Space and Anxiety in the Colonial Novel: The Concepts of Sanctuary and Confinement in Burmese Days, Max Havelaar, Kim and Midnight's Children

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This article examined the notion of colonial anxiety through the concept of space in the colonial setting, particularly through the usage of signifiers found in colonial literature. The four case studies used are Burmese Days by George Orwell, Max Havelaar by Multatuli, Kim by Rudyard Kipling, and Midnight's Children by Salman Rushdie. These have been investigated in terms of the supposed sanctuary and feeling of unease that the private colonial spaces they present offer to their characters. In this way, it has been argued that private colonial spaces can be discussed in terms of both positive and negative signifiers for those using them. Highlighting the effect of colonial anxiety, this piece is primarily interested in the negative connotations and how the characters deal with these challenges. The emphasis on space focuses on individual locations and structures and how they impacted those inhabiting them, aiming to flag active signifiers of anxiety in terms of space, which connect to the wider debate into colonial anxiety at the literary level.

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INTRODUCTION

The use of official or semi-official spaces by colonial servants and other Europeans as a means of obtaining a sanctuary of sorts to retreat into from the vast unknowns of empire is an established element of the historiography on the subject. Indeed, studies by the likes of Jon Wilson and Ranajit Guha have more clearly delineated where the public and private spaces for colonial servants began and ended, with the result having been a particular focus on gentlemen's clubs, officer's mess halls, and government offices as zones of cultural stability away from the vast unknown of the empire before them.[1] William Glover, meanwhile, has advanced this concept by drawing on the notions of public and private spaces in the context of urban development in colonial India. Taking nineteenth-century Punjab as his case study, he has very deftly highlighted zones of urban colonial life that may have been negatively viewed by colonial servants.[2] Areas such as native bazaars, residential streets, and places of worship have been suggested in this regard. Since these areas were not necessarily intended for the public or private use of colonial servants and their families, it was unsurprising that the desire for familiar surroundings and cultural reassurance was displayed through the use of 'sanctuaries' such as clubs and offices. This builds on the foundations of colonial anxiety, discussed elsewhere, concerning literary signifiers.[3]

Such formal private spaces for Europeans in the empire only take the male perspective into account, however, and largely disregard the vital role played by women in the creation of private and personal spaces in the colonies. Studies such as those by Eliza Riedi, Robert Johnson, Joanna Liddle, and Rama Joshi have more fully demonstrated the success of women in creating and indeed maintaining core structures in the empire.[4] In terms of the creation of private spaces and the alleviation of colonial anxiety, Alison Blunt's 1999 article, 'Imperial Geographies of Home', is a vital component of the discussion. Blunt skilfully describes the key role of women in creating the home space and home life for their families in the colonies.[5] Without this, it is argued that the colonial space would have been too unstable, and greater difficulties associated with colonial anxiety would have been displayed. The failure to adequately create a home space is at the heart of Guha's arguments on the British colonial experience in his famous article, 'Not at Home in Empire'.

It is the recognition of colonial anxiety or merely ordinary signifiers of anxiety that happen to have occurred in the colonial sphere, which particularly interests this study. Well-regarded and oft-cited studies, such as that of Guha into the career of Francis Yeats-Brown, provide a useful base to commence investigations of colonial anxiety, with a methodology and list of signifiers clearly laid out.[6] In the context of the current study, anxiety is to be understood as a reaction to a situation of perceived danger or displeasure. There is an object of anxiety, the root cause of the reaction. For instance, among the unfamiliar surroundings or spaces discussed in this article, anxiety is the warning signal and not the specific danger.[7]

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1 Jon E. Wilson, *The Domination of Strangers: Modern Governance in Easter India, 1780-*1835, Palgrave MacMillan, (Basingstoke, 2010), pp. 65-67; Ranajit Guha, 'Not at Home in Empire', *Critical Inquiry*, 23(3), Front Lines / Border Posts, (Spring, 1997), pp. 482-485.
2 William J. Glover, 'Constructing Urban Space as 'Public' in Colonial India: Some Notes from the Punjab', *Journal of Punjab Studies*, 14(2), (Fall 2007), pp. 211-224.
3 Author (2021).
4 Eliza Riedi, 'Women, Gender, and the Promotion of Empire: The Victoria League, 1901-1914', *The Historical Journal*, 45(3), (Sept., 2002), pp. 569-599; Robert Johnson, 'What was the Significance of Gender to British Imperialism', in Robert Johnson, *British Imperialism*, Palgrave MacMillan (Basingstoke, 2003), pp. 122-131; Joanna Liddle & Rama Joshi, 'Gender and Imperialism in British India', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 20(43), (Oct. 26, 1985), pp. 72-78.
5 Alison Blunt, 'Imperial Geographies of Home: British Domesticity in India, 1886-1925', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 24(4), (1999), pp. 421-440.
6 Ranajit Guha, 'Not at Home in Empire', *Critical Inquiry*, 23(3), Front Lines / Border Posts, (Spring, 1997), pp. 482-485.
7 Sigmund Freud, *Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety*, Alix Strachey (trans), Martino Publishing, (Eastford, CT, 2013), pp. 91-96.

Anxiety itself, as a very fluid phenomenon with a range of signifiers and severities of experience, demands that new investigations continually seek to expand the broader understanding. Literary investigations, such as the current survey, a part of a wider project looking at colonial anxiety in the literary format, are asserted to be an exciting next step for the field.

This paper is especially interested in the depiction of private colonial spaces as sanctuaries or forms of cultural stability in the literary format. As such, examples including *Burmese Days* by George Orwell, *Max Havelaar* by Multatuli, *Kim* by Rudyard Kipling, and *Midnight's Children* by Salman Rushdie were investigated in relation to the private colonial spaces they present. These were selected due to the significant evidence of anxiety linked to the colonial experience, the variety of actions or signifiers contained within, their popularity with readers of colonial fiction, and the span of time covered. Of this latter point, in particular, the publication date encompasses the period 1860-1981, and this includes authors who lived and wrote at height of the empire, witnessed its decline and critiqued upon its meaning in postcolonial terms. In discussing variations of the common problem of colonial anxiety across this period through the literary signifier, it is argued that more nuanced aspects of the colonial experience, such as how space was used and understood, can be brought into the debate surrounding colonial anxiety.

The Sanctuary of Colonial Spaces

A useful place to begin the discussion of private colonial spaces as a form of cultural sanctuary is in the investigation of George Orwell's *Burmese Days*. In the novel, Orwell presents the fictional town of Kyauktada, situated in the Burmese jungle, as the site of interaction between the small English population and the much larger group of native inhabitants. The novel was set in 1920s Burma, then a province of British India following the annexation and cultural, societal, and economic changes brought about after the third Anglo-Burmese war in 1885-6, with the disillusioned and jaded teak merchant, John Flory, as protagonist.[8] Flory's lack of enthusiasm for the European club and its members is well documented in the text and in the work of Robert Lee.[9] This serves to demonstrate aspects of his own colonial anxiety, whereby he has lost interest in his colonial life and taken to isolation and drunkenness as a means of coping.[10] This is not the form of colonial anxiety that this study is targeting; however, it is the community's interaction with the club, which Flory holds a distasteful view. There is already a nascent suggestion that colonial anxiety, like its root form of anxiety, can present itself in various guises and severities.

The club, as can be seen below in *Figure 1*, a reproduction created by the author of Orwell's sketch map of Kyauktada provided in *Burmese Days*, was located apart from the main town facilities such as the bazaar and jail. This idea of separation is crucial not only to the club but also to the European community of Kyauktada. It can be seen in *figure 1* that the town was bordered by the jungle on one side and the River Irrawaddy on the other. This, in tandem with the isolated position of the town in cartographical terms, meant that the British inhabitants were surrounded by unfamiliarity and a thick cultural zone on every side. It is in this context that the

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8   Tobiasz Targosz (Author) & Zuzanna Slawik (Trans), 'Burmese Culture During the Colonial Period in the Years 1885-1931: The World of Burmese Values in Reaction to the Inclusion of Colonialism', *Politeja*, 44, Jagiellonian Cultural Studies Human Values in Intercultural Space (2016), p. 278.
9   Robert A. Lee, 'Symbol and Structure in Burmese Days: A Revaluation', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 11(1), (Spring, 1969), p. 820.
10   George Orwell, *Burmese Days*, Penguin Books, (London, 2009), pp. 13-15.

Kyauktada club is to be understood, with it being a refuge and place of familiarity for the British to retreat into. The description of the club by Ellis, a particularly bigoted character, as *"…a place where we come to enjoy ourselves, and we don't want natives poking about in here. We like to think there's still one place where we're free of them"*, the native people, is particularly revealing.[11] This demonstrates Orwell's understanding of the sense of detachment and feeling of unease in the empire which he, and others like him, experienced during his own colonial service and depicted in his essay 'Shooting an Elephant'.[12] In order for the club to be successful as a cultural sanctuary and effectively a symbol of material culture, a distinct differentiation between those within and without was necessary. This was provided by both the British themselves, as well as the native populace.
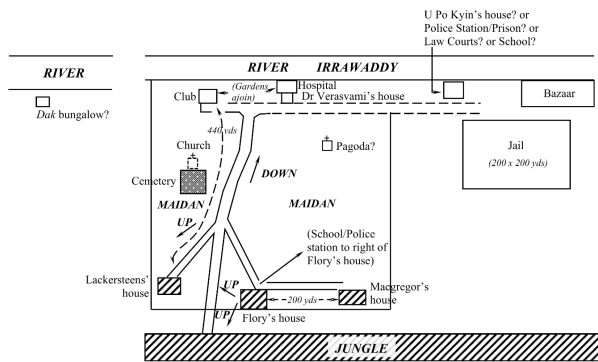

Fig. 1 – Sketch Map of Kyauktada, Orwell, Burmese Days

The European club of Kyauktada is presented by the local community as a bastion of 'Britishness' and the cultural citadel for the small and isolated European society.[13] The fact that membership was so strictly regulated suggests an element of exclusivity, but the narrator's descriptions give the impression of a run down and grotty establishment.[14] The knowledge that any European who happens to reside in

Kyauktada, temporarily or otherwise, was entitled to membership, also serves to dent the notion of exclusivity.[15] The limiting factor was clearly race, and the club was used more as a bulwark or sanctuary against the multitude of diverse others and unknowns than it was as an intellectual or cultural hub. As a literary signifier of colonial anxiety, its usage as a refuge was clear, though given the European community regularly retreated behind its walls, it perhaps had prison-like connotations as well. This was ironic given that the allegedly superior race who had colonized the country was reduced to culturally alienated and anxiety-filled expatriates in a culturally thick world, which they could not adequately comprehend. This is linked to what Jennifer Dawson has written of Orwell's portrayal of Flory suffering from the ordeal of his imperial existence; the irony being that Flory feels alienated from his fellow Europeans to a far greater extent than the native Burmese.[16] This is further connected to the work of Guha into colonial anxiety, leaving the example of Flory aside for the moment, with his contention that colonial officials effectively cloistered themselves behind colonial facades and structures to relieve their anxiety in a world whose limits were not known.[17]

Despite the farcical description given to the Kyauktada club and its members, much akin to a caricature of the private lives of so-called British 'Pukka Sahibs', the structure served to moderate European exposure to the outside world. The Pukka Sahib order has been described by Praseeda Gopinath as *"…an imperial mediation of the domestic ideal of the gentleman, where the ethno-racial / tribal code takes precedence over the personal-ethical code…"*.[18]

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[11]   Orwell, *Burmese Days*, pp. 27-28.
[12]   Orwell, *Shooting an Elephant and Other Essays*, (London, 2009), pp. 31-40.
[13]   Orwell, *Burmese Days*, p. 14.
[14]   Orwell, *Burmese Days*, pp. 17-19.

[15]   Orwell, *Burmese Days*, pp. 213-214.
[16]   Jennifer Dawson, 'Reading the Rocks, Flora and Fauna: Representations of India in "Kim, A Passage to India and Burmese Days"', *Journal of South Asian Literature*, 28(1/2), Miscellany, (Spring / Fall, 1993), p. 8.
[17]   Guha, pp. 482-485.
[18]   Praseeda Gopinath, 'An Orphaned Manliness: The Pukka Sahib and the End of Empire in "A Passage to India" and "Burmese Days", *Studies in the Novel*, 41(2), (Summer, 2009), p. 205.

It is contended that in this way, the club was more an object of cultural stability than it was a citadel of cultural superiority, with race a defining factor. Established societal norms amongst private citizens in the empire, such as commenting upon the weather and leisurely reading the latest issue of Punch magazine, were key supports of this façade.[19] Punch, or the London Charivari, was a weekly satirical magazine published in London and focusing on art, health and politics, which became increasingly popular amongst expatriates in the empire from its founding in 1841 until its peak in the early twentieth century.[20] Reading such popular periodicals, as well as engaging with a host of material culture linked to the home country, and in particular, domesticity was a method of reminding oneself of identity, home, and the knowledge that there was a severe differentiation between colonizer and colonized.[21]

The concept of racial differentiation is a core element of the narrative contained in *Burmese Days*. The central thrust of the novel, in tandem with John Flory's courtship of the newly arrived Elizabeth Lackersteen, is the intrigue surrounding the possibility of a native official being granted membership of the Kyauktada club. It was perhaps curious that native officials might be presented as seeking membership of an institution where they would be openly ridiculed, but much of this question is tied up in the concepts of power and prestige, and where the native population believed they lay. This is also linked to what Frantz Fanon wrote about colonial acculturation and the so-called

dependency complex in his famous work, *Black Skin, White Masks*.[22] At the beginning of *Burmese Days*, the reader is acquainted with a local native magistrate, U Po Kyin, who is conspiring to obtain membership of the Kyauktada club. His rival for this 'honour' is revealed to be the local medical officer, Dr. Veraswami.[23]

In the course of the narrative, it is revealed that U Po Kyin is a manipulative and dangerous man, while Veraswami is depicted as a kind man who naïvely views the European presence in Burma as wholly benevolent.[24] Both men seek access to the club, the 'safe' European cultural space, for vastly different reasons. U Po Kyin seeks admission to boost his prestige and social standing, whereas Veraswami while imagining admittance as an honour of sorts, seeks protection from the intrigues of U Po Kyin, whom he believes will act to discredit him owing to his friendship with Flory. Intriguingly, it is Veraswami who wishes to use the European space as a sanctuary, much in the way the British did to relieve their colonial anxiety, whereas U Po Kyin wishes to glean some political benefit from it. Ironically, it is ultimately U Po Kyin who is rewarded with membership, despite his hidden animosity towards the British, while the genuinely loyal Veraswami is rejected and sent away from Kyauktada in disgrace.[25] This rejection of the Indian Dr. Veraswami, in favour of the Burmese U Po Kyin, can also be seen as a manifestation of the complex Indo-Burmese relations at the time, whereby Indian officials in colonial Burma were seen as extensions of the Indian colonial state, and often the official face of it, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[26]

19 Orwell, *Burmese Days*, pp. 16-17.
20 Jamie W. Johnson, 'The Changing Representation of the Art Public in "Punch", 1841-1896', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 35(3), pp. 273-274.
21 Megan Ward, 'A Charm in Those Fingers: Patterns, Taste, and the Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 41(3), (Fall, 2008), pp. 249-250; Don J. Vann & Rosemary T. Van Arsdel, 'Outposts of Empire', in *Periodicals of Queen Victoria's Empire: An Exploration*, J. Don Vann & Rosemary T. Van Arsdel (eds), University of Toronto Press, (Toronto, 1996), pp. 301-332.

22 Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, Richard Philcox (ed), Penguin Books, (London, 2021), pp. 64-88.
23 Orwell, *Burmese Days*, pp. 44-47.
24 Orwell, *Burmese Days*, pp. 9-12; 36-39.
25 Orwell, *Burmese Days*, pp. 296-298.
26 Michal Lubina, 'Overshadowed by Kala', *Politeja*, 40, Modern South Asia: A Space of Intercultural Dialogue, (2016), pp. 436-440.

The description of imagined safety and security within private European spaces is also evident in Multatuli's *Max Havelaar*. *Max Havelaar* follows the career of the titular character in his Dutch colonial career, with him being the newly appointed Assistant Resident of the district of Lebak, Banten Province. The character of Havelaar is established as an upstanding colonial administrator and family man who genuinely wishes to guard those he governs against the rapacity of other colonial officials and native rulers who function as part of the Dutch colonial state.[27] Whereas the premise of the text has been set up as a critique of romanticism and Dutch colonial practice aimed at chastising the colonial state, mostly due to Multatuli's own failed colonial career; it is evident from the outset of *Max Havelaar* that the protagonist will meet personal tragedy.[28] The connotation of the beggarly Sjaalman or 'shawlman', later confirmed to be Havelaar himself, solidifies this.[29] At the outset, then, Havelaar is presented as a case study for what would befall any other who dared to challenge the colonial order. Although the subject matter was supposedly aimed at reform, Darren Zook has argued that it does not represent an anti-colonial voice, but rather one emphasizing the desire for a reformed and strengthened colonial state.[30]

Whereas the fate of Havelaar and his vision of reform can be said to contain many pertinent signifiers of colonial anxiety, both in the past and present as has been suggested elsewhere, Havelaar himself plays only a comparatively minor role in the current discussion.[31] Indeed, much of the evidence in support of spatial anxiety in colonial terms for the novel is to be found in the character of Mrs. Slotering. Mr. Slotering was Havelaar's immediate predecessor as Assistant Resident of Lebak, though he died in mysterious circumstances prior to the beginning of the narrative. It is strongly implied in the novel that Mr. Slotering was poisoned due to the position he had in complaining of the cruelties that the colonial state, in the form of Dutch colonial officials and native chiefs, inflicted upon the indigenous populations who worked as cultivators. This is particularly connected to the cultivation system, whereby land and labour were exploited to the benefit of the Dutch colonial state.[32] The most common grievance aired in *Max Havelaar* is that of extortion, both in terms of non-payment for goods and the extraction of unpaid labour. Intriguingly for Havelaar, these were the same abuses that he resolved.[33]

The character of Mrs. Slotering is most visible in *Max Havelaar* due to her continued habitation in the Assistant Resident's official house after her husband's death. This is explained by her having been heavily pregnant with no other reasonable accommodation options available; her continued residence in another part of the house is gladly facilitated by the Havelaars.[34] What was curious about her continued habitation was that she kept herself secluded away from the Havelaar family and their guests, almost to the point of rudeness. Havelaar, in his affable manner, later dismisses this as nothing more than a form of wounded pride, or perhaps anxiety, at no longer being the mistress of the house, and her not speaking Dutch, and duly invites her to coffee with his family and guests.[35] At this juncture, it must be commented that Havelaar himself had missed the subtle nuances of suffering experienced by

27   Multatuli, *Max Havelaar, or The Coffee Auctions of the Dutch Trading Company*, Nahuÿs, Alphonse (trans), Edmonston & Douglas, (Edinburgh, 1868), pp. 129-133.
28   Anne-Marie Feenberg, 'Max Havelaar: An Anti-Imperialist Novel', *MLN*, 112(5), Comparative Literature Issue, (Dec., 1997), pp. 818-819.
29   Multatuli, pp. 24-25; 407.
30   Darren C. Zook, 'Searching for Max Havelaar: Multatuli, Colonial History, and the Confusion of Empire', *MLN*, 121(5), Comparative Literature Issue, (Dec. 2006), pp. 1169-1170.
31   Author (2021).

32   Ulbe Bosma, 'The Cultivation System (1830-1870) and its Private Entrepreneurs on Colonial Java', Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, 38(2), (Jun. 2007), pp. 275-77.
33   Multatuli, pp. 144-145.
34   Multatuli, pp. 104-105.
35   Multatuli, p. 205.

Mrs. Slotering, a woman of native ancestry. Whereas Javan's suffering is particularly well highlighted in the tale of Saidjah and Adinda included in the text and is reinforced by the striking images provided in the 1977 feature film of *Max Havelaar*, Mrs. Slotering's specific anxieties and lack of agency due to them, have often been side-lined in favour of the more visible and reaction-provoking tragedy of Saidjah and Adinda. As such, it is contended that the Assistant Resident's house may also be seen as a site or space of colonial anxiety and suffering.[36] Whereas the choice of secluding herself away from others, in a familiar space to protect against the myriad of threats in an uncertain colonial world outside, was understandable in terms of colonial anxiety in the way of Guha and gentlemen's clubs. It is in her continued erratic behaviour and her own identity as a native woman, which we may discover more signifiers of anxiety, colonial, or otherwise.[37] Since Mrs. Slotering's stability, in terms of culture and security, were provided by her now deceased husband, her standing in the colonial space was complicated owing to her native ancestry and her association with the ruling Dutch class. Again, seclusion was perhaps a reasonable strategy to have adopted with this in mind. Intriguingly, this also allows a separate view of colonial anxiety that is most visible for a twenty-first century reader. Through the postcolonial prism, owing to the Dutch East Indies had long since gained independence. Conversely, as Annemarie Kets-Vree has commented, this time lag could also cause difficulties of understanding for the modern-day reader.[38]

The Assistant Resident's holdings encompassed a large garden or meadow by which any manner of threat may have approached the house. It is this fear of an unknown intruder or assailant, which appears to plague Mrs. Slotering, due to the death or perhaps murder of her husband.[39] The idea that a supposedly safe European cultural space, such as the Assistant Resident's house, could be violated by an outsider, and possibly an unfriendly native, was seemingly a cause of great anxiety for Mrs. Slotering. This can be witnessed in her frequently observing any strangers that approached the house and her eating separately from the Havelaars, both of which constitute signifiers of anxiety.[40] Due to the colonial context, we may classify these as signifiers of colonial anxiety also. Although her allegedly 'safe' European space had been breached once before, she seemingly still viewed its walls as the most secure protection against the outside world. In her case, there was a supposed direct threat to her stability in the empire, exhibited as a sort of colonial neurosis to those around her, stemming from her exaggerated reactions to outwardly normal situations.[41] This was in opposition to more generalized cultural dangers which gentlemen's clubs were used to combat.

PRIVATE COLONIAL SPACES AS A FORM OF CONFINEMENT

Whereas the previous section discussed the concept of private European spaces as a sort of refuge in physical and cultural terms, this section grapples with the more restrictive aspects of such spaces described in colonial literature. As such, the argument will be that such spaces could become akin to prisons for unwilling inhabitants. It has been noted above how Mrs. Slotering chose to lock herself away in the Assistant Resident's house out of fear, but this

36   Paul Bijl, *Emerging Memory: Photographs of Colonial Atrocity in Dutch Cultural Remembrance*, Amsterdam University Press, (Amsterdam, 2015), pp. 206-208.
37   Guha, pp. 482-485.
38   Annemarie Kets-Vree, 'Dutch Scholarly Editing: The Historical-Critical Edition in Practice', *Text*, 13, (2000), p. 133.

39   Multatuli, p. 375.
40   Multatuli, p. 373.
41   Vikram Patel, Jane Mutambirwa & Sekai Nhiwatiwa, 'Stressed, Depressed, or Bewitched? A Perspective on Mental Health, Culture, and Religion', *Development in Practice*, 5(3), (Aug. 1995), p. 217.

was a conscious decision made on her own part and is rightly discussed separately. The depiction of Xavier's school in Rudyard Kipling's novel, *Kim*, is an excellent example of the kind of highly structured space in the colonial setting which could cause signifiers of colonial anxiety in its inhabitants. It is commonly observed that students at boarding and preparatory schools, particularly young men, often grow tired of rules and regulations, and seek to escape their form of confinement by pushing against the establishment. Effectively, this may be seen as a rejection of conventional precepts and the attempt by such institutions to eliminate individuality.[42] This was particularly true of the character of Kim. What is particularly intriguing about the current methodology, however, is that whereas the adult examples seen in *Burmese Days* and *Max Havelaar* view the colonial sphere as uncertain and threatening, Kipling's Kim sees the open road and myriad of colonial zones as exciting and full of adventure. This is a striking differentiation, but it can perhaps be explained by Kim's youth and the style of imperial narrative Kipling has sought.[43]

Kim is effectively a novel based on a street urchin, Kimble O'Hara, the orphaned son of an Irish soldier, "a poor white of the very poorest", who grows up to navigate the complex cultural sphere of colonial India and his own status as a sahib.[44] The novel is set in the years between the second and third Afghan wars, likely 1893-1898. Kipling used Kim as a medium through which to suggest the alleged dynamism and excitement associated with young colonial servants in the empire; or as Ann Parry has commented, to "*falsify the historical actuality by representing the internal state of India as a place*

that rejoices in its cosmopolitanism."[45] As such, the story arc whereby Kim becomes involved in the so-called 'great game' of espionage in South Asia was consistent with Kipling's objective. Prior to his 'official' incorporation as a British agent, Kim is depicted as a mischievous urchin who delights in the sights and sounds around him and who has firmly attached himself to native cultures quite apart from his own.[46] His friendship and travels with Mahbub Ali, an Afghan horse trader and British spy, and Teshoo Lama, the former abbot of a Tibetan monastery called Such Zen, now undertaking a personal pilgrimage of enlightenment, both underline this and are developed as key plot details.[47] This also, perhaps, makes him an enabling character for the maintenance of British domination, made possible by his youth and hybrid cultural identity.[48]

In the course of events, Kim serves as a courier for Mahbub Ali, acting where Mahbub could not, to deliver intelligence, disguised as a horse's pedigree, to the British Spymaster Colonel Creighton. Following his success and his encounter with his late father's regiment, the Mavericks, Kim is enrolled at Xavier's school in order to make a pukka sahib out of him with all of the gentlemanly expectations that came with it, as outlined by Gopinath.[49] Although Kim wishes nothing more than to return to his life of adventure with Mahbub Ali and Teshoo Lama on the road, he is persuaded by all that education will do him the best service in life.[50] This struggle between his adventurous desires and his understanding of duty becomes a key

[42] Reuven Kahane, 'Multicode Organizations: A Conceptual Framework for the Analysis of Boarding Schools', *Sociology of Education*, 61(4), (Oct. 1988), p. 211.
[43] Clara Claiborne Park, 'Artist of Empire: Kipling and Kim', *The Hudson Review*, 55(4), (Winter, 2003), pp. 540-541.
[44] Rudyard Kipling, *Kim*, The Folio Society, (London, 2016), p. 3

[45] Ann Parry, 'Recovering the Connection Between *Kim* and Contemporary History', in *Kim: A Norton Critical Edition*, Rudyard Kipling (Author), Zohreh T. Sullivan (ed), Norton, (New York, 2002), pp. 310-313.
[46] Kipling, pp. 6-9.
[47] Kipling, pp. 24-25; 29-32.
[48] Nick Scott, 'The Representation of the Orient in Rudyard Kipling's "Kim"', *AAA: Arebeiten aus Anglistik und Amerikanistik*, 39(2), (2014), p. 181.
[49] Gopinath, p. 205.
[50] Kipling, pp. 111-115.

aspect in the second half of the novel, and it is linked to the message of colonial service and pride which Kipling uses to underpin *Kim.*[51]

The source of Kim's angst or colonial anxiety, then, is tied up in his dissatisfaction at having to remain at Xavier's. The depiction of Xavier's school itself was allegedly inspired by La Martinière College, Lucknow. Founded in 1845 and having received royal battle honours for the staff and pupils' response to the 1857 rebellion, it was certainly likely that Kipling was aware of the school given *Kim's* extensive focus on Lucknow.[52] Kim's description of Xavier's certainly presents a prison-like structure, with the stone façade, strict hierarchy, and behavioural patterns of his classmates proving signifiers of anxiety for him as he yearned for the open road.[53] An imposing edifice such as that of La Martinière or the imagined Xavier's school might easily have negatively compared with the ever-changing sights and sounds of the open road. A compromise was, however, later reached that allowed Kim to travel openly during the school holidays.[54] As argued, this amounts to a removal of the organized cultural space in order to alleviate colonial anxiety. However, it is intriguing that removal from a strict cultural space such as Xavier's could amount to liberation from colonial anxiety in one colonial novel, and yet be presented as a danger in others. Such a development demonstrates the highly mutable properties of anxiety, and indeed colonial anxiety, and underlines the importance of incorporating diverse and nuanced representations into the discussion of anxiety in colonial literature.

The case of Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* is perhaps the most stylistically linked to the concept of colonial anxiety of the texts mentioned thus far due to the comparative lateness of the text, only being first published in 1981. This is compared to *Burmese Days* in 1934, *Max Havelaar* in 1860, and *Kim* in 1901. *Midnight's Children* has been deliberately included in this comparative study in order to both offer a later perspective, as well as to make use of Rushdie's incorporation of postcolonial and postmodern literary techniques. It might be argued from the outset that *Midnight's Children* is the most likely place to find signifiers of colonial anxiety due to Rushdie's successful use of allegory, magical realism, and symbolism throughout. Indeed, Rushdie's usage of the perforated sheet is perhaps the most well-known postcolonial symbol in the text. Through a hole in the sheet, Dr. Aadam Aziz, the narrator Saleem Sinai's maternal grandfather, falls in love with his future wife, Naseem Ghani, in various stages or pieces as he was continuously called in to treat the various parts of her anatomy, seen only through a seven-inch hole in the sheet.[55] Consequently, there was never a unified loving cohesion between them, and their relationship remained fragmented; this is also tied to the ultimate fate of India, Pakistan, and Kashmir.[56]

The story of *Midnight's Children* chronicles the Sinai family and events leading up to the partition of India. Saleem, the narrator and protagonist, is revealed to be one of approximately one-thousand children born between midnight and 1:00 am on 15 August 1947, all of whom have been bestowed with varying degrees of magical power.[57] The progression of the narrative, incorporating aspects such as illness, death,

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[51] Nicole E. Didicher, 'Adolescence, Imperialism, and Identity in "Kim" and "Pegasus in Flight"', *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal*, 34(2), A Special Issue: Children's Literature, (June 2001), pp. 149-151.
[52] John Fraser, 'The Role of La Martiniere College in the Siege of Lucknow', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 65(261), (Spring, 1987), pp. 5-19.
[53] Kipling, pp. 121-122; 129-133.
[54] Kipling, pp. 135-136.

[55] Salman Rushdie, *Midnight's Children*, Vintage Books, (London, 2006), pp. 25-26.
[56] Patrick Colm Hogan, 'Midnight's Children: Kashmir and the Politics of Identity', *Twentieth Century Literature*, 47(4), Salman Rushdie, (Winter, 2001), pp. 513-514.
[57] Rushdie, pp. 272-274.

and poverty, as well as historical events such as the Jalianwala Bagh massacre and the partition of India, may be said to be heavily laden with signifiers of colonial anxiety.[58] Despite these being potent examples, they are, however, beyond the remit of the current study due to the particular interest in colonial spaces and anxiety. Moreover, the chosen case study from *Midnight's Children* comes from chapter seven of book one, chiefly concerned with the purchase of a house in Bombay from William Methwold.

Methwold is introduced as an Englishman who is selling up his Indian estate and is returning to England. His property is divided up into four identical houses, each named after a famous European palace; for example, Versailles and Buckingham villas.[59] The Sinai family seek to purchase one of these houses, eventually being Buckingham villa, but are astounded to discover that there are two eccentric clauses that are attached to the sale. First, the house must be sold with all its contents, and none of these were to be removed. This ties into Sara Upstone's arguments regarding houses breaking free from connections to the larger colonial structure.[60] Second, equally as curious, is that the transaction is not to be completed until midnight on 15 August 1947, signifying the connection between Methwold leaving India and India's independence.[61] Although Methwold's 'game' is presented as an eccentricity of a departing old sahib, the allegorical connotation used by Rushdie firmly links the maintenance of his former estate with the postcolonial hangover to be experienced by independent India. It is, effectively, an extension of colonial domination and the failure

of a house, or the desired home, in breaking free from colonial structures. The retention of existing structures, in both the private context and the national one, was perhaps inevitable due to the haphazard construction of independent India and partition, marking a point of colonial anxiety.

In *Midnight's Children*, the Sinai family is noted to have been greatly discomfited being required to live amongst Methwold's Eurocentric possessions and having to live out of a suitcase, one of the more trivial irritations.[62] At the heart of the situation, however, was the inability to adequately define the newly acquired private space according to personal preference. This effectively meant that the supposed 'safe' space of physical and cultural stability, often referred to as home, was still dictated by pre-existing forces, amounting to continued domination, causing unease. Samir Dayal has highlighted it as a lack of self-designation.[63] This unease was, as such, a potent signifier of colonial anxiety. What is curious about this situation, however, is that the phenomenon of colonial anxiety can be seen to work on both the colonizer and colonized, effectively cementing the colonial encounter as one that caused anxiety for both parties in terms of space. This is not something widely commented upon for earlier examples of colonial literature, such as *Burmese Days* or *Kim*.

It must be acknowledged, however, that the angst caused by the Methwold situation was most severely felt by the Sinai family, who had to adapt to their new reality in terms of private habitation and public national spaces. This was not limited to the colonial-era material culture in their private space, but also in the customs that they unknowingly adopted as a result of their habitation of the Methwold estate. Again,

[58] Rushdie, pp. 40-42; 146-51.
[59] Rushdie, p. 125.
[60] Sara Upstone, 'Domesticity in Magical-Realist Postcolonial Fiction: Reversals of Representation in Salman Rushdie's "Midnight's Children"', *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 28(1/2), Domestic Frontiers: The Home and Colonization (2007), pp. 265-66.
[61] Jean M. Kane & Rushdie, 'The Migrant Intellectual and the Body of History: Salman Rushdie's Midnight's Children', *Contemporary Literature*, 37(1), (Spring, 1996), p. 105.

[62] Rushdie, p. 126.
[63] Samir Dayal, 'Talking Dirty: Salman Rushdie's Midnight's Children', *College English*, 54(4), (Apr. 1992), p. 432.

the comparison with wider colonial India is apparent in Rushdie's writing. The most visible element of this in connection with Methwold to the reader was his habit of drinking cocktails at a certain hour, which sharply brings into focus the forced hybridity of the situation. This was an unwitting habit that was picked up by the Sinai family and incorporated into their daily lives, acting as a sort of stamp left upon them by the colonial encounter. The change of speech and linguistic patterns by family members was also an unintended result of this encounter with the private colonial space, which underwent an indistinct transfer of custodianship from Methwold to the Sinai family.[64]

The final and most lasting of Methwold's impact on the Sinai family's private space was the insinuation that Saleem is Methwold's biological son. This occurred as a result of Methwold having seduced Saleem's biological mother, Vanita, the wife of the street performer Wee Willie Winkie.[65] Mary Pereira, the midwife at the hospital, then swapped the babies as an act of rebellion against the colonial order and state. This act was inspired by her devotion to her sweetheart, the communist radical Joseph D'Costa.[66] Consequently, baby Shiva was raised by Vanita and Wee Willie Winkie, while Saleem was brought up by Ahmed and Amina Sinai. Saleem was, therefore, an extremely potent symbol of colonialism's lasting legacy in the subcontinent, and was identifiable as a remnant of Methwold and the British occupation. In a broader sense, Rushdie's use of symbolism in the colonial legacy is also linked to the concept of postcolonial haunting, as discussed by Michael F. O'Reilly.[67] This effectively brings awareness of colonial history and legacies to the present. Being born at the moment of India's independence,

Saleem's identity is presented as very much tied up in that of free India.[68] The confused state of affairs was, however, largely unknown to the characters of *Midnight's Children*. Methwold, as a departing sahib severing ties to India can be said to have been uncaring, mirroring the slapdash approach to independence and partition, while Mary Pereira fell into deep mourning and repentance due to the guilt over what she had done.[69] Anxiety can be plainly seen, though it is perhaps the reader of *Midnight's Children* that is the most prone to it, and indeed the intended recipient of it due to Rushdie's guile, which heralded a new form of postcolonial novel dominated by migrants and diasporas.[70]

Conclusion

It has been suggested that the use of spaces, particularly in the colonial context, has an especially strong connection to the phenomenon of anxiety. Anxiety, not being a fixed nor singular indivisible whole, stands to reason, which there are many different stages and severities of the effect. By incorporating anxiety, and in particular colonial anxiety, into the discussion of space, it can be seen how the effect can be imagined to play out in various circumstances. In viewing colonial anxiety in spaces through the medium of colonial literature, it might perhaps be contended that a somewhat sterile environment is being used, owing to the lack of empirical sources such as correspondence or diaries. Such an approach is already underway elsewhere, and this is, however, also rather the point of what the current study has sought. It is in the depictions brought to life by novelists such as Orwell, Multatuli, Kipling, and Rushdie that the search

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64   Rushdie, pp. 126; 131-132.
65   Rushdie, p. 136.
66   Rushdie, pp. 165-176.
67   Michael F. O'Reilly, 'Postcolonial Haunting: Anxiety, Affect, and the Situated Encounter', *Postcolonial Text*, 3(4), (2007), pp. 1-3.

68   Indira Karamcheti, 'Salman Rushdie's "Midnight's Children" and an Alternate Genesis', *Pacific Coast Philology*, 21(1/2), (Nov. 1986), p. 81.
69   Rushdie, pp. 137-140.
70   Josna E. Rege, 'Victim into Protagonist? "Midnight's Children" and the Post-Rushdie National Narratives of the Eighties', *Studies in the Novel*, 29(3), Postcolonialism, History, and the Novel, (Fall, 1997), p. 345.

for signifiers of anxiety has been centered. In each case, it has been demonstrated that they were aware of the problem linking anxiety and space in the colonial zone, with it often having important ramifications for their characters.

At the outset, drawing on the work of Guha and Blunt, in particular, it was stated that the inability to be at home in the empire was seen as a core component of this study. Whereas each example supplied above presented a scene whereby the characters had shelter, so to speak, there was distinct anxiety caused by the space, or the use of it, in each case. This, as has been discussed, had consequences for the characters of varying identities and loci examined. It has also served to underline that there is a view in the wider scholarship that it was not just the privileged western sahibs who suffered from colonial anxiety as a result of the colonial encounter. Although the concept of space was almost exclusively discussed above, this anxiety, it is argued, was strongly tied up in the colonial encounter and legacy, and is a vital part of postcolonial discussions.

Finally, the usage of literary and sociological methodologies to approach the problem of colonial anxiety is seen as a relevant strand of the next step in grappling with the issue. Interdisciplinary markers must be laid down across the various disciplines, with interest in the colonial encounter to identify where anxiety comes into play in the various methodologies. It is contended that colonial anxiety is far too large but inadequately defined as a subject for one discipline or scholar to attempt to be classified alone. In particular, the habit of viewing colonial anxiety as a fixed object without flexibility or mutability is a hindrance in elements of the wider scholarship. Authors of literature concerned with the colonial encounter can, as suggested, unpick strands of anxiety through their creation of characters, situations, and spaces. Hence, this is a particularly exciting area for future discussions and debates on colonial anxiety.

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