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Redrawing Boundaries: Gender and Colonial Space in the Writings of Jean Rhys and Katherine Mansfield

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*Colonialism, as a material, discursive and imaginative process was based on constructing colonized territories and native populations in rigid and specific ways. Colonized territories were depicted as lush, wild and hostile, the opposite or 'other' to the colonizing nation. A spatial binary of civilized and ordered metropolises contrasted with unruly and disorganized colonies, marginalized and subordinated the latter. Yet, colonialism's attempts to organize and control differences often met opposition from those who existed in ambivalent spaces that didn't fit colonial binaries. This paper explores the work of two such authors Jean Rhys and Katherine Mansfield and argues that their writings subvert and challenge colonial boundaries by depicting spaces as fluid and heterogeneous. As white women from the colonies (Caribbean and New Zealand respectively) Rhys and Mansfield occupied liminal positions, unable to fit within colonial binaries of white and native, they were marked as inferior due to their social background as well as gender. This gave them unique insight into the patriarchal colonial system and its arbitrary boundaries. Focusing on Rhys' novels *Wide Sargasso Sea* and *Voyage in the Dark* and Mansfield's short stories *Prelude* and *At The Bay* this paper examines the blurring of colonized, native and metropolitan spaces in these works. Analyzing the authors' depiction of natural spaces, this paper further argues that Rhys and Mansfield highlight instances of colonial insecurity and expose the shaky foundations of colonial knowledge. By eschewing the male, colonizing gaze Rhys and Mansfield depict spaces as contradictory and multidimensional and in this process break down colonial walls and boundaries.*

Colonialism was marked by its desire to control and order differences, in its imagining of colonized territories and populations, it strove to construct clear boundaries and hierarchies. Yet, despite these efforts, colonialism, both as a material and discursive process, generated a vast amount of difference and ambivalence that couldn't be wholly ignored or contained within strict binaries. Critiques of colonial systems of ordering often came from identities relegated to the margins, forced to occupy the gaps created by these systems. In this paper, focusing on chosen works by Katherine Mansfield and Jean Rhys, I will explore how their writings re-imagine and challenge ideas of colonial space and attempt to problematize the barriers and boundaries created by colonialism.

Allison Blunt and Gillian Rose comment that "spatially sensitive feminist critiques can undermine the status of both colonial maps and traditional mappings of colonialism by viewing space as more fluid than fixed" (12). As white colonial women writing in twentieth century metropolises, Jean

Rhys and Katherine Mansfield had to navigate many identities, archetypes and prejudices both in their written work and personal lives. Ambivalently situated, in a colonial system that insisted on rigid categories, these authors displayed a unique insight into imperial and gender hierarchies and their effect on women. Writing from liminal positions Rhys and Mansfield constantly question and trouble colonial notions of demarcated and hierarchical spaces.

The daughter of a Welsh planter and white Creole mother, Jean Rhys was born in Dominica and spent her childhood there, moving to England at the age of sixteen. In her essay about Rhys and her creole identity Helen Carr comments on Rhys' double alienation. As a white creole growing up in Dominica she 'repeatedly discovered she was alien, suspect and even hated' by the black populace (Carr 43). In the early twentieth century both white and black West Indians faced prejudice in England, particularly in the class system of the metropole that assigned a strong importance to accents. On her arrival to England Rhys' accent immediately marked her as different and turned her into a victim of prejudice (45). Her subsequent occupation as a chorus girl and her status as a 'kept woman' caused her to slip further down the social hierarchy. (49-50) Carr argues that this alienation formed the background to "her profound insights into the workings of the hierarchical and coercive imperialist English social system" (43). This sense of being 'othered' permeates Rhys' novels; her protagonists occupy unstable positions in complex and shifting hierarchies. Overflowing rigid boundaries and positioned at the margins of society they provide an alternate gaze that disturbs colonial definitions.

A desire to escape the 'cultural vacuity' of New Zealand and her family's middle class values pushed Katherine Mansfield to permanently move to Europe in 1908. Yet, Mansfield's ties to her past come through in her writing, Elleke Boehmer notes that her New Zealand origins and status as a colonial writer in England emerges in the awareness of "colonial geography" and "cultural and racial difference" in her works ("Mansfield as Colonial Modernist" 57-58). White colonials had an inferior position to Anglo-American metropolitans, "their sense of place in Britain and the rest of Europe was not comparable with that of the British and the Americans" (61).

As a young colonial in England, Mansfield experimented with impersonations- using different names, indulging in mimicry, performing versions of herself as the exotic other ‘Japanese or Maori’ (Wilson, “Where is Katherine” 176-177). Janet Wilson argues that this “dramatized and reflected her positioning between cultures” (“Where is Katherine” 177). For Wilson “her double expatriation” led to a splitting and multiplying of identity that “made her adaptable... and receptive to diverse experiences” (“Where is Katherine” 177). Mansfield’s short stories ruminate on the multi-layered nature of identities, often depicting the inner life of women trapped by colonial and patriarchal ideas of gender. Mansfield’s women illuminate the complexity and breadth of female experiences and provide unique perspectives that re-imagine spaces as diverse and open ended.

Rhys and Mansfield’s multifaceted identities and their positioning in the interstices between white, coloured, colonial and metropolitan worlds is reflected in a more fluid conception of urban, domestic and natural spaces. Focusing on Jean Rhys’ *Wide Sargasso Sea* and *Voyage in Dark* and Mansfield’s famous New Zealand short stories “Prelude” and “At the Bay” I hope to highlight how these authors play with spatial divisions, redraw boundaries and question defined categories.

The principal characters of *Wide Sargasso Sea* and *Voyage in the Dark* are creole women of (allegedly) white descent. Both texts cast shadows on this whiteness, alluding to colonial fears of miscegenation and degeneration in the Caribbean. Kenneth Ramchand notes that the Caribbean planter class was believed to have interbred with and imbued the moral values of the natives (Ramchand 33). In *Wide Sargasso Sea*, by referring to her “[l]ong, sad, dark alien eyes,” Antoinette’s husband frames her as the other- “Creole of pure English descent she may be, but [she is] not English or European either” (56). In *Voyage in the Dark* Anna’s stepmother Hester hints at her coloured ancestry and cultural ties to black Dominicans- “[t]hat awful sing-song voice you had! Exactly like a nigger you talked – and still do” (56). In England, Anna’s accent and background immediately mark her out as different. H. Adlai Murdoch argues that Anna is doubly inscribed and suspended “between both the black and white creole worlds and those of the Caribbean and of the metropole” (152). Antoinette and Anna with their plural and overlapping

identities defy easy classification, they are “overdetermined yet unidentifiable” (Tiffin 377), colonial discourse privileges as well as others them, inscribing them as “almost the same *but not quite*” (Bhabha 96). Anna and Antoinette’s ambivalent position within the colonial system is reflected in how they navigate and imagine spaces. They “deploy the cultural hybridity of their borderline conditions to ‘translate’, and therefore reinscribe, the social imaginary of... [the] metropolis” (Bhabha 16).

In both the *Wide Sargasso Sea* and *Voyage in the Dark* images from the West Indies disturb the hierarchical relationship between the metropolitan centre (England) and the colonial periphery (Caribbean). *Voyage in the Dark* opens with Anna imagining herself in Dominica, she comments: “I would pretend I was standing outside the house at home, looking down Market Street to The Bay” (7). This foreshadows a common theme in the text; Anna’s memories of Dominica weave through her life in England and as images from the colonial periphery intrude into the metropole, the boundaries of English spaces are blurred. The heat of the fire becomes sun heat (7), tap water transforms into a waterfall (77), the path to Constance Estate is mapped onto the darkness of Anna’s bedroom (128) and England and Dominica merge into a seamless island (140). For Anna, sometimes England is a dream, “[a]t other times England [is] the real thing and out there [is] the dream”(8).

Antoinette in *Wide Sargasso Sea* echoes this theme, yet for her it is London that is the dream. Rejecting her husband’s argument that a place with “millions of people” must be real she insists that “a big city is like a dream” (67). It is clear that Antoinette has a fixed idea of England. Her husband comments, “[h]er mind was already made up. Some romantic novel... a picture, a song... her ideas were fixed... I could not change them” (78). Even while in England she questions its reality, thinking, “[t]his cardboard house where I walk at night is not England” (148). It is noteworthy that Antoinette’s ideas of England seem to draw upon iconographic stories and pictures. Boehmer presenting empire as a “textual exercise” argues, “from the early days of colonization,... not only texts in general, but literature... underpinned efforts to interpret other lands” (Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature* 14-15). As such, Antoinette’s England viewed through a prism of

text and imagery subverts, even parodies the colonial gaze in its textual construction of colonised territories. Colonial discourse reflects, “[t]he insecurity surrounding colonial interpretation” (89) in the use of words evoking “mystery and inarticulateness” (89) to describe colonised landscapes. By representing England as dreamlike and unreadable Antoinette disturbs this discourse, placing the metropole in the gaze of the colony. Anna and Antoinette’s perceptions of England problematise the clear demarcation and hierarchical ordering of colonial and metropolitan space.

In a similar questioning of rigid boundaries Mansfield’s short stories “Prelude” and “At the Bay” indicate the liminality of white settler space in colonial New Zealand. Set in the countryside, these texts focus on the inner and outer lives of the Burnell family. The stories unfold against a beautiful and seemingly idyllic landscape, yet the stability of this space is constantly disturbed as “death, violence, [and] weird botany” intrude “into the orderly and apparently secure pastoral landscape” (“Mansfield as Colonial Modernist” 62).

Lottie and Kezia’s journey to their new home, in the beginning of “Prelude” positions the domesticity of the Burnell’s daily life against a wild and unfamiliar backdrop, hinting at future themes that emerge in both stories. The girls note that in the night “[e]verything [looks] different – the painted wooden houses far smaller than they [do] by day, the gardens far bigger and wilder” (“Prelude” 60). This “wild natural space” dominating the “orderly domestic one” foreshadows the subsequent presentation of the Burnell’s garden as an ambivalent space in which the wild and the cultivated uneasily coexist (Rudig 7-8). The tame and flowery garden with a “high box border” and paths with “box edges” erupts into “frightening” wildness on the other side of the drive with “tall dark trees and strange bushes with flat velvet leaves and feathery cream flowers that buzzed with flies when you shook them” (“Prelude” 72).

This recurrent movement between the familiar and the unfamiliar, with an English style garden located at the brink of wilderness indicates “the settler’s need for points of safety or cultural familiarity” (Brown- Berens 121). Yet the constant recurrence of the unfamiliar and disorderly highlights the porous boundaries of such a space. While the “domesticated space of the

garden exists in sharp contrast to the recently settled land beyond” (Brock 58), it experiences frequent intrusions of the uncanny (Freud 2). In the same garden, during her wanderings Kezia encounters the “fat swelling” aloe tree with its “cruel leaves and fleshy stem” (“Prelude” 73). Anthropomorphized and described as radically different the aloe stands out from its tamed background, representing people and territories beyond the settled areas. Mansfield’s descriptions highlight the resilience of the Aloe and its deep ties to the land; it clings so tightly to the earth that “it might have... claws instead of roots” (73). Its body that “no wind [could] ever shake” (73) points to the permanence and endurance of native populations and indicates their refusal to be erased or invisibilised by colonial narratives. By interrupting the domesticated space of the settler garden, the aloe acts as a powerful disturbance to the myth of colonial hegemony.

At night, the garden appears beautiful and alive: “[s]o bright was the moon that the flowers were bright as by day” (“At the Bay” 368). To Beryl it seems like a feminine arena of hope and solace, with “the beautiful night, the garden, every bush, every leaf... the white palings, [and] the stars” participating in her romantic imaginings (368). Yet when she steps out of her house to join Harry Kember the familiar becomes frightening: “now she was here she was terrified, and it seemed to her everything was different... the shadows were like bars of iron” (370). As Harry Kember climbs over the gate and enters the Burnell’s garden the feminine space of “co-conspirators” (368) is transformed into a violent masculine one, destroying the illusion of safety within the white settler space. Angela Smith argues that in Mansfield’s New Zealand stories “characters suddenly feel themselves to be in danger where they [think] they [are] safest, in the supposedly known world of home” (xxxi). Continuing this theme of intrusions violence suddenly enters the picturesque setting of the stream with its quacking ducks. Mansfield describes the beheading of the duck, the spurting of its blood and the mechanical waddling of its headless body in grotesque detail alluding to “the proximity of wild, irrational forces to the ordered, civilised world” and the violent and “disruptive legacy of colonialism” (“Prelude” 81, 82; Wilson, Mansfield as (Post) colonial- Modernist” 37).

“Difference and otherness” bother and disrupt the boundaries of the Burnell homestead, they are “a pressure, and a presence, that [act] constantly” (Bhabha 109). These intrusions question the self- containment of the settler colony; they break down the rigid demarcation of white settler space and indicate the proximity of the land beyond and the colonial other, whose oppression and othering enables the existence of this all-white space.

In the Rhetoric of Empire David Spurr argues that the construction of nature in opposition to culture and civilization can be traced not only to overt imperialist discourse but can be found in the works of prominent western theorists like Rousseau and John Stuart Mills (156, 157). Such a construction also views non-European people as primitive children of nature. In the colonies the natural world (often connected to and substituted for the native people) is seen as an arena of threat and disorder, it represents a “form of chaos that calls for restoration of order... [an] absence that calls for affirming presence,... [and a] natural abundance that awaits the creative hand of technology” (28). Rhys and Mansfield’s work questions this dichotomous categorization of nature and culture by portraying these categories as unstable and overlapping, history and culture intrude into natural spaces shaping them physically and symbolically. The ‘threatening wilderness’ of the colonised land is interrogated and unmade in interesting ways. These authors also problematize the construction of the colony as a “feminized landscape” to be “conquered and penetrated” by the male colonizer (Blunt and Rose 10). They highlight the insecurity of colonization by focusing on the male frustration and fear that accompanies a loss of spatial control.

Throughout *Voyage in the Dark* the enclosed and contained English environment is positioned against the Dominican landscape, with the latter becoming the standard of comparison. Anna’s first view of the English countryside describes the rigid demarcation of natural space: “a small tidy look it had everywhere fenced off from everywhere else” (*Voyage in the Dark* 15). The tree outside her room at Southsea is “lopped... like a man with stumps instead of arms and legs” (9). Even while admiring the beauty of Savernake Forest she notes: “something had happened to it. It was as if the wildness had gone out of it” (67). Most of Anna’s observations stress on the stunted and

lifeless quality of English nature, subtly critiquing colonialism's "desire to turn wilderness into dependent, subservient garden" (Savory 88). In a scene inverting the fear associated with wild colonial landscapes Anna is discomfited by a rubber plant: "I couldn't take my eyes off it [...] it fitted in with the house the street and the spiked iron railings outside" (*Voyage in the Dark* 30). The "bright red... five pointed leaves" of the plant and its artificial permanence seem almost menacing (30).

Yet Rhys does not stereotype the Caribbean by offering it as a tropical paradise that provides an easy escape from dreary England. While Anna's memories of the Caribbean are filled with love and yearning they are also brimming with currents of tension and fear. A fond reminiscence of the road to Constance Estate gives way to a frightening interaction with a beggar woman without a nose or a mouth who "seemed as though she were laughing"(130) at her. Moonlight rows with Black Pappy are inundated with the fear of the barracoutas, the "hundreds of them - swimming by the side of the boat, waiting to snap" (46). The sky and the sun appear anthropomorphic and frightening, "[t]he sky [is] terribly blue... [and] the sun... can be terrible, like God" (63). In imbuing the Caribbean with different shades of emotions Rhys paints it as a complex landscape that refutes singular meaning.

In *Wide Sargasso Sea* Antoinette has a similarly complicated relationship with the land. Antoinette's childhood is far from idyllic, estranged from the white planter class, as "the Jamaican ladies had never approved of [her] mother" (15), and rejected by the black population who "hated us. They called us white cockroaches" (20)—, she is unable to find her place in post Emancipation Jamaica. Her childhood is filled with scenes of alienation and horror- Members of the local black population kill her horse (16) and burn down her home, Coulibri Estate, in a fire that kills her baby brother (33), and a mulatto boy and black girl follow her to school whispering threatening warnings (41). Rejected by the people, Antoinette turns to the land for solace; some of her happiest moments are at the bathing pool: "deep and dark green under the trees... so clear that you could see the pebbles at the bottom of the shallow part." (20) Later, after her fight with Tia she avoids the pool seeking out lonelier terrains "where there was no road, no path, no track" (24). In desolate areas, far away from humans she finds a modicum of peace, "a door

opened and [she] was somewhere else, something else” (24). Yet, there is no easy relationship between Antoinette and the land, unlike Tia who “fires always lit for her, sharp stones did not hurt her bare feet” (20), she is not immune to the threats of nature, she narrates: “razor grass cut my legs and arms... black ants or red ones... rain that soaked me to the skin - once I saw a snake” (24).

Antoinette and Anna are inheritors of a past that has wreaked environmental and human destruction upon the Caribbean. European incursions into the Caribbean led to ‘a period of mass extinctions after 1492’, in relation to humans (Caribs) as well as plant and animal species” (Mardorossian 113). Both women are imprinted by this history and the guilt it entails. As second-generation colonial women with hints of mixed ancestries, Anna and Antoinette occupy complex roles that overflow colonial binaries. Positioned at the interstices of hierarchies they are unable to envision themselves as the colonial masters of the Caribbean and equally unable to position themselves amongst the native population. *Voyage in the Dark* and *Wide Sargasso Sea* portray this complicated relationship and explore its effects on identity. As Gayatri Spivak has argued, Rhys’ writing shows how “so intimate and personal thing as human identity might be determined by the politics of imperialism” (253).

Anna’s musings about Constance Estate are disturbed by the memory of an old slave list, the entry of “Maillotte Boyd, aged 18, mulatto, house servant” (*Voyage in The Dark* 48) echoes through her mind. Antoinette’s garden at Coulibri Estate “large and beautiful as that garden in the bible” has “gone wild... gone to bush” by the time the narrative opens (*Wide Sargasso Sea* 16-17). The garden and its ruin (due to the abolition of slavery) are physical reminders that tie Antoinette to a past of slave ownership. The Caribbean designates Antoinette a “white cockroach” (*Wide Sargasso Sea* 20) and Anna herself likens white people to woodlice (*Voyage in the Dark* 47). This term, comparing white people to a species of invasive insect haunts both narratives, troubling any easy and unidimensional relationship between Anna, Antoinette and the Caribbean landscape. The West Indies is thus imagined as a complicated and historically inscribed space holding multiple meanings and evoking a range of emotions and reactions.

It must be kept in mind that Rhys does not fully escape colonial binaries. This is evident in her portrayal of black characters as closer to nature and possessed of a more vibrant physicality. They seem to blur with the landscape as Anna's epithet of "black is warm and gay" (27) reverberates in her later description of the hues of the Dominican terrain - "The colours are red, purple, blue, gold, all shades of green" (47). Francine is "always laughing" and "singing to herself"; Rhys provides a sensuous description of Francine sucking on mangoes (58). In *Wide Sargasso Sea* Christophine sings to Antoinette (18) and is the source of all natural wisdom, scolding her for sleeping under the full moon (69). Antoinette's friend Tia is a part of the natural world, with feet that stones could not cut and an easy ability to fall asleep outdoors (20). Yet, in the text, by exposing the hypocrisy of the "patriarchal, settler and imperialist law" (Parry 38) Christophine emerges as the moral authority. Francine is painted with a complex inner life that is inaccessible to Anna, as is evident in the scene where she "looks sideways" at Anna with dislike "because [Anna] [is] white" (*Voyage in the Dark* 62).

Rhys' depiction of blackness as lively, physical and close to the earth draws on images and ideas current in the twentieth century *négritude* movement. "*Négritude*, constructed a reverse discourse out of nineteenth-century racial assumptions" yet its conception of blackness did not break free of colonial stereotypes (Carr 55). However, as Helen Carr argues, "Rhys's inversion of the usual assumptions of white superiority can be seen as a significant political statement, even if made without challenging the association of black people with physicality and passion" (55).

"At the Bay" and "Prelude" explore the uneasy relationship between white settlers and colonised terrain in a different way. The hierarchical relationship between the Burnell family and the land they occupy is blurred and broken down and rigid categories of human and nature are erased. The opening of "At the Bay" relegates humanity to the background, with landscape, flora and fauna taking center stage. The early morning mist obscures all signs of the colonial settlement as "[t]he sandy road was gone and the paddocks and bungalows the other side of it," rendering its boundaries invisible and leaving "nothing to mark which was beach and where was the

sea” (342). Here, Mansfield disturbs the proprietary colonial gaze as “the stillness of the bush, the disdain of the lofty islands for their huddled little pockets of colonial intruders [and] the silence of the vast sea- desert” (Alpers 322) challenge the settlers’ control over the terrain.

In both stories, series of comparisons, transformations, and transmutations elide the borders between human and nature. The poppy on Linda’s wallpaper comes alive, she can feel the “sticky, silky petals, the stem, hairy like a gooseberry skin, the rough leaf and the tight glazed bud” (“Prelude” 68) and in her dream a baby bird swells “growing bigger and bigger” (66) till it becomes a human baby. In *Kezia*, Lottie and Isabel’s game flowers and leaves are transformed into human food (21). In a later game the children themselves become a variety of animals and insects – “round the table there sat a bull, a rooster, a donkey that kept forgetting it was a donkey, a sheep and a bee” (“At the Bay” 361). Humans are constantly likened to animals – Pip and Rags “[twinkle] like spiders” (350), Mrs. Kember swims away quickly “like a rat” (353), Jonathan compares himself to “an insect that’s flown into a room of its own accord” (365) and Alice and the duck have “the same air of gloss and strain” (“Prelude” 85). Animals are anthropomorphized; at the beginning of “At the Bat” the thoughts and feelings of Wag (the sheepdog) and Florrie (the Burnell’s cat) rather than those of the Shepherd are revealed to us (343-344). Colonial binaries are overcome as both humans and animals are depicted along a fluid continuum.

In both Mansfield and Rhys’ texts men express anxiety over spaces that slip beyond their scope of control. Stanley Burnell’s position as the head of his household is a performance “that must be anxiously repeated” (Bhabha 66). He requires constant affirmations of his status from the women of the house; he expects them to participate in his comings and goings with appropriate vigour, joy and sadness. He is shocked that Beryl is “glad to be rid of him” (“At the Bay” 348). The succeeding passage that describes the women of the house relaxing and unwinding in his absence can easily be read as his insecure imagining of what goes on beyond his gaze and control (348).

Stanley treats his morning swim like an expedition, exulting in being the first to reach unconquered territory; on discovering that Jonathan Trout has beaten him to it he feels “cheated” (345). Here, the New Zealand sea is

figured as virgin territory waiting to be possessed by a man, the failure to be the first to possess it angers and upsets Stanley. In an expansion on this theme the Trout boys Pip and Rags dose their mongrel Snooker “with various awful mixtures” (78) and tie his head in a handkerchief to “train his ears to grow more close to his head” (80). Compared to the little girls the young boys display a desire to control and restrain nature.

Similar emotions of anxiety and a desire to possess and control can be seen in Antoinette’s husband in *Wide Sargasso Sea*. His discomfiture in the Caribbean is evident, he sees the land as “alien,” it is “not only wild but menacing,” possessed of a “disturbing, secret loveliness” that he can’t uncover: he wants “what it hides” (73). A desire to penetrate and appropriate “constitutes his entire approach to Antoinette and the alien west Indies” (Nixon 278). He blurs Antoinette and the terrain into one, hating them both for their “magic and loveliness,” for “the secret [he] would never know” (141). Antoinette on the other hand is comfortable with her “[uncertainty] about facts” (73), her inability to possess and understand the land, she says to her husband “It is not for you and not for me... it is as indifferent as this God you call on so often”(107). As more shadows are cast upon his marriage, his renaming of Antoinette betrays the insecurity of colonialism, its need to name, categorize, control, and “to avoid or delimit anything that eluded control” (Boehmer, *Colonial and Post Colonial Literatures* 102).

Rhys and Mansfield interrogate, challenge and re inscribe ‘colonial spaces’ in a myriad of ways. Their writings pose a direct challenge to colonial notions of space as bounded and fixed, they reimagine space as open to myriad significations and focus on the complicated relationship between identities and terrains. By allowing us to approach space from the perspective of characters marginalized by colonial and patriarchal systems Rhys and Mansfield highlight how ideas of space differ across power structures and social positions. Female characters that cannot be contained within the cultural and sexual binaries of the imperialist system visualize metropolitan and colonial spaces in fluid and ambivalent ways. Rhys and Mansfield highlight the connections between the imperial policing of territory and the controlling of identities. In providing alternate ways of viewing both landscapes and identities they undermine the colonial gaze and erode its

omniscience. In their works, colonial boundaries are questioned, disrupted and discarded as spatial re-imaginings confirm the diverse and complex reality of both spaces and people.

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