

**CHAPTER III**

**KEEP THE ASPIDISTRA FLYING**

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*Though I speak with the tongue of men and of angels, and have not money, I am become as a sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. ... And now abideth faith, hope, money, these three, but the greatest of these is money.<sup>1</sup>*

This is an unambiguous statement of the motto of the novel, given at the very beginning, which is, in fact, an 'adaptation' of Corinthians XIII. This statement is in perfect accord with the theme of the novel which is obviously the deadening effect of serving the money-god.

Keep the Aspidistra Flying, like Down and Out has a balanced structure. Paris and London, Boris and Paddy, the good and bad hotels, the castes of plongeurs and beggars, the summaries with practical suggestions at the end of each half, are contrasted in the earlier book. The same kind of technique is also used in the novel, where it emphasizes the circular pattern of the book (the return to the advertising office) as well as the two phases of Gordon's life; before and after the drunken spree. Mckechnie's and Cheeseman's bookshops; Mrs Wisbeach's and Mrs Meakin's rooms; the friendship of Flaxman and Ravelston; the love of his sister Julia and his girl Rosemary;<sup>2</sup> and the two sexual encounters with Rosemary, are ironically

contrasted. For the worse job and the dingier room seem 'better' to Gordon; though he is closer to Ravelston and Rosemary, he finds it easier to accept help from Flaxman and Julia, and the lyrical seduction scene is a failure while the squalid one is all too successful.

It is a work of an unusual intensity. It is dominated by the image of the aspidistra as a symbol of respectability and by the notion that money and the possession of money are inherently evil. Its central character, Gordon Comstock, an angry, embittered young man who deliberately abandons a well-paid post in an advertising agency in order to opt out of 'the money-trap' is obsessed by the idea that to lead a life of respectability - marriage and a suburban home - is to sell one's soul to 'the money-god', and that the only alternative is to cut oneself loose from conventional society altogether. The novel tells the story of his half-hearted attempts to achieve alternative way of living, first by writing poetry and then by consciously accepting a post calling for the minimum of effort and aspiration.

It is unlike any other Orwell's novels - with the exception of his last work, Nineteen Eighty-Four - written throughout in a tone of acrimony and ill-humour of almost morbid intensity. There is a curious ambiguity about the tone of the book which makes the entire novel an extremely interesting case study of Orwell's ambivalence as a creative writer. Although the novel is not written in the first person the events and incidents described are seen almost exclusively from Gordon's point of view. Yet it is never clear whether the

narrator is speaking with Gordon's voice or Orwell's own. However, it is a novel of extraordinary power which, despite the obsessive nature of its theme, merits close attention as a seminal work whose preoccupations tell us much concerning its attitude in the mid-1930s.

As the novel opens, it opens with the consciousness of time as is the case in each of Orwell's novels. It is half-past two and we are taken to Mr Makechnie's bookshop, where we find the central character of the novel - Gordon - Gordon Comstock, last member of the Comstock family, aged twenty-nine and rather moth-eaten already lounging across the table. The atmosphere as usual is dingy and morbid - on the other side of the street a rippled and stagnant air. The beginning, the tone and the atmosphere of the novel are conducive to the theme of the novel - the deadening effect of serving the money-god. The language also indicates this morbidity.

There was a nasty wind. Gordon who had rejected the money-god and desired to be the poet par excellence, was indulging in composing the poem.

*Sharply the menacing wind sweeps over  
The bending poplars newly bare.<sup>3</sup>*

The stink of money and its filthy world was menacing the conscious mental awareness of Gordon who belonged to a dreary middle-class family characterised by a sort of poverty-stricken gentility. His family was 'ineffectual' family. Gordon's relatives were shabby, cheerless people, perpetually troubled by this money stink, he found

the money stink everywhere. He thought he might have written if he had had a little more money.

*For after all, what is there behind it, except money? Money for the right kind of education, money for influential friends, money for leizure and peace of mind, money for trips to Italy. Money writes books, money sells them. Give me not righteousness, O Lord, give me money, only money.*

Gordon thought of Ravelston, his charming, rich friend, editor of Antichrist, of whom he was extravagantly fond, and whom he did not see so often as once in a fortnight. He thought of Rosemary who loved him. However even in the tender relations money was intruding as Gordon thought:

*Rosemary, his girl, who loved him - adored him, so she said - and who, all the same, had never slept with him. Money, once again; all is money. All human relationships must be purchased with money. If you have no money, men won't care for you, women won't love you; won't, that is, care for you or love you the last little bit that matters.*

For all the time Gordon was obsessed with the thought of money. He lived at Willowbed Road, N.W. at Mrs Wisbeach's dingy room. Willowbed Road, N.W. was definitely slummy, only dingy and depressing. There were tenement houses where families slept five in a bed, and when one of them died, slept every night with the

corpse until it was buried; alley-ways where girls of fifteen were deflowered by boys of sixteen against leprous plaster walls. Mrs Wisbeach, aged forty-five, stout but active, with a pink, fine-featured, horribly observant face, beautiful grey hair and a permanent grievance was one of these malignant respectable women who kept longing-houses. She always suspected the lodgers of bringing women into the house. She screened the letters of every lodger. Here at Mrs Wisbeach Gordon met Flaxman - the travelling representative of the Queen of Sheba Toilet Requisites Co. who was living apart from his wife at the moment. Still he was a happy-go-lucky fellow and was fond of Gordon whom he considered a clever chap. His room was medium-sized with white-guilted single-bed, brown line floor-covering and with an aspidistra in a green-glazed pot on the window-sill. Gordon had a sort of secret feud with the aspidistra. Many a time he had furtively attempted to kill it - starving it of water, grinding hot cigarette-ends against its stem, even mixing salt with its earth.

Gordon thought aspidistra to be the symbol of middle-class mentality and hence he tried to fight a war against the beastly thing as he had begun it already against money and purposefully rejected the job in an advertising firm the 'New Albion' which he thought to be the dirtiest ramp-swindle that capitalism had produced. Hence he had accepted the moderately paid job in Mr Makechie's bookshop and was living in Mrs Wisbeach's dingy room with the womanless bed, dust, cigarette ash, the aspidistra leaves, though he was thirty

nearly.

The Comstocks belonged to the most dismal of all classes, the middle-middle class, the landless gentry. Hence they were perpetually wallowing in poverty. It was a tormenting affair for Gordon to complete his education:

*Even at the third-rate schools to which Gordon was sent nearly all the boys were richer than himself. They soon found out his poverty, of course, and gave him hell because of it. Probably the greatest cruelty one can inflict on a child is to send it to school among children richer than itself. A child conscious of poverty will suffer snobbish agonies such as a grown-up person can scarcely even imagine.<sup>6</sup>*

Gordon had to summon all his mental resources to keep his end up. Hence when he was seventeen, he had to leave the school as his father died. His family was determined that young Gordon should take up some 'good job' and settle down in life. Gordon being very young, first took up a job in the accounts department of a red lead firm and then in an advertising agency, called "The New Albion", in response to the family pressure. It was in this Publicity Company that he first came in contact with Rosemary Waterloo with whom he ultimately married.

No doubt, Gordon was in the money world, but he was certainly not of it. He hated his job because he felt all modern

commerce to be a swindle. He hated the money code.

*What he realised, and more clearly as time went on, was that money-worship has been elevated into a religion. Perhaps it is the only real religion - that only really felt religion - that is left to us. Money is what God used to be. Good and evil have no meaning any longer except failure and success. The world in which money is virtue and poverty is crime.<sup>7</sup>*

There are two ways to live, he decided. One can be rich, or one can deliberately refuse to be rich. One can possess money, or one can despise money, the one fatal thing is to worship money and fail to get it. He decided not to 'succeed' in life. Hence he thought it better to reign in the hell than to serve in heaven of the moneyed world. He declared war on money; but secretly of course. Therefore, to the dismay of his family and his relations, he threw up his job, as the biggest dream of his life was to be a poet.

The step of Gordon reminds us of Stephen Dedalus's rejection of career as Jessuit, and his decision to be an artist in James Joyce's A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man. Like Dedalus and like Orwell himself. Gordon was repelled by the way his fellowmen lived. The prospect of such a destiny was nauseating to him. He felt:



*It is in the brain and the soul that lack of money damages you. Mental deadness, spiritual squalor - they seem to descend upon you inescapably when your income drops below a certain point. Faith, hope, money - only a saint could have the first two without having the third.*<sup>8</sup>

Therefore, Gordon declared war on money. His action is a fine example of Orwell's moral imagination and ethical concerns. Young Gordon believed that the nets of the money-god would hold his soul back from flights in the world of literature and art. Therefore, he did not want to adjust himself to the established standards and values; he was determined to evolve his own ethics, his own style. It hardly matters whether he ultimately succeeds or not, what is important to note is his exercise of free will, his courage to make choices in response to the voice of his conscience. The choice for Gordon was between the Establishment and 'the Embankment' or between respectability and wilderness. And intentionally he chose the wilderness.

Gordon found money at the bottom of failure in every field of life.

*Money, money, all is money! Because he had no money the Dorings snubbed him, because he had no money the Primrose had turned down his poem, because he had no money Rosemary wouldn't sleep with him. Social failure, artistic failure, sexual failure - they are all the same. And lack of money is at the bottom of them all.*<sup>9</sup>

It is true that for the first hundred pages the story hardly shows any sign of movement. There is no glow, no speed. There is not much action either. Apparently, in the first third of the novel, the hero does nothing except to brood over his tormenting loneliness.

Nothing, in particular, is shown as happening to him: yet, what must also be noted is the fact that in these pages, time has stood still. Later, when Ravelston, the friend, and Rosemary, the beloved appear, the loneliness breaks and time actually passes. Things start happening to Gordon, and the story no longer remains stagnant. In the scene in which the hero takes his girl out in the country-side and a little later in another scene in which the dollar cheque is celebrated, the action quickens tremendously and the atmosphere, which is so boring in the previous part, now pulsates with life.

In the first part of the novel, Orwell deals with the inevitable consequences of poverty. Poverty for Gordon meant alienation from society and from himself, embarrassment in the company of rich friend, Ravelston and semi-starvation. He suffered from inferiority complex when he was with his girl, Rosemary and could not afford taking her out. Rosemary loved him, adored him, and yet she had never slept with him. In fact, there was the eternal screen of money between Gordon and Rosemary. He felt his shadow falling across their kisses and embraces and made no secret of this feeling to Rosemary: "A woman's got a sort of mystical feeling towards money.

Good and evil in a woman's mind mean simply money and no money."<sup>10</sup>

The feeling that people - even Rosemary - must despise him for his poverty was too strong for him to bear. He felt that all human relations can be bought. Once he took her out on a trip to Burnham Beeches to escape the sequence of frustrated meetings in the dark, cold and lifeless streets of London where there was no privacy. Even romance, it appeared to him, is the privilege of the rich. Twenty miles away from London in the countryside, their blood began to glow in their veins. The day was calm and warm and they experienced a taste of real but fleeting happiness. For the first time in his life, Gordon had the feeling of real freedom and adventure. But this feeling proved to be transitory because the money-business still unnerved him. The two lovers took their lunch - corpse-cold beef and salad - in the Revenscroft Hotel. Gordon's entire stock of money was consumed. However, he consoled himself with the thought that Rosemary had at least agreed to become his mistress, and when, in the warm sunny afternoon they found a secluded corner, it seemed certain that his desire would be fulfilled. But just when the moment of consumation arrived, driven by some obscure psychological forces, Rosemary thrusts Gordon away,

*Oh, Gordon, no! No, no, no!*

*What? What is it?*

*No, Gordon, no! You mustn't! No!*

And her face looked remote, frightened, almost hostile. Insulted

and injured, Gordon attributed his disappointment to his economic poverty.

*Money again! Even in the most secret action of your life you don't escape it; ... Money, money, always money! Even in the bridal bed, the hunger of money-god intruding!*<sup>12</sup>

Rosemary's reaction was both obscure and complex. The real trouble appeared to her was of the uncertain future. She was psychologically unable to 'jump' the consequences of the act.

The aborted trip to Burnham Beeches resulted in the famous incident which finally derived Gordon off the middle-class lodge into the void of slums, where he had no contact with money or culture. It so happened that he received a cheque for fifty dollars from an American paper to which he had sent a poem. When he invited Rosemary and Ravelston to dinner to celebrate this achievement, he behaved in an idiotic manner. He, even, never thought of Julia - his sister - who had been sacrificed to him all her life and from whom he had borrowed pound after pound. On the other hand, he got outrageously drunk, insulted Rosemary, was cheated by a prostitute, hit a police Sergeant, and found himself next morning in a police cell and lost his job. At last, he was forced to swallow his arrogance and accept Ravelston's hospitality and financial help though he had formed the commandments of <sup>the</sup> 'money-less'. The first rule is never to take charity. "Never stay too long with those you love - another commandment of the money-less".<sup>13</sup>

He touched the 'nadir' in his career by taking a job as assistant in a two-penny circulating library of Mr Cheeseman in the heart of the Lambeth slum. He mused:

*Under Ground, under ground! Down in the soft womb of earth, where there is no getting of job or losing of jobs, no relatives or friends to plague you, no hope, fear, ambition, honour, duty - no duns of any kind. That was where he wished to be. ... It comforted him somehow to think of the smoke-dim slums of South-London sprawling on and on, a huge graceless wilderness where you could lose yourself for ever.*<sup>14</sup>

He lived in Brewer's Yard, parallel to Lambeth Cut in a room of eight shillings a week and was just under the roof. Mrs Meakin was the landlady, liberal compared to the former one - Mrs wisbeach. But even here, in his bug-ridden room, he could not escape the aspidistra:

*It gave him a bit of twinge to see it. Even here, in this final refuge! Hast thou found me, O mine enemy? But it was a poor weedy specimen - indeed, it was obviously dying.*<sup>15</sup>

The death of this last aspidistra synchronizes with Gordon's fall into the under world. In this attic-dingy room Rosemary tried to show that there was no any kind of curtain of money between her Gordon, by wilfully sacrificing her virginity to save him from "Down, down! Into the ghost kingdom, out of reach of hope, out of the

reach of fear! Under ground, under ground!"<sup>16</sup>

Gordon's participation in the action is by all means active. There is a direct interaction between the varying incidents and the central character, and the points of growth can be clearly seen. The story of the novel - these incidents take a sudden turn when Rosemary, the heroine, is with child by Gordon. It is full of dramatic suspense. Both the hero and heroine were faced with a real crisis. Rosemary in a desperate mood, suggested abortion. In fact, she had already taken some pills. But for Gordon, it was the happening of a great event. The mere suggestion of cutting the unborn child's life short pulls him up. Really, the moment has been rendered with admirable dramatic effectiveness. The tension is at its highest and, for a moment, the reader becomes anxious about what Gordon is going to do. He stands on a razor's edge that divides the area of private vices from that of public virtues. At last, he decides to marry Rosemary, and no longer wants the much-longed-for war to break out perhaps because he identifies his unborn baby with the whole civilization. Hence at Rosemary's suggestion of abortion, Gordon voluntarily utters: "No! If that's the alternative I'll marry you. I'd sooner cut my right hand off than do a thing like that".<sup>17</sup>

Everything ends so well. The 'sex-war' has at last given way, and human relationship triumphs. The earlier Gordon who had a bile against woman (to) whom he considered to be the part of money-world, comes to the conscious level of reality.

*This woman business! What a bore it is! What a pity we can't cut it right out, or at least be like the animals - minutes of ferocious lust and months of icy chastity. Take a cock pheasant, for example. He jumps up on the hens' backs without so much as with your leave or by your leave ... How different from the lord of creation, always on the hop between his memory and his conscience.*<sup>18</sup>

Gordon once again enters the moneyed world who had earlier gone to the length of rejecting 'success' and 'the money-god'; is now cured of all 'his accumulated bile'. He throws away the stub of 'London Pleasures' - his long cherished poem into the gutter and turns to the 'New Albion'. This redeemed young man rejoices at the prospects of having Rosemary as his wife, and what is more, as the mother of his child. It makes an end of the crisis. By sheer force of her genuine love Rosemary has reclaimed him. The same aspidistra, which once looked a spiritual death, has now become "the tree of life". He insists on having an aspidistra in his new home to the extent of picking his first quarrel as husband and wife, with Rosemary.

The news of prospective fatherhood enlivens Gordon, and drives away all the bile that he had been nourishing within him all along. His child is yet to be born; but we see clearly the great moment of his own rebirth. Social stigmas have been defeated by the powerful human impulse of love. The 'victim' has been redeemed at the end. It is on a purely human level that the last scene of

the drama is enacted. While they are climbing down the stairs, Rosemary suddenly feels the child move inside her womb:

*Oh Gordon!*

*What?*

*I felt it move!*

*Felt what move!*

*The baby. I felt it move inside me,*

*You did?*

A strange almost terrible feeling, a sort of warm convulsion, stirred in his entrails. For a moment he felt as if he were sexually joined to her, but joined in some subtle way that he had never imagined.<sup>19</sup>

Once again the 'stream of life' - things began happening in the Comstock family.

The spiral mode of action which began at the 'New Albion' ends at the same place. The action of Gordon of rejecting the moneyed world, success, the woman, and once again returning to the same moneyed intelligentsia is a sort of spiritual and moral surrender on the part of Gordon. This vindicates the hero's act. By surrendering to the cheerless position of a petit bourgeois marriage and respectability etc. Gordon at a deeper level is committing himself to higher values.

It may be safely affirmed that when at last, Gordon decides to go back to the New Albion, it is more from a sense of moral obligation to Rosemary than from a fear of continued poverty, or because of his failure in the world of letters. On the contrary,



his decision indicates a moral victory. Gordon is not a moral coward, nor is he treacherous in his relations with Rosemary. In fact, Orwell believes, like Henry James, that treachery in human relations is an unpardonable sin; and through the final attitude of the hero, Orwell succeeds in bringing out a moral poetry of life. Gordon arrives at moral decisions by an appeal to his own experience. By accepting Rosemary, he accepts the aspидistra and all that it symbolizes and by the circular path he returns to the same point from where he had started his adventures. It may be pointed out that Rosemary Waterloo's pregnancy does not prove his 'Waterloo'. On the contrary, it lends a new colour and dimension to his act, and leaving out the consequences, he purchased truce on his own terms. And the terms, it may be averred, are basically ethical. The alternative - abandoning of Rosemary and the child to their fate - would have meant a cruel and ironic endorsement of the bourgeoisie ethics of expediency. Though in the eyes of the world, the aspидistra in Gordon's window would signify his surrender, he has in fact, joined the enemy ranks as an act of will. But seen in its proper perspective, Gordon's act signifies a commitment to another deal - the ideal of personal loyalties and obligations.

The problem of a defective ending, disappears once the character of Gordon is understood in these terms. Though in worldly terms Gordon's revolt fails, it does not fail on the spiritual and moral levels. Gordon redeems himself by voting for his pregnant mistress rather than obstinately persisting in his revolt.

Thus the central theme of Keep the Aspidistra Flying is poverty. It is a socio-political document exposing the corruption of the bourgeois society.

The novel has thus a balanced structure, where it emphasizes the circular pattern of the book - (starting from the New Albion and returning to the same place) as well as the two phases of Gordon's life: before and after the drunken spree. Mackechnie's and Cheeseman's bookshops, Mrs Wisbeach's and Mrs Meakin's rooms, the friendship of Flaxman and Revelston, the love of his sister Julia and his girl Rosemary and the two sexual encounters with Rosemary, are ironically contrasted.

Several other structural motifs emphasize Gordon's resolution to return to the respectable middle-class moneyed world, symbolized by the indestructible aspidistra and the New Albion advertising company. At the end of the novel, Gordon and Rosemary have their wedding feast at the modest Soha restaurant, instead of expensive Modigliani's; they live in a flat with a view of Paddington; and as a comfortably employed writer and prospective father, he relinquishes his apocalyptic wish and no longer desires the destruction of London by bombs.

Despite Orwell's evident care for the form of the novel, the plot has some serious weaknesses. The chance meeting with Rosemary in the open-air market seems too coincidental; and the mystery of how the previously unacquainted Flaxman and Revelston, Rosemary and Julia ever got together to save Gordon is never explained.

Ravelston's inability to resist the 'abominable adventure' with whores seems incredible; and worst of all, Rosemary becomes pregnant after her first sexual encounter, in the archaic tradition of the Victorian novel. The style seems to be of repetitive nature.

Rosemary Waterloo, the gentle submissive young woman who befriends Gordon and ultimately consents to marry him is a wholly credible female character. She is concerned only for his well being and responds to his tantrums with tolerance and understanding. She is a warm and sympathetic character whose attitude to life is totally at variance with that of her lover. Her outgoing, kindly personality mitigates his inwardness and ultimately triumphs over it.

Philip Revelston, editor of the magazine 'Antichrist' and a man who seeks to encourage Gordon's literary ambitions, is sympathetically presented. He is a man of wealth, influential in literary circles, and a professed socialist. In a sense, it seems that Ravelston and Comstock are two aspects of himself: the man of success, easy, assured and generous; and the man of failure, embittered, poor and outcast.

It is clear from the character-sketches that the characters who matter most are Gordon, Rosemary and Ravelston who have been designed by the novelist to form the two pairs of characters who easily emerge into importance. Gordon and Ravelston in the first case and Gordon and Rosemary in the second. In this way,

the human relationships which stand out, are between man and man and love between man and woman respectively.

Keep the Aspidistra Flying belongs firmly to the English tradition of Gissing and Wells. As an example of a novel concerned predominantly with poverty it invites comparison with such works as Gissing's 'New Grub Street' and Wells's 'Love and Mr Lewisham'. In its obsessive concern with the minutiae of poverty, its atmosphere of drabness and its unrelieved emphasis on futility and boredom, it is characteristic of the genre. It is not only a novel of poverty, however, but is in a deeper sense a novel of alienation. It is far from being a 'lifeless' book: it pulsates with a raw energy which influences certain episodes (the whole of chapter 7, for example, in which Rosemary and Gordon go out into the country together) with vitality.

In spite of some of the weaknesses in the novel, there is undoubtedly a poignant and moving quality about the novel that comes from Orwell's perceptive portrayal of the alienation and loneliness arising out of poverty, and from Rosemary's tender response to Gordon's mean misery. His final affirmation of ordinary life is achieved through her self-less acts. Her love vindicates his self-respect and disproves one <sup>of</sup> Gordon's id'ees fixes. Orwell's central vision of total grimness and despair, born amidst the sense of approaching disaster in the thirties and intensified by the greater horrors of the 'forties, is repeated throughout his work like a fatal portent

of dissolution and doom. In Keep the Aspidistra Flying it is Gordon's vision of the deathliness in modern life, of London slaving under capitalistic oppression, which makes him long for a cleansing halocaust. Hence at the end of the novel Gordon realizes that one cannot 'live in a corrupt society without being corrupt oneself.

William Plomer observes in respect of Gordon's rebel against moneyed world in Spectator of 24th April 1936.

*His rebellian against money has brought him 'not only misery, but also a frightful emptiness, an inescapable sense of futility'. Yet in the conclusion his bitterness is softened by the reflection that although our civilization is founded on greed and fear. In the lives of common men the greed and fear are mysteriously transmuted into something nobler. He therefore marries and settles down with Rosemary and an aspidistra, which has to be 'kept flying', for perhaps it is 'the tree of life'.<sup>20</sup>*

Henry Popkin also observes in 'Common Weal', of 23rd March 1956:

*The novel dramatises one of Orwell's chronic dilemmas - the strange ambiguity of his attitude towards British middle class life. Orwell became expert at describing its ugliness, its dullness, its hardships, and yet he could not help expressing a regretful admiration for it. His hero is rather an eloquent mouthpiece for all the stock complaints*

against the drab life of the middle classes, against the money that holds the social structure together, and against the bourgeois symbol - the aspidistra.<sup>21</sup>

Commenting on the novel, J.R. Hammond observes:

Keep the Aspidistra Flying is very far from being a 'lifeless' book. ... Yet it is clearly different in kind from all that followed it. The 'purple passages' of his prentice literary achievements lay behind him. Ahead of him lay 'The Road to Wigan Pier', *Homage to Catalonia* and a distinguished career as iconoclast and polemist. Eric Blair, Etonian and novelist manque had been exorcised; George Orwell, social critic, essayist and prophet was henceforth in the ascendant.<sup>22</sup>

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 An Extract from Corinthians XIII (adapted) ... In this passage which forms the frontispiece in this novel, Orwell adapted the well known passage Corinthians XIII, regularly replacing the word 'charity' in the original with 'money'.
- 2 Revelston is based on Orwell's friend Sir Richard Rees who was the editor of *Adelphi*, while Rosemary is based on his wife. Eileen.
- 3 George Orwell: Keep the Aspidistra Flying.
- 4 Ibid., p. 15.

- 5 Ibid., p. 21.
- 6 Ibid., p. 53.
- 7 Ibid., p. 56.
- 8 Ibid., p. 73.
- 9 Ibid., p. 97.
- 10 Ibid., p. 141.
- 11 Ibid., p. 174.
- 12 Ibid., p. 175.
- 13 Ibid., p. 119, 148.
- 14 Ibid., p. 249.
- 15 Ibid., p. 255.
- 16 Ibid., p. 268.
- 17 Ibid., p. 278.
- 18 Ibid., p. 127.
- 19 Ibid., p. 302.
- 20 Jeffrey, Meyers, editor George Orwell: The Critical Heritage,  
p. 65.
- 21 Ibid., p. 81.
- 22 J.R. Hammond: A George Orwell Companion, p. 114.