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Introduction

Mummy stories, whatever else they may be, are stories of fantasy, of wonder. They may well be connected in the minds of many of us as tales of horror, but none can deny their inhabitance of a place of make-believe, of the unreal. It was this space of imagination that I most wanted to explore when I began this project. Tales of fantasy, fairy tales and ghost stories, not mummies, were my first interest. There was something about these tales that excited me: the magic, the wonder, the space in which another sort of world opened up to me as a reader. I am undoubtedly not alone in desiring this sense of another world, a world of magic where ghosts, witches, and wizards roamed the landscape, for as my study of fantasy in the process of putting together this dissertation has shown me, such stories were quite popular at the turn of the twentieth century including, as Peter Keating has noted in his study of the English novel between 1875 and 1914, tales of every sort of supernatural fiction (360-61).

What I was looking for when I began my project was a space in which romance might reign. Perhaps this is why I felt such sympathy for the complaints of British writers like Rudyard Kipling, Algernon Blackwood, and Sabine Baring-Gould when they lamented the loss of a world of primitive imagination where science or a rationalistic frame of mind had taken away the opportunity for the ordinary human being to believe in a world where ghosts might wander or where fairies might dance in the moonlight.
Kipling’s *Puck of Pook’s Hill* illustrates the point, for in this children’s tale is the story of the last fairy still roaming the meadows and woods of Merrie England. Such a tale would not have been written in an age when such mystical beings were widely accepted.

Science and its attendant rationalism were making it impossible to believe in fairies anymore, though men and women of the same mind as Sir Arthur Conan Doyle might still try. Adult turn-of-the-century Britons were no longer clapping to keep Tinker Bell alive. She and her kind were dying out. The rational world would not support them.

Algernon Blackwood blamed Swan Edison, a manufacturer of electric lamps. Questioning whether Shakespeare, had he lived in the modern age of electric lights, would have written tales such as *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, Blackwood draws on John Masefield’s Romanes Lecture on “Shakespeare and the Spiritual Life” to show us what a different world Shakespeare had known.

Shakespeare’s world was, Blackwood quotes Masefield as saying, “‘a superstitious country society’” in which “‘the land was undrained, the roads unpaved, and the winter nights unlighted.’” In those days, “‘from November till March travelling after dark was almost impossible,’” and people entertained themselves, “[sitting] by the fire . . . [telling] stories of fairies, witches, and ghosts who then made life terrible all over the countryside.’” It was a dark world, difficult to traverse, superstitious, and sparsely populated. Superstitions about the “Night Mare and her ninefold” were taken seriously.

The superstition, sparse population, and widely separated churches, Blackwood

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1 The company, more properly known as the Edison and Swan United Electric Light Company, was formed as the result of a merger of Joseph Swan’s and Thomas Edison’s electric companies. See Mary E. Swan and Kenneth R. Swan, *Sir Joseph Wilson Swan F.R.S.: Inventor and Scientist*, page 90.
concludes, created “the atmosphere that engendered fairies and their delightful brood, an atmosphere that Swan Edison and Co. have certainly helped to dissipate” (“Dreams and Fairies” 175-76). Science and technological progress are making the world a gloomier, though better lighted, place. Ghosts, witches, and fairies cannot withstand the bright light of modern electricity. For the imagination to thrive there must be shadows and half-lights where men and women can speak quietly to each other before fireplaces.

Illumination, both physical and metaphorical, is the enemy. The world of the imagination is that world between the real and the imaginary, a liminal place where dreams and nightmares live.

Sabine Baring-Gould, author, folklorist, and lyricist of that well-known hymn, “Onward Christian Soldiers,” registered a similar complaint in his story of “The 9.30 Up-Train” through the character of the doctor. In response to the protagonist’s plan to investigate the haunting of the story, the doctor tells him:

“Take my advice and banish it from your thoughts. When you have come to the end, you will be sadly disappointed, and will find that all the mystery evaporates, and leaves a dull, commonplace residuum. It is best that the few mysteries which remain to us unexplained should still remain mysteries, or we shall disbelieve in supernatural agencies altogether. We have searched out the arcana of nature, and exposed all her secrets to the garish eye of day, and we find, in despair, that the poetry and romance of life are gone. . . . Believe me, science has done good to mankind, but it
has done mischief too. If we wish to be poetical or romantic, we must shut our eyes to facts. (n. p.)

The problem, the doctor is saying, is that our world has been robbed of much of its wonder and its beauty by too much knowledge. We need those half-lights for flights of fancy. Science is cold and barren, a thief of the imagination as it reduces to clinical facts explanations for everything that makes possible the world of imagination. Science might be fine for writers of a certain type, such as H.G. Wells, who used such discoveries as a launch pad into new worlds, but for Baring-Gould and Blackwood, and others like them, it was the thief of a world quickly receding into the past, a world longed for, but no longer accessible. Science was the enemy of romance, of imagination; the free play of fancy required one shut one’s eyes to fact to be able to experience wonder. Science might provide information, but it killed romance. Romance, on the other hand, might feed a desire for wonder, but it denied any pretense to scientific thinking. Science and romance seemed to be inexorably at odds with one another.

The mummy story stands precisely at this crossroads between science and romance, but rather than asking its readers to simply give up all pretense to scientific rationality, it provides a means of catering to this desire to be rational by an insertion of scientists, archaeologists, doctors, lawyers, and other professionals who set the imprimatur of science upon the whole fictional enterprise, thereby making room for the pleasure of the fantastical tales that the stories offer. In so doing, the stories create a unique space—a kind of laboratory even—where the problems of an increasingly mundane world may be investigated and solutions tried out in a controlled environment.
These world problems revolve chiefly around three issues in the study that follows: matters that are concerned with invasion, gender, and expertise. At the center of these issues is the fear of chaos. The chapter on invasion stories looks at the chaos that results from the feared dissolution of empire. Chaotic relationships between men and women are the subject of the chapter on gender. And the chapter on detective fiction is all about how order is brought to the mass of clues by the expert detective. Within the framework of each chapter is a dyad of an opposing principle of chaos and rationality, the main goal of each story being to restore balance in a world gone awry. If the societal upset is invasion, the warring parties must cease hostilities when one side or the other wins; if the problem is a world where gender roles are out of order, ideas about those roles must be resolved, ordinarily by putting the woman back into her place, though oftentimes allowing her some greater degree of freedom than before; if the problem is some kind of mysterious disturbance, then the mystery must be resolved, typically through the expertise of a detective or other professional. The resolution of each of these difficulties puts matters right once again, ordinarily leaving them in the politically conservative world that had existed before the upset, so that the empire rules once again and women and men resume their positions and unexplained occult phenomena are explained and troublesome phenomena concluded.  

2 Expertise plays a role in many of

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2 Though many of the tales which I examine in these stories do in fact reach solutions as I have described above, at least one does not: the 1903 edition of Bram Stoker’s *The Jewel of Seven Stars*. In this version of the story, the unmanageable Queen Tera, the mummy of the story, destroys everyone seeking to resurrect her except for the narrator. The 1912 edition of the story, possibly by another hand than Stoker’s, however, neatly wraps up the problem when Tera and her modern day double, Margaret Trelawny, merge and marry the story’s narrator. The double-edged working out of the difficulty is reminiscent of what Fred Botting
these stories, sometimes on the side of good, sometimes not. Experts bring about solutions to matters disrupting world peace in the invasion chapter and expert detectives, knowing how to read clues, solve and contain mysteries. Experts, moreover, reassert male dominance in a world dominated by a female intuition more in touch with the seeming irrationality of the occult by applying rationally trained intellects to meet the demands of occult phenomena. In this way, rationality and expertise come together to bring about the resolution in these tales.

The stories that I will be discussing in this study are, in their totality, few in number. Nicholas Daly reckons them at no “more than a dozen,” though, if one were to include any mention of mummies, the number would go significantly higher (25). The tales that I have included, however, are those stories where the mummy plays a significant part. In some cases that means that we are talking about a dangerous mummy attacking those with whom it comes in contact, such as Sir Arthur Conan Doyle’s “Lot No. 249”; in other cases, we are talking about stories where a mummy is resurrected and then becomes a sympathetic character (e.g., Mrs. H. D. Everett’s *Iras, a Mystery* or George Griffith’s *The Romance of Golden Star*). I have excluded those tales, such as H. Rider Haggard’s *She*, however, where a mummy may be present but does not play any role of real significance, for to do so would result in an alarmingly high number of so-called mummy tales. All of this means that by the time I have made my selections, I have a group of tales ranging from as early as 1878 to as late as 1912 that I have examined in

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says of gothic literature’s ambivalent nature, which attempts on the one hand to restore the order it disturbs, but at the same time contests the very rules that ensure social stability (6-7).
coming to my conclusions, though, as will become apparent, my actual discussion of tales is an even smaller number.  

The stories that I will be looking at can be classified in several ways: as gothic fiction, as tales of reverse colonization, as invasion stories, mystery stories, love stories, and even as comic tales. At their most basic, of course, is their classification as gothic narratives. Gothic fiction is typically of two types—the explained and the unexplained. The explained gothic is that sort of story in which Ann Radcliff excelled: a seemingly supernatural set of events occur in the progress of the narrative only to be eventually explained away by some perfectly natural explanation, such as robbers making their hideout in some out-of-the-way place and being mistaken for ghosts. For cartoon enthusiasts, this is the kind of explanation that worked in weekly episodes of Scooby-Doo. The unexplained gothic is of another sort. In these stories there is no rational explanation; ghosts or other spirits are the only explanation. The supernatural in these stories is real. A third sort of gothic tale, with its own subset of divisions, is also possible. This is the sort of tale that Tzvetan Todorov calls “the fantastic” (41). In these stories we find ourselves in a place of indecision (“the fantastic”) where we cannot make up our minds about the phenomena we have seen: they might be caused by real supernatural agents, or they might be mere illusions with rational explanations. When in this state of indecision, we are in the “fantastic.” Once we make a decision about the nature of the tale, whether it can be explained or not, then the fantastic ceases to exist; it is, in other words, an evanescent form that lasts only as long as our doubt (Todorov 41).

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3 See appendix for a list of all the stories examined.
If we decide the events of the story can be understood through rational explanation, we call the tale “uncanny.” If not, it is a “marvelous” tale, a tale, that is, of the pure supernatural, where events can only be accounted for by making allowance for the existence of the supernatural. This does not mean, however, that the stories cannot fall somewhere in between these two extremes. In fact, according to Todorov’s scheme, some tales fall into a “sub-genre . . . between the fantastic and the uncanny on the one hand, [and] between the fantastic and the marvelous on the other. These sub-genres include works that sustain the hesitation characteristic of the true fantastic for a long period, but . . . ultimately end in the marvelous or the uncanny” (44). Stories of the first sort Todorov calls “fantastic-uncanny,” those of the second he calls “fantastic-marvelous” (44). Mummy tales of the fin de siècle may be placed in various positions along this continuum, some leaning more toward one end of the continuum or the other. Their position on this continuum suggests something about the degree to which the writers of these were willing to commit to the idea of the supernatural. What it all boils down to is a matter of rationality and how we see ourselves, whether we are going to be rational men and women of science or whether we are going to embrace the irrational and the savage in our nature.

Though they were gothic, the stories that were written back in those days, would probably surprise most of us whose image of mummy fiction has been gathered from our familiarity with the mummy monsters created by Hollywood, where slow moving, heavily bandaged figures stalk their intended victims with arms outstretched. The early stories of mummies were nothing like that. Instead, the stories were much more likely to
be love stories than anything else, the typical tale running something along the lines of a male archaeologist coming into contact with a beautiful mummified woman with whom he immediately falls in love. This love story might be told in comic form, as in Grant Allen’s story of “My New Year’s Eve Among the Mummies,” where the narrator tells a tale of his having stumbled upon a party of wakened Egyptian mummies one evening when in Egypt, or they may be more dramatic love stories where a serious tone is maintained throughout. Horror may intrude on occasion in these tales, but by and large horror does not overwhelm the love story. This sort of story, of course, is gothic too—the gothic romance being a standard—but the tales are nothing like what most of us growing up with mummy films emphasizing horror were likely to expect.

There is, nevertheless, one thing that will not surprise most of us looking at the subject—the quality of the tales. By and large, the stories are hardly what one would call fine works of literature. They are low-brow fiction, light reading, and almost certainly destined to be forgotten by the vast majority of readers. This does not mean, however, that they are without value, for, though lowbrow fiction, they served, in their time at least, an important function, for as Sally Mitchell has pointed out in another context,

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4 The one exception to this pattern is Sir Arthur Conan Doyle’s tale of “Lot No. 249.” In this tale the mummy is a figure of horror, not of romance. The one potentially romantic situation in the whole story, the engagement of Edward Bellingham to Monkhouse Lee’s sister, is treated not as a love story but a tale of horror from which Lee’s sister must be rescued before she commits herself to Bellingham in marriage.

5 Mummy films of the twentieth century, of course, included the love story as a standard part of its repertoire. The difference that I am arguing here is that many of the tales were more concerned with the love story than with horror. These written—as opposed to filmed—stories from the last quarter of the nineteenth-century to the period just prior to the First World War focused on the love story often to the exclusion, or near exclusion, of the element of horror. Théophile Gautier’s “Le Pied de momie” (1840; translated by Lafcadio Hearn in 1908) is an early example of this kind of story. There is the element of the supernatural, but the focus is on the love story—and comedy—rather than horror.
popular fiction gets to be popular not only because it “draws on the values, interests, and concerns of a specific group of readers at a particular time,” but because it meets the psychological needs of readers who choose to read it (4-5). Unlike serious literature, which, according to Ken Gelder, is defined by a desirable complexity that makes great demands on the reader, changing that reader’s life and doing so all the while in a way unconcerned with the marketplace, popular fiction is all about, in R. L. Stevenson’s words, “simplification” (19; 35). It is, Gelder continues, a plot-driven form of fiction, consumed quickly, and escapist in nature (19). It could, at the same time, in romances such as those written by H. Rider Haggard, provide something that tales of naturalism could not—a sense of the “enduring human spirit” (Bristow 117). Perhaps most important of all, popular fiction can, in Tony Bennett’s words, “help to define our sense of ourselves, shaping our desires, fantasies, imagined pasts and projected futures” (ix). Mummy stories do all of these things as they work out the problems and desires of the age: problems of empire, its justice, and how it can be—if it should be—maintained; concerns about an encroaching femininity, where men seem to be the losers in a zero-sum game as women become ever more powerful; and worries about knowledge and truth, about science and the occult, and how one can know the truth and the role of expertise in that conquest. In the pages that follow in this study, I take a New Historical approach that puts mummy fiction in dialogue with the various dialogues which express these anxieties, for, despite mummy fiction’s occasional forays into foreign climes, the events of mummy fiction mostly take place in England and are more about England and the English than they are about anything else.
The period in which mummy fiction was written was an age when science ruled supreme and those who lived in it considered it an “age of skepticism” (Sheridan 34). It was also a time, as has been frequently documented, when many, in response to scientific discoveries found themselves unable to maintain the faith of their youth and turned instead to science for answers, in essence turning scientists into figures of authority rather than priests. But it was also a time when members of every class began to take an interest in the occult impelled in part by the very success of the scientific positivism (Brantlinger 228). Men and women, wanting something more in their lives than a world of scientific materialism, as Janet Oppenheim suggests in her study of The Other World, took to attending séances and conducting all kinds of experiments into the occult. Some, such as the Society for Psychic Research, even went so far as to form organizations to investigate psychic phenomena. This interest took hold in fiction as well. Stories that fed the reader’s desire for a world of ghosts, fairies, and fantasy were very popular as the period’s designation as the golden age of the ghost story and of the children’s story attests. It was also a period in which tales of threatening monsters, such as Richard Marsh’s The Beetle and Bram Stoker’s Dracula, appeared. Thus, it need hardly surprise us today that such fiction as tales of risen mummies offer might well appeal to readers of the day.

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6 A recent article by David Gange, “Religion and Science in Late Nineteenth-Century British Egyptology,” however, makes a compelling argument for the role played by orthodox religion in Egyptology. In this article, he argues that many Egyptologists became involved in the study of ancient Egypt in order to prove the historical accuracy of “Old Testament history” (1084). Thus, he argues, the “development in archaeology and Egyptology in the last decades of the century . . . . were often developed to fulfil [sic] roles that today seem remarkably unscientific, relating primarily to spiritual issues” (1084).
Within this atmosphere of combined rationalism and longing for mystery arose a vogue in England for Egypt fueled not only by new archaeological discoveries and political and economic necessity for markets, but by Egypt’s reputation as a land of mystical religious knowledge (Hornung 55). The nineteenth century had been a time of change and discovery in Egypt. Napoleon’s invasion of the nation in 1798 had brought, in its wake, numerous scholars to investigate and catalogue the wonders that were being continually discovered. Nearly a century later, Sir Gaston Masparo and Emile Brugsch Bey had, in 1881, excited considerable interest in their discovery of a “cache of mummified kings” and the interest was intensified when Masparo unwrapped several of the mummies before a live audience (Pearson 220). The political situation, moreover, was bringing Egypt ever more into the attention of Britons at home, especially with the building of the Suez Canal in 1869, which made the nation of increasing importance to the British Empire since it required access to the canal in order to conduct its business more profitably around the globe. And interest only increased once the British government stepped in unofficially to administer the Egyptian government, thus making of Egypt an extension of the homeland. Added to this, Egypt’s reputation as a land of mystical religious knowledge meant that many of those seeking unorthodox religious fulfillment might well choose to visit its ancient pyramids and cities or at the very least to look into books that might help them better understand this ancient land and its beliefs. Egypt had, according to Erik Hornung, been regarded as a “land of magic” since the days of the Old Testament, and it is represented in the Quran as a “land of powerful sorcerers” (61). It was moreover, Hornung continues, thought that Egypt had once been privy to a
lost advanced science that had been preserved in the pyramids. Edmé-François Jomard, author of the chapter on the Memphis pyramids “for Napoleon’s Description de l’Égypte,” believed that the pyramids contained scientific knowledge from ancient Egypt as did eighteenth century Freemason “‘Count’ Cagliostro” (161). Bram Stoker has his character Abel Trelawny express the same idea of advanced scientific knowledge in The Jewel of Seven Stars. Acoustics, hypnotism, and astronomy, Trelawny argues, were all part of ancient Egyptian scientific knowledge, and raising Tera, the story’s mummy, will make remarkable advances in science possible (144). The combination of occult and scientific knowledge as was thought to exist in Egypt, as expressed both in fiction and non-fiction, would have been a heady brew for anyone hungry for a spiritual dimension to a world in which science reigned supreme. The literary marketplace, considering all of these interests—archaeological, political, psychic—took this interest into account and provided for it. Reports on the Masparo and Brugsch Bey archaeological discovery provided plenty of fodder for the papers for more than a year, and when combined with news on the British military operations in Egypt the following year, the result was an almost daily coverage of events in Egypt (Pearson 220). “Interest in Egyptology,” Pearson adds, “continued to grow throughout the 1880s” and books and articles by scholars and popular writers alike were published. In September 1886 Blackwood’s Magazine published H. Rider Haggard’s friend and co-author of The World’s Desire Andrew Lang’s “Egyptian Divine Myths,” and Edward Wilson came out with a report on the Brugsch Bey and Masparo discovery in an article titled “Finding Pharaoh,” which was published in The Century Magazine in May 1887. That same year, a book by
Samuel Manning, *The Land of the Pharaohs* came out, followed six years later by Egyptologist Ernest A. Wallis Budge’s study of *The Mummy: Chapters on Egyptian Funereal Archaeology* (220).

Mummies in particular were interesting to many back home in England; and the practice of unwrapping them in the 1820s and 30s, first in more intimate settings for an all-male audience and later in larger, mixed company, must surely have contributed to a greater interest in ancient Egypt and undoubtedly inspired the imaginations of those creating tales of mummies rising from the dead (Pearce 71).7 These mummy unwrappings brought Egypt and the mummy to the British Isles. Though most Britons would not have been able to visit Egypt for themselves, many, Susan Pearce explains, would have been able to attend the public unwrappings of mummies such as those conducted by Thomas Pettigrew, who conducted a very well attended event on 16 January 1834 in the theater at the Royal College of Surgeons. Summarizing the diary of William Clift, Hunterian Museum conservator at the Royal College of Surgeons between 1793 and 1844, Pearce notes that not only was the event well attended, but it included in its audience “a prince, several lords and bishops, (ex)members of the government and parliament, leading doctors, military and naval officers, and men of the arts,” noting as well that “neither the Archbishop of Canterbury nor the Bishop of London could find places” (60). By the latter part of the century, the practice of publicly

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7 Though there was some interest in curses in one or two of the stories published in the later nineteenth and early twentieth century, there seems to have been very little concern about the matter before the First World War. That concern did not make itself known until the discovery of Tut, when the topic provided fodder for newspaper articles, with Marie Corelli and Doyle affirming their belief in such things (Stephens 12).
unwrapping mummies would have largely been discontinued, but undoubtedly the vogue for such events would have lived on in historical memory, forever uniting Egypt and mummies for many British subjects.

The world we are looking at in the period of this study was a world which was seeing great changes, many of them troubling. Besides the alteration in the attitudes of many regarding religious faith, there were matters of changes in the roles that men and women ought to play in society and concerns about national security brought on, in part by changing political and economic conditions that found England’s position slipping from what it had been earlier in the century and in part by a perceived decline in the British racial stock.⁸ Everything was in flux. It was a disturbing time and one in which the very fabric of society seemed in jeopardy. Stability was everywhere threatened.

The stability of which I speak is threatened in several ways in the stories, which try out the problems within their pages, seeing whether they can solve them. One way stability is threatened can be seen in those stories that deal with stories of invasion. The invasion story, alternately known as an invasion-scare tale or a story of future war, is a kind of story that depicts a predicted invasion of the homeland. Ordinarily, these stories, as becomes clear from a perusal of the work of I.F. Clarke, probably the premiere critic of the genre, involves threats of one major power attacking another. There are exceptions, such as H.G. Wells’s tale of The War of the Worlds where the perceived threat from other real-world powers is transformed into invaders from outer space, but

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⁸ For further information on each of these issues, see the chapter on invasion (“Invasion Fears and the Mummy Narrative”) and the chapter on gender (“The Crisis of Masculinity in Mummy Narratives) in this study.
ordinarily English invasion stories see their threats more likely as coming from France, Germany, or Russia. The invaders in mummy invasion tales, however, are more exotic than the typical tale, for in these stories, the invaders are, or are assisted by, living mummies. These are stories of reverse colonization with a metaphysical twist, for these tales are often powered by the supernatural. They are, like the much-cited Dracula, tales of reverse colonization, where, as Patrick Brantlinger points out, “the outward movement of imperialist adventure is reversed” (233).

The problem underlying these stories, I would argue, involves a conflicted sense about the whole enterprise of empire. Many Britons were concerned about the influx of foreigners into their island nation and were concerned about the potential risk to national security these individuals might pose. Managing the problem, therefore, became of paramount importance, a goal, that according to Nicholas Daly and David Seed, was accomplished by the reification of other cultures and their subsequent classification into manageable units. They each approached this matter through relying on two different sources: Daly, relying on a chapter from Karl Marx’s Das Capital, “The Commodity Fetish and Its Secret,” and Seed, on a book by Paul Greenhalgh, Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World Fairs, 1851-1939. The commonality between these two sources is the idea of human beings being turned into objects. Greenhalgh’s book argues that dependent nations within the British Empire at

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9 The fact of the supernatural nature of these stories is enough for Stephen D. Arata in his discussion of “The Occidental Tourist: Dracula and the Anxiety of Reverse Colonization,” to discount these tales as invasion stories. Invasion narratives typically are between mortal powers alone. Wildly imaginative advanced weaponry might be present, but the supernatural is ordinarily not included. I would nevertheless consider these stories both tales of invasion as well as stories of reverse colonization. The supernatural aspect, I would argue, is simply another take on the invasion narrative genre.
the Great Exhibition of 1851 were turned into nothing more than their produce; Daly, arguing from Marx, argues the obverse: rather than human beings being turned into objects, objects are turned into something with human-like agency. Managing such objects can thus be seen as the equivalent of managing nations, the objects themselves representing the nations which created them. Egypt, for instance, thus becomes cotton and managing cotton means managing Egypt. The British Empire, ever needful of raw materials and goods from its colonies, if it is to survive must thus manage the labor of its colonies and of its people. Mummies, as Susan Pearce points out, were part of this same process. They were “torn from their tombs, . . . deprived of their substance, . . . . robbed of their own life stories written on their coffins,” and “turned by exhibition into a carnival for London audiences” (55). They were human beings become objects. The difficulty came when those objects, as Daly tells us, took on a life of their own (36). Restoration of order meant restoration of the object status of the mummy, a movement, that is from object, to subject, to object once more.

Daly takes this idea a step further by arguing that mummies were a part of a circulation of foreign commodities which needed expert management. The world of late-nineteenth-century England, Daly tells us, was a world in which the economy was moving from a production-based to a consumption-based economy and one in which the goods that were consumed were produced all over the British Empire. To manage this influx of goods, individuals had to become experts of a sort. Housewives had to learn how to arrange and care for the many different objects that had been brought into their museum-like homes, and museum curators had to perform the same function for the
nation, labeling and arranging the various items in their collection. Failure to manage the
ever-growing collection of objects and nations could potentially mean being
overwhelmed by them. Collecting and labeling, Daly argues, is a way to control them.
The problem, Daly continues, was similar to that met with in mummy fiction. The
danger of both the uncollected artifact and the reanimated mummy were the same.
Unsupervised, both could run amok. But the mummy story offers reassurance to the
anxious reader, Daly suggests, because in the changes of the mummy’s status from object
to subject and back to object, a process helped by expert knowledge and classification,
the stories suggest the essential solidity of the British Empire.

Daly’s analysis is excellent as far as it goes and is true to a great extent.
Expertise, for example, is certainly depicted as important in numerous mummy stories.
Individuals troubled by mummies in these tales must frequently rely upon experts like
Flaxman Low or Dr. John Silence or others to deal with the problems the mummies
cause, but this use of mummies is much more applicable to those stories where mummies
are viewed as frightening beings rather than as objects of love. Mummies, when
embodiments of horror, require expert management if such troublesome creatures are to
be put back in their place; but when the revivified mummy is the recipient of love, no
such management is required; such management, may in fact, hurt more than it helps.¹⁰

¹⁰ There is, of course, the possibility of problems associated with sexual license and interracial love, which
the tales handled in a couple of different ways. The problem of interracial love was often evaded by
depicting ancient Egyptians as being in appearance more like northern Europeans, often with blonde hair
and fair skin. Accompanying illustrations often depicted the love-interests in these tales in this manner.
Sexual license was handled more through avoidance in a technique which David Seed calls “arousal and
denial” (191). The way this typically works is that a man falls in love with (is aroused by) a female
mummy only to be ultimately denied any sexual contact. The denial may be harmless, as in the case where
Daly’s analysis, moreover, ignores those stories which do not leave the reader with an assurance of the stability of the empire. True enough, the majority of stories do manage such a resolution, but a tale like George Griffith’s *The Romance of Golden Star*, where a resurrected mummy re-takes his kingdom from its South American colonizers suggests that Britain herself might well be in danger of reverse colonization and should prepare for such a possibility.

The problem with empire is further compounded by the perceived problem of the racial stock of those defending the nation. The Boer War debacle had proved an embarrassment for the nation and the recruitment effort had suggested a less than robust health among young men of military age. H. Rider Haggard blamed urban conditions and poor diet (*Rural England* 541; 568). Whatever the cause, however, degeneration was of great concern. German Max Nordau devoted an entire book to the subject, and in England it was frequently a topic of conversation in the newspapers. Mummy stories treated the concern as well as they tried to come to terms with the issue. In invasion fiction, we see examples of both weak and strong male characters, the latter, I would suggest as a remedy to the former. Cyril Forrester, the protagonist of *Pharos, the Egyptian*, though a strong male character throughout much of the book, is infected with a disease of some sort which weakens him and by the end of the book he must be rescued by the woman he

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11 Ebenezer Smith, in “Smith and the Pharaohs,” is denied the woman he loves as she disappears from this world, or it may be horrific, as it is when Prince Oscar Oscarovitch, in *The Mummy and Miss Nitocris*, is denied the woman he lusts after when she is replaced by a corpse.

11 The pages of the London Times provide numerous examples of this concern in reports on activities of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration as well as letters to the editor expressing concern about the problem.
loves, Valerie de Vocqval; and the man who raises Vilcaroya from the dead in *The Romance of Golden Star*, Dr. Laurens Djama, becomes hysterical by the end of the novel. Stronger characters, however, such as Professor Franklin Marmion and Captain Francis Hartness, offer readers some assurance, suggesting, as Daly has previously argued, the solidity of the empire.

This concern in the stories about a failing racial stock is strongly related to matters of a failing masculinity faced with powerful women that the traditional male does not know how to manage. Typically men (and housewives acting as curators of foreign objects in their own homes, as we have seen in Daly) manage these foreign objects through classification, putting objects in their proper place. The New Woman, however, stepped outside the bounds of traditional female roles and confounded traditional men and women. What was to be done with her? How was she to be managed? Lisa Hopkins in her essay, “Crowning the King, Mourning His Mother: *The Jewel of Seven Stars* and *The Lady of the Shroud*” addresses this question, remarking on means that Stoker uses in *Dracula*, *Jewel*, and *The Lady of the Shroud*. The problem, as Hopkins sees it, is what she refers to as the “horror of motherhood,” a horror where, as Jeffrey Spears notes, the individual man finds himself fearful of a dangerous mother who threatens to “[reabsorb]” him into the womb (qtd. in Hopkins 147). This is the point that is especially pertinent to my own study, for the threatened reabsorption, the thing that makes women a threat, is the very thing that places women in a position of agency, for it is through this reabsorption that women can once again assert their power over men. The womb, that is, becomes the equivalent of the hungry mouth, seeking to consume and thereby manage the
male of the species. Stoker manages this threat, Hopkins argues, by putting women back into their place, either by killing them off in his stories or by writing them into submission. The danger of not doing so can be seen in the 1903 edition of *Jewel*, the solution in the 1912 edition where the mummy Tera is subsumed under the character of Margaret and married to Malcolm Ross. Such matrimonial solutions are quite often used in the tales. Powerful women in their own right in these stories frequently surrender their power to the man they love: besides Tera, who, subsumed under the person of Margaret, marries Ross, there are, among others, Niti Marmion, a woman of great psychic power who joyously places herself in submission to the man she loves, Mark Merrill; as well as the Incan queen, Golden Star, who gives herself to Captain Francis Hartness. By presenting the relationships between men and women in this manner, the authors of these stories manage to elevate their male characters’ standing, taking the women down a notch in the process.

This management of women is especially important, as the stories demonstrate, because uncontrolled, women’s sexuality threatens men. If one accepts the idea of women as primitive sorceresses, as Lyn Pykett argues New Woman novelist Mary Chavelita Dunne Bright (pen name George Egerton) does, this sense of threat is hardly surprising (166). Women, according to this view, are ideologically aligned with the primitive, the savage, the irrational (Pykett 155). They are, moreover, mysterious and mystifying to rational man, who, with Freud, might well be tempted to consider them the “dark continent” (Freud, *Question* 38). Because of their sexual attractiveness, women are able to lure men into situations that may well prove dangerous to them. At the very least,
they may simply find their rational powers diminished, as Andrew Smith argues in “Love, Freud, and the Female Gothic,” or, more seriously, they may be threatened with death as a result of seduction in the process of “arousal and denial” of which Seed speaks (Smith 82; Seed 191). Such women, in gothic ideology, are dark beings, difficult to fathom, bearers of secrets.

The fearful possibilities of women as expressed in these stories have much in common with the nineteenth century attempts to manage women in general. Women, children, and homosexuals among others were placed under surveillance, Foucault tells us, as a means of managing sexuality. Operating much along the same lines as the medieval confessional, the subject suffering from some particular sexual malady, would tell her story to the doctor-confessor, who would record and analyze what she had said and through a linguistic process ultimately bring the subject to a state closer to that which was considered normal. The stories effect their cures in a similar way through language. Though there is no talking cure undertaken in these tales, the stories (or their authors) bring about a cure either through a classification system that places the aberrant female in her proper place (a marriage in which she submits to her husband) or else through the most drastic solution of all, authorial destruction. In either case, women, with the exception of Stoker’s 1903 edition of *Jewel*, are restored to their proper place where they can no longer threaten men.

The picture that emerges in much of the criticism of mummy fiction, then, is one where women are powerful beings that men have come to fear. Some attention is given to how women are to be managed: Hopkins suggests, as we have seen, that Stoker
manages them by killing them off or marrying them to one of his other characters; and Smith, suggests that, for Stoker at least, the problem with managing women is that they “cannot be properly objectified,” they cannot, that is, be made into objects which can be managed through classification (86). But little attention has been paid to the way that the stories seek to rehabilitate the position of men in the stories. This is an area that I seek to address as I combine ideas of a failing racial stock with the idea of a weakened masculinity. Both, it seems to me, are part of the same source. Mummy stories, as an ordinarily conservative genre, helps set things right, which I demonstrate in the following study.

One last area remains to be investigated—the role of conflicting epistemologies as they are portrayed in mummy detective fiction. The critics of mummy fiction, though they have dealt with at least one story of mummy detective fiction quite frequently (i.e., The Jewel of Seven Stars) have not approached the study of epistemology by way of detective stories. For studies that look at issues of epistemology, I am primarily indebted to those critics in detective fiction, like Peter Hühn and Glenn W. Most, who are particularly interested in the way that detectives must read the signs of evidence that are, in Hühn’s phrase, “imprinted ‘on the world’” (454). David Glover, however, is the one critic to whom I am most indebted with regard to the idea of the conflict between science and the occult in mummy fiction. Glover looks at the role of science in particular in his

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12 In a similar vein, Patrick Brantlinger notes the dwindling opportunities for adventure for men of this period. The blank spaces on the map that had provided earlier generations with opportunities for adventure, by this time were all being filled in. Chances for manly adventure were dwindling. See Brantlinger, page 238-39.
study of “Bram Stoker and the Crisis of the Liberal Subject,” where he points out the unfortunate result of scientific discoveries, particularly those by the psychologist W. B. Carpenter, which have led to a reevaluation of just what it means to be an individual, especially in terms of one’s will. According to Carpenter, individuals possess both an independent will over which they have some control, yet at the same time are moved to act and think in certain ways as a result of physiological factors (993). The frightening part of what Carpenter had said was that part about being controlled by physiological factors, for this meant that a human being might not be absolutely in control of his will and thus that things outside our conscious control might control us. This would have been an especially frightening idea for men in a society where a man’s masculinity was judged in part by his self control. Such a belief could easily lead to the fear of being controlled by outside forces, which it did in mummy fiction, where villains with hypnotic powers force men and women to do their bidding, placing them in a position which Victoria Margree compares to “a sort of (mental) rape” (67). In such cases, those men and women who have been hypnotized are completely out of control of their own actions. This leaves them as nothing more than automatons, lacking the very thing that makes them human (Glover, “Crisis” 994).

Glover is also important in terms of my study for what he suggests about the conflicting roles of science and the occult in The Jewel of Seven Stars, which he deals with in his study of “The Lure of the Mummy: Science, Séances and Egyptian Tales in Fin de siècle England.” Glover argues that the story “remains deeply divided against itself, caught between the competing attractions of ancient and modern knowledges,
unable to achieve the forward-looking vision [of a world where science and the occult are joined]” (7). Glover has a point, of course. Despite Abel Trelawny’s best efforts to resurrect Tera and learn from her, thereby giving the world access to ancient Egyptian knowledge, he is ultimately unable to pull it off. At the same time, however, the mere joining of these two sources of knowledge provided readers of the fin de siècle with a means of replacing a lost world of the supernatural that so many had experienced as a result of scientific advances since Darwin. I would, moreover, argue that despite this division, the story nevertheless manages to unite science and the occult. Even more important, I would argue, the combination of the two competing epistemologies of science and the occult actually work together not only in *Jewel*, but in the majority of the stories of mummy fiction, where science and the occult come together in expert figures like Flaxman Low or Dr. John Silence who place a scientific imprimatur upon the whole enterprise, allowing readers to enjoy supernatural fiction alongside the comfortable idea of scientific evidence and expert control.

The chapters that follow are concerned with all of these issues: with the xenophobic fear of invasion, of failing racial stock, with a compromised masculinity, and with conflicting ways of knowledge. The first of these chapters, chapter two, looks at the conflicted views of empire for those Britons living during the fin de siècle, trying out how we might view empire. The questions of a weakened racial stock and the fears of an England weakened by an overweening dependence upon its colonies is explored here as are the various attitudes about the exploitation of the colonies in a time of the Empire’s greatest strength. The result of the exploration of these tales, however, is not a full-
fledged confidence in the justice of empire, but a conglomeration of attitudes, some reassuring to the jingoistic Briton, while others are clearly disturbing.

The following chapter, chapter three, looks at a related problem, the problem of a weakened masculinity. In this chapter I argue that the stories of the period are very much concerned with a weakening male population much concerned about the New Woman and her increasing power in relation to the male. These stories, conservative for the most part in their intent, explore, and when possible, rescue, that failing masculinity by domesticating overly powerful women through marriage or other means and raising the common lot of masculinity through the portrayal of strong male characters who are a match for their women. Characters in the stories who are not able to rise in such a manner serve as a kind of warning to the discerning reader.

Chapter four, the penultimate chapter, looks at the issue of the conflicting epistemologies of science and the occult. In this chapter, I examine the ways that expert detectives, whom I describe as readers, are able to interpret the signs left at the site of the crime to determine what has occurred. Drawing on reading theory by theorists involved in second language acquisition, I point out how these detectives are able to reach the proper conclusions as a result of their expert status, noting as well how they have taken what has typically been a woman’s domain and turned it into a masculine discourse. The result of the competing epistemologies, I argue, is the erection of a space where those interested in the supernatural may once again experience an area that had been taken from many by science.
I conclude my study with a look forward at the development of the mummy story in film. Drawing on my examination of mummy films from the 1890s until the First World War at the Library of Congress, I look at how the mummy story evolved from the typically less horrific love story of the print world to a form emphasizing more horrific stories as filmmakers tried out the genre in a visual format. I use this transitional period as a point from which to look back at the mummy story and pull together a sense of what the mummy story of the fin de siècle means for readers today.

The study of mummy fiction of the fin de siècle has not attracted much attention over the years, the interest in the tales being more invested in the films of the twentieth century instead. Yet, as Tony Bennett has argued about popular fiction, they are valuable because they aid us in “defin[ing] our sense of ourselves” (ix). As barometers of public life, moreover, they provide invaluable insight into the lives of the people for whom they were written. They are, I would argue, a subject well worth studying.
Invasion Fears and the Mummy Narrative

Let us begin with three stories, all about invasion in one way or another. They were all published between 1897 and somewhere around 1906 (the date of the last book being uncertain) and their stories all take place in the same general period in which they were published. The first is George Griffith’s tale of *The Romance of Golden Star* (1897), which purports to tell how the resurrected mummy of an Incan emperor named Vilcaroya takes back his kingdom from the descendants of the Spanish colonizers who stole it from him nearly four hundred years prior to his resurrection. Dr. Laurens Djama, a brilliant but ultimately traitorous character, through his unorthodox scientific studies, brings Vilcaroya back to life, while Djama’s sister, Ruth, looks after the resurrected king him and helps him to adjust to the strange modern world in which he lives. Captain Francis Hartness, like Djama and his sister Ruth an Englishman, serves as Vilcaroya’s military advisor and friend, acquainting him with modern warfare and its technology. As for his army, it is made up from the loyal descendants of his people from his kingdom all those many years ago. He recruits them, persuading them both with a sense of the justice of his cause and the riches of Incan treasure in his possession. By the time he is finished, Vilcaroya has punished the traitorous Djama, married Ruth, and retaken the country, destroying its foreign institutions and reestablishing the Incan way of life.
Just a year later, in 1898, another tale of invasion is published, Guy Boothby’s *Pharos, the Egyptian*. Unlike Griffith’s story, this narrative makes no use of an invading army, but instead tells the tale of how one man, an Egyptian named Pharos, manages through his occult powers and knowledge of science, to strike down thousands upon thousands of victims on the Continent and in England in retaliation for the despoliation of Egyptian tombs. Pharos, who is inexplicably both a mummy who remains entombed in his sarcophagus and a living, breathing, hideous old man, manages to accomplish this feat through his powers of mind control over others and through an elixir of death; he uses this elixir on the tale’s narrator and protagonist, Cyril Forrester, a celebrated British artist, whom he then uses to spread disease as he travels from Egypt, thence to various European nations, and finally to England itself. Once back in England, Pharos takes Forrester on a tour of London, showing him not only those places frequented by the socially elite but to locations known only to the criminal element. The result of this little tour, of course, is that London is soon decimated by disease, death, and chaos. By story’s end, however, order is restored when the very gods who sent Pharos destroy him and all is well for the nation, though Forrester, having learned of his unwitting role in the deaths of so many, permanently exiles himself from his native land.

A third tale, this one also by Griffith, tells a similar story to that written by Boothby. In this tale, *The Mummy and Miss Nitocris: A Phantasy of the Fourth Dimension* (1906?), the enemy is once again found chiefly in one person, a man named Prince Oscar Oscarovitch, who uses his wealth and influence to gather those around him who will help him gain power. The mummy of the story, Queen Nitocris, does not play a
major role in this tale, though it is a crucial one, for at the beginning of the story, it is
Queen Nitocris who contacts Professor Franklin Marmion, “one of the most celebrated
mathematicians and physicists in Europe,” (n.p.) through a fourth dimension where time
and space can easily be traversed, and equips him through this same fourth dimension to
stop a world war. With the help of his daughter Niti and the queen from whom she is
reincarnated as well as additional aid from M. Nicol Hendry and Captain Mark Merrill,
the professor is able, by book’s end, to stop the war that would have been, leaving
England and the Continent in peace.

These stories all share a common theme—involution. In two of the stories, it is
England which is invaded; in the other, Peru. The concern about invasion was so
common at the time that numerous narratives, called “invasion-scare” stories or novels,
were published in the period extending from the 1871 publication of The Battle of
Dorking up until the First World War (Clarke, “Future War” par. 3). Most of the stories
that were written in this time dealt with industrialized nations facing off against one
another, but two writers of mummy fiction, Boothby and Griffith, between them wrote
three stories that incorporated the occultic theme of mummy fiction.\footnote{I. F. Clarke, the premiere scholar in the field of future war or invasion scare fiction, has written or edited
several studies on the subject of invasion (or future war) fiction. See, for example, “Future-War Fiction:
The First Main Phase, 1871-1900, in Science Fiction Studies 24, available online at
http://www.depauw.edu/sfs/clarkeess.htm as well as his introduction to The Tale of the Next Great War,
1871-1914 (Syracuse UP, 1995), pages 1-26.}

Of those three stories, one, Griffith’s The Romance of Golden Star, was clearly anti-imperialist, while
the other tales were mixed in their views of imperialism, a fact reflecting the division of
public opinion on the subject. In some of these tales there is a sense of the superiority of
British culture and ability: the anti-imperialist *Golden Star* gives voice to the idea of the superiority of British culture as the book’s hero, the Incan emperor Vilcaroya, learns how to operate in the modern world, learning everything from how to wage war to how to treat a woman; and the story of *The Mummy and Miss Nitocris* suggests a parallel between the empire of ancient Egypt and the modern British Empire. Only Boothby’s tale of *Pharos, the Egyptian* seems especially hard on England. While not anti-imperialist in nature as Griffith’s tale of *Golden Star* is, it nonetheless presents a weakened Britain, unable to defend itself and deserving of punishment. The picture that emerges from these three narratives is a picture of a Britain mixed its opinion of imperialism. At some level, all three stories thematize imperialism, and consider the justice of that system. On the other hand, the tales have a great regard for British culture. In the end, we see a problem without a clear solution. The morality of empire is doubtful, so much so, that as James Ramsay MacDonald (1866-1937), “the well known English socialist” and first Labour prime minister of Great Britain, writing in 1907 comments, the guilt drives imperialists to their “spiritual leaders,” who may “invent . . . some justification as that of a ‘regrettable necessity’ in order that [they] may serve both God and Mammon” (“What I Saw in South Africa” 700; MacDonald 20). But giving up the empire never seems to be the solution—it may be all right for the Peruvians in *Golden Star*, but not for Britain. In the final analysis, we see an England trapped in its power and driven by its pride and its guilt. As a “superior” race, the English were destined to rule; it was their mission from God (Anderson 24-25). And while the majority believed that it was incumbent upon them to hold those territories that Britain already possessed, they were, for the most part,
“reluctant imperialists” (Heyck 91). Their pride (and, undoubtedly, a desire for greater influence and opportunities for trade) had driven them out into the world, but once there they might be, as they were in Egypt, trapped in a place where they had never, according to official explanations, desired to be. But because of their duty to themselves and the rest of the world, they could, by their own account, never leave Egypt until Egypt was prepared to fulfill its responsibilities.\footnote{See Lord Cromer’s evaluation of the problem of Egypt in his study of \textit{Modern Egypt}.}

The stories of these tales tell us something about the concerns and fears of the fin de siècle Briton. Looking at the economic, social, and political situation of the time, those fears are not that difficult to understand. In the first place, as Thomas William Heyck tells us in \textit{A History of the Peoples of the British Isles: From 1870 to the Present}, the modern Briton of the period (late 19\textsuperscript{th}, early 20\textsuperscript{th} century) saw a world in which the great advantages of a head start in the industrial game began to show signs of wear. In the earliest days of industrialization, England had no real competitors; the field was wide open. Other nations, however, soon began to catch up as the growth rate of the British economy slowed from a three percent growth per year for the first three quarters of the century to only two percent for the last quarter (Heyck 4). This slowing of the economy, combined with economic growth in other nations, meant that countries like the United States and Britain, which by 1900 produced more iron and steel than Britain, could overtake the British lead. Militarily and diplomatically there were problems as well. The formation of modern states from smaller principalities that had made up both Italy
and Germany was additional cause for concern for Great Britain. Germany in particular was cause for anxiety with its militaristic tradition and its “rapidly growing population of 49 million in 1890” compared to Britain’s much smaller 37.4 million (Heyck 86). Germany’s decision to build up its navy, according to the First and Second Navy Laws of 1898 and 1900 further threatened Britons who were beginning to lose their advantage over other nations as Germany and others like her began to build modern navies of their own (Matin, “Kim” 360-61).

The European scramble for African colonies driven by a desire for greater prestige and power prompted additional fears for British economic and military security. The late nineteenth century is full of examples of nations striving to establish their presence in various parts of the world not only to increase their power and influence, but also as a way to provide military security through the establishment of buffer zones as well as strong strategic positions from which to defend themselves in case of war.15 Colonization was one of the primary ways in which this was accomplished. This was especially important for industrialized Britain, which had become quite dependent on trade with other nations and its colonies in order to feed its people and provide raw materials for its factories. A naval blockade could bring Britain to its knees. The emergence of other European nations “into the colonial world” was thus a source of anxiety for native Britons as they threatened the formerly uncontested lead of the British

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15 Egypt was originally selected by the French as important because of it would provide a point from which England could be attacked.
(Heyck 91). It was a game for world power, played out on the world’s stage, destined eventually to explode in the second decade of the new century.

This scramble for African colonies, according to at least one source, can be laid partially at the feet of the British with their invasion of Egypt and is an example of how Britain grew its empire almost “absent-minded[ly]” (Albrecht-Carrié 190). The problems that led to the decision to invade were manifold. In the first place, there was the matter of the Suez Canal, important to Britain for the convenient route it provided to India and the Cape of Good Hope. Free access to the canal had to be maintained, but there was some concern that availability of the canal to the British might be endangered as a result of the rebellion of Egyptian soldiers over Khedive Isma’il’s mismanagement of funds and the disastrous effects it had on their pay when, in 1876, Egypt was thrown into bankruptcy. Britain became involved in the situation, according to official explanations, in an attempt to restore order in 1882 when riots broke out in Alexandria, though there is some question as to the adequacy of this explanation.16 Britain had hoped to intervene in the situation accompanied by the French government, but when France declined to act, Gladstone, affirming his move was in the interest of Europe as a whole, went ahead without their assistance. Once in Egypt, Britain placed Sir Evelyn Baring (later Lord Cromer) in the position of consul general, where he placed the Egyptian government back in firm financial standing, restoring the financial fortunes of all nations which had risked their money in Egypt. Though Britain had no official standing in Egypt—Egypt was still nominally a part of the Ottoman Empire—she remained there until 1936, reasoning, that

Britain could not leave until Egypt was able to rule herself, a situation which, in the British judgment, never arose (Hopkins 388).

The scramble for colonies in Africa by other nations, particularly a newly more aggressive Germany as well as France, broke out in the mid-1880s, instilling the British with concern about the intention of other nations with regard to their military intent, resulting in concern that such power hungry nations might attempt conquest of Britain as well as her colonies. In addition there was concern about the possible hostility of those nations which had been colonized, a result of moral ambivalence about the whole question of empire. One form that this anxiety took was the fear of reverse colonization—the fear that by force or, more likely, by stealth, colonized others would infiltrate Britain and destabilize it from within.17

This fear of reverse colonization overlapped with cultural discourses about disease, which saw a parallel between the microbe-based theory of illness and the infiltration of foreigners into Britain. Earlier theory held that disease was caused by bad air issuing forth from specific locations. One could avoid illness, according to this theory, by staying away from the place where the harmful air was located. Cell theory, on the other hand, held that disease was the result, not of bad air, but of bacteria, which would pierce the membranes of a previously healthy cell and make it sick. In the 1880s, as this theory became widely understood, “bacteria became a metaphor through which one could articulate fears about all invisible enemies, military, political, or economic”

17 Stephen D. Arata’s “The Occidental Tourist: Dracula and the Anxiety of Reverse Colonization” and Eitan Bar-Yosef’s “E. Nesbit and the Fantasy of Reverse Colonization: How Many Miles to Modern Babylon?” provide further useful information on the subject.
Laura Otis, to whom I owe this explanation of events, takes this cellular explanation of disease and develops from it a proposition about identity based on exclusion, an idea which she refers to as the “membrane” theory. Simply put, the “membrane” theory posits that identity works based on what it excludes: we can know who or what we are by knowing what we are not (Otis 1). Otis’s membrane theory takes this idea of exclusion—what we are not—and derives the theory that cellular bodies might be likened to individuals or nations with membranous borders that separate the me from the not me. The material within the borders is the me, that without, the not me. Throughout her study that follows the establishment of this theory, she then demonstrates how it works in the writing of the scientist-physician writers whom she studies.

Otis is careful to demonstrate in her book how the anthropomorphic thinking of scientists/researchers moved from the scientific community into metaphors to describe the political situation of the time, a time in which, as a result of the microbe theory of disease, humankind began to fear the small and to speak of the entrance of foreigners as matters of infection that had sullied the pure British nation. This fear was then translated into stories of the time that demonstrate the danger of biochemical weaponry that is capable of decimating whole populations as well as tales that posit the danger of single, lurking foreigners who present potential danger to the homeland. The prior case can be seen in a story such as Jack London’s “The Unparalleled Invasion,” the latter in a tale such as Pharos, the Egyptian. The foreign body that invades the British nation, of course, is the microbe, the germ, that infects the cellular body. Though foreigners earlier in the century had been encouraged to come to Britain in the 1860s, they began to be viewed
with consternation (Deacon 125-26). By the 1890s and early 1900s, stories of foreign invader in tales like *Dracula* and *The Beetle* began to appear. International competition for world power coupled with rumors of German spies in England fanned to a fever pitch by invasion scare novelist William Le Queux’s campaign to root out German spies only made things worse (Matin, “Hun” 434). Strangely enough, however, though fears of the foreigner were widespread both in fiction and in reality in certain quarters and times, the foreigner was also viewed as desirable other, as in the case of the beautiful and exotic ward of Pharos, Valerie de Vocqal. Though not an “oriental woman,” Valerie partakes of the same tradition of “oriental” desirability that many of the Egyptian women in these tales do, a fact which should not be surprising, for as Edward Said reminds us in his study of *Orientalism*, the “Oriental” was so often exoticized and presented as an object of desire that “[i]n time, ‘Oriental sex’” became “as standard a commodity as any other available in mass culture, with the result that readers and writers could have it if they wished without necessarily going to the Orient” (190).

The foreigner, however, whether feared or viewed as exotically desirable, potentially poses a threat, of one of two kinds, depending upon the origin of that threat. For the foreigner of European extraction, the threat is typically to the power of the nation under threat and the means of that threat are typically within the confines of western thought. The colonized foreigner, however, poses not only a potential risk to the stability of nationhood, but does so in such a way as to threaten western rationality as well as it makes use of occult powers, for the colonized foreigner is typically deeply implicated in the world of the spirit and functions best not in a world of western rationality but in a
world of magic and spirits that confound the western mind. The “oriental” foreigner may not, as Lord Cromer, author of Modern Egypt and British Consul General there until 1907, would have it, be capable of disciplined, rational behavior, but he (or she) does possess a dangerous occult power (2: 146-47).

Yet, despite this potentially dangerous affinity to the occult, British racial thought was such that it demanded the expansion of empire. Though matters of national security and economics were undoubtedly at work as motivators of an expanding empire, other, more moral, nobler notions were employed as justification in the imperial project. In Egypt, the justification was the idea that, as Gladstone had argued, order needed to be restored in a riotous, bankrupt Egypt. Britain, despite the absence of a French ally, was, according to the official account, acting in the best interests of Europe. But other reasons for imperial intervention were employed as well. By expanding empire, the thinking went, Britain was sharing the wonder of its advanced civilization with underdeveloped nations. Missionary societies, moreover, were spreading the gospel, tending to the everlasting welfare of men’s and women’s souls. British imperial involvement in addition added to the quality of life of colonials to whom the British, as in India, made the opportunities of a more thorough education available. And besides all of this, there was the matter of the fitness to rule. Those whom the British colonized were deemed by the British incapable of ruling themselves, whereas the British were thought to be especially skilled in matters of governance. The imperialistic ideal might be to rule in nations until they were able to rule themselves, but from a British standpoint the reality,
as Lord Cromer points out in his study of *Modern Egypt*, was that ability to self-rule remained “far distant” (2: 567).

The imperial project, however, led those in some quarters to question the morality of what Britain was doing. The idea of being a good neighbor, of treating those in other nations as one would wish to be treated,\(^{18}\) was not being fulfilled. Nations were, to hear MacDonald tell it *What I Saw in South Africa*, being used to their detriment and/or destroyed when they failed to do as the British wished (qtd. in Thompson 168-69). The British had, in his view, become a nation overbearing in its exercise of its military power. The guilt and uncertainty about Britain’s ability of maintaining the empire, resulting from Britain’s action on the world stage was expressed in pamphlets, speeches, books of political commentary like MacDonald’s, and in fiction as well, not the least of which was in those stories of invasion found in the mummy stories of the time. The degree of the guilt or the fear of incompetence varies according to story, but the question is an important one that is often raised in the stories.

Guy Boothby’s tale of *Pharos, the Egyptian* is one such tale. Narrated by artist Cyril Forrester but to a great degree understood from the point of view of Pharos, the Egyptian invader, the novel, though it in no way sees Pharos as other than an enemy of Great Britain, nevertheless makes clear how a colonized nation might well be justified in turning on an imperial force like England when that colonizing power sufficiently

\(^{18}\) MacDonald quotes a portion from a letter from Sir M. E. Grant Duff to one of his constituents that makes this point nicely. In this letter, Duff writes: “‘It is required that we should aim at living in the community of nations as well-bred people live in society; gracefully acknowledging the rights of others, and confident, if we ever think about the matter at all, that others will soon come to do no less for us’” (15).
provokes the subject nation by unconscionable treatment of its (in this case, Egypt’s) dead. Such, in fact, is the basis of Pharos’s case against Britain, for, according to Pharos, Britain has been responsible for sacrilegious treatment of the graves of those entombed in ancient Egypt and have therefore incurred the wrath of the ancient land’s gods. In response, those same gods send Pharos to punish the responsible nations for their desecration of those graves. Viewed in this light, the reprisal, though one might question its severity, seems perfectly reasonable. When, in addition to the punishment for acts previously committed, one considers the reprehensible character of many of the native Briton, one can hardly blame Pharos or his party for their acts of retribution.

Pharos makes this point to Forrester on a tour of London when he promises to show Forrester London “‘as I see it in my character of Pharos the Egyptian,’” effectively turning the logic driving British imperialism on its head. Using the same kind of logic which the British use in expanding their empire, Pharos produces evidence in his tour of London to support his impending attack on England.

Pharos’s imperial logic begins with a picture of London society that is anything but flattering. Those at the top of the social ladder are mean men and women, guilty of various sins. One man’s mysterious behavior suggests he is involved in espionage—an activity at the time deemed in no way glamorous and beneath the honor of a gentleman—another shows himself to be a social-climber. Mothers can be seen to be scheming to find their daughters rich husbands and politicians in the House of Commons show their concern with the nation’s health to be a distant second to their concern for their party’s advancement. Wealthy playgoers are shown as the callous individuals they are, caring
more about being admired than they are in seeing the play which they interrupt with their loud conversations. The lower classes are represented as well. A visit to a “gambling hell” brings Forrester and Pharos into contact with thieves and murderers, whose stories Pharos gleefully tells. Outside the gambling establishment, violence and chaos reign as well. A woman can be heard “screaming for assistance” while across the street “a couple of men were fighting at the far end of an adjoining court” (337). The condition of the poor whom Pharos and Forrester encounter at the end of their journey constitutes some of the most severe criticism:

We visited Salvation Army Shelters, the cheapest of cheap lodging-houses, dosshouses in comparison to which a workhouse would be a palace; dark railway arches, where we found homeless men, women, and children endeavouring to snatch intervals of rest between the visits of patrolling policemen; the public parks, where the grass was dotted with recumbent forms, and every seat was occupied; and then, turning homewards, reached Park Lane just as the clocks were striking seven, as far as I was concerned sick at heart, not only of the sorrow and sin of London, but of the callous indifference to it displayed by Pharos. (340)

This is the world that Pharos wishes to destroy. Having looked at it, full of hypocrisy, vanity, social climbing, vain ambition, crime, and a government’s and a people’s crass disregard of the condition of those around them, one can hardly blame him, despite the quote’s obvious sympathy with the plight of the poor and disenfranchised. This is social criticism that could well be leveled against the powerful land and one that many socially
conscious Britons might well hold themselves. Though Pharos is portrayed throughout the book as wickedness incarnate, he nevertheless tells the truth here. The book does not side with him as his eventual casting into hell by the Egyptian gods makes clear, but Britain’s social shortcomings here nevertheless make clear the justification for the punishment it suffers at the hands of Pharos.  

The punishment which Britain suffers in this story is the same that numerous other European nations in the novel have suffered for the desecration of Egyptian tombs—a grave plague which has killed thousands upon thousands of victims. This choice of method for destruction, a kind of biological warfare, is interesting for several reasons. As we have seen, it was only as a result of long research that by the mid-1880s the knowledge of the spread of disease by germs was discovered, resulting in a situation, where, as Otis points out “[s]mallness itself became menacing” (94). Deadly viruses could be transmitted by germs so small as to evade the unaided human eye. Though the theory was unknown, such means had been employed since ancient times when “retreating armies [would place] human or animal cadavers into wells] and later in the Middle Ages at the siege of Caffa in 1346 when “plague cadavers” were allegedly “catapulted” into the city (Wheelis 13). It was also during the latter nineteenth century, thanks to scientific discoveries, that writers such as H. G. Wells, knowledgeable in

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19 H. Rider Haggard’s short story, “Smith and the Pharaohs,” deals with the same question of British culpability in the practice of tomb raiding as it was practiced in his day. In the story, James Ebenezer Smith, after having found the tomb of an ancient Egyptian queen with whose image he had fallen in love with several years before, finds himself trapped in a room full of mummies at a museum in Paris. He falls asleep and then awakens to discover the dead mummies all risen and in counsel. They discover him and put him on trial for desecrating the tomb of the woman with whose image he had fallen in love. Various charges are laid against him in the process of the trial, but eventually he is acquitted because he had done it all for love.
scientific matters, began to consider the usefulness of invisible microbes in the destruction of one’s enemies. Wells’s comic tale of “The Stolen Bacillus” posits the dangers of such small creatures as does his tale of The War of the Worlds, where the technologically advanced Martians are only finally destroyed by germs that are harmless to human beings but deadly to extraterrestrials. And the same concept is considered in reverse in the story of The Germ Growers, by Australian prelate Robert Potter, a tale in which demonic beings establish a farm in the hinterlands of Australia where they grow germs to sicken the human race so that human beings might turn against God.

These stories, like the narrative of Pharos, are tales of invasion that defy our commonsensical expectations. The enemy in these stories is not what we expect: extra-terrestrials, demonic angels, and a resurrected mummy are more than the rational mind can typically be expected to accept. The religious among us, of course, might have no difficulty with demonic beings, but their coming to us as germ-growing beings from another planet is more than the most orthodox would be willing to concede. The idea of aliens from outer space, for many, is just as ludicrous. And resurrected mummies? Such things are just beyond the pale. For tales of reverse colonization, such as the tale of Pharos, ideas of such means of destruction do something else: they provide a means whereby a smaller or weaker force might gain the upper hand against a superior power. This power of the small is precisely what is used when Pharos, with a very small group of supporters whom we rarely see in the novel, attacks and almost overpowers Great Britain through the power of a deadly disease. In framing the means of the onslaught in this
way, Boothby creates in Pharos a metaphorical parallel of the disease-infected microbe attacking the healthy cell.

The infecting agent in the tale of **Pharos**, of course, is Pharos himself. Political rhetoric of the time, as well as numerous tales of fiction—Otis, in particular, mentions tales of Arthur Conan Doyle—cast the foreigners in the role of infecting agent, fearing their presence would pollute the racial stock and cultural rituals and practices by their mere presence in the social stream. Boothby thus takes this racialized fear, provoked in general, no doubt by the cultural guilt faced by the colonizer on which numerous critics have commented, and sets up a major infection narrative, moving from the microscopically small stage of bodily infection to the larger, both physically and politically, stage of international attack, which interestingly enough returns once again to the microscopic scale as the germs of infection attack healthy bodies and destroy them.

The infection begins on a small scale when Forrester is “compelled to drink” a “potion” which carries the plague (188). It moves on to the large stage of political attack when Forrester, without knowledge or consent, spreads death as he moves from Egypt toward London. Death itself moves us once again to the region of the small, for while the impact of the disease is international, the killing itself takes place in the microscopic regions of individual bodies where the disease invisibly kills those with the invasion of the lethal microbe. The body has become the battleground, the invading microbe paralleling the larger biological invasion of Pharos against Egypt’s enemies.

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This process of thinking is hardly surprising and is certainly fitting given the time in which the tales were written as germ theory was relatively recent (mid-1880s) and since at least one of the pioneers in the field—doctor, politician, and medical scientist Rudolf Virchow—was prone to anthropomorphize the bodily functions involved. This thinking essentially depicted the cell as an independent living being, bound by its cellular membrane which separated it from all other cells. The cell, furthermore, in accordance with the sociopolitical parallel, dwelt within a society of other individuals. The conglomerate of those cells, of course, made up various organs, which would then have to work together to make up the whole body. The idea hearkens back at least as far as the ancient Christian church where individual Christians in the epistles from the Apostle Paul were described as various body parts of the body of Christ and more recently in Thomas Hobbes’s *Leviathan*.

As Otis points out, it is the borders of the cells, the membranes, that separate the contents of the cell from everything around it. Applied to nations, this border is what separates the inhabitants of a nation—the English, the Germans, the French, the Russians—from all other nationalities. Within these borders (we are talking about nations again) certain rules, ways of doing things, cultural traditions, ways of thinking, apply. Infection, according to these terms, is a matter of borders which have been penetrated, allowing the “not me” to enter in. The ideal behind this whole way of thinking is based upon the idea of a homogenized populace, all of one race.

This idea of a homogenized populace, a notion of one race, complicates the situation in Britain, for, despite H. G. Wells’s massaging of the facts, the British are a
nation of immigrants from various national/racial stock: Celts, Germans, French, and so forth. This mixture, according to Wells, would make one nation, one people—so how would one discriminate between the acceptable racial stock of the Briton vs. the unacceptable? Part of the answer would be historical. The racial stock of which Wells and others like him were so fond was that of the Anglo-Saxon. They had been in Britain more than a thousand years, ever since the overseas migration in beginning in the early fifth century A.D. The defeated Celts, however, do not figure so well in this equation, and the presence of any other groups, Africa, Chinese, and so forth, was simply dismissed from consideration, except as foreign outsiders. Eastern Europeans and Jews, immigrants who had been officially welcomed in the nation, were likewise excluded from membership of the racialized Briton. The reality, then, of the pure cell, the pure nation, set off by its borders to protect its pure race, is that such a nation did not exist, but was in fact a fantasy, a construal of nationhood that posited the powerful classes of Anglo-Saxon Christians as the nation, which all those that differed were ignored.

Given this state of affairs, then, how does Pharos, penetrating the border, work in a nation that is in reality hardly a pure one to begin with? It is tempting to argue that skin color might play a role in denigrating/distancing Pharos further than other foreigners, and certainly we know that dark-skinned colonists, such as those in India, for example, were often derogatorily referred to as “niggers” by racist literature of the time. But to argue the point in this way would fail to take into account the way in which Egyptian women are so often depicted as women of lighter skin tones aside from the obvious fact that by race all that was often implied was a difference of nationality rather than in what
we today would call “racial” difference. Such a position would also go against the beliefs about the race of the ancient Egyptians that researchers of the time had been at some pains to discover, findings showing that the peoples of the ancient land had themselves been a mixture of lighter and darker skinned (Posener 237). The debate over this issue, in fact, goes on today. No, Pharos’s dangerous alterity is not a result of skin tones, but of a difference of attitude and culture hidden within a hideous, apparently physical form. Physical appearance thus does play a role in others’ perception of him as foreign, much in the same way that villains might be portrayed in fairy tales or old westerns where the good guys can be separated from the bad guys by the color of their hats. And it cannot be denied that his hideous alien appearance very much affects the way that others perceive him; but others’ reception of him goes beyond this, for though the ancient Egyptian can be quite charming when he chooses, the evil side of his personality is so palpable that those who come near him, as in the case of the exhibition of Forrester’s new painting of ancient Egypt at Burlington House, instinctively “[draw] away from him” when he approaches (36). And it is this despicableness, this sense of evil incarnate, that makes Pharos work as an infecting agent in a far from racially pure Britain, for Pharos is an exaggeration of the fears of xenophobic Britons: he is evil writ large, the personification of foreign evil intent on the destruction of England.

21 See Stuart Anderson, who comments, in his essay, “Race and Rapprochement,” on the slippery nature of “race” to mean whatever its speakers desired (18-19).

22 I say “apparently” here because it is difficult to say exactly what Pharos is. In ancient times, Pharos was the Egyptian magician Ptahmes, but he died and his body was mummmified. Pharos, nonetheless, lives on and, though his diet is restricted, he does eat. This would hardly make him a ghost, but just what he is remains a mystery.
Pharos’s enmity, apparent in his attitude toward Britain and other European nations, further marks him as an invading microbe, for his crossing of the border is for purposes of harm and his entrance into an already compromised cell by reason of foreign substance (other nations) within the cell can be read one of two ways: either Pharos’s job as invader will be eased as a result of the already compromised cell, or, and more likely, Pharos will have to be portrayed as eminently wicked in order to stand out in contrast to foreigners already within the border. If Pharos is the “infection,” then he must be vile and the presence of other potentially infecting agents must either be negligible or non-existent.

As infecting agent, Pharos crosses several significant borders, ranging from the most general to the most personal and particular, indicating an increasing personal threat that in turn impacts the general population. The first border Pharos crosses is an accomplished fact that we readers never see occur but whose significance cannot be denied: the crossing of the national border. The time scheme of Pharos’s mission given to him by the Egyptian gods is not entirely clear so it is impossible to date when he has crossed the border, but by the time of the book’s action, he has already crossed the border into Britain as well as Italy, where he has a wonderfully luxurious home, as well as having entered into numerous other European nations where he has gone by reason of his ward Valerie de Vocxqal’s violin concerti. In Britain, in particular, the land we know the most about in terms of Pharos’s activities, he has been able, by reason of his occult powers, to gather large amounts of intelligence about people. He tells Forrester that there is very little that he does not know, and he demonstrates this fact numerous times by
revealing incredibly private information about the various individuals he and Forrester encounter within the course of the book. The next more personal border that Pharos crosses is that of private property. The borders of home or business—Pharos invades both as he goes about his work of invasion—parallel the national borders as barriers which keep out the foreign from the local. We know of at least two private borders that Pharos crosses: the curiosity shop of Clausand, whom he murders, and the home of Cyril Forrester. Both of these invasions result in the most personal affront of all—the crossing of personal/bodily borders. With the shopkeeper, that border is crossed, at least metaphorically, as Pharos shatters the body which protects the life within; with Forrester, the border is crossed through hypnotic suggestion when Pharos, in a manner that is, as Victoria Margree points out, akin to rape, subdues an unwilling Forrester and exerts control over his victim’s mind, subjecting Forrester to one of the greatest affronts a man of his time might experience: loss of control over his own mental processes (67).

The infection metaphor that Otis uses makes the most sense when we consider the results of Pharos’s activities, for Pharos, literally, through his use of Forrester as a carrier of plague, infects and destroys countless victims across Europe and England: the metaphorical, that is, becomes the literal. Pharos, the source of foreign ideas and attitudes, infects metaphorically through his own small presence in Britain and elsewhere, endangering the stability potentially through his mingling with others. In the same way, the literal infection takes place as Forrester, the carrier of the disease, the weapon loaded by Pharos and aimed by him, comes into contact with the inhabitants of numerous European countries and Britain.
The horror of this action, especially the fact that a foreign entity might turn a man into a weapon against his own country, makes our image of Pharos more despicable than ever. Pharos becomes, that is, the poster boy for the threat of foreign infection. As such, the story ultimately makes a case for imperialism that even the most “reluctant imperialist” might well accept, for the forces of a less-than rationally based mentality—forces of primitivism, savagery, and darkness, to the western mind—are herein demonstrated as posing a danger to British security and must therefore be controlled in much the same way that the civil and financial chaos of Egypt herself had to be managed. By racializing and demonizing Pharos, the story ultimately resolves the uncomfortable issues about empire that the story raises, suggesting that Britons were right to fear the foreign and that England herself was justified in the actions she took in protecting herself from those threats, for though the empire might not be perfect, her enemies were worse.

George Griffith’s *The Mummy and Miss Nitocris* is a different sort of story. Though both the tale of Pharos and that of Nitocris are similar in that they deal with the subject of invasion and mummies, they are different because rather than looking at a tale of weakness, where England is almost overcome by external threats, this story is a tale of British power more in keeping with the way that Britons liked to think of themselves and their nation. In this story, the English are the saviors of the world who, through the occult powers of Professor Franklin Marmion and his daughter Niti and her earlier incarnation, defeat those who would rule over them.

This story of British strength came at a time when many had become greatly concerned about the state of the British racial stock. A disappointing performance in the
Boer War in South Africa “following upon several years of agricultural and industrial depression, rural depopulation and mounting commercial and imperial competition from expansive new rivals, provoked a veritable orgy of criticism, enquiry and analysis focusing upon the alarming possibility that the race was somehow decaying” (Soloway 137). Disturbing statistics from military and civilian studies of the problem can account for a great deal of this anxiety. Statistics provided by journalist Arnold White state that “403 of every 1,000 recruits in industrial cities such as Manchester were unsuitable for military service” (Soloway 140). These figures “were inflated to three of every five by 1901, and were supplemented by B. Seebohm Rowntree’s discovery that of 3,600 men examined for service in York, Leeds and Sheffield, 26.5 percent were rejected while another 29 to 30 percent were so marginal as to suggest the possibility that at least half the working population might be unavailable for military duty” (Soloway 140). There were other problems as well. George F. Shee, writing in 1903 in Nineteenth Century noted problems regarding declining height and weight of young men. “Using recruitment statistics Shee reported that the average height of enlistees had fallen from 5 feet 5.8 inches to 5 fee 5.4 inches between 1890 and 1900, while their weight had declined from 126 to 124.4 pounds. Standard height, which in 1845 was 5 feet 6 inches, was at a recorded low of 5 feet in 1901” (qtd. in Soloway n. 22). There were additional concerns about declining fertility and birth rates. “After generations of high rates of reproduction averaging around 34 births per 1,000 of the population and reaching a record peak of 36.3 in 1876, fertility began to fall relentless. By 1901 it stood at 28.5 and by 1914, 24.0, a drop of more than 33 percent in less than forty years. During the same period the large
Victoria family, averaging between and six children, gave way to an Edwardian average that was close to half that number” (153). These figures were alarming; “With organs of opinion as different as the Daily Mail and the Lancet describing the falling birth-rate as an ‘ominous threat’ and a ‘menace’ pointing to ‘a national calamity seriously threatening the future welfare of our race’ it was clear that diminishing fertility was fast becoming another manifestation of waning racial vigour in the public’s mind” (154).

The bad news, for the traditional man or woman, does not stop here, though. There were other signs of degeneration, as it was regarded, as well. The 1880s and 1890s, according to the novelist George Gissing, were a period of “sexual anarchy” (v. 113).

Besides the problem of the New Woman, there were concerns about a loss of masculinity devolving into homosexuality. The Oscar Wilde trial in 1895 did not help matters much either as it caused a “moral panic that inaugurated a period of censorship affecting both advanced women and homosexuals” (Showalter 171). Wilde’s trial, however, “while it was unique in terms of the individual in question and the scandal it cause” was not the only scandal of its kind (Adut 17). Before the Wilde trial in 1895, numerous scandals had shocked the nation: the “Boulton and Park in 1870, the Dublin Castle scandal of 1884, the Cleveland Street scandal of 1889-90 . . .” (Weeks 21). In a day in which homosexuality is widely accepted, such attitudes seem difficult to understand today, but for the late-Victorian and Edwardian, the homosexual was not only a “‘corrupter of youth,’” but “a source of danger and depravity,” a mentally deranged person, and, according to the early thinking of nineteenth-century sexologist Richard von Krafft-
Ebing, “a functional sign of ‘degeneration’” (Adut 17; Weeks 27). The nation, in the view of many traditional-thinking contemporaries, was going to hell in a hand basket.

Little wonder then that there might be room for a book of the sort we see in The Mummy and Miss Nitocris. In this novel, we behold not a mere contest of mortal against mortal, but a contest of the gods. Not a tale of masculine weakness, such as we behold in Pharos, the Egyptian and Iras, a Mystery, this is a story made up of superheroes of the Superman variety. When we look at the English characters in this story, we know, whatever doubts to the contrary may exist in the outside world, the English are a people fit to rule. **A look at the major players in the tale makes this point perfectly clear.**

The main character in the book is Professor Franklin Marmion. From page one, we know this is a man of substance, intelligence. He is “one of the most celebrated mathematicians and physicists in Europe,” and is capable of filling an auditorium full of his peers when he speaks (n.p.). But there is more to Professor Marmion than a great mind. The professor, thanks to a mystical experience he has in what is called the “fourth dimension,” is capable of god-like power. He can, through his will alone, move freely about in time and space when in the fourth dimension, dipping into the past, looking at hidden things in the present, venturing forth in to the future. He can also cause those whom he deems unworthy to die just by willing it, as he does near the conclusion of the novel with Phadrig Amena, the Egyptian adept who assists Prince Oscar Oscarovitch.

Professor Marmion is aided in his quest to save the world by his daughter, Niti Marmion, and by Queen Nitocris, whom we see only in spiritual form in the fourth dimension. These two women are basically one person since Niti is the modern
reincarnation of the queen. Though Niti comes to power later than her father, the professor, does, she is every bit as powerful as he. With the aid of the queen, she ultimately destroys the chief villain of the novel, Prince Oscarovitch.

The goal of the story, though we do not know it until we are well within the pages of the book, is to save the world from an impending world war to be caused by Oscarovitch. To accomplish this goal, the professor uses his special powers to discover what Oscarovitch is up to and then to destroy him. The professor, however, does not depend upon his powers alone to defeat Oscarovitch, but enlists the help of M. Nicole Hendry, the “Head of the English Department of the International Police Bureau” as well as the assistance of a man in love with his daughter, Captain Mark Merrill. Through the help of all of these individuals—his daughter, the queen, M. Hendry, and Merrill—the professor manages not only to defeat one villain, but to save the world from ultimate catastrophe.

The story we see here is one that, if there were any doubt, resuscitates a belief in the English as fit rulers of the world. At their most confident, this is certainly how a number of Englishmen and women saw themselves. To hear them tell it, the English (Anglo-Saxon) were everything that was wonderful and fine in the world: they loved liberty, were practical, rational, adventurous, energetic, honest and patient; on a mission from God, they were destined to rule (Anderson 20; 24-25). They were master organizers whose duty it was to extend their civilization (Anderson 25). They were, according to Tennyson, the “noblest men” (qtd. in Gilbert 15). Author and journalist Edward Dicey linked the English (the Anglo-Saxon English) with ancient Rome (Anderson 24). During
the Reformation, they were “championed” as “successors to the Israelites of the Old Testament (McBratney 13). Many stories of ancient Egypt, such as the mummy stories we look at in this dissertation, saw the modern day Briton as the successor of ancient Egypt, quite often literally as a reincarnation of some ancient ruler or priest.

The problem of invasion is that the English identity might be threatened. An encroachment of foreign blood might well do it in. Intermarriage with foreigners would weaken the Anglo-Saxon blood, so that this people, fit to rule, would become something else. There was a great deal of evidence, mostly among the poor, of problems with physical deterioration, which can be reversed; but the fear was that this deterioration might lead to degeneration, an irreversible situation (Soloway 144). Britons were afraid that the losses in virility, physique, and stamina, would become a permanent fixture of the race as debilitating genetic losses, caused by less than ideal environmental factors, were passed down through weakened genetic material (Soloway 144). It makes sense. We all try to account for the changes in our world, and this approach, given the popular understanding of evolution with its possible result in devolution might lead to any number of fears.

The problem of invasion, of course, is the problem of the penetration of borders. Using Otis’s membrane theory gives us a situation like this. The nation, in this case, England, is the cell. It is protected by a membrane which keeps foreign matter out. Within those borders certain legal and cultural rules apply that are well known to all those dwelling within the border. If the membrane is pierced, the viability of the cell is threatened. It may become sick; it certainly becomes something different than it had
been before. Despite the fact of numerous invasions that led to the population that inhabited Britain in the fin de siècle, native Britons tended to see themselves as a people, excluding, of course, Celts and foreigners. The British were, according to late nineteenth century ideology, an Anglo-Saxon people.

As the story of Nitocris is written, though it is concerned preeminently with invasion, there is actually very little in the way of invasion of the British. The threat is there, but it is rendered null and void as Professor Marmion and company fight against it and prevent its ever happening. This does not mean, of course, that there is no invasion at all in the story. Fortunately, for the comfort of its British readers, though, most of the invasion of borders is either done by the British themselves or is inflicted on other nations. Managing invasions in this way bolsters the picture of British invincibility while nevertheless pointing out the potential danger that should concern every patriotic British subject.

The opening invasion of the novel, however, is very personal and very British, for it is the invasion of the home of the novel’s protagonists, Professor and Niti Marmion. This invasion is nothing other than a story of reverse colonization that we see so often in the tales of invasion. It is the story of Egypt against Great Britain, of Phadrig Amena, who sends his two servants, Pent-Ah and Neb-Anat, to retrieve the mummy of Queen Nitocris, whom they wish to return to Egypt.

The invasion of Professor Marmion’s home rehearses a situation often contemplated in mummy fiction: the theft of an Egyptian mummy. It is for this reason that Egypt, represented in the bodies of Pent-Ah and Neb-Anat (and, in other scenes, in
the person of Phadrig Amena), comes to England (Professor Marmion’s house). The attempted burglary closely parallels national invasions. The invading country, in the persons of Neb-Anat and Pent-Ah as I have said, must first cross the border of that nation which they choose to attack. The walls of the house and the locks upon the door represent those very borders that we see in Otis’s membrane theory that are supposed to protect the nation from attack. A window, however, proves to be the weakness in the border, and it is through this means of ingress that Pent-Ah and Neb-Anat enter. Once inside, they have other borders to cross once they discover the mummy case is missing the mummy which they have come to restore to their native land. They go from room to room until they come to the unlocked door of the professor’s daughter, Niti. Once inside, they are astonished, for lying asleep in the bed is what they believe to the living embodiment of their queen.

Niti’s double nature, that of both a modern young Englishwoman and the reincarnation of an ancient Egyptian queen, plays an important role in the novel, for it establishes a firm connection between two empires, between the empire of ancient Egypt and early twentieth-century Britain. Her identity as a queen, moreover, helps us to see Niti as a legitimate representative of government. But it is here that there is an interesting twist on the whole idea of invasion, for the Egyptian identity of Niti turns the idea of invasion on its head, for with Niti as a representative of Egypt, the invasion thus

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23 It is somewhat difficult to accurately describe the relationship between Niti and Nitocris. While Niti Marmion is the reincarnation of the ancient queen, she also has an independent existence from her. Thus, while Neb-Anat and Pent-Ah see the queen they seek, they are looking at the professor’s daughter, a modern young woman of the early twentieth century.
becomes almost incestuous, for with this understanding of her identity, we see Egypt attacking Egypt. Professor Marmion’s identity ultimately does the same thing, for the professor, as we learn in his visit with the queen in the fourth dimension, was actually an ancient Egyptian himself, Ma-Rimōn, a priest who, according to Nitocris, “‘almost stood upon the threshold of the Inmost Sanctuary of Knowledge” (n.p.).

Both the professor and his daughter are thus reincarnations of powerful people, a notion perfectly in keeping with the exalted vision many Britons of the time held of themselves as we have seen. Niti stands to gain the most in this change in circumstance since she, as the unmarried daughter of the professor has little personal power. With her elevation to the fourth dimension, she gains the considerable power that allows her to take down the wicked Oscarovitch. The professor already has considerably more power as a man, both as her father and as a mathematician and physicist of considerable reputation. But what is perhaps most interesting in their situation is their position as Englishman and woman. In looking at the invasion of the Marmion home, we see the invasion of England and we learn how the English handle such matters. More importantly, we learn that the English, in keeping with their exalted view of themselves, prove themselves to be eminently more skilled and powerful than those who would attack them.

The story of invasion in this scene is the story of savage, non-whites against superior English forces. Because Niti has not yet learned of her status as a reincarnated queen of ancient Egypt and, more significantly, because she has not yet been elevated to the fourth dimension and has not received those considerable powers, she is largely an
object to be conquered and carried away. The professor, however, having already received his power, serves well as a representative of a powerful England, for not only is he a man of prestige in the modern world, but he is the reincarnation of a man of considerable power from the past. His interactions with the burglars who come into his house show his (and England’s) considerable power over those who would oppose him.

We see the professor’s superiority in this situation from the very beginning where we note his superior access to knowledge. The professor, unknown to the interlopers who have entered his study, are perfectly visible to him when he looks into a mirror that, without his consciously willing it to be so, serves as a window into the study where he can see the man and the woman who have come to steal his mummy. With this mummy, he can see through walls and know what is going on. His powers of language, moreover, make it possible to understand what the man and woman are saying to each other, though they speak to one another in a language with which he had not formerly been acquainted—Coptic. He also has the ability to make himself invisible, which he does, and then sneaks up on them, scaring them out of their wits and then punishing Pent-Ah, the man, with a spanking as though he were a child, then ordering the two of them from his house. In this scene he has made clear the physical and moral superiority that British imperialists felt described them in their relationships with a necessarily inferior other.

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24 She serves in this capacity later on, as we shall see, when Oscarovitch first lays his eyes on her and swears to have her whether she wishes it or not.

25 Elliot Gilbert describes this dynamic in the following manner: “Thus, the average nineteenth-century man who believed in imperialism necessarily believed, first, in the physical and moral superiority of the colonialists; second, in the (at least temporary) physical and moral inferiority of the natives; and third, in the possibility that the colonialists, by their presence and through their efforts, might improve the lot of the natives” (119).
The English superiority we see in the foregoing scene contrasts sharply with another invasion—that of the home of Prince Zastrow, Oscarovitch’s chief obstacle to the Russian throne should Tsar Nicholas fall. Zastrow, while a man of honor and respectable masculinity, does not compare in power with the remarkable Professor Marmion.

Zastrow, secretly opposed by his wife and several of his closest friends, is overcome by the administration of a drug surreptitiously delivered to him to make him sleep. His body is then taken up and driven to the ship which Oscarovitch has waiting.

The Zastrow kidnapping, because of the nature in which it is accomplished, takes us to yet another level of invasion—invasion of the body. The walls of Zastrow’s home at the Castle of Trelitz are penetrated as many another border is crossed in Oscarovitch’s campaign for power—through stealth. The feared foreigner on English soil comes to life in this parallel of the small, secretive enemy who can destroy within. Similar in a fashion to the spies that invasion novelist William Le Queux warned of just a few short years before the First World War in the introduction to his novel, *Spies of the Kaiser: Plotting the Downfall of England*, Zastrow’s enemies, whom he thought friends, have betrayed him from within his inner circle. Stealth thus penetrates the first border to the prince—the protective walls of his castle. Stealth also accomplishes the most intimate of border crossing as well—that of the prince’s body. The border of Zastrow’s body, the skin which separates him from the outside world, is crossed when the sleeping potion is administered to place the prince under the power of those who oppose him. He is rendered powerless in a manner somewhat similar to hypnotism, but the invasion is not as personal as hypnosis, for while the drug can put the prince to sleep, it does not assert
control over his mind. It does, however, render him powerless and in need of rescue. The foreigner cannot save himself, but, as we shall see, the Englishman can save the world.

The more nefarious invasion is that which is accomplished through hypnosis when Phadrig Amena uses the Horus Stone to hypnotize Mr. Isaac Josephus, a man sent to spy on the comings and goings of Phadrig. Josephus, though technically an Englishman, is not portrayed in the manner of the strong Anglo-Saxon since he is a Jew. He is, instead, presented as “a shabbily-dressed but well-to-do Jew trader” whose greed, upon seeing the Horus Stone, an ancient jewel which can be used by its possessor to place others in hypnotic trances, ultimately leads to his death (n.p.). He is, in the book’s terms, no Englishman, and the book’s portrayal of him when he sees the stone is hardly flattering, speaking as it does of his “greedily” taking the stone in “his fat, trembling hand” (n.p.). It is therefore not surprising that this greedy Jewish money-lender is overcome by the powers of Phadrig. On looking at the Horus Stone, he is hypnotized and then ordered by Phadrig to take a revolver and kill himself. As a Jew, according to the novel’s logic, he simply lacks the moral wherewithal to resist the powers of the stone. He is, for all intents and purposes, a foreigner, no Englishman at all. He is, moreover, completely shamed as he undergoes what Victoria Margree insists, in another context, is essentially a “(mental) rape—one that establishes a person as passive and invade-able, and therefore feminine, whether they be anatomically female or not” (67). He is the antithesis of the powerful Englishman.
Josephus’s response to the Horus Stone stands in stark contrast to that of Niti Marmion. By the time that Oscarovitch has the stone and attempts to use it on her, she has already been elevated to the fourth dimension. With these powers, she is able to withstand the stone and to turn the tables on Oscarovitch, who uses every power available, including the attempted murder of her father, the professor, to make her his own. Feigning interest, as she has been for some time by this point in the novel, in order to trap him, she ultimately agrees to marry him. He is not to be satisfied, however. Following the pattern in mummy fiction that David Seed identifies as “arousal and denial,” she literally drives him mad when he comes to the marriage bed only to discover that his bride is no young woman but the corpse of Queen Nitocris (191). Niti/Nitocris, working together as one, as they are, have absolute control of the situation and punish Oscarovitch not only for his sins in this lifetime, but for the sins he committed in his former incarnation as “Menkau-Ra, Lord of War” (n.p.). She/They is/are judge, jury, and executioner and he is powerless in her/their hands.

Oscarovitch’s campaign to win Niti is just as much a story of invasion as any of the other examples of invasion we have looked at in this novel. But it is an especially heinous attack as it, despite Oscarovitch’s claims to the contrary, not a tale of love, but of lust: even if it takes rape to satisfy his desire, Oscarovitch is prepared to go the distance. To win his prize, Oscarovitch attempts to cross both mental and physical borders. He uses his charms to attempt to win her over, and when he is not convinced this is enough, he takes out the Horus Stone to control her mind and effect a willingness on her part to marry him. His ultimate goal is sexual penetration. Niti/Nitocris, however, as powerful
women and representatives of two empires, ancient Egypt and the British Empire, are able to overcome him. By linking the character of Niti with her former incarnation as queen, Griffith is able to demonstrate an affinity with an earlier empire and thereby to establish his British characters as successors of another great empire and fit to rule. Oscarovitch is doomed to failure, however, for as a representative of an enemy of long-standing—Russia—he cannot possibly hope to gain ascendancy since the Russian empire is constructed of a lesser breed that cannot hope to compete with its betters.

There are in these stories, and in this one in particular, occasions in which the typical British characteristic is strained almost to the breaking point. These occasions involve those aspects of Englishness which, as Bradley Deane phrases it, contradict “the oppositions that typically structure British identity: science/magic, Christianity/paganism, rationality/superstition, modernity/antiquity, colonizer/colonized, and, at times, masculinity/femininity” (402). The departure from the norm of these identities is largely based on the metaphysical reality of the novel—namely, the existence of a world in which reincarnation, the ability to transverse time and space freely and the ability to kill through one’s will alone. According to Deane’s paradigm, the British subjects and the foreign others on occasion find themselves occupying the space defined as that belonging to the other. Professor Marmion and Niti, for example, are not practicing Christians but believers in a faith that does not believe in the forgiveness of sins but instead believes that sins must be paid in full in a multitude of lifetimes. The science/magic and modernity/antiquity continuums are also somewhat strained. Professor Marmion is a mathematician and physicist, but his abilities go beyond any
known science today to the point that what he is able to do seems like magic. Whether it is science or magic, however, is hard to say. On the side of magic is the idea that the professor’s powers are given to him by Nitocris in the fourth dimension. The idea of science has credence, nonetheless, in that what he accepts from the queen is “Perfect Knowledge” (n.p.). The professor, in other words, is able to wield the power he does because of an incredibly advanced scientific knowledge. It just looks like magic to the uninitiated because the science of it is not understood. Phadrig makes the same point when Oscarovitch asks him about Professor Marmion’s powers, telling him that “there are no miracles . . . only the results of higher knowledge than that which they who see them possess” (n.p.). Framed in this way, the abilities of Phadrig, the professor, and Niti are nothing more than scientific knowledge. They have attained knowledge that the majority of human beings do not. It is not magic; it is science. Viewed as such, the professor and Niti fall firmly on the side of Britishness, but so does Phadrig. These are rational human beings, the book argues, in touch with a higher form of knowledge than most of us possess. At the same time, it “[blurs]” the distinctions between Briton and foreigner of which Deane speaks: first because the science looks like magic, not like the science of the popular imagination; and second, because it places the British and the foreigner in essentially the same place philosophically. As such, the distinction between Briton and foreigner begins to disappear. The result of this blending—of the rational and scientific with the magical and occult—is a new kind of Briton, one who can understand

26 Science fiction writer Arthur C. Clarke expressed the same idea when he asserted “that to outsiders—and with respect to real science most of us are outsiders—a sufficiently advanced technology would be indistinguishable from magic” (Alkon 6).
what it means to be English while at the same time incorporating ideas and powers from beyond the borders. The British, the book suggests, are still the best, but they are made better by control of powers once considered completely foreign. The outside world is creeping in, but it is still the British who wield the power and save a world in danger. The magical is thus subsumed under the rationality of science and gives readers access to its wonders in this way.

The last of the invasion mummy narratives, Griffith’s, The Romance of Golden Star, is a tale of another sort, for this story is a tale which sympathetically relates the story of invasion from the viewpoint of the colonized other taking back what was taken from him by an invading force from over the sea. In this narrative we see an example of colonialism as the British think they do it: “good” colonialism, if you will, that is unlike the “bad” colonialisms of the modern day Belgians that Joseph Conrad decries in Heart of Darkness. And we see an argument that ultimately tells us how colonialism, if it is to be carried out at all, should be done—a colonialism that, as MacDonald argues in “The Propaganda of Civilization,” recognizes that even the “lowest barbarian” has a “civilization” that he cherishes (460).

For this tale of Golden Star to do all of these things, though, it must inevitably navigate a difficult course: it must, while proclaiming its anti-imperialist narrative manage at the same time to favorably depict what was at the time of the novel’s writing the world’s largest empire—the British Empire. This ambiguous stance is accomplished through a story that at one and the same time portrays the evils of imperialism, while at the same time depicting Britain and the British as exceptions to the rule as regards
imperialism. The wickedness of imperialist policy is instead applied to the Spanish and their colonization nearly four hundred years before the story’s opening when they, through brutal forces stripped away the emperor Vilcaroya’s kingdom and took it for themselves. In this story it is the Spanish who are the villains while Vilcaroya and his British supporters who are the representative of all that is just and good.

It is a neat feat indeed how Griffith manages to portray imperialist Britain as supporters of colonial rights and freedom all the while being guilty themselves of similar indiscretions. Part of the way the author achieves this effect is by going back some five hundred years ago to Pizarro’s conquest of the Incas in 1532/3 and showing the effect of the conquest on those conquered—telling the story, that is, from Vilcaroya’s point of view. The story, for the most part, penned supposedly by Vilcaroya himself, reveals a land torn by royal conflict as Atahualpa and Huáscar battle for the throne. Into this mix then comes the Spanish Pizarro and his men who take advantage of the civil unrest and then loot the land to satisfy their lust for gold. Vilcaroya, in telling his story, does not express much venom in his depiction of the civil unrest, devoting merely one line to speaking of the “traitor’s knife” which killed the legitimate Incan emperor (29). The discussion of the wrongs of the Spanish, however, is far more involved. The Spaniards, those “‘bearded strangers from the north,’” are marked not only as racially different from the Incas, but as being less moral, less noble than the Incas whom they opposed (29). They are, to return once again to the infection metaphor, carriers of filth, as becomes obvious when one of Vilcaroya’s first supporters, Tupac, tells Vilcaroya of others “‘whose blood has flowed pure from the olden times, unpolluted by a single stain of
Spanish dirt” (53). Racially, that is, the book argues for a theory of characters based on race and carried within the blood. The Spanish are despicable and breeding will out. The Spanish, as the story develops, are, according to Vilcaroya’s description of them, greedy, cowardly, and hard masters enslaving the Incan race. They are so hated, in fact, that the order is given that “‘every hacienda, whose master is a Spaniard, [should] be given to the flames,’” though “‘no one else [is to] be injured’” (223). The justice of this portrayal, moreover, is made especially clear not only by the support of Vilcaroya’s British followers in his quest for the taking back of his empire, but in Ruth Djama’s portrayal of them as “‘those brutes of Spaniards’” (55).

The British gain points as justice-loving, fair-minded people in this story in a number of ways. They do this in the first place by seeing the justice of Vilcaroya’s position, essentially equating their position in Britain with Vilcaroya’s position. This idea is in keeping with their view of themselves as fair-minded people, an idea expressed both in the modern bestseller on the subject of Englishness by Kate Fox as well as MacDonald’s 1907 study of imperialism from the Labour party’s point of view, Labour and the Empire. In the opening chapter of this latter source, MacDonald, in his review of colonialism, manages both to disparage the Spanish and Portuguese method of colonial conquest while at the same time humbly depicting Britain’s colonial practice in those early days of colonization as far more humane as a result of Britain’s “‘first failures in commercial adventures’” (4). Britain is depicted in her imperial conquests as a simple nation out to establish trade partners, not willing to kill for gold as the Spanish and Portuguese. British moral superiority adds additional weight to the pro-British stance.
Unlike the “brutish” Spaniards who only exploit their colonists, making slaves of the Incas in Peru, the British, with the exception of Dr. Laurens Djama, the man responsible for resurrecting Vilcaroya, are an honest, freedom-loving people. They are people of good character, honest, sympathetic, and courageous. They are, moreover, knowledgeable in the modern ways of warfare and social practices. Ruth Djama, whom Vilcaroya knows first as nurse and mother and later falls in love with, renaming her Joyful Star in his own language, teaches him English (his new “mother” tongue) and acceptable social practices in modern society (one does not marry one’s sister anymore, for example). She also shows him how to treat modern English women, a subject which we look at in more detail in the gender chapter. Professional soldier Captain Francis Hartness (one can almost hear the echo of the “frank heart” in his name) proves himself to be a brave man, nothing at all like the “trembling” Spanish cowards, as well as being a man knowledgeable in the ways of modern warfare. The English in this case prove themselves to be what they often claimed to be in those nations colonized by the British—tutors of the unschooled masses, providing their special expertise to help those less fortunate than themselves. Vilcaroya owes them everything—even his life provided by the less than virtuous Laurens Djama. The English school Vilcaroya not only in modern warfare but in mercy and propriety. They make him into the kind of ruler that the British would have; they, in an odd way in this anti-imperialist tale, actually colonize him: while he is able to assert control in his own realm, he himself has been changed, converted to the British way of doing things, then ultimately giving the British an indirect way of exercising power. In this way, Vilcaroya’s quest to take back his kingdom
resembles British imperial ventures, since—like British imperialism—it is underwritten by a belief in the superiority of western values. There are exceptions, of course, most pointedly in the destruction of the Christian church (Roman Catholic, in this case, a fact that would hardly disturb many protestant Britons) and replacing it with the worship of the sun god, but by and large, the values are western: one does not marry one’s sister; women are to be treated with respect, not be traded like livestock; justice should be tempered with mercy, and so forth—all values that Vilcaroya’s English friends have taught him, the willing pupil. In this way, British influence is spread and the purported goal of British imperialism, the raising up of nations to the point where they can rule themselves, is accomplished. Civilization advances as others adopt British values.

Strangely enough, it is this anti-imperialist tale that makes the imperialist impulse clearest of all the mummy stories, for it is this story, while dealing with the guilt of imperial conquest that makes clear the unrelenting drive to take other nations and make them conform to British culture. It is, in fact, the antithesis of the invasion fear: rather than having the culture of foreigners infect Britain, Britons, though they would never express it this way, *infect* other nations, effectively turning the Golden Rule on its head as they do to others before others can do to them. The justification, of course, is based on the supposed superiority of British culture, which, it is “their duty to extend . . . to less fortunate races” (Anderson 23). The British were more rational, better managers of business and government affairs, and, according to Thomas Babington Macaulay,
possessors of a superior language and literature. Nevertheless, with the exception of religion, the kingdom that Vilcaroya establishes is largely British in its values. There is some evidence in the novel that Griffith understood that values differed according to culture and time and that he believed that we ought to honor the values of other cultures up to the point where those values clashed with ours, but there is little evidence that Griffith held a deeper understanding and appreciation of those values. Allowing a culture to govern itself or to establish its own religion might be all well and good, but incestuous marriages of monarchs was to be deplored regardless of the right of a particular culture’s to hold such a value. Some things, he implies, are simply not negotiable. When the values conflict, British morality and culture, again with the exception of the religious values, must rule.

This issue of religion makes an interesting statement about a nation’s right to cultural sovereignty, as it also points to a sense of blindness at the same time and its reason can probably best be explained by the biographical route. Griffith, according to Sam Moskowitz, had been raised by a clergyman father until he was fourteen years old,

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27 The Macaulay “Minute on Education,” in considering the problem of finding a suitable language for the education of early nineteenth century Indians, lays claim to the considerable value of English: “How then stands the case? We have to educate a people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother-tongue. We must teach them some foreign language. The claims of our own language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate. It stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West. It abounds with works of imagination not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed to us, --with models of every species of eloquence, --with historical composition, which, considered merely as narratives, have seldom been surpassed, and which, considered as vehicles of ethical and political instruction, have never been equaled--with just and lively representations of human life and human nature, --with the most profound speculations on metaphysics, morals, government, jurisprudence, trade, --with full and correct information respecting every experimental science which tends to preserve the health, to increase the comfort, or to expand the intellect of man. Whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations” (par. 12).
but by the time he was in his twenties he had acquired a reputation “as a prominent writer on “freethought” (8-10). This antipathy toward his own faith (or the faith in which he was raised) may have allowed him a greater leeway in response to the faith of others: he may not, fact, probably did not, because of his own conviction, consider the promulgation of the gospel a matter of great importance in terms of it being something that he wished to pass along and for this reason was willing to pass over the necessity of such cultural transmission. The up side is that in allowing Vilcaroya to cling to his own faith, he makes a case for the cultural sovereignty of other nations. At the same time, in nearly all other facets of cultural life, he clings to his own ways of thinking, presenting them as did so many other imperialists, as the better way of thinking and doing things.

Griffith was hardly unique in his loss of faith. The image of a triumphant scientism overcoming religious faith is so well known as to have become a truism. Nevertheless, this view of things is hardly universal. The late-Victorian and Edwardian periods were a time of great missionary zeal with the British populace, with organizations like the London Missionary Society, the organization which sent out David Livingstone, to points all over the globe (Buxton 12). The point here is that despite Griffith’s willingness to allow such cultural sovereignty to Vilcaroya and his people, the passion for the promulgation of British culture is quite evident here. Unlike Christianity apparently, the worship of the sun did not offend Griffith and he therefore allows it as an exception in the ideal culture he establishes for his fictional creation.

The position that Griffith takes in his reconstruction of society such as he does allows him, I would argue, the possibility of experimenting with his own concept of a
more ideal society. Just as the tale of Pharos and Nitocris offer us a view of the danger posed by societies who might well prove dangerous in the time of uneasy alliances, Golden Star offers us an opportunity to see how a society, ruled by a man of integrity, of generosity, courage, who had the best interests of his people in mind, might, given sufficient income and the best of British ideals, develop into a nation. The people’s own dress, religion, are important as part of their cultural identity; this freedom from the back-breaking and/or emotionally stultifying labor is overseen through the establishment of one of their own as ruler. Fair labor practices, opportunities for self-identity in dress and religion, and sufficient income equal a happier populace. This sort of practice is exactly the sort of thing that MacDonald believed represented the best of British imperialism. In a lecture delivered to the West London Ethical Society in 1901, he speaks of the “one hopeful chapter in all our imperial history” which follows this sort of plan—that in the British relations with Basutoland, where, he remarks, “[w]e have allowed the chiefs to govern, our representatives being advisers,” being careful to “have kept out drink and the white men excepting a few missionaries and legitimate traders” (“Propaganda” 466). The ideal for the British role in the colonies that MacDonald here espouses is one where the British operate in an advisory capacity, working as “an influence rather than an authority, a light rather than a goad, reason rather than law” (“Propaganda” 467).

Ideal society is an issue of importance in all of the stories we have examined here. For the most part, there is a recognition of the importance of national identity: what it means to be an inhabitant of a particular nation or culture. The ideal is seen in these
stories where it is a Britain that is in danger of attack by the very nature of the concern that the particular attack poses, whether that danger is seen as a threat to national identity by small numbers of outsiders piercing the borders of national identity by their very presence or by the threat of loss of life. Ideal society seems to fall, for the most part, within the bounds of the British way of life. Those things promoting that way of life are good, those opposing it, dangerous. There is even, as we have seen, a cultural bias blinding the most liberal-thinking of writers in the tale of Vilcaroya’s conquest. Guilt, no doubt, plays a role here. Pharos tells us the story of invasion from the imperialists’ point of view as victim, all the while, indicating that such an invasion might indeed be justified. Nitocris primarily examines the invasion story from the more traditional point of view when industrialized nations face off against one another, bringing in the colonies in the persons of the British as re-incarnated Egyptians as well as Queen Nitocris herself in the fourth dimension. But even here, the status of ancient Egypt is parallel in power to the modern industrialized nation, especially to Britain itself. The story of Golden Star, however, tells the story from the point of view of the colonized, a tale where a small invasion force takes on a much bigger opponent and wins back that which was taken from it in the first place. Here the reason for guilt, though effectively transposed to the Spanish, nevertheless makes clear the travesty that occurs when one nation seeks to enforce its will on a native population while at the same time undermining its message by the colonization of Vilcaroya himself.

The story that emerges from these narratives is a complex one: imperialism in these stories is to some extent supported but never without the wholesale guilt of
imperialism that applies when two unequal bodies face off against one another.

Transference of the opposition from modern to ancient civilization, of course, works to even the playing field more just as the existence of occult powers counteracts the superior military technology of the colonizing force. Espionage and guerilla warfare, armed with occult power, even out. Once again, smallness wins.

These stories, as should be obvious by now, are all about empire, about its justification and its peril, about sources, and about guilt. Britain, these stories tell us, has engaged in a questionable practice. They are not, as *Golden Star* tells us, as bad as the Portuguese or the Spanish, but they leave the native Briton, if he bothers to think about it, with a sense that all is not well in Camelot. Something is wrong. And despite their best efforts to camouflage it, to reason their way out of it, they are at fault.

Or, at least, that is one way the story could be told. There is, at the same time, a genuine pride in British imperialism in these stories as well. The picture of British culture and the British race that emerges is one that suggests that they, the both of them, are the best in the world. Coming into another nation, crossing its borders, was not so much invasion as it was relief aid. Inferior nations and races were benefitted by this connection with the Brits. Schools in India, better governance in Egypt, British manners, British culture—these were the advantages Britain offered. Colonization was not oppression, but service.

Both sides of the coin, both pride and guilt, are present in these stories. Pride results in stories of justification, guilt in tales of feared invasion. The mix, the ambiguity, is the result. Authors of these tales by trying out the problem, explore it, experiment with
possibilities and offer voice to the dreams of empire. The end result is a picture of ambivalence, a nation proud and trapped in its power.
The Crisis of Masculinity in Mummy Narratives

The roles that men and women ought to play in a modern society were hotly contested in fin de siècle Great Britain. The New Woman of the nineties urged greater freedom in both the legal and the political realms and took to dressing herself in “rational” dress that resembled men’s trousers28; suffragettes in the early twentieth century, having despaired of the efficacy of non-militant action to achieve the vote, took to the streets, marching and throwing stones, interrupting meetings and even going so far as to commit arson. Edith Milner, a high-ranking member of the politically conservative Primrose League, argued against the extension of suffrage for women, as did the Women’s National Anti-Suffrage League. Newspapers and magazines were full of news and letters to the editor discussing the situation, some arguing for the passage of a bill to give women the vote, others vigorously opposing such measures. Meanwhile, journalists, politicians, and anxious citizens voiced their concerns about what they saw as a degenerating masculinity following the difficulties with recruitment in the Boer War: Englishmen were, according to such sources, no longer the sturdy stock that had created an empire. Everything, as the anonymous poet of “A Bachelor’s Growl” expressed it, was “topsy-turvy now” as “the men [were] bedded at ten, while the women [sat] up, and

28 David Rubinstein describes “rational dress” as “a kind of knickerbocker outfit which was a commonsensical alternative to long, trailing skirts, but could only be worn in defiance of social orthodoxy and at the risk of violence” (18).
smoke[d] and sup[ped]/ In the Club of the Chickless Hen” (qtd. in Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers* 17).

A similar concern with gender roles and masculine degeneration is evident in mummy stories that were published between the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the First World War. Stalwart men and submissive women, reflecting the conservative values of many from an earlier time, to be sure, still appeared in the pages of these tales, but tears were beginning to appear in the social fabric as women campaigned vigorously for change. Women in many of these tales were becoming more powerful, some even dangerous, and many of the men in the tales were at the same time being portrayed in weakness or in feminized roles; yet the manner in which this apparent shift in power was accomplished managed, for the most part, to rescue a failing masculinity from what seemed to traditionalists to be an overpowering womankind. A threatened traditional masculine power required a response for those who felt endangered by this increasing feminine power. Mummy fiction provided that response.

If men felt endangered by the women’s movement, it is hardly surprising: there was, at least for some, a real animosity between the sexes. In one of the multitude of New Woman novels published in the last decade of Victoria’s reign, Isabella Ford’s *On the Threshold*, one character, Miss Burton, a thirty-year-old impoverished teacher living “in a single room,” speaks, according to David Rubinstein, “for many of the real and fictional new women of the period,” when she says:

“I hate, how I hate men! Think of my life and the life of hundreds and hundreds of women like me! We cannot get paid, we cannot walk home at
night from our work in peace, we cannot, if we have a father such as mine was, live our own lives or even think our own thoughts; we can do nothing but sit and smile and endure, all because of men! (qtd. in Rubinstein 27)

A Mrs. Hobson, a speaker at a debate at the Pioneer Club, reported in the Sunday, October 28, 1894 issue of Reynolds’s Newspaper, expressed the sentiment even more forcefully. Arguing “‘[t]hat the attitude of some... advanced women towards men is calculated to injure the best interests of women,’” she opined that “‘though the total extinction of man might be desirable, such was not yet a possibility, and meantime woman should both tolerate and educate him’” (“New Woman’s Attitude to Man” n.p.).

What makes this avowed interest in the destruction of the male sex even more shocking is the fact that it was spoken by a woman whose attitude toward men was relatively tolerant, for, according to the newspaper report, she believed that “[m]an as a sex was not unworthy” (“New Woman’s Attitude to Man” n.p.).

The cause of this vitriol, of course, is undisputed: men were the privileged sex, with both legal and social advantages. Men in the early years of the 1890s had greater “access” to divorce than women, despite women’s greater “need to escape the domination of a tyrannical spouse” (Rubinstein 52). Men also held the legal right to the children in a marriage, even after the passage of the Guardianship of Infants Act in 1886. Under the rules of this law, though a woman could “‘for the first time’” be “‘given the right of joint or sole guardianship of her infant children after her husband’s death, their religion, education and upbringing were still to be determined by him’” (Rubinstein 53). Women were also limited in their admission to higher education, with universities like Oxford and
Cambridge not admitting women to degree granting programs “until 1920 at Oxford and 1948 at Cambridge” (Marks 92). Career opportunities were also limited. Though some few women did manage to do quite well even in the nineties, the conventional wisdom of the time said that if a woman were not married, she ought to stay at home and tend to her father, “especially if the mother had died” (Jalland 134).

But for men at the time, even small changes seemed threatening. Women had made some advances. A man could no longer beat his wife, nor, after the passage of the 1840 Cochrane case, “restrain his wife by confining her in the conjugal home” (Rubinstein 54). Educational and occupational opportunities had also improved, with some institutions of higher learning opening their doors to women, leading even as early as the nineties to women in positions of authority within the university. Unmarried working-class women had “greater employment opportunities outside the home . . . , especially in factories and domestic service where single women predominated,” though the middle class woman was largely restricted to teaching as the only socially acceptable profession (Jalland 130). Problems, however, resulted when women threatened the masculine workplace. The situation of male clerks of the late nineteenth century is a case in point, where men were not only forced to compete with women for positions, but had their masculine identities threatened in the process. The problem, as Geoffrey Spurr explains it, was that “clerking was often suggested as the ideal vocation for the ‘New Woman’ of the age because of its sheltered distance in the office from the ever-present moral dangers attributed to dealings with the general public and, more significantly, because of its genteel nature” (280). “Working as a clerk,” it was argued, “would not
cause a woman to lose ‘those feminine graces, of dignity, of delicacy, or reserve, which are the essential characteristics of an English gentlewoman’ (Spurr 280-81). To make matters worse, women clerks were driving down wages: “J. C. Arrandale, a [male] clerk writing to Tit-Bits in 1887, suggested that women should stick to occupations where they would damage neither the pay of men nor their masculine identities, such as ‘millinery, dressmaking, under-clothing making, embroidering, shop assistants, etc.’” (qtd. in Spurr 281).

Women also challenged paternalistic assumptions by engaging in activities that were deemed either unladylike or detrimental to reproductive health. The idea that women were to refrain from exercise in order to maintain their ability to bear children is one such assumption which the New Woman challenged. If young women were to be allowed to participate in study or exercise, both of which were considered ill advised by traditional medicine of the time, a doctor’s permission note might be required stating that such activity would not harm the young woman’s health. New Women engaged in both sorts of activity—mental and physical. Cycling was very popular and allowed women access to the world about them and associations with student organizations for those enrolled in university programs meant that they could do without male escort, and the wearing of “rational” rather than conventional dress meant that women might enjoy the freedom of movement enjoyed by their male counterparts, an equivalency long desired by many women of the period. In these ways, women were beginning to enjoy some of the same privileges as men.
Perhaps most disturbing of all, however, were expressions of physical violence by a frustrated womankind. Most of the violence that we are familiar with today, of course, was that which occurred with the suffragettes beginning in 1906, but there were signs of an expected eruption of violence before this date in depictions of violent women in cartoons and fiction and, occasionally, of violent acts by women in the streets of London, as in the case of an attack in July 1895 by New Woman Mrs. Alice Madeleine Wackerbarth who accosted another woman, a pedestrian named Florence Blyth, who got in her way one day when the former was riding her bicycle (Illustrated Police News n.p.). Such acts by a sex supposedly docile did not make any sense to those holding to traditional beliefs about women. But women were changing and something had to be done (or at least, such was the idea of those opposed to those changes). Letters to the editor, jokes and cartoons ridiculing these “New Women” and fictional stories were all part of this effort to restore “sanity” to a world gone awry. Mummy stories were part of this effort. Though undoubtedly such an effort was not consciously undertaken as the primary motive in writing such tales, the stories nonetheless played their part in restoring the masculine world to its, by the traditionalist way of thinking, “rightful” place.

The women’s movement had, if one is to judge by the reaction to it, emasculated men and deprived them of their “rightful” place. Mummy fiction attacks this problem, in part, by demonstrating male power as ordinary men meet, fall in love with, and dominate the advantageously placed women resurrected into a modern world. By so doing, ordinary men of the present are able to reclaim male authority and power as they dominate women above their station, thereby accruing to themselves the power of those
women in much the same way that a person can lay claim to superiority in sport by defeating a champion. The superior status in these stories is usually a matter of royal blood. Even as far back as 1840, when Théophile Gautier first published his short story, “Le pied de Momie,” the mummy the narrator of the tale meets and with whom he falls in love is a princess, and a good number of the mummies are either of royal birth or of higher social status. A number of these women hold a political position, but they pose no threat for the traditional male because they themselves also hold traditional values where a woman is subservient to the man she loves. 29 Others, however are not so harmless: Queen Tera, in Bram Stoker’s 1903 edition of The Jewel of Seven Stars and Queen Nitocris and her reincarnated form Niti Marmion in George Griffith’s The Mummy and Miss Nitocris are both dangerous women, capable of great destruction, the former destroying all those surrounding her except for the narrator, the latter two killing the chief villain of the novel through the exercise of their will alone, “allow[ing] him,” by the novel’s conclusion, “to die,” but only after significant torture. Yet even these tales eventually support masculine superiority as both Tera and Nitocris/Niti, as we shall see, are domesticated through marriage, though this does not happen in the case of Tera until the 1912 edition of Jewel. 30.

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Women of this sort include the temporarily resurrected mummy in Grant Allen’s tale of “My New Year’s Eve Among the Mummies,” the governor’s daughter Atma in Sir Arthur Conan Doyle’s short story, “The Ring of Thoth,” and a copy cat character Amaris in George Griffith’s essentially plagiarized tale of the Doyle story, “The Lost Elixir;” two meek resurrected mummies, one, named Iras, who appears in Mrs. H. D. Everett’s novel of the same name and George Griffith’s Golden Star, the five hundred year old Incan empress who has been resurrected along with her brother Vilcaroya in The Romance of Golden Star; and the ancient Egyptian queen, Ma-mee, who, though traditionally prone to surrender herself to the man she loves, is nevertheless able to rise to the occasion when that man is subjected to attack.

The situation with Jewel is an unusual case. Though Stoker undoubtedly wrote the 1903 edition, the author of subsequent revisions in the 1912 edition is uncertain. Lisa Hopkins argues that another hand was
The mummy stories of this period, though they largely work to restore the male dominant order do so in such a way as to represent the wide range of men and women of the period, thus demonstrating both the ideals of tradition and the challenges to it. The majority of the women in these stories behave according to the traditional ideal of femininity, though the actions of some of these female characters are so timid as to be almost unbelievable to modern readers. Other, more assertive female characters, though they may initially seem beyond the pale of acceptable behavior, ultimately show themselves to be more deferential to the men in their lives than might be expected of such powerfully placed women. The most timid of the women in these stories and thus the most amenable to traditional males are Mrs. H. D. Everett’s Iras, and George Griffith’s Incan princess Golden Star. In these stories, power is firmly in male hands as these submissive women, despite their high socio-political positions, bow to male superiority.

Everett’s tale, *Iras, a Mystery*, is both love story with fragile lovers and a fairy tale along the lines of “Sleeping Beauty.” In this story, the eponymous Iras, the daughter of a powerful priest from ancient Egypt, is given the choice to either marry a man of her own time whom she does not love or else be placed in suspended animation until the man she is destined to love awakens her at some undisclosed time in the future. Iras chooses love and is placed in suspended animation until Ralph Lavenham, an archaeologist, awakens her when he lifts the lid off her sarcophagus. The two immediately fall in love likely at work in the latter edition, citing the “state of Stoker’s health at the time of the 1912 revision” as evidence (139). She, nevertheless, acknowledges the possibility of Stoker’s work in the second edition, citing David Glover, who, in his introduction to Oxford University Press’s edition of the book, argues that “so much of the 1912 ending is implicit in the 1903 original, that the question of authorship ultimately becomes irrelevant” (139).
and marry, but Iras’s life force is quickly expended as the pendants from the magical necklace she wears fall off, causing her first to no longer be visible to anyone except for Lavenham and then to ultimately die. The remainder of the story is his attempt to discover what has happened to her.

In its extreme version of social gender norms of the time, the novel not only portrays a paternalistic world in which severe limitations are imposed on women, but it also explores the attendant strain placed upon men as a result. Iras’s story is especially interesting because she is so much at the mercy of men in her life that she hardly dares to make a decision for herself. In Iras’s world, men are all powerful, beginning with Savak, the priest who desired her for his wife in ancient Egypt and put her in suspended animation and continuing in the future in her relationship with her beloved, Lavenham.

Her first words to Lavenham are especially significant as she recognizes him as her superior, calling him “‘my lord’” and “‘my master’” (91; 93). Her inferior status to Lavenham is further emphasized in the way that she is denied the status of full adulthood, being referred to as a child numerous times. When she is first awakened by Lavenham, she looks at him “with a sweet half-comprehension, like a child at once perplexed and confiding,” and she trusts him “with a child’s confidence” to explain all the mysteries of the new world in which she has awakened (150). She is an innocent in this new world and, in a manner similar to the plight of many women of this time, completely dependent upon Lavenham, who must do everything for her: feed her, clothe her, name her, and pay for her passage to Scotland where they may marry more quickly than in England. She is, as far as possible, closed off from the outside world, doing no more than is absolutely
necessary. Although she can speak to Lavenham and be understood because of the love the two bear toward one another, she cannot speak to the rest of the population. They live in an enclosed space where the outer world does not intrude. She comes out of the womb of the sarcophagus, delivered by Lavenham who serves as her midwife, and is delivered into another enclosed space, that of Lavenham’s apartment on G Street in London. Once she is born, he is both mother and lover to her, and he protects her absolutely, conversing with her, protecting her from the threat of Savak the priest who has cursed her and her future lover. Though she speaks in her own tongue, Lavenham understands her as though she is speaking to him in English because, he later relates, his “ear was so attuned to the soul of her speech” that he heard her meaning rather than the language in which it was said (91). With others, however, she cannot so easily converse, resulting in her hesitation, Lavenham relates, “to address any one but myself” (91). The result of this language barrier is a further insulation of their relationship, which thus requires additional reliance upon Lavenham to deal with the rest of the world outside their little sphere. Thus, when they go to Scotland, it is Lavenham who must make the arrangements for the trip, buy her clothing fitter for the cooler climate and the more modern time. When they arrive in Scotland and Lavenham suggests she accompany him to some shops, she pleads ignorance, asking Lavenham only to “send what is needful to make me appear as you wish” as she does not “speak [his] language” nor understand the customs of this strange, new land (124). In this way, Iras keeps herself in the background, away from the prying eye, in an extreme version of nineteenth-century norms of modesty and chastity, as she depends upon Lavenham to take care of her. She
is shut off from all society except for his. She is a prisoner of her fear of this new land, shut off by that fear and by the language barrier. It is no wonder, then, that eventually she begins to fade further and further into obscurity as the cursed necklace which she wears takes away her life force as each of the seven pendants upon it falls or is snatched away until eventually she dies. She has no voice, no interaction with others in this new culture, and she further shuts herself off from contact with others by wearing a veil which not only hides her face, but exoticizes her at the same time that it expresses her chastity and humility. As the pendants fall from her necklace, she seems to fade away until only Lavenham can see her and, once the final pendant drops, she dies and even Lavenham cannot see her any more except as “the dried-up corpse” she has become. The novel thus works in contradictory ways, for, as it supports paternalism on the one hand as it depicts Lavenham as protector and provider, it argues against that paternalism which ultimately destroys both Iras and Lavenham.

The question, of course, remains whether or not the story Lavenham tells of Iras really occurred, as Lavenham claimed, or whether it was merely the tale of a madman as other characters in the tale seemed to think. Either way, the tale reveals significant information about Iras and Lavenham. If Iras, for example, is regarded as real, her passivity with Lavenham must be seen as the result of a choice made out of fear of her new environment that left her with a sense of alienation. On the other hand, if Lavenham’s interactions with the mummy were only a delusion, then the passivity becomes quite understandable as his relationship with her was a relationship with a life-sized doll on which he has projected his own psychotic delusions based on his
understanding of properly gendered behavior. Especially remarkable, however, is the fact that it is conceivable that a living woman could be so passive that the realization that she had never existed might make just as much sense as if she were a living being.

Despite Iras’s passivity, whatever its ultimate cause, she still manages to have a tremendous impact on Lavenham, making of him, if his story is true, both an ideal sort of man taking care of his wife while at the same time casting him in a feminine role as he takes over duties that would have typically been delegated to the wife of the era. If one takes Lavenham’s story at his word, he is successful up to a point as a male figure in the manner in which he cares for Iras, though there are tasks he completes, as we shall shortly see, that are more typically given to women. As a man, the nostalgic ideals of the time would dictate that he would serve as a protector of womanhood, being something like a knight errant protecting his lady. For a man to be regarded as a man, he had to be capable of providing for his family—this was his role as the adult male. He would go out into the world, his sphere, and earn the money to keep the family. He would also be expected to protect that family as the stronger was to protect the weaker, as sixteen-year-old Alice M. Passman’s prize-winning definition of manliness in the magazine Kind Words for Young People claimed (Gale Document Number: EB1901498945). As a provider, Lavenham does quite well. He is well off enough to be able to contact his bank and make arrangements for the necessary funds to undertake a journey to Scotland with

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31 Passman’s definition defined manliness as consisting of “nobleness, courage, [and] strength,” and added that “[i]t is often associated with personal beauty, and the protection vouchsafed by the stronger to the weaker.” In its “ideal perfection,” Passman concluded, manliness is “sans peur and sans reproche” (without fear and without reproach).
Iras. He also is able to pay for his apartment in advance while he is gone. He is apparently a good money manager. Moreover, he has sufficient funds to purchase clothing for Iras, an expense that could not have been imagined before she actually came back to life. This success, however, is about the extent of his success. As a protector, he ultimately fails, for Iras is ultimately overcome by the curse of the necklace and the spirit of the priest Savak who does not want her relationship with Lavenham to survive.

Lavenham also fails in two other areas which we will discuss at a later point in this chapter, namely in the question of his sanity and in the matter of his physical strength. For the time being, however, let it suffice to say that his questionable sanity and his lack of physical strength both place him in a position of a questionable masculinity.

Lavenham’s masculinity, however, is rehabilitated to the extent that he shows himself to be incompetent in some of the very occupations of femininity, such as when he buys clothing for Iras in preparation for their marriage and honeymoon in Scotland. As might be expected of a man of the time, Lavenham is quite ignorant of matters of female dress, though, his author, Mrs. Everett, seems very well acquainted with such matters. In her description of Lavenham’s situation, she manages to both portray Lavenham as masculine in his ignorance of female dress, while at the same time displaying the fashion sense of a woman of the time. Everett depicts her hero in traditionally masculine terms in this situation as she has him remark how he “‘knew nothing of women’s fashions,’” cementing his masculine identity as she has him claim preeminence in ignorance of female fashion in the “‘length and breadth of London’” (102). Even the manner in which he becomes acquainted with feminine fashion is accomplished in such a way as to
preserve his masculinity, for the only dress he notices up to this time comes to his attention when listening to the “‘strictures’” of another man on government policy. Bored with this particular harangue, he stares “vacantly” in a shop window at what he says he “think[s] is a paletot.” It is here, however, that gender lines become somewhat blurred as a feminine interest in women’s fashion appears in the loving detail of the garment in the window, described as “a long garment of brown cloth cut for a tall slender figure. . . and bordered at all its edges with thick glossy fur,” which, he notes in an uncharacteristically feminine tone, “matched the dark tint of the fabric” (102). His continued description of the accompanying “turban head-gear” with its loving description of a “furred inner lining of grey and white,” further emphasizes a feminized interest in women’s clothing, despite, what I can only guess, was Everett’s intent. The hedging words and phrases go some way toward distancing Lavenham from feminine knowledge of women’s clothing, but the detailed description of the clothing in the window seem nothing short of a lapse in the depiction of the manly man which Everett is attempting to construct here. Nevertheless, it is clear that we are, if we follow the signs Everett provides us in Lavenham’s hesitant terminology, to see him as masculine and out of his element.

Everett expands on the difficulty of a man out of his element in a woman’s world when she places Lavenham in the dress shop in Edinburgh and in the process reemphasizes firmly established gender roles in which her hero performs admirably as a properly ignorant man. The scene begins with discomfort and embarrassment as he finds himself out of his element when, on entering the dress shop, he find himself “the only
male creature in a warehouse given over to women’s needs” (124). He is obviously out of place, a fact he sees reflected in the “astonished face of the lady presiding over the establishment” (124). To make matters worse, he cannot even, as the usual practice was, take “specimens” of fabric for Iras to approve, but must make the selections for her (125). Instead, he had to “wade as best I could through the printed lists and estimates laid before me,” which were “bristling” with unfamiliar terms, leaving him feeling “utterly incompetent” (125). Measurements were another difficulty. Not knowing Iras’s size, he had to pick one of the shop girls as an equivalent, though the one he picked, “a tall girl all bones and angles” was “as unlike Iras as possible” (125). Simply put, Lavenham does not know what he is doing, a fact, which the novel seems to suggest, is as it should be.

Despite the support evident for paternalism in this story as it places Lavenham in a position of power while Iras, a woman of some social standing in ancient Egypt, is reduced to such an extreme of passivity that it is conceivable that she never existed but was only the figment of a deranged man’s imagination, the novel might well be seen to argue against that paternalism as it ultimately jeopardizes the very lives of its two chief central characters, Iras and Lavenham. Paternalism kills Iras. In ancient Egypt she is nothing more than a pawn, completely in the power of her father and then of Savak, the priest who, when she does not return his love, puts her into a sleep for over a thousand years and then hunts her and Lavenham down when she awakens. Lavenham, through Iras’s passivity, is likewise hurt by paternalism. Because of her extreme passivity, Lavenham must do everything for her, which, in turn, means that few witnesses saw her. The disappearing pendants from Iras’s necklace function both as a literal, though
magical, cause of her death and as a metaphor for the fact of her figurative disappearance from life as a result of her extreme passivity. Had Iras been more assertive and less passive, had she made more of an impression and not merely been what the men in her life wished, she might have saved Lavenham from what more than anything caused harm to his masculinity—the suspicion that he had lost his reason. By the novel’s end, Iras has perished and Lavenham is a broken man awaiting death. Neither can survive paternalistic society. Thus, while the novel clearly places its male hero in a position of power in the opening chapters of the book, by its end, even the man of the tale cannot survive the paternalistic society in which he lives. Feminized more by his failing health and perceived loss of reason, the story ultimate portrays the deadly consequences of paternalism.

George Griffith’s *The Romance of Golden Star* is probably more typical of the sort of tale of the passive woman and strong male, but even here there is some suggestion that some paternalistic attitudes must be changed for men and women to live together harmoniously. In this tale, Golden Star, despite the tale’s name, is really only a minor character. The main tale has to do with the resurrection of her brother, Vilcaroya, an Incan king, resurrected by scientific means developed by Englishman Dr. Laurens Djama, who raises an army and takes back his kingdom from the Peruvian government. Vilcaroya is nursed back to health by Djama’s sister, Ruth, with whom the Incan then falls in love. Golden Star, an almost identical image of Ruth, though with a different shade of hair color, is Vilcaroya’s sister and wife, and her main purpose in this story is as romantic object of affection. She is similar to Iras primarily in her excessive passivity,
but in this story the excesses of paternalism are attenuated as Ruth Djama, a strong-willed Englishwoman, re-educates the men in her life, thereby benefiting Golden Star as well.

Ruth and Golden Star represent two visions of womankind. Golden Star is the extremely timid, child-like woman, completely dependent upon Ruth, who serves as her mother following the former’s resurrection into the new world in which she now lives. Ruth, like Captain Francis Hartness, an English military advisor to Vilcaroya and by book’s end, Golden Star’s husband, protects the childlike Golden Star. Golden Star, more than anything else, is a victim. She accepts her circumstances and does not try to argue against them, though she does make her wishes known to the extent that she makes it clear that she has no wish to marry Laurens Djama since he frightens her. But she can do nothing for herself, but must rely on others to protect her. She is, as the book makes clear, a fearful child. When, for example, she first learns from Vilcaroya that she and he are not to be husband and wife, she speaks to him “in a voice that was half angry and half fearful;” and when, one day, Djama, whom she knows wishes to marry her, she throws “her arms round Ruth’s neck, and . . . [clings] to her, trembling with fear, . . . looking sideways at Djama with eyes fixed and wide open with terror” (155). Ruth, conversely, is a modern woman, not afraid to speak up for herself. One day, for example, when she finds Vilcaroya and Djama arguing over herself and Golden Star, she angrily tells Vilcaroya, who had thought to bargain with her brother for Ruth’s hand, “‘What! she said, ‘Laurens give me to you, Vilcaroya! Don’t you know yet that no one can give an English girl away except herself, and that she only gives herself to the man she chooses
of her own free will? Do you think I am a slave or a human chattel to be bartered away like that? Nonsense!’’ (126).

Ruth and Golden Star, despite their difference, both manage to make the men in their lives better, stronger people. Golden Star does this in the traditional manner of the folk- or fairy-tale where the princess is the hero’s reward. She is his property, he, her protector. Ruth, on the other hand, is the woman of the future, insisting on her worth. She does not insist, as the tale makes clear, on complete equality with her husband—he is both king and her superior in marriage—but she will be treated with respect. In both cases, men will retain their traditional positions of authority in their roles as husband, but woman, at least in the case of Ruth, will insist upon greater respect than that formerly afforded them. Of Golden Star’s submissiveness to her husband there can be little doubt: she has played the role of the submissive female to the point where she seems to be little more than a child, completely dependent on those around her for protection. Ruth, an assertive woman as we have seen, nevertheless, by her willingness to abide in most cases by the will of Vilcaroya as he conducts his campaign to regain his kingdom, demonstrates that she will be willing to follow his lead, as she does, in fact, in the marriage ceremony when she appears to adopt his worship of the sun. Such a concession leaves little doubt of Ruth’s willingness to submit to her husband.

Grant Allen’s comic short story, “My New Year’s Eve Among the Mummies,” examines the conflicting pulls of love and money in the marital relationship, casting the male narrator in two conflicting roles, one which tears down his masculinity as he must depend upon a rich, but unattractive woman financially, the other a relationship that
restores his traditionally powerful position as a man. The first of these two relationships, the one based on the narrator’s economic need, is with Edith Fitz-Simkins, a plain, but rich, English heiress. The other relationship is with the Princess Hatasou, who, every thousand years or so, awakens with her father and his court for a night of feasting and celebration inside an Egyptian pyramid. The narrator’s relationship with the first of these women, Editha Fitz-Simkins, on holiday in Egypt with her family, is at one extreme of the matrimonial spectrum—the strictly economic. In this relationship, Editha, were it not for the narrator’s sexual attractiveness, would hold all the power. She is smitten with him, and he is smitten with her money. The father is not especially eager to have him enter the family, but because of the scandal that would be caused if the two of them did not marry—they have been flirting in such a way that not to marry, the narrator indicates, would cause a scandal—he agrees to his daughter’s wishes. The narrator, however, is clearly only interested in the money. Editha is “a valuable prospective property,” not a woman he loves. He sneaks off one day “to witness the seductive performances of some fair Ghawzi, the dancing girls of a neighbouring town,” and is struck by one in particular who had “[e]yes like two full moons; hair like Milton’s Penseroso; movements like a poem of Swinburne’s set to action” (n.p.). He, however, is not free to enjoy such delights, for somehow Editha finds out, even though he had given his guide, “that rascal Dimitri five piastres to hold his tongue” (n.p.). A fight ensues and later that evening the narrator takes a walk in the evening in the desert and stumbles upon an entrance into an ancient pyramid where he finds his true love, the princess Hatasou.
Editha functions in this tale like a nagging wife in whom the husband has ceased to be interested and who does her best to make her man stay in line. His expectation of economic dependence upon her gives her incredible power over him, though, as we shall see, she does not ultimately triumph. In his position as suitor, as one who must make himself attractive to his intended, he stands in the object position of traditional femininity. He is a weakened masculine figure in this standing, which is caused by yet another lack on his part with regard to traditional masculinity in that he has no economic worth on his own, for he is, as he describes himself, “a wanderer and a vagabond,” “a landless and briefless barrister,” dependent on his “precarious earnings as a writer of burlesque” (n.p.). As many another man in his circumstances has done, he thus turns to marriage to a wealthy heiress as the solution to his problem, the only difficulty being her lack of sexual desirability.

Though hardly a New Woman (the term had not yet come into use in 1878 when this tale was published, though obviously the type was already extant to some degree) Editha has much in common with the way such women were portrayed, particularly in regard to her overbearing power over her man and her lack of sexual attractiveness. Two pieces of evidence seem especially pertinent here, one a cartoon and another report on a court case that took place some years later, both of which reflected broader societal concerns of the changing roles of men and women in a world where women seemed to be gaining the upper hand while men were becoming less than they had once been. The cartoon, entitled simply “The New Woman,” features a physically imposing woman named Mrs. Strongmind confronting her husband, a much smaller man, on his coming
home after an absence of some time. The husband, whom she calls “Jarge,” stands meekly before her, his hands folded over his groin in a defensive posture, protecting his threatened masculinity. Her arms akimbo, she speaks roughly to him: “‘Jarge,’ exclaimed Mrs. Strongmind, ‘come in! You’ve been out there long enough.’” She then threatens to lock him out of his own home: “‘If you don’t want to get locked out for the night you’d better move yourself!’” Jarge, feeling his position as the man of the house roughly used, tries to gain the upper hand with his wife, but his words are painfully insufficient, indicating that he has already lost the battle: “‘My dear,’ expostulated Jarge mildly, ‘as the husband of a woman of your superior attainments and high personal worth, don’t you think I ought to be treated with a little more respect!’” Jarge is clearly not going to win this battle: his mild expostulation beseeches his wife for respect, but does not command it. He is a little man, his body indicating his lack of moral courage.

The court case is that of a Mr. Thomas Roberts, a man similarly cowed by an overbearing wife. According to the report of the judicial proceedings in the Saturday, October 19, 1895 issue of the Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle titled “The ‘New’ Woman and the Old,” Roberts had been brought to court over the matter of a £2
debt that his wife had promised a workman but had not paid. The exchange in court between Roberts and Abinger, the “plaintiff’s legal representative,” and Judge French, the presiding judge in the case, makes clear how things stood between Roberts and his wife and just what society expected of him:

“I won’t admit anything,” he [Roberts] said, resolutely, when called on to give his evidence; “absolutely I won’t admit nothing whatever.” “But you own the house,” suggested Mr. Abinger, the plaintiff’s legal representative. “Not a brick of it,” replied Roberts stolidly. “But your wife gave the orders, didn’t she?” “How in thunder can I control my wife?” answered the husband. “You can stop her from giving any more orders,” said his Honour. Thomas looked at the Judge with a wondering expression in his eyes, and after a few moments of cogitation put one hand to an ear in the form of a trumpet and whispered, “Did I hear your Honour aright? Stop her! Ah, Judge, Judge, you don’t know my wife. I’d like to see the man who could stop her.” (“The New Woman and the Old” n.p.)

Like the mild-mannered “Jarge” in the cartoon in Figure 1, Roberts has lost the battle of the sexes. Mrs. Roberts owns the house and has control of the family purse. Roberts, to hear him tell it, has nothing, “not even tuppence to help to bury himself [sic]” (n.p.). The court expects him, whether or not he has legal ownership of the property, to take control of his wife and prevent her from carrying on as she has been. She, on the other hand,

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32 The court here, of course, is making the assumption as Mr. Brownlow told Mr. Bumble in Oliver Twist that a wife is acting under the direction of the husband. Mr. Bumble responds in much the same fashion as Roberts does above, saying, “‘If the law supposes that, . . . the law is a ass—a idiot’” (354).
described previously in the article as a wife who “seems to have a good deal more ‘go’ in her nature than the husband,” apparently will not be ruled by her husband. The social order of the time undoubtedly expected that a husband would control his wife, but such was not possible for Mr. Roberts. His wife was simply too much for him.

The narrator of Allen’s tale is in a somewhat similar position to the examples given here. He is very much under the thumb of his fiancée as both Jarge and Roberts are in these examples. Both women in these examples are strong-minded individuals, unafraid of acting to achieve their will, and both men in these examples are powerless in the face of that expression of power. With Mrs. Strongmind, part of the power is in her imposing physical presence. More important, however, is the women’s strength of will. Both men are thoroughly beaten by the more powerful personalities of their wives. With Allen’s narrator, a similar situation holds. Though there is no indication that the narrator in this tale is physically dwarfed by his fiancée, Editha, he is nevertheless threatened just as much by her forceful personality as she subjects him to an admittedly deserved harangue over his behavior. What we do know, however, is that the shrewish behavior of Editha is depicted as unattractive just as Editha herself is found less than physically attractive. It is her wealth alone that has captured the financially challenged narrator who stands to lose considerable social and financial advantages if he displeases her. Yet Editha’s attractiveness as a future wife cannot ultimately compete with a more beautiful and submissive feminine type. Wealth is all well and good, but there are some things, the text tells us, that may in the final analysis be more important. What that is we can see in the character of the temporarily risen mummy, Princess Hatasou.
Princess Hatasou, Editha’s competition, is the traditional woman who lifts the narrator up out of his powerless position and restores his masculine pride. As the daughter of a great pharaoh, though one only resurrected every thousand or so years, she has great wealth. Unlike Editha, though, she has two other characteristics that the narrator greatly desires: beauty and submissiveness. Though he only knows Hatasou for a period of hours, he falls in love with her sufficiently to be prepared to be mummified, while living, so that he can live with her for eternity.\(^3\) Her manner is the equivalent of the submissive, attractive woman often portrayed in the New Woman cartoons of the nineties, where the New Woman, commonly viewed as unattractive and abrasive, is contrasted with the more attractive traditional woman. Figure 2, a cartoon appearing in the 23 June 1894 issue of Punch under the title of “The New School,” nicely illustrates the two types. The older woman (Miss Quilpson), standing with hands behind her back, eyes looking down upon the younger, seated woman (Mrs. Blyth), represents the New Woman ideal of the type of woman who rejects the idea of marriage. The caption tells the story:

\(^{33}\) The narrator’s choice to live for eternity is part of what Bradley Deane identifies as mummy fiction’s “fascinat[ion] [with] . . . reincarnation’s immunity to historical change. Like the unfinished narratives of marriage, reincarnation disrupts the advance of time, and is thus particularly suited to the anomalous ideals of the occupation [of Egypt]” (402).
Mrs. Blyth (newly married): ‘I wonder you never married, Miss Quilpson!’

Miss Quilpson (author of ‘Caliban Dethroned &c, &c.) ‘What? I marry! I be a man’s plaything! No, thank you!’’ (qtd. in Richardson and Willis 16)

The intended humor of the cartoon, of course, is the idea that Miss Quilpson could ever be any man’s plaything. At another level, however, there is the very real cultural anxiety regarding the independence and accomplishment of women such as Miss Quilpson. Women, or so ran the thinking of the traditionalists of the time, were meant for marriage, as Mrs. Crackanthorpe argued in “The Revolt of the Daughters ,” or, failing that, serving as Patricia Jalland observes, as caretakers for the elderly fathers or in some other subservient fashion (Crackanthorpe 25; Jalland 134). A woman like Miss Quilpson ran contrary to the mold. Such women were routinely depicted in newspaper and magazine cartoons as unattractive, sexually barren creatures. Too much education, it was thought would lead to lack of fertility and hence detract from what was deemed women’s primary reason for existence (Rubinstein 200).

Women of this sort might be depicted as skinny, mousy types, quill in hand, busy with her books and papers (see Figure 3) or as physically dominant types such as Mrs. Strongmind or Miss Quilpson. The womanly woman would exhibit no such tendencies. She would devote herself to what feminist Constance Lytton, described as “the
interests of maidenhood, of wifeliness, of maternity” (6). Miss Quilpson’s dedication to career leaves no room for such matters. Mrs. Blyth—undoubtedly happy in her condition as her name, closely paralleling the English adjective “blithe”—, on the other hand, is young, attractive, and apparently capable of child-bearing. For the man who wishes according to the biological drive to spread his seed, she is obviously the more desirable. The plain Jane Editha, unfortunately (or, perhaps, fortunately, considering the man she ultimately avoids marrying) is not so attractive, and it is for this reason that the narrator goes in search of more attractive women. Finding Princess Hatasou, a mummy, arisen from her thousand-year sleep along with the court of her father, Thothmes answers all the desires of his heart. In Princess Hatasou, the narrator finds a highly placed woman, wealthy within the realm in which she lives, a realm where she and her fellow mummies rise each thousand years, enjoying the wealth of their past lives and feasting every day in which they awaken. With Princess Hatasou, the narrator will have not only his desire for wealth answered, but his desire for sexual compatibility as well as a life that never ends. In his relationship with Hatasou, the narrator is able to engage in the commonly held sexual fantasy of the Orient, where women of the Near East were pictured as suppliers of unending sexual satisfaction (Said 188, 190). Hatasou, moreover, will supply the narrator’s desire for a woman subservient to his desires and one who will serve his best interests, as we see when she speaks up for him when he is belittled by her father. Unlike Editha, Hatasou will supply his every wish for the beautiful, submissive wife that the narrator obviously desires.
A large part of Hatasou’s appeal to the narrator can be seen in the way she interacts with the men in her life. With her father, Hatasou is the submissive daughter, a submission required in this case not only by reason of filial duty but as a result of his supreme authority as pharaoh. We can see an example of this skillful interaction when Hatasou responds to a criticism leveled at the narrator by her father:

“Dear father,” she said with a respectful inclination, “surely the stranger, barbarian though he be, cannot relish such pointed allusions to his person and costume. We must let him feel the grace and delicacy of Egyptian refinement. Then he may perhaps carry back with him some faint echo of its cultured beauty to his northern wilds.” (n.p.)

Though this speech does not immediately have the effect Hatasou wishes (his reply to her, “Nonsense. . . . Savages have no feelings” [n.p.]), it does reveal her skilful use of culturally acceptable means of female communication. She speaks to him, to begin with, both by recalling their relationship and by establishing her love for him in her reference to him as “Dear father.” She does so, furthermore, “with a respectful inclination,” and then continues to persuade him through additional reasoning and flattery. She couples her claim that the “stranger” must surely not appreciate being made the object of comments about “his person and costume,” the very things that Thothmes and court had been discussing, with her agreement to his assessment of the stranger’s barbarity. She, thus establishes points of agreement with her father and their relationship briefly and effectively. She furthers her cause by flattering her father as the absolute ruler of a superior nation, one that has “the grace and delicacy of Egyptian refinement.”
(n.p.). Her conclusion is that her father’s kingdom will spread its influence as the stranger carries what he has learned of her father’s kingdom and “its cultured beauty” back “to his northern wilds’” (n.p.). She is, in fact, a magnificent rhetorician, well acquainted with “rule-governed character of social interaction” (Grimshaw 99).

Her submissiveness stands in stark contrast to the manner in which her father speaks to her and to others, marking the significant difference between male and female power. For her father, there is no need to be careful in speech. When Hatasou speaks to him of the stranger as she has, he dismisses her contentions “testily” (n.p.). As far as her father is concerned, the narrator, because he is uncivilized, is incapable of feeling anything. As a savage, he is cast in a position as an object and is talked about as if he were an ignorant beast, casting him in the feminized role that traditional women so often occupied. Thothmes does not at first directly address the narrator, in part because to do so would be beneath him as pharaoh and in part because he does not recognize the narrator as fully human. When Thothmes first sees the narrator, he sees only a curiosity, a man of unknown origin and strange clothing. His speech is therefore forthright, completely ignoring the stranger, speaking of him as though he were an animal incapable of understanding, noting, with detachment, how the narrator, whom he calls “‘a very curious person,’” “‘does not at all resemble that of an Ethiopian or other savage, nor . . . the ‘‘pale-faced sailors who come to us from the Achaian land beyond the seas,’” finally concluding that, though the narrator’s “‘features. . . are not very different from [the Achaians],’” that “‘his extraordinary and singularly artistic dress shows him to belong to some other barbaric race’” (n.p.)
This speech, unlike Hatasou’s, clearly indicates his power both as pharaoh and as a man in a paternalistic society. There is nothing conciliatory here; he says what he thinks without apology, as a man in authority may do. The “social situation,” which, according to sociolinguistic pioneer William Labov, “is the most powerful determinant of verbal behavior,” does not demand it. Unlike Hatasou, he does not need to conciliate anyone. A woman may need to couch her words in expressions of deference, but not a man. In this way, the story, whether consciously or not, restores the traditional balance of power between men and women through their speech. The man is dominant; the woman, submissive. Hatasou, in following this socially acceptable verbal behavior, demonstrates that she knows her place, unlike the abrasive Editha, who nags her husband-to-be.

The narrator’s stronger position as a paternalistic male is also evident in his speech when he is in Hatasou’s world in the pyramid. No longer Editha’s cowed suitor, he speaks with a renewed sense of his dignity, defending his honor against Thothmes’s charges of savagery, claiming his right to “‘respectful treatment’” as a “‘free born Englishman’” and “‘citizen of the First Naval Power in the World’” (n.p.). The narrator’s tone here of confidence and authority with its demand for respect marks its language as masculine as it shows none of the typical deferential markers often noted in linguistic analysis of feminine speech in contrast to Hatasou’s more conciliatory language. Part of this difference goes beyond gender relations—all of Thothmes’s subjects speak to him with the greatest deference—but part of it is clearly related to western conceptions of gender that expect manly men, a concern that was often treated in the pages of the London Times, to be confident and assertive. This speech and the self-respect it
expresses is in marked contrast with the worm that the narrator has become under Editha Fitz-Simkins’s thumb. This speech also marks the beginning of that point where Thothmes begins to gain greater respect for the narrator—especially once the narrator claims to be the “‘younger brother of our reigning king,’” a falsehood that the narrator tells to comfort himself since he “was only claiming consanguinity with an imaginary personage” (n.p.). Moreover, the changing nature of this speech indicates the man he is to be with Hatasou, a man confident in his masculine role.

Despite the story’s obvious preference for the submissive woman, however, it does not argue that submission be taken to the point of never expressing an opinion, though it does express a preference for a woman of gentleness and beauty. In fact, there are times, once Hatasou becomes better acquainted with the narrator, that she can be almost as blunt as her father, but with this difference: she speaks to the man she loves not only with truth but affection. Telling him, for instance, how “‘shockingly ignorant’” he is with matters of mummification, she sounds just like her father. With matters related to courtship, however, we can see once again the gentle woman, as she and the narrator “[stroll] . . . down the least illuminated of the colonnades” and sit “beside a marble fountain” where they talk about “fish, and gods, and Egyptian habits, and Egyptian philosophy, and, above all, Egyptian love-making” (n.p.). These words of love, coupled with Hatasou’s exotic beauty and tenderness, completely win over the narrator. Editha, whom the narrator describes as “[t]he mere ugly daughter of a rich and vulgar brand-new knight,” cannot compete with the “a Princess of the Blood Royal” (n.p.). All Editha has to offer is money—despite her father’s essentially purchased knighthood, they are vulgar
nouveau-riche—while Hatasou can provide the narrator not only with wealth, but tenderness, beauty, eternal life and access to a genuine royal pedigree. Given this choice, the narrator not surprisingly chooses the princess.

The mummy narrative’s preference for traditional gender roles is perhaps most dramatically presented in those tales in which women with lethal power willingly surrender their power to those men they love. In stories of this type, women, who are submissive to the men they love, become monsters to those they oppose. The stories follow what Christopher Craft calls the “triple rhythm” of the Gothic text, which “first invites or admits a monster, then entertains and is entertained by monstrosity for some extended duration, until in its closing pages it expels or repudiates the monster and all the disruption that he/she/it brings” (107). Two stories are of this type: George Griffith’s *The Mummy and Miss Nitocris* and Bram Stoker’s *The Jewel of Seven Stars*, both of which raise the fear of powerful women to a terrifying degree before safely recontaining them within the bounds of traditional matrimonial roles. In Griffith’s tale, the monstrous role is played not only by the villains in the narrative, but by the heroine, Niti Marmion, a young woman, who thanks to the incredible power she has gained in the fourth dimension is able to travel freely through time and space and to kill through the power of her will alone. While she is undoubtedly on the side of good, she nevertheless manages to play the role of fiend with Prince Oscar Oscarovitch, whom she tortures until she finally grants him the grace of death. With Lieutenant-Commander Mark Merrill, a brave and honorable man whom she loves, she is a different woman altogether, giving up that power in her relationship with Merrill to be the sweet, innocent wife. For a good portion
of the book, however, she is the powerful woman, her monstrosity revealed in her total control of Oscarovitch as she manipulates him, tortures him, and ultimately destroys him. She thus enters as monster, demonstrates that monstrosity with Oscarovitch, and then, by the tale’s end, is disposed of as monster and reinstated in her position as submissive woman. Stoker’s tale of Jewel is a bit more complex. In the 1903 first edition of the tale, the monster is, in fact, the mummy of Queen Tera, whom Abel Trelawny and those assisting him have gathered together to resurrect. The “triple rhythm” applies here as the “monster,” Tera, is introduced, her monstrosity entertained throughout the book in her mysterious acts of violence, and ultimately resolved after she destroys all but one of those attending her. The 1912 edition, however, takes a different approach. Though the same pattern of monster introduction and entertainment of that monster applies here, the conclusion which brings the monster under control is accomplished in a much less dramatic fashion as the concluding violence of the first edition is omitted and the monster is tamed through marriage as she merges with Margaret Trelawny who marries the book’s narrator, Malcolm Ross. Both Niti/Nitocris and Tera are dangerous, but they give up that power, following the Gothic “triple rhythm,” to surrender themselves to the men they love, for reasons that can only be understood as an acceptance of the culture’s gendered power structures. In so doing, both novels—Nitocris and the 1912 edition of Jewel—ultimately prove themselves conservators of traditional values.

The relationships of the Queen Nitocris/Niti dyad are interesting in the contrasts they form with regard to those men they loved and those they hated, for though they treated the men they loved with tenderness and affection, with their enemies they posed
incredible danger, demonstrating a power that parallels the threat traditionalists feared might come to pass in their own time with the agitation of modern women. We can see this danger at work in Niti/Nitocris’s relationships with the villain of the tale, known as Menkau-Ra in ancient Egypt but as Prince Oscar Oscarovitch in the present. In both incarnations, Menkau-Ra/Oscarovitch is driven by his greed, ambition, and lust. As Menkau-Ra, he murders Queen Nitocris’s husband, whom she loves dearly, so that he may marry her and become pharaoh of Egypt, and in his reincarnated form as Prince Oscar Oscarovitch, he shows himself willing to commit any number of crimes—murder, kidnapping, and the like—to achieve his goals, even going so far with Niti as to be willing to resort to rape if that is the only way he may have her. In response to such villainy, Niti and Nitocris, who both show appropriate deference to the men they love, are decisive, violent, and cruel in meting out justice to those they oppose. Queen Nitocris drowns her murderous suitor by opening the gates of the Nile to flood the room in which a wedding banquet is being held, while Niti and the queen jointly punish Menkau-Ra’s reincarnated form by luring him with Niti’s sexual desirability and then putting him to bed with the mummy of the queen, driving him mad and torturing him until at the book’s end they finally “allow” him to die (n.p.).

This latter death smacks of what historically has been called “Oriental cruelty,” such as that accredited to the Beetle, the monstrous entity of Richard Marsh’s 1897 novel

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34 A Professor Seeley, writing in the October 1869 issue of Macmillan’s Magazine describes the concept of “Oriental cruelty” in an essay entitled “Roman Imperialism.” According to Seeley, the Roman Empire, upon the ascension of Diocletian and Constantine to the throne, moved from a Greek and Roman theory of government to an “Asiatic view,” which, made cruelty a “part of the system” of government, replete with “[e]xecutions, tortures, and massacres.” Illustrating this cruelty, Seeley notes, that “Constantine puts to
of the same name. Kelly Hurley’s description of the Beetle in her study of *The Gothic Body* portrays the stereotype of another sort of feminine other of the Orient, the dangerous woman capable of destroying a man:

Like most “unscrupulous Orientals,” the Beetle is savage in her pleasures, and heartless in their execution. She is cruel, and takes a wanton delight in her cruelty. She toys with her victims long after their spirit has been crushed, seeming to delight in simply eliciting their screams of terror and pain. She is secretive, unsociable, untrustworthy, filthy, foul-smelling. She has an Oriental envy of the superior white . . ., which translates into a boundless hatred of that unattainable whiteness, a desire to punish and mutilate white skin. And she harbors a “typically” Eastern (and also, perhaps, feminine) vengefulness, nursing an inveterate grudge against Paul Lessingham, the man who spurned her, travelling to England more than twenty years later to destroy him. “Plainly, with this gentleman,” remarks Atherton, “hate meant hate—in the solid Oriental sense. . . .” (131-32)

This description of the Beetle and the Queen Nitocris/Niti pairing is as remarkable for its similarities as for its differences, both being equally instructive. Two parts of this description are particularly important—those dealing with the described cruelty and those

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**footnote**: death his wife and son” and “Valentinian . . . sheds as much blood as Caracalla, apparently from no bad motive, but only from a kind of mania for severity which has infected government” (476). We can see the same sort of severity in both *The Mummy* and *Miss Nitocris* and *The Jewel of Seven Stars*. 35 The Beetle’s gender, as this quote indicates, is hard to pin down, though it is ultimately discovered to be female.
dealing with the physical descriptions of the tormentors. The description of the Beetle’s cruelty closely parallels that of Niti and the queen. The queen closely resembles the description of the Beetle’s “inveterate grudge” against the man who had “spurned” her years ago so that she comes to enact her vengeance “more than twenty years later” (132).

The queen’s hatred of Menkau-Ra has lasted for centuries, and she seeks to destroy his reincarnated form as Prince Oscarovitch and enlists Niti’s help in the process. The delight in torture is also theirs. In speaking to her father of her plans for the prince who hopes to persuade her to marry him, she draws on her beliefs in eastern religion and the terrors of Christian theology to describe what she will do to the prince. On ascertaining that her father does not, as she does not, “‘believe in the forgiveness of sins,’” she tells him that she intends to make Oscarovitch pay to the full for the sins he has committed against her both in ancient Egypt as Queen Nitocris and in modern Britain as Niti. She will allow him to “‘take’” her (in marriage), but once he has “‘got’” her, “‘he shall taste what the hot-and-strong sort of Christian preachers call the torments of the damned’”:

No, I shall not kill him. He shall live till he prays to all his gods, if he has any, that he may die. He shall hunger without eating, thirst without drinking, lie down without sleeping, have wealth that he cannot spend, and palaces so hideously haunted that he dare not live in them, until, when men wish to illustrate the uttermost extreme of human misery, they shall point to Prince Oscarovitch. I, the Queen, have said it!” (249-50)

It is hard to imagine much greater torment than what Niti has in mind for her victim, though, according to her own reckoning, her actions are nothing more than
justice. Much of the rancor of the description seems to come from the queen, which is evident from the conclusion of the description of the kinds of torture to which Oscarovitch shall be subjected where Niti suddenly speaks in the voice of the queen, announcing, “‘I, the Queen, have said it!’” and, of course, as the queen, she may work in the role of legal judge of offending parties. But there seems to be a sadistic delight in the imagined punishments—the prince is going to suffer and she is going to enjoy watching him suffer. Nothing will give her (and here, we are moving into the world of the queen) greater pleasure than to see the man who was responsible for the murder of her husband so many thousands of years ago suffer for his sins. She has held on to that anger with a bitter hatred that survives the millennia. Though she can be the submissive wife with the man she loves, as she apparently was to her husband in ancient Egypt and would be again with Mark Merrill, the man she loves in her current incarnation, with her enemies she is fierce.

Yet there is a matter of significant difference that needs to be taken into account in the descriptions of Niti and the queen and the Beetle, for the Beetle is utterly disgusting, capable of seducing her victims only through hypnotic power, whereas Niti and the queen are beautiful. We have to ask ourselves what we are to make of such a significant difference? Part of the difference can undoubtedly be accounted for by the roles that each of these characters play. The Beetle is pure monstrosity standing outside society, a “filthy, foul-smelling” creature jealous of the “unattainable whiteness” that she can never have (Hurley131-32). Nitocris and Niti are not like this. They have no need to desire an “unattainable whiteness” for they already have it as “golden-haired” women
(n.p.), and as possessors of white skin they have a significant cultural superiority in a time when the racial type of the ancient Egyptians was much disputed.\textsuperscript{36} White skin, furthermore, unified Niti and Nitocris with the white majority of the reading public, though “race” at this time often had more to do with nationality than it did with skin color and facial characteristics (Anderson 18). Moreover, Niti’s position as a British subject and one whose appearance is almost identical to the ancient queen (Niti is “[j]ust a little taller” and her hair may be just a shade darker [n.p.]) marks the duo as figuratively “one of us.”

It is therefore all the more shocking when someone whom readers can easily read as one of their own kind turns out to be something altogether different: the Other becomes ourselves. As Pogo said so many years ago, “We have met the enemy and he is us.” This is in some ways more terrifying than the Beetle, for the monster turns out not to be the freakish-looking creature we expect of our monsters, but a beautiful, desirable woman. Many of us have learned from childhood to associate goodness with beauty: witches are old, ugly hags, while the victims of these fairy tales are ordinarily beautiful young women. Ugliness is only for those who are either wicked characters or for those who have been cursed by some wicked supernatural power.

The beautiful woman, of course, can be more dangerous, for her beauty is an attraction to would-be victims, drawing them in as the Venus Flytrap draws in insects with its deliciously sweet sap. Niti Marmion is such a trap for Oscarovitch. Though his attentions are initially uninvited (she shivers with “revulsion” when she first meets him

\textsuperscript{36} See “Invasion Fears and the Mummy Narrative” (Chapter 2) for a fuller discussion of this issue.
[n.p.], she nevertheless determines to use her attractiveness to let him think he has captured her affections, which she will then use to trap him and, with the help of Queen Nitocris and the powers she has acquired while in the fourth dimension, slowly destroy him through the force of her will.

Perhaps just as horrifying is the idea that the woman who possesses such power can be the very same woman who seems to be the dutiful and subservient woman that men have as their daughters and wives. The story seems to suggest as much. Certainly, Oscarovitch did not imagine that Niti was anything other than a woman who could be conquered and could be made to serve his whims. On his first meeting with her, he tells Phadrig, his assistant, exactly what his plans regarding her are.

“I have seen many a fair woman, and thought myself in love with some of them, but by the beard of Ivan, I have never seen one like this. I tell you, Phadrig, that the moment my eyes looked for the first time into hers, only a few minutes ago, I knew that I had found my fate, and, having found it, I shall take very good care that I don’t lose it. And you shall help me to keep it: I shall try every fair means first to make her my princess, for, whether she was once Queen of Egypt or not, she is worthy now to sit beside a sovereign on his throne—and it might be that I could some day give her such a place—but have her I will, if not as fairly-won wife and consort, then as stolen slave and plaything, to keep as long as my fancy lasts.” (n.p.)
The prince’s judgment of Niti is of mixed value. Certainly, he recognizes her superiority as a woman, but he has no idea of her power. He knows her for her beauty and the way she carries herself—she would be one who could sit upon a throne, but the idea that such a woman might be able to overpower and ruin him completely escapes him. He has no idea of her spiritual power.

This power, however, may well be a force too prone to chaos and is thus tempered and ultimately tamed through the patriarchal structures of the early twentieth century. With her father, Niti is the obedient daughter. Before she ascends to the fourth dimension and gains the power with which she ultimately destroys Oscarovitch, she is, with the exception of the greater education that her father has given her, very much the dutiful, obedient daughter. This obedience can readily be seen when she has to break off her engagement to Lieutenant-Commander Mark Merrill. Merrill had asked Niti for her hand in marriage and she had willingly given her consent, but the question of her father’s permission was necessary before they could wed. Her father, however, does not give his consent and she must break the news to Merrill. Niti’s words and mannerisms betray her conflicted emotions when she delivers this news and does so in such a way as to present a picture of a traditional femininity:

“I’m awfully sorry, Mark,” she began, in a tone which literally sent a shiver—a real physical shiver—through him, for he was very, very much in love with her.

“What on earth is the matter, Niti?” he said, looking at the fair face and downcast eyes which, for the first time since he had asked the eternal
question and she had answered it according to his heart’s desire, had refused to meet his. “Let’s have it out at once. It’s lot better to be shot through the heart than starved to death, you know. . . .

“Oh, it’s—it’s—it’s a beastly shame, that’s what it is, so there!” And as she said this Miss Nitocris Marmion, B.Sc., stamped her foot on the turf and felt inclined to burst out crying, just as a milkmaid might have done.

“Which means,” said Mark, . . . “that the Professor has said ‘No.’

Her explanation for her obedience indicates her unwillingness to do anything contrary to her father’s will since, as she says, “‘I owe all that I ever had to him. He has been father, mother, teacher, friend companion—everything to me’” (n.p.). Adding that she and her father “‘are absolutely alone in the world,’” she tells Merrill, that though Merrill would be the only one who she would ever considering leaving her father for, she cannot do so without her father’s permission, for, as she says, “‘I won’t disobey him and break his heart, as I believe I should, even for you’” (n.p.).

Niti, as this passage makes clear, is a woman perfectly at home with the idea of submission to the men in her life. The context of the declaration of her commitment to her father and the reluctance with which she expresses that she must abandon her plans to marry Merrill make clear that Niti is a woman who would be willing to submit herself to her husband—even after her ascension to the fourth dimension, for she continues to respect her father even though her powers have increased dramatically. Of course, so have her father’s. The balance of power between father and daughter would have been
dangerously unequal had Griffith not provided such equality. The only battle between those who had ascended to the fourth dimension in the novel is that between her father, Professor Franklin Marmion, and Phadrig Amena, a battle which Phadrig recognizes as unequal as he realizes the professor’s vast superiority. Nevertheless, it is not the professor’s power that keeps Niti in line, but her already expressed commitment to her father whom she loves. The same love and commitment would undoubtedly apply in her marriage with Merrill. The marriage that finally takes place in the one paragraph epilogue of the novel serves as a point of stability on which the disturbing action of the book can finally rest.

The double wedding which took place at St George’s, Hanover Square, the following June was one of the most brilliant functions of the year. Their Majesties of Russia and Great Britain graced the ceremony with their presence, and, as a special act of grace to the man who, with Franklin Marmion’s help, had saved the world from what might have been one of the bloodiest wars in history, H.M.S. Nitocris was put into commission for a cruise, the object of which was anything rather than warlike. Two of the happiest couples on land or sea made the round of the world in her.

Before they returned Princess Hermia had taken the last of Phadrig’s drug and lain down to sleep never to wake again, and in the fullness of her happiness Nitocris pardoned Oscar Oscarovitch, and allowed him to die. The lack of detail about the marriage means that readers must project the relationship they have already witnesses between Niti and Merrill as continuing on the same footing
as before. Despite the fact that Niti has put Oscarovitch in a living hell, we are given no reason to expect the same will take place with Merrill. The difference is that she loves Merrill and thus submits herself to him as a worthy man. This is the way things have always been, the book seems to imply, and this is the way things will go on. Niti’s advantages as a woman with education and her friend Brenda’s New Womanish advances that we see in the book as the latter motors about town in her automobile, moving about town freely without need for masculine escort as had previously been the pattern, means that the book does not entirely discount feminine rights, but it does seem to still see traditional roles as the best bet for social stability as well as a good means of bringing the chaos of the book’s action to a close as representative of that stability. Change is all well and good, the novel seems to suggest, but, as Blanche Alethea Crackanthorpe, a feminist writer of “The Revolt of the Daughters” suggested in 1894, marriage was still “the best profession for a woman” (qtd. in Rubinstein 13).

Stoker’s story of The Jewel of Seven Stars is a special case in terms of the powerful woman, for in this tale we see the fruitlessness of the female attempt to assert power in a paternalistic society. In Stoker’s tale there are the usual elements of mummy fiction: “a surpassingly beautiful reanimated mummy, an uncanny reincarnation, a marriage plot, an unsettling of the distinctions between ancient power and those of modernity” (Deane 404). But there is also in this tale one of the clearest attempts at the assertion of female political control of all the stories. In this tale we see how an educated woman, with political, sexual, and magical power, uses all her wiles to dominate those around her only to fail finally despite her otherwise overwhelming advantages.
The story of Tera’s position in ancient Egypt helps tell the story. According to the background that Stoker gives her, Tera, before her death and mummification, was the most powerful woman in Egypt. Educated by her father in “statecraft” and the arts of the priests, including “black magic,” and strong in the army’s allegiance that her father had secured for her before his death, Tera had every advantage. Determined to prove herself every bit as capable of ruling as a man, she even went so far on occasion, like Hatshepsut, the female pharaoh on whom, according to Lisa Hopkins, she was based, as to dress in the traditional garments of the male pharaohs (137). This fact that is made clear in the drawings on the wall of her tomb, where she is depicted first “in man’s dress” and later in female clothing, with male “raiment” lying at her feet, signifying not only her equality with men, but her victory over them (Jewel 112).

The powers of greatest consequence for Tera and those with whom she interacts after her death, however, are those involving her powers of sexuality and her power over death. The power over death, of course, is what makes it possible for her to move and act in the lives of those still living, as, for example, when she strikes down those who attempt to rob her tomb and when she attempts numerous times to wrest the key to the safe containing important materials having to do with her resurrection from Abel Trelawny. It is also what nearly makes possible her bodily resurrection. Her sexual power, on the other hand, is expressed primarily in the scene where Trelawny and team gather round

37 Hatshepsut, the spelling of whose name includes not only that already given but Hatshohpsitu and Hatshepsou, was the subject of two books around the turn of the twentieth century: Edouard Naville’s Trois inscriptions de la Reine Hatshepsou (1895) and Edouard Naville and Howard Carter’s The Tomb of Hatshohpsitu (1906).
her body to unwrap it. This scene, reminiscent of the private unwrapping parties of mummies held in the early days of the nineteenth century, betrays their (the unwrappings) “erotic character” (Pearce 59).

The scene, despite its supposedly scientific character, is really more of a striptease than anything else, that holds those men unwrapping her in rapt attention. There is no hurry here as the procedure is described. Each detail of the unwrapping is painstakingly given: the quality cloth she is wrapped in and of the spices used; the sound of the tearing bandages as bit by bit her body is revealed; the symbols and pictures used in the inner wrappings and their colors—until finally the body begins to make itself known more clearly as it is freed from the bundle of bandages surrounding her body. Then, like a set of Chinese boxes, once these are all removed, there is yet another layer—a wedding dress, which is, like the rest of the descriptions, given in loving detail. “Round the neck,” we are told, this dress

was delicately embroidered in pure gold with tiny sprays of sycamore; and round the feet, similarly worked, was an endless line of lotus plants of unequal height, and with all the graceful abandon of natural growth;

Across the body, but manifestly not surrounding it, was a girdle of jewels. A wondrous girdle, which shone and glowed with all the forms and phases and colours of the sky!

The buckle was a great yellow stone, round of outline, deep and curved, as if a yielding globe had been pressed down. It shone and glowed as though a veritable sun lay within; the rays of its light seemed to strike
out and illumine all round. Flanking it were two great moonstones of lesser size, whose glowing, beside the glory of the sun-stone, was like the silvery sheen of moonlight.

And on either side, linked by golden clasps of exquisite shape, was a line of flaming jewels, of which the colours seemed to glow. Each of these stones seemed to hold a living star, which twinkled in every phase of changing light.

The poetic language with its depiction of each detail and its reference to various jewels not only enriches the image that Stoker presents us with, but it also serves to heighten the eroticism of the scene. We are seduced by the eye, by the beautiful workmanship on the cloth, by the glow of the jewels. Each stitch of the gown that is described and each jewel with which it is adorned adds to the beauty of the scene while at the same time it retards the eventual disrobing, thus increasing the sexual tension. We are teased as the men slowly disrobe the queen who lies within.

The queen herself, of course, is the goal of all this waiting, and her appearance does not disappoint. Rather than a dried up corpse, Tera appears to them as an “unclad beauty,” a “white wonder” and “beautiful form” that were “something to dream of,” “not like death at all,” but “like a statue carven in ivory by the hand of a Praxiteles” (203). “There was none of that horrible shrinkage which death seems to effect in a moment,” he continues, but rather a beautiful form, with “full and round” flesh “as in a living person” with “skin as smooth as satin” and “extraordinary” color, the only false note in the whole
of the description being the “shattered, bloodstained wrist and missing hand,” which adds a touch of horror to the whole (204).

The horror is not surprising, for as Stephen D. Arata notes, “the fear of women is never far from the surface of [Stoker’s] novels” (625). Hopkins argues that the fear in Jewel is the “horror of motherhood,” Andrew Smith the “horror of women’s empowerment” (39). The fear, whatever its cause, undoubtedly, critics have argued, came from Stoker’s difficult relationships with his mother and his wife and from his concern about the emergence of the New Woman (Hopkins 146). This latter concern, especially, makes a great deal of sense, for in his tale of Jewel, Stoker, in bringing down Tera either through killing her off or through domesticating her through marriage, imaginatively solves the problem of the woman’s movement for traditionalist men and women. The first technique—killing Tera’s character—Stoker uses in the 1903 edition; in the second edition, which may not have been written by Stoker, the woman “problem” is solved through marriage. The more violent solution in the 1903 edition is surprisingly the one written before the first act of militancy on the part of feminist Christabel Pankhurst when she, along with Annie Kenney had disrupted an address of Sir Edward Grey in Manchester on October 15, 1905 when they “persisted in putting the question as to what the Liberal party would do with regard to the emancipation of women, if it should be returned to power” (Metcalf 23). The two were “unceremoniously hustled from the hall” and Pankhurst was charged with “‘assaulting’ the police” (Metcalf 23). For the militants, the struggle was a matter of life and death (qtd. in Metcalfe 23). Other violence followed.
[Militant feminists] burned down churches as the Church of England was against what they wanted; they vandalised Oxford Street, apparently breaking all the windows in this famous street; they chained themselves to Buckingham Palace as the Royal Family were seen to be against women having the right to vote; they hired out boats, sailed up the Thames and shouted abuse through loud hailers at Parliament as it sat; others refused to pay their tax. Politicians were attacked as they went to work. Their homes were fire bombed. Golf courses were vandalised. The first decade of Britain in the C20th was proving to be violent in the extreme. (Trueman n.p.).

Things got so bad that, according to Marjorie Caygill, the trustees of the British Museum began to refuse to allow women to enter without a male escort who “would stand surety for their good behavior.” Nevertheless, their precautions—which included not only the promises of the male escort and “additional plain clothes police . . . . stationed in the galleries” - - ultimately proved insufficient as “one lady broke a number of panes of glass in the Asiatic Saloon with a chopper and a further onslaught was made with a hatchet on a case in the first Egyptian Room, the latter culprit having been trailed to the spot by the plain clothes police” (48).

Tera’s commission of mass murder in the first (1903) edition more closely parallels the feared violence suggested by these acts, yet it is not until the second edition in 1912 after such things have actually come to pass, that the author of the revision chose to temper the mayhem. Perhaps the reality was too much to be repeated in a piece of
fiction that publishers hoped to sell. Taking Margaret and domesticating her through marriage, especially as she is the one who is the most closely linked with Tera, is in essence domesticating Tera herself, making her manageable. There seem to be essentially two choices of how to deal with the dangerous woman as it is presented in *Jewel*: both involve killing the responsible party (Tera), but the latter more completely restores traditional gender roles through the marriage of the one most closely allied with Tera, her double, Margaret. In both cases it is also important to note that the danger posed by such a woman is contained; in the first edition, though Tera kills everyone except for the narrator, the violence is at least contained within the fantastic space that the Trelawny home has become; in the second, the violence is not only contained within the home, it is rendered less dangerous by the recovery of everyone except for Tera, but is even further removed from the realm of possibility by Margaret’s submission to marriage.

The danger posed by Tera may well be a reflection of fin de siècle Great Britain. Though there was once again a man on the throne of England, the feminist movement was going strong. Suffragists and their opponents were writing letters to the editor, articles, and cartoons that commented on the issue of women’s rights. A real fear of men losing control—treated humorously for the most part in newspapers and magazines—seemed to be popping up everywhere, a fact which was undoubtedly a result of anxieties among traditionalists provoked by the advances women had been making in the past few years. It had not been that long ago, after all, since men had had the right to beat their wives
“within reason” (Michie 415), to assume legal ownership of their wife’s property upon marriage (Rubinstein 52), and to have full legal control of the children issuing from the marriage, unlike the wife’s rights which were either non-existent or severely restrained (Rubinstein 53). Things were changing now, however, and women were gaining more power than before and this undoubtedly dismayed many traditionalists. Fears about the degeneration of British manhood following hard upon the debacle of the Boer War combined with a more assertive woman coming out of the women’s movement resulted in images of powerful women threatening to rule over men. Given the circumstances, it is hardly surprising that such issues would be treated in newspaper and magazine reports and cartoons.

One example of that treatment can be seen in a cartoon called “A New Woman—She Plays Football with the Baby” (see Figure 4). In this cartoon, published in The Illustrated Police News in the February 22, 1896 issue, we can see a woman who has lost all of the traditional feminine virtues of submissiveness and maternal instincts. The picture shows a woman run amok, gender roles inverted as she storms into her home, armed with an umbrella, pulling her husband’s nose, he lying on the floor in his night shirt, trying ineffectually to restrain his wife, while their baby lies helplessly on the floor underfoot as its mother appears to be just an instant away from kicking the child with her foot. The overturned chair adds to the sense of chaos, suggesting that the wife has entered the home like some kind of whirlwind, wreaking havoc as she goes. Though the woman is still considerably constrained by a corset to achieve an unnatural waspish waist, for the most part it is the man who is put in an inferior position as he is dressed for
bed, paralleling the baby who is dressed similarly. The New Woman in this picture is
dressed for the street, giving her greater freedom of movement in geographic terms while
the man’s clothing restricts him to the home. Their costuming thus reverses the spheres
of influence: the woman is now the one who goes about in public while her husband is
restricted to the home. From all appearances, it is the wife who is physically more
powerful than the man, a notion in direct conflict with arguments against women’s
suffrage which held that a woman should not be given the vote since she lacks the
physical strength on which authority is based (Massie 10). But this is a nightmare vision
of the direction men and women at the time were headed: the whole world is being
turned upside down. Men are weakening as investigations into the health of men had
asserted since the Boer War, as we noted in the invasion chapter, and women are
becoming more physically aggressive.

The idea of such a New Woman existing undoubtedly seems far-fetched, but there
was a related reality behind such behavior, though nothing quite as extreme as this.
Women and men undoubtedly became physically violent with each other in years past,
especially in those cases where the woman is actually larger than her husband, but
traditionally, at any rate, we think of women as more docile creatures than men. It is men
who come home drunk and storm about and women who are on the receiving end of this
violence. The idea that men might be treated as they treated women was horrifying to the
end of the century male, as Walter Besant’s dystopian anti-feminist novel, The Revolt of
**Man** (1882), asserts. In Besant’s novel, women are in power, both at home and in the nation. It is women who teach and preach and govern, and men who must make themselves attractive so that they can make the best marriage they can. This often means that younger men marry older, more powerful women, regardless of whether or not they are particularly attracted to them. The situation is unbearable because of its unnaturalness, according to the book’s logic, and one man, Lord Chester, who in a world of male succession would have been king of England, ultimately leads a revolt against the social order, overturning it and restoring male patriarchy to England. Ironically, there is no indication that Besant himself, who saw men’s denial of education, career, and the ability to move freely about the streets unaccompanied as horrific, had any sympathy for women in the same situation. Apparently, such denials of rights were only the way things ought to be. The real problem, Besant seems to be saying in this novel, is that men might lose their power. Certainly, the behavior of some women just a few years after the publication of Besant’s novel seemed to indicate that there might be something to the fearful predictions he was making as women, acting completely out of keeping with traditional rules of feminine behavior, destroyed works of art in the British Museum or fought in the streets (Caygill 48; “The New Woman—She Shows Fight” n.p.).

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38 *The Revolt of Man*, according to Besant’s account in his autobiography, suffered a slow start in sales (its reception, Besant says, was “at first extremely cold”), but once “an article in the Saturday Review came out, it enjoyed great success. “In five or six weeks,” Besant writes, “we had got through about nine thousand copies.” It even attracted the attention of feminists, who, Besant notes, “never ceased to abuse the book and the author” (212).

39 Consider, as just one example, the case of Mrs. Alice Madeline Wackerbarth’s attack on a pedestrian named Florence Bly, whom she almost ran over on her bicycle and then promptly proceeded to thrash in anger. See “The New Woman—She Shows Fight” in the July 20, 1895 issue of *The Illustrated Police News*. 
situations as these were undoubtedly the exception, but the idea of women stepping outside their traditional roles was, as we have seen, a concern. Writers dealt with these issues in various ways. Many, as we have seen in the mummy narrative, sought, even when portraying women as powerful, dangerous beings, did their best to tame the chaos, with powerful women surrendering their power to the men in their lives. Other times, writers of these tales in addition to presenting powerful women compounded the problem by depicting weak and/or feminized men. Often the stories did both.

Ambrose Pratt’s novel, *The Living Mummy* (1910), is one of those novels that did both. Written in a time in which the militant actions of the suffragettes were part of the social fabric, the novel pretends at times to sympathize with the modern feminist, though its ultimate conclusion is that gender relations should return to what they had always been, the man in control, the woman content to let him be so. Shrewish women are tamed, feminized men shamed, and the whole of society rescued by the novel’s narrator, the dominant Dr. Hugh Pinsent, an intelligent, powerfully built archaeologist and medical doctor, who, by his own account, is prone to dominate those around him.

The story is fairly straightforward. It opens with a scene in Egypt where Pinsent, a medical doctor as well as a published authority in Egyptology, is busy working on a book when he is approached by May Ottley and her father, the famous Egyptologist, Sir Robert Ottley. They ask for the loan of some of his men to help them with a mummy they have discovered and from this point forward Pinsent is drawn into their lives. The novel contains a mix of the supernatural and the detective story: May and Pinsent, for example, see a floating head of a mummy at the Ottleys’ campsite and Pinsent, despite its
several appearances, dismisses it as supernatural. As the tale progresses, this same mummy is discovered to be the murderer of May’s fiancé and Pinsent’s friend, Captain Frankfort Weldon. Pinsent, then, sets about trying to solve the case, ultimately coming face to face with the mummy, a creature of which it is ultimately difficult to say whether or not he is supernatural or merely mortal. The story concludes when Pinsent overcomes the chief villain in the tale, Dr. William Bellville and May and Pinsent marry and retire to a small village, putting all that they have been through behind them.

The story has a great deal to say about gender, as characters succeed or fail in meeting traditional gender expectations. In terms of what is presented as successful masculinity, one need look no further than Pinsent himself. For those who measure masculinity in assertiveness, rationality, and physical power, Pinsent is a man’s man. He tends, furthermore, to be something less than one of feminism’s greatest supporters. His conversations with May Ottley, the woman with whom he soon falls in love, are often belligerent and chauvinistic. He is an admirer of womankind, but his ideas, at least to modern ears, sound old-fashioned. But when he talks with his friend Dixon Hubbard, it is difficult to say with certainty just how much of what he says he actually believes. Based on what he says to Hubbard it sounds like he is fundamentally opposed to the women’s movement, but his motivation in making this speech, a promise to Hubbard’s wife, suggests the possibility that Pinsent is merely acting as a provocateur. Hubbard begins:
“Your views are somewhat narrow. For years past the world has been allowing an ever-increasing license to woman. And who shall say that it is wrong! Woman is a reasoning, responsible being. I---“

“Nonsense, Hubbard,” I interrupted. “Woman is the weaker vessel, and the more she is restricted the better for her own protection. Look at the Divorce Court! Thousands of marriages are every year dissolved. That is all owing to the greater freedom which men have conceded woman of latter years. Divorce was, comparatively speaking, an unknown quantity when men asserted the right to confine their wives in proper bounds and forced them to observe and practice the domestic virtues both for occupation and amusement. Look around you and consider what has been brought about by the unwise relaxation of the old, sound laws! A race of social moths and drones and gad-flies has been created, whose chief business in life it is to amuse themselves; whose pleasure it is to spend money often earned with difficulty by devoted fools; whose delight it is to ensnare and to deceive their former tyrants; whose estimate of motherhood is an avoidable and loathsome human incident; whose morality is a resolution to preserve their immorality from public criticism; whose faith is a shibboleth composed of superstitious formulae, and whose religion is occasionally to attend divine service in some fashionable church arrayed in the latest thing in headgear and a chic French gown. (198-99)
Pinsent’s “tirade” (his word) touches on numerous concerns that had been held at one time or another about women: they are not rational (when Hubbard remarks that women are “reasoning” and “responsible,” Pinsent cries “Nonsense.”), they are not faithful (the very thing that Hubbard had feared about his own wife, whom he believed had only married him for his money), they no longer regard motherhood as a state to be desired, and their morality is questionable.

It seems fairly certain that we are not to take this statement as fully expressive of what Pinsent believes since his behavior throughout the narrative suggests that he may be closer in his opinion to what he has expressed here than he wants to admit. Pinsent’s treatment of May illustrates the point. Almost from the beginning, Pinsent and May are bickering. May is an intelligent, assertive woman, responsible for her father, Sir Robert Ottley’s, reputation as an Egyptologist since it is she who does the majority of the scholarly work. Pinsent, nevertheless, treats her in a way that she “resent[s],” leading her to tell him, “‘I am as reasonable a being as yourself,’” an idea of which, judging by his actions, he is not entirely convinced (38). He treats her like a child, going so far as to pick her up and carry her from the room where he is about to remove a bullet from her father’s body because he can see that she is worn out and should go to bed. His descriptions of her, moreover, often make reference to ways she is childlike: after she has “cried herself to sleep” shortly after he has taken her from the room for the reasons just indicated, he finds her asleep, “breathing like a child;” and in a later argument he says to her, “Peace, peace,” . . . . You foolish, foolish child, you are wasting forces that were given you for quite another purpose” (40). In essence, he is speaking to her, in the
terms of Transactional Analysis, not as an adult to an adult, but as a father to a child and she, quite reasonably, resents it. His opinion of her in these opening chapters is that she “hate[s] [her] sex” and is in need of a “dressing down” (40; 21). She, in turn, thinks him a bully.

Pratt allows his hero a great deal of success in his relationship to women, not in his being some kind of Lothario, but in his ability to gain their trust and to ultimately “reform” the one woman he loves, turning her into a more traditional wife and mother by the end of the novel. Despite his often caustic responses to May, the woman he eventually marries, it is to him that she turns when in trouble, just as Lady Helen does when she needs someone to help her repair her relationship with her husband, Dixon Hubbard. Pinsent does these things, because, as a believer in women as the weaker sex, he thinks it his duty to provide for them in the same way that earlier generations had done. He recognizes, as do those around him, that such ideas are old-fashioned: when he goes on his anti-woman tirade with Hubbard, Hubbard advises him to “‘not advertise those opinions,” and looks down on him with a sense of superiority (199); and Lady Helen, on asking him for his help in rescuing her marriage, tells him she is aware that “‘knight-errants are out of fashion now-a-days’” (171). He is, moreover, successful with

40Dr. Eric Berne, the originator of the theory of Transactional Analysis, posited that each person carries within him- (or her-) self three ego states, which he refers to as the “Parent,” “Adult,” and “Child.” When functioning in the “Parent” ego state, the individual behaves as a parent would, taking charge of others, giving commands, and so forth. The “Adult” functions as a rational individual, who is less judgmental than the “Parent” and treats others as adults; the “Adult” is also responsible for “mediating” between the “Parent” and the “Adult” within every person. The “Child” is the person in which “reside intuition, creativity and spontaneous drive and enjoyment,” but it is subject, from time to time, to the disapproval of the “Parent.” This disapproval and dominance is what is going on in the interaction between Pinsent and May Ottley. See Berne’s Games People Play: The Psychology of Human Relationships, (Ballantine, 1992), especially chapters 2 and 3 for additional information.
asserting his rule over May as she, though a very independent woman, submits to his authority (as a physician and a man) when he tells her that her father’s life depends upon it. His commands are seldom truly self-serving, though it is easy to imagine that a man known among his friends as being “a natural autocrat” and among those not his friends “as an arrogant and self-assertive egoist,” might well derive personal satisfaction from such obedience (54). For the most part, instead, the commands he gives or the actions he takes are for the good of others. Her tells May, for instance, to get rest so that she may better tend to her father when she is on duty as his nurse; he also makes a unilateral decision to move Sir Robert from the enclosed area near the mummy to a place where he might get more air. Pinsent, in essence, is a man who, because of his old-fashioned idea about chivalry and the duties of man, cares for and protects others as the Victorian ideal required.

Pratt attempts to make Pinsent’s masculinity even more attractive as he contrasts it with the other men in the story who can never measure up to the standards that Pinsent has set. In terms of physical power, it would be very difficult indeed to match Pinsent, for, as he tells May and her father, he is “‘as strong as six [men],’” and he proves it when he removes May from Sir Robert’s sick bed and then places the lid of the sarcophagus, which May tells him had taken six Arabs to lift earlier, to block her entrance back in (4). He makes use of this strength throughout the novel, moreover, as he wrestles with an invisible mummy and with Dr. William Belleville and his accomplices, who seek to destroy him. He is, in essence, what today in the movies would be called an “action hero.” In a world where there was great concern about a degenerating British race,
Pinsent serves as a fictional example of the desired physical type. This depiction of Pinsent is significant because Pinsent counters the fear of what was becoming of men at the time. Here was a picture of an heroic man, physically and mentally in control of every situation in which he found himself. He could defeat any enemy and assert control over any woman with whom he came in contact. Pinsent solves imaginatively the problem of a defeated masculine population. Through their imaginations, men could vicariously enjoy his success and feel better about themselves.

Even before the Boer War when so much attention had been given to the problem of a physically failing manhood, young men were going to gyms to develop their muscles. Having muscles was becoming an important part of the masculine ideal. Earlier generations had constructed masculinity differently, the aristocratic male being portrayed as “the unmarked body, impermeable to demands from the outside world,” such as the seemingly effeminate Sir Walter in Jane Austen’s *Persuasion* (Michie 413). The ideal of masculinity, however, changed over the years as Victorians moved from the old model of masculinity, which they saw as “increasingly self-indulgent, immoral, and, indeed, effeminate,” and replaced it with the concept of the ideal man as capitalist, a notion best known probably through chapter four of Thomas Carlyle’s *Past and Present*, “Captains of Industry” (Michie 413). Muscle and morality were later added to the mix.

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41 The Boer War (1899-1902), according to Thomas Heyck, was to Britain what Vietnam was to the United States. The British army, one of the greatest military powers on earth, should have been able to defeat their opponents in this conflict, a group of South African “Dutch farmers” (Spencer 204) in quick time, but such was not the case. The conflict greatly compromised Britain’s reputation as a military power. It was also in this time, according to Kathleen Spencer, that “the recruiting campaign” for the war “discovered the physical inadequacies of the men from London’s East-End slums,” where the men were discovered to be “alarmingly undersized, frail, and sickly” (204).
as the idea of Muscular Christianity became part of the notion of what it meant to be a man in Victorian England. The term, originating from a review by T. C. Sandars of Charles Kingsley’s *Two Years Ago* (1857), signified the idea “that participation in sport could contribute to the development of Christian morality, physical fitness, and ‘manly’ character” (Watson et al. par. 1). By the last years of the century, the importance of the moral aspect of the concept had lessened, but musculature remained a dominant concern (Boyd 46). Late nineteenth century magazines, as concern with the “muscular ideal . . . became increasingly prevalent,” began to feature heroes who could measure up to the “images of bulging muscles and naked virility” that were more and more prominent (Swiencicki 782). In fact, according to “[o]ne study of magazine articles, . . . the most frequently emphasized traits of heroes in the 1890s were their impressive size and strength” (Swiencicki 782). This is hardly surprising since the “growing physical fitness movement [of the 1880s] . . . linked physical prowess with masculinity and offered a panacea to urban and moral degeneration” (Spurr 287-88). By the time of the Boer War and afterwards, musculature would become even more important as a result of the embarrassment of a British race that could no longer meet the expectations of the military. Muscular heroes might provide at least a fictional fix of the problem.

Though much of mummy fiction did indeed provide a fictional restitution of male power as we have seen repeatedly in the examples above, numerous narratives, besides depicting the strong male figure, also portray the weak or effeminate, the men who did not measure up to conventional standards of masculinity. In so doing, these narratives make a judgment about the value of masculinity: the strong, the powerful, the decisive
man, the tales tell us, are worthy; those who are weak, at best, of questionable value, and at worst, despicable. The weak characters facilitate our understanding of the problem of shifting gender roles that frightened traditionalists, and help us, in their opposition to what is honored, to see what is feared and what is desired.

Physical and mental strength, as we have seen, was an important part of the masculine ideal, and the heroes in mummy stories ordinarily fulfill that expectation. But occasionally a character, sometimes even the book’s protagonist, lacks one or the other. Such is the case with Ralph Lavenham, the protagonist of *Iras, a Mystery*. Lavenham’s weakness is the result of a brain fever he contracted while in Egypt, and it is the excuse others use to account for what they consider to be his hallucinations of Iras. The upshot is that not only is Lavenham’s masculinity compromised by his physical weakness, but, more importantly, by his supposedly jeopardized rationality, the latter of which was considered a very necessary part of masculinity as it was then constructed (Tosh 180). Women were supposed to be less rational than men, more prone to the roller coaster of emotions than men as a result of what Elaine Showalter, in *The Female Malady: Women, Madness, and English Culture, 1830-1980*, called the “‘diseases of periodicity’” (qtd. in Hurley 120). According to Showalter, this meant that, as the thinking of the time went, “‘women were more vulnerable to insanity than men ’’” since their bodies “‘interfered with their sexual, emotional, and rational control.’’” Men, on the other hand, were not supposed to suffer from these illnesses because the difference in biology produced a difference in mind (qtd. in Hurley 120). The man, therefore, whose rationality is suspect is suffering from a weakness of mind associated with womankind. Everett attenuates her hero’s
predicament to some extent by giving him masculine characteristics as we have seen when looking at Iras’s unusually passive tendencies, causing Lavenham to have to care for her. After Iras’s disappearance, however, it is Lavenham who needs to be cared for when he collapses. The doctors treating him and the old parson who finds him in the snow hear his ramblings about Iras, a woman who, as far as those who have recently seen him, have never seen, think he has lost his reason. Even Lavenham’s friend Knollys seems to think so in the beginning, though he begins to believe in Iras after letters from witnesses indicate their having seen her. Yet even with this new evidence, the rational minds of those men around Lavenham doubt his sanity, for his tale of marriage to a resurrected mummy and then her eventual disintegration into dust seems too far-fetched: the last doctor attending Lavenham suspects that his brain has taken the existence of a real woman named Iras and turned her into an imaginary mummy. Knollys, though he is convinced of the existence of a woman named Iras, in the final analysis, does not know what to make of the whole tale. As a result, Lavenham’s sanity, at the very least, is questionable and this loss places him in a position as a lesser man. In losing his reason, or at least appearing to have done so, Lavenham thus loses one of the most important masculine characteristics that he could have. As the protagonist in the narrative, however, he is not thrust as far into the masculine horrors of femininity as he might be. Such fates are reserved for the wicked (male) characters, who are shown not only to be morally corrupt, but effeminate in one way or another: in their bodies, in their minds, or in a combination of the two.
Edward Bellingham in Doyle’s short story, “Lot No. 249,” is feminized in both body and mind. The complete opposite of the athletic, hard-working, levelheaded Abercrombie Smith, the hero of the story, Bellingham is “a flabby, pale-faced man,” a coward prone to hysterics (529). His muscles are not toned and his pale complexion suggests a complete lack of interest in sports and other outdoor activities. A brilliant linguist, his interests are all of the mind. And despite his obvious discipline in academic matters, because of his obesity and the assumed lack of alimentary discipline—“fat people in nineteenth-century Britain were assumed to have large appetites”—he would be considered a man lacking that essential characteristic of the ideal capitalist male, “self-control” (Huff, “The Fat Man Abroad” 2; Michie 413). Two scenes are most suggestive of Bellingham’s effeminacy, the scene where he first brings his mummy to life and the scene where Smith forces Bellingham to destroy his mummy and his papers so that he may never again resurrect the creature.

The first of these scenes portrays Bellingham in his room having passed out, apparently the result of some great shock to his system. His color is bad, his heart beating rapidly, and he is unconscious. Worst of all, perhaps, is the fact that he has “been shrieking” uncontrollably. As he comes to and sees what has happened, he declares himself a “fool” and then “burst[s] into peal after peal of hysterical laughter” (531). Smith, in contrast to Bellingham’s hysterical performance, behaves admirably as he examines the weaker man, shaking Bellingham and doing his best to restore order. Bellingham, however, is all nerves: he has lost his reason, his control, and has passed out, his constitution being too weak to handle the shock to which it has been subjected.
Men were not supposed to be like this; women were. George J. Romanes, the “eminent Darwinist scientist” and expert in the fields of “physiology, psychology and evolution,” writing in May 1887 in an article published in the *Nineteenth Century* called “Mental Differences Between Men and Women,” noted that women were “almost always less under control of the will—more apt to break away, as it were, from the restraint of reason, and to overwhelm the mental chariot in disaster” (“Romanes, George John”; 657).

One way in which this unbalance of reason showed itself, Romanes wrote, was in “the overmastering form of hysteria” (657). In this way, Bellingham shows himself to be effeminate, for he cannot control his emotions. His will is too weak to maintain control, so he must be rescued by what readers of the time would have judged as the better man. His flabby body and weak will resulting in hysteria mark him as effeminate.42

Bellingham is once more revealed as an effeminate character in the concluding scene where Smith comes to his room and forces him to destroy his mummy and all of his valuable papers. In this scene it is Smith, not Bellingham, who is in control.

Bellingham, for much of the story, has had things well under control as a result of his superior intellect, which he uses to control his mummy to commit acts of violence, but that intellect cannot stand against the sheer force, both mental and physical, that Smith brings to bear. Armed with a pistol and his own determination to make matters right where the law cannot, Smith acts with a decisiveness that cannot be overcome. Smith’s

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42 Surprising, despite the culture’s assignment of hysteria to women, according to Max Nordau, author of the controversial study entitled simply *Degeneration*, hysteria is not primarily a woman’s illness. Writing of the hysterical, Nordau notes, “it must not be thought that [the hysterical] are met with exclusively, or even preponderantly, among females, for they are quite as often, perhaps oftener, found among males” (25).
every action is deliberate: he ascends the stairs and goes into Bellingham’s room, uninvited. He looks “deliberately round him” as he enters the room and “close[s] the door” behind him, “lock[s] it,” then seats himself, once again, “deliberately” (543). He does not waste any words with Bellingham, but takes out a “long amputating-knife” and “[throws] it down in front of Bellingham,” telling him, “‘Now, then . . . . Just get to work and cut up that mummy’” (543). Bellingham tries to resist at first, but he turns pale when Smith threatens to “‘put a bullet through [his] brain’” (543). After a few moments of trying to turn Smith from his purpose, Smith’s finger “twitch[ing] upon the trigger,” Bellingham “screams” his acquiescence (544). He acts in “frantic haste,” obviously horrified by Smith’s inexorable purpose. Following Smith’s orders, he cuts up his mummy and destroys his papers, though, after his mummy is gone, he tries to negotiate with Smith so that he may at least “copy” the contents of the scrolls he is being commanded to destroy (544). He is utterly powerless before Smith. He is completely emasculated.

Other villains in other stories are similarly feminized, either by the heroes in the tales or by the author’s description of them. Dr. William Belleville, the brilliant but villainous mad scientist of Pratt’s novel, The Living Mummy, is treated with contempt at one point by Hugh Pinsent, the novel’s narrator, when he “bowed him out of the room as deferentially as if he were a woman” (139). The eponymous character of Pharos, the Egyptian, moreover, is described in such a way as to make clear his loss of reason and cowardice in a storm when aboard his yacht as he cowers in the corner while our hero manages to conduct himself bravely; and Laurens Djama, the brilliant but unstable
physicist of Griffith’s *The Romance of Golden Star*, is feminized both in his relation to Vilcaroya after his unsuccessful betrayal of the latter and in his own loss of reason. Men are supposed to be in control, both of themselves and of their reason, but these characters fail miserably. They are not reasonable men, but cowards, out of control of themselves and subject to supposedly better men. Their presence in these narratives is indicative of the sense that many Britons felt about their culture and their racial stock. The days of assumed progress, were over, Patrick Brantlinger tells us, and the idea of impending doom or a sense of “‘rottenness’” in the nation were expressed in “[m]uch of the literary culture of the period” (230). Weak or feminized men were part and parcel of this sense of degeneration that the strong male figures must work against so that masculinity might once more be restored.

This last observation brings us to one final consideration of masculinity before we conclude this chapter: the relationship of hypermasculinity and homosexuality. For the most part, as I have noted earlier, the masculine heroes in mummy fiction are simple responses to a world in which women are becoming increasingly powerful. Strong male heroes are simply a way of restoring control in that world. One relationship, however, has an interesting twist to it that is ordinarily not seen in these stories: the relationship between Captain Frankfort Weldon and Dr. Hugh Pinsent. Pinsent, the hypermasculine hero of Pratt’s novel, *The Living Mummy*, is a man’s man, a more masculine character than all those others appearing within the pages of the book. He is strong, willing to fight, intelligent but not too smart to be a likeable male hero. He is the person on whom all others seem to depend and the chief enemy of those who seek evil. He is religious,
but not overly so (he calls himself a “reasonably bad Christian” [98]). He is the hero of Captain Weldon, who tells him, that, in comparison to Pinsent, he feels like “‘a silly girl-man’” (76).

Weldon’s and Pinsent’s relationship is similar to public schoolboy crushes of the latter nineteenth century (Bristow 82). Weldon admires Pinsent and Pinsent enjoys the admiration. Yet there appears, on one level at least, to be something akin to homosexual desire in the relationship. Though I would not claim that a homosexual relationship exists between the two, there is nevertheless an undercurrent of the homoeroticism that had alarmed many contemporary observers by the end of the century. Things had come to such a point by the twentieth century, in fact, that close relationship between heterosexual males began to suffer because of the fear of being thought homosexual (Bristow 89). The end of Chapter VII and the beginning of Chapter VIII of the novel demonstrate homoerotic undertones in the relationship between Weldon and Pinsent. The relevant scene in the novel begins after Pinsent has been brought back to the Ottleys’ camp in Egypt. In this scene, Weldon acts very much as the younger student enamored with the older boy at public school and Pinsent as the older boy enjoying the adulation.

The scene opens with what might easily be described as a seduction scene. Weldon comes to him and offers him his tent, a bath tub, and “fresh linen” (74). Pinsent gratefully accepts and enters the tent, which he describes as “a sort of lady’s bower. . . . The floor was laid with rugs, and the sloped canvas walls were hung with silken frills; and women’s photographs [they were photos of May Ottley] littered the fold-up dressing table” (74). Fresh linen, “composed of the very finest silk,” was laid out on Weldon’s
“damask-covered cot.” Everything was luxurious in this room (“Even the socks were silk”) (75).

After Pinsent has bathed and shaved, he sits down on Weldon’s cot, and here Weldon, who is nowhere else feminized, begins to sound surprisingly effeminate. When Pinsent comments on the scar left on his face when Weldon struck him earlier, Weldon asks him why he didn’t “‘break me up while you were about it,’” noting, “‘You could have, easily enough. Lord! how big and strong you are’” (76). The sound of this latter comment, at least to our modern ears, sounds extraordinarily like a heterosexual woman flattering a man on whom she has designs. Weldon follows this comment up a moment later with additional praise of Pinsent’s masculinity when he says, in response to Pinsent’s comment that he [Pinsent] is “‘ugly,’”: “‘A man ought to be ugly and strong-looking like you. I’d give half my fortune to possess that jaw’” (76). After the flattery, Weldon offers Pinsent a cigar and suggests the latter rest until lunch is done: “‘This box of Cabanas is for you. They’re prime. I’ve more in my kit when they are finished. Lie down and rest while you smoke one, won’t you? Lunch won’t be ready for an hour yet, and you must be fagged’” (76).

The scene described here seems to have the elements of a scene of seduction: the seducer offers the object of the seduction numerous sorts of bodily comforts as he begins to work his seduction: clean linen and socks of silk, fine cigars, a tub for bathing, and a “damask-covered cot . . . composed of the very finest silk” on which to rest in addition to comments designed to tickle the ear of the auditor. Everything is designed to please the recipient. This is a world of luxury, more than one might expect in a relationship
between heterosexual men. The technique seems reminiscent of the seductive methods used on young men by one of literature’s most famous homosexuals of the fin de siècle, Oscar Wilde, who, according to evidence that emerged in Wilde’s trial against John Douglas, the Marquess of Queensberry in March and April of 1895, involved entertaining those same young men in private rooms in fine restaurants before entering into sexual relations.43

Nothing literally sexual comes of this relationship, despite the hints that seem to suggest its possibility. In fact, despite the seductiveness of the scene, Pratt seems to be at pains to prevent his hero from being perceived in such a way. Early on in the scene, Pratt makes sure readers understand that Weldon is engaged to May and is smitten with her. A great deal of attention, furthermore, after this scene has been laid out, is all about May, with whom both Weldon and Pinsent are in love.44 To have indulged a homoerotic relationship between these two would have resulted in a loss of masculinity and would thus have defeated all the efforts Pratt had made in constructing a super masculine hero and would have equally compromised the moral standing of both men. Nevertheless, the scene offers an interesting twist on the question of Pinsent’s hypermasculinity and impels us to consider what truth lay behind his relationship with Weldon. The language we have observed in this scene is undoubtedly sexually charged. The question is why. In this

43 The court transcripts reveal Queensberry’s counsel, Edward Carson, repeatedly questioning Wilde on the dinners that he gave for young men. According to Carson’s version of events, Wilde would feed these young men sumptuous feasts and ply them with champagne as part of an attempt to seduce them, as he did, according to Carson, with a young man named Carson (276).

44 A full analysis of the homoerotic undertones of this story is beyond my scope. For a more complete analysis, see Eve Sedgwick’s Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire (Columbia UP, 1985).
case, it is Weldon who has used the effeminate language to praise the brawny Pinsent, but in an earlier passage in the novel, Pinsent himself uses similar language when he describes the beginning of his friendship with Weldon. In this latter case, it is Pinsent who speaks of “[conquering]” his friend and of “[falling] in love” with his friend’s “manly way” of responding to the beating which he had just given the smaller, frailest man. In fairness, we must consider the possibility of changing expressions of heterosexual affection in earlier times, but, if this is in fact the case, it does not translate well in our own time. It appears, in the final analysis, that what we have here may be a too insistent proclamation of hypermasculinity as a way to hide the possibility of homosexual desire.

Pratt’s efforts to preserve the powerful position of his hero in his novel are indicative of the efforts made throughout the narratives we have examined in this chapter. A threatened traditional masculine power required a response for those who felt endangered by an increasingly powerful women’s movement. Mummy narratives provided an excellent vehicle for considering such concerns with the numerous powerful women. The stories did not concern the ordinary people of ancient times, but, with the exception of the comic story of “The Mummy of Thompson-Pratt,” with those individuals who were in powerful positions, whether by reason of their relationship of those actually in power, such as those cases where we are talking about daughters of powerful priests, for example, or were royalty, powerful in their own right, as in the case of Queen Tera and Queen Nitocris. By creating powerful women, moreover, and engaging them in relationships with ordinary men of the present, authors of mummy
fiction were able to correct the problem of a too-powerful womankind and restore men
and women to a more traditional balance of power.
Skeptics and Believers in Mummy Detective Fiction

Even those only cursorily acquainted with the history of the Victorian era and its literature acknowledge that many Victorians experienced a loss of faith in the face of scientific theories developed since Charles Darwin and Charles Lyell first published their views on the evolution of the physical world. Religious doubt was expressed by the likes of Matthew Arnold and Alfred Tennyson, the former famously melancholic over the retreating “Sea of Faith” in “Dover Beach” and the latter struggling with religious issues following the death of his friend A.H. Hallam in his celebrated composition, In Memoriam.

The sense of loss and struggle for belief as evidenced in these poems was representative of the loss experienced by many at the time. Though there were certainly individuals in this period who discovered a new-found freedom as a result of recent scientific theories as well as those who remained committed to orthodoxy, there were a number of others, as Janet Oppenheim, author of The Other World: Spiritualism and Psychical Research in England, 1850-1914, reminds us, who felt themselves at a loss in an “age of skepticism,” who yet, at the same time, could simply not bring themselves to accept the old orthodoxy (Sheridan 34; Oppenheim 4; 113). Psychic researcher Walter Leaf, for instance, in a letter to his fiancée shortly before their marriage in 1894, noted, “For me, reason refuses to be satisfied with Christianity—or at least with Christian
formulas—and gropes, however blindly, for something more. I think it always will” (qtd. in Oppenheim 119). Henry Sidgwick, a clergyman’s son and one of the founding members of the Society for Psychical Research, an institution devoted to applying scientific research methods to matters psychic and supernatural, likewise felt a sense of loss with regard to his early Christian faith (Oppenheim 81). Brought up in an Anglican family and originally intent on pursuing a career in the church, Sidgwick later found himself unable to accept the beliefs of his childhood and thus abandoned those plans. It was not that he had no interest in spiritual matters, as his later involvement with the SPR demonstrates, it was just that “the scientific atmosphere” of the time had “paralyzed” his “old theological trains of thought and sentiment,” leaving him in a condition of uncertainty with regard to spiritual matters (qtd. in Oppenheim 113). He was, as Janet Oppenheim expresses it, a man “too committed to open-minded inquiry to wallow in despair, [but] . . . too honest to allow himself the luxury of abiding hope” (113).

The obvious response for Sidgwick and others like him was to form an organization which would use scientific and rational means to look into issues of the supernatural and the paranormal and, on that basis and that basis alone, form opinions about the truth or falsity of these matters. Such an organization was the SPR. Founded in 1882 by W. F. Barrett, F.W. H. Myers, Edmund Gurney, and Sidgwick, the SPR brought scientific method and intellectual rigor to bear on questions of immortality as well as experiments looking into issues such as extra-sensory perception (Gauld 137-38). The SPR enabled those so influenced by the late-Victorian scientific frame of mind to delve into questions of an other-worldly nature while satisfying their need for rational
investigation of occult matters.\textsuperscript{45} Those who investigated such concerns naturally reached various conclusions, some never being convinced of the reality of other-worldly phenomena, while others became stout believers and published volumes on their findings. Those researchers who remained skeptics did so, according to Sir Arthur Conan Doyle’s numerous complaints in The History of Spiritualism, because of the intrusive machinery and skeptical attitudes they brought into their research, which made the possibility of any discovery of an otherworldly reality unlikely. Those who were successful, on the other hand, approached the research less intrusively and skeptically, but nevertheless, they would argue, with something approaching scientific rigor. Doyle, one of the leading proponents of spiritualism in the final years of his life, made numerous investigations into the occult in which he was able to reach conclusions that he believed had scientific validity and were thus, to his way of thinking, more valuable than any revealed religion. He expressed this confidence in a filmed interview on the subject made late in his life:

When I talk on this subject, I’m not talking about what I believe; I’m not talking about what I think; I’m talking about what I know. There’s an enormous difference, believe me, between believing a thing and knowing a thing. I’m talking about things that I’ve handled, that I’ve seen, that I’ve heard with my own ears, and always, mind you, in the presence of witnesses. I never risk hallucination. I usually in most of my experiments

\textsuperscript{45} It might be well to note at this time, however, that, as Janet Oppenheim points out in The Other World, the SPR “was not a novel organization when it was founded in 1882,” but “bore some resemblance to several ancestors, including the many spiritualist societies that had waxed and waned in Britain since the 1850s and some of whose members joined the SPR at its inception” (123).
have had six, eight or ten witnesses, all of whom have seen and heard the
same things that I have done. (Arthur Conan Doyle Interviewed)

Such expressions of belief are difficult to fathom when one considers Doyle as the
author of that über-skeptic Sherlock Holmes, but the fact of his insistence on evidence,
however bizarre it may appear to most of us, is consonant with the logical workings of a
Holmes. Doyle, like many other seekers of his time, wanted both the faith that allowed a
belief in the supernatural as well as some form of evidence on which to base that faith.
This same impulse to join the scientific and the otherworldly, the world of matter and of
spirit, was at work in mummy detective fiction. In some cases, as in those stories
involving occult detectives such as Flaxman Low and Dr. John Silence, science and
matters of the occult are joined in figures who expertly read crime scenes and solve cases
involving otherworldly elements. Other stories, though they do not feature characters
such as these occult detectives, nevertheless manage to give their stories a scientific
flavor through characters who variously represent scientific, expert, and/or professional
classes. But they do something more, too: they recapture the sense of lost wonder that
writers like Algernon Blackwood and Sabine Baring-Gould complained of when they
bemoaned the “robotic” society that science had engendered and the loss of fantasy that a
too-close investigation of the physical universe had produced (Blackwood “Dreams and
Fairies” I; Baring-Gould “The 9.30 Up-Train” n.p.). And they do so in such a way that
those readers requiring scientific expertise to recapture that lost wonder may freely
engage in such fantasies through the dream of occultic science. In this manner, readers
are able to experience the best of both worlds: the wonder of the supernatural and the pleasure of being rational in a rational age.

The central epistemological conflict that serves as a background to stories of this type (ghost stories and stories of the supernatural) is, as Daniel Sheridan reminds us, that conflict that was illustrated in countless stories of the Victorian period and the romantic age of the gothic novel where the skeptic and the believer faced off in circumstances that could be explained either through an account of a genuine supernatural experience, what Tzvetan Todorov, in his study of The Fantastic calls “the marvelous” or through some perfectly natural, sublunary means, or, again, in Todorov’s terms, “the uncanny” (41-42). In stories of this type, Sheridan notes, the action will revolve around the occurrence of some sort of supernatural event and will be responded to by two different sorts of witnesses, one who is convinced of the supernatural nature of the event, and another who is just as convinced that things of this sort just do not happen (33). Over the course of events in the story, however, the skeptic will become convinced and the believer proven right, thereby reassuring readers that there is indeed more to the world than the material.

This formula is the pattern that is followed in the majority of the mummy detective fiction narratives, but two of the tales, Mrs. H.D. Everett’s Iras, a Mystery and Ambrose Pratt’s The Living Mummy, follow another pattern in which both believer and skeptic are represented in tales of the occult, but rather than having the skeptic converted, the interpretation of the tale is left open in such a way that the supernatural events recounted may or may not be true. Such tales are a part of what Todorov describes as the “fantastic,” by which he means a time of hesitation or doubt in which witnesses to
apparently supernatural events are not certain whether what they have seen has been an actual example of a real supernatural event (the “marvelous”) or whether something that can be rationally accounted for (the “uncanny”) (41-42). Sometimes, Todorov notes, the hesitation between explanations is resolved within the pages of the narrative itself, as the story is revealed to be a work of the marvelous or of the uncanny; other times, the “ambiguity” of the story remains “even beyond the narrative itself” (41-43). It is into this last class of stories that Everett’s and Pratt’s stories belong, for though there is evidence pointing to both rational and supernatural explanations, as we shall see, these tales raise the issue of the existence of the supernatural, leaving open the question of whether the marvelous or the uncanny is at work. As such, these tales are different from the majority of the other tales we will be looking at in this chapter in that they do not make an unequivocal case for the existence of the occult and thus do not provide the unadulterated thrill of the joining of science and the marvelous. They, instead, put on the brakes, reminding readers that tales of the supernatural may be nothing more than that—tales. Nevertheless, an examination of these two exceptions are worth consideration not only because they do such a good job of laying out the problems the authors of the other stories must overcome in writing their convincing tales of the supernatural, but because they engage in some of the same work that all gothic fiction does, examining in their pages, as Fred Botting reminds us, issues dealing with the nature of reality and “concerns” about contemporary problems which are “never escaped” (11; 3).

The two basic approaches to tales of the occult, stories featuring real supernatural events and those stories explainable in natural terms, had been a part of the tradition of
supernatural tales for some time, going back at least as far as the end of the eighteenth century when authors such as Matthew “Monk” Lewis and Ann Radcliffe had taken their contrasting approaches to such tales, with Lewis coming down on the side later labeled the “unexplained” (supernatural events are real) gothic and Radcliffe with stories labeled “explained” gothic where stories were amenable to natural explanations (Todorov 41). In the later Victorian period, occult tales tended to take one or the other of these approaches, some explained, others supernatural. In some of these tales the division of opinion was between individuals, skeptics on the one hand and believers on the other. In other tales, the division of opinion was within the individual mind, a position reflecting Daniel Sheridan’s contention that the “later Victorians” did not know what they believed (38). Each of these types is represented by the two exceptional mummy detective fiction narratives: Mrs. H.D. Everett’s *Iras, a Mystery*, is of the former sort, pitting believer against skeptic, while Ambrose Pratt’s *The Living Mummy*, is of the latter sort as it represents the division of opinion within the mind of its hero, Dr. Hugh Pinsent. These stories are especially interesting since the central characters who in other stories are either believers in the occult or converts to it are in these narratives unreliable or unconvincing witnesses because their credibility is suspect or because they themselves are not fully convinced of the reality of the phenomena they have observed. Thus, these stories illustrate a dual, conflicting desire: they are not completely willing to forego the conclusions drawn by science, but they are at the same time unwilling to say that the supernatural does not exist. Occultic phenomena may exist, but they are not sure. Evidence of experts seems to suggest that such things do not exist, but there is
nevertheless at least a grain of doubt that science has all the facts. The millennia-long belief in the existence of another world, of an existence beyond what we know physically, was simply, as Janet Oppenheim reveals repeatedly in her study of *The Other World*, hard to give up. As numerous founding members of the Society for Psychical Research make clear, abandoning all belief in a world beyond the senses, even when scientific evidence cannot provide the required proof, something seems to pull at them, making them want to believe and leading them into experiment after experiment to see if evidence of any sort can be discovered to support a non-material existence. Thus, the skeptic wants to believe just as the believer might experience pangs of doubt.

The division of opinion in Everett’s narrative is clearly laid out in the division between the opinions of Ralph Lavenham, an expert Egyptologist and published author, and the doctors and witnesses who do not see Iras when Lavenham is purportedly on his honeymoon with her. Doubt is at the very heart of this tale, which centers on the question of Lavenham’s sanity, and its central question is the truth or falsity of the existence of the novel’s eponymous character, Iras. From Lavenham’s point of view, Iras is very much a real person, a mummy whom he awakened from a state of suspended animation and married and took on a honeymoon to Scotland where she began to literally fade away, becoming invisible to the majority of those around her and visible only to her husband, all as a result of the persecution of an ancient Egyptian priest, Savak, who wanted Iras for himself, and who had contrived a magical necklace that would allow Iras to live only as long as each of the pendants of the necklace remained. As the pendants disappeared, one by one, from the necklace, Iras began to fade away and eventually died
once the last pendant fell. From the viewpoint of the doctors who attended Lavenham and the many others who saw his odd behavior once Iras had disappeared, Lavenham seemed out of his mind, a mental case, the cause of which is originally attributed to the brain fever he had contracted while in Egypt, and later, once marriage to Iras has been proved, considered to be a combination of a mind befogged as a result of brain fever and the fact that Iras had been part of some sort of plot to defraud him and then had left him a broken and deluded man.

Ambrose Pratt’s novel, _The Living Mummy_, is a case of the other sort of skepticism and belief dynamic—a mind divided against itself, torn between the evidence of sense and an ingrained skepticism which refuses to believe. The novel’s hero and first person narrator, Dr. Hugh Pinsent is in many ways the ideal sort of hero for a mummy fiction ordinarily dedicated to constructing a plot in which the supernatural events seem real: he is rational, trained in medicine and science, and does not have an over-active imagination, a trait, to judge by the numerous times to which it is alluded, that was highly valued in Victorian ghost stories time and again. When questions of apparent occult phenomena appear, he does not rush to judgment but questions what he sees, having learned from his scientific training” that one cannot always accept the evidence of sense” (182). The testimony of such a man, were he to testify to the reality of occult phenomena, would carry great weight. That testimony, however, is not forthcoming because Pinsent himself, always the scientific materialist, is not convinced of the reality of the things he sees, and for this reason he fails to provide this particular service in the novel. When he sees the floating head of a mummy and wrestles with an invisible man,
he does not attribute these things to the supernatural, insisting over and over again that there must be some scientific explanation. His story instead underscores the likelihood of a natural explanation, of some science as yet not comprehended.

The scientific minds in these two preceding narratives raise considerable doubt about the existence of the supernatural, though in fairness, even these tales make some room for the possibility that what has occurred has been real. The doctors in Iras never believe Lavenham’s story, but bits of evidence suggest that the tale itself might be real. Similarly, Pinsent’s inability to provide rational explanations for all that he has seen leaves a small space for the possibility of the occult despite his continual expression of doubt. Lavenham’s interactions with the skeptics in his life, especially the doctors, portray a world in which the individual is frequently at the mercy of professional others. The doctors who consult on his case find his story insupportable and invent explanations to account for those things he claims to have seen. The first doctor Lavenham consults believes that Lavenham is suffering from a “‗persistent hallucination‘” brought on by “‗sunstroke‘” (218). Once documentation of the marriage is provided, however, the doctor changes his mind sufficiently to allow for a marriage, yet insisting that Lavenham’s claim that the corpse he claims was his wife just a few short days before is the result of a “‗retrospective‘” hallucination: Lavenham undoubtedly married someone but was abandoned. The rest was all the product of a diseased imagination (233). The last doctor to attend him is of the same opinion: Iras was merely a “‗delusion‘” resulting from a “‗previous entanglement and conspiracy,‘” though interestingly enough, this same doctor is willing to “[certify]” Lavenham “sane enough to make a will” (279-80). The
only person who might believe Lavenham’s story of Iras, had she been present to see it, is an expert of another sort, the “clairvoyante” Madame St. Heliers. She had been present at the beginning of the story and had seen the threatening ancient Egyptian priest, Savak, who destroys Iras and ultimately Lavenham, and, in a letter that Lavenham does not see before it is too late, she warns him to “walk warily” and “set [his] expectations low, and neither love nor hate” since “the affections as well as the passions disarm our defences” (268; 270). Lavenham’s friend Knollys is probably the character closest to what might be considered a reader’s representative in the story. For Knollys, the story is a puzzle: “he can neither quite credit [Lavenham] nor wholly believe the doctor” since “the narrowing faculty which he calls common-sense is with him a stone of stumbling and rock of offence, as it is to so many” (280). As such, the novel represents a situation in which ordinary men and women must simply throw up their hands in surrender. Scientists may claim to have the answers, but the conflicting data—and conflicting opinions on that data—render a clear solution impossible. Science is not the comfort some might wish it to be since it cannot unambiguously account for all that has happened in the story.

Similarly, science ultimately proves itself incapable of providing answers to the most pressing questions in Pratt’s story of *The Living Mummy*. Though the novel’s narrator, Dr. Hugh Pinsent, asserts his skepticism numerous times, by the story’s conclusion, he cannot account for all that he has seen. Siding always on the side of science whenever possible, he judges events in the light of science which has taught him “that one cannot always accept the evidence of sense” (182). The suspended head of a
bodiless mummy moving about and an encounter with an invisible man who tries to kill him can always, to his mind, despite temporary temptation to believe otherwise, be accounted for “by a purely and perfectly natural cause” (218). The supernatural is simply not an option for him. And quite often his skepticism is justified, as in the case where he learns that Belleville has discovered a way to render a human being invisible. Yet there are other cases that he simply cannot explain scientifically—especially as it regards the mummy Ptahmes who appears numerous times throughout the narrative. By the end of the story, we see Pinsent struggling to find a commonsensical explanation for the mummy who saves him, going back and forth between supernatural and scientific explanations. On seeing a modern Arab employed by Belleville, he remarks: “‘There, without doubt, goes the man who, in the nick of time, released me from my bonds’” (284). But moments later, he remembers that “the animated mummy of my dream [when the deal for his release had been made] had conversed with me in the tongue of Ancient Egypt, per medium of a slate and had seemed not to understand modern Arabic” and had furthermore no left hand, while the modern Arab “enjoyed the undiminished use of his” (285). Lastly, the modern Arab’s face was not right, for, as Pinsent “recollected,” the face of the mummy in his dream expressed an “utter deadness,” which the modern Arab’s face did not (285). The relief that he had temporarily felt in arriving at a scientific explanation is thus eradicated as Pinsent is faced with the possibility of the supernatural. A scientific explanation would have been a relief, a comfort, but the uncertainties of the tale make an unambiguous explanation impossible. On the surface of Pinsent’s narrative is the belief that the world can be explained rationally and scientifically, but the subtext
suggests that we simply cannot understand everything. The solution to this indecision is provided in the last paragraph of the novel where we learn that the narrator and his sweetheart have retired from such endeavors, he to become “the only surgeon in a radius of one hundred miles,” and she “the schoolmistress of the district” (312-13). Science cannot provide all the answers and apparently a belief in the uncontrollable world of the supernatural is simply too much to endure. The novel thus offers us a worldview that at least wants to think that science has the answers but that ultimately realizes that science cannot account for all that occurs. The only release from such a frightening world, then, is to run away, to leave such things behind, and to work in the light in occupations that steer clear of such things. There is the possibility of doubt—there might be a rational explanation—but we can never be entirely sure.

The remaining stories leave no such doubt, but make clear that the supernatural occurrences which have been related in the course of their narratives were real. They do this either by providing characters with impressive professional credentials and/or by demonstrating a rational, scientific reading of evidence that comes to the conclusion that the occult phenomena encountered are genuine. By employing such methods, these writers effectually link the sense of wonder of an earlier age in which ghosts, goblins, and fairies were imagined to exist with the scientific mind that insists on logic, experimentation, and proof. This approach accords with the purpose of gothic literature according to most theories on the subject as the stories link the past with the present; the repressed “primitive” beliefs of which Freud speaks in his essay on “The Uncanny” are allowed to take center stage for the duration of the narrative. The loss of wonder
contemporary writers had complained of that had resulted from too much scientific
exploration is thus given a space in which to reconnect with the primitive mind through
the application of a pseudo-scientific treatment that not only returned readers to a state
where such beliefs might be entertained but at the same time made readers privy to the
fantasy of having access to esoteric knowledge within the safety of fiction.

The degree to which expertise, that entity that ultimately makes the reading of the
stories acceptable for the modern, scientifically-oriented reader, is either demonstrated or
simply asserted varies among the tales. In some of the stories very little time is given to
the rational reading of clues, while in others the activity of reading is more extensive.
Sometimes the simple presence of the credentialed expert seems to be enough. Professor
Franklin Marmion in George Griffith’s The Mummy and Miss Nitocris is a case in point.
From the very first page, we know that Professor Marmion is a very special person: he
is, according to the author’s description of him, “one of the most celebrated
mathematicians and physicists in Europe,” and as an expert in both science and
mathematics, he does those things that experts typically do, including lecturing at the
university and participating in professional organizations where he enters into discussions
and presents papers (n.p.). These activities are only possible because he has undergone
extensive training and then been credentialed by the institution which provided that
training. In the process of the training, he would have learned the esoteric vocabulary
and symbols which made it possible for him to communicate mathematically and
scientifically. The influence of others on his professional standing, however, would not
have stopped at that point where he received his degree, but would have continued as he
presented papers and talks to his peers. This process would have helped to ensure that those ideas which he presented were of suitable quality and worth attention. Undoubtedly, as he made such talks and presented such papers he would have encountered opposition to those ideas. The community of experts around him would have challenged him and required him to respond or withdraw his ideas. The benefit of these activities would, at least theoretically speaking, have resulted in the advancement of knowledge in his fields.

We see this process of professionalization at work in the course of the story in the sub-plot which involves his solving of what he calls in a paper he presents to the Royal Society “Mathematical Impossibilities” (Chapter XIV). This episode does an excellent job of portraying the professor as a professional academic. Once having decided that it is acceptable to use his powers to solve mathematical problems previously considered impossible—“squaring the circle and doubling the cube” (Chapter IV), for example—he writes and then submits a paper for presentation to the Royal Society. 46 His performance is brilliant. Griffith’s description of the professor’s presentation has all the hallmarks of what at least the average reader would consider to be mathematical expertise. The professor demonstrates his considerable grasp of the problem as he lectures for an hour bringing his listeners, all expert mathematicians themselves, to that place where he will

46 The theory of knowledge behind the story in this novel is one that argues that all knowledge, even knowledge of the occult or supernatural, is one—nothing is really supernatural, it only appears to be so, to the uninitiated. It is the idea behind Phadrig’s conversation with Prince Oscarovitch when he tells the prince that “[t]here are no miracles . . . only the results of higher knowledge than that which they who see them possess” (n.p.). Professor Marmion’s actions, though applied to a mathematical problem, do not argue for the ultimate victory of science as commonly conceived in the early twentieth century. Knowledge in its broadest sense will bring about understanding and ultimately solve all problems, but early twentieth century science will not.
begin his demonstration of the mathematical impossibilities he has come to prove possible. Though he has many who doubt his ability to prove the impossible possible, many nevertheless reason that he must be serious in what he is proposing for “the keenest critic had never found Franklin Marmion wrong yet, and he had far too great a reputation to permit himself to say in such a place that which he did not seriously mean” (Chapter XIV). He fills the chalkboard in the auditorium where he works full of mathematical symbols, all the while inviting his colleagues to take notes and see whether he has made any errors. Because of his considerable knowledge and mathematical abilities, his colleagues are unable to find any errors. Though the novel makes clear that the discussion will continue for some time in conversations and additional publications from his colleagues, the professor’s superior intellect is established as he is able to stand before his supposed peers with an almost godlike superiority and educate them about mathematical problems that were supposed to be insoluble. Here was a man of intellect, of superior ability, ultimately a man, as we shall see, able not only to explain the inexplicable but to solve problems beyond the capability of the ordinary man. Here is an expert, a man capable of lighting the way for others less gifted than himself and a man to be heeded when he speaks. Thus, when a man of the professor’s stature credits the supernatural, readers can be expected to give his testimony greater credence than the ordinary, run-of-the-mill mortal who would testify to such things. The professor’s experience thus provides readers with credible testimony that allows readers the pleasure of the supernatural within the narrative.
The demonstration of rational, scientific thinking the professor has given in this section, of course, is quite extensive and is important as it indicates the high standing of mathematics and physics as epistemological models within early twentieth century British society, but it is not a demonstration of the rational reading of clues, which authors of other tales of mummy detective fiction provide in much greater detail. Professor Marmion’s expertise in mathematics is made to stand in for the expertise in the occult. This substitution works, however, insofar as the expert’s superior knowledge in one field can transfer to another. The first-rate mind which can understand the complexities of mathematics and physics can, the novel seems to suggest, more readily comprehend the mysteries of the occult. Thus, the reader is given a good, solid dose of the professor’s brilliant scientific mind in this episode, providing the reader with a sense of the professor as scientific expert, an authority who can be trusted when matters of an otherworldly nature arise. The book, however, does not provide much evidence of the professor as an adept reader of clues. Instead, the professor, because of his super-human powers acquired in the fourth dimension, often represented mathematically as \(N^4\) to give its designation a more scientific flavor, is able to simply see what has happened. True enough, he does have to do some detective work within his visions—putting together the images of what he has seen with news from the newspaper—but so much of the work of detection has been given to him through his visions. It is largely for this reason that his expertise must be established elsewhere. By portraying the professor as a man of science, Griffith is able to gather all of the positive associations of the scientist as a rational individual who was assumed to be impartial and above the fray, much like the
scientific expertise of Sherlock Holmes, whose procedures are modeled closely after the medical procedures of a physician, who listens to the patient’s complaint and makes a diagnosis (Montgomery 300).

This association of the professor with science, moreover, added to his credibility in the light of the use the court system had begun to make of scientific experts in their cases in the Victorian era. Important cases had made use of scientific expertise as early as the 1856 Palmer case, and by the mid-nineties, “a London-based expert in the physical sciences looked out on a rich landscape of opportunities” (Hamlin 488). Physicians had also “long served as expert witnesses, chiefly in criminal proceedings and commitments” and forensic medicine had become “a standard part of the medical curriculum” (Hamlin 489). These individuals were highly valued because the public had been educated to believe that scientists would be able to “‘place the truth before the court in such manner as to secure justice’” (Colenso qtd. in Hamlin 490). And despite the fact that many involved later learned much to their dismay that scientists would often not agree on the science involved in a particular case, such experts were still used (Hamlin 490). So much for the fact. In fiction, however, the scientist was often seen as the man who could provide unambiguous answers to the questions that concerned readers, who could be the men or women who the public had thought and hoped they were. Professor Marmion is just such a scientist, an honest man, interested in truth and justice and the public good and a man who could serve as an ideal witness in any court case, especially equipped in this narrative to serve as a witness to occult reality.
Most of the detectives in these tales, however, are actually allowed to demonstrate for the reader their scientific method of understanding the seemingly impossible events of the stories, though their professions continue to be primarily scientific in one way or another. Two of these investigators, Flaxman Low and Dr. John Silence, the former from Kate and Hesketh V. Hesketh-Prichard’s narrative, “The Story of Baelbrow,” the latter from Algernon Blackwood’s “The Nemesis of Fire,” are professional occult detectives specifically dedicated to the research of occult matters and are considered experts in this field. Like their precursors in the genre, Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu’s Dr. Martin Hesselius and Bram Stoker’s Dr. Van Helsing, Low and Silence are learned men in an esoteric field, conducting their investigative business in much the same way as physicians do, as they take case histories and try out various hypotheses to account for the mysteries which bring their clients to see them: they are, as is evident to anyone even remotely acquainted with Sherlock Holmes, Holmesian in their method (Montgomery 299-300). They question witnesses, examine physical evidence, and construct cases which account for the evidence which they have seen. Other detectives in the stories are for the most part amateurs when it comes to the occult, but nonetheless have the social status of professionals through their vocations and handle evidence skillfully. Doyle, for example, has Abercrombie Smith, a physician-in-training, who investigates the case of a marauding mummy in the story of “Lot No. 249.” Smith uses his skills of observation he has developed as a result of his medical education and works his way through a series of clues only to discover that one of his fellow students, Edward Bellingham, has through occult arts, resurrected a mummy nearly seven feet tall, which he (Bellingham) uses for
deadly purposes. Numerous other examples could be cited as well, but they are important primarily because the tales use expertise to lend their narratives greater credence, not only because the nature of the endeavors in which the detectives find themselves would require such experts and because their presence means that their testimony to the validity of the occult is of greater value, but also because their demonstration of reading the clues they encounter tends to be especially convincing as it demonstrates a rational, scientific frame of mind.  

The reaching of conclusions based on observation of evidence is in essence a process of reading. Detectives read evidence and reach conclusions in much the same way that readers do when examining a text and the process they follow when they read is remarkably similar to the way that scientists arrive at their conclusions regarding those

47 Writers of occult detective fiction work hard to create expert protagonists in these stories. In addition to those characters already mentioned, there are expert detectives whose specializations include medicine, law, and Egyptology, as well as characters having expertise in more than one field. Besides Dr. John Silence and medical student Abercrombie Smith, the medical profession is represented by Dr. Hugh Pinsent. Malcolm Ross, the narrator of Stoker’s tale of The Jewel of Seven Stars, represents the legal profession, and Ralph Lavenham, the narrator of Iras, A Mystery, the field of Egyptology. Those multiply credentialed include the aforementioned Dr. Pinsent, whose professional interests also include Egyptology as well as Abel Trelawny’s assistant, Eugene Corbeck, whose credentials include “Master of Arts and Doctor of Laws and Master of Surgery of Cambridge; Doctor of Letters of Oxford; Doctor of Science and Doctor of Languages at of London University; Doctor of Philosophy of Berlin; Doctor of Orient Languages of Paris” as well as “some other degrees, honorary and otherwise” (n.p.). Though the characters in these stories are most often represented as scientific professionals in one way or another, when the principal characters are not themselves scientists, as in the case of Malcolm Ross (an attorney in Jewel) and Cyril Forrester (a renowned artist in Pharos, the Egyptian), the scientific atmosphere is still catered to as well. Eugene Corbeck, amateur Egyptologist Abel Trelawny’s assistant, helps provide the scientific atmosphere in Bram Stoker’s The Jewel of Seven Stars, while the scientific atmosphere is provided in Pharos, the Egyptian by the novel’s villain, Pharos, who is not only a magician but a man of science who uses that scientific knowledge as a weapon against his enemies.

laws which govern the physical universe. Bertrand Russell’s description in *The Scientific Outlook* of the process leading to the formation of scientific laws is especially instructive in this regard. “In arriving at a scientific law,” Russell remarks,

there are three main stages: the first consists in observing significant facts; the second in arriving at a hypothesis, which, if it is true, would account for these facts; the third in deducing from this hypothesis consequences which can be tested by observation. If the consequences are verified, the hypothesis is provisionally accepted as true, although it will usually require modification later on as the result of the discovery of further facts.

(40)

Reading works in a remarkably similar way. The first step is observation of “significant facts,” these facts being the ideas represented by the symbols on the page. With the observation of these significant facts, readers make judgments about the nature of the text and on this basis make predictions about what is to come in a way reminiscent of the formation of scientific hypotheses. The testing portion of the scientific evidence occurs when readers continue their reading to see if their predictions were correct. If they were, they are confirmed in their interpretation of the text; if not, they make new predictions that will account for the direction the text has taken—and the process continues until the text is completely read.49

49 The theory of reading I am describing here closely follows Kenneth Goodman’s psycholinguistic model of reading, which posits that readers make predictions when reading and then read on to either confirm their predictions or to correct them. This prediction and correction is a part of what Goodman refers to as a “psycholinguistic guessing game.” Goodman’s model, unlike later models, is largely linear, but it remains important as it was a basis on which schema theories and interactive models of reading were based. R. C.
This same three stage process that is at work in scientific investigation and reading can be seen in the detectives’ reading of the evidence they have to make their case. Once a crime has been committed, the first thing the detective must do is to conduct an investigation to find the “significant facts.” Once these facts have been ascertained, the detective’s next step is to form a hypothesis which can account for who committed the crime and how that crime was committed. The last step is the testing of the hypothesis, which, in the case of detective fiction is ordinarily a testing of the logic of the argument. There may be several hypotheses tested along the way, new ones being formed as old hypotheses fail to stand up to accumulating evidence. This procedure continues until the guilty party is brought to justice, where, for the purposes of the particular case the story ends. The attempt to solve the case does not continue because the culprit has been brought to justice and no new hypotheses for the crime will be created. The only exception would be if the criminal’s guilt were somehow placed in doubt, but that would likely be another tale altogether and would be the beginning point of the story, not a continuation. Nevertheless, there is still one point on which the scientific community and the detective story agree: the crime which the detective has solved becomes another case study to be applied to future investigations. Sherlock Holmes had a remarkable memory for his cases and used them as part of his expert base.

Anderson and P. D. Pearson’s “A Schema-Theoretic View of Basic Processes in Reading Comprehension” provides an excellent overview of the schema model of reading in which readers’ background knowledge is organized into “abstract knowledge structure[s]” known as schemata which are used to decode written information.

I am indebted to Glenn W. Most’s “The Hippocratic Smile: John le Carré and the Detective Model” and Peter Hühn’s “The Detective as Reader: Narrativity and Reading Concepts in Detective Fiction” for the idea of the detective as a reader.
of knowledge, making it possible for him to make connections that non-experts could not make. In this way, the detective’s investigation continues and hypotheses about motivation, method, and so forth may be continually revised.

The scientific model of reading as I have detailed it here works quite well as a model establishing the similarities between reading and detection, but what I might call the “physician model” of reading is probably even more apropos than the scientific method alone. Kathryn Montgomery’s study of “Sherlock Holmes and Clinical Reasoning” looks at this very question as it examines the manner in which Holmes’s investigative techniques parallel those of a doctor. In both cases, according to Montgomery, the interaction between client and consulting professional begins with “the sufferer’s account of the evil for which he or she seeks help” and careful questioning by the professional consultant, which is then followed by a “physical examination,” where “signs are investigated [and] tests sometimes performed.” Physician and detective, drawing on their “wealth of accumulated experience,” in the meanwhile develop hypotheses to explain the symptoms or mysterious occurrences of which the patient/client complains. Asking the right questions, a skill resulting from accumulated experience and helped by a taxonomy which helps organize their thinking about the illness or crime, just makes the possibility of arriving at a correct conclusion that more likely (300).

One other important factor should also be considered in reading—the role of the detective’s schemata in forming conclusions about the case. To understand this, we need to back up for just a moment and consider further just what we mean by reading. At its most basic level, of course, reading is nothing more than taking written symbols on a
page and making sense of them. This making sense may be accounted for by various reading theorists in different ways—as a bottom-up process, by which theorists understand that reading is the building up of understanding by stringing words together into meaningful phrases, sentences, paragraphs, chapters, and books; as a top-down process, by which theorists mean a sampling of a text by a reader who then makes predictions about the direction the text is taking and then making corrections where those projections are inaccurate; or by some combination of the preceding, so that readers build up meaning from the bottom and then see the big picture and make projections and corrections.  

Making projections about what is to come is greatly aided by the reader’s background knowledge on the subject which is organized into a scaffolding which can be called on to fill in blanks and make predictions. Another name for this scaffolding is “schema.” A schema contains information on various sorts of things organized into interconnected nodes organizing the different pieces of information related to a central idea. Schemata can be about anything, from how a grocery store or restaurant is organized to how a particular genre of literature works. The nodes contain pieces of information that fall under the larger, central organizing idea, such that a schema about mummy detective fiction would have nodes for the goal of the story (solving a crime or mystery), the characters (a scientific and/or professional man usually, a mummy, a villain

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51 Though numerous researchers, such as Richard C. Anderson, refer to the “bottom-up” theory of reading, none endorse it. The top-down theory is represented by two schools of thought: one, K. Goodman’s “psycholinguistic model” and the other, the schema theory model, represented by R. C. Anderson and P. D. Pearson, P. Carrell and J. C. Eisterhold, and D. E. Rumelhart. The interactive model’s primary researcher is W. Grabe. See works cited for specific articles.
or villains), an investigative procedure in which the occult figures largely, and so forth. The more complete the schema, the better one is able to use that information to make sense of a text or, in the case of detectives reading clues, of evidence in a case. The bottom line is that readers, whether of texts or of clues, have to bring something to the table. The text cannot do the entire work alone. It is for this reason that experts make especially good readers—because they have the required information that they can bring to the text and make sense of it and it is also for this reason that expert detectives make the best readers of clues in a case. Experts have especially well-developed schemata, which have been developed in the process of learning new information. As this new information is learned, it is placed within the appropriate nodes on the schema. When the expert reader reads information or when the detective reads clues in a case, not only is information from a particular node is activated, but the connections between the nodes are set to vibrating, thereby setting off additional relevant information, making it possible for the reader or detective to have a fuller understanding of the text or clues.

The expert, whether a reader or a detective reading clues, is especially adept at reading because the nodes within the schema are packed full with useful information that can be called upon as needed and can help that reader/detective make connections that would not be readily obvious to the layman. Having such a schema is like reading with an encyclopedia of relevant information at one’s fingertips. The expert looks at a text, draws upon the relevant schema for whatever the situation may be, and is able to retrieve the necessary information. The schema thus organizes the information and packages in a way that makes information that much easier to retrieve. It is thus also like a giant filing
cabinet, and the more expert and experienced the reader/detective, the fuller that filing cabinet is. It is hardly surprising then that laymen would not be as successful in deciphering difficult texts or clues since they do not have all this wonderful information organized for retrieval as do the experts.

Professional training and experience with numerous cases as well as relevant skills are among the ways that detectives are able to more effectively read the evidence they encounter when working on a case. Two of the most highly credentialed detectives within the realm of occultic cases in mummy fiction are the occult detectives Mr. Flaxman Low and Dr. John Silence. Both of these men have specialized in occult studies and have gained considerable experience that helps them solve their cases. Low, according to the introduction of the series of stories in which he appears beginning in January 1898 in *Pearson's Monthly Magazine*, is depicted as “one of the leading scientists of the day” who has had a great deal of experience from which the tales in the series is taken; he is, in addition, well known to “many” of the readers of these stories and is, moreover, not only knowledgeable but is an innovative thinker who has “had the boldness and originality to break free from old and conventional methods and to approach the elucidation of so-called supernatural problems on the lines of natural law,” an approach bound to attract the skeptical mind (Hesketh-Prichard, “The Story of the Spaniards” n.p.). Silence is likewise an expert in his field and has excellent credentials in occultic studies. Though he is said to protest when his name is linked with the occult (S.T. Joshi reckons that such a protest should not be taken too seriously since Silence claims to have psychic abilities [Joshi viii]), Silence nevertheless has undergone intensive
training in the occult, described as “long and severe, [and] at once physical, mental, and spiritual” (Blackwood “A Psychical Invasion 2). The training, moreover, is so esoteric that its precise nature and where he had received it is unknown. As it is described, it holds us in awe of the mystery of the expert, exaggerating with its gaps of information—gaps commonly experienced as a result of the professional’s jargon and special symbols—the very distance between expert and layman.

Low and Silence are also so well versed in the numerous cases with which they have been involved and are so familiar with relevant theories and other relevant information that they are able to get to the core of the cases more quickly than others not so well trained. A couple of examples from each of their cases should make my meaning here clear. The case that Low deals with in “The Story of Baelbrow” concerns a familiar ghost that has suddenly become violent after years of non-violent behavior. A maid one night is killed by some unknown entity when she goes to turn off the lights in a part of the house that the others have not dared to enter. Low is called in by a Professor Jungvort, who catches Low up on the situation and then proceeds to give testimony of what he has seen that is seemingly contradicted by his daughter Lena. Low’s expertise allows him to take the seemingly contradictory evidence and make sense of the whole. These bits of testimony provided by the professor and his daughter are instructive and bear repeating here as they illustrate how Low manages to create a coherent, rational,

52 Eliza Freeman, the maid, is like so many horror movie characters who pay for their foolhardiness with their lives.
though occultic, explanation. The professor’s testimony of his encounter with the ghost, a being we later learn to be a mummy-vampire, is recounted as follows:

I was sitting here alone, it might have been midnight—when I hear something creeping like a little dog with its nails, tick-tick, upon the oak flooring of the hall. I whistle, for I think it is the little ‘Rags’ of my daughter, and afterwards opened the door, and I saw . . . something that was just disappearing into the passage which connects the two wings of the house. It was a figure, not unlike the human figure, but narrow and straight. I fancied I saw a bunch of black hair, and a flutter of something detached, which may have been a handkerchief. I was overcome by a feeling of repulsion. I heard a few, clicking steps, then it stopped, as I thought at the museum door. (par. 6)

Lena’s account of her encounter with the figure, however, though brief, differs significantly from her father’s. Confessing that she has not been able to see her attacker since he had attacked her from “‘behind,’” she nonetheless has been able to testify to having seen her attacker’s “‘dark bony hand, with shining nails and . . . bandaged arm . . . [and having ] smelt the antiseptics it [the bandage] was dressed with’” (n.p.) . Her father, on her leaving, notes the discrepancy, and exclaims to Low, “‘She says she sees nothing but an arm, yet I tell you it had no arms! Preposterous! Conceive a wounded man entering this house to frighten the young women! I do not know what to make of it! Is it a man, or is it the Baelbrow Ghost?’” (n.p.)
The problem for Low, of course, is the apparently contradictory nature of the testimony these two witnesses offer. Low’s expertise and his acquaintance with numerous cases, however, make it possible for him to piece together the truth of what they both saw by drawing on his knowledge of ancient Egyptian mummification techniques. Thus it is that Low can see that the fluttering of what the professor supposes to be a handkerchief and Lena bandages is actually the movement of the mummy’s bandages; and the clicking of the dog’s toenails the professor hears and the shining nails Lena sees and the scents she smells when attacked all prove to be the result of ancient Egyptian mummification techniques. The idea of investigation here seems to be the same as that expressed by Holmes to Watson in *The Sign of Four*, where he remarks “that when you have eliminated the impossible, whatever remains, however improbable, must be the truth” (emphasis original, 111). The idea of a mummy wandering about and attacking people is, of course, a frightening one, as it was intended to be, but the presence of an expert is nonetheless reassuring. Science, which as a character in another of these stories remarks, “scouts” the idea of the paranormal or the supernatural, here seems to support it: science, as its Latin root *scientia* indicates, is all about knowledge, and is, in its broadest sense simply the “state or fact of knowing,” and would thus not be amiss in taking in all forms of knowledge, whether that information were to come as the result of typical late-Victorian scientific experimentation or from apparently otherworldly origins (Pratt 161; *OED*). In acting in this manner, Low, as other occult investigators both in fiction and the world outside its pages, tears down the wall separating the two sorts of knowledge (i.e., the scientific and the occult) and demonstrates how, to his way of
thinking, the two are all part of one vast sea of information available to the researcher willing to seek it out.

Low’s knowledge of theory is the final linchpin that makes the solution of the case possible. Drawing on occult theory as well as on numerous cases studies, Low, in a manner reminiscent of earlier occult detectives such as Hesselius and Van Helsing, presents a rational, scientific discussion of the occult. Science is well-represented here as Low uses scientific language, as he speaks of “‘psychic seeds or germs’” and quotes “authorities” (n.p.). His knowledge based on these authorities tells him, as it would the scientist or the physician, the “conditions” under which “a vampire may be self-created” and what their significance is, so that he knows how the haunted house’s location plays a role on the events which follow and how unwrapping the mummy has affected the entity which takes over the body of the mummy (n.p.). His stance, too, might be described as scientific as he stands back from the events that have occurred, bringing not emotion but reason to bear in solving the crime. Again, it is Low’s use of language that reveals this attitude, as he lectures Harold Swaffam, his partner in uncovering the truth in this episode. The aforementioned references to “authorities” and “psychic seeds or germs,” for example, are part of a more formal linguistic register which effectively place distance between himself and the events which he is describing. Similarly, his phrasing of his finding that a vampire spirit has inhabited the body of the newly unwrapped mummy creates distance through its formality as well, when he notes that in this case “we have every indication of a vampire intelligence touching into life and energy the dead human
frame [of the mummy]” (n.p.). In using language in this way, Low establishes himself as an expert in his field while creating the distance expected of the professional.

Silence’s familiarity with numerous cases and relevant theories also makes his ability to read evidence much more powerful than those who are not in possession of such knowledge. The scene where Silence, Hubbard (Watson to Silence’s Holmes [Joshi vii]) and Colonel Wragge (the client) gather together in the laundry to cause the fire elementals that have been tormenting the Colonel and those around him to make themselves known is especially revealing with regard to Silence’s impressive knowledge of cases and theory. First, the theory: in this particular episode of the story, Silence reveals precisely the steps required to raise and reveal the intelligence behind the fire elementals that have been causing so much trouble. The introduction to the process is begun in a quick exchange of question and answer between the Colonel and Silence:

“And how do you propose to make it visible [the Colonel asks]? How capture and confine it?

“By furnishing it with the materials for a form. By the process of materialisation simply. Once limited by dimensions, it will become slow, heavy, visible. We can then dissipate it. (118)

Asked what these materials are, Silence answers, “‘the exhalation of freshly spilled blood’” (118).

A few moments later, Silence lapses into one of his favorite poses—that of lecturing expert, where he further reveals the scope of his knowledge as well as his self-consciousness of himself as an expert and the importance of his duty to his client.
Telling the Colonel that “‘[t]here are other and pleasanter methods’” of causing the “intelligence” behind the fire elemental to appear, he immediately establishes his reason for his decision by asserting his professional judgment, when he tells the Colonel that “things have gone much too far, in my opinion, to admit of delay” (118). In this expression, he not only reveals his image of himself as an expert, but also recalls his professional standing as a physician as he makes clear his recommendation to his patient/client. His self-consciousness as a professional is also revealed as he moves from technical jargon in his expression of the case to language more appropriate for a layman, as he does when he refers first to “‘discarnate life’” and then changes that to “‘spirits’” (118). His professional standing is further enhanced as he explains other theoretical matters to the Colonel, noting, for example, that the “‘emanations of blood’” are, according to “‘Levi,’” “‘the first incarnation of the universal fluid’” and following up that statement with the fact that “blood sacrifice” had been “known to the priests of Baal” as well as to “modern ecstasy dancers who cut themselves to produce objective phantoms who dance with them” (118). His knowledge also reveals his connection to an area that would commonly be of no interest to the scientific mind, except as a curiosity, namely, to those practices of “primitive” people. Such knowledge would have been especially interesting to a people such as the fin de siècle Briton with their concern about a degenerating race and the feared possibility of a descent into savagery. Certainly, numerous works of the late-Victorian period, such as Robert Louis Stevenson’s *Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, make clear that such a descent, as Patrick Brantlinger has argued, was of concern (229). Nor had an interest in the subject died out even by the
Great War’s conclusion, as Sigmund Freud’s essay on “The Uncanny” makes clear. According to Freud, in fact, the modern world was still greatly consumed by the idea of death, thus linking us with our primitive ancestors. Modern cities of his day, he tells us, were full of “[p]lacards advertis[ing] lectures that are meant to instruct us” on how to make contact with the dead. The fact is, Freud argues, that “in hardly any other sphere has our thinking and feeling changed so little since primitive times or the old been so well preserved under a thin veneer, as in our relation to death” (148). Yet, as histories of occult research such as Oppenheim’s The Other World and Doyle’s The History of Spiritualism reveal, the placards of which Freud speaks were designed for modern audiences who did not see themselves as primitive but as rational, up-to-date individuals, thus repressing their “primitive” side—leaving them open to the terrifying return of the repressed primitive in the form of the mummy like Doyle himself, who took, as indicated in an interview filmed in the last year of his life, great pains to ensure that those phenomena he experienced were real (Arthur Conan Doyle Interviewed). Dr. Silence fills the same sort of need. A modern man, well educated, Dr. Silence combines the opposing forces of “primitive” interest in the supernatural with scientific rigor. His knowledge of the practices of ancient and/or “primitive” peoples, given his interests, is thus only natural.

A bit later in the same scene, Silence, in an exchange where the Colonel reveals his unexpected knowledge in matters of the occult, demonstrates his (Silence’s) wide grasp of cases, where again, “primitive” or “savage” tribes are featured:
“It is curious,” said the Colonel, with a sudden rush of words, drawing a deep breath, and as though speaking of things distasteful to him, “that during my years among the Hill Tribes of Northern India I came across—personally came across—instances of sacrifices of blood to certain deities being stopped suddenly, and all manner of disasters happened until they were resumed. Fires broke out in the huts, and even on the clothes, of the natives—and—and I admit I have read, in the course of my studies . . . of the Yezidis of Syria evoking phantoms by means of cutting their bodies with knives during their whirling dances. . . . (119)

The non-occult or skeptical professional at this point would likely be tempted to pooh-pooh the idea that Colonel Wragge is expressing here (one could not imagine Sherlock Holmes, for instance, giving credence to such “nonsense”), but Silence, as we have seen, is no ordinary expert. His reading and his own familiarity with such matters have made clear to him that such things do occur, and he is hardly one to express disbelief when another speaks of his own experience in these matters. The primitive and the savage, this tale, like many other gothic stories, seems to argue, are more in touch with occult forces. Scientific materialism, which does not accept otherworldly evidence, on the other hand, is not, and for this reason cannot be relied upon to provide such evidence. Only that science which accepts the supernatural world as part of the universe can be of any help. Once one accepts that both those matters which are considered supernatural and those simply natural are all of one cloth, investigation into such cases becomes mandatory. And Silence, once again, shows that he is no slouch in this regard either, for, when the
Colonel continues his reminiscences from his reading, Silence shows himself yet the Colonel’s superior even in knowledge of this sort as he (Silence) takes this information in stride, responding with another question of the Colonel: “Then perhaps you have read, too,” said the doctor, “how the Cosmic Deities of savage races, elemental in their nature, have been kept alive through many ages by these blood rites?” to which the Colonel can only reply, “No . . . that is new to me” (119).

It is this kind of wide-ranging knowledge that is at work any time either Silence or Low read the evidence they collect as they go about their investigations. They have all of this information that they have amassed to draw upon, to make comparisons to other cases with which they are familiar. Low, for example, can look at the marks upon Lena’s neck and know that a vampire has bitten her and can take the information that the house at Baelbrow is built on a barrow and come to the conclusion that a vampiric spirit has taken over the body of the mummy Swaffam Senior has sent home and thereby account for the Baelbrow ghost having turned violent. Similarly, Silence can determine that the globes of fire that have been tormenting those around Colonel Wragge’s estate are actually fire elementals that have been let loose on the family because the Colonel’s brother had previously disturbed the resting place of an ancient mummy when he brought it home to England. Low and Silence have seen similar cases and they are aware of the occultic laws at work and are able to determine the causes behind the troubling events. Their situation is similar to the expert detective which Holmes describes to Watson in A Study in Scarlet, where the detective is able to solve cases because of his familiarity with so many different examples: “‘There is a strong family resemblance about misdeeds,’”
he says, “and if you have all the details of a thousand at your finger ends, it is odd if you can’t unravel the thousand and first” (24).

The nature of the knowledge that both occult detectives and other investigators in these stories follow is, of course, of a different sort than that which is typically considered by the scientific community. It includes not only information that might be deemed scientific, but otherworldly knowledge as well; relying on that otherworldly sort of information, of course, is what gives the mummy tales their special flavor.

Underneath all of these considerations is a more serious consideration, namely, what, in Foucault’s words, “counts as true” (Power/Knowledge 131). Foucault tells us that “[e]ach society has its regime of truth, its ‘general politics’ of truth. . . [that spells out] which [truths] it accepts and makes functions as true” (131). Those power structures within the society that make these judgments are necessarily very influential. Other forces, of course, may be at work in the society, contesting the official values; when this happens, there is a struggle for dominance. In the mummy stories we have been discussing, the dominant power is the scientific community, and it was so powerful that it led many thinkers of the period into abandoning the faith of their childhood or in prompting scholarly ecclesiastics, such as Bishop J. W. Colenso, to endeavor to reinterpret the foundations of their faith in a more scientific manner (Oppenheim passim; Landow n.p.). The oppositional force, of course, is that of the occultic community. Because of the hegemonic power of the scientific community, then, many tales of the supernatural, including the mummy tales we are looking at, attempted to give their supernatural tales a more scientific feel by the inclusion of experts of one sort or another.
These two groups, naturally enough, would conflict in matters that have to do with establishing the truth of various sorts of occurrences that the tales we have been examining portray. As a result of these differences, the kinds of things that one group might consider fair game in establishing truth will vary from those kinds of things that the other group would accept. Thus it is that in those stories in which the occult is accepted, numerous sorts of evidence and methodologies that might not be accepted in scientific circles are, in fact, accepted and lauded in the mummy tales. Those detectives using these unusual sorts of methods or technology, of course, do not abandon their reason in the process, but include it in as they examine the additional evidence that their worldview permits them to accept. By approaching answers in this way, a whole other world of data becomes available to them, data which suggests that there is more to life than the material, that life goes on beyond the grave, and that, with the right kind of help, that of the expert variety, the unknown can be known and its frightening aspects be tamed and controlled.

At its most fundamental level, the differences in what counts as credible testimony and what does not is a matter of whether the thing under investigation is part of the natural world that all of us experience or not. If it is not and if it cannot be reproduced and measured in the laboratory, then the scientific community tends to dismiss it, whether derisively or with a simple shrug of the shoulder, admitting nothing more than the impossibility of knowing the truth.\(^{53}\) The convinced occultist, of course,

\(^{53}\) Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, in his study of The History of Spiritualism, complained repeatedly of this sort of problem, where skeptical researcher would come to a séance with disruptive attitudes and equipment and then be smugly satisfied when the séance proved a failure.
sees things differently. For such individuals, the truth of occult phenomena, despite the many cases of fraud which had been discovered, was nonetheless a reality. (Doyle’s History of Spiritualism is full of such cases, though it never seems to be sufficient cause for his abandoning his belief.) For such individuals, evidence of a nature that undoubtedly would be deemed deficient by those in scientific circles was perfectly legitimate. Cases investigating telepathy, ghosts, and the like were commonly looked into by members of the Society for Psychical Research (SPR). In mummy literature, equally unusual evidence was not only investigated but taken as legitimate sources of information in making inquiries into occultic phenomena. This evidence, quite often, required unusual methods of collection as well. Two methods of gathering intelligence in mummy detective fiction are starkly at odds with the scientific community’s understanding of proper methods in establishing factual data: psychometric reading of evidence and thought-reading, both tools used by Dr. Silence in his investigation of Colonel Wragge’s case in the tale of “The Nemesis of Fire.”

Oddly enough, despite the unusual conjunction of science and the occult, Dr. Silence does not consider himself anything other than a man of science, though one who has, through his studies and the development of his psychic skills, been given access to a broader “natural” world than that open to the traditional scientist: the natural world, as S. T. Joshi remarks in his introduction to The Complete John Silence Stories, is simply bigger than we ordinarily imagine, “encompass[ing],” as it does, “both spiritual and psychic phenomena” (vii). Thus, when Silence tells Colonel Wragge that he (Silence) has “‘yet to come across a problem that is not natural, and has not a natural explanation,””
he is simply including the supernatural as part of the natural world (102). In this, he would be in perfect accord with the theory of knowledge held by the villain Phadrig in *The Mummy and Miss Nitocris*, namely, that, as Phadrig tells Prince Oscarovitch at one point, “‘There are no miracles, Highness: only the results of higher knowledge than that which they who see them possess’” (n.p.). By claiming the supernatural as part of the natural world, then, both Phadrig and Silence make possible a claim for scientific rationality in an occult world.

The techniques used by Silence for investigation—psychometric reading and thought-reading—are, however, clearly on the side of the paranormal or preternatural and serve to make possible a resolution to an otherworldly problem that cannot otherwise be accomplished and demonstrates how scientific knowledge alone as it was currently constructed was insufficient to answer all of the questions an individual might have. We encounter the first of these two procedures, psychometric reading, early in the story, when Silence psychometrically reads the letter from Colonel Wragge requesting an appointment simply by touching it and psychically understanding all that went into its construction. Because of his training, and one cannot help but imagine also his special sensitivity to such matters, Silence is able to read more from the letter than the average person. He does this through psychometry. Although the definition of psychometry can include “[t]he measurement of mental capacities, states, and processes,” according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, its meaning with regard to Silence’s abilities have to do with the occult, where psychometry is held to be the ability of “obtaining information about an object’s history, or about people or events with which it has been associated, purely by
touching it or through close proximity to it” (Oxford English Dictionary). Just as Stephen King’s Johnny Smith is able to touch, say, a mailbox and know what has happened recently in connection with a person who has touched that mailbox, so Silence is able to touch the letter that Colonel Wragge has sent him and gather information from it that the Colonel never communicates. Hubbard, Silence’s “Dr. Watson-like assistant” and narrator of the tale, tells us what the observant, but not spiritually gifted person might gather from the letter, noting what would be accessible to the non-expert—the words on the page, their vocabulary, brevity, penmanship—and tells us what can be gathered from ordinary rational procedures without the aid of the occultic tools (Joshi vii). In so doing, Hubbard reveals both the strengths and the limits of rationality when diligently applied as well as the usefulness of occultic knowledge when important information is hidden. It argues for the need of a broader methodology in the search for truth.

The object of this examination, the letter, as Hubbard describes it, “was very brief, direct, and to the point . . . [and] was dignified even to the point of abruptness” and gave “the impression of a strong man, shaken and perplexed” (85). Hubbard, unsure how such an idea would be communicated to him, considers several possibilities:

Perhaps the restraint of wording, and the mystery of the affair had something to do with it; and the reference to the Anderson case, the horror of which lay still vivid in my memory, may have touched the sense of

54 The OED’s definition, however, would not be complete without its hedging terminology which begins the definition with the words “the supposed practice,” a phrasing necessitated by a publication not in the business of taking sides in such matters. For Silence, however, and the world in which he operates, there is no such doubt, and the information he gathers in this manner is taken as absolutely scientifically legitimate.
something rather ominous and alarming. But, whatever the cause, there
was no doubt that an impression of serious peril rose somehow out of that
white paper with the few lines of firm writing, and the spirit of a deep
uneasiness ran between the words and reached the mind without any
visible form of expression. (85)

Hubbard’s attempt at an explanation, however, as is evident here, only takes him so far,
and it is only Dr. Silence with his psychometric ability and vast reserves of specialized
knowledge that can fully explain what Hubbard only senses. Hubbard is a sort of
everyman, standing in for those of us who do not possess the skills and sensitivities of a
Dr. Silence. Although he has some ability—he can, after all, see the shapes and feel the
heat that Silence tells him are a result of the heat elementals when he (Hubbard) attempts
a psychometric reading—he must rely on his ability to use logic to compensate for what
psychometric reading does not reveal to him. For any other enlightenment, he must rely
on an expert, on Dr. Silence. Hubbard’s examination of the letter and his attempt to
account rationally for what he senses is nevertheless important as it provides a rational
foundation for what will become an occultic investigation. The path that Hubbard’s
explanation follows, in fact, traces the intellectual movement from the attempts of the
non-expert as he or she attempts first to make sense of the evidence through non-occultic
thinking (looking for the explanation in one’s own emotional response or in the
information that the letter writer has communicated through his brevity and wording) to
finding oneself at a loss for the sense that some danger lurks behind the words
communicated in the letter.
The non-occultic explanation, however, is insufficient to provide the explanation for the impression that the letter has on Hubbard. Instead, it is left to Dr. Silence to fully interpret the letter, both answering the questions that Hubbard has raised in his investigation and at the same time more fully developing and interpreting their first clue in the Colonel’s case—even before he has seen Colonel Wragge for the first time—thus increasing the sense of wonder at the detective’s abilities. The interpretation (i.e., the reading) is accomplished through a combination of a specially trained sensitivity that allows Silence to see the psychometric evidence combined with an educated ability to understand what he has seen. This ability to interpret evidence becomes especially obvious when contrasted with side-kick Hubbard’s confusion over what he sees when Silence asks him to do a psychometric reading of the letter.

While there is undoubtedly a degree of difference in what Hubbard and Silence are able to see when they each take their psychometric reading of the letter, it is chiefly Silence’s ability to understand what he sees when he does so that makes him the superior detective: he has expert knowledge that allows him to make sense of those things he sees when he investigates a case. When Hubbard, under Silence’s direction (another indication of the latter’s superior status and expertise), places the letter against his forehead and attempts to read the letter psychometrically, he sees “nothing but the lines of light that pass to and fro like the changes of a kaleidoscope across the blackness” of his closed eyes—that, and a sensation of heat (86). These flashes of light, he tells Silence, “group themselves now and then . . . into globes and round balls of fire, and the lines that flash about sometimes look like triangles and crosses—almost geometrical figures” (86).
Hubbard thinks he has failed in his experiment, but Silence knows that what Hubbard has seen is significant—especially the sensation of heat that Hubbard has described.

Although he does not immediately reveal the significance of Hubbard’s vision, as the story progresses Silence ultimately reveals that what Hubbard has seen is the result of “heat elementals” that have been appearing because of the desecrated tomb of an ancient Egyptian magician who has set these elementals to guard his tomb. They are the cause of the oppressive heat and the strange bits of fire that have erupted at the country estate of Colonel Wragge. It is because of his knowledge of the occult, that field in which he is expert, that he is able to bring his experience to bear on the clues with which he has been presented. This ability, combined with an expertise sufficient to know what both he and Hubbard have seen in the letter—the fire elementals—gives Silence a great advantage as a detective because it makes evidence available to him that would otherwise be missing.

It also demonstrates in the process a cultural reluctance to let go the mystery of the past, while at the same time clinging to pseudo-scientific methodology in Dr. Silence’s use of a specialized tool to unlock mysteries in the case that no ordinary detective could do. The episode seems to suggest that both science and a belief in an otherworldly existence can work hand-in-hand, raising what might easily be seen as mere superstition to the level of science by placing the procedure in the hand of a well-trained expert. In an age in which many had given up on a worldview encompassing the supernatural and, replacing it with a confidence in scientific research and professional expertise, Silence’s psychometric reading manages to provide readers with something to satisfy both their
urge for scientific certainty with a desire to believe in mysteries beyond our ordinary experience.

Silence also has access to information denied the ordinary scientific investigator in yet another way: in his ability to read thoughts, an ability which first comes to light in an interview with Colonel Wragge, on the evening of Silence’s and Hubbard’s arrival at the Colonel’s home. This technique is, of course, another of the sort of research tools that flies directly in the face of what would be considered an acceptable means of gathering information by the traditional scientific community, but it is one that proves quite useful as the story unfolds as it provides opportunities for direct access to information, making possible solutions to problems that traditional scientific methods cannot provide. We see this early in the tale when Silence reads Colonel Wragge’s thoughts. It happens this way: when the Colonel tells Silence and Hubbard that recently the trouble with the oppressive heat and its visual manifestations in the Twelve Acre Plantation, which had ceased for a time, has suddenly come back again and is so serious that he is considering “leaving,” Silence responds, “half under his breath, but not so low that Colonel Wragge did not hear him,” with one word—“Incendiarism?” (98). This question so shocks the Colonel that he says, “By Jove, sir, you take the very words out of my mouth!” to which Silence responds, “It’s merely a little elementary thought-reading” (99). This “thought reading” to which Silence alludes he explains to the Colonel as the reception of various visual images coming from the latter’s mind which Silence can read because the Colonel, according to Silence, is “thinking very vividly” (99). They are images, not written or spoken words, and they are apparently immediately
comprehensible as having been transmitted directly from one mind to the other. Interpretation is surely part of the process—after all, one must determine what these images mean—but they are a more direct means of passing information from one person to the other; and given that Silence in this way has direct access to the mind, it would seem to be especially useful in ascertaining precisely what Colonel Wragge is thinking, which is important because it grants Silence greater access to information than he would otherwise have, allowing him to solve the case more readily; but it does something else, too: it provides a means of mystification, connecting both client and reader to that primitive or savage part of ourselves of which both Freud and Andrew Lang speak, reintroducing an element of wonder that science alone cannot provide (Freud, “The Uncanny” 149; Pearson 228).

Scientific examination can, however, reveal information that is available by physically verifiable data: evidence from the crime scene, from documentary sources such as newspapers, letters, telegrams, and tablets, and from bodies, whether those of witnesses, victims, or mummies. Doyle’s story of “Lot No. 249” and Stoker’s tale of The Jewel of Seven Stars both make good use of various sorts of physical evidence. Doyle’s story, with medical student Abercrombie Smith as its protagonist, makes excellent use of physically available evidence, a prime example being the events that transpire when Smith is called on to attend a fainting Edward Bellingham, who has apparently had some kind of scare. Smith’s carefully trained eye takes in both the evidence available in the room where Bellingham has fallen as well as Bellingham’s body itself. The room that Smith first surveys is full of information for the careful observer:
It was such a chamber as he [Smith] had never seen before—a museum rather than a study. Walls and ceiling were thickly covered with a thousand strange relics from Egypt and the East. Tall angular figures bearing burdens or weapons stalked in an uncouth frieze round the apartment. Above were bull-head, stork-headed, cat-headed statues, with viper-crowned, almond-eyed monarchs, and strange beetlelike deities cut out of the blue Egyptian lapis lazuli. Horus and Isis and Osiris peeped down from every niche and shelf, while across the ceiling a true son of Old Nile, a great hanging jawed crocodile, was hung in a double noose.

(530)

In the midst of this room, however, is the most crucial piece of evidence—the mummy. Placed on “a large square table, littered with papers, bottles, and the dried leaves of some graceful palm-like plant” in the middle of the room, the mummy, “a horrid, black, withered thing, like a charred head on a gnarled bush,” the mummy is threateningly displayed “lying half out of the case, with its clawlike hand and bony forearm resting upon the table” (530). Rational judgment, of course, can only take this description so far: obviously, the occupant of the room, it can be reasoned, is someone interested in ancient Egypt and environs. This interest would undoubtedly include a fascination with ancient mythology. The presence of the mummy, at this point, could only be reckoned a part of that interest and the fact of the mummy being part way out of the case could not by any traditional scientific or rational thinking be construed as the result of an aborted resurrection, though, undoubtedly, readers of such stories could make such assumptions.
as a result of their familiarity with the genre. The fact that something had occurred to
cause Bellingham a scare, however, can be scientifically established: both the patient’s
pulse (which was “going like a pair of castanets”) and his coloring (“an absolutely
bloodless white, like the underside of a sole”) testify to something that has gone terribly
wrong (530). A change in the patient’s weight can also be established, for the patient,
though “very fat . . . gave the impression of having been considerably fatter, for his skin
hung loosely increases and folds, and was shot with a meshwork of wrinkles” (530).
Additional details about the patient’s stubbly brown hair and “thick wrinkled
protruding ears” are presented more for the purpose of completing the picture of
Bellingham’s appearance, but the “light gray eyes [that] were still open, the pupils
dilated, and the balls projecting in a fixed and horrid stare,” provide real medical
information (530).

Scientific evidence, however, cannot provide the ultimate solution to the puzzle
that Smith faces since the solution involves an occurrence that is not deemed possible by
natural law. This means that Smith has to move from scientific evidence based on a
material worldview and connect what he knows with a solution clearly not accepted by
traditional scientific thinking. Thus it is that he moves from a selection of discrete pieces
of evidence consonant with the natural world to an inference acceptable only in the world
of the occult: this means he takes evidence such as the physical symptoms that
Bellingham has exhibited, the sound of steps that he has heard “upon the stairs” which
he judges were “not the step of an animal,” incidences of attacks on two others and one
upon himself, the second of which coincides with a time in which the mummy was
missing from its case, the fact of a witness account noting how easily his attacker threw him into the river, and reaches the conclusion that all of this adds up to a resurrected mummy attacking victims under the direction of Bellingham.

The facts in this case, of course, are those things upon which both the scientific and occultic worldviews can agree; the interpretation is another matter altogether—and it is the difference of interpretation that is at the heart of much of the disagreement about whether events should receive a supernatural or scientific explanation. We can see this most clearly in Smith’s conversation with the Reverend Plumptree Peterson. Smith comes to see his friend Peterson shortly after he has reached his conclusion about the mummy and immediately after having been chased by that same mummy when on his way to pay his visit to Peterson. On hearing all that Smith has to say, Peterson responds:

“My dear boy, you take the matter too seriously. . . . Your nerves are out of order with your work, and you make too much of it. How could such a thing as this stride about the streets of Oxford, even at night, without being seen?”

“It has been seen [Smith replies]. There is quite a scare in town about an escaped ape, as they image the creature to be. It is the talk of the place.

“Well, it’s a striking chain of events. And yet, my dear fellow, you must allow that each incident in itself is capable of a more natural explanation.”

What! even my adventure of tonight?”
“Certainly. You come out with your nerves all unstrung, and your head full of this theory of yours. Some gaunt, half-famished tramp steals after you, and seeing you run, is emboldened to pursue you. Your fears and imagination do the rest.”

“It won’t do Peterson; it won’t do.”

“And again in the instance of your finding the mummy case empty, and then a few moments later with an occupant, you know that it was lamp-light, that the lamp was half-turned down, and that you had no special reason to look hard at the case. It is quite possible that you may have overlooked the creature in the first instance.”

“No, no; it is out of the question.”

“And then Lee may have fallen into the river, and Norton been garroted. It is certainly a formidable indictment that you have against Bellingham; but if you were to place it before a police magistrate, he would simply laugh in your face.” (542)

I have quoted this exchange at length because I believe it represents the core of the disagreement between the scientific/rational mind with its emphasis on material explanations and the occult worldview. Smith, whom one could suppose to be firmly within the scientific camp before his experience, has come to believe in the supernatural explanation. Ironically, it is Peterson, a man of God and one whom we could easily suppose to be a believer in the supernatural (though, clearly, not in mere superstition), who offers the rational explanation: nerves, overwork, illusion, and so forth. The two
men are looking at the same set of circumstances, but they arrive at diametrically opposed interpretations. Peterson does not dispute that Smith has seen those things which he has claimed to have seen, but he does question both his perception of events (as, for example, when he sees first an empty “mummy case” and then finds it occupied) and his interpretation. All of these events might have another explanation; it is Smith’s disturbed nerves that can account for his misperceptions and subsequent faulty interpretations.

The story, however, sides not with Peterson but with Smith and implicitly argues for an understanding of the world that includes a place for the supernatural, where mummies, raised by little known occult processes can live again and where men or women, with the right knowledge, can follow occultic rules located in ancient documents and cause the dead to live again. It is a kind of mirror image of the scientific world, in a sense, one that has its own rules and its own ideas of acceptable evidence. However one comes to it, it involves an ultimate commitment to a set of values, a faith, if you will, that the world works in a way consonant with the occultic worldview. The same, I would argue, could be said of science. How Smith makes his leap to the conclusion that it is a mummy that is at work in this tale is not entirely clear. All that the narrator tells us is that “[w]hat had been a dim suspicion, a vague fantastic conjecture, had suddenly taken form, and stood out in his [Smith’s] mind as a grim fact, a thing not to be denied” (538). It is, in essence, a conversion, a conviction that what had been haunting the back of his mind had, in fact, real validity. And ever afterward, Smith is a changed man, operating
under the assumptions of his new belief and accomplishing, as an independent, unofficial individual, the justice that science and the occult could not provide.

Smith is able to bring order about when he seeks out Bellingham and has him destroy both his mummy and his occult documents that make possible the raising of the dead because he, with his acceptance of an occultic worldview accepts what science cannot. Because he accepts these ideas, he can act upon them. Science, which does not accept them, can never do this because it does not admit their validity. As a result, science cannot understand and cannot control the occult forces which threaten society. To combat something, one must first admit its existence. Failure to admit even the possibility of an occult world means that a whole other existence is not taken into account and access to information that is available through such sources is not available. The result is incomplete or inaccurate information such as we see when local newspapers try to account for the death of Isaac Josephus, whom the police have recruited to spy on Phadrig in *The Mummy and Miss Nitocris*. The newspaper reports his death as a suicide, but what they do not realize is that Josephus, though he pulled the trigger that resulted in his death, was not a self-murderer but a man who had been commanded, through hypnotic suggestion, to kill himself. The paper has no way of knowing that the command was given by Phadrig, using a glowing jewel with special powers called the “Horus Stone,” to effect this death. Only someone with the ability to see behind the scenes could do so. The newspaper in the same novel is similarly unable to report the full story of the Zastrow kidnapping. It takes someone with special powers, Professor Marmion, in this case, to see beyond what the papers report and what the police are able to find out to get
the truth. Newspapers and police officials are equally unable to reveal the truth about the murder of the curiosity shop proprietor in *Pharos, the Egyptian* because Pharos has been able to hypnotically manipulate those around him to do his bidding and even convince one man to confess to the murder that Pharos has committed and then kill himself afterwards before the police can question him further. Pharos, in this way, effectively “rewrites” the crime in such a way (i.e., endeavors to plant clues that point to others and so forth) as to make finding the truth almost impossible (Hühn 454). Acceptance of the supernatural is the only way that the truth of events in the story can be known.

Though there are tales of the fantastic in mummy detective fiction where the validity of the supernatural is in doubt, for the most part, the stories we have looked at make the implicit argument that science does not have all the answers and a knowledge of another sort, an occult knowledge, is necessary if we are to understand the world in which we live fully and control supernatural forces that are beyond the ability of traditional scientists, physicians, and police to understand and/or manage. The stories, as we have seen abound with examples: police cannot manage the events that occur in any of the stories. Smith must bring the criminal Bellingham to justice in “Lot No. 249” because law enforcement officers would merely laugh at him if he brought his story to them. Nor can ordinary detective may resolve the issues faced by the inhabitants of the house at Baelbrow or at Colonel Wragge’s estate. Materialist science is simply incapable of resolving these issues.

The bottom line, these stories tell us, is that science cannot answer all of our questions. Some things simply are not amenable to scientific explanation. Even in those
tales of the fantastic, such as Pratt’s tale of *The Living Mummy* and Everett’s *Iras, a Mystery*, science cannot provide a final solution. We are instead left in a state of ignorance as questions remain that defy scientific explanation. While science maintains that dead bodies cannot be resurrected and that ghosts do not exist, occult tales insist they can and they do. Tales of this latter sort see the world of the supernatural as real and their stories argue implicitly that only those who accept such things can be of any real value in coming to terms with the problems emanating from that world. Science must, if it is to be of any real value, these stories say, take the world of spirit into account, for only by so doing can some of the deepest concerns of humanity be answered.
All of the mummy stories that we have been looking at in this study have been up to this point narratives that appeared in print, whether short stories that were printed in magazines or collected in books or serialized novels that first saw publication in magazine form before they were published as books. These stories were often accompanied by illustrations, as was the custom of the time, but they were tales that were told primarily through verbal, rather than visual, means. With the advent of silent film in the last decade of the nineteenth century, however, mummy narratives entered a new arena, where visual means of storytelling entered the picture. These stories came from all over the world and ranged in genre from the early trick films where special effects provide the primary interest in the film (such as we see in Robert W. Paul’s 1901 tale of The Haunted Curiosity Shop) to comedies (e.g., Wanted—A Mummy [1910]) to stories of romance (When Soul Meets Soul [1912]) and horror (e.g., The Vengeance of Egypt [1912]). The stories were not what Hollywood would later make of them, with the

55 Two examples help to explain: “The Story of Baelbrow,” by mother and son team, H. V. and Katherine Hesketh-Prichard, was originally published in Pearson’s Monthly Magazine in a series they called “Real Ghost Stories.” The first of these stories, “The Story of the Spaniards, Hammersmith,” was published in January 1898. “Baelbrow,” followed in April of that year (Gaslight’s Katherine and Hesketh Prichard Page n.p.). This short story was later published in book form as part of a collection of Flaxman Low stories, originally in a collection published in 1899 by C.A. Pearson in London under the title Ghosts: Being the Experiences of Flaxman Low . . . With Twelve Illustrations by B. E. Minns. Guy Boothby’s novel, Pharos, the Egyptian, first saw publication as a serial in Windsor Magazine, appearing in that publication between June and December 1898. It, too, was later published as a book.
exception of those horror tales that were beginning to develop, but were focused primarily on tales of love, such as had been offered by many of the print narratives, or on visual comedy. They were stories of a new type, making the most of the opportunities provided by a new medium, looking back for some of their themes, but providing a glance toward the future tale.

Richard Freeman, in his study of the precursors of Universal Studios 1932 production of The Mummy, reckons that there were “over forty films with an Egyptian theme” before the Universal film was made (par. 8). Of this number, by my own count, nearly half were mummy pictures produced before 1914. These stories were of various kinds. Freeman divides them into four areas, according to their “storylines”: films in which curses—“on either defilers of tombs or on artefacts removed from tombs” played a major role; stories in which “Fluids/elixirs” were “used to bring mummies back to life;” stories in which the plot features “[r]eviving mummies—usually females,” who are brought back to life “either by use of a fluid or by electricity;” and tales in which “[r]eincarnation” plays a major role as “revived mummies find their former lovers reincarnated in modern people” (par. 9). These stories might also be designated by the nature of their stories, whether they are comic, dramatic, romantic, or some mixture. Of those films produced in the earliest years of mummy fiction up to the beginning of the First World War, several may be confidently classified as a result either personal observation or because of the information provided by reliable scholars interested in the subject. There are, however, several films, whose names have been recorded but about which very little is known. Out of a list of a little more than twenty films, nearly half
cannot be classified. Of those films which can be classified, a judgment based either on critical comment, my viewing of the film, or sufficient data given in the descriptions, four might be denominated trick films, twelve comedies, and the remainder dramas, only a couple of which would meet our expectations of a horror film. Horror might well be represented in those tales I have classified as “unknowns,” but sufficient data were simply not available. An additional horror tale might be added to the numbers if we include the horror elements of one of the films which I have included in the trick film category, Georges Méliès’s tale of Cléopâtre. Romance plays a major role in these films as well. The dramatic films are more often than not serious love stories, and the comedies often have a romantic element to them. Those stories classified as an unknown type are difficult to pin down. Often the information given about their plots tells us little more than the fact that a mummy has been revived or that a piece of jewelry has been found that its owner cannot dispose of—a situation that might either be comic or horrific, depending upon the filmmaker’s attitude toward the subject.

The earliest years of the mummy film, like the earliest years of film in general, were a time when filmmakers were often more interested in the capabilities of the new medium than in storytelling. The earliest films might well be films recording the arrival of a train at a station or quitting time at a local factory (Kobel 1; 14-15). Edison employees recorded numerous sorts of unusual events—a sneeze, a kiss, two men dancing to the sound (yes, sound) of a violin playing (Kobel 13; “Dickson Experimental Sound Film” n.p.). This amazement in the sheer capability of film made its way in mummy films as well. A couple of examples make clear the sort of thing these films did.
In one film, Méliès’s 1899 film of Cléopâtre, a man, played by Méliès, chops up the mummy of a queen in an “Egyptian tomb” (Internet Movie Database n.p.). The motivation behind this act is not clear from critical description; it is a fact, almost as in a dream. The technological trick is the point of the film; the man “chops the mummy of a queen into pieces, and then, produces a woman from a smoking brazier” (Joshi Icons 389). Méliès’s interest in the magical possibilities of film, not narrative, is the guiding principle. Walter R. Booth’s short film, The Haunted Curiosity Shop, thought to have been produced in 1901 though the date is uncertain, is similarly guided by the desire to create a film of magical effects (Gifford 18). The film opens with the curio dealer in front of a cabinet. A head of some sort, placed upon a table, is the first of the wonders the film produces, as it rises up in the air, and dances about. It is then transformed into the torso of a woman, who hangs in mid-air without a bottom half. Her lower half, seconds later, comes walking toward her upper half and joins it, whereupon she dances and is almost immediately turned into an old hag. The curio dealer places her into the cabinet. Seconds later, the first woman reappears through the walls of the cabinet, ghost-like. The curio dealer chases her back in and she disappears. Immediately thereafter, we see first a mummy’s sarcophagus, replaced quickly by a man in ancient Egyptian garb who bows to the curio dealer. He then morphs into a skeleton and is immediately replaced by a knight in armor. The curio dealer then takes the knight’s armor from him and places it in a large urn. Magic of some sort works and the curio dealer pulls out what appears to be a brownie of some sort—a dwarfish-looking figure with pointed hat and beard, though obviously played by a child. Two more figures are then pulled out and the
three brownies dance about the urn. The old curio dealer then places the brownies back into the urn and they disappear. Smoke rises from the urn and the film ends. The mummy in this film, as in the Méliès production, is merely a prop for special effects, a fact which we shall see repeated in some of the comic films to follow.

Comic films were an especially popular type of mummy picture during the years leading up to the First World War. The most popular story types in these films were plots that revolved around the idea of fooling a professor of Egyptology, whether for purposes of financial gain alone or to secure a reluctant professor’s permission to marry his daughter—or a combination of the two. Each of the stories of this type has as its basis an impersonation of a mummy by a living human being which is then sold to a naïve professor. The Cricks and Martin production of Wanted—A Mummy (1910) is a story where the motivation is based strictly on financial gain; Pathé’s The Mummy (1911) and Kalem’s The Egyptian Mummy (1913) are tales of suitors using mummy impersonation as part of a plan to secure paternal permission to marry. Vitagraph’s 1914 film, titled The Egyptian Mummy just as Kalem’s film had been, is a tale combining motivations since the father’s objection to marriage can only be overcome as a result of the suitor’s financial gain. Comic stories were also based on tales involving real mummies, whether dead or alive. Pathé’s La Momie (1908)—also known as Automatische Chauffeur or, in English translation as The Mummy—tells the story of the comic results, mostly slapstick, of a professor’s buying and bringing home a real mummy. A resurrected mummy, this one female with “decidedly romantic inclinations,” provides the comedy inThanhauser’s 1911 production of The Mummy. In this story it is female jealousy that is cause for mirth
as the risen mummy does an “‘Oriental dance’ to seduce (and ultimately marry) her owner, a New York science professor and amateur Egyptologist” (American University n.p.). Two other comedies from the pre-war period round out the catalogue: Kalem’s The Mummy and the Cowpuncher (1912) and Crystal Film’s Oh! You Mummy (1914). Very little is known about either of these films. The Kalem production, according to Hans van den Berg, creator of The Ancient Egypt Film Site, notes only that it is an “early western movie [that] is said to feature an Egyptian mummy,” but admits that the information “could as yet not be verified” (n.p.). Of the Crystal Films production even less is known, though standard information about actors, director, production company, country of origin, and year of film are given in Van den Berg’s catalogue. Nothing, however, is known of the comic elements of the film except for its title. Such difficulties are part of the challenge of early film research.

Serious romantic tales are also a part of early silent mummy movies. Though most of the romantic tales in these films can be found in the comedies, serious romantic tales of the period before the Great War include three versions of Théophile Gautier’s The Romance of the Mummy as well as an original tale for the screen, Essanay’s When Soul Meets Soul, each of which treats the theme of reincarnation. The films based on the Gautier novel tell the story of a Lord Evandale who falls asleep while in the tomb of an ancient Egyptian queen and dreams that he has known her during her lifetime. He awakens to see a young woman who looks exactly like the queen (Van den Berg n.p.). The Essanay production, When Soul Meets Soul, is a similar sort of tale that makes much of the idea of reincarnation. In this tale, an elderly Egyptologist is given a ancient
Egyptian mummy, whom he discovers, in a dream, to have been a lover he had jilted in a former life. On learning this, the professor breaks down in grief, giving his former lover the justice for which she had longed.

Horror makes up the final category of the silent mummy film. Two films, The Vengeance of Egypt and The Curse of the Scarabee Ruby seem safe bets for the horror category. The first of these two films is undoubtedly a horror flick as it focuses, according to the screenplay located at the Library of Congress, on the deaths caused by a cursed ring stolen by a soldier of Napoleon. The second film, since it tells the story of an evil spirit which transforms into a girl, seems a likely candidate as well. Other films, however, might be added. Méliès’s trick film, Cléopâtre, might be considered a horror film in that it involves the chopping up of a body, though, undoubtedly the principal concern of the filmmaker was showing off the technology. Another film, this one again by Méliès’s company, Star Film, seems undoubtedly horrific as it depicts grotesque scenes in which a man’s dead wife is resurrected, but, despite its having been classified as a mummy film, does not clearly involve a mummy (American University n.p.). Two other unknowns might be classified either as comic or horrific, depending on how the filmmakers approached it. Edison’s The Egyptian Mystery (1909) revolves around the idea of a pendant that gives it possessors the power to make things disappear. This sounds like a good candidate for a trick or comic film, but horror might result if properly handled. Naidra, the Dream Woman could work as comedy or horror as well since it is about a necklace that is stolen that cannot be disposed of—the attitude taken toward this situation would make all the difference in the world.
The remaining stories filmed up to the First World War are impossible to account for any further. Critical comment tells us little more in many instances than that a mummy comes to life. S. T. Joshi, for instance, tells us only that *La Momie du Roi* (aka *The Mummy of King Ramses*) (1909) “[a] mummy is brought to life by a professor,” but this is more information than is provided on several films on which no critical comment has provided any indication of the plot. Stories such as these are gaps to be filled in, but they must be considered when making statements about the nature of silent film in general. Only additional research will be able to fill in the gaps, and even that is not certain. In doing research in this area, the vicissitudes of time and attitudes toward the films must be considered. As pieces critically regarded as fluff for the most part, it is unlikely that great pains will have been taken to protect them. The problem of decay of film only makes the preservation more difficult (Usai 19).

These films that I have described here make up the mummy film as it was constructed before the First World War. They were both similar to and different from what came before them and what followed, and they dealt with some of the same concerns that were considered in print fiction of the same period and before: fears of invasion and concerns about gender, expertise, and matters of skepticism and belief. Because they were short films, averaging from little more than a minute or two to about twenty minutes, and limited in verbal communication, they were restricted in the kinds of things they could do, but out of those limitations they forged a new kind of mummy fiction, one combining amenable traditions of the past to fresh thinking in a new medium. The themes of the stories in print—love, horror, comedy, reincarnation—continue to play
a role here, but the demands of the medium lead to new emphases in the early days of silent film as filmmakers alternately use the magic of the medium to transport viewers to ancient Egypt via special effects or concentrate instead on the comedy of skepticism.

Print fiction’s concern with expertise is one of the many themes that is treated in the silent mummy movies, but the way it is presented varies according to the attitude taken by the filmmaker. The dramatic productions of the stories treat experts with respect. It is the nameless “Egyptian scholar” in The Vengeance of Egypt (1912), for instance, who “traces [the] origin of the [cursed] ring” and puts an end to the ring’s deadly work when he returns the ring to its owner. Only he has the knowledge required to bring an end to the reign of death. He is given great respect by the fisherman who finds the ring after it had been lost by its former owners when they perished in an automobile accident. The simple fisherman knows the scholar will know what to do and gives the ring to him for this reason. The script does not indicate the body language of the fisherman or the scholar as the exchange takes place, but one can well imagine that the fisherman does not come in arrogance, but in humility, when he places the ring in the scholar’s hands and the obvious comment of the latter’s superior knowledge and judgment, treating the scholar as a child might treat his father.

Much more is known about the expert in Essanay’s production of the same year, When Soul Meets Soul, a film I was able to view in the Motion Picture and Television Reading Room at the Library of Congress. As an older man, the expert, Delaplace, presents the marks of age and wisdom. He is dressed respectably in dark pants, coat and tie and wears glasses, making him look not only older, as one might expect, but more
intelligent. His is not a virile image; instead, his power is mental. The fact that he has an assistant to help him examine the mummy case only adds to his stature. The film ultimately proves the fragility of the expert’s morality as it depicts him in a former life in ancient Egypt jilting a beautiful princess with whom he had been in love, but the modern day expert, despite this, is never seen as anything other than a man to be respected. He is no despised object of humor, but a man of great learning. We do not know if, like the clergy, as David Knight remarks, Delaplace is given only “exiguous” funds for his work, but we can infer that his social position, again like the clergy’s, is respectable (Science and Spirituality 152). All of this, of course, has to be inferred from the little hints that the film supplies, which, undoubtedly relies on viewers’ imaginations and a shared culture. The film does not offer any explicit comment.

The attitude toward experts and expertise is radically different, however, in the comedies, a fact that need not be surprising given that the make-up of early cinema audience was largely working class in both Britain and the United States (Bowser 1; Kuhn 112). In these films the expert is regarded as a fool full of book-learning but with no commonsense. The expert is given full credit for his expertise in these films, but that expertise, rather than being valued is laughed at for its foolishness. The fool-the-professor variety of the mummy film is full of examples of this derision as in case after case the professor is shown to be naïve and the practical inferior of the less educated men and women who deceive him. The Cricks and Martin production, Wanted—A Mummy, for example, shows that expertise is no match for the native wit of two bums when they fool-the-professor into believing that a man dressed as a mummy is the genuine article.
The young couple wishing to overcome the fatherly objection of the professor to the marriage of his daughter to the young man she loves in Kalem’s *The Egyptian Mummy* also relies on the construction of expertise as the absence of commonsense. In this story, the professor’s daughter and her young man are able to convince the professor that a mummy he has recently purchased has come to life and commanded him to allow his daughter to marry the man she desires. The same naiveté is evident in another fool-the-professor plot, this time in Vitagraph’s identically named *The Egyptian Mummy*. The plot in this film, like many another of this variety, revolves around a young man’s desire to marry the daughter of a professor. When he is refused on grounds of insufficient income, the young man happens upon the wonderful idea of supplying his beloved’s father with a fraudulent mummy played by a bum he sees outside his window. He feeds him and gives him liquor and puts him, drunk, in the bandages of a mummy and delivers him to the professor. The bum masquerading as the mummy then begins to wake up, but the professor is oblivious to the former’s actions until he attacks him. Comic action then ensues. Though it appears that the professor believes that he has been duped and that the man attacking him is no mummy but a fraud, it is clear that the professor believes in the possibility of resurrecting a mummy, since he has apparently purchased this mummy for the purpose of trying to resurrect it with the elixir of life which he has been developing in his laboratory. Such a character might well be taken seriously in a tale of horror, but as constructed in this story, it is nothing more than foolishness, an opinion, by film’s end, that the professor shares, as is evident when he throws out all of his books on the subject.
Commonsense, as represented in the person of the young suitor, wins the day and the daughter.

The negative view of expertise in this and the other fool-the-professor films is undoubtedly a result of a common attitude prevalent in the countries (Great Britain and the U.S.) where the films were produced. British Victorian author Charles Kingsley expresses this attitude well when he contrasts the “knowledge which you get by observation”—the only kind which he believes is of real value—with knowledge gained by books:

Many a man is learned in books, and has read for years and years, and yet he is useless. He knows about all sorts of things, but he can’t do them. When you set him to work, he makes a mess of it. He is what is called a pedant because he has not used his eyes and ears. He has lived in books. He knows nothing of the world about him or of men and their ways, and therefore he is left behind in the race of life by a shrewd fellow who is not half as book-learned as he but who is a shrewd fellow—who keeps his eyes open—who is always picking up new facts, and turning them to some particular use. (qtd. in Houghton 297)

The experts in these films are those “learned in books”; the bums and suitors, the “shrewd fellow” who can put information “to some particular use” (297). This attitude is undoubtedly a part of a more general anxiety about culture becoming increasingly

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56 This negative view of expertise, of course, is only half of the story. Dramatic films treat the expert with much more respect. Undoubtedly, there was a conflict of opinion on expertise as these different sorts of stories demonstrate.
mediated by media and by experts. In such a culture, it is easy for the common man or woman to begin to feel powerless as expertise seems to be increasingly required to interpret the events of our lives. Though experts in this period are respected and shown to be so in many of the print and film narratives of mummy fiction, there seems to be an alternative view of expertise as well, as is here expressed. Claims for commonsense are part of a move to fetishize “first-hand knowledge” in a world increasingly dependent upon expertise. The comic films play out this philosophical viewpoint as they portray the common man and woman as the superior of the book-learned expert. The two bums in Wanted—A Mummy, for instance, turn their knowledge of a professor’s desire for a mummy into cash and the suitor in Kalem’s production of The English Mummy into the prize he most cherishes, the professor’s daughter. The young man in the Vitagraph production of The English Mummy the following year does even better as he proves himself the ultimate practical man as he takes his wit and little to no funds at all and turns them into a fortune as he invests what he has received for his deceptive sale to the professor in the stock market, in this way gaining not only great wealth, but the woman he desires when the professor’s objections to his lack of money are overcome. The man who can take what he has learned and put it to good, practical use is the superior man. Expertise alone is not valuable. The learned man, if his learning has no practical outcome, these comedies seem to suggest, is worthless and is a fit subject for ridicule. Portraying expertise in this way democratically lifts the non-expert into a position of
respect while at the same time denigrating expertise. The contrast with the print narratives could not be greater.\textsuperscript{57}

Matters related to gender and sexuality also continue to be important themes in silent film’s depictions of mummy stories, though in these tales there is no love story between a resurrected mummy and an archaeologist. The closest we get to such a relationship, in fact, is in the various versions of \textit{Le Roman de la Momie} and \textit{When Soul Meets Soul}, where a love story between a modern Egyptologist and a mummy is developed by implying a relationship in a former incarnation as the modern day lovers dream of ancient affections.\textsuperscript{58} In most cases, however, love relationships in silent films are based on the here and now as lovers use mummies as means of achieving their matrimonial ends. Though there is at least one case of a sexually desirable female mummy—Thanhauser’s 1911 production of \textit{The Mummy}, where “[a]n ancient Egyptian princess” brought back to life “[seduces]” the man who possesses her—most sexually desirable females in the films are modern women under the paternal authority of their professorial fathers. Paternal authority in these stories, however, is overturned as young women, in league with their suitors, defy their fathers and dupe them into giving their previously denied permission to marry through duplicitous use of mummies as we have

\textsuperscript{57} This statement should not be taken to mean, however, that there are no examples of practical men pitted against experts in the print narratives, for such is not the case. In “The Story of Baelbrow,” for instance, the practical man of business, Harold Swaffam, is pitted against the occult expertise of Flaxman Low. In this story, however, it is the expert who comes out ahead and the practical man of business who is converted to the expert’s way of thinking, thereby demonstrating the superiority of expert knowledge.

\textsuperscript{58} \textit{Le Roman de la Momie}, a SCAG-Pathé production, came out first came out in 1910 and was later distributed to Italian audiences in 1911 as \textit{Romanzo Della Mummia}. Urban, in 1911, produced a film known simply as \textit{The Mummy}, which Stephen Jones argues was “probably a remake of \textit{The Romance of the Mummy} (1910).
seen. The failure of parental authority of which Eliza Lynn Linton complained in 1868 in “The Girl of the Period” is fully evident here. The women Linton called to task for their lack of “respect” for their parents have nothing over the modern heroine of the silent mummy pictures (par. 2). They treat their fathers as doddering old fools as they conspire with their suitors to manipulate them into doing as they wish. Their young lovers, however, they treat with respect, giving the respect once owed their fathers to the men they love; and though they obviously submit to their lovers in these films, they are portrayed as young, independent women who are too liberated to endure the restrictions of “Victorian family life” which often resulted in feminine servitude of spinster daughter to their fathers (Jalland 166). They are, on the contrary, not only willing to deceive their fathers to get their way, but even giddy, as the little dance that the daughter in Kalem’s Egyptian Mummy indicates. No doubt contrary attitudes could be found in other films, but this attitude, part and parcel of the fooling the professor type of stories, is undoubtedly part of the impulse that some theories see as comedy’s “largely non-socializing, anarchic, irrational” “impulse” (Henkle 200). The young women in these comic films are simply acting on the new ideas about women’s rights and independence. They are the advanced women of their era, acting on the newly acquired independence women were asserting for themselves at this time.

Sexuality in the films is not surprisingly muted. Despite the transgressions of propriety that were a part of early film history, as films meant for the general public, mummy tales were quite respectable. Titillation in expressions of “Oriental sexuality,” as in Thanhauser’s 1911 production of The Mummy were about as far as filmmakers
allowed themselves to go. Instead, sexuality is expressed in the implied relationship between courting couples who exchange meaningful glances. Attractive actors and actresses help the implication of sexuality along. The same could be said of silent film audiences who do not want explicit sexual scenes, only the idea of sexual attraction. Anything more would be unconscionable. In this way they are very much in keeping with the sexuality of the print narratives where sexual attraction is hinted at in the relationships where desire is placed in acceptable societal forms—mostly in impending marriages, though, as in the case of The Mummy and Miss Nitocris, in a relationship where the respectable form of marriage is denied, rendering, in the cultural norms of the book, the impossibility of marriage until the father’s objections can be overcome, a situation identical to the problems of many of the fooling the professor plots. Yet even in the serious romantic dramas in mummy films, sex is all anticipation and/or suggestion. The lovers in When Soul Meets Soul are seen exchanging glances in voluptuous surroundings where a Nubian slave fans the loving couple. The princess, Charazel, in the early moments of the picture, furthermore is seen in various acts of sensuality: weaving garlands of flowers while surrounded by her beautiful servant girls, embracing her lover in her private quarters, all other sent away except for her ever-present Nubian servant who fans the couple. Costuming further enhances the sexuality of the scenes, a visual technique that expands upon print narrative’s sometimes erotic descriptions of desirable female mummies. In the opening scene of Delaplace’s dream where he goes back to ancient Egypt, we see Charazel in attractive feminine garb with a garland of flowers on

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59 For an in depth discussion of attitudes about the Orient and sexuality, see Edward Said’s Orientalism.
her head. Her lover, played by “silent heartthrob Francis X. Bushman,” whom we learn in the closing scene of the film to have been an earlier incarnation of Delaplace, is depicted in costuming that reveals a raw masculine virility as he comes into the princess’s private quarters, dressed in a short tunic, an arm bracelet on each arm, his savage strength expressed in his long hair bound in a headband with vast amounts of skin showing (Joshi Icons 390). The meaningful glances and embraces complete the implied sexual desire. The picture is kept clean, but the sexual desire is clearly communicated through the film’s setting, costuming, and actions.

“Reincarnation,” one of mummy fiction’s most characteristic themes and the idea of “[doubling]” resulting from it also play a role in the silent films (Deane 402). Bradley Deane suggests the interest in reincarnation in the print narratives is the result of mummy fiction’s “fascin[ation]” with “reincarnation’s immunity to historical change” as it “disrupts the advance of time,” and in so doing, I would argue, puts an end to horror of a world descending into “decline and degeneracy” (402). This interest in reincarnation can be applied to the films as well. Certainly it plays a role in silent film in stories like When Soul Meets Soul and in Le Roman de la Momie, but it is not nearly as characteristic an element of the tale as Deane suggests. This state of affairs can undoubtedly be accounted for by the nature of the stories that interested silent filmmakers. Comic films’ treatment of these stories did not take the idea of resurrected mummies seriously, but concentrated instead on the mileage to be gained from slapstick comedy that could be easily communicate, all the while enhancing the idea of modern day practicality and commonsense of the average man or woman. Those stories that
treated the theme of mummy resurrection seriously were often satisfied, if one is to judge by critical descriptions of the stories, with the mere fact of the resurrection. Only three films that I have been able to locate, the two romantic dramas mentioned above and, surprisingly, a fool-the-professor comedy produced by Pathé known simply as The Mummy (1911), where a “professor’s assistant pretends to be a reincarnated mummy as part of a plan to marry the professor’s daughter” treat the theme at all. Lack of interest, comic intentions, or lack of available footage to create a more involved mummy narrative may play a role here in the scant attention paid to this characteristic of much mummy fiction. Only additional research can serve to prove whether other silent mummy movies used reincarnation more than brief critical summations of the film suggest.

Critical interest in matters pertaining to empire and fears of invasion or reverse colonization are found primarily in the horror films, where the feared invasion takes place by proxy in those stories where it is a piece of jewelry that does the invading or in stories where it is an evil spirit that does so. Of the latter of these two films, The Curse of the Scarabee Ruby, denominated a mummy film by a now unfortunately defunct site at the American University at Cairo, little can be said. It would appear, based on the title and the brief description of the film that tells us only that “an evil spirit transforms into a young girl,” that the feared invasion takes place in a manner that is somehow connected with the scarabee ruby (n.p.). If so, this would make the film quite similar to The Vengeance of Egypt, of which much more can be said. In this film, the theme of reverse colonization is made abundantly clear as an invading Napoleonic soldier in Egypt steals a ring that had once belonged to a mummy. Because of the curse on the ring, those who
possess it (with one or two unexplained exceptions) die. In this way, the ring, a representative of an earlier, more powerful but now defeated Egypt, invades the invader as it visits death on its illegitimate possessors. This is commodity run amok, as, in Daly’s terms, the object becomes subject and” take[s] on a life of [its] own” (35). There is no mummy here walking about, but the story is based on the related theme of the mummy’s curse, an idea dealt with to some degree in earlier print narratives, but probably known most readily to those of us today with an interest in the subject as a result of newspaper reports after the discovery of Tutankhamen in the 1920s. Universal Studios production in 1932 of The Mummy, produced only a few short years after the Tutankhamen discovery in 1923, made much of the curse theme and later Universal pictures followed suit in a series of films produced in the next decade. These films, The Mummy’s Hand (1940), The Mummy’s Tomb (1942), The Mummy’s Ghost (1943), and The Mummy’s Curse (1944) develop the idea of the curse along with many of the other features that we expect in mummy fiction, but they are a development that took years to arrive at following the silent era. Before the 1932 production of The Mummy, only The Wraith of the Tomb (1915), a story “in which the ghost of an Egyptian princess searches London

Of particular interest in this regard is the response of two writers both interested in the occult and ancient Egypt. Marie Corelli, said to be one of Queen Victoria’s favorite writers and an author of Egyptian tales, though none dealing particularly with mummies, and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, author of two influential mummy narratives, “The Ring of Thoth” and “Lot No. 249,” on which, according to some critical opinion, the 1932 Universal Studios production of The Mummy was based, were both convinced of the reality of such curses. Corelli, in a letter to the New York Times, “which was also reprinted by the London newspapers,” wrote shortly before the death of Lord Carnavon, the first of the supposed curse’s victims, “I cannot but think some risks are run by breaking into the last rest of a king in Egypt [Tut] whose tomb is specially and solemnly guarded, and robbing him of his possessions. According to a rare book I possess . . . entitled The Egyptian History of the Pyramids [an ancient Arabic text], the most dire punishment follows any rash intruder into a sealed tomb” (Stephens 12). Doyle, shortly after Carnavon’s death, was asked by “a reporter for the London Times . . . what he thought of this. Doyle,” according to Stephens’s account, declared himself “very impressed” and said “that he believed the pharaoh was responsible” 112).
for her murderous, severed mummified hand,” would qualify as unambiguously fitting in the horror genre, though there are elements of terror in the 1918 German production of Die Augen der Mumie Ma (The Eyes of the Mummy), though Joshi denies it classification as a horror film (Icons 390). The earlier tale found in Vengeance is simply an earlier version of an invading fiction where colonized others exact their retribution on their invaders. The presence of the Napoleonic soldier’s participation in the invasion of Egypt only makes this connection more clear.

It is difficult to say how effective the film is. The screenplay or scenario is quite limited in its descriptions of the nearly forty scenes in the movie. The description of the first scene simply notes that “Napoleon with scholars have arrived in Egypt with his French army and are viewing a mummy of the time of Rameses” and the first death described in the film, scene 2, reel 2, simply notes that “the girl is strangled by a burglar” (1). Scene after scene thereafter traces the progress of the ring as it passes from owner to owner and death to death. Reading the script, it is difficult to see how the narrative interest is maintained. The same thing happens over and over and no viewer can escape its message, but one wonders how effective it might have been. It is possible that cinematic approach may have made the picture extraordinarily interesting, but someone who has actually been able to view the film would have to make this judgment, though as far as I have been able to ascertain, no one has. Certainly, though, the thinking of the

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61 Joshi also judges Wraith to be “[p]robably the first full-length horror feature produced in Britain. Josh’s judgment may well be true with regard to the nation of origin, but not in terms of films available to English-speaking viewers since The Vengeance of Egypt, as a three-reel film would qualify as a full-length film.
time among those who wrote films, was the idea that film plots should be kept simple. Eustace Hale Ball, the pioneer scenarist and author of *The Art of the Photoplay*, advised would-be film writers against more complex plots, arguing that only a single “line of action” could be done well in the eighteen minutes available in a one-reel film (36). As a result, sub-plots, which would make for greater narrative interest, would be out. Thus what to us from an early twenty-first century viewpoint may seem like repetitive writing may well have been to contemporary filmmakers and spectators the height of craft. As the years passed and films became longer, of course, the films could become more complex as more verbal information could be communicated in additional intertitles. Without additional film footage, however, scenarists were restricted to less complex plots. All of which makes the full-length *Vengeance* more of a mystery since much more could be accomplished in three times as many reels. The redundancy of the plot may simply have been the result of thinking that applied to shorter films and the screen writer simply may not have adjusted. The film, nevertheless, I would argue is important as it provides us with an early example of the horror film.

The Egyptian invasion by jewelry as we have it in this film is carried on in other films as well, though some of these we can only suspect of fulfilling this expectation by reason of their title and some, and these more fully and in keeping with the earlier print examples of invasion, come at the beginning of the Great War and some in the thirties and after. The later films especially make clear the idea of invasion as walking mummies come to the western world and invade our space much as they do, as Stephen Arata argues, in *Dracula* (623). In these films fears about invasion and concerns about
masculinity are quite clear, as, for example, when the mummy in the Universal Studios production of The Mummy, Ardeth Bey, begins his murderous attack on those who oppose him. The same idea can be seen numerous times in the Universal mummy pictures of the forties when marauding mummies go on murderous rampages as they are guided by evil priests who direct their every move, much in the same way as Edward Bellingham directs the movement of his mummy in Doyle’s “Lot No. 249.” The silent pictures are not formulated in this way. Murders occur, as in Vengeance, but no guiding intelligence outside the curse itself directs the murders. There is no move toward detection in the horror stories to discover the culprit either until the end of the film, when the expert, a sort of abbreviated occult detective, steps in to the picture and saves the day. There is, however, some concern in these stories with the idea of skepticism and belief, though the treatment of these issues varies according to the epistemological stance of the filmmaker. Dramatic and horror films accept occult reality and treat experts learned in the arcana of the occult with respect; the comedies, however, take an entirely different approach, eschewing the supernatural and elevating the commonsensical layperson above the apparently foolish professorial types. In so doing, the comedies argue for a materialist worldview. Serious treatments of the mummy narrative accept occult reality, but comedy laughs at it. The comedies reassure the anxious breast that is troubled by the horror film. The world, they say, is knowable and can be understood in its physical manifestations alone. There is no longing these stories for another world; this one has everything the young lovers in the films desire. And they prove their skeptical conviction
not in the shuddering manner of the unconvinced, but in gleeful asseverations as they plot
to deceive the foolish believing expert.

The silent mummy films serve as a bridge between the earlier print narratives and
the mummy films that follow. In them we can see early examples of many of the film
types that follow, including not only the horror film, but comic examples and films
focused on the eroticism of the form. The detective plot, originating in the early print
narratives, has only a minor presence in these stories, though it is well developed in the
Universal Studios productions of the thirties and forties. Silent filmmakers simply had
not adopted such concerns prior to the war as a major concern, quite possibly as a result
of the limitation of film footage and difficulty in communicating complex information
visually, though later silent filmmakers overcame many of these problems through liberal
use of verbal information communicated through intertitles and over-the-shoulder looks
at letters, newspapers, and other sorts of documents.

The silent films are interesting as they are a sort of new beginning in telling the
mummy story. They tell many of the same sort of stories that the print narratives had
told, but they do so under the constraints of the technology of film. They still manage to
communicate many of the same concerns of mummy fiction in general, but they do it
almost as if one hand were tied behind their back. Because of this handicap, filmmakers
had to choose both the kind of story that could be told visually as well as a tale that
would be of interest to early spectators. In the beginning, as we have seen, spectacle is
sufficient, an idea not surprising since Aristotle had argued for its importance as one of
the six parts of tragedy (95). Later audiences demanded more, and narrative, as part of
the demand, developed. The stories provided the same sort of service that the print fiction did: they communicated cultural values and desires, dreams and fears, as they told their tales. They made possible an exploration of issues of importance, of life, death, love, and mystery and made us, if even only for a few moments, care.

The issues with which mummy fiction dealt were, of course, the issues that concerned a great many fin de siècle Britons: would England be attacked by other industrialized nations? Would the colonies rise up against her? Could the problem of women agitating for social changes and threatening the traditional male’s position be managed? Might there yet be a way to have both the scientific and the spiritual worlds without conflict? These and other questions were much on the minds of the turn-of-the-century Briton, and mummy fiction took part in the discourse, adding its voice to that of others.

As I have indicated throughout this study, fin de siècle mummy fiction is by and large a conservative genre. There are elements of progressiveness in some stories, of course, such as George Griffith’s tale of The Romance of Golden Star, for example, but, generally speaking, the authors of these tales were very much inclined to maintain the status quo. Britain was to maintain its power as were men; and women, like the nation’s colonized territories, were to be subservient and grateful. There were, of course, as we have seen, instances of apprehension about these areas, but the majority favored the conservative position. Other thinkers approached the topic differently, voicing their concerns and opinions via speeches, cartoons, and non-fictional approaches to political
discourse as we have seen in preceding chapters--but writers of mummy fiction entered into this world of discourse through their stories of mummies.

It is easy to imagine a reader at this point, of course, wondering why a writer might choose to communicate his or her ideas about social and political concerns through mummy fiction. Answering such a reader, one would have to consider the purposes of fiction and what might be gained by entering into such discourse through mummy fiction. Undoubtedly, of course, some authors of fiction do not pick up their pens with any purpose other than spinning a good yarn, and this, I would argue, is a perfectly legitimate reason for setting out to write a story. Other writers have particular agendas they want to forward; history is full of examples of fiction of this type. Without authorial expression of intent, however, it is impossible to tell the reason that a particular writer wrote a story, though, of course, readers can judge the evidence of the author’s writing to decide what, if any, particular agenda might be driving a writer to express the ideas that he or she does. Nevertheless, even in those cases where writers are simply trying to put together a saleable story for commercial purposes, writers cannot escape the ideas of their times, and they undoubtedly have opinions about the issues of their times which may peek out from the chinks in the story. Thus, all stories, it would seem to me, can be looked at as part of the discourse of their time since no author writes in a vacuum.

Therefore, it seems reasonable to believe that stories of all sorts, whether their authors be judged as consciously attempting to score particular social or political points or not, can be seen to be engaging in the dialogue of the time on the various issues of the day. Thus, whether the author is consciously engaging in political discourse or not, he or
she cannot escape such concerns entirely, even if they were to wish to do so. For this reason, it is easy to see that such stories are a part of the socio-political discourse of their times.

This much decided, however, we are still left with the question of the particular advantages of fictional entries into such discourse and particularly with the advantage of mummy fiction in such discussions. To answer the more general question first, I would refer the reader to Marc Scott Zicree’s statement about Rod Serling’s use of science fiction to discuss important issues of the day. According to Zicree, author of The Twilight Zone Companion, Serling used science fiction as a way to talk about issues that mattered to him without television censors getting in his way. Dick Berg, Zicree continues, noted that science fiction was a good fit for Serling under these circumstances, “‘particularly because he [Serling] had much on his mind politically and in terms of social condition’” (15). “‘[S]cience fiction . . . gave him as much flexibility in developing those themes as he might had anywhere else at that time’” (15).

Though the situation in fin de siècle Britain was not identical to this situation, I mention Serling, nevertheless, because the use Serling made of science fiction is an indication of the sort of thing that science fiction can do: it can take issues of the day, move them to a strange world (or a world made strange) and comment on those ideas. Mummy fiction does the same sort of thing: it takes issues of the day in a world made strange by the intrusion of the occult in such a way as to provide writers of this fiction with a medium through which to express their ideas. Thus, it is that writers like H. D. Everett can comment on the position of women in late Victorian society in her novel about Iras and
Ralph Lavenham, and H. Rider Haggard can explore the problem of the plundering of Egyptian tombs in his story of “Smith and the Pharaohs.”

Because these stories are tales that are meant first and foremost to be entertaining stories, they are able to make contact with audiences that might not otherwise be reached. The narrative treat that fiction provides, that is, entices readers to look into the pages of the short stories or books of mummy fiction and, on looking, get something more than they might have expected—a treatment of socio-political issues of the day. Since the concerns of the day are presented narratively, they are easier to take in than dry, non-fictional lectures might be. Thus it is that not only do the writers enter into the discourse of such issues, but the readers of the fiction are able to participate through their engagement with the fictional treatment of those issues. The stories that treat these issues are thus a part of the circulating ideas of the time, as they both take ideas from the culture and then influence that culture through the pages that readers peruse. Readers then can potentially enter into the discourse of the time as they discuss the concerns that the stories have raised. As part of this cycle of discourse exchange which I have just described here, mummy fiction does something that is especially useful that not all other forms of fiction do; that is, despite its basically conservative outlook, mummy fiction manages at the same time to give voice to those most under-represented in British society of the fin de siècle: those on the boundaries of society or on the lowest rungs of the social ladder—members of the working class and women.

The fact that mummy fiction deals primarily with the supernatural is a factor in giving voice to the society’s under-represented members, though the fact of the
involvement in the supernatural is not enough to give that group more of a voice than other forms of fiction. It is mummy fiction’s treatment of rationality and the occult that makes the difference in how the lower classes and women are represented in this fiction. The dominant male voice of the time, as we have seen, was the rational male voice. Figures like Sherlock Holmes as he appears in *The Hound of the Baskervilles* demonstrate how the rational man was expected to respond to occult phenomena. Holmes, for the most part absent from the scenes which Dr. Watson narrates, is able by the novel’s end to demonstrate how what had appeared to be the haunting of the moors by a spectral hound to be in fact the product of a Baskerville relation attempting to gain his inheritance through scare tactics that appeared supernatural but were easily explainable in natural, scientific terms once all the evidence had been gathered. Superstitious peasants and their social “betters” who had accepted the supernatural explanation were all proven wrong by Holmes’s masculine, rational mind. This was one sort of ghost story of the time, one where the rational explanation wins out. The skeptic is proven right while the believers must admit their error. In mummy fiction, however, it is the skeptic who is often proven wrong; and it is in this changed state of affairs that the disenfranchised are given their voices and heard by the larger society. Men, to be sure, are still dominant in these stories, but servants and women, both placed in inferior positions in society, are heard from in the mummy stories in cases where the common assumptions of male rationality prove to be insufficient in understanding the world of the mummy tale. We see examples of women and the lower classes being given greater (respectful) attention in stories like “The Story of Baelbrow” and *The Mummy and Miss Nitocris*, just to name
two. In the former tale, it is the servant class and women who are more aware of the truth of the occultic events which take place in the story. The servants, except for one hardy soul who loses her life for going against the judgment of her class, all have the good sense to stay out of a portion of the house at Baelbrow because they know that something wicked will harm them if they attempt to go through it. The servant who does brave the evil presence of the mummy vampire that threatens them plays the role of the masculine skeptic and loses her life in the process. The servants who stay away are the ones who are correct in their judgment. Lena Jungvort, the only middle-class woman we see in the story is similarly proven right in her judgment about the mummy vampire. When her testimony conflicts with her father’s, a learned professor and one well-respected, it is not the professor but Lena who is shown to be correct in her assessment of the circumstances. Both she and the servants are ultimately credited as correct by the male expert authority, Flaxman Low, who, expert though he is, sides with the servants and Lena as he interprets the events which have taken place at Baelbrow. Male authority is still very important, but Low’s siding with the disenfranchised groups raises them up to a position of respectability as the educated male implicitly declares them correct when he solves the case as being the result of the haunting of a mummy vampire.

Griffith’s story of Niti Marmion also gives voice to the underclass as women are described as rational, powerful creatures. Niti Marmion is not only an educated woman – Griffith describes her as “Miss Nitocris Marmion, Bachelor of Science, Licentiate of Literature and Art, and Gold-Medallist in Higher Mathematics at the University of London”—but a powerful one thanks to the powers she has gained in the fourth
dimension (n.p.). She plays a smaller role in the whole of the novel, but a crucial one as it is she who is responsible for punishing Oscarovitch by the novel’s conclusion when she “allowed” him to die (n.p.) Griffith even includes among his women in the book an “advanced” woman who appropriates male privilege and drives herself and Niti about London in an automobile, Niti’s American friend, Brenda van Huysman (Wintle 66).

The matter of giving women a voice in these stories, however, is not a result of women with great power exercising that power. Typically what happens in these cases is the woman is shown to be a dangerous being that must be controlled. Such cases do not provide the voice to which I am referring. It is in those cases where women are treated with respect, as human beings deserving a hearing. Niti, though she is partially considered one of those dangerous women who must be controlled, is nevertheless treated in the pages of the novel as someone to be listened to and acknowledged, as is clear in her relationship with her father, Professor Marmion, with whom she has important conversations that he takes quite seriously, as, for example, in the conversation they have about the proper use of the professor’s newly gained powers in attempting to achieve world peace. Ruth Djama, similarly, is given full voice in another Griffith tale, The Romance of Golden Star, as she first nurses and then educates the risen mummy Vilcaroya about the proper way to conduct his affairs. Though she is largely depicted as a traditional, submissive woman, Ruth has great power in this narrative; her opinions, which she is not afraid to voice, are listened to and respected by the men around her.

The treatment of women that I have just described here would seem to make a case for mummy fiction as a more progressive sort of narrative than might be imagined.
Such a case could, to a limited extent, of course, be made. The disenfranchised are given voice as women, servants, and even, as we have seen, the colonized, as in the case of Vilcaroya in *The Romance of Golden Star*, are allowed to speak. Nevertheless, by and large, the majority of the tales want to maintain the status quo, keeping servants, women, and conquered territories in their place. The possibilities of these groups rising up and claiming rights denied them were frightening and fictional treatments of these issues both in and out of mummy fiction sought to deal with them. Sometimes, the stories seem to indicate impending doom, as in those cases where England is overrun by disease brought upon them by the powers of Pharos or by powerful women such as Queen Tera in *The Jewel of Seven Stars*; yet, typically, by the conclusion of these stories, traditional order has been restored.  

Men rule and women submit; the empire remains intact and servants play their proper roles and thus, to the conservative mind, all is right with the world. Nevertheless, if only for a moment, the oppressed have been given a voice, even if a dreaded one, and allowed to speak.

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62 The 1903 edition of Stoker’s novel of *Jewel* is an exception. It was not until the 1912 edition that a more palatable ending was provided.
Appendix

The following table lists those tales which I have examined for the purposes of this study. May of them are those listed by Nicholas Daly in his essay, “That Obscure Object of Desire: Victorian Commodity Culture and Fictions of the Mummy,” though some included below are a result of my own research. I have listed them in chronological order.

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