

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES**The Life and Times of George Orwell 1903-50**
A moral history of the first half of the 20th century**Module Description**

Eric Blair was born on 25 June 1903 at Motihari, in Bengal, and died of pulmonary tuberculosis at University College hospital London on 26 January 1950. This is his centenary year. The life he lived was mainly a writer's life but it was also an active life where he got involved in the things that mattered to him. 'Getting involved', and then writing about it, Blair did in the guise of 'George Orwell'. Blair was an intensely serious and well-read man who in his guise of George Orwell pretended not to be. Instead he pretended to be ordinary, and it was as the ordinary and broadest Englishman that he put his *moral* self on the line. Orwell's literary achievements alone would have made him interesting to historians. But in the personality he adopted, and in the moral issues he was interested in, and faced down, Orwell was more than a good writer. He is a way into the century's dilemmas.

This module considers Orwell in history. It considers also the moral and political battle over his reputation.

Module Objectives

We will endeavour to learn something of Orwell's life and times; to reflect critically on those times; to read selected works by Orwell and about him; to discuss the moral issues of his day; to understand that there are varieties of ways of interpreting those issues and the history behind them; to construct arguments and deploy supporting data; and most importantly to write and talk about all these things clearly and accurately - much as Orwell himself tried to do.

In the teaching, you will give papers. I will give papers, and we will discuss those papers and I will try to steer our discussions and add to them. Over the ten weeks, it is hoped that we will enjoy our weekly meetings as well as learn from them.

The 'teaching paper' as a 'minor assignment'

As part of the preparation for the essay you will prepare a 'teaching paper'. This word-processed paper (of about 1,500 words) will be handed in for marking seven days after you have taught the class (10% of the final mark). It will outline what you set out to teach; how you endeavoured to teach it (incorporating your teaching notes); and give your feelings about how you think the session went overall. The session itself will last not more than fifteen minutes, and you may use other teaching aids.

The idea of the teaching paper is to:

- a) put more of what happens into your hands
- b) share knowledge and queries, so all benefit
- c) get you thinking early about the essays
- d) link written work to seminar work

Essays

Depending on your degree course you will have to write two essays or one.

For those doing 15 credit modules and writing one essay only, you choose your question from those set out in the programme below.

For those doing 20 credit modules and writing two essays, the *second* essay question will be chosen from the programme below, but the *first* essay question is the same for everyone. It is: 'With reference to his major works, trace the development of Orwell's politics between 1918 and 1948'.

We will allot teaching papers and essay choices at our first seminar.

The minor assignment is handed in to the departmental office within seven days of your teaching session.

Essays submitted later than the deadlines will be penalized as detailed.

Assessment

The assessment is by coursework (50%) and a 2-hour examination (50%) in January. The coursework consists of a minor assignment (1,500 word 'teaching paper'); and one or two essays (2,500 words) depending on whether you are doing a 15 or a 20 credit module. For 20 credit modules, essays carry equal value.

Core reading

First are Orwell's writings as prescribed week by week in the syllabus. Penguin do an omnibus of his novels, *The Penguin Collected Novels of George Orwell*, for £14.99, and a new selection of his writings at £7.99 each edited by Peter Davison, *Orwell and Politics*, *Orwell in Spain*, *Orwell and the Dispossessed* and *Orwell's England*. I would recommend also Robert Colls' *Identity of England* (Oxford University Press 2002), Ross McKibbin's *Classes and Cultures. England 1918-51* (Oxford University Press 1998), and Peter Clarke's *Hope and Glory. Britain 1900-90* (Penguin 1997). Bernard Crick's *George Orwell. A Life* (1980) remains the best biography to date, although there are two new ones in the field by Bowker (2003) and Taylor (2003) which I haven't read yet but look promising. Colls, McKibbin, Clarke, Crick, and the omnibus, and the selected works, will kit you out for life. Additionally, as a guide to the complex world of the published writings and the internecine worlds of publishing and politics, I recommend Peter Davison's *George Orwell. A Literary Life* (1996) for the writings, John Newsinger's *Orwell's Politics* (1999) for the politics, and Christopher Hitchens' *Orwell's Victory* (2002) for the internecine struggles, though Newsinger covers them as well.

The university library has Peter Davison's (ed.) *Complete Works of George Orwell*, in twenty volumes. Obviously you are not going to have time to read them all, but you could take from them as and when. Volume numbers are as follows

- 1 'Down and Out in Paris and London'
- 2 'Burmese Days'
- 3 'A Clergyman's Daughter'
- 4 'Keep the Aspidistra Flying'
- 5 'Road to Wigan Pier'
- 6 'Homage to Catalonia'

- 7 'Coming Up for Air'
- 8 'Animal Farm'
- 9 '1984'
- 10 'A kind of compulsion' 1903-36
- 11 'Facing unpleasant facts' 1937-39
- 12 'A patriot after all' 1940-41
- 13 'All propaganda is lies' 1941-42
- 14 'Keeping our little corner clean' 1941-42
- 15 'Two wasted years' 1943
- 16 'I have tried to tell the truth' 1943-44
- 17 'I belong to the left' 1945
- 18 'Smothered under journalism' 1946
- 19 'It is what I think' 1947-48
- 20 'Our job is to make life worth living' 1949-50

An older Orwell collection, not as complete but certainly comprehensive, was published by Penguin in 1970. Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus edited it and it is called the *Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell*. There are four volumes: 'An Age Like This' 1920-40, vol.1; 'My Country Right or Left' 1940-43, vol.2; 'As I Please' 1943-45, vol.3; 'In Front of Your Nose' 1945-50, vol.4.

Intended Learning Outcomes

The module will develop the key skills as set out in the University's learning and teaching strategy. All written work will be word-processed. Written communication will be taught and assessed to a high level. Indeed, in this regard Orwell's own writing will be used as a model. Oral communication will be encouraged by the presentation of formal papers as well as through informal discussions. The 'teaching paper' as a minor assignment will directly link oral with written communication. Most of your outcomes, as with any intellectual exercise, will be achieved largely on your own, in independent study. By the end of the module you will understand some of the major moral and political issues of the first half of the twentieth century through the eyes of one of its most acute observers. This will be your most important learning outcome.

SEMINAR PROGRAMME

Week one: explaining the course, allotting essays and papers, planning ahead.

NOTES

Week two: Public school and the English gentleman

“How difficult it is for a child to have any real independence of attitude ...”

Core Orwell:

‘Such, such were the joys’ (1947) in *Collected Essays*, vol.4

Core reading:

McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures*, pp.235-71
 A Clutton-Brock, *Eton* (1900) [external shelving]
 Crick, *A Life*, pp.40-138
 Colls, *Identity*, chs 3, 4.
 Clarke, *Britain*, ch.3

Other reading:

Robert Pearce, ‘The Prep School and Imperialism’, *Journal of Education Administration and History*, Jan 1991
 Martin Green, ‘Orwell as an Old Etonian’, *Modern Fiction Studies*, 21, Spring 1975
 Jeffrey Richards, *Happiest Days. The public schools in English fiction* (1988)
 P S H Lawrence, *An Eton Camera 1850-1919* (1980)
 Colin Shrosbee, *Public Schools, the Clarendon Commission of 1861-64 and the Public Schools Acts* (1988)
 R N Higson, *Great Public Schools* (1903) [external shelving]
 Headmasters’ Conference, *Public Schools and the Future* (1943)
 James McConnell, *English Public Schools* (1985)
 John Chandos, *Boys Together. English Public Schools 1800-64* (1985)
 R Lewis and A Maude, *The English Middle Classes* (1949) ch 14
 R H Tawney, ‘The Problem of the Public School’, in *The Radical Tradition* (1941)
 Paul Rich, *Elixir of Empire: English public schools* (1989)
 Paul Rich, *Chains of Empire: English public schools* (1990)
 Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (1977)
 Richard Holt, *Sport and the British* (1990)
 George Dangerfield, *The Strange Death of Liberal England* (1935)
 Mark Girouard, *Return to Camelot* (1981)

Moral dilemma: Was the modern English public school cruel or character building?

Essay question: How successfully did the English public schools ‘modernize’ after 1864?

Week three: Holding onto Empire

“With Indians there must be no loyalty, no real friendship.”

Core Orwell:

Burmese Days (1934)
 ‘Shooting an Elephant’ (1936) in *Collected Essays*, vol.1
 ‘A Hanging’ (1931) in *Collected Essays*, vol.1

Core reading:

Clarke, *Britain*, ch.1
 Colls, *Identity*, chs 6, 14
 McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures*, pp. 1-43
 Crick, *A Life*, ch 5

Other reading:

Romesh C Dutt, *The Civilization of India* (1900)
 J A Hobson, *Imperialism* (1902)
 W J Ashley, *The British Dominions* (1911) ch 1
 Charles Joppen, *Historical Atlas of India* (1926) – or equivalent
 J R Seeley, *The Expansion of England* (1883)
 G Lagden, *Native Races of the Empire* (1924)
 Schway Yoe (pseud. J G Scott) *The Burman. His life and Notions*, vol. I (1882)
 C B Yule, ‘Notes on analogies of manners between the Indo-Chinese races and the races of the Indian archipelago’, *Journal of Anthropological Institute*, 9, 1880
 1871 Government of India, Criminal Tribes Act
 David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism* (2001)
 J F Cady, *A History of Modern Burma* (1958)
 Lewis Wurgaft, *The Imperial Imagination* (1983)
 Clive Dewey, *Anglo-Indian Attitudes* (1993)
 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (1985)
 P J Cain & A G Hopkins, *British Imperialism. Crisis and deconstruction 1914-90* (1993)
 J M MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire 1880-1960* (1984)
 John Ellis, *The Social History of the Machine Gun* (1975)
 B S Cohn, ‘Representing Authority in Victorian India’, in E J Hobsbawm and T Ranger, eds, *The Invention of Tradition* (1983)
 R Samuel, ‘Empire Stories’, in Samuel, *Island Stories* (1998)
 M H Aung, ‘Orwell of the Burma Police’, *Asian Affairs*, 60, 1973
 A C Bhuyan, *The Quit India Movement* (1975)
 Stephen Howe, *Anticolonialism in British Politics 1918-64* (1993)
 Chapters by Louis, Hyam, Clayton, Brown, Stockwell, in J M Brown and W Roger Louis, eds, *Oxford History of British Empire* (1999) vol iv
 Rozina Visram, *Asians in Britain. 400 Years of History* (2002)

Moral dilemma: As a British administrator in Imperial India, how *should* one relate to Indians?

Essay question: What was the Raj, and what were Orwell’s objections to it?

Week four: Diving to the Bottom

“A *plongeur* is a slave, and a wasted slave, doing stupid and largely unnecessary work.”

Core Orwell:

Down and Out in Paris and London (1930)
 ‘The Spike’ (1931) in *Collected Essays*, vol. 1
 ‘How the Poor Die’ (1946) in *Collected Essays*, vol. 4

Core reading:

McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures*, pp.151-63
 Crick, *A Life*, chs 6 and 7
 Colls, *Identity*, ch 13
 Clarke, *Britain*, chs 5 and 7, pp.302-04

Other reading:

S & E Checkland, eds, *The Report of the Poor Law of 1834* (1974)
 F Engels, *Condition of the Working Class in England* (1845, 1892)
 Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London* (1889)
 Jack London, *The People of the Abyss* (1903)
 Robert Roberts, *The Classic Slum* (1971)
 Werner Picht, *Toynbee Hall and English Settlements* (1914)
 George Bonsor, *Our Workhouse Million* (1930)
 M Mitchell, ‘The effect of unemployment and the social conditions of women and children in the 1930s’, *History Workshop Journal*, 19, 1985
 F Zweig, *Labour, Life and Poverty* (1949)
 D. Fraser, *Evolution of the British Welfare State* (1978) chs 2,6,7,8,9
 N Timmins, *The Five Giants. A biography of the welfare state* (1996)
 Ruth Lister, ed., *Charles Murray and the Underclass* (1996)
 Michael Rose, *The Relief of Poverty 1834-1914* (1972)
 Carol Arscott, ‘Representation of the city in visual arts’ in M Daunt, ed., *Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (2000) vol iii, 1840-1950

Moral dilemma: Why were the Poor poor? What is ‘poor’?

Essay question: Evaluate the treatment of ‘the poor’ in England, between 1834 and 1934.

Week five: North and South

“Our civilization, pace Chesterton, is founded on coal...”

Core Orwell:

Keep the Aspidistra Flying (1936)

The Road to Wigan Pier (1937)

Core reading:

McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures*, chs 2, 3, 4, 5

Colls, *Identity*, chs 7, 15, 16, 20

Crick, *A Life*, chs 8 and 9

M P Fogarty, *Prospects of the Industrial Areas of Great Britain* (1945)

Clarke, *Britain*, chs 4 and 5

Other reading:

R Samuel, ‘North and South’, in *Island Stories* (1998)

Lewis & Maude, *Middle Classes*, chs 1,2,3,4 and 5

M Young & P Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London* (1957)

H V Morton, *In Search of England* (1936)

Ian Ousby, *The Englishman’s England. Taste, travel and the rise of tourism* (1990)

David Matless, *Landscape and Englishness* (1998)

J B Priestley, *English Journey* (1934)

Andy Croft, *Red Letter Days. British Fiction in the 1930s* (1990)

M J Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1850-1980* (1981)

Mass Observation, *The Pub and the People* (1943) ch 10

John Stevenson, *British Society 1914-45* (1984)

Joanna Bourke, *Working-Class Cultures in Britain 1890-1960* (1994)

D Cannadine, *Class in Britain* (1998)

H Pelling, *A History of British Trade Unionism* (1967)

John Gorman, *Banner Bright* (1973)

R H Tawney, *The Nationalization of the Coal Industry* (1920)

W S Shears, *This England* (1937)

W D Rubinstein, *Capitalism, Culture & Decline 1750-1990* (1994)

Paul Oliver, *Dunroamin. The Suburban Semi and its Enemies* (1981)

Chris Wrigley, *British Trade Unions since 1933* (2002)

Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Class* (2001)

David Englander and Rosemary O’Day, eds, *Retrieved Riches. Social Investigation in Britain 1840-1914* (1998)

J K Walton, ‘North’ in P Clark ed., *Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (2000) vol ii, 1540-1840

Moral dilemma: How can you live justly in a world that is built on money and the worship of money?

Essay question: To what extent was Britain two nations during the 1930s?

Week six: Orwell's Women

“‘The Old Maids of Old England’, as somebody called them. She was twenty-eight – just old enough to enter their ranks.”

Core Orwell:

A Clergyman's Daughter (1935) and works so far including
Wigan Pier, pp. 16-17 (1969 Penguin ed)
 ‘Road to Wigan Pier Diary’ (1936), in *Collected Essays*, vol.1

Core reading:

McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures*, chs 8 and 9
 Colls, *Identity*, ch 7
 Crick, *A Life*, all Index references Eileen O' Shaughnessy, Sonia Brownell, Ida Blair, Avril Blair, Marjorie Blair, and Blair family home
 Beatrix Campbell, *Wigan Pier Revisited* (1984)

Other reading:

Margery Spring Rice, *Working-Class Wives* (1939)
 Penny Summerfield, *Women Workers in the Second World War* (1984)
 Melanie Tebbutt, *Women's Talk? A social history of 'gossip'* (1997)
 Richard Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy* (1957), ch 2
 Alison Light, *Forever England* (1991) Introduction, ch 3
 Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own* (1929)
 H Jones, *Women in British Public Life 1914-50* (2000)
 Lewis and Maude, *Middle Classes*, chs 13 and 15
 Robert Graves and Alan Hodge, *The Long Weekend* (1940) chs 3, 7, 11, 16, 22
 Beatrix Campbell, ‘Orwell: Paterfamilias or Big Brother?’ in C Norris, *Inside the Myth* (1984)
 Daphne Patai, *The Orwell Mystique. A Study in Male Ideology* (1984)
 Hilary Spurling, *The Girl from the Fiction Department. A Portrait of Sonia Orwell* (2002)
 D Beddoe, *Back to Home and Duty. Women between the Wars* (1989)
 Pat Thane, ‘Women, Liberalism and Citizenship 1918-30’ in E F Biagini, *Citizenship and Community. Liberals, Radicals, and Collective Identities in the British Isles 1865-1931* (1996)

Moral dilemma: Which is the most true? a) that Orwell didn't like women, or b) didn't understand women, or c) didn't properly 'see' women?

Essay question: How more or less equal to men were British women in 1935 than in 1905?

Week seven: Murder in Spain

“Practically everyone wore rough working-class clothes, or blue overalls, or some variant of the militia uniform. All this was queer and moving. There was much in it that I did not understand, in some ways I did not even like it, but I recognized it immediately as a state of affairs worth fighting for.”

Core Orwell:

Homage to Catalonia (1938)

Core reading:

A J P Taylor, *English History* (1965) chs 11 and 12

Crick, *A Life*, ch 10

Anthony Beevor, *The Spanish Civil War* (1985)

Clarke, *Britain*, ch 6

Other reading:

Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War* (1961)

Paul Preston, *A Concise History of the Spanish Civil War* (1996)

G Jackson, *Concise History of the Spanish Civil War* (1974)

Sheelagh Ellwood, *The Spanish Civil War* (1991)

Tom Buchanan, *Britain and the Spanish Civil War* (1997)

Tom Buchanan, ‘The Death of Bob Smillie, the Spanish Civil War and the Eclipse of the ILP’, *Historical Journal*, 40, June 1997

Graves and Hodge, *Long Weekend*, ch19

Robert Benewick, *The Fascist Movement in Britain* (1972)

Michael Foot, *Aneurin Bevan 1897-1945* (1975) chs 7,8 and 9

Gideon Clark, *Democracy in the Dock* (1939) chs 5,6,7 and 8

Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent. Europe’s Twentieth Century* (1998) chs 4 and 5

A J Davies, *To Build A New Jerusalem. The Labour Movement from the 1880s to the 1990s* (1992) chs 5 and 7

Paul Fussell, *Abroad. British Literary Travelling Between the Wars* (1980)

Moral dilemma: In the fight against great evil, do the ends *ever* justify the means?

Essay question: Who fought who in the Spanish Civil War, and why?

Week eight: Great Patriotic War

“And above all, it is *your* civilization, it is *you*... Good or evil, it is yours, you belong to it...”

Core Orwell:

‘My Country Right or Left’ (1940) in *Collected Essays*, vol.1
 ‘The Lion and the Unicorn: Socialism and the English Genius’ (1941) in *Collected Essays*, vol.2

Core reading:

Colls, *Identity*, ch 8.
 Taylor, *English History*, chs 14, 15 and 16
 Crick, *A Life*, chs 12, 13 and 14

Other reading:

Robert Hewison, *Under Siege. Literary Life in London* (1979)
 Constantine Fitzgibbon, *The Blitz* (1957)
 S P MacKenzie, *The Home Guard* (1995)
 Angus Calder, *The People’s War* (1971) ch 6,7 and 8
 David Edgerton, *England and the Aeroplane* (1991)
 R B McCallum, *Public Opinion and the Last Peace* (1943)
 Sian Nicholas, ‘Wartime BBC’ and Tom Haggith, ‘British Official Film Propaganda’
 in R Weight and A Beach, *The Right To Belong. Citizenship and National Identity in Britain 1930-60* (1998)
 R Samuel, ‘The Voice of Britain’, in Samuel, *Island Stories*
 Herbert Butterfield, *The Englishman and his History* (1944)
 Paul Fussell, *Wartime. Understanding and Behaviour in the Second World War* (1989)
 Richard Weight, *Patriots. National Identity in Britain 1940-2000* (2002)
 W Beveridge, *The Price of Peace* (1945)
 K O Morgan, *The People’s Peace* (1999) chs 1,2 and 3
 Mark Rawlinson, *British Writing of World War Two* (2000)
 Julia Stapleton, ‘Political thought and national identity in Britain 1850-1950’ in
 Stefan Collini et al, eds, *Economy, Polity, and Society. British Intellectual History 1750-1950* (2000)

Moral Dilemma: How far should loyalty to country go? Are there any loyalties higher?

Essay question: What did the British government mean when it called the war a ‘People’s War’?

Week nine: All Animals Equal?

“These three had elaborated Old Major’s teachings into a complete system of thought, to which they gave the name of animalism”

Core Orwell:

Animal Farm (1945)
Preface to Ukranian edition (1947) in *Collected Essays*, vol.3

Core reading:

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (1848)
Crick, *A Life*, chs 14 and 15
Clarke, *Britain*, ch 7
Raymond Williams, *Orwell* (1979)

Other reading:

Herbert Spencer, ‘Coming Slavery’, *The Man versus The State* (1884)
S and B Webb, *The Decay of Capitalist Civilization* (1923)
Maurice Dobb, *Planning and Capitalism* (1938?)
Henry Pelling, *A Short History of the Labour Party* (1976) chs 1 to 6
Elizabeth Wiskemann, *Europe of the Dictators* (1966) chs 5 and 12
Leonard Schapiro, *Government and Politics of the Soviet Union* (1967) chs 1 and 2
David Shub, *Lenin* (1966) chs 4, 13, 14 and Appendix, ‘Essentials of Leninism’
Leszek Kolakowski, *Main Currents of Marxism*, vol.2 (1981) ch 18
Tariq Ali ed., *The Stalinist Legacy* (1984) chs 1,4,6,7 and 8
Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1937)
Isaac Deutscher, *The Prophet Outcast* (1963)
Arthur Koestler, *Darkness at Noon* (1940)
Victor Serge, *The Case of Comrade Tulayev* (1948)
Victor Serge, *Memoirs of a Revolutionary* (trans1963)
Walter Laqueur, *Europe in Our Time. A History 1945-92* (1992) pp. 55-76, 105-16, 144-63
G Andrews, *Opening the Books. Essays on British Communism* (1995)
Willie Gallacher, *The Case for Communism* (1949)
Bob Darke, *The Communist Technique in Britain* (1952)

Moral dilemma: Is there such a thing as a ‘just’ revolutionary war?

Essay question: Did the Russian Revolution improve the lives of ordinary Russians?

Week ten: 'War is Peace' – into the future?

“But if there was hope, it lay in the proles”

Core Orwell:

Nineteen Eighty Four (1949)

'Politics and the English Language' (1946) in *Collected Essays*, vol.4

Core reading:

McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures*, ch13

Colls, *Identity*, chs 18, 19

Crick, *A Life*, chs 16 and 17

John Carey, *The Intellectuals and the Masses* (1992)

Other reading:

J McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing in Britain 1914-50* (1992)

F R Leavis, *Mass Civilization and Minority Culture* (1930)

Q D Leavis, *Fiction and the Reading Public* (1939)

Herbert Spencer, 'Coming Slavery', *The Man versus The State* (1884)

Hulton Deutsch, *Readership Survey*, 1950 (1950)

N Joicey, 'Penguin Books 1935-51', *19th Century British History*, 1, 1993

P Scannell and D Cardiff, *Social History of British Broadcasting 1922-39*, vol i (1991)

M Grant, *Propaganda and the Role of the State in Inter War Britain* (1994)

J Richards, 'The British Board of Film Censors in the 1930s. Images of Britain', *Historical Journal of Film, Radio, and Television*, 1981

Peter Stead, *Film and the Working Class* (1991)

R S Wistrich, *Weekend in Munich. Art, Propaganda and Terror in the Third Reich* (1995)

Victor Klemperer, *The Language of the Third Reich* (2000)

Walter Lippmann, *The Good Society* (1938) chs 1, 4,5,6 and 17

Amber Blanco White, *The New Propaganda* (1939)

M Broszat, *The Hitler State* (1981)

Victor Klemperer, *The Language of the Third Reich* (2000)

James Burnham, *The Managerial Revolution* (1945)

T D Weldon, *The Vocabulary of Politics* (1953) chs 2 and 3

F Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom* (1944)

Michael Oakeshott, 'Rationalism in Politics' (1947), 'On being conservative' (1962), 'Talking Politics' (1975), in *Rationalism in Politics and Other Essays* (1962, 1991)

Tom Harrison and Charles Madge, *Britain, by Mass Observation* (1939), chs 1, 2 and 3

Royal Commission on the Press 1947-48, *Report* (HMSO 1949)

Raymond Williams, *Communications* (1962)

Victor Serge, *The Case of Comrade Tulayev* (1948)

E I Zamyatin, *We* (1924)

Moral dilemma: Should we be free to watch what we want, when we want?

Essay question: Who are the twentieth-century 'masses'? Are you one?

HAPPY CHRISTMAS