

Notes

1. W. H. Auden, 'Honour', in *The Old School*, ed. Graham Greene (London: Jonathan Cape, 1934), p. 17.
2. Evelyn Waugh, *A Little Learning* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1964), p. 108.
3. Anthony Powell, 'Wat'ry Glade', in *The Old School*, p. 152.
4. Cyril Connolly, *Enemies of Promise* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1938), p. 198.
5. *Orwell Remembered*, ed. Audrey Coppard and Bernard Crick (London: BBC, Ariel Books, 1984), p. 53.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
7. Orwell was not alone in questioning the public-school code. Beginning with Alec Waugh's *The Loom of Youth* (1917) the public schools were attacked for the next two decades.
8. *Orwell Remembered*, pp. 68–75.
9. Victor Gollancz, Foreword to *The Road to Wigan Pier*; reprinted in *George Orwell: The Critical Heritage*, ed. Jeffrey Meyers (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), p. 95.
10. *The Critical Heritage*, p. 144.
11. *Orwell Remembered*, p. 171.
12. Anthony Powell, *To Keep the Ball Rolling* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1983), p. 336.
13. *Orwell Remembered*, p. 169.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 184.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 202.
16. Q. D. Leavis, 'The Literary Life Respectable', *Scrutiny*, 9 (1940), 173–176; reprinted in *George Orwell: The Critical Heritage*, p. 189.
17. John Wain, 'The Last of George Orwell', *Twentieth Century*, 155 (January 1954), 71–78; reprinted in *George Orwell: The Critical Heritage*, p. 326.
18. George Woodcock, *The Crystal Spirit*, revised edition (London: Fourth Estate, 1984), p. ix.
19. Raymond Williams, *George Orwell* (New York: Viking, 1971), p. 48.
20. See Samuel Hynes, *The Auden Generation* (New York: Viking, 1976), pp. 209, 228.
21. Julian Symons, *The Thirties: A Dream Revolved* (London: Faber and Faber, 1960), p. 174.
22. Rudyard Kipling, *Something of Myself* (London: Macmillan, 1937), p. 155.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 207.

24. The poem is 'Love on a Farm'.
25. D. H. Lawrence, 'John Galsworthy', in *D. H. Lawrence: Selected Literary Criticism*, ed. Anthony Beal (New York: Viking, 1966), p. 118.
26. David Lodge, *The Writer at the Crossroads* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1971), p. 219.
27. Joyce Cary's *The African Witch* (1936), set in Nigeria, borrows similar features from *A Passage to India* and has many elements in common with *Burmese Days*.
28. Jeffrey Meyers has suggested that U Po Kyin is based on the Malay chieftain Doramin, in Joseph Conrad's *Lord Jim* (1900), who is so fat that he cannot move without help, and confides in his wife. See *A Reader's Guide to George Orwell* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975), p. 167. Clearly Kyin is a figure derived from literature, not life.
The influence of *Lord Jim* is also apparent in Veraswamy's emphatic reference to Kyin as having 'the cunning of the crocodile'. In chapter 23 of *Lord Jim* the master of the ship taking Jim to Batu Kring talks of a false Malay with the "weapons of a crocodile".
29. Orwell probably derived the idea of Ma Hla May's accusation in church from D. H. Lawrence's 'Fanny and Annie', where a young man who is about to marry is denounced in church by the mother of a pregnant girl.
30. Jeffrey Meyers has suggested that Orwell named Verrall jokingly after Dr A. W. Verrall, editor of Greek and Latin textbooks (*Reader's Guide*, p. 167 n. 8). It seems more likely, however, that he took the name from Wells's *In the Days of the Comet*, where Verrall is the rich cad who elopes with the hero's girl.
31. Evelyn Waugh, *Put Out More Flags* (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown, 1942), p. 235.
32. Richard Hoggart, 'Introduction to *The Road to Wigan Pier*', in *George Orwell: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. Raymond Williams (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1974), p. 38.
33. See Bernard Crick, *George Orwell* (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown, 1980), pp. 87-88.
34. In chapter 3 Flory says of the British, 'they build a prison and call it progress', and regrets that Veraswamy does not recognise the allusion. He echoes a British chieftain whom Tacitus quotes as saying (of the Romans) 'they make a desert and call it peace' (*Agricola*, 30). The emphasis on prison would be more likely to occur to a policeman than to a timber merchant.
35. In a letter of February 1934 to his agent, in response to criticism of the last two or three pages of *Burmese Days*, Orwell remarked, 'I hate a novel in which the principal characters are not disposed of at the end' (*CEJL*, 1.134).
36. Orwell used this couplet from a familiar hymn as the epigraph for the novel.
37. Orwell gives the opportunistic politician names associative of hypocrisy and snobbery: Blifil, the unctuous clergyman of Fielding's *Tom Jones*, and Gordon, like his own name, Blair, a Scottish name. Orwell associated such names with the pretentious cult of Scotland.
38. Keith Alldritt, *The Making of George Orwell* (London: Edward Arnold, 1969),

- p. 29; Jenni Calder, *Chronicles of Conscience: A Study of George Orwell and Arthur Koestler* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1968), p. 90.
39. See his review of Malcolm Muggeridge's *The Thirties* (*CEJL*, 2.15).
40. Dorothy's attitude to Warburton is very like Alvina's to her suitor Dr Mitchell in D. H. Lawrence's *The Lost Girl*: viewed close up he is hairy, coarse and repellent.
41. An allusion to the well-known Latin funerary inscription 'Et in Arcadia ego' ('And I too lived in Arcadia').
42. Orwell probably based Mr Tallboys on the Reverend Harold Davidson, the Rector of Stiffkey, in Norfolk, who created a scandal and was defrocked in 1932. For years he preached his Sunday sermon in Norfolk and then spent the rest of the week in London, where he pursued young women in order to 'save' them. See Ronald Blythe, *The Age of Illusion* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1964), pp. 156–178.
43. *Orwell Remembered*, pp. 100–101.
44. Alldritt, *The Making of George Orwell*, p. 31, discusses the Joycean influences.
45. Wells, *The History of Mr Polly*, ch. 7.
46. The shanty begins,

Here a sheer hulk, lies poor Tom Bowling,
The darling of our crew;
No more he'll hear the tempest howling,
For death has brought him to.
His form was of the manliest beauty,
His heart was kind and soft:
Faithful below he did his duty,
And now he's gone aloft.

47. Hynes, *The Auden Generation*, p. 373.
48. Isaac Rosenfeld, 'Decency and Death', *Partisan Review*, 17 (May 1950); reprinted in *George Orwell: The Critical Heritage*, p. 172.
49. *Orwell: The Lost Writings*, ed. W. J. West (New York: Arbor House, 1985), p. 61. (Published in Great Britain as *Orwell: The War Broadcasts*.)
50. E. M. Forster, 'A Note on the Way' (1934), in *Abinger Harvest* (New York: Meridian, 1955), p. 72.
51. Thomas More, *Utopia* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1949), p. 26.
52. *Orwell: The Lost Writings*, p. 112.
53. See Jeffrey Meyers, *A Reader's Guide to George Orwell*, pp. 130–143.
54. Woodcock, *The Crystal Spirit*, p. ix.
55. See Paul Johnson, *Modern Times* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985), p. 263.
56. Stephen Greenblatt, 'Orwell as Satirist', in *George Orwell: A Collection of Critical Essays*, p. 108.
57. See *Richard III*, II.ii.28. Richard, like Stalin, puts his unsuspecting, innocent victims to death.
58. *British Pamphleteers*, vol. 1 (London: Allan Wingate, 1948), Introduction by Orwell, p. 10.

59. In *George Orwell: The Critical Heritage*, p. 20.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 200.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 208.
62. Alldritt, *The Making of George Orwell*, p. 151.
63. Fredric Warburg, publisher's report, in *George Orwell: The Critical Heritage*, p. 248.
64. See, for example, the memoirs of two stubborn survivors of totalitarian repression: Nadezhda Mandelstam, *Hope Against Hope* (New York: Atheneum, 1970), and Nien Cheng, *Life and Death in Shanghai* (New York: Grove, 1986).
65. See his essay 'Revenge is Sour' in *CEJL*, 4.3–6.
66. Parsons surely owes his physical character to the Parsons in Wells's *Mr Polly*: 'of an ampler build, already promising fatness, with curly hair and a lot of rolling, rollicking, curly features, and a large, blob-shaped nose' (Part One, ch. 3).
67. Orwell probably drew on Stephen Dedalus's vision of his mother, 'beastly dead', and his shame connected with his behaviour towards her, in the 'nighttown' chapter of *Ulysses*.
68. Michael L. Ross, "'Carrying on the Human Heritage": From *Lady Chatterley's Lover* to *Nineteen Eighty-Four*', *D. H. Lawrence Review*, 17 (Spring 1984), 7–8.
69. As so often in Orwell, his experience seems to have been filtered through his reading of Wells. In chapter 1 of *The History of Mr Polly*, Mr Polly thinks of 'the Divinity as of a limitless Being having the nature of a schoolmaster and making infinite rules, known and unknown, rules that were always ruthlessly enforced, and with an infinite capacity for punishment, and, most horrible of all to think of, limitless powers of espial'.
70. Woodcock, *The Crystal Spirit*, p. x.
71. Isaac Deutscher, '1984 – The Mysticism of Cruelty', in *Russia in Transition and Other Essays* (New York: Coward-McCann 1960), pp. 250–265; reprinted in *George Orwell: A Collection of Critical Essays*, pp. 130–131.
72. Denis Donoghue, 'Nineteen Eighty-Four: Politics and Fable', in *George Orwell and 'Nineteen Eighty-Four'*, ed. John Broderick (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1984), p. 69.
73. Anthony Burgess, *The Novel Now* (New York: Pegasus, 1970), p. 43.
74. Robert Conquest (ed.), *New Lines* (London: Macmillan, 1956), p. xv.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
76. Mary McCarthy, 'The Writing on the Wall', *New York Review of Books*, (30 January 1969), 3–6; reprinted in *The Writing on the Wall* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1973), p. 165.
77. Donald Davie, 'My Cambridge', in *My Oxford, My Cambridge*, ed. Ann Thwaite and Ronald Hayman (New York: Taplinger, 1979), p. 301.
78. V. S. Pritchett, 'George Orwell', *New Statesman*, 39 (28 January 1950), 96; reprinted in *George Orwell: The Critical Heritage*, p. 294.
79. Lionel Trilling, 'George Orwell and the Politics of Truth', *The Opposing Self* (New York: Viking, 1955), pp. 153, 157.
80. Czeslaw Milosz, *The Captive Mind* (New York: Knopf, 1953); reprinted in *George Orwell: The Critical Heritage*, p. 286.
81. Donoghue, in *George Orwell and 'Nineteen Eighty-Four'*, p. 66.

82. Tom Stoppard, *Every Good Boy Deserves Favour* (New York: Random House, 1978), p. 30.
83. *Ibid.*, pp. 34–35.
84. Tom Stoppard, *Professional Foul* (New York: Random House, 1978), p. 90.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
86. Bharati Mukherjee and Robert Boyers, 'A Conversation with V. S. Naipaul', *Salmagundi*, 54 (Fall 1981), 11.

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Index

- Ackerley, J. R., 35
Adelphi, 8, 74
Alldritt, Keith, 74
Amis, Kingsley, 140, 142; *Difficulties with Girls*, 141; *Lucky Jim*, 141
Astor, David, 19
Auden, W. H., 5, 24; *Journey to a War*, 26; *Letters from Iceland*, 26
- Baldwin, James, 142
BBC, 17, 19, 122–4
Boyd, William, *Good and Bad at Games*, 142; *A Good Man in Africa*, 141–2
Bradbury, Ray, *Fahrenheit 451*, 143
Burgess, Anthony, 139; *A Clockwork Orange*, 143–4
Burnham, James, *The Managerial Revolution*, 125–6
Butler, Samuel, *Erewhon*, 116; *The Way of All Flesh*, 29
- Cary, Joyce, 46; *The African Witch*, 148 n27; *Mister Johnson*, 58
Chaucer, Geoffrey, ‘Nun’s Priest’s Tale’, 104
Churchill, Winston, 106, 107, 119, 126
Connolly, Cyril, 5, 89, 113
Conquest, Robert, 140
Conrad, Joseph, 43; *Heart of Darkness*, 45–6; *Lord Jim*, 148 n28
- Davie, Donald, 140, 141
Deutscher, Isaac, 108, 139, 142
Dickens, Charles, 20, 22, 23, 27–31, 69; *Bleak House*, 122; *David Copperfield*, 28–9, 30, 70; *Great Expectations*, 29, 30; *Hard Times*, 29, 30, 70; *Little Dorrit*, 29; *Nicholas Nickleby*, 4, 29–30, 70
Didion, Joan, 142
Donoghue, Denis, 139, 144
Dostoevsky, Fyodor, *The Brothers Karamazov*, 137; *Notes from Underground*, 84
- Ekevall, Kay, 74
Eliot, George, 61; *The Mill on the Floss*, 29
Eliot, T. S., 24, 25, 82, 112–13, 140; *The Waste Land*, 37, 84
- Fierz, Mabel, 8
Forster, E. M., 35, 43, 102; *A Passage to India*, 32, 46–8, 54
Frye, Northrop, 113
- Galsworthy, John, 3–4; *The Forsyte Saga*, 76
Gollancz, Victor, 9, 10, 16, 17; ‘Foreword’ to *The Road to Wigan Pier*, 13
Gow, A. S. F., 5
Graves, Robert, *Good-Bye to All That*, 25
Greene, Graham, 46, 113; *The Heart of the Matter*, 58; *Journey without Maps*, 26
- Harper & Co., 9
Hitler, Adolf, 107, 110, 118, 121; *Mein Kampf*, 109
Hobbs, Thomas, *Leviathan*, 111–12

- Hoggart, Richard, 56; *The Uses of Literacy*, 142
- Huxley, Aldous, *Brave New World*, 116–18
- Hynes, Samuel, 92
- Independent Labour Party (ILP), 15
- International Brigade, 15
- Isherwood, Christopher, *Journey to a War*, 26
- Joyce, James, 40, 88, 120; *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, 27, 83, 86; *Ulysses*, 25, 27, 37, 60, 67–9, 90, 150 n67
- Kafka, Franz, 139
- Kipling, Rudyard, 20, 27, 28, 31–4, 47–8, 57; ‘Baa-Baa Black Sheep’, 31; ‘Beyond the Pale’, 44; ‘Bitters Neat’, 45; ‘The Enlightenments of Pagett, M.P.’, 33; ‘Georgie Porgie’, 44–5, 54; ‘If’, 45; ‘The Last Relief’, 44; ‘The Road to Mandalay’, 10; *Something of Myself*, 33; ‘Thrown Away’, 44, 46; ‘The Tomb of his Ancestors’, 32; ‘Watches of the Night’, 45; ‘Without Benefit of Clergy’, 44; ‘Wressley of the Foreign Office’, 49
- Koestler, Arthur, 19, 20, 122; *Darkness at Noon*, 114, 127
- Larkin, Philip, ‘Church Going’, 140–1
- Lawrence, D. H., 4, 24, 25, 27, 40, 55, 65, 69, 120; ‘Daughters of the Vicar’, 35; ‘Fanny and Annie’, 148 n29; ‘Introduction’ to Maurice Magnus’s *Memoirs of the Foreign Legion*, 36; *Lady Chatterley’s Lover*, 34, 36, 83, 84–6, 134–5; *The Lost Girl*, 149 n40; *Pansies*, 74, 85; *The Plumed Serpent*, 36; ‘Pornography and Obscenity’, 36; *The Rainbow*, 71; *Sons and Lovers*, 35, 36; *Women in Love*, 34, 36
- Lawrence, T. E., *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, 25
- Leavis, O. D., 22, 23
- Left Book Club, 10, 26
- Lenin, Vladimir, 104
- Levin, Bernard, 142
- Lewis, Norman, 142
- Lewis, Wyndham, *The Art of Being Ruled*, 36–7; *The Enemy*, 36–7; *Tarr*, 83, 84, 86
- Lodge, David, 42
- Mackenzie, Compton, 22
- MacNeice, Louis, 24; *Letters from Iceland*, 26
- Mailer, Norman, 142
- Marx, Karl, 2, 12, 81–2, 109, 110, 111–12, 124, 135; *Communist Manifesto*, 104–5, 109
- Mass Observation, 26
- Matthews, Herbert, 16
- Maugham, Somerset, 22, 35
- McCarthy, Mary, 141, 142
- Mill, John Stuart, *Autobiography*, 29
- Miller, Henry, 88; *Tropic of Cancer*, 25
- Milosz, Czeslaw, *The Captive Mind*, 143
- Moore, Leonard, 8–9
- More, Sir Thomas, *Utopia*, 102–3
- Morris, John, 19
- Myers, L. H., 17
- Naipaul, V. S., 146
- Observer*, 19, 20
- Orwell, Eileen O’Shaughnessy, 10, 15, 20, 74
- Orwell, George:**
biography: appearance, 9, 19; BBC, 17, 19, 101, 122–4; Burma, 6–7, 43–4, 50, 59, 91; childhood, 3–5; death, 3, 21; education, 3–6, 7; family, 3–4, 7; illnesses, 8, 17, 20–1, 87; journalism, 1, 9, 19, 20; Jura, 20–1; marriages, 10, 21, 74; Paris, 8; pseudonym, 9; Spain, 2, 14–17, 87, 94; teaching, 8, 9; tramping, 7–8

Orwell, George (*contd.*)

character: guilt, 6, 7–8, 29, 78;
integrity, 19

influence of Orwell: on Movement
poets, 140–1; on non-fiction
writers, 142; on novelists, 141–2,
143–4; on playwrights, 142,
144–6

literary influences on Orwell: Butler,
116; Dickens, 27–31, 119; T. S.
Eliot, 37; Forster, 46–8; Huxley,
116–18; Joyce, 27, 37, 60, 67, 83,
90, 150 n67; Kipling, 27, 31–4,
43–8, 49, 54, 57; Koestler, 114;
Lawrence, 27, 34–8, 53, 55, 65,
69, 71, 83, 134–5, 148 n29, 149
n40; Lewis, 83; More, 102–3;
Swift, 103, 116; Wells, 27, 38–42,
80, 88, 90, 103, 150 n66, n69;
Zamyatin, 116–17

literary work:

blend of documentary and fiction,
60–1, 66–7, 73

blend of essay-style and fiction,
69–71, 88, 97–9

characterisation: 23–4, 30–1, 41,
47, 56–9, 73, 75–6, 133–6; fact-
based, 104–10; heroes, 43, 45,
47–8, 50–2, 57–9, 64–5, 76–80,
115, 126–7, 139; sociological,
62–3, 75, 90, 127; types, 61,
89–92, 96, 110

didacticism, 89, 101–4, 111–13

factual bias, 1, 11, 22–4, 33–4

genres: autobiography, 1, 7–8,
10–12, 16, 22, 23, 26, 29, 40,
43–4, 55–6, 66, 74–8, 87–8, 91,
97, 142; beast-fable, 103–11;
colonial novel, 43, 45–8, 50, 54,
58–9; pamphlet, 17–19, 102–3,
114; science-fiction, 116–18, 143

moralism, 140, 142–4

narrative voice in fiction, 30, 41, 56,
66–7, 72–3, 78–80, 88, 90, 92, 132

in non-fiction, 10, 11, 24, 30, 36, 58,
87, 142

plots, 40–1, 43, 47, 57, 59, 61–2, 71,
75, 89, 99, 107, 116, 117

prose style, 5, 36, 87, 101–2, 110–11

styles: paradoxical, 13–14, 25, 27,
71–2; parodic, 116, 124–6;
polemical, 1, 12–14, 16–19, 23–4,
26, 28, 115–16, 137; realistic,
116, 119–24; satiric, 57, 61, 62,
67, 74, 78–80, 96, 118–24,
128–32; surrealist, 67–9, 116

political ideas: anti-colonialism, 3, 7,
32, 43, 46, 48, 50–3, 58; anti-
Communism, 2, 12–13, 16–17,
24, 26, 102, 104, 110–13, 119–21,
142; anti-Fascism, 2, 89, 110,
119–21; class, 11–14, 35–6, 63,
85, 111–13, 135–6; conservatism,
2–3, 18, 63–4, 100; ‘decency’ and
common man, 3, 28, 114;
patriotism, 3, 18, 100; socialism,
2, 5, 10–14, 15, 18–19, 26, 37–8,
89, 119

themes: destruction of England, 89,
93, 95–7, 120–1; education, 4–5,
44, 69–71, 77–8; language,
129–31, 144; loss of faith, 61,
64–5, 68–9, 71, 146; poverty, 1,
10–14, 65–6, 68, 76; role of
writer, 78–86, 128–32; state of
England, 10–14, 92, 99–100, 115;
warning of future, 89, 95–6,
114–16, 118–19

views of novel, 22–3, 28, 59

views of women, 72–3, 80–1, 133–6

Works: Books

Animal Farm, 1, 16, 19–20, 27, 39,
41, 82, 89, 101–13, 115, 142–3

Burmese Days, 1, 9, 29, 32–3, 35, 36,
42, 43–59, 64, 66, 70–1, 76, 148
n27, n28, n29, n30, n34

A Clergyman's Daughter, 1, 9, 27,
29–30, 35, 42, 60–73, 96, 127, 146,
148 n37, 149 n40, n42

Coming Up for Air, 1, 14, 17, 22, 26,
36, 41, 63, 87–100

Critical Essays, 20

Down and Out in Paris and London, 1,
8–9, 30–1

The English People, 114

Homage to Catalonia, 1, 14–17, 18, 22,
33, 87, 142

Inside the Whale, 17

Orwell, George (*contd.*)

- Keep the Aspidochelone Flying*, 1, 9, 27, 36, 41, 42, 74–86, 98, 100, 128
The Lion and the Unicorn, 17–19, 37, 64, 114
Nineteen Eighty-Four, 1, 5, 16, 20–1, 27, 30, 36, 41, 52, 64, 89, 96, 114–39, 142–5
The Road to Wigan Pier, 1, 7, 10–14, 18, 22, 23, 26, 30–1, 33, 36, 37, 42, 56, 63, 77–8, 87–8, 99, 132

Essays

- ‘The Art of Donald McGill’, 90–1
 ‘Charles Dickens’, 27–9, 38
 ‘Clink’, 11, 87
 ‘A Hanging’, 58, 87
 ‘Hop Picking’, 66, 87
 ‘How the Poor Die’, 8
 ‘Inside the Whale’, 24–6, 28, 34, 98
 ‘James Burnham and the Managerial Revolution’, 125–6
 ‘Literature and the Left’, 37
 ‘London Letter’, 17, 120
 ‘Looking Back on the Spanish War’, 33
 ‘Pamphlet Literature’, 36–7
 ‘Politics and the English Language’, 33, 130
 ‘Preface’ to French edition of *Down and Out in Paris and London*, 11
 ‘Preface’ to Ukrainian edition of *Animal Farm*, 11, 101
 ‘The Rediscovery of Europe’, 40
 ‘Review’ of Malcolm Muggeridge’s *The Thirties*, 149 n39
 ‘Rudyard Kipling’, 31–2, 47
 ‘Shooting an Elephant’, 24, 58, 87
 ‘The Spike’, 8
 ‘Such, Such Were the Joys’, 4–5, 6, 29–30, 77, 78, 138
 ‘Wells, Hitler and the World State’, 39–40
 ‘Why I Write’, 1, 11, 16, 22, 63, 72, 132

Poem

- ‘A Happy Vicar I Might Have Been’, 63

Orwell, Sonia Brownell, 21

Osborne, John, 142

Partisan Review, 17

Pitter, Ruth, 8

POUM (Workers’ Party of the Marxist Unification), 15, 16

Powell, Anthony, 5, 19

Pritchett, V. S., 142

Rees, Sir Richard, 6, 8, 74

Rosenfeld, Isaac, 100

Runciman, Sir Steven, 6

Secker & Warburg, 20, 21

Shakespeare, William, 28; *Macbeth*, 72; *Richard III*, 110, 149 n57

Shaw, George Bernard, 5

Sitwell, Osbert, *Great Morning*, 94

Solzhenitsyn, Alexander, 139

Spender, Stephen, 24

Stalin, Josef, 104–10, 108, 118, 121, 137

Stoppard, Tom, *Every Good Boy Deserves Favour*, 144–5; *Professional Foul*, 145–6

Swift, Jonathan, 112; *Gulliver’s Travels*, 103, 116

Symons, Julian, 26, 88

Tribune, 19, 20

Trilling, Lionel, 142

Trollope, Anthony, 22

Trotsky, Leon, 104–5, 108, 121; *The Revolution Betrayed*, 126

Upward, Edward, 24

Wain, John, 22, 23, 140; *Hurry on Down*, 141; *Sprightly Running*, 141

Warburg, Frederic, 16, 19, 118–19

Waugh, Evelyn, 5; *A Little Learning*, 87; *Ninety-Two Days*, 26; *Put Out More Flags*, 55; *Waugh in Abyssinia*, 26

Wells, H. G., 5, 20, 22, 27, 31, 38–42, 80; *The History of Mr Polly*, 40, 70, 88, 90, 150 n66, n69; *In the Days of the Comet*, 42, 88, 116–17, 148

- Wells, H. G. (*contd.*)
n30; *The Island of Doctor Moreau*,
39, 103; *Kipps*, 40; *Love and Mr
Lewisham*, 40; *Mr Britling Sees it
Through*, 88; *Tono-Bungay*, 39, 88;
When the Sleeper Wakes, 116
- West, W. J., 101
- Whitman, Walt, 'Out of the Cradle
Endlessly Rocking', 72
- Williams, Raymond, 24, 142
- Wilson, Edmund, 113
- Woodcock, George, 19, 22, 23, 138
- Zamyatin, Yevgeny, *We*, 116–17