster, too large for indoor display, . . . tacked to the wall. It depicted simply an enormous face, more than a metre wide: the face of a man of about thirty-five, with a heavy black moustache and ruggedly handsome features . . . It was one of those pictures which are so contrived that the eyes follow you about when you move. **BIG BROTHER IS WATCHING YOU**, the caption beneath it ran.⁶⁴

Eric Blair, who later took George Orwell as a pen name, was born in 1903, in India. He moved to England with his family in 1907. The passage I just

quoted is obviously based on a childhood memory of the Kitchener posters scattered all over England in the fall of 1914. On 2 October 1914, the eleven-year-old Eric Blair published in a local newspaper his first piece, a patriotic poem whose end echoed Kitchener's appeal:

Awake! Young Men of England,
 For if, when your Country's in need
 You do not enlist by the thousand,
 You truly are cowards indeed.

Two years later Blair published another poem, entitled 'Kitchener', to mourn the field-marshal's death.⁶⁵

There is no need to recall the role played in the novel by the image of Big Brother, either as a poster or from the telescreen.⁶⁶ In the light of what I have said thus far, it is impossible to miss in this passage a distant (but distinct) echo of Pliny on the image of Minerva 'who viewed the viewer no matter where he looked from'. Is the echo direct or indirect? An answer to this question should take into account another passage of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*:

A new poster had suddenly appeared all over London. It had no caption, and represented simply the monstrous figure of a Eurasian soldier, three or four metres high, striding forward with expressionless Mongolian face and enormous boots, a sub-machine-gun pointed from his hip. From whatever angle you looked at the poster, the muzzle of the gun, magnified by the foreshortening, seemed to be pointed straight at you. The thing had been plastered on every blank space on every wall, even outnumbering the portraits of Big Brother.⁶⁷

This Eurasian soldier is undeniably a link to be added to the series of images descending from Apelles's painting, 'representing Alexander the Great holding a thunderbolt'. Orwell may have been familiar with Pliny's passage. But there is another, more intriguing, possibility: that Orwell, in placing side by side Big Brother and the Eurasian soldier, the all-seeing image of authority and the aggressive image of threat, was in fact unfolding the hidden polarity underlying that highly-charged primeval image, the figure who faces the viewer. But as readers of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* will recall, the war against Eurasia is a staged event. Like the poster Kitchener that blotted out the General, the televised war is more authentic than the real one. Big Brother probably does not exist: he is a name, a face, a slogan – like a poster advertising a commercial brand. In 1949, when it was first published, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* was widely read as a Cold-War book; its references to the Stalinist terror seemed self-evident. Half a century later, the description of a dictatorship based on electronic media and psychological control can be easily accommodated to a different, not entirely impossible reality.

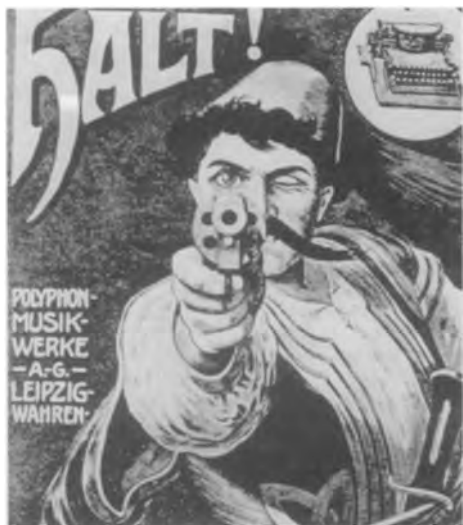


Fig. 20. Advertisement for a Polyphon Musikwerke typewriter, Germany, c. 1908.



Fig. 21. 'Vinnytsa', German poster issued during the occupation of the Ukraine, 1944.

Lord Kitchener's poster (Fig. 1) led us to Eric Blair's childhood memories. There is no need to insist on the historical relevance of memories, a domain of research which Raphael Samuel forcefully made his own. Memories are the stuff of history, especially for a journal like *History Workshop*, whose aim has been to bring the boundaries of professional historians closer to people's lives. This is an aim I am deeply sympathetic with. But is history – history as historical writing – coextensive with memory? Notwithstanding the eloquence of Samuel's arguments on this issue, I feel closer to those who, following Maurice Halbwachs, insist in stressing the difference between memory and history.⁶⁸ The case study I have just submitted to you may throw some light on this difference. To decipher the subliminal messages conveyed by Lord Kitchener's poster we need a view from afar, a perspective removed in time, a critical distance: attitudes which are certainly nourished by memory, but are independent from it.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

This is a revised version of the Raphael Samuel Memorial Lecture I delivered in London in October 2000. Many thanks to Samuel Gilbert for his linguistic advice.

1 Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory, I: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*, London, 1994, p. 27.

2 Alfred Leete. *A Woodspring Museum Publication* (exhibition catalogue), Woodspring Museum, Weston-super-Mare, 1985, p. 11. But see also E. S. Grew and others, *Field-Marshal Lord Kitchener. His Life and Work for the Empire*, 3 vols, London, 1916, particularly vol. 3, p. 221 (by G.[eorge] T.[urnbull]): "[Kitchener] was not a man, but a poster . . ." Justice to the

memory of the late Sir Arthur Markham requires the admission that he had said that too, adding: "He was a very good poster".

3 *The Times*, 3 Aug. 1914.

4 G. W. Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartoum*, quoted by H. Begbie, *Kitchener Organizer of Victory*, Boston and New York, 1915, p. 45.

5 H. D. Davray, *Lord Kitchener: His Work and Prestige*, English transl. 1917, pp. 34 ff.

6 Davray, *Lord Kitchener*, p. 41.

7 P. Magnus, *Kitchener: Portrait of an Imperialist*, London, 1958, p. 277.

8 'Lord Haldane or Lord Kitchener?', *The Times*, 5 Aug. 1914. See also D. Sommer, *Haldane of Cloan. His Life and Times, 1856-1928*, London, 1960, pp. 307-10.

9 Kitchener attended a Council of War on 5 Aug., in the afternoon, before being formally appointed: V. W. Germain ('A Rifleman'), *The Truth About Kitchener*, London, 1925, p. 43.

10 J. L. Thompson, *Northcliffe. Press Baron in Politics, 1865-1922*, London, 2000, p. 224: 'A decision viewed in some quarters as a triumph for the Northcliffe press'. Magnus, *Kitchener*, p. 277: 'He was desperately anxious to avoid a summons to join the government as Secretary of War'.

11 *The Times*, 5 Aug. 1914.

12 *The Times*, 7 Aug. 1914. Eric Field, who claims to have written the appeal published on 5 August, says that Kitchener revised it by inserting two sentences: 'Lord Kitchener needs you' and 'God save the King' at the end (E. Field, *Advertising: the Forgotten Years*, London, 1959, pp. 28-9, ill. pp. 134-6). Field refers to the appeal published on 11 August; he does not mention the intermediate version which appeared on 7 August.

13 *5.000.000 Men, Published Solely for the Benefit of the Lord Kitchener National Memorial Fund and the British Red Cross Fund*, London, 1916 (with a text signed by Arthur Conan Doyle). On 'Kitchener's divisions' see Sir G. Arthur, *Kitchener et la guerre (1914-1916)*, Paris, 1921, p. 43. For a fully-documented account see P. Simkins, *Kitchener's Army: the Raising of the New Armies, 1914-16*, Manchester, 1988, pp. 75, 169 and throughout.

14 H. G. Groser, *Lord Kitchener. The Story of his Life*, London (1901), new updated edition 1914, p. 145 (T. P. O'Connor).

15 Grew and others, *Field-Marshal Lord Kitchener*, vol. 1, p. 11.

16 H. Begbie, *Lord Kitchener*, Boston and New York 1915, p. 99.

17 Davray, *Lord Kitchener*, p. 34.

18 M. Brown, *The Imperial War Museum Book of the First World War*, London, 1991, p. 42.

19 For a different picture see Simkins, *Kitchener's Army*, pp. 79 ff.

20 On the Italian poster (by A. L. Mauzan, 1917) and the German poster (by J. U. Engelhardt, 1919, for the new Republican army) see P. Paret and others, *Persuasive Images*, Princeton, 1992, ill. 54, 155.

21 M. Timmers (ed.), *The Power of the Poster*, London 1998, p. 160 ff. On the Soviet poster (made by D. Moor in 1920, and reworked by the same painter in 1941) see F. Kämpfer, *Der rote Keil. Das politische Plakat, Theorie und Geschichte*, Berlin, 1985, pp. 94-5.

22 See the rich evidence presented by Simkins, *Kitchener's Army*, p. 165 ff.

23 Translated as 'emotive formulas' in A. Warburg, *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity*, transl. D. Britt, Los Angeles, 1999.

24 Warburg, *Renewal*, p. 82.

25 E. H. Gombrich, *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography*, London, 1970, pp. 320-1 and throughout (see index under *Pathosformeln* and polarity) based on Warburg's unpublished notes; M. Barasch, 'Pathos Formulae: Some Reflections on the Structure of a Concept' [1985], in his *Imago Hominis. Studies in the Language of Art*, New York, 1994, pp. 119-27.

26 K. Rathe, *Die Ausdrucksfunktion extrem verkürzter Figuren*, London, 1938 (Studies of the Warburg Institute), p. 52. Rathe quotes from L. Volkman, *Das Bewegungsproblem in der bildenden Kunst*, Esslingen a. N., 1911, p. 21 ff. (The reference to Pliny is missing in the previous edition I was able to consult, Esslingen 1908, p. 14).

27 'Fuit et nuper gravis ac severus idemque floridus tumidus pictor Famulus. Huius aut Minerva spectantem spectans, quacumque aspiceretur' (Plinius, *Naturalis Historia*, transl. H. Rackham, London, 1961, Loeb Classical Library; the translation has been modified). O. Rossbach in RE, 6, col. 1985 suggests that some mechanical device was implied (see D. Freedberg, *The Power of Images*, Chicago, 1989, pp. 292-3). This seems unlikely.

28 '[Apelles] pinxit et Alexandrum Magnum fulmen tenentem in templo Ephesiae Dianae viginti talentis auri, digiti eminere videntur et fulmen extra tabulam esse; legentes meminere omnia ea quattuor coloribus facta ...' (Plinius, *Naturalis Historia*, transl. H. Rackham, London, 1961, Loeb Classical Library).

29 'Pausias autem fecit et grandes tabulas, sicut spectatam in Pompei porticu boum immolationem. Eam primus invenit picturam, quam postea imitati sunt multi, aequavit nemo. Ante omnia, cum longitudinem bovis ostendi vellet, adversum eum pinxit, non transversum, et abunde intellegitur amplitudo.' (Plinius, *Naturalis Historia*, transl. H. Rackham, London, 1961, Loeb Classical Library).

30 Quoted by C. Haste, *Keep the Home Fires Burning. Propaganda in the First World War*, London, 1977, p. 55.

31 S. Stewart, *Lifting the Latch: a Life on the Land, based on the life of Mont Abbott of Enstone Oxfordshire*, Oxford, 1987, pp. 73–4 (I am very grateful to Alun Howkins for passing this piece of evidence to me). See also F. L. Goldthorpe's unpublished memoir quoted by Simkins, *Kitchener's Army*, p. 172:

The accusing finger of Kitchener stabbed me at every bill-posting, and tales of German atrocities and stricken Belgium dinned into my ears daily. I suppose it was a combination of these many urgings which sent me to the local drill hall on November 15th. My age was then 17^{1/2}.

32 Davray, *Lord Kitchener*, p. 55 (see also E. H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion*, London, 1962, p. 96).

33 Nicholas of Cusa, *Opera*, Parisiis 1514, vol. 1, reprint, Frankfurt a. M. 1962, c. XCIX r: see E. Panofsky, 'Facies illa Rogeri maximi pictoris' (see note 34).

34 I follow the interpretation of E. Panofsky, 'Facies illa Rogeri maximi pictoris' in *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend*, Princeton, 1955, pp. 392–400; see also H. Kauffmann, 'Ein Selbstporträt Rogers van der Weyden auf den Berner Trajansteppichen', *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 39, 1916, pp. 15–30; H. Beenken, 'Figura cuncta videntis', *Kunstchronik* iv, 1951, p. 266; A. Neumeyer, *Der Blick aus dem Bilde*, Berlin, 1964, p. 40 f.

35 Nicholas of Cusa, *Opera* vol. 1, c. XCIX r: 'et quisque vestrum experietur ex quocunque loco eandem inspexerit, se quasi solum per eam videri'.

36 M. Bettini, 'Tra Plinio e Sant' Agostino: Petrarca e le arti figurative', *La memoria dell' antico*, ed. S. Settis, vol. 2, Torino, 1984, pp. 221–67.

37 Andrea De Marchi kindly showed me the photograph of a painting (probably Venetian, 17th–18th century) from the Saibene collection, depicting an archer who points his arrow towards the viewer.

38 Plinio, *Historia naturale*, transl. C. Landino, Venetiis, 1476: 'Pare che le dita sieno rilate et el fulgore sia fuori della tavola . . .'

39 The illusionistically painted *cartellino*, painted, according to the evidence gathered by X-ray photographs, after the reworking of Christ's hand, reads: 'millesimo quatercentesimo sexagesimo quinto VIIIa indi Antonellus/Messaneus me pinxit' (1465 eighth indiction Antonellus of Messina painted me). The date based on Jesus's birth – 1465 – is contradicted by the date based on the indiction (a fifteen-year fiscal cycle invented in Egypt) which points either to 1460 or to 1475. Art historians attempt to solve the contradiction in different ways. Giovanni Previtali has convincingly suggested that 1475 fits the best with Antonello's stylistic evolution ('Da Antonello da Messina a Jacopo di Antonello. 1. La data del Cristo benedicente della National Gallery di Londra', *Prospettiva* 20, 1980, pp. 27–34). See also F. Sricchia Santoro, *Antonello e l'Europa*, Milano, 1986, pp. 106, 162.

40 L. Dolce, *Dialogo della pittura . . . intitolato l'Aretino*, Venezia, 1557, c. 37 r (quoting Landino's translation). Pliny's passage is mentioned, in a different perspective, in E. H. Gombrich, *The Heritage of Apelles*, Oxford, 1976 (Italian transl., M. L. Bassi, Torino, 1986, p. 21).

41 E. H. Gombrich, 'The Leaven of Criticism in Renaissance Art', in *Art, Science and Literature in the Renaissance*, ed. C. Singleton, Baltimore, 1967, pp. 3–42 (reprinted in *The Heritage of Apelles*, Oxford, 1976; Italian transl. M. L. Bassi, Torino 1986, pp. 154–77).

42 Michelangelo's *Creation of Sun and Moon* is reproduced by J.J. Tikkanen, *Studien über den Ausdruck in der Kunst, I: Zwei Gebärde mit dem Zeigefinger*, Helnsigfors, 1913, p. 77, Abb. 108; on pp. 44–98 ('Das Zeigen als künstlerisches Ausdrucksmotiv': a preliminary, but still valuable survey).

43 On Michelangelo's sonnet about his work on the Sistine Chapel ceiling see I. Lavin, 'Bernini and the Art of Social Satire', in *Drawings by Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, ed. by I. Lavin, Princeton, 1981, pp. 26–64, especially p. 34 (but my conclusion differs from Lavin's).

44 J. Cox Rearick, *The Drawings of Pontormo*, New York, 1964, vol. 1, p. 247; vol. 2, ill. 241 (about 1525, stylistically close to the *Supper at Emmaus*).

45 I. Lavin, 'Caravaggio's Calling of Saint Matthew: the Identity of the Protagonist', in Lavin, *Past-Present. Essays on Historicism in Art from Donatello to Picasso*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford, 1993, pp. 84–99, especially p. 95.

46 Tikkanen, *Studien*, p. 44, mentioned the presence of the pointing finger in publicity (without further indications). A. Chastel ('L'art du geste à la Renaissance', now republished in his *Le geste dans l'art*, Paris, 2001, p. 39) compares early sixteenth-century paintings, showing figures glancing backward at the viewer and pointing at the scene, and modern posters directly addressing the viewer. But the difference between the two gestures should not be overlooked.

47 H. Bridgewater, *Advertising or the Art of Making Known. A Simple Exposition of the Principles of Advertising*, London, 1910, p. 15.

48 Bridgewater, *Advertising*, pp. 1–2.

49 Bridgewater, *Advertising*, p. 30.

50 S. R. Hall, *Writing an Advertisement*, Boston, 1915, pp. 114–5.

51 Timmers (ed.), *Power of the Poster*, p. 160 ff.

52 A. Leete, *Schmidt the Spy and His Messages to Berlin*, London, 1916; Leete, *The Work of a Pictorial Comedian*, London, 1936 (which I have not seen; the copy at the British Library has been destroyed). See in general Alfred Leete. *A Woodspring Museum Publication* (exhibition catalogue).

53 Hassall's poster is reproduced in Timmers (ed.), *Power of the Poster*, p. 181. See also W. S. Rogers, 'The Modern Poster: Its Essentials and Significance', in *London Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 23 Jan. 1914, pp. 186–92, on humorous posters: 'The Skegness poster by Hassall, with the title "So bracing" is typical, and once seen is never forgotten' (republished in *L'affiche anglaise: les années 90*, Paris, 1972).

54 Size of the original poster: 75 × 50 cm.

55 R. Walton, 'Four in focus', in Timmers (ed.), *Power of the Poster*, p. 164.

56 Osbert Sitwell, *Great Morning* (1948), p. 264 (quoted by Magnus, *Kitchener*, pp. 276–7).

57 Socialist imagery sometimes referred, either explicitly or implicitly, to Kitchener's poster: see *Herald's* cartoon of 20 Feb. 1915 ('King and Country do not need you! Desist!') reproduced in J. M. Winter, *Socialism and the Challenge of War: Ideas and Politics in Britain 1912–1918*, London, 1974, plate 9 (between p. 119 and p. 120). Another example (kindly brought to my attention by M. André Delord) is a poster by Niver which the French Socialist party used in the 1936 elections: a worker pointing a threatening finger says 'C'est bientôt qu'on va régler les comptes'.

58 'Halt! Sie dürfen nicht eher vorüber als bis Sie gelesen haben, dass die Schreibmaschine Polygraph, ein deutsches, erstklassiges Fabrikat ist' (here reproduced from L. Volkmann, *Das Bewegungsproblem*, Esslingen, 1908, Abb. 10). Both K. Rathe (*Die Ausdrucksfunktion*, p. 55 note 39) and F. Kämpfer (*Propaganda politische Bilder im 20. Jahrhundert*, Hamburg, 1997, pp. 78–80) refer to the Polyphon Musikwerke poster as a precedent for the Vinnysa poster.

59 Bridgewater, *Advertising*, p. 15.

60 Gombrich, *Aby Warburg*, p. 80: 'Annahme des Kunstwerkes als etwas in Richtung auf den Zuschauer feindlich Bewegtes'. Warburg, as Gombrich notes, reworked an idea he had found in a book which had a great impact on him: T. Vignoli, *Mito e scienza*, Milano, 1879.

61 J. Auerbach, 'Chasing Film Narrative: Repetition, Recursion, and the Body in Early Cinema', *Critical Inquiry*, 26 (2000), pp. 798–820.

62 F. Kämpfer, *Propaganda politische Bilder*, refers to I. Kamenetsky, *The Tragedy of Vinnysa: Materials on Stalin's Policy of Extermination in Ukraine (1936–1938)*, Toronto, 1989, which I have not seen.

63 P. Magnus, *Kitchener: Portrait of an Imperialist*, p. 288.

64 G. Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, Harmondsworth, 2000, p. 3.

65 G. Orwell, *A Kind of Compulsion, 1903–1936: the Complete Works*, ed. by P. Davidson, vol. 10, London, 1998, p. 20. J. Myers, *Orwell, Wintry Conscience of a Generation*, New York, 2000, p. 23, connects the first poem to Kitchener's poster (but not to *Nineteen Eighty-Four*).

66 On 14 June 1940, Orwell complained about 'the absence of any propaganda posters of a general kind dealing with the struggle against Fascism, etc.' comparable to those he had seen in Spain during the civil war (quoted in Timmers (ed.), *The Power of the Poster*, p. 240).

67 Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, p. 156.

68 Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, pp. ix–x; M. Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, Paris, 1927 (new edn, 1952).