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Invasions and Inversions: Representations of Otherness in the Writings of Bram Stoker

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University College, Durham University



A Thesis Presented for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of English Studies

March 2018

Contents

Abstract	3
List of Illustrations	4
Statement of Copyright	5
Acknowledgements	6
Chapter One	
‘What Sort of Grim Adventure Was It’: Stoker’s Place in Literary History.	7-56
Chapter Two	
‘A Savage – but a Cultured Savage’: Stoker and the Imperial Identity.	57-93
Chapter Three	
‘The Lord Fights for the Cross Against the Crescent’: <i>Dracula</i> , <i>The Lady of the Shroud</i> , and the Eastern Question.	94-121
Chapter Four	
‘The Mystery of that Mysterious Land’: Bram Stoker’s Egypt.	122-155
Chapter Five	
‘The New World Was Speaking to the Old’: Stoker’s Glimpse of America.	156-191
Chapter Six	
‘Patrick’s Problem Is Fast Finding Its Solution’: Bram Stoker’s Ireland.	192-223
Conclusion	
‘Impersonators, Pretenders, Swindlers, and Humbugs of All Kinds’: Stoker Concluded.	224-241
Bibliography	242-261

Abstract

Invasions and Inversions: Representations of Otherness in the Writings of Bram Stoker

Rosalind Newman

Bram Stoker has long been defined by a single text: *Dracula*. The elements that drove this unparalleled success – foremost among them a perverse interest in ‘otherness’ – frequently manifest in Stoker’s other works, however. Building on the exemplary writings of Stokerian scholars such as William Hughes and David Glover, this study aims to expand its literary horizons, providing a comprehensive look at depictions of otherness across the author’s entire literary canon.

This study finds its focal point in the twin faces of invasion and inversion. Within these terms are encapsulated many meanings: the balance of what is ‘out there’ and what is ‘in here,’ of what is trying to get out and what is trying to get in, of that which is on the surface and that which resides beneath. This thesis draws on all manner of Stoker’s work – novels, short stories, and non-fiction work – to map the author’s perception of otherness. And although the study may be anchored by region, the ‘representations of otherness’ extend far beyond geographical concerns: the ‘foreignness’ that so unsettles Stoker is far-reaching, often being tied up in wider questions of gendered, religious, or sexual otherness.

This thesis forges a connection between a preoccupation with otherness and the author’s own complex national identity, identifying a distinct literary persona created as a form of camouflage. Stoker’s hegemonic performance allows him to engage with questions of otherness from a place of assumed safety, ostensibly identifying as a member of a perceived elite – yet it is doomed to remain incomplete. At heart, Stoker knows the divisions he propagates to be false constructs; after all, he has manipulated them himself in the creation of his authorial persona. For Stoker the true horror exists in his interior: not what is ‘out there’ trying to get in, but what is ‘in here’ trying to get out.

List of Illustrations

Leonard Raven-Hill, 'The Boiling Point,' <i>Punch</i> (2 October 1912).	108
John Tenniel, 'Cleopatra before Caesar: or, the Egyptian Difficulty,' <i>Punch</i> , 83 (December 1882), 163.	137
Anon., 'Turk the Sublime,' <i>Punch</i> , 110 (7 March 1896), 110.	141
Fredric Remington, 'Spaniards Search Women on American Steamers,' <i>New York Journal</i> (1898).	177
Anon., 'The Cuban Mother,' <i>The New York Journal</i> (1898).	177
C. Jay Taylor, 'The Cuban Melodrama,' <i>Puck</i> , 39/1004 (1896).	178
1900 Census, Bram Stoker, 'Americans as Actors,' in <i>A Glimpse of America: And Other Lectures, Interviews and Essays</i> , Richard Dalby, ed. (1909; Essex: Desert Island Books, 2002), 84-92.	183
Anon., 'Cuban Patriots Rallying Round Their Flag,' <i>Harper's Pictorial History of the War with Spain</i> (London: Harper & Brothers, 1899), 17.	185
Grant E. Hamilton, 'War is Hell,' <i>Judge</i> (30 April 1898).	185
H. Strickland Constable, 'Scientific Racism,' <i>Harper's Weekly</i> (1899).	202
John Tenniel, 'The Irish "Vampire,"' <i>Punch</i> (24 October 1885).	219
Margaret Allen, 'Bad News in Troubled Times,' <i>The Freeman's Journal</i> (1886).	219
Joseph Kenny Meadows, 'The Irish Frankenstein,' <i>Punch</i> (4 November 1843).	220
Matt Morgan, 'The Irish Frankenstein,' <i>The Tomahawk</i> , 137 (18 December 1869), 278-79.	220
John Tenniel, 'The Irish Frankenstein,' <i>Punch</i> (20 May 1882).	222
John Tenniel, 'Dr M'Jekyll and Mr O'Hyde,' <i>Punch</i> (18 August 1888).	222

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Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude to my thesis supervisor, Professor Simon James. His expert knowledge has helped to shape this research, and his unwavering enthusiasm for literature has helped to sustain my own.

I would also like to extend my thanks to University College, and to the founders of the Pemberton Doctoral Scholarship for their financial support.

Finally, I would like to thank all my friends and colleagues in Durham for an unforgettable four years.

Chapter One

'What Sort of Grim Adventure Was It': Stoker's Place in Literary History¹

Abraham Stoker, or Bram, as he styled himself, was an eminently Victorian author. His novels are filled with the superficial confidence befitting a member of the greatest empire the modern world had ever seen, yet they are rooted in the growing doubts and fears that characterised his generation. These fears are often intangible. Fears of what is out there threatening to come in, and what is in here threatening to come out – as the title notes, of both *invasion* and *inversion*.

Within an extensive body of works, written over some forty years, *Dracula* (1897) has long been regarded as the lone success story.² Stoker's *pièce-de-resistance* has an air of accidental genius about it, imbued with the hopes and fears of a generation. Whether directly or indirectly, it broaches the most controversial issues of its day: foreign invasions, unorthodox sexualities, the decline of Christianity, and the rise of the New Woman. It is a text of enduring popularity; in the one hundred and twenty years since its publication, *Dracula* has never been out of print.³ It is almost inevitable, then, that critical discussions of Stoker have focused so heavily on *Dracula*, often paying scant attention to his wider canon. There have been several exceptional discussions of specific aspects of Stoker's work in recent years – Jimmie Cain's *Bram Stoker and Russophobia: Evidence of the British Fear of Russia in 'Dracula' and 'The Lady of the Shroud'* and Joseph Valente's *Dracula's Crypt: Bram Stoker, Irishness and the Question of Blood* chief amongst them – but these by necessity concentrate on a narrow range of texts, often anchored by Stoker's two vampiric works.⁴ David Glover's *Vampires, Mummies and Liberals: Bram Stoker and the Politics of Popular Fiction* offers a wider scope of study, mixing its deliberations on the supernatural with considerations of Stoker's other works.⁵

¹ Bram Stoker, *Dracula*, A. N. Wilson, ed. (1897; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 15.

² Belford goes so far as to remark that 'out of an oeuvre of eighteen books, only *Dracula* succeeds as literature.' Barbara Belford, *Bram Stoker and The Man Who Was Dracula* (Cambridge: Perseus, 1996), x.

³ David J. Skal, *Something in the Blood: The Untold Story of Bram Stoker, the Man Who Wrote 'Dracula'* (London: W. W. Norton, 2016), 499.

⁴ Jimmie E. Cain, *Bram Stoker and Russophobia: Evidence of the British Fear of Russia in 'Dracula' and 'The Lady of the Shroud'* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2006). Joseph Valente, *Dracula's Crypt: Bram Stoker, Irishness and the Question of Blood* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002).

⁵ David Glover, *Vampires, Mummies, and Liberals: Bram Stoker and the Politics of Popular Fiction* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996).

As the title indicates, however, the focal point of this edition is also ultimately the Gothic – the ‘vampires’ and ‘mummies’ for which Stoker is chiefly remembered. This is, to an extent, understandable. Even the greatest Stoker advocate cannot ignore the fact that some of his lesser known works are lesser known for a reason – ‘The Member of the Strand’ (1890), one of his brief forays into poetry, is sycophantic and amateurish, *The Primrose Path* (1875) is rather sermonising, *Miss Betty* (1898), a novel derided as a ‘slight sketch of a pure and amiable girl [...that] won’t sell a book’ by publisher J. W. Arrowsmith in 1898, hasn’t fared much better with time.⁶ For every one of these, however, there is a hidden gem: the wickedly macabre ‘The Squaw’ (1893), for instance, or the short story ‘The Man from Shorrox’ (1894), whose Irish vernacular and witty characters paint the author’s homeland in a manner quite distinct from the Ireland of *The Snake’s Pass* (1890).⁷ These lesser-known works add another side to the established face of the *Dracula* author. Despite often appearing disappointingly conformist, when combined these texts reveal a distinct unconventionality escaping from Stoker’s superficially conventional persona.

What this study aims to do, then, is fill in the gaps in Stoker studies. It seeks to both piece together and challenge established critical thought, bringing in new perspectives and long-neglected texts. The resultant aim is the formation of a complete picture of an author who spent his life in the shadows from his literary voice alone, avoiding the reductionism of a speculative biographical reading. Every study must have a focal point, however, and as such this study chooses the twin faces of *invasion* and *inversion*. Within these terms are encapsulated many meanings: the balance of what is out there and what is in here, of what is trying to get in and what is trying to get out, of that which is on the surface and that which resides beneath. At root, however, these meanings all connect in a single concept, otherness: the fear of that which proves to be other, and that which proves not to be other at all.

The most quantifiable form of otherness for Stoker, it would seem, was that which was other to Britain – the most visible form of being ‘out there.’ As such, the chapters of this study are divided along the geographical regions that comprise the settings to Stoker’s

⁶ Bram Stoker, ‘The Member of the Strand,’ in *The Forgotten Writings of Bram Stoker*, John Edgar Browning, ed. (1890; New York: Macmillan, 2012); ‘The Primrose Path,’ *The Shamrock*, 12/ 434 (6 February 1875), 289-365; *Miss Betty* (London: C. Arthur Pearson, 1898). Rejection letter of *Miss Betty* manuscript from publisher J. W. Arrowsmith, cited in Belford, *Dracula*, 277.

⁷ Bram Stoker, ‘The Squaw,’ in *Dracula’s Guest and Other Weird Tales* (1893; London: Penguin, 2006), 37-49; ‘The Man from Shorrox,’ *Pall Mall Magazine*, 2/10 (February 1894), 657-69.

work: imperial Britain, the Balkans, Egypt, America, and Ireland. The chapters draw on all manner of Stoker's work – novels, short stories, non-fiction work, and articles – in order to map the author's perception of otherness in these regions, foreign fears prompted by economic, social, and political concerns. And although the study may be anchored by region, the 'representations of otherness' of the title extend far beyond geographical concerns: the 'foreignness' that so unsettles Stoker is far-reaching, often being tied up in wider questions of gendered, religious, or sexual otherness. A study that deals only with Stoker's explicitly Gothic works would risk omitting depictions of these issues when they appear in other texts. In fact, the author's fondness for blended genres makes it virtually impossible to draw such clean lines between texts: the same novels often have elements not just of the Gothic but of the romance and the adventure story as well. As such, this study attempts to renegotiate these differences in genre, unravelling the strands of similarity within them and finding Stoker's place in the literary *fin de siècle*.

* * *

Martin Green sees a correspondence between the rise of the British Empire at the close of the seventeenth century and the dawn of the adventure story, beginning with the 1719 publication of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*.⁸ With an empire in its possession, British life ceased to be as insular. The prospect of unseen wonders and untold riches waiting just across the sea inspired ambition, courage, and curiosity – the very same factors driving the adventure story. By the end of the nineteenth century, fictional Englishmen were having adventures all around the globe, in North America (Frederick Marryat's *The Settlers in Canada*, 1844; R. M. Ballantyne's *The Golden Dream*, 1861, and *Digging for Gold*, 1869; W. H. G. Kingston's *Adventures in the Far West*, 1881; G. A. Henty's *Captain Bayley's Heir*, 1889, and *In the Heart of the Rockies*, 1895), South America (Ballantyne's *The Rover of the Andes*, 1885; Henty's *The Treasure of the Incas*, 1903), Africa (Kingston's *Made Prisoner in Africa*, 1862; Ballantyne's *The Gorilla Hunters*, 1861, and *The Settler and the Savage*, 1877; H. Rider Haggard's *She*, 1886, and *Allan Quatermain*, 1887, and their subsequent series), the Indian subcontinent (Henty's *In Times of Peril*, 1881; and Rudyard Kipling's 'The Man Who Would Be King,' 1888, and *Kim*, 1901), Australasia (Ballantyne's *The Coral Island*, 1858; Kingston's *Kidnapping in the Pacific*, 1879; Henty's *A Final Reckoning: A Tale of Bush Life in Australia*, 1887), the Caribbean (Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island*, 1883), and even the Arctic

⁸ Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (London: Routledge, 1980).

(Ballantyne's *Fast in the Ice*, 1863). These exotic locations provided an escape from the one place where it was clear adventure could no longer be found: England herself. In a nation increasingly regulated by laws and societal expectations, a nation in effect feminised into passivity, Englishmen had to look beyond their own shores if they hoped to fulfil such masculine fantasies of action.⁹

These novels might be set in an array of exotic places, but they all conform to the typical structure of the adventure story. There is comfort to be found in these repetitive formulas, in tales that repeat themselves over and over on different continents and with different dangers. Authors such as G. A. Henty formed their careers on the mass-production of popular adventure stories that all adhered to the same repetitive structure: an opening look at the hero's life as a youth in Britain, a galvanising force that drives him overseas, adventures in exotic lands, and a triumphant return home.¹⁰ In his introduction to *Allan Quatermain*, Dennis Butts outlines the basic formula followed by so many adventure stories in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as such:

[the stories] usually begin with a minor crisis, perhaps the death of a relation, before the hero leaves home in search of his fortune, accompanied by some faithful friend or servant. At the end of his journey, the hero encounters a great crisis, usually performing courageously before he returns home triumphant and often loaded with great riches.¹¹

These formulaic actions, adhered to by the majority of the aforementioned texts, all work to confirm the beliefs of the nineteenth-century reader: the ability to achieve anything through courage and hard work, the natural fortitude of the Englishman when faced with adversity, the superiority of the white race in comparison to natives, who are invariably pictured as savage and primitive. If, as Arata asserts, a nation 'is held together in part by the stories it generates about itself,' then the *fin-de-siècle* adventure story was the perfect companion for imperial Britain.¹² It reinforced all the positive attributes that scientific and social rhetoric attributed to the Englishman. The reader, safe at home, was thus involved vicariously in the adventures of his fictional countrymen: he might not have been out fighting savage natives and taming wild beasts, but he shared the courage, the superiority, the *Englishness*, of those who were.

⁹ See Clare Midgley, *Gender and Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998).

¹⁰ See Jeffery Richards, ed., *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989).

¹¹ Dennis Butts, 'Introduction,' in H. Rider Haggard, *Allan Quatermain*, Dennis Butts, ed. (1887; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), vi-xx, at x.

¹² Stephen D. Arata, *Fictions of Loss in the Victorian Fin de Siècle: Identity and Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 1.

It is important here to distinguish between the assumed – or, as Iser terms it, the ‘implied’ – reader, the typified figure that the author envisioned when writing his or her stories, and the actual reader.¹³ For mid-century authors such as Ballantyne, these two figures were quite similar. His adventure stories of the 1850s and 1860s were read predominantly by the British middle classes for whom they had been created. Following the Elementary Education Act 1870, however, the gap between these two readers, the imagined and the actual, underwent a considerable expansion.¹⁴ The newly literate working classes, far outnumbering their middle-class counterparts, consumed adventure stories at an ever-growing rate.¹⁵ Despite clinging to the established image of the assumed reader as a middle-class male, by the latter part of Ballantyne’s career, or the heydays of Henty and Haggard, the actual readership was made up predominantly of the working classes. The same was largely true of the Gothic genre. Although the late nineteenth century did see its rising literacy rates being met with the so-called ‘penny dreadful,’ sensational stories published in weekly parts on cheap wood pulp paper, for authors of Gothic novels this assumption of the middle-class reader persisted. Stoker’s own assumed reader would seem to correspond quite closely with this figure, a figure that has far more in common with the actual reader of the 1850s than with that of the 1890s and beyond. Both his adventure and his Gothic stories invariably give voice to the middle classes alone, eschewing any direct engagement with the working classes. His heroes are often adult reimaginings of the assumed boy reader of the 1850s: clean-cut, courageous paragons of middle-class virtue.

If the purpose of the adventure story is to affirm the superiority and safety of the assumed reader, the purpose of the Gothic tale is to threaten to undermine this security. That it *threatens* to undermine this security is not to say that such threats are actually carried out, however. Indeed, in many cases the Gothic serves to confirm the viewpoint of the assumed reader every bit as much as the adventure story. At root, the Gothic is an essentially conservative genre. It provides an outlet for transgressive fantasies so that normativity can be maintained, a proverbial letting out of steam from the valve. Almost as well-travelled as the adventure story, the *fin-de-siècle* Gothic genre found its evils in

¹³ Iser’s ‘implied reader’ differs slightly from the definition in this thesis in that it is not an actual person but ‘a textual structure anticipating the presence of a recipient without necessarily defining him.’ Wolfgang Iser, *The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett* (1972; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 34.

¹⁴ See Richards, *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*; and Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

¹⁵ See David Glover, ‘Publishing, History, Genre,’ in *The Cambridge Companion to Popular Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 15-32.

every corner of the known world, with monstrosities emerging from Europe (Sheridan Le Fanu's 'Carmilla,' 1872; M. R. James's 'Number 13' and 'Count Magnus,' 1904; Algernon Blackwood's 'The Willows,' 1907), India (Kipling's 'The Mark of the Beast,' 1890; and Richard Marsh's *The Goddess: A Demon*, 1900), and the East (Arthur Conan Doyle's 'Lot No. 249,' 1892; Marsh's *The Beetle*, 1897; Guy Boothby's *Pharos the Egyptian*, 1899). These horrors could be stumbled upon in their native lands or – a considerably more frightening prospect – they could find their way to England itself. Although raising the spectres of unrest, the Gothic monster presenting the possibility of an evil that is resistant to the many tools of Western modernity, in their destruction these monsters in fact confirm the opposite: the safety and superiority of the assumed reader, and their resistance to the otherness in their midst.

To say that Stoker's Gothic texts are obsessed with otherness, then, as Gothic texts so often are, is to say that they are obsessed with that which is other to the model of the reader.¹⁶ In its most obvious manifestation, and that which is most often thought of in relation to turn-of-the-century fiction, this otherness equates to visible foreignness. Racial otherness provides the basis for many *fin-de-siècle* Gothic texts: the Englishmen of *Pharos the Egyptian* are plagued by a mysterious 'Asiatic'; Le Fanu's depiction of the 'hideous black woman, with a sort of coloured turban on her head [...] her teeth set as in fury' indicates unease long before any vampiric threat emerges; and the protagonists of *The Beetle* are terrorised by a strange hybrid of all-encompassing racial otherness, their assailant being described simultaneously as an 'Arab,' an 'Oriental' and an 'Asiatic.'¹⁷ These descriptions draw not on a specific feature, but on a sense of undefined and unnerving difference – a concept integral to our understanding of the Gothic. It is no coincidence that the emergence of the Gothic genre – usually pinpointed as being the 1764 publication of Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* – coincided with the widening of the known world.¹⁸ By the end of the eighteenth century the empire was no longer a distant concept to Britons, a thing that existed 'out there,' but something that had

¹⁶ For a discussion of gothic literature and otherness see Tabish Khair, *The Gothic, Postcolonialism, and Otherness: Ghosts from Elsewhere* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Andrew Smith, *Gothic Literature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013). Judith Halberstam provides a comprehensive look at the divisions of otherness in gothic fiction in *Skin Shows* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998).

¹⁷ Guy Boothby, *Pharos the Egyptian* (1897; London: Ward, Lock, & Co., 1899), 13; Sheridan Le Fanu, 'Carmilla' in *In a Glass Darkly*, Robert Tracy, ed. (1872; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 257; Richard Marsh, *The Beetle* (1897; London: Wordsworth, 2007), 230, 209, 248.

¹⁸ Horace Walpole, *The Castle of Otranto* (1764; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). For a discussion of the emergence of 'distinctive genres' see David Glover and Scott McCracken, 'Introduction,' in *Cambridge Companion to Popular Fiction*, 1-14, at 4.

spread to the very heart of England. As Khair notes, Britain could no longer pretend to exist in isolation: ‘thousands of black soldiers from the United States who had fought for Britain in the American War for Independence, slaves, servants, ayahs, lascars as well as the occasional non-European nobleman or “business partner” were [now] visible in Britain.’¹⁹ This was coupled with an ever-growing number of Britons who had gone out to explore the wonders of the empire, returning home not just with stories of their travels but with the exotic souvenirs they had picked up along the way. The emergence of the Gothic genre, then, with its fears of the visible other, marks the transition of empire from idea to reality: it becomes not just a concept, but an unsettling part of day-to-day life. The unease that manifested in tense newspaper reports of ‘foreigners’ in England, or the attribution of the Jack the Ripper murders to wild beasts from Africa or ritualistic killings, fuelled the literary imagination, producing a rich tapestry of fictional otherness that both thrived on and perpetuated these fears.

In these literary representations of empire we see a collision in the functions of ideology.²⁰ Ideology, somewhat paradoxically, functions best when unseen; in underpinning every aspect of British life it becomes invisible. This results in what Marxism defines as a state of ‘false consciousness’ – an understanding of the world that is shaped by ideological processes, yet not understood as such.²¹ In this case, the ideology of imperialism leads Britain to actually think very little of it, the sheer prevalence of the empire and its fruits rendering them an accepted part of everyday life.²² In the Gothic monster, however, we see what Halberstam calls ‘the return of the repressed,’ an entity that was previously ignored or suppressed forcibly making its presence known.²³ The Gothic monster confronts the reader with the wrongs of empire, demanding that it be seen and acknowledged. As such, this monster that exists to be ‘the antithesis of “Englishness”’ often takes on the form of visible otherness, acquiring racially signified attributes as an expression of its foreignness to the domestic reader.²⁴

¹⁹ Khair, *Gothic*, 8.

²⁰ See Warren Frederick Morris, *Understanding Ideology* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2009); Slavoj Žižek, ed., *Mapping Ideology* (London: Verso, 1994).

²¹ The term ‘false consciousness’ was coined by Marxist theorist Friedrich Engels. See Terry Eagleton, *Ideology: An Introduction* (London: Verso, 1991), 89.

²² See Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism 1830-1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988).

²³ Halberstam, *Skin Shows*, 19. Halberstam borrows this term from Freud’s famous iteration, in which he uses the phrase ‘return of the repressed’ to explain the reappearance of suppressed elements preserved in the unconscious.

²⁴ Halberstam, *Skin Shows*, 14.

The unnerving racial other is not just the premise of the Gothic, however. The adventure story and the Gothic tale collide in their obsession with otherness – the unifying thread that holds Stoker’s diverse canon together. An adventure story, especially one that adheres to Butts’ formulaic interpretation, must by its very nature negotiate with terms of otherness. The hero that goes out to seek his fortune in foreign lands does so because of the otherness he will find there, an inferior otherness that enables him to profit both financially and psychologically. For an author so fond of blending genres, the main distinction between Stoker’s Gothic and adventure stories lies in their experience of this otherness: adventure stories excel ‘out there,’ the heroes going out to meet the other, whereas Gothic stories excel ‘in here,’ the otherness coming to meet them on home soil.

For both genres, the internal narrative revolves around navigating that which is familiar and that which is not, around seeking sameness in that which ultimately proves to be other. In Stoker’s Gothic works his heroes initially look for similarities with the monsters they must subsequently battle: Harker admires the Count’s library and considers that Dracula would have ‘made a wonderful solicitor’ (*Dracula* 31), while Ross and Trelawny try to imagine Queen Tera as a ‘high-souled lady’ (*Jewel* 177) such as Margaret. Stoker’s adventure stories, too, attempt to navigate this dichotomy, with Rupert prioritising the familiarity of the Mountaineers over their foreignness due to the whiteness of their skin – a whiteness emphasised all the more by the darkness of the Turks amassing on their borders. In *The Lady of the Shroud* (1909) Stoker creates a moderated version of a popular trope of the *fin-de-siècle* adventure story, that of the lost white tribe – a motif used in both Kipling’s ‘The Man Who Would Be King’ and Haggard’s *Allan Quatermain*.²⁵ In searching for a white tribe – a tribe presumably of European or similar origins – in a foreign country, the protagonists are looking for a familiar self in a land of others. This is supported by the inherent Europeanness these tribes often exhibit: the Kafirs sit on chairs like Englishmen, not on the floor like other natives; the Zu-Vendi build with marble and granite, not wood, and craft sailing boats in the ‘European fashion’ instead of African canoes; and the Mountaineers perform ceremonies that are ‘as regular and quick and simultaneous as St. James’s Palace’ (*Shroud* 215).²⁶ Ultimately, however, as definitions of sameness narrow, even these superficially ‘white’ tribes are recognised as other. Once the elation over their discovery has diminished, the Englishmen begin to

²⁵ Bram Stoker, ‘The Lady of the Shroud,’ in *The Lair of the White Worm and The Lady of the Shroud*, David Stuart Davies, ed. (1909; Ware: Wordsworth, 2010), 147-431.

²⁶ Haggard, *Allan Quatermain*, 127.

uncover deficiencies that cast doubt upon the Englishness – and therefore the sameness – of these white tribes: the Kafirs are untrustworthy idolaters; the Zu-Vendi are superstitious and unchristian; and Stoker’s Mountaineers are ultimately unfit for any kind of leadership, forcing Rupert to recreate the strategies of the British in India and send home to England for ‘the sort of officers we want’ (*Shroud* 375). This rejection of all that is not overtly and explicitly familiar is compounded by the rise of invasion literature at the turn of the century, in which to not be ‘us’ is to unequivocally be ‘other.’ The extremity of these views reaches a comic height in texts such as Wodehouse’s *The Swoop* (1909), which sees a barrage of hostile forces drawn from just about anyone who isn’t English: Germans, Russians, Swiss, Monegasques, Moroccans, Turks, Somalilanders, Chinese, and even ‘Bollygollans.’²⁷

The foreign other is a source of great unease in Stoker’s literary worlds. Stoker’s chosen settings correspond with some of the biggest political crises of the period: Egypt, the Balkans, America, and Ireland. These locations are all chosen for their otherness: a topical otherness that is both intriguing and repulsive. As such, Stoker’s depictions of them are not culturally and geographically accurate recreations but manipulated sketches that draw on stereotypical associations. Despite the travelogue-esque style of texts such as *Dracula*, Stoker’s interest is not in exploring the particularities of foreign cultures, simply in emphasising the fact that they are foreign. There is no discernible difference between Stoker’s fictional depictions of countries that he had visited – namely America and Scotland – and those he had only travelled to through books (Egypt and the Balkans). All are similarly exploited for their value as a novelty: their fantastical scenery, strange customs, and unfamiliar people. The latter is represented in Stoker’s tireless penchant for vernacular: his Irish, Scottish, and American characters all speak in exaggerated accents, spelled out phonetically and peppered with regional dialect; his Balkan characters speak in an archaic English presumably intended to convey their backwardness, using terms like ‘Bethink ye’ and ‘come hither’ (*Shroud* 236); and his Egyptian natives do not speak at all. Such speech is marked as especially other in contrast to the pronounced English accent of the protagonist – and Stoker’s protagonists are so often English.²⁸ Of his twelve published novels, eight feature male protagonists, five of those being Englishmen – a rather disproportionate bias for an Irish author.²⁹ More significantly, it is these male

²⁷ P. G. Wodehouse, *The Swoop! Or, How Clarence Saved England* (1909; New York: Seabury, 1979).

²⁸ This is perhaps, again, due to the assumed reader, who is invariably an Englishman.

²⁹ *The Man*, *Lady Athlyne*, *Miss Betty*, and *The Shoulder of Shasta* all feature female protagonists. The only non-English male protagonists in Stoker’s canon are Jerry of *The Primrose Path*, an Irishman; and Sailor

English protagonists that encounter the foreign other. Three of Stoker's four heroines are limited to domestic adventures or romances, Stephen and Betty's within England, and Esse's in her native California.³⁰ His three non-Englishmen are similarly limited: Sailor Willy's story takes place entirely in one Scottish town, Jerry travels no further afield than England, and Adam Salton is distinguished by being the only one of Stoker's creations to battle a home-grown supernatural evil. His Englishmen, however, all go out into the wider world: Arthur Severn visits Ireland in *The Snake's Pass*; Archibald Hunter goes to Scotland and encounters both the Spanish and the American other in *The Mystery of the Sea* (1902); Jonathan Harker travels to Transylvania in *Dracula*; Rupert Sent Leger journeys to the Balkans in *The Lady of the Shroud*; and, although never technically leaving England, Malcolm Ross fights an Egyptian force in *The Jewel of Seven Stars* (1903).³¹ In viewing these foreign lands and peoples through the quintessentially English eyes of the novels' heroes, their otherness becomes even more pronounced. They exist as exotic backdrops against which a courageous Englishman can act out any number of unlikely scenarios: gaining kingships, romancing princesses, and even defeating monsters. In short, they exist to be not-England. Whether Gothic or adventure story, things can happen in these foreign lands that couldn't possibly happen at home.

Although 'otherness' and 'foreignness' are often closely linked in Stoker's writing, they are not synonymous. If, as discussed, Stoker's writing invariably privileges the hegemonic voice of the white, middle-class male, then anything outside of this is also other. Otherness thus includes not just other races and nationalities, but other classes, religions, and genders. In Stoker's writing, to be anything other than a white professional male is to be other. The religious other is a liminal figure that can be either internal or external. While the more visible presence might be the exotic religious other – the Muslim or Hindu or unnamed fanatic that filled the *fin-de-siècle* reader with such unease – the

Willy of *The Watter's Mou*, a Scotsman. Adam Salton of *The Lair of the White Worm* occupies something of a liminal space. He has lived all his life in Australia, but his family remain in England and he speaks with an English accent. Bram Stoker, *The Man* (London: William Heinemann, 1905); *Lady Athlyne* (London: William Heinemann, 1908); *The Shoulder of Shasta* (London: Constable, 1895); *The Watter's Mou* (London: Constable & Robinson, 1895); 'The Lair of the White Worm,' in *The Lair of the White Worm and The Lady of the Shroud*, David Stuart Davies, ed. (1911; Ware: Wordsworth, 2010), 1-145.

³⁰ *Lady Athlyne* does fit the pattern – an Englishman travelling abroad to America, Scotland, and South Africa.

³¹ Bram Stoker, *The Snake's Pass* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1890); *The Mystery of the Sea* (London: William Heinemann, 1902); *The Jewel of Seven Stars* (1903; London: Penguin, 2008). All references refer to the original 1903 version of *The Jewel of Seven Stars* unless stated otherwise.

religious other could also be found at home. In Victorian England, this otherness often took the form of Catholicism.

For Gothic literature in England, Catholicism was the typical scapegoat for many a perversion. From the early Gothic depictions of debased Italian or Spanish Catholics in texts such as Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764) and Lewis's *The Monk* (1796) to *fin-de-siècle* dalliances with ideas of hereditary decay in 'Olalla' (1885), Stevenson's tale of Spanish vampirism, the Catholic faith was seen as a font of degeneracy.³² Patrick O'Malley's study of these perceived connotations posits that the link between Catholicism and deviance, and sexual deviance in particular, had acquired an 'increasingly potent association' by the late nineteenth century.³³ Despite its contemporary popularity, this is a Gothic stereotype that Stoker seems surprisingly averse to utilising. While he draws extensively on the crumbling castles and villainous aristocrats popularised by Walpole, he declines to exploit the equally popular anti-Catholic sentiments in either his Gothic or his adventure stories. *The Mystery of the Sea*, despite being set amidst the Spanish-American War of 1898, makes no derogatory reference to the Catholic faith. The Spaniard Don Bernardino is derided by the American heroine as a 'nasty, cruel, treacherous wretch' (*Mystery* 84) and bombarded with terms of 'racial hatred' (132), but his religion is never a point of conflict. Likewise in *The Snake's Pass*, an Irish novel set in a time of great religious strife, Stoker makes no comment on religious difference. His heroine may be a Protestant, like her creator, but she resides in a Catholic village where she is accepted and loved by all. This stands in direct contrast to contemporary depictions of Ireland, many of which drew extensively on this religious conflict – either to further incite unrest, or to highlight its destructiveness. Edna Lyall's *Doreen, The Story of a Singer* (1894), a romance set amid Fenian unrest in Ireland, features a quintessentially Irish heroine. Unlike Stoker's Norah, who is Irish in name alone, Doreen is the embodiment of the national spirit, indignantly explaining Irish history to her English friends, justifying Fenian intentions, and offering a model of unity for her country in her resistance of religious intolerance. While Norah seems to promote a vague breed of harmony by her existence alone, Doreen directly counters the 'bigots'

³² Matthew Lewis, *The Monk* (1796; London: George Routledge, 1907); Robert Louis Stevenson, 'Olalla,' in *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde and Other Stories*, Roger Luckhurst, ed. (1885; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 101-38.

³³ Patrick O'Malley, *Catholicism, Sexual Deviance, and Victorian Gothic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 2.

who claim that ‘all Catholics lie when they find it convenient, and would torture and burn all Protestants if they had the chance’ with emphatic messages of Christian unity.³⁴

Away from the Catholic and Protestant faiths that divided his homeland, however, Stoker proves himself to be far from averse to tackling questions of religious uncertainty. While his most famous tale lends its heroes Christian strength to defeat the undead Dracula, the characters uttering a staggering one hundred and seventy-seven entreaties for God’s help across the duration of the novel, away from this spotlight his creations are considerably less devout. *The Jewel of Seven Stars* revolves around the potential presence of ancient pre-Christian gods upon whose existence the Great Experiment depends. In *The Mystery of the Sea* Archie, an Englishman and an Anglican, appears to validate pagan beliefs in his tolerance of the soothsayer Gormala and her faith in ‘the Doom and the Voice and Fate’ (*Mystery* 185). Even Esse, the heroine of *The Shoulder of Shasta* (1895), experiences a transcendental vision of ‘natural religion’ in the forests of California – a vision prompted by her forays into ‘eccentric forms of religious thought’ (*Shasta* 30). This interest in non-Christian religions is not in itself unusual. Many *fin-de-siècle* authors of both Gothic and adventure stories exploited the mystery and exoticism of foreign religion – an interest matched by the general population, who eagerly devoured the intriguing new faiths popularised by texts such as Edwin Arnold’s *The Light of Asia*.³⁵ Fictional adventurers would often encounter strange peoples with strange beliefs, whether primitive and innocent like the sun-worshipping Zu-Vendi of Haggard’s *Allan Quatermain*, or violent and hostile like the Amahagger of *She*, who practice human sacrifice. For Gothic writers, the religious other proved a valuable tool for creating terror, producing fantasies of frenzied fanatics and barbaric rituals. In both genres, however, foreign religions tend to be insubstantial, crumbling before the light of Christianity. In Marsh’s *The Goddess: A Demon*, this exposure of falsehood is quite literal. Upon investigation, the ‘Hindoo goddess’ believed to be responsible for a vicious murder is revealed to be little more than a crude toy. When (literally) deconstructed she is exposed as

a light steel frame, shaped to resemble a human body, to which were attached number of strong springs, which were set in motion by clockwork machinery. [...] So soon as the clockwork was set in motion each of these blades leaped from its appointed place, and continued leaping, ceaselessly, to and fro, till the machinery ran down. In the head was an arrangement somehow on the lines of a phonograph; it was from this proceeded the sound resembling a

³⁴ Edna Lyall, *Doreen: The Story of a Singer* (1894; London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1896), 381.

³⁵ Edwin Arnold, *The Light of Asia* (1879; London: Trübner, 1885). For further discussion see chapter two.

woman's gentle laughter, which was not the least eerie part of its horrible performance.³⁶

The 'goddess' may be monstrous, but she is the product of man, not divinity. By extension, the religion that she is said to represent is cast as a manmade construct, a hollow sham that stands in direct contrast to Christian authenticity.

Stoker's dalliance with exotic religions may not be unusual, but his tendency to validate these religions instead of exposing them is. The original ending of *The Jewel of Seven Stars* confirms Ross's suspicions that, at the very least, there is 'room in the Universe for opposing Gods' (*Jewel* 185). For if Tera's power is based on the old gods, and if the success of the Great Experiment prove that her powers are real, then it must simultaneously prove that the gods are real too. The presence of Oolanga, the Voodoo-practicing West African of *The Lair of the White Worm* (1911), also threatens to destabilise Christian supremacy. He might be derided as a witchdoctor and a 'malignant devil' (*Worm* 36), but Oolanga's claims to be able to smell death are proven true. So, why, then, does Stoker allow such profoundly unchristian elements to flourish in his fiction? The answer may lie in the nature of the author's birthland. Skal notes that Christianity features 'far more prominently in Irish fairy tales than in those of continental Europe, often featuring priests, the devil, and the various tests of faith.'³⁷ Assuming that he was familiar with such stories – a seemingly safe assumption, given his childhood years as an invalid and his mother's love of storytelling – Stoker's conception of the fantastical may be based on a realm where religion and folklore can co-exist harmoniously. If in such a place the existence of faeries or giants does not contradict the belief in an omnipotent Christian God, then why should the existence of ancient sorceresses or voodoo priests?

Such considerations answer all contentions but one: in *The Jewel of Seven Stars* non-Christian elements don't just exist – they triumph. Even in texts such as *The Beetle*, where it is admitted that the supernatural foe is indeed a 'creature born neither of God nor man,' the protagonists manage to claw some kind of victory for Christianity by the end.³⁸ They may not be able to say with certainty that the creature is destroyed, but they have halted its advance into England and confirmed the physical destruction of the cult itself in the burning down of its temple. In the original version of *The Jewel of Seven Stars*, however,

³⁶ Richard Marsh, *The Goddess: A Demon* (London: F. V. White, 1900), 289; 293.

³⁷ Skal, *Something in the Blood*, 31.

³⁸ Marsh, *Beetle*, 276.

Stoker declines to give his readers a happy or even ambiguous ending. Instead, the Great Experiment succeeds, unleashing the monstrous Queen Tera upon Edwardian England and killing everyone present but the narrator. To explore the full possibility of such horror, to revel in true uncertainty, Stoker perhaps finds it necessary to cast off the comforting restrictions of Christianity. After all, in a text such as *Dracula*, where the heroes are ‘God’s women’ (*Dracula* 188) and men, there can only be one possible outcome. In taking such a drastic step Stoker distances his text from the traditional Gothic pattern. *The Jewel of Seven Stars* is neither conventional nor comforting in its conclusion: far from confirming its assumed reader’s safety and superiority, it irrevocably challenges it.

The dangers of otherness do not just extend to the external other – namely the racial or religious other – but to the internal other as well. These internal others exist within British society, a part of everyday life, and are ‘other’ only in the sense that they are ‘other’ to the assumed reader: the white, middle-class male. For Stoker, as with many contemporary authors, the aristocracy and the labouring classes are both classified as others. They are set apart from the familiarity of the invariably middle-class protagonists, their dialect transcribed phonetically, like that of the racial or national other, to emphasise narratives of difference. And while both are regarded with suspicion, this suspicion manifests in markedly different ways.

Stoker’s working classes are a single homogenous mass. They exist as a backdrop to his texts and little more, their sole purpose to utter exclamations of incredulity and perform menial tasks when instructed by a superior. Stoker’s working classes can be commandeered to do just about anything in exchange for money: they can be ‘imported’ (*Shasta* 206) to foreign countries as servants (*The Shoulder of Shasta*), married and interbred to form new colonies abroad (*The Lady of the Shroud*), or commanded to ferry vampires from place to place in giant boxes of earth (*Dracula*). This seems to be a common motif in the *fin-de-siècle* Gothic, with Richard Marsh’s middle-class protagonists operating in a remarkably similar world. In *The Beetle* the working classes can be paid to perform a wide range of duties, from fetching tool kits and guarding houses to driving trains at excessive speeds. In the most extreme cases, the working classes provide the author with a sacrificial figure through whom the severity of a situation can be demonstrated. Although unwilling to kill off his middle-class protagonists, Marsh deems Robert Holt expendable as a lower-class man. His death gives the ending some gravitas while not negating the happiness of the novel’s close – a happiness based in the

successful romantic coupling of the text's middle-class characters. In providing this function, the lower-class characters of Gothic texts occupy a similar role to that of the native in adventure stories: they are disposable, allowing the author to convey danger without having to put the novel's middle-class protagonists at risk.

The aristocracy, on the other hand, occupy a very different role – but one that makes them no less 'other.' Stoker often conforms to the Gothic trope of the aristocratic tyrant, a motif popularised by Walpole a century or so before: Tera is a queen, Dracula a count, Arabella a lady. Their stations afford them a degree of protection that enables them to proceed with their wickedness unchallenged, able to terrorise the frightened lower classes around them with no consequence. This reaches its most literal manifestation in *Dracula* when the Count, having journeyed into one of the surrounding villages to prey on its children, need only retreat to his castle and close the gates to be rendered untouchable. Valente sees this connection between wickedness and the aristocracy as a product of Stoker's Irishness, a connection forged in a land where the wealthy were often seen to profit from the misfortunes of the poor.³⁹ Although not unfeasible, this conjecture ignores a long history of the Gothic finding its villains among the upper classes. Even the aristocratic vampire does not have its roots solely in Ireland. Although, as chapter six discusses, Irish folklore has a wealth of powerful monsters within its ranks, the aristocratic vampires of Stoker and Le Fanu are predated by the Englishman Polidori and his Byronesque vampire Lord Ruthven.⁴⁰ Such assessments also ignore the fact that the otherness of Stoker's aristocracy is not exclusively represented by villainy. Lord Godalming in *Dracula*, for instance, is a benevolent force, yet he is still undeniably other. While the tale's middle-class professionals are given voices, their experiences represented directly through their letters and diaries, Lord Godalming – like the Count himself – is silent. His words and actions are only recounted through the records of his companions. Teuta, the Balkan voivodin of *The Lady of the Shroud*, also escapes this negative characterisation, presumably due to her relation to the hero. Despite this negation of any hostility, however, her defining feature remains her otherness, her social standing being just one of many othering factors: she is not just a voivodin but a woman and a foreigner. Interestingly, however, for Stoker acquired status does not seem to come with the same othering properties as inherited status. Sir Colin MacKelpie, a 'poverty-stricken'

³⁹ Valente argues that *Dracula* 'recalls Percy Bysshe Shelley's comment, long before the famine, that "the Aristocracy of Ireland sucks the veins of inhabitants."' Valente, *Dracula's Crypt*, 56. See chapter six.

⁴⁰ John Polidori, 'The Vampyre,' in *The Vampyre and Other Tales of the Macabre*, Robert Morrison and Chris Baldick, eds. (1819; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) 1-24.

(*Shroud* 154) major-general in the British army, is depicted as courageous and matter-of-fact, his title presumably having been earned rather than inherited. Likewise, Rupert remains unchanged in character upon ascending to kingship, and upon the revelation of his secret ancestry. His character having been formed in accordance to the middle-class values Stoker reverts elsewhere, he remains largely unaltered by his unexpected rise in station.

These middle-class values – namely hard work, integrity, and respectability – result in the virtuous and courageous heroes that are Stoker’s stock in trade. His protagonists are often middle-class professionals; doctors, solicitors, and barristers that embody the core principles of Stoker’s own upbringing. As such, they are the embodiments of what Arata has termed the ‘professional reader.’ According to Arata, the professional reader is a man ‘whose training allows him to extract “useful” meaning from a welter of confusing signs,’ a figure entrusted with the power to interpret and explain.⁴¹ Although a recurring figure of authority in *fin-de-siècle* fiction, this authority is often derived purely from the professional reader’s status as a middle-class man. Stoker makes excessive use of this figure. The protagonists of *The Mystery of the Sea*, *The Lady of the Shroud*, *The Snake’s Pass*, *Dracula*, and *The Jewel of Seven Stars* are all ‘professional readers,’ able to command and make judgements based on little more than their own natural authority. It is not just the working classes that obey them but the police force and clergy. Stoker would seem to give a knowing nod to the excess of this stereotype in his depiction of the professional reader in *The Jewel of Seven Stars*. His band of male protagonists all fit Arata’s description to the letter – Malcolm Ross is a barrister, Abel Trelawny is an Egyptologist, and Doctor Winchester is a physician – and they all command an appropriate amount of respect, interpreting mysterious signs and instructing others on how best to combat them. This reaches a rather droll epitome in Trelawny’s attempts to justify Ross’s place at the mummy unravelling alongside his fellow professional readers:

I have unrolled a hundred mummies; and there were as many women as men amongst them. Doctor Winchester in his work has had to deal with women as well of men, till custom has made him think nothing of sex. Even Ross has in his work as a barrister..." He stopped suddenly. (*Jewel* 231)

Here Trelawny would seem to lay bare the crux of the professional reader: that Ross is qualified to attend simply through the masculine professionalism of knowledge that

⁴¹ Arata, *Fictions of Loss*, 3-4.

renders his opinion valuable. His work as a barrister is clearly immaterial to the matter at hand – whether or not it is appropriate for an unmarried man with neither medical nor scientific interests to be present at the unwrapping of a female mummy – yet in its indication of his status as a professional reader it provides sufficient justification for his presence.

The professional reader has an equally palpable presence in rival works of *fin-de-siècle* Gothic fiction. The middle-class protagonists of both *The Goddess: A Demon* and *The Beetle* – an irreproachably respectable assembly of doctors, scientists, and politicians – are imbued with the power not just to extract “‘useful’ meanings from [...] confusing signs’ but to do so at the expense of professional investigation. Like Conan Doyle’s amateur detective they are afforded all the rights befitting their professional status, a status that apparently allows them to instruct the detainment and even the shooting of suspects on nothing more than their own word. Atherton and Lessingham, the heroic duo of *The Beetle*, are able to command the staff at a railway station to detain any man fitting the vague description of Marjorie’s kidnapper even though he is ‘not wanted by the police as yet.’ This takes on something of a darker edge when they are also given the authority to instruct a cabdriver to ‘put a bullet through’ the man in question – a prospect he readily agrees to, reassured by the authority exuded by the professional reader.⁴²

For many authors of Gothic and adventure stories, however, the most threatening other is that which is faced most often: the woman. The threat of this otherness manifests in numerous different ways: in the vulnerability of women such as Le Fanu’s Laura; in the dominance of characters like Haggard’s Ayesha; or in the sexual voracity of figures such as *Dracula*’s weird sisters. One advantage that this other has over its rivals is its pervasiveness. While a literary hero can drive out the racial or religious other, and retreat from the working-class or aristocratic other, he cannot rid himself entirely of the female other.

Although only a temporary respite, boys’ adventure stories such as *Treasure Island* and *The Coral Island* offer an escape from the omnipresence of the female other.⁴³ Here, boys can conduct themselves as they wish, unhindered by feminine interference. In the adult reimaginings of such tales these far-flung lands hold a similar promise. As

⁴² Marsh, *Beetle*, 244; 223.

⁴³ In *Essays in the Art of Writing* Stevenson describes *Treasure Island* as ‘a story for boys [...] women were excluded.’ Robert Louis Stevenson, ‘My First Book: “Treasure Island,”’ *Essays in the Art of Writing* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1919), 111-34, at 118.

Brantlinger notes, they offer the English hero ‘brilliantly charismatic realms of adventure [...] free from the complexities of relations with white women’ – even if they were bound to return to the tedium of domesticity later in life.⁴⁴ In the traditional adventure story, this meant that female characters could be forsaken altogether, the masculine bonds of adventure able to flourish unimpeded by the hindrance of heterosexual relations. Where a romantic element was required, a dalliance with a foreign woman became the perfect compromise: uncomplicated, free from the restrictions of English law and social expectation, and underpinned by the reassuring implication that the hero could always return to England unattached once the romance had run its course.⁴⁵ The Amahagger Ustane, in Haggard’s *She*, is one such example. She is beautiful, sexually expressive, and eminently disposable; had she not met her unfortunate end at Ayesha’s hand, she would undoubtedly have been left behind when the heroes returned home.

This practice is best exemplified – and critiqued – by Robert Louis Stevenson’s Polynesian adventure ‘The Beach of Falesá’ (1892). Here the narrator, a British trader, selects a native ‘wife’ from a line-up of women, assessing their physical attributes in the manner of one purchasing livestock. The ‘marriage’ – a term that the narrator fervently objects to – is negotiated and carried out almost immediately, the contract handed to the illiterate island woman revealing her groom’s true purpose: ‘This is to certify that Uma, daughter of Fa’avao of Falesá, Island of -, is illegally married to Mr. John Wiltshire for one week, and Mr. John Wiltshire is at liberty to send her to hell when he pleases.’ Although feeling a nagging sense of unease and wrong-doing, especially upon seeing how his ‘wife’ cherishes the contract as a sign of her respectability, the narrator reasons that the fault does not lie with himself. Instead, he assigns the blame to the missionaries who introduced the islanders to the concept of marriage in the first place: ‘if they had let the natives be, I had never needed this deception, but taken all the wives I wished and left them when I pleased, with a clear conscience.’⁴⁶ Here the sexual exploitation of native women is seen as one of the many rights of the imperialist abroad. In fact, it is argued that it is only exploitation at all when European understandings of sexuality are applied to it, native peoples untouched by European models of Christianity being perceived to hold more relaxed attitudes towards sexuality. It is only with a partner who does not share

⁴⁴ Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness*, 11.

⁴⁵ See Ronald Hyam, ‘Empire and Sexual Opportunity,’ *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 14 (1986), 34-90.

⁴⁶ Robert Louis Stevenson, ‘The Beach of Falesá: Being the Narrative of a South Sea Trader,’ *Island Nights’ Entertainments* (1892; London: William Heinemann, 1924), 1-76, at 10.

the strict social understandings of Victorian England – that marriage is a prerequisite for sexual relations among respectable women – that a romance truly free from the ‘complexities of relations with white women’ can truly be experienced.

For the English adventurer the female other is not just a nuisance – she is often a direct threat. To the adventurers of ‘The Man Who Would Be King’ there are two things that are deemed such a danger to their success as men and as kings that a contract must be drawn up banning their indulgence: women and liquor. Kipling archly deems the two to have a similarly dangerous effect, clouding one’s judgement and threatening one’s integrity. In fact, the former is deemed even more dangerous than the latter, with Carnehan eventually conceding that they can ‘run in some good liquor; but no women.’⁴⁷ Allan Quatermain has a similar complaint in Haggard’s eponymous novel of 1888. Having travelled through the wilds of Africa, discovered a lost white tribe, and risen swiftly through the ranks to great power (as Englishmen invariably do in such tales), the thing that finally splits their brotherhood is not arrows or savages but a beautiful woman.⁴⁸ Sir Henry’s infatuation with Nyleptha, the queen of the Zu-Vendi, changes the masculine dynamic irrevocably. As Quatermain laments:

Sir Henry Curtis is the best and kindest fellow and friend in the world, but he has never been quite the same [...] It is always Nyleptha this and Nyleptha that—Nyleptha, in short, from morning till night in one way or another, either expressed or understood. And as for the old friends—well, of course they have taken [...] second place.

Unlike the dark-skinned women that Quatermain and co have encountered on their previous travels, Nyleptha is decidedly white. As such, a monogamous and legal commitment is required between the two, a union most unlike the freedom of romance with native women experienced elsewhere. This appears to be something of a disappointment to Quatermain, who initially hopes to find a distinctly less European culture among the mysterious white tribe. Upon their first encounter with the natives Quatermain refers to a tribal girl’s male companion as her ‘lawful owner’ despite the fact that their inability to communicate leaves them utterly ignorant of the Zu-Vendi customs. In making such assumptions, Quatermain highlights the benefits an Englishman might seek in non-European society – a return to the simplicity of an overtly patriarchal society free from modern complications. His journey to Africa has in so many ways been a step

⁴⁷ Rudyard Kipling, ‘The Man Who Would Be King,’ in *The Man Who Would Be King and Other Stories*, Louis L. Cornell, ed. (1888; Oxford: Oxford University press, 2008), 244-79, at 271.

⁴⁸ As Peterkin remarks in *The Coral Island*, ‘we’ll rise, naturally, to the top of affairs: white men always do in savage countries.’ R. M. Ballantyne, *The Coral Island*, (London: J. M. Dent, 1858), 15.

back in time – they wear chainmail armour and are reduced upon occasion to fighting with spears instead of guns – that he expects a corresponding atavistic retreat from social advances. That this belief turns out to be unfounded – the Zu-Vendi are ruled over by two queens in a surprisingly liberal society that allows divorce and polygamy (although the latter only for men) – perhaps contributes to Quatermain’s resentment of Nyleptha. Even in the heart of atavistic Africa women refuse to conform to his expectations, proving to be a divisive rather than a unifying force. Their very presence in such a tale threatens to destabilise the masculine bonds of power, challenging Quatermain’s assessments of the superiority of platonic male friendships – the ‘true friendship which can even surpass the love of woman.’⁴⁹

Stoker places a similar importance upon the sanctity of masculine bonds. *Dracula’s* Crew of Light is the archetypal example: a group of hardy and hyper-masculine adventurers whose friendship has been forged in exotic lands and dangerous situations – in the toasts ‘on the shore of Titicaca,’ the tales told ‘by the camp-fire in the prairies’ and the injuries incurred ‘landing at the Marquesas’ (*Dracula* 61). This romanticising of the male friendship has led many critics to the conclusion that Stoker was harbouring secret homosexual inclinations – an assessment that, like many judgements drawing on the scant available details of the author’s private life, seems something of an over-reaching.⁵⁰ Stoker lived in an age that revered the so-called ‘romantic friendship,’ an intimate but non-sexual bond between men (or between women). As Skal notes in his biography, for most of Stoker’s lifetime homosexuality was neither discussed nor recognised as a fixed condition, and it is thus ‘doubtful Stoker would have even understood such labels.’⁵¹ Rather than providing some kind of sexual stimulus, then, for Stoker masculine friendship would appear to have encapsulated the purest kind of love: a homosocial affection based on the pull not of the body but of the mind.

This revering of same-sex camaraderie, no doubt fostered by his years as an avid sportsman at Trinity, is further evidenced by the intense but apparently platonic infatuations that Stoker had with various famous men throughout his lifetime. Whether conducted through postal correspondence or personal meetings, Stoker’s friendships all

⁴⁹ Haggard, *Allan Quatermain*, 230; 138; 276. See Linda Dryden, ‘The Possibilities of Romance,’ in *Joseph Conrad and the Imperial Romance* (London: Macmillan, 2000), 35-50.

⁵⁰ Schaffer and Howes both read Stoker as having secret homosexual inclinations. Talia Schaffer, “‘A Wilde Desire Took Me’”; The Homoerotic History of *Dracula*,’ *ELH*, 61/2 (1994), 381-420; Marjorie Howes, ‘The Mediation of the Feminine: Bisexuality, Homoerotic Desire, and Self-Expression in Bram Stoker’s *Dracula*,’ *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 30/1 (1988), 104-19.

⁵¹ Skal, *Something in the Blood*, xv.

had the same hallmarks of adoration and hero worship: Hall Caine (to whom he dedicated *Dracula*), Mark Twain, James McHenry (an Anglo-American businessman and benefactor of the Lyceum) and of course Henry Irving, the actor to whom Stoker would devote most of his adult life. His first infatuation was perhaps the most revealing, however. Aged twenty-eight Stoker struck up a correspondence with the American poet Walt Whitman, a controversial figure in Britain thanks to his unorthodox discussions of ‘fervid comradeship,’ ‘adhesive love,’ and ‘robust love.’⁵² This was not his first attempt to contact his idol. Four years previously Stoker had penned an adoring letter to the fifty-three-year-old poet, declaring that he wished to call him ‘comrade’ and talk to him ‘as men who are not poets do not often talk’ – a letter that he never sent.⁵³ The admittedly passionate contents of this letter has led critics such as Schaffer to assert it as proof of Stoker’s closeted homosexuality, using lines such as ‘I think that at first a man would be ashamed [to talk so...] but I know I would not long be ashamed to be natural before you’ to classify Stoker’s epistle as a ‘love letter.’⁵⁴ And it is a love letter, in a sense – a love letter to poetry and to emotion and to youthful adoration. What it is not, however, is a declaration of sexual intent. Stoker’s choice of words, although often flowery and verbose, indicate a longing to connect with someone on a deeper, ‘natural’ level; to share the ‘high generous thoughts’ that he recognised in himself, but not in those around him.⁵⁵ In his admiration for Whitman, Stoker pens a letter that is itself poetic and non-literal: having declared his desire to speak like poets, he proceeds to do so.⁵⁶ As such, his declarations of his joy at finding ‘a man who can be if he wishes father, brother and wife to his soul’ is not intended to be taken in the literal fashion that some critics have received it.⁵⁷ Rather than an indication of his desire to recreate the roles of marriage with another man, this description of the soul as ‘wife’ is intended to capture an all-encompassing intimacy that surpasses the confines of human roles.

⁵² See Juan A. Hererro Brasas, *Walt Whitman’s Mystical Ethics of Comradeship: Homosexuality and the Marginality of Friendship at the Crossroads of Modernity* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010). Although modern critics regard Whitman as a closeted homosexual hiding behind claims of heterosexual promiscuity, at the time concepts of sexual identity were nowhere near as developed. In fact, the word ‘homosexual’ was not used in Britain until the year 1892.

⁵³ Bram Stoker to Walt Whitman, 18 February 1872 (Dublin), cited in Skal, *Something in the Blood*, 94.

⁵⁴ Schaffer, ‘Wilde Desire,’ 383. Bram Stoker to Walt Whitman, 18 February 1872 (Dublin).

⁵⁵ Bram Stoker to Walt Whitman, 18 February 1872 (Dublin), cited in Skal, *Something in the Blood*, 97.

⁵⁶ Stoker perhaps fancied himself an amateur poet, going on to publish three works of poetry in his lifetime: ‘One Thing Needful’ (1885), ‘The Member of the Strand’ (1890), and ‘The Wrongs of Grosvenor Square’ (1892). Bram Stoker, ‘One Thing Needful,’ *The Youth’s Companion*, (10 December 1885), 522; ‘The Wrongs of Grosvenor Square,’ in *The Forgotten Writings of Bram Stoker*, John Edgar Browning, ed. (1892; New York: Macmillan, 2012), 19-24.

⁵⁷ Bram Stoker to Walt Whitman, 18 February 1872 (Dublin), cited in Skal, *Something in the Blood*, 98.

In his efforts to achieve this intimacy Stoker writes not only of his athletic and academic achievements and the details of his temperament, but an intimate physical description of himself that is simultaneously erotic and child-like:

I am six feet two inches high and twelve stone weight naked and used to be forty-one or forty-two inches round the chest. I am ugly but strong and determined and have a large bump over my eye-brows. I have a heavy jaw and a big mouth and thick lips – sensitive nostrils – a snub nose and straight hair.

This physical description does not just satisfy Whitman's curiosity as a 'keen physiognomist' or, as some critics would have it, provide erotic stimulation, but allows Stoker to share yet another aspect of his self with his idol. Stoker's letter is not that of a man to his equal, but of a child to his hero. In it, he wishes to impress upon him every good quality that he deems himself to possess – a desire indicated by the naïve declaration that closes his description: 'now I have told you all I know about myself.'⁵⁸

For Stoker, also a keen physiognomist, the physical description of a person could tell you a great deal about their character.⁵⁹ This is a belief that he carries through into his fictional works, where snub noses show 'generous nature[s],' broad foreheads show 'thought and reason' (*Jewel* 29), and tapered nostrils reveal a person to be 'sensitive' (*Dracula* 182). His heroes are the epitome of the masculine ideal, both physically and mentally exceptional. His admiring descriptions of 'fine specimens [...] clean-built from top to toe' (*Mystery* 371) are thus not an indication of latent homosexual desires but rather an attempt to portray a character who is superior in every way. In this, Stoker is far from abnormal. In attempting to capture a vision of an all-encompassing hero without romantic attachments through which to reflect his desirability, physical descriptions have a tendency to border upon the homoerotic. Ballantyne's heroes are described with tedious frequency as the 'handsome young Dutchman' and the 'handsome young Englishmen,' Stevenson describes his youth as 'young and handsome,' and Haggard lingers over his descriptions of Sir Henry as a 'splendid-looking man [...] a magnificent specimen of the higher type of humanity.'⁶⁰

Whereas Stevenson and Ballantyne indulge in realms of exclusive masculinity, expunging women from their adventures altogether, Stoker seems unwilling to create a

⁵⁸ Bram Stoker to Walt Whitman, 18 February 1872 (Dublin), cited in Skal, *Something in the Blood*, 95-96.

⁵⁹ See David Glover, 'Bram Stoker and the Crisis of the Liberal Subject,' *New Literary History*, 23/4 (1992), 983-1002.

⁶⁰ R. M. Ballantyne, *The Settler and the Savage: A Tale of Peace and War in South Africa* (London: James Nisbet, 1877), 58, 66, 230; Robert Louis Stevenson, *Treasure Island*, (1883; London: Penguin, 1999), 152; Haggard, *Allan Quatermain*, 15.

hero completely free of heterosexual ties. His strong Victorian belief in the position of the Caucasian race at the top of the racial hierarchy also prevents him from adopting the popular alternative and engaging his hero in a dalliance with a native, however.⁶¹ Despite the many exotic places in which his tales are set, Stoker remains unable to envision a romance between an Englishman and a native woman. In fact, his opinion of such interracial relations is made clear in *The Lair of the White Worm*, where he judges the proposed union of the white woman and the black man to be an abomination: ‘grotesque’ (*Worm* 65), laughable and ‘simply horrible’ (50). Stoker settles this quandary by opting for racially ambiguous women, focusing primarily on their anglicisation. As chapter two discusses in detail, this results in a kind of ‘white-washing’ of his heroines: descriptions of the half-Burmese Mimi focus on her ‘pale’ (*Worm* 111) face instead of her Asian features; the darkness of the Balkan queen Teuta’s hair and eyes is softened by her ‘marble’ (*Shroud* 228) skin, and Norah’s Spanish blood is ‘temper[ed] by Northern calm’ (*Snake* 100). This desire to anglicise his heroes’ romantic interests, mould them into acceptable English wives, removes the possibility of the fleeting romantic attachments that the heroes of other adventure stories enjoy. In fact, recreating traditional English structures of courtship across the sea results in the exact opposite of most adventure story romances: a regulated and life-long commitment. For Stoker, there is no such thing as an adventure ‘free from the complexities of relations with white women’ – even when the women in question are not strictly ‘white’.

This conscious imposition of heterosexual structures is an essential component of Stoker’s fictional works. If we are to take the revised version of *The Jewel of Seven Stars*, all but two of Stoker’s male-led novels ends in marriage for the hero.⁶² Despite his desire for the uninterrupted masculine bonds of adventure celebrated elsewhere, for Stoker female characters are a necessity – for it is in the rescuing and protecting of women that Stoker’s men become heroes. As such, none of his fictional creations would be complete without a romantic attachment. In Stoker’s world, the masculinity of the man is proven by the femininity of the woman he attracts. These views are outlined fully in *Lady Athlyne* (1908), where he asserts that:

⁶¹ This is not to say that authors who do allow such unions between British heroes and native women see the two parties as equal – in fact, it is often the opposite – simply that Stoker’s chivalric model renders such an exploitation impossible.

⁶² The two exceptions to this are *The Primrose Path*, which ends in the protagonist murdering his wife, and *The Watter’s Mou*, which ends in a macabre kind of union nonetheless, Sailor Willy’s corpse being washed ashore with his fiancée’s body wrapped in its arms.

each individual must have a preponderance, be it ever so little, of the cells of its own sex; and the attraction of each individual to the other sex depends upon its place in the scale between the highest and lowest grade of sex. The most masculine man draws the most feminine woman, and so down the scale till close to the border line is the greatest mass of persons who, having only development of a few of the qualities of the sex, are easily satisfied to mate with anyone. (*Athlyne* 82)⁶³

While Stoker's conception of gender identity and sexual orientation was advanced for his time, his obsession with dividing the world into 'good women and brave men' was, as Belford notes, archaic even then.⁶⁴ Despite the preponderance of 'good women' in Stoker's fiction, however – women like Mina who are pure, and maternal, and courageous – it is his 'bad women' who are infinitely more exciting. Many of his novels are underpinned by a simultaneous repulsion and attraction to such figures – shadowy, complex figures that form a sharp contrast to his rather identikit 'good women.' However much he may have claimed to the contrary, it would appear that Stoker secretly agreed with Stephen's assertion in *The Man* (1905): that 'it is bad women who seem to know men best' (*Man* 92).⁶⁵

Stoker may have wanted to divide his world into 'good women and brave men,' but he repeatedly finds that traditional feminine virtues – obedience, delicacy, and refinement – are decidedly out of place in adventures and shipwrecks and plots against the English crown. He solves this problem by creating a new breed of women, women who – as Van Helsing remarks of Mina – have a 'man's brain [...] and a woman's heart' (*Dracula* 234). These characters are often regarded by critics as examples of the New Woman, an invention that was thrilling and shocking Victorian society in equal measure.⁶⁶ The New Woman was an emblem of changing times: she expressed her opinions and demanded greater sexual freedom, smoked, drank, and rode bicycles. To some she was a beacon of social progress, but to others she was the harbinger of societal collapse, signalling the erosion of conventional gender roles and the nuclear family.⁶⁷ Stoker's heroines display many of the characteristics of the New Woman: they are middle

⁶³ This articulation of sexual difference is a reinterpretation of Otto Weininger's *Sex and Character* (1904: New York: Putnam's, 1908). See Glover, *Vampires, Mummies and Liberals*, 100-35. It must be noted that the 'inversion' of the title is of a general more abstract sense, not the specific sexual inversion of Weininger's theory.

⁶⁴ Belford, *Dracula*, xii.

⁶⁵ For a detailed account of gender in *The Man* see Glover, *Vampires, Mummies, and Liberals*, 100-35.

⁶⁶ See Stephanie Demetrakopoulos, 'Feminism, Sex Role Exchanges, and Other Subliminal Fantasies in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*,' *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 2/3 (1977), 104-13.

⁶⁷ See Sally Ledger, *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the Fin de Siècle* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997); Angélique Richardson, ed., *The New Woman in Fiction and Fact: Fin-de-Siècle Feminisms* (London: Macmillan, 2000).

class, educated, and opinionated. Unlike the New Woman, however, they are irreproachably selfless, their decisions guided by what is best for their lovers and families, not for themselves. Mina might have a man's intelligence and a career, but she retains her womanly instincts, acting as a mother figure to the group. Likewise Teuta, although enduring her abduction by a band of marauding Turks and even flying alongside Rupert in his aeroplane, draws the line at any suggestion that she supersede her husband as heir to her father's throne, denouncing those 'self-seeking women of other nations' who 'seek to forget their womanhood in the struggle to vie in equality with men' (*Shroud* 392). Although certainly more tolerant than many of his contemporaries, Stoker is nonetheless unable to embrace all of the New Woman's associated qualities. His women may be permitted to ride bicycles, face danger courageously, and even express their romantic interest in a man, but a woman who demands sexual or political freedom or forgoes the demands of family life to act in her own interests – essential components of New Womanhood – still horrifies him.

The answer as to where Stoker falls on the question of the New Woman, then – a question debated fiercely over the years – is simple: he is neither fully in favour of, nor opposed to her.⁶⁸ The modified version of the New Woman that appears in Stoker's fiction fulfils a function, rather than indicating an authorial opinion. The woman who rides bicycles and wears men's clothing is the perfect companion for an adventurer – in fact, she is the nearest thing to a man that a hero can hope for in a novel that insists on maintaining its heterosexual framework. In fact, in several of his tales Stoker finds a way to avoid depicting the New Woman at all. For Stoker, the American woman is the ideal substitute: like the New Woman she is opinionated and daring, but unlike the New Woman she is not breaking any societal rules, it being noted in *The Mystery of the Sea* that 'natural pluck and dominance [...are] an American woman's birthright' (*Mystery* 78). As discussed in chapter five, this has a tendency to result in rather two-dimensional creations. Stoker's American heroines are all strikingly similar, all identical in their differences – even more so when compared to the complex creations of Henry James or Anthony Trollope. In contrast to the multifaceted characters of Milly Theale or Isabel

⁶⁸ Demetrakopoulos sees Stoker as an early feminist who supported the idea of the New Woman, while Roth and Wasserman both see him as being hostile towards the concept. Senf, on the other hand, argues that Stoker's writing is underpinned not by 'hatred' for the New Woman but 'ambivalence' towards her. Demetrakopoulos, 'Sex Role Exchanges'; Phyllis Roth, 'Suddenly Sexual Women in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*,' *Literature and Psychology*, 27 (1977), 113-21; Judith Wasserman, 'Women and Vampires: *Dracula* as a Victorian Novel,' *Midwest Quarterly*, 18 (1977), 392-405; Carol A. Senf, '*Dracula*: Stoker's Response to the New Woman,' *Victorian Studies*, 26/1 (1982), 33-49, at 38.

Boncassen, Stoker's American heiresses (*The Mystery of the Sea's* Marjory, *Lady Athlyne's* Joy, and Riddy from 'When The Sky Rains Gold') all serve the same superficial purpose: to capture the hero's attention with their opinionated nature, participate in adventure, and then fade into the background as a subservient and unopinionated wife.⁶⁹

In such creations Stoker condenses into a single character the plots of the 'anti-New Woman' novels of the late nineteenth century. These tales, exemplified by the works of Eliza Lynn Linton *et al*, usually depicted a hero engaging in an intellectual adventure with the New Woman figure only to discard her at the novel's close in favour of a more traditional, feminine wife.⁷⁰ This is a formula that we can see replicated in *The Mystery of the Sea*, as Archie discards Marjory the adventurer for Marjory the paragon of subservient domesticity. Such characterisations would seem to indicate that Stoker uses the New Woman figure for narrative rather than ideological purposes, discarding her once her presence is no longer expedient to the plot. The New Woman allows a level of agency that is convenient in narrative terms without fully letting loose the dangerous spectre of female autonomy. Figures like Marjory and Joy and Riddy can thus participate fully in masculine realms of adventure while remaining eminently controllable, their independence being of a temporary and unthreatening variety.

This simultaneous fear of and attraction to the assertive woman also manifests in Stoker's antagonists. He has an unusually distinct preference for female villains in his supernatural stories: Tera, the ancient Egyptian sorceress in *The Jewel of Seven Stars*; Lady Arabella, the human form of an evil snake in *The Lair of the White Worm*; the weird sisters in *Dracula*. In fact, while his adventure and romance tales all feature villainous males, *Dracula* is Stoker's only supernatural novel to present a masculine threat. Stoker's men, it seems, can only be 'unmanned' by a woman who is aided by preternatural forces. Although to be defeated by a mortal woman would negate their statuses as heroes, the presence of a superior power excuses their submission to the supposedly weaker sex – and their release of an unconventional desire to be unmanned. Stoker's supernatural women are unusual for their physicality, a conventionally masculine trait. While the Gothic feminine has a marked tendency for passivity elsewhere – the spectral figures of 'The Old Nurse's Story' (1852) or the vampires who prey only on the sleeping in

⁶⁹ Henry James, *The Wings of the Dove* (1902; Ware: Wordsworth, 2009); Anthony Trollope, *The Duke's Children* (1879; London: Penguin, 1995).

⁷⁰ This formula is reversed in Menie Murial Dowie's *Gallia*, in which the heroine rejects the intellectual that she loves in favour of a figure of dull virility to father her children. Menie Muriel Dowie, *Gallia* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1895).

‘Carmilla’ – Stoker’s women are all perilously active.⁷¹ His female vampires hunt far more aggressively than even Dracula himself, pursuing healthy adult males instead of weakening and returning to victims as the Count does. Lady Arabella tears snakes in two with her bare hands, demonstrating a ‘strength [...] must have been terrific’ (*Worm* 86), and hurls Oolanga to his death at the bottom of a well when he angers her. Queen Tera is perhaps the most unusual of Stoker’s Gothic creations, however. As chapter four delineates, *fin-de-siècle* works of the Egyptian Gothic were particularly inclined to envision the feminine as a passive force. While the masculine was represented through ambulant figures of raw physicality, figures with the ‘blazing eyes and stringy arms’ of ‘Lot No. 249’ or the ‘darkened teeth [...] and] dark, bony hand[s]’ of ‘The Story of Baelbrow’ (1898) who chased down and assaulted their victims, the feminine occupied a significantly different role.⁷² Feminine malevolence was of the passive type: the poisonous seeds left by the mummified sorceress of ‘Lost in a Pyramid’ (1869), or the mysterious illness spread in ‘The Necklace of Dreams’ (1910).⁷³ In this genre, Tera is an anomaly. She kills not with poison or disease but with the physicality of the traditionally masculine figure, strangling her victims with her severed, seven-fingered hand.

This obsession with the physicality of the transgressive female can be linked back to Stoker’s interest in his self-created dichotomy between ‘good women’ and ‘bad women.’ The latter reach their epitome in his female villains, all of whom pose a specifically sexual threat to the males in her midst – either overtly, or covertly. Lady Arabella is dangerous not just because she is a primordial monster but because she has taken on the appearance of an aristocratic, unmarried woman in control of her own future. She pursues the eligible Edgar Caswell with a ‘cold-blooded [determination...] to become chatelaine of Casta Regis,’ adopting the masculine role of suitor when Caswell himself proves not to be an ‘ardent wooer’ (*Worm* 63). This union is itself intended to replace Lady Arabella’s previous unhappy marriage to Captain March – a marriage that was intended to regulate and ‘put [...] right’ (*Worm* 44) her behaviour and was evidently rejected, rumour placing the pistol that killed Captain March in his wife’s hand. Queen

⁷¹ Elizabeth Gaskell, ‘The Old Nurse’s Story,’ in *The Penguin Book of Ghost Stories: From Elizabeth Gaskell to Ambrose Bierce*, Michael Newton, ed. (1852; London: Penguin, 2010), 3-24.

⁷² Arthur Conan Doyle, ‘Lot No. 249,’ in *The Best Supernatural Tales of Arthur Conan Doyle* (1892; New York: Courier Dover, 2013), 74-111, at 103; E. and H. Heron, ‘The Story of Baelbrow,’ in *A Bottomless Grave: And Other Victorian Tales of Terror*, Hugh Lamb, ed. (1898; New York: Courier Dover, 2001), 212-25, at 212.

⁷³ Louisa May Alcott, ‘Lost in a Pyramid: Or, the Mummy’s Curse,’ reprinted in *KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt*, 9/2 (1869; 1998), 70-75; W. G. Peasgood, ‘The Necklace of Dreams,’ *Pall Mall Magazine*, 45 (April 1910), 645-54.

Tera, too, threatens the masculine balance of power. Despite the priests' rejection of her rule due to her 'youth and sex' (*Jewel* 128), she not only retains her throne but claims 'all the privileges of kingship and masculinity' (129), an act that challenges the established status quo. The threat of the sexually aggressive female is most obvious, however, in *Dracula*.

Dracula's vampiric proteges are masculinised both in their initiation of the sexual encounter with Harker and in their ability to penetrate, teeth here standing as a phallic substitute. This inversion of gender roles has been well-discussed, with Christopher Craft's polemic study "'Kiss Me With Those Red Lips": Gender and Inversion in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*' delineating the many anxieties surrounding gender and sexuality inherent in such depictions.⁷⁴ It will suffice here to examine not the role of the vampiresses themselves, but Harker's response to them, a simultaneous 'longing [...] and deadly fear' (*Dracula* 37) for the sexually aggressive female that mirrors Stoker's own apparent hunger for the 'bad women who [...] know men best' (*Man* 92). Imprisoned in Castle Dracula, Harker recounts how he

lay quiet, looking out under my eyelashes in an agony of delightful anticipation. [...] I was afraid to raise my eyelids, but looked out and saw perfectly under the lashes. The girl went on her knees, and bent over me, simply gloating. There was a deliberate voluptuousness which was both thrilling and repulsive, and as she arched her neck she actually licked her lips like an animal, till I could see in the moonlight the moisture shining on the scarlet lips and on the red tongue as it lapped the white sharp teeth. Lower and lower went her head as the lips went below the range of my mouth and chin and seemed about to fasten on my throat. [...] I could feel the soft, shivering touch of the lips on the super-sensitive skin of my throat, and the hard dents of two sharp teeth, just touching and pausing there. I closed my eyes in a languorous ecstasy and waited—waited with beating heart. (*Dracula* 38)

Curiously for a text that is now read as having such obvious sexual implications, there was no controversy surrounding *Dracula*'s publication. It was regarded as a simple horror story, nothing more. That is not to say that the novel's explicit undertones were not recognised in certain circles, simply that they were not publicly remarked upon – after all, as Belford notes, 'who would admit to understanding its hidden messages?'⁷⁵ The supernatural, then, excused the depiction of the sexually aggressive female, hiding it under layers of potential interpretations: the 'soft, shivering touch of the lips' can be just biting, the 'languorous ecstasy' just trance-induced fear.

⁷⁴ Christopher Craft, "'Kiss Me With Those Red Lips": Gender and Inversion in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*,' *Representations*, 8 (1984), 107-33.

⁷⁵ Belford, *Dracula*, 274.

Stoker is far from alone in his depiction of the sexual threat that the Gothic female poses to the male, but he is certainly more graphic than most. Richard Marsh, whose macabre oriental fantasy *The Beetle* outsold *Dracula* upon its release in 1897, deals in a similar kind of titillation. His depiction of the renowned statesman Paul Lessingham powerless in the hands of a mysterious Egyptian girl is remarkably similar to Stoker's own imagining of Harker and the weird sisters. Drugged and disoriented, Lessingham finds himself 'lying, undressed' in an unfamiliar room, paralysed by the same intoxicating combination of desire and disgust that filled Harker.

Leaning over, she wooed my mouth with kisses. I cannot describe to you the sense of horror and of loathing with which the contact of her lips oppressed me. There was about her something so unnatural, so inhuman [...] I am altogether incapable of even hinting to you the nauseous nature of that woman's kisses. They filled me with an indescribable repulsion. I look back at them with a feeling of physical, mental, and moral horror, across an interval of twenty years. The most dreadful part of it was that I was wholly incapable of offering even the faintest resistance to her caresses. I lay there like a log. She did with me as she would, and in dumb agony I endured.

Although lacking some of the more explicit insinuations of Stoker's scene, Marsh's depiction is nonetheless unavoidably sexual in its implication. The threat that the girl poses to Lessingham is not just to his safety but to his 'manhood,' her virility reducing him from one of Britain's most powerful politicians to a 'fibreless, emasculated creature.'⁷⁶ This perceived emasculation originates in the forced gender inversion of their sexual encounter: the girl takes the active masculine role, relegating Lessingham to the traditional passivity of the feminine. In effect, he has adopted the role infamously prescribed to married women by Victorian etiquette books: 'to suffer and be still.'⁷⁷

Marsh and Stoker's descriptions of the active female and the passive male differ in several key ways, however. Although critics often describe Harker's state as 'immobilised' Stoker in fact makes no explicit reference to any kind of hypnotic power holding his protagonist in place.⁷⁸ While Lessingham notes that he was 'incapable of offering even the slightest resistance' to his assailant's advances, Harker describes only 'languorous ecstasy' and a fear of 'rais[ing his] eyelids' – perhaps lest he scare the girl away. If the former is a fantasy of not being able to resist the sexually aggressive female, the latter is a fantasy of not wanting to. Accordingly, while Lessingham feels horror at

⁷⁶ Marsh, *Beetle*, 196; 197; 200.

⁷⁷ Sarah Stickney Ellis, *The Daughters of England, Their Position in Society, Character, and Responsibilities* (London: Fisher, 1845), 126.

⁷⁸ Craft, 'Kiss Me,' 108.

his relegation to the passive female role, an all-encompassing ‘physical, mental, and moral horror’ that remains with him even some twenty years later, Harker finds a perverse pleasure in his inertia. That it is at this precise moment of transgressive sexual pleasure that he thinks of Mina, his fiancée and one of Stoker’s incorruptibly ‘good women,’ underlines the contrast between the two ‘types’: the good and the bad, the pure and the perverse. Mina may inspire chivalry and affection in Harker, but it is the weird sisters that fill him with desire. In fact, the blonde vampiress is the embodiment of *The Man*’s description of a ‘bad woman’: her superior knowledge of men allows her to ‘turn and twist and mould them as [she] chose[s]’ (*Man* 92). This is an ability that is simultaneously resented and hungered for in Stoker’s work. Just as Ross experiences a ‘rush of shame’ at gazing upon the ‘unclad beauty’ (*Jewel* 235) of the Egyptian woman, Harker is acutely aware that the desire he feels for the vampiress’ ‘deliberate voluptuousness’ (*Dracula* 38) is improper. He vocalises this through concern over what Mina – a ‘good woman’ and representation of social conformity – would think of his illicit desires. The destruction of the transgressive female is thus an attempt to return to such societal expectations, removing temptation by destroying the ‘bad women’ who wield it.

Whereas, in *Lucy*, Stoker is willing to entertain the idea of the sexually voracious Englishwoman – albeit an Englishwoman who has been corrupted by external forces – Marsh can only conceive of these traits as belonging to foreign women. The incorruptibility of the Englishwoman, her purity in contrast to the sexual aggression of the Orient, is depicted through the ritual sacrifice committed by members of the Eastern cult the Children of Isis. Like Stoker’s voyeuristic descriptions of Lucy’s staking, or the unwrapping of the naked Queen Tera – discussed in full in chapter four – Marsh’s depictions of the mutilation of naked white women are gratuitously graphic. Lessingham confesses that:

I saw, on more than one occasion, a human sacrifice offered on that stone altar, presumably to the grim image which looked down on it. And, unless I err, in each case the sacrificial object was a woman, stripped to the skin, as white as you or I,—and before they burned her they subjected her to every variety of outrage of which even the minds of demons could conceive.⁷⁹

Unlike in Stoker, however, these acts of violence are not intended to correct the transgressive behaviour of the women in question. They are not the approved punishments of immoral women by righteous men, but the unsanctioned violations of ‘good’ women by savages. The female victims are presumably all chosen for their purity,

⁷⁹ Marsh, *Beetle*, 199.

it being noted that the cult have a preference for white Christian Englishwomen. This emphasises the monstrosity of the East through an exploitation of the weakness of the West: the innocence and sexual vulnerability of its women. *The Beetle*'s cult taps into fears of religious, sexual, and racial otherness: a strange and violent ancient religion that preys upon the empire's women. While Marsh's victims remain blameless, however, the helpless casualties of a greater evil, in Stoker's world female victims are always complicit in their own demise. His 'good women' can never be true victims, as evidenced by Mina's recovery, their purity somehow preserving them from harm.⁸⁰ While fears surrounding the corruption of the Englishwoman by foreign forces initially accompany the attack on Lucy, they are soon negated by her own behaviour. Her flirtation with the idea of several lovers, combined with the sublimated exchange of bodily fluids in the blood transfusions from her many suitors, exclude her from Stoker's definition of a 'good woman.' As such, she is not afforded the protection deserving of one.

Being one of 'God's women' (*Dracula* 188) might provide protection in Stoker's literary world, but for Marsh it is of little use. The virtuous Marjorie, like the human sacrifices before her, is 'stripped to the skin' and left at the mercy of a 'fiend incarnate,' a fate inconceivable in Stoker's world of chaste and incorruptible female virtue. In fact, Marjorie's first encounter with the creature occurs in her bedroom – the location of choice for both *Dracula* and 'Carmilla' thanks to its potentially sexual implications. The creature proceeds to terrorise the heroine not just psychologically but physically, climbing beneath the sheets and crawling over her body. The protagonists' recent speculations add an extra layer of titillation to this scene: for as we now know, this predatory creature that enters women's bedchambers at night is in fact female. Despite the appearance of an imminent threat to Marjorie's safety she is not, however, the creature's main target. The Beetle pursues Marjorie in order to punish her fiancé, Paul Lessingham, with whom – if its expressions of admiration for his physical form and declaration that there could be no 'better thing than to be his wife' are to be believed – it is implied that the creature has some kind of infatuation.⁸¹ As such, the heterosexual framework of the novel is restored.

Although lacking this implied Sapphic threat, *The Jewel of Seven Stars* is unusual not just for the corrupting power the female antagonist holds over an Englishwoman, but

⁸⁰ Esse, the heroine of *The Shoulder of Shasta*, is another of these 'good women.' Her modesty is so unquestionable that, when attacked by grizzly bears in the forest, she fixes her torn dress before tending to her injured companion.

⁸¹ Marsh, *Beetle*, 219; 248; 27.

for the Englishwoman's desire to be corrupted. As chapter four outlines, Margaret shows no discernible resistance to the corrupting influence creeping over her, instead appearing to be a willing participant in her change. This overt desire to become othered is rare, even in Gothic fiction, for an era that preferred to show the revulsion produced by such a violation. Although Stoker adheres to this convention in *Dracula*, having Mina express such horror at the connection forged between herself and the Count that she threatens to end her life if it is not broken, by the time that *The Jewel of Seven Stars* was published he would appear to have rejected such a traditional approach. In taking such a stance, Stoker perhaps owes a debt to his countryman Le Fanu, whose 1872 vampiric masterpiece 'Carmilla' was an acknowledged inspiration for Stoker's own undead aristocrat. And while it is between these two vampiric works that critical comparisons are typically drawn, it is perhaps beneficial to extend our understanding of Le Fanu's influence beyond that of a single text. Laura, like Margaret, is a willing participant in her othering, her 'soul acquiesce[ing]' to the change being visited upon her.⁸² But while Le Fanu takes care to keep this otherness at bay, existing only in the strange and distant Styria where such things are wont to flourish, Stoker brings it home to London.

According to Khair's theory of otherness, all others are either a 'Self waiting to be assimilated' or an 'obverse of the Self' to be negated.⁸³ Put simply, the other is either capable of being un-othered, or it is not. In literature of the *fin de siècle*, whether one is perceived as being a 'self' or an 'obverse self' depends largely on the aforementioned visible signifiers like race or religion. Such divisions are exemplified in Ballantyne's *The Settler and the Savage*, a novel whose binary divisions are written into the very title. Here the Boers are accepted as 'selves' despite the strangeness of their language and customs to the visiting Englishman because of the whiteness of their skin. Although maintaining a clear sense of England's place at the top of the hierarchy of nations, Ballantyne nonetheless indulges in the camaraderie of racial uniformity. Alone and near death in the South African karroo, Charlie deems himself saved the second he glimpses a white face, 'wav[ing] his cap in token of friendship' and galloping towards the stranger confident in an imminent rescue – a confidence that is rewarded.⁸⁴ Despite the muted disdain that the Englishman clearly has for a culture that opts for earthen floors instead of carpets and houses without proper ceilings, the Boers' strong builds, white skin and excellent grasp

⁸² Le Fanu, 'Carmilla,' 281.

⁸³ Khair, *Gothic*, 4.

⁸⁴ Ballantyne, *Settler*, 4.

of the English language provide sufficient compensation for them to be classified as ‘selves’ – secondary to the English self, naturally, but capable of being assimilated nonetheless. The black African, on the other hand, is clearly demarcated as an ‘obverse self,’ identified from the start as ‘the purely negative image of the European Self.’⁸⁵ So much so, in fact, that this visible otherness negates their very humanity: they are ‘snake-like’ and ‘monkey-faced,’ more animal than man. This binary division is reinforced not only by the Englishmen, but by the Boers as well – in short, by anyone deemed to be a ‘self.’ As Considine and Charlie agree, ‘no savages ought to be trusted, as civilised men are trusted.’⁸⁶

This division of the ‘self’ and the ‘obverse self’ along purely racial lines is proven inadequate in Kipling’s ‘The Man Who Would Be King,’ however. Dravot and Carnehan’s fatal error is to think that because the Kafirs *look* like Englishmen they will *act* like Englishmen. Upon first laying eyes on them, Dravot categorises the Kafirs as ‘selves’ – not in the inferior way that the Boers are ‘selves,’ but in the way that other Englishmen are ‘selves’: ‘These men aren’t niggers; they’re English! Look at their eyes — look at their mouths. Look at the way they stand up. They sit on chairs in their own houses.’⁸⁷ The problem with this assessment, however, is that Dravot and Carnehan’s power rests entirely upon the Kafirs not being ‘selves’: they retain their positions because the Kafirs worship them as gods, a profoundly un-English practice. Ironically, in overthrowing these false kings the Kafirs prove themselves to be both more and less English. They reveal the savagery of the ‘obverse self’ in their crucifixion of Carnehan but, as Dravot notes bitterly, they have become quite English in their handling of weaponry.

Stoker’s Rupert makes a similar assessment of the natives he encounters in the Land of the Blue Mountains. Their identity as white European Christians earns them the title of ‘selves,’ however the knowledge that both their Europeanness and their Christianity is of an impure and ‘primitive’ (*Shroud* 212) sort casts doubt over the wisdom of this identification. Attempting to assuage such concerns, apparently in both his reader and in himself, Stoker creates an elaborate backstory to emphasise the true Westernness of his Eastern people: they are the unlikely descendants of ‘Viking ancestors’ (*Shroud* 306), noble warriors who run like ‘the Olympic race of old Greece’ (314) and charge like

⁸⁵ Khair, *Gothic*, 4.

⁸⁶ Ballantyne, *Settler*, 134, 3; 20.

⁸⁷ Kipling, ‘Man Who Would,’ 269.

the ‘Paladin[s] of old’ (315). The ultimate incentive for this identification as ‘selves,’ however, proves to be their contrast to the marauding Turks amassing on the country’s border. Dark-skinned, ‘Moslem,’ and quintessentially other, the fictional Turk epitomises the ‘obverse self’ so completely that the comparatively familiar Mountaineer can slip through unchallenged by protagonist and author alike.

Unlike the Englishmen of ‘The Man Who Would Be King,’ Rupert suffers no apparent consequences for this judgement of selfhood. The Mountaineers prove adept at adapting to an English way of life, learning military techniques and customs, and apparently assimilating as desired. Elsewhere, however, Stoker’s characters are less fortunate. The Englishmen of *The Jewel of Seven Stars* initially judge the ancient queen whose wishes they believe themselves to be following to be a ‘self’ waiting – and eager – to be assimilated. This verdict is based largely on the belief that she has ‘seen through the weaknesses of her own religion’ (*Jewel* 166), making her sympathetic to the Christian cause, and on her physical similarity to Margaret, which aligns her with the Caucasian race. As such, it ignores the basic parameters of both race and religion that most commonly divide the ‘self’ and the ‘obverse self’ in *fin-de-siècle* literature: despite Trelawny’s claims, Tera is not white and she is not Christian. Her eventual exposure as an ‘obverse self,’ not just other to but hostile to the ‘self,’ confirms Stoker’s belief in the importance of maintaining these constructed signifiers when making such divisions.⁸⁸

Whereas Ballantyne adheres to a simplified version of Khair’s theory of otherness, creating worlds in which the ‘self’ and the ‘obverse self’ are easily distinguished, Stoker would seem to thrive in the grey areas. Although often creating the superficial appearance of simplicity, upon closer examination these lines begin to blur. His Gothic monsters are often what Wilt terms ‘dark selves,’ creatures that reflect the defining traits of the hero back at them.⁸⁹ This threatens to shift the identifications not just of the antagonists, but of the protagonists as well: for if Tera is an obverse self, what is her double, Margaret? The answer to this, if indeed there is an answer, is inconsistent. Margaret’s selfhood fluctuates throughout the novel, a moving rather than a fixed point. Although a paragon of selfhood at the novel’s opening, as Tera’s influence takes over she moves closer and closer to

⁸⁸ In fact, according to a structuralist reading, these signifiers reinforce such divisions in their very existence; the act of naming a difference brings said difference into being. See Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, Charles Bally and Albert Sechehaye, eds., Roy Harris, trans. (1916; La Salle: Open Court, 1983); Jacques Derrida, ‘Structure, Sign, and Play in the Discourse of Human Sciences,’ in *Writing and Difference*, Alan Bass, trans. (1966; London: Routledge, 2001), 351-70.

⁸⁹ Judith Wilt, ‘The Imperial Mouth: Imperialism, the Gothic and Science Fiction,’ *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 14/4 (2004), 618-28.

obverse selfhood, just as Harker briefly loses his identity as a self in his madness-inducing ‘brain fever’ (*Dracula* 99). For Stoker, then, selfhood is not a fixed condition. This is reflected in the shifting of apparent binaries across individual texts. Don Bernardino, for example, moves closer to an anglicised model of selfhood as the plot of *The Mystery of the Sea* progresses, narrative focus transferring from the darkness of his features to the nobility of his character. A character’s adherence to (or opposition to) the ideology of the self can thus influence their physical description. Just as Stoker others his villains, emphasising the foreignness of their features, so too does he anglicise his heroes, a technique underpinned by assumptions of Caucasian superiority. This returns to the aforementioned anglicisation of Stoker’s non-English heroines, characters such as Mimi or Teuta being treated as Caucasian in spite of their respective heritages. As racial and religious signifiers are in essence cultural constructs, their boundaries can be shifted when necessary for narrative convenience. Since the dictated role of the heroine is that of a ‘self,’ their opinions and actions conforming to this expectation, physical disparities can be altered in accordance.⁹⁰

For Stoker, then, selfhood and identity are often performative affairs. His tales are rife with mistaken identities, disguises, and cross-dressing. These devices, although not unusual for the genres in question, do stand out in their execution, however. When Kipling’s Dravot disguises himself as a native using ‘fragments of ribbons and rags,’ the disguise is convincing only ‘to the native mind.’⁹¹ The English narrator is able to distinguish his true identity in an instant, a ‘self’ always being recognisable to another ‘self.’ For Stoker, however, to disguise oneself as something is to become that something – temporarily, at least. As such, when women disguise themselves as men, or foreigners disguise themselves as Englishmen, or giant prehistoric worms disguise themselves as aristocrats that is what they are perceived to be – even in the most unlikely of cases. In *The Mystery of the Sea* Marjory, whose hyper-femininity is frequently praised by a besotted Archie, need only don the clothing of a footman to wander around undisturbed, even her own guards believing her to be a man. Similarly, in *Dracula*, the Transylvanian count can be mistaken for an Englishman by his own countrymen – among whom he is

⁹⁰ Haggard follows a similar model of anglicisation although, unlike Stoker, he demonstrates a degree of self-awareness in directly acknowledging this process. In *Child of Storm* (1913) the Zulu Mameena must be physically anglicised due to Haggard’s reticence to ‘admit [...] that a person who is black, or rather copper-coloured, can be beautiful.’ Haggard takes care to point out that her hair is ‘curling, but not woolly’ and her nose ‘straight and fine,’ showing ‘no trace of the negro type.’ H. Rider Haggard, *Child of Storm* (London: Cassell, 1913), 66.

⁹¹ Kipling, ‘Man Who Would,’ 255.

presumably notorious – if he simply wears the stolen clothes of his English guest. This deception fails, however, when a ‘self’ encounters an ‘obverse self.’ Counter to the fictional world of Kipling, in which the familiarity between ‘selves’ prevents any such trickery, in Stoker’s writing a ‘self’ may fool another ‘self,’ and an ‘obverse self’ may fool another ‘obverse self,’ but such deceptions do not work across boundaries. Dracula’s posturing as an Englishman might deceive his own countrymen, but he is unable to maintain the façade in England itself. This theory would initially appear to collapse when faced with the events of *The Lair of the White Worm*. Lady Arabella, a beautiful aristocratic woman, is revealed to in fact be the human form of the White Worm, an ancient and evil snake – an identity that remains unquestioned until the arrival of the novel’s protagonists. This would initially appear to be at odds with the above assessment – unless we return to the extended definitions of otherness previously discussed. Those to whom Lady Arabella appears to be simply Lady Arabella are all in a sense others, ‘obverse selves’: her servants belong to the lower classes, Oolanga is a black African, Edgar Caswell appears to be insane. It is only when she encounters true ‘selves’ in the form of Adam Salton and Sir Nathaniel de Salis that her identity is exposed.

The idea that a person could disguise themselves so completely as to pass for someone else fascinated Stoker. In 1910 he published his fourth and final work of non-fiction *Famous Imposters*, a record of ‘impersonators, pretenders, swindlers, and humbugs of all kinds.’⁹² *Famous Imposters* deals not just in stolen identities and false claims of royalty, but in gender-swapping, devoting an entire chapter to ‘Women as Men.’⁹³ This deception, Stoker asserted, was one ‘so common that it seems rooted in a phase of human nature’ (*Imposters* 227) – a rather curious statement. Stoker would seem to argue that this kind of duplicity is a natural occurrence, that, as the restrictions of femininity are fixed by nature, exceptional members of the sex can only transcend them by temporarily becoming male. Among his historical accounts are those of Hannah Snell (a Worcestershire girl who disguised herself as a man to enlist first as a soldier and then a sailor, surviving several shipwrecks, 500 lashes, and twelve gunshot wounds, all of which she tended to herself for fear of discovery), Mademoiselle de Maupin (a seventeenth-century opera singer who became a master swordsman, eloped with the

⁹² Bram Stoker, *Famous Imposters* (New York: Sturgis & Walton, 1910), v.

⁹³ Stoker’s interest in cross-dressing would appear to be a unidirectional affair. He makes only one brief reference to men dressed as women, the messenger of *Miss Betty* disguising himself as a woman so that his true purpose ‘could not be suspected’ (*Betty* 107). Interestingly, while women consistently disguise themselves convincingly as men in Stoker’s work the reverse is not true; upon seeing the messenger Betty instantly ‘recognised beneath the woman’s habit the free carriage of a man’ (*Betty* 158).

daughter of a wealthy Marseilles merchant, and burned a convent to the ground to hide her escape), and Mary East (the ‘masculine’ element of a pair of young women who passed themselves off as a married couple for thirty-five years in the mid-1700s to avoid the necessity of marriage). In these figures Stoker finally finds his ultimate heroine: women who don’t just allow masculine adventures to proceed unimpeded, but actively participate in them. Stoker’s accounts of these women are filled with awed descriptions of their bravery and the fast friendships forged in hardship (friendships usually preserved for men in his writings) – all while comforting himself with the insistence that many of these women had donned male costume for irreproachably feminine reasons, such as pursuing love or finding lost husbands. In such light, even the unconventional American woman proves insufficient for purpose. Stoker’s ideal woman, it becomes apparent, is a man.

If the other provides a threat, then it also provides an opportunity. For Gothic writing this opportunity is derived from the possibility of defeating the hostile other, the potential triumph of confirming the superiority that was previously threatened. For the adventure story, however, this opportunity is more concrete. Their engagement with otherness often reflects the imperial agenda of the age, their tales delineating the profits – both financial and otherwise – that can be earned from such ventures. Within these tales we can discern two distinct ‘types’: those that engage explicitly with questions of imperialism, and those that engage with them implicitly through characters’ actions. Within the former fall tales such as Edgar Wallace’s *Sanders of the River* (1911), the story of a British governor in a fictional African colony, and Ballantyne’s *The Settler and the Savage*.⁹⁴ Here the right of the white man as a superior race to conquer foreign lands is supported by both narrator and characters. As Ballantyne’s Orpin insists, ‘God is on the white man’s side, because the white man in the main intends and tries to do good.’⁹⁵ Into the latter category fall texts like *Treasure Island* that, although neither commenting directly upon imperialist practices nor explicitly engaging in them, implicitly support such acts in their depictions of white men exploring and profiting from undiscovered lands. By their very nature, adventure stories that adhere to Butts’ formula must fall into either one or the other. For in order to go on a ‘journey’ to a far-flung land in ‘search of [their] fortune’ a hero must possess the confidence of the fictional imperial European to travel to any location undisturbed. Even when lacking explicit engagement with questions

⁹⁴ Edgar Wallace, *Sanders of the River* (London: Ward, Lock, & Co., 1911).

⁹⁵ Ballantyne, *Settler*, 264.

of colonialism, a tale that delineates an Englishman traveling to a foreign land in order to profit from it implicitly feeds the imperial agenda.

Stoker's fictional works are notably lacking in explicitly British imperial content. Many of his heroes have long and illustrious colonial histories, alluding to former adventures in India (Rupert Sent Leger), South Africa (Lord Athlyne), and French Polynesia (Jonathan Harker), but few of his novels engage directly with the imperial powder kegs of the day. He makes little mention of the Boer War (except to link it to Athlyne's back story, and to provide brief historical context in *The Man*), the British in India, or the scramble for Africa, and yet he is a distinctly imperial author.⁹⁶ And although Stoker's novels recount specifically colonial actions – *The Lady of the Shroud* and *The Snake's Pass* both feature Englishmen crossing the sea to anglicise another country – they limit their range to that of white civilisations. The decision to depict his imperialists 'civilising' white European peoples instead of the distant native peoples of popular fiction is a striking one. It both removes him from the necessity of engaging with contemporary rhetoric about the rights and wrongs of imperialism and opens new avenues of comment on such actions. For Stoker, literary imperialism serves more than one purpose. It is not just a vehicle for promoting authorial views on race and nationality, but a guaranteed means of engaging with the many types of otherness that so fascinated him. For Stoker, imperialism is a sure route through which to encounter alterity.

Luckily for Stoker, his determination to focus primarily on the white European does not limit him to the strict geographical region of Europe. Centuries of expansion have allowed him to find his heroes not just in the Englishmen of today, but those of yesterday as well – children of the colonies who retain their perceived British selfhood in spite of their unconventional upbringings. This expansion of geographical scope necessitates further engagement with questions of race and imperialism. Like most authors of the period, Stoker seems to make a clear divide between 'white colonies' or former colonies such as America and Australia and 'native colonies' such as India or parts of Africa. As detailed in chapter five, Stoker sees America not as a separate entity but as an offshoot of England herself – initially, at least. He would seem to have a similar view of Australia, the home of *The Lair of the White Worm*'s protagonist, Adam Salton. Adam, it is said, has spent 'all his life in Australia' (*Worm* 4). And although he is described more

⁹⁶ For a discussion of the Boer War in *Lady Athlyne* and *The Man* see Glover, *Vampires, Mummies and Liberals*, 108; 116; 133.

than once as an ‘Australian’ – by the narrator as well as by himself – he nonetheless retains strong ties with ‘the old country’ (*Worm* 4) in which his family still reside. As such, like his fellow expatriate the American, he retains much of the selfhood usually afforded to the Englishman. The use of an ancestral Englishman who has spent time in a distant colony would seem to serve a similar narrative purpose to the previously discussed use of the American girl: Adam has the manners and breeding of a ‘dapper young gentleman,’ yet is prepared to labour like a ‘workman’ (*Worm* 18) when necessary. As he remarks to an incredulous Lady Arabella: ‘I am an Australian, and, as we have to move about fast, we are all trained to farriery and such mechanics’ (*Worm* 18). Having a character originate from a ‘white’ colony allows Stoker to instil in them the same traits that an Englishmen would have to venture overseas to acquire – the hyper-masculine ruggedness and resourcefulness that the author so admires. A life away from the luxuries of England, as Rueben finds in Henty’s *A Final Reckoning: A Tale of Bush Life in Australia*, cultivates the ‘pluck’ and ‘courage’ that a man needs to survive.⁹⁷

While Adam’s time in Australia has been beneficial, growing him swiftly to man’s stature, his fellow home-comer Edgar Caswell has acquired rather different characteristics from his time abroad. Far from Adam’s forays into a predominantly ‘white’ colony, Caswell has been among ‘savages’ in West Africa – although exactly where, or why, or what he was doing is never specified. And while Adam brings a strong work ethic and a small fortune back to England with him, Caswell brings Oolanga, his supernaturally depraved West African servant. Just as Stoker’s women cannot be sufficiently evil without the aid of supernatural forces, so too must his portrayal of the ‘unreformed, unsoftened savage’ (*Worm* 20) be supplemented with unnatural wickedness. Although such derogatory descriptions were typical for the time and genre – Ballantyne calls his black South African the ‘lowest of the human race’ and Kingston dubs his ‘excessively ugly specimens’ – Stoker surpasses such traditions by linking Africanness explicitly with preternatural evil.⁹⁸ Oolanga is not just a ‘savage’ (*Worm* 20) and a ‘nigger’ (36), but a ‘devil-ridden child of the forest and the swamp’ (20), a witchdoctor who practices voodoo and can smell death itself. This is a link that extends beyond a single text. In *The Lady of the Shroud* Rupert sees Africa as a place of devil worship, insisting that he witnessed ‘scenes of revolting horror [...] human sacrifice [...] and the

⁹⁷ G. A. Henty, *A Final Reckoning: A Tale of Bush Life in Australia* (London: Blackie, 1887), 173, 184; 125, 140.

⁹⁸ Ballantyne, *Settler*, 3; W. H. G. Kingston, *Ned Garth; or Made Prisoner in Africa* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1862), 113.

reek of old deviltries' amidst the 'deep gloom of African forests' (*Shroud* 287). In *The Mystery of the Sea*, despite originating from 'Noo Orleans' (*Mystery* 379), the black kidnapper's ancestral links to Africa are apparently enough to relegate him to this category as well. While the other men are simply 'scoundrels' and 'criminals,' he is a 'black devil' (*Mystery* 380), a 'beast' filled with 'wicked, devilish purpose' (438).

It is not just the African that receives harsh treatment at Stoker's hands, however. All non-Caucasian races are described in derogatory terms: the Egyptians of *The Jewel of Seven Stars* are 'superstitious' (*Jewel* 112) and 'callous' (115), leaving their own countrymen for dead without a second thought and planning to betray their English employer; the Native Americans of *The Shoulder of Shasta* are compared to monkeys, remarkable not just for their 'barbarous, childish, raggedness' (*Shasta* 37) but for the 'habitual and brutal cruelty' (63) that they exhibit towards one another; and in *The Lady of the Shroud* the Turk is described as 'an infidel and a dog' (*Shroud* 314), filled with the 'base traditions [...] of the Moslems' (311). In contrast the white European, although never afforded the superiority of the Englishman, is imbued with honourable qualities – the Dutch Van Helsing is kind and formidably intelligent, the Mountaineers are principled and loyal despite their ferocity, and even the Spaniard Don Bernardino is admitted to be chivalrous and 'noble' (*Mystery* 386).⁹⁹ Stoker (like the majority of nineteenth-century authors) would seem to envision race as a hierarchical structure: the Englishman at the top, followed by other white European peoples, with non-white native peoples filling up the lower rungs – the African and his preternatural associations lowest among them. This conforms to traditional Victorian concepts of race, as discussed in chapter two – although that is not to say that there was an altogether uniform approach. Thomas Mayne Reid, a prolific writer of late nineteenth-century adventure fiction, frequently featured exotic heroes: the Creole Don Pablo of *The Forest Exiles* (1852) for example, or Hans and Hendrick Van Bloom, the Boers of *The Giraffe Hunters* (1867).¹⁰⁰

This belief in race as a hierarchical structure would appear to have informed Stoker's views on imperialism in a rather unexpected manner. Whereas many of his contemporaries saw the positioning of the non-white native at the bottom of the pyramid as confirmation of the imperial mission, either justifying the white man's right to profit

⁹⁹ The exception to this rule is the Irishman, who in nineteenth-century writings is generally treated as a separate race more aligned with the black African than with the white European. See chapter six.

¹⁰⁰ Thomas Mayne Reid, *The Forest Exiles; or, the Perils of a Peruvian Family Amid the Wilds of the Amazon* (London: George Routledge, 1852); *The Giraffe Hunters* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1867).

from native subjugation or underlining his duty to civilise, Stoker appears to have seen it as proof of the futility of such efforts. He may have possessed a conventional belief in the superiority of the Caucasian race and the benevolence of the British Empire, but the limiting of his depictions of the positive influence of the English civiliser to white realms (namely Ireland and wider Europe) seems to imply an abject lack of interest in the civilising of non-white peoples. This is supported by his treatment of the Native American in *The Shoulder of Shasta*. Having contracted a band of Native Americans to work for him, Grizzly Dick – Stoker’s heroic hunter – has managed to impose a thin veneer of civilisation upon them. This imposition is explicitly identified as being racial in nature. As Stoker notes, Grizzly Dick’s

proximity kept the Indians in order; for with the dominance of a Caucasian he made himself to some degree regulator of his neighbour’s affairs. Indeed, he stood with regard to the Indians somewhat in the relation of a British justice of the peace to the village community. (*Shasta* 57)

This is a superficial effort, however, only being effective in his immediate physical presence. Although able to recreate a bastardised version of an English village under his strict supervision, when left unattended the Native Americans revert back to the cruelty and brutality that Stoker sees as being an inherent part of their race. Attempts at civilising them produce shallow imitations rather than genuine change. This superficial and incomplete alteration is represented literally in their clothing choices, the ‘old red coats of the British army and [...] the ragged remains of fashionable trousers’ that are worn alongside the ‘barbaric feathers, trinkets and necklaces of bone and teeth’ (*Shasta* 9). To Stoker, then, such efforts are futile. While he sees an inherent goodness and potential for advancement in ‘savage’ white races such as the Mountaineers, who take to civilised life enthusiastically, he sees no such potential in non-white peoples.

Although the popular modern conception of Victorian and Edwardian attitudes towards imperialism tends towards positive uniformity, in reality there was a wide range of opinion on the rights and wrongs of empire. Men such as Kipling occupied the extreme range of the former, envisioning the imperial mission not just as a right but as a duty. Kipling championed a breed of ‘moral imperialism’ that counselled the moral duty of white men to civilise non-whites, even when detrimental to themselves. According to the rather jingoistic ‘The White Man’s Burden’ (1899) the imperialist was a martyr in ‘exile,’ venturing away from the comforts of his homeland to ‘seek another’s profit/ and work

another's gain.'¹⁰¹ Such depictions may have been believed by some – hopeless idealists like Marlow's aunt in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1899), who clings to the idea that the profit-driven Company is going to 'wean [...] those ignorant millions from their horrid ways' – but they must be countered by the undeniable financial and territorial gains that were the direct outcome of the imperial mission.¹⁰² For many authors, however, this financial gain was just another rightful benefit for the European abroad. Even Haggard, an author renowned for unusually sympathetic depictions of native characters, allows depictions of exploitation to pass uncommented upon. In *Allan Quatermain* his English heroes, elsewhere the epitome of gentility, convince a naïve native tribe to exchange a valuable canoe for three empty shell casings – an exchange they insist is not exploitative due to the headman's 'delight' with his shiny new baubles.¹⁰³ The fact that the Englishmen, having been fed and housed by this friendly tribe, proceed to cheat them of what little they have goes completely unchallenged – although one struggles to view it as the action of a benevolent parent race guiding a child race to self-sufficiency, as Kipling describes.

The depictions of selfless Christians guiding natives 'toward the light' that fill 'The White Man's Burden' are most obviously contradicted by the images of corrupt religious men that abound in contemporary fiction.¹⁰⁴ Although often uncommented upon, his sins overlooked in favour of his virtues, this figure is a common sight: Haggard's Scottish missionary is last seen returning home with a fortune of £30,000, while Ballantyne's Christian missionary Stephen Orpin has made a business out of converting heathens, selling them gaudy trinkets as well as Bible tracts.¹⁰⁵ This commercialising of the Christian faith, the hypocrisy of a missionary describing his parishioners as 'customers,' was a key tenant of the anti-imperialist movement – and one repeatedly drawn upon in criticisms of Kipling's poem.¹⁰⁶ Mark Twain, one of Stoker's aforementioned heroes, was foremost among these critics. His satirical response to Kipling's jingoism, 'To the Person Sitting in Darkness' (1901) – an ironic reference to

¹⁰¹ Rudyard Kipling, 'The White Man's Burden,' in *Gunga Din and Other Favourite Poems*, Stanley Appelbaum, ed. (1899; New York: Dover, 1990), 52-53, at 52.

¹⁰² Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, Owen Knowles, ed. (1899; London: Penguin, 2007), 14.

¹⁰³ Haggard, *Allan Quatermain*, 107.

¹⁰⁴ Kipling, 'Burden,' 53.

¹⁰⁵ Untrustworthy missionaries also appear in Rudyard Kipling's 'The Judgement of Dungara,' in *Soldiers Three, and Other Stories* (1888; Cornwall: Stratus, 2001), 187-96, and 'Lispeth,' in *Plain Tales from the Hills* (1886; London: Penguin, 2011), 5-9; and Robert Louis Stevenson's 'The Ebb Tide: A Trio and a Quartette,' in *South Sea Tales*, Roslyn Jolly, ed. (1894; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 123-252.

¹⁰⁶ Ballantyne, *Settler*, 258.

Matthew 4:16, ‘the people who sat in darkness have seen a great light’ – highlighted the central contradiction of converting natives to Christianity only to oppress and enslave them in a most unchristian fashion.¹⁰⁷ Religion, according to Twain, was just another imperial tool, an implement of convenience rather than true faith. For the imperialist abroad, the ‘light’ of Christianity works best as a ‘dim light.’¹⁰⁸

Somewhat ironically, given the flawed depictions of Christian virtue that fill his tales, Ballantyne – along with fellow adventurer W. H. G. Kingston – was a key propagator of the religious adventure story. Turning the classic formula to a specifically evangelical use, such authors used their tales not just to entertain their young readers but to instruct them. The devout Christian novelist Charlotte Yonge recommended Ballantyne’s works as ideal reading material for young boys for this very reason, insisting that ‘boys especially should not have childish tales with weak morality or “washy” piety; but should have heroism and nobleness kept before their eyes; and learn to despise all that is untruthful and cowardly, and to respect womanhood.’¹⁰⁹ Ralph, the narrator of Ballantyne’s *The Gorilla Hunters* (1861), expresses a similar view, deviating from his storytelling to extol the benefits of what he calls ‘muscular education’: the masculine rough-and-tumble that makes boys into strong Christian men, and prevents them from ‘hang[ing] on the skirts of society.’¹¹⁰ Although such stories proved popular not just with parents and educators but with boys themselves (for entirely different reasons, one would suspect), the success of instructional orthodoxy did result in something of a literary echo chamber. As Dunae notes in his ‘New Grub Street for Boys,’ the market for such books was controlled by a handful of conservative publishing houses – whether secular ones like Blackie and Thomas Nelson, or evangelical publishers like the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Religious Tract Society.¹¹¹ Having discovered a winning formula they were reluctant to take chances on any narrative that deviated from the

¹⁰⁷ Mark Twain, ‘To the Person Sitting in Darkness,’ *North American Review*, 172/531 (1901), 161-76. Other contemporary responses include Henry Labouchere, ‘The Brown Man’s Burden,’ *Literary Digest*, 18/8 (25 February 1899), 219; and Ernest Crosby, ‘The Real White Man’s Burden,’ *The Literary Digest*, 18/8 (25 February 1899).

¹⁰⁸ Twain, ‘Darkness,’ 165.

¹⁰⁹ Charlotte Yonge, *What Books to Lend and What to Give* (London: National Society’s Depository, 1887), 6, cited in Richards, *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, 4.

¹¹⁰ R. M. Ballantyne, *The Gorilla Hunters: A Tale of the Wilds of Africa* (London: Ward, Lock, & Co., 1861), 53; 55.

¹¹¹ Patrick A. Dunae, ‘New Grub Street for Boys,’ in *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, Richards, ed., 12-33, at 17.

established route – a source of great exasperation for authors such as Pemberton and Moncrieff, who decried the publishers as ‘joint-stock companies of orthodoxy.’¹¹²

Uninhibited by the evangelism of publishing companies, and with an assumed readership of adults, Stoker had comparative freedom of expression. That even his adventure stories fail to make explicit comment upon imperial practices would perhaps imply that Stoker subscribed to neither extreme – that he saw imperialism as neither a duty nor an outrage. The fact of Stoker having advocated for self-censorship and personal responsibility instead of external control in his 1908 essay ‘The Censorship of Fiction’ further supports this supposition.¹¹³ But while this concept of self-censorship would initially appear to allow us clearer access to the author’s own opinions, to provide writing unfettered by outside interference, in Stoker’s case it actually conceals these opinions further. The oft commented upon divides in Stoker’s fiction, the subversive undercurrent that runs beneath the conservative surface, is the result of the author overlaying what he *should* think over what he *does* think. Bram Stoker the author is, in a sense, a performance of hegemony.

Like his countryman Oscar Wilde – another purveyor of the hegemonic performance – Stoker’s ‘insider’ status is a carefully made construct, a costume put on to blend in with the literary elite of London. He is an Irishman among Englishmen, an amateur among professionals.¹¹⁴ This conscious manipulation of the insider/ outsider divide renders him particularly adept at creating images of otherness in his literary life. Stoker plays with the literary remaking of intersectional hegemonic identities precisely because he knows first-hand that they are fake. As an outsider masquerading as an insider, Stoker has glimpsed beneath the veil. His works consistently pit hegemony and normativity against alterity, shifting and reforming the boundaries between them. In doing so, Stoker moves ever closer to finding a form of otherness that is redemptive. It is in the creation of the exotic heroine that he comes closest to finding this redemption: a figure whose value is partially derived *from* her otherness, not in spite of it.¹¹⁵ Although anglicised in physical

¹¹² A. R. H. Moncrieff, *A Book About Authors* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1914), 7, cited in Dunae, ‘Grub Street,’ 18.

¹¹³ Bram Stoker, ‘The Censorship of Fiction,’ *The Nineteenth Century and After: A Monthly Review*, 64 (September 1908), 479-87.

¹¹⁴ The term ‘amateur’ here is meant in a practical rather than a derogatory sense. Although a published author Stoker was primarily a theatrical manager, his passion for writing an interest rather than a career.

¹¹⁵ Even Stoker’s English heroines are inclined towards the ‘other.’ The comparison of Margaret’s eyes to the ‘lamps of a mosque’ (*Jewel* 28) implies ancestral links to the East, while in *The Man* Stephen is described as having the ‘purple-black eyes, the raven eyebrows and eyelashes [...] of the Eastern blood of the far-back wife of the Crusader.’ (*Man* 3)

description, the appeal of the exotic heroine is ultimately still inextricably linked to her otherness – not just to her cultural and social novelty, but to the implied promise of a union between the self and the other that will ultimately strengthen both. Despite making repeated overtures towards this possibility, Stoker’s inability to fully commit to a redemptive form of otherness results in the repeated collapse of this construct. His pairings of the self and the other, the outlining of political and cultural union through the allegory of marriage, are always formed along the same boundaries: the masculine self and the feminine other. Rather than embracing the strength of hybridity, a single whole made stronger by its component parts, the feminine is subsumed by the masculine, its otherness negated and ameliorated into a more acceptable form. Just as the product of Sir Henry and Nyleptha’s union is described by Haggard as a ‘curly-haired, blue-eyed young Englishman,’ the child inheriting only the father’s identity, so too does Stoker cast off the diverse identities of his heroines upon the successful completion of said union: Norah and Mimi are both moulded into perfect English wives, and Teuta’s baby is named for his father, not his royal Balkan heritage.¹¹⁶

In this final collapse Stoker once again prioritises performance over reality, the expression of what he should think over the expression of what he does think. Just as he attempts to mask his unorthodox views on gender and sexuality with tedious conventionality, denouncing the ‘bad women’ that so clearly fascinate him in favour of the monotonously good, so too does he claim to denounce the possibility of redemptive otherness in favour of more conventional views. The most conventional of these opinions is the belief in the absolute superiority of England, a concept written so deeply into Stoker’s work that it is difficult to tell whether it is yet another mask or something that the Irishman had genuinely internalised. His adventure stories often revolve around unlikely utopian fantasies in which a single infallible ruler arrives from England to the delight and gratitude of the native populace: Stoker envisions Rupert guiding the Balkan Mountaineers to civilisation in *The Lady of the Shroud*, and Arthur calming the tensions of late nineteenth-century Ireland with limestone and ornamental gardens in *The Snake’s Pass*. Such depictions discard the realism employed by many of his contemporaries – even the excessively patriotic Ballantyne admits that his African natives detest the white invader, although he insists they are wrong in doing so – relying instead on two-dimensional depictions of English superiority and native deference. Even in so volatile a

¹¹⁶ Haggard, *Allan Quatermain*, 282.

climate as nineteenth-century Ireland, Stoker's heroic Englishman is met with nothing but adoration from the locals that he encounters. This is a marked contrast to the reception the 'Manchester man' receives in the short story 'The Man From Shorrox,' Stoker's only tale to be written from an Irish perspective and a potential glimpse beneath the mask of his hegemonic performance. Here the Irishmen resent the domineering and superior attitude exuded by the visiting Englishman, an attitude that appears in sanitised form in all of Stoker's English heroes.

The sympathetic portrayal of an oppressed native people in 'The Man From Shorrox' is a marked contrast to the Anglocentric views expressed elsewhere in Stoker's fictional works, many of which propagate the 'fictions of improvement' discussed in chapter six. Such depictions perpetuate the imperial fantasy of an untapped potential that is both guarded and neglected by the local populace: under imperial guidance both Knocknagar and the Land of the Blue Mountains are transformed in a matter of weeks from subsistence farming regions to profitable enterprises. The profits that can be reaped in such lands are not just financial, however, but psychosomatic as well. As discussed, boys' adventure stories often revolve around the formulaic plot device of going out into the world to become men. In the adult reimaginings of such stories, Englishmen also travel to far off lands to become men – the men that the restrictions of civilised society have thus far prevented them from becoming. When this adventure is complete, however, the unmapped lands explored and the hostile natives slain, the Englishman abroad invariably reverts back to familiarity. For some, this means a return home, accompanied by the spoils of their adventures. For others, however, this means attempting to recreate their very own England across the sea.

Adventure stories at the turn of the century were often underpinned by a conflicting desire: the longing to escape England, and the longing to return to her. Fictional England is simultaneously the greatest place in the world and a place of restriction and confinement. As such, no sooner have her citizens set out to find a new home than they are trying to recreate their old home within it, replacing wooden huts with stone houses and subsistence methods with industrialisation. Like the 'lost world' fictions of Conan Doyle and Burroughs that would follow them, the intrepid explorers of nineteenth-century adventure stories are frequently depicted as stumbling upon veritable Edens.¹¹⁷ The

¹¹⁷ Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Lost World*, Ian Duncan, ed. (1912; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Edgar Rice Burroughs, *The Land that Time Forgot* (1918; New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1925).

marooned boys of *The Coral Island* find themselves surrounded by ‘the most beautiful and richly covered trees, bushes, and shrubs [and...] a sandy beach of dazzling whiteness’; the pioneers of Henty’s *The Young Colonists* (1885) are greeted by ‘vegetation thick and luxuriant’ and ‘vast stretches of rolling grass’; and the settlers of Kingston’s *The Frontier Fort* (1879) are met with an idyllic vision of ‘softly rounded knolls, between which tiny lakelets were visible, shining in the bright rays of the glowing sun.’¹¹⁸ Inevitably, however, like any lost world paradise, these lands are corrupted the moment that white men set foot in them. No sooner have the adventurers stopped to admire the beauty of the scene before them than they are chopping down the ‘richly covered trees’ for lumber and digging up the ‘vast stretches of rolling grass’ to build houses and plant crops. Despite journeying out into the unknown in search of a ‘better land,’ a land that is in every way other to England, the settlers’ every action looks back to their homeland.¹¹⁹

While Ballantyne and Henty’s settlers are content with simply anglicising the land they have claimed, preferring to eschew the company of natives (except where necessary for work) and live in small pockets of Englishness with their countrymen, the Englishmen of *Allan Quatermain* are set on converting the inhabitants as well. Despite being initially enamoured with the endearing simplicity of the Zu-Vendi, they too eventually appear deficient in comparison to the remembered glory of the heroes’ homeland. In the Zu-Vendi the anti-capitalist and anti-industrialist Haggard creates a people supposedly free of all of the evils of modern society: they are an agricultural nation, organised around a feudal system comprised of the territorial nobility, middle classes, and well-to-do peasants. As an insular people they are completely unaware of modern technology and advancements yet are surprisingly forward thinking on certain matters – their laws allow polygamy (for men, at least), divorce, and fund a kind of benefits system to support the old and sick. As a result of these restrictions the Zu-Vendi ‘care little about money,’ catering to the importance of the person rather than the possession. Despite heaping praise upon their virtues, however, once the adventures have passed and Sir Henry is faced with the gravity of being king, he inevitably reverts back to the familiar anglicised model of statehood. He plans to ‘increase trade and commerce,’ constructs a navy to help secure the country’s borders and defeat enemies, and plans a mass-conversion of all citizens to

¹¹⁸ Ballantyne, *Coral Island*, 21; G. A. Henty, *The Young Colonists: A Story of the Zulu and Boer Wars* (London: Blackie, 1885), 34; W. H. G. Kingston, *The Frontier Fort; Or, Stirring Times in the North-West Territory of British America* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1879), 1.

¹¹⁹ Ballantyne, *Settler*, 349.

Christianity.¹²⁰ These actions, one would presume, will bring about an end to all of the virtues that Haggard so generously bestowed upon the Zu-Vendi: increased trade and commerce will bring about greed and covetousness, a navy will decrease their insularity and incline them towards regulated and state-sponsored violence instead of internal skirmishes, and religious conversion will put an end to the charming innocence of a sun-worshipping people (and, presumably, the polygamy).

Stoker inflicts a similar fate upon his Mountaineers. Like Haggard, he initially finds the simplicity of this insular mountain people charming, romanticising their ‘untameable’ (*Shroud* 190) primitiveness. Having taken charge, however, this untameability becomes more of a nuisance than an asset, and Rupert reverts back to type, creating mines and munitions factories to instil the monotony of British working life upon the free-spirited Mountaineers. For many texts, this anglicisation is the happy ending that the stories are looking for. Ballantyne finishes *The Settler and the Savage* on a euphoric note, leaving his hardy settlers looking forward to their new home’s future as a ‘united whole, with a united religious and commercial people, under one flag, animated by one desire – the advancement of truth and righteousness.’¹²¹ Haggard, although negating an unequivocally happy ending with the death of his protagonist, sees nothing but promise in his heroes’ imperial actions, envisioning the modernisation and conversion of the Zu-Vendi people as a welcome and achievable task. Even ‘The Man Who Would Be King,’ whose conclusion proves disastrous for the white rajahs, finds its faults not with the imperialist actions themselves, but with the flaws of the men committing them. If Dravot and Carnehan had treated the natives like natives, as obverse selves instead of selves, one is inclined to think their mission would have been more successful. In fact, in violating the terms of their contract they have essentially forfeited their own selfhood – the very thing justifying their reign.

In comparison to these utopic outcomes, all propagated by advocates of imperialism, Stoker’s endings are slightly more complex. As discussed in chapter three, despite the narrative voice’s apparent praise of Rupert’s actions in *The Lady of the Shroud* the facts betray the dangers beneath. Rupert has not just modernised the Land of the Blue Mountains but thrust a small and unready nation forward as a global aggressor. The Lord High Admiral’s closing remark, that ‘it is easier to drop bombs, Your Majesty’ (*Shroud*

¹²⁰ Haggard, *Allan Quatermain*, 160; 280.

¹²¹ Ballantyne, *Settler*, 421.

430), leaves a dark shadow over an otherwise happy ending: imported weaponry or no, just how well can the inexperienced people of an insubstantial nation fair against the military forces of the world? *The Snake's Pass* also presents a superficial sense of completion, Arthur successfully anglicising both his new home and his new wife. Despite his concerted efforts to defeat Black Murdock and cast himself as the imperial saviour, however, in the end it is Ireland herself who effects this change. The bog, Ireland in her wild, unanglicised form, consumes Black Murdock whole, proving herself more than capable of defending herself unaided – and of destroying those who threaten her autonomy.

These polyvalent endings can be found throughout Stoker's canon. Whether through the unresolved international hostilities of *The Mystery of the Sea* and *The Lady of the Shroud*, potential concerns over the contamination of the Harker baby, or apprehensions regarding Mimi's mental health in *The Lair of the White Worm*, he seems reluctant to give his protagonists the clean-cut endings their contemporaries receive at the hands of authors such as Ballantyne and Haggard. Stoker's unease with his authorial persona, his lack of conviction in that which he feels he should believe, spills out in these incomplete endings. Despite his hegemonic performance, Stoker's knowledge of the hollowness of such constructs prevents him from convincingly perpetuating a vision of a world in which conventions are adhered to and endings final. After all, Stoker knows first-hand that the divisions he claims to uphold are not all they appear to be. In refusing to provide his reader with satisfactory closure Stoker deliberately distances his work from standard genre traditions. His adventure stories defy convention by ending not with the 'triumphant' victory of Butts' formula but with the shadow of irresolution. His Gothic works, too, eschew the traditions of an essentially 'conservative' genre – the confirming of the safety of the assumed reader – in favour of uncertainty, superficial victories being undermined by unanswered questions.¹²² It is in *The Jewel of Seven Stars* that this departure is most pronounced, however, Stoker not just deviating from but completely discarding established traditions. Here he rejects irresolution for total chaos, his carefully constructed hegemonic performance collapsing as he allows the other to triumph. Where his other works toy with the possibility of undermining conventions, in this pointed

¹²² Despite its categorisation as an essentially 'conservative' genre, certain strains of the late nineteenth-century Gothic tend towards irresolution. This can be seen in texts such as *The Beetle* where, despite tying up all romantic loose ends, Marsh denies his reader absolute closure, admitting that 'it cannot be certainly shown that the thing is not still existing.' 276.

departure from convention *The Jewel of Seven Stars* attacks this possibility directly: a bold move for such a cautious author.

Although endeavouring to create conservative worlds underpinned by conventional opinions, Stoker's endings reflect a deep-seated doubt about such conventionality. His performance is an incomplete one. Stoker's texts all work on multiple layers: the explicit delineation of that which is right and proper on the surface, and the implicit hungering for that which is not beneath. Despite the author's best efforts to maintain the veneer of respectability, to propagate that which he believes an 'insider' should propagate, he is irresistibly drawn to its inverse. His works may superficially adhere to convention, but beneath doubts about every form of otherness abound: about race, religion, gender, and sexuality. Although biographers often pinpoint Stoker's fictional alter ego as Harold from *The Man*, a bearded sportsman and paragon of chivalry who performs a daring aquatic rescue, perhaps in reality it is *The Jewel of Seven Stars'* Margaret – a convention-bound figure who longs for a release.¹²³

¹²³ For an account of Stoker's rescue of a man attempting to commit suicide in the Thames see Belford, *Dracula*, 136-37.

Chapter Two

'A Savage – but a Cultured Savage': Stoker and the Imperial Identity¹

The worlds of Stoker's novels are never simply 'English'; a focal part of every text comes from afar. This is especially pronounced in his Gothic works, many of which exist within a distinctly colonial sphere. *The Jewel of Seven Stars* and its vengeful Egyptian queen is perhaps the most overt representation – Britain having occupied Egypt in a 'veiled protectorate' since 1882 – but Stoker also sees complex manifestations of imperial power elsewhere. Adam Salton, the hero of *The Lair of the White Worm*, has 'been all his life in Australia' (*Worm* 4), *The Snake's Pass* follows the adventures of an Englishman in Ireland, and both *Dracula* and *The Lady of the Shroud* exist largely within the ambiguous Balkan regions of Eastern Europe. This imperial interaction is, in a sense, inevitable. After all, by the turn of the century a quarter of the known world was under British rule. Britain controlled India, Canada, Australia, Hong Kong, and much of South-East Asia; Africa had been carved up between competing European powers; and even China was being challenged by Russia and Japan. For a *fin-de-siècle* Englishman – even one of the fictional variety – there was little hope of setting out into a world untouched by imperial intervention.

This formidable empire upon which the sun never set may have generated an outward display of power, but internally the cracks were beginning to show.² For historians such as Porter, imperialism was a 'symptom and an effect of [Britain's] decline in the world,' not of its strength.³ And while the popularly perceived shift from a mid-Victorian age of equipoise to an economically stagnated and politically unstable 'Great Depression' in the final quarter of the century has been challenged in recent years, the undisputable change in global positioning can be tied to a certain alteration in literary tone.⁴ These anxieties over retrogression and invasion expressed in literature of the imperial Gothic reflect the draining of Britain's industrial strength and her waning global

¹ Stoker, *Worm*, 20.

² See Piers Brendon, *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire* (London: Random House, 2010).

³ Bernard Porter, *The Lion's Share: A Short History of British Imperialism 1850-1983* (London: Longman, 1984), xi.

⁴ See W. L. Burn, *The Age of Equipoise: A Study of the Mid-Victorian Generation* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1964); A. E. Musson, 'The Great Depression in Britain, 1873-96,' *Journal of Economic History*, 19/02 (1959), 199-228.

influence. Early Victorian authors may have depicted England as a global exemplar whose sons could set an example to the world, but the writers of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Gothic fiction had no such confidence. As Brantlinger notes, the white men of the imperial Gothic do not always rise to the top: in fact, they are far more likely to sink down into savagery like Conrad's Kurtz, or lapse into the 'exotic torpor' of Tennyson's 'Lotos Eaters.'⁵

For Stoker, this threat of sinking beneath the weight of savagery is ever-present. There is a marked preoccupation with imperialism and its implications across his canon – a preoccupation that has led Arata to divide Stoker's fiction into two broad strands of colonial narrative.⁶ The first contains indirect narratives of invasion and imperialism, narratives that remain secondary yet encroach repeatedly upon the main plot. Among them are *The Snake's Pass*, which makes use of legends of the French invasions of Ireland; *The Mystery of the Sea* and its references to Sir Francis Drake, the Spanish Armada, and the Spanish-American War of 1898; and *The Man's* (1905) accounts of the Norman invasion of England. The second category consists of texts that engage explicitly with invasion fears. Aside from the threat posed by the antagonists themselves, who represent the eruption of dangerous and exotic powers, such novels tend to be set against the backdrop of imperial decline: the collapse of ancient Egyptian dynasties and contemporary unrest in *The Jewel of Seven Stars*; the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire in *The Lady of the Shroud*; the constant reminders of faded Druid, Roman, and Norman presence in *The Lair of The White Worm*. For Stoker, *Dracula* was the pinnacle of this direct literary engagement with imperial issues. It is frequently read not just as an articulation of late Victorian fears over colonial practices being revisited upon Britain, but as a kind of 'subterranean' comment on the Eastern Question – one of the most pressing issues of the period.⁷

This 'Eastern Question' revolved around the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, the long-ailing 'Sick Man of Europe,' and the fate of its increasingly volatile territories. After a resounding defeat in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 Ottoman holdings in Europe decreased dramatically as territories either declared independence or were

⁵ Patrick Brantlinger, 'Imperial Gothic: Atavism and the Occult in the British Adventure Novel, 1880-1914,' *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, 28/3 (1985), 243-52, at 248. Alfred Tennyson, 'The Lotos-Eaters,' in *Tennyson: A Selected Edition*, Christopher Ricks, ed. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), 70-80.

⁶ Stephen D. Arata, 'The Occidental Tourist: *Dracula* and the Anxiety of Reverse Colonisation,' *Victorian Studies*, 33/4 (1990), 621-45, at 625.

⁷ Wilt, 'Imperial Mouth,' 622.

subsumed into more powerful empires.⁸ Contemporary depictions of this disintegration and re-colonisation of once-great empires often voiced the process in terms of Social Darwinism – the weak being replaced by the strong.⁹ Much like the evolutionary patterns emerging in the natural world around them, the superior British race had struggled to the top of the human hierarchy through strength and determination while the weaker ones foundered. This is an idea Stoker would appear to have at least partially agreed with, given his references to Englishmen’s ‘power that is partly racial’ (*Worm* 12) and the ‘types’ of ‘Nordau and Lombroso’ (*Dracula* 342).¹⁰ As members of a superior race, expansion was thus an Englishman’s duty rather than as a self-serving decision: as Brantlinger notes, nature ‘abhors weak societies as much as it abhors vacuums, and strong societies cannot help rushing in to occupy the weak.’¹¹ As such, war was not an affliction but a welcome and proper way of discerning superiority, something Neo-Darwinian A. J. Marder termed ‘a glorious and inevitable mode of progress, sanctioned by a law of nature.’¹² When the Second Boer War broke out in 1899 it was welcomed by many Englishmen as a chance to demonstrate this racial superiority to the rest of the world. In the words of Henley’s *The Song of the Sword* (1892), such a war was the way of ‘sifting the nations/ The slag from the metal/ The waste and the weak/ From the fit and the strong.’¹³ Popular newspapers propagated such patriotic sentiments, extolling the strength of the British in comparison to a degraded and bestial Boer army. Verses such as Swinburne’s ‘The Transvaal’ (1899), which appeared in *The Times* the day after the Boers’ first offensive, compared the Boers to ‘dogs, agape with jaws afoam.’¹⁴ Faced with this dehumanised and savage foe, there was little doubt that England would naturally triumph, yet another example of a superior race restoring the natural order by beating an inferior race into submission.

⁸ See James J. Reid, *Crisis of the Ottoman Empire: Prelude to Collapse 1839-1878* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2000), 307-75.

⁹ See William Hughes, “‘To Build Together a New Nation’: Colonising Europe in Bram Stoker’s *The Lady of the Shroud*,” *Gothic Studies*, 5/2 (2003), 32-46, 34.

¹⁰ For further discussion of Lombroso and Nordau see Mike Hawkins, *Social Darwinism in European and American Thought, 1860-1945: Nature as Model and Nature as Threat* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

¹¹ Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness*, 7.

¹² A. J. Marder, quoted in Mark Kane, ‘Insiders/ Outsiders: Conrad’s *The Nigger of the Narcissus* and Bram Stoker’s *Dracula*,’ *The Modern Language Review*, 92/1 (January 1997), 1-21, at 6.

¹³ W. E. Henley, ‘The Song of the Sword,’ in *The Works of W. E. Henley: Poems* (1892; New York: AMS Press, 1970).

¹⁴ A. C. Swinburne, ‘The Transvaal,’ *The Times*, 12 October 1899, quoted in Karl Beckson, *London in the 1890s: A Cultural History* (New York and London: Norton, 1992), 372.

This clear distinction between British and non-British, familiar and foreign, was key to maintaining national identity. As Brock notes, ‘British national identity was defined, in Hegelian terms, against racially Othered signifiers.’¹⁵ In literature – especially the sensationalised Gothic genre – this meant depictions of non-British characters being defined by distinctly racial characteristics: the ‘massive [...] bushy’ eyebrows and ‘aquiline’ (*Dracula* 17) nose of Dracula, or the ‘wide nostrils’ (*Worm* 46), ‘great teeth’ (66), ‘white eyeballs’ (86) and ‘black face’ (86) of Oolanga. These exaggerated features create crude racial stereotypes that allow a protective line to be drawn between the self and the other, the familiar and the foreign.¹⁶ Such ‘lines’ are comparable to the boundary marks on a map, arbitrarily drawn yet serving to divide absolutely. Distinctions such as these deal only with the black and white: one either belongs to a certain race or is ‘other’ to it. In his attempts to support this ostensibly clear divide, however, Stoker inadvertently complicates it. By dint of the exotic and varied settings of his novels, Stoker cannot avoid creating characters that are not ethnically Caucasian. Mimi, of *The Lair of the White Worm*, is said to be half Burmese, *The Lady of the Shroud*’s Teuta presumably belongs to a South Slavic race, while Queen Tera of *The Jewel of Seven Stars* is of North African descent. Even *The Snake’s Pass*’s Nora is described as being ‘of the Spanish type’ (*Snake* 100) – a race looked down on as inferior elsewhere in Stoker’s canon.¹⁷ Despite the initial acknowledgement, this exotic otherness is never permitted to be fully realised, however. Instead, Western characteristics are imposed, the heroines’ features whitewashed in order to render them suitable romantic interests for the Englishmen that pursue them. As such, Stoker focuses on Mimi’s ‘pale’ (*Worm* 111) face but not her Asian features, Teuta’s ‘marble’ (*Shroud* 228) pallor that softens the darkness of her hair, and the contradictory ‘dusky white’ (*Jewel* 113) of Tera’s skin. Even Nora’s Spanish blood must be ‘temper[ed]’ by ‘Northern calm’ (*Snake* 100) to render her suitably attractive to Arthur. Although just exotic enough to fulfil the rather conventional role of the ‘unconventional’ heroine, they must all still be passably white, fluent in English, and fully Westernised to the customs of Great Britain. To an extent, then, Stoker would seem to imply that race itself is performative; in fulfilling a ‘white’ role one can be rendered Caucasian, however superficially.

¹⁵ Marilyn Brock, *From Wollstonecraft to Stoker: Essays on Gothic and Victorian Sensation Fiction* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2009), 7.

¹⁶ See Sander Gilman, *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 17-18.

¹⁷ In *The Mystery of the Sea*, Stoker refers to Spaniards as ‘swarthy’ (328), ‘dago[s]’ (383), and ‘copperheads’ (153).

In his discussion of the function of the racial ‘other’ in colonialist discourse, Homi Bhabha argues that the formation of the imperial culture’s authority requires two contradictory mechanisms: imitation and identification.

to ‘imitate’ is to cling to the denial of the ego’s limitations; to ‘identify’ is to assimilate conflictually. It is from between them, where the letter of the law will not be assigned as a sign, that culture’s double returns uncannily – neither the one nor the other, but the imposter – to mock and mimic.¹⁸

In terms of the imperial project, the colonised man imitates his coloniser, affirming the coloniser’s power, yet in the process losing the capacity to construct his own identity. This can only ever be an imitation, however, as the colonised can never truly identify with their coloniser. Should such a thing happen, they would no longer be the coloniser’s subject but their equal. It is in this uncertain space ‘between’ that the imposter arises – a figure such as Dracula, who can blend in to civilised society despite his ‘otherness.’ Indeed, Bhabha’s exemplary ‘mimic man’ – the derogatorily labelled Babu Indian, who ‘is the effect of colonial mimesis in which to be anglicised is emphatically not to be English’ – bears a striking resemblance to Stoker’s count.¹⁹ The ‘Babu’ (or ‘Baboo’), according to Yule and Burnell’s Anglo-Indian dictionary, was a ‘superficially anglicised’ Indian – a term that by 1886 was being used with a ‘slight savour of disparagement.’²⁰ It was popularised by late nineteenth-century literature such as F. A. Anstey’s *Baboo Hurry Bungsho Jabberjee, BA*, a subgenre which helped to create a stereotypical figure who was contemptible not just for his posturing, but for his impudence in imitating the traits of the English gentleman. Like the Babu Indian, Dracula speaks ‘excellent English’ (*Dracula* 15), although, having learnt it primarily from books he speaks in the unidiomatic, oddly-intonated speech of the foreigner – as the Count himself admits, ‘I know the grammar and the words, but yet I know not how to speak them’ (20). As such, his erroneous references to ‘my friend Harker Jonathan’ (*Dracula* 22) or overly-ornate comments on ‘foul bauble[s] of man’s vanity’ (26) are comparable to Jabberjee’s endless ‘Babu English’ malapropisms about ‘tak[ing] the cow by the horns’ or ‘strik[ing] while the iron is incandescent.’²¹ Dracula also seeks to imitate the affectations of the English gentleman:

¹⁸ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (1994; London: Routledge, 2012), 195.

¹⁹ Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 125. For a study of the transformation of ‘Babu’ from a respectful Hindu title to a derogatory one see Christine Baxter, ‘The Genesis of the Babu, Bhabanicharan Bannerji and Kalikata Kamalalam,’ in *Rule, Protest and Identity: Aspects of Modern South Asia*, P. Robb and D. Taylor, eds. (London: Curzon Press, 1978), 203.

²⁰ Henry Yule and Arthur Coke Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: The Anglo-Indian Dictionary* (1886; London: Wordsworth, 1995), 44. For further study see Shompa Lahiri, *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian Encounters, Race, and Identity, 1880-1930* (Oxford: Routledge, 2013), 92-95.

²¹ F. A. Anstey, *Baboo Hurry Bungsho Jabberjee, BA* (New York: D. Appleton, 1897), xv-xvi.

he has furnished his castle in ‘beautiful fabrics [...like those] in Hampton Court’ (*Dracula* 19), and wishes to purchase an ‘estate [...] of some twenty acres’ (23) in England. He has even assigned himself the anglicised title of ‘Count Dracula,’ his own people previously having known him as *boyar* and *voivode* in their native tongue.²² This stands in contrast to Stoker’s preference elsewhere for having his foreign nobles retain their native titles – the Balkan rulers of *The Lady of the Shroud* are ‘vladikas,’ ‘voivodes,’ or ‘voivodins’ instead of princes and princesses.

Despite Dracula’s determination to blend in and be ‘like the rest,’ the narrative insists upon keeping him a ‘stranger in a strange land’ (*Dracula* 20). This is less to do with the effectiveness of his assimilation – which would seem to be quite successful given the lack of external interference to his plans – and more to do with his English adversaries’ desire to ‘other’ him. His efforts are all narrated second hand, with only middle-class Englishmen and women being given direct voices. This is true not just of the Count, but of all ‘others’ – the upper-class Lord Godalming and the American Quincy Morris are also denied voices. This desire to fix and categorise the racial ‘other’ is also an attempt to categorise ‘Britishness’: the question of what makes one savage is also the question of what makes one civilised. In Said’s landmark study *Orientalism* he argues that this racial ‘other’ – particularly the Eastern racial ‘other’ – is a ‘European invention,’ one created by the West ‘as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience.’ European culture has strengthened its identity by setting West and East as opposites, the one ‘rational, developed, humane, superior,’ and the other ‘aberrant, undeveloped, inferior.’ This imagining is not about the actual state of things, but about maintaining the balance of power in the West’s favour:

Orientalism can be discussed and analysed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.²³

On the surface, Stoker would appear to set out to deepen this gulf. His novels are obsessed with the compass points and his every description is categorised by location: it is always ‘the East Pier’ (*Dracula* 79), ‘the western wall’ (*Jewel* 126), ‘the southern window’ (*Worm* 103), or ‘the northern horizon’ (*Shroud* 327). In *Dracula*, a literal collision

²² While Dracula tells Harker that in Transylvania ‘I am noble; I am *boyar*’ (*Dracula* 20), it is Van Helsing who discovers his original title, announcing that the Count ‘must, indeed, have been that Voivode Dracula who won his name against the Turk’ (240).

²³ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (1978; London: Penguin, 2003), 1-2; 300; 3.

between East and West is acted out by the wreck of the *Demeter*, a ship sailing in from the east and crashing violently before the English viewers on the ‘West Cliff’ (*Dracula* 79). This impact is jarring, causing a ‘considerable concussion’ and ‘strain[ing] [...] every spar, rope, and stay’ as the structure came ‘crashing down’ (*Dracula* 78) – an early representation of the disasters to be caused by the shadowy figure of the East. Later, Dracula carries out his attacks against Lucy Westenra – literally the ‘light of the West,’ as many critics have noted – ‘across the harbour [on...] the East Cliff,’ while Mina watches helplessly on ‘the edge of the West Cliff’ (*Dracula* 89).²⁴ In *The Lady of the Shroud*, Stoker goes even further, emphasising the foreignness not just of the East – the standard racial ‘other’ of the time – but of the ‘North and South, and West also’ (*Shroud* 188): in short, anywhere that is not England.

In keeping with these theories of the East being created to stand as a converse to the West, the national identity of Stoker’s British characters – both abroad and at home – is defined in relation to the ‘others’ that they encounter. Contained within the constant contrasting of the rational Westerner and the irrational Easterner lies the inherent belief in Western superiority. When Harker finds Dracula’s atlas, it ‘opened naturally to England’ (*Dracula* 24) not just because the Count has looked often at that particular page, but because England is the ‘natural’ centre of the world. As such, Stoker’s characters can easily understand the ‘queer words’ of the ‘many nationalities’ they pass with little more than the help of a ‘polyglot dictionary’ (*Dracula* 6) and their natural English superiority. As representatives of a sophisticated and complex culture interacting with a heterogenous and primitive mass of ‘foreign’ cultures, Stoker’s Englishmen inevitably triumph with little difficulty. Harker needs just one dictionary to understand the entire ‘whirlpool’ (*Dracula* 28) of races in the Carpathians, and Rupert has perfected the generic ‘Balkan language’ (*Shroud* 235) in a matter of weeks. This discourse of superiority is so entrenched that it is accepted by the racial ‘other’ themselves: the frightened peasants that Harker passes refuse to answer him until ‘learning that [he] was English’ (*Dracula* 6), while the initially reticent Mountaineers declare their ‘love for the gallant Englishman [...] from the Great Nation [...] mighty Britain’ (*Shroud* 236). So much so, in fact, that Rupert’s somewhat questionable desire to interbreed a ‘little colony of his own people’ (*Shroud* 218) with the local population, a ‘little settlement [...] away from the frontiers

²⁴ See Richard Wasson, ‘The Politics of *Dracula*,’ *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, 9/1 (1966), 24-27; Rob Shepherd, ‘Reverse Colonisation, Dubious Parentage and Refusal of Closure in *Dracula*,’ *Albeit* (2014).

of the Empire [that] may be of some service to the nation and the King' (219), goes uncontested by characters and author alike. Although not yet their king, this is apparently Rupert's right as a representative of England. As *Dracula's* lunatic Renfield declares to the assembled representatives of the West, 'you gentlemen [...] by nationality, by heredity, or by the possession of natural gifts, are fitted to hold your respective places in the moving world' (*Dracula* 244).

Beneath this insistence upon the absolute difference between West and East lies the fear that there is actually very little difference at all. This is a fear frequently addressed by *fin-de-siècle* fiction, with authors such as Haggard regarding the civilisation of the West as little more than 'the veneer [on] a table,' a thin covering hiding the true barbarism beneath.²⁵ These fictional fears had clear factual counterparts, with late nineteenth-century politicians and colonists frequently expressing concerns over potential 'backsliding' among Englishmen abroad – men such as Mimi's father in *The Lair of the White Worm*, who 'went for a soldier when he was just over twenty, and was drafted abroad [...] and got] married to a Burmese' (*Worm* 23). As Sir Harry H. Johnston, first governor of Nyasaland (Malawi) wrote in 1897, 'I have been increasingly struck with the rapidity with which such members of the white race [...] can throw over the restraints of civilisation and develop into savages of unbridled lust and cruelty.'²⁶ The ease with which this 'veneer' can be stripped away is illustrated by Stoker in Harker's introduction to the Count.²⁷ Over a series of days Dracula removes all of Harker's things from his room, slowly stripping him of his Englishness. Among these items are his 'paper[s]' and 'notes' (the representation of language and communication), his 'memoranda [...] relating to railways and travel' (a symbol of modernity and technology), his 'letter of credit' (his proof of identity), and even his clothes (*Dracula* 43) – the very essence of Western civilisation. In practice, his 'Englishness' consists of little more than cloth and paper. In dressing himself in Harker's clothes, Dracula drains Harker of his Englishness and revitalises himself – a parasitic relationship akin to blood drinking. Having stripped Harker of his identity, the newly-disguised Dracula imposes a new monstrous persona upon him – much like that which he imposes upon Lucy in later chapters. As such, the townsfolk believe that it is Harker who is responsible for the 'wickedness' occurring in

²⁵ Haggard, *Allan Quatermain*, 12.

²⁶ Harry H. Johnston, *British Central Africa* (London: Methuen, 1897), 68, cited in Brantlinger, 'Imperial Gothic,' 247.

²⁷ Arata notes that this destruction of 'cultural, political, and racial selves' does not occur in vampire tales such as Le Fanu's 'Carmilla' or Polidori's 'The Vampyre.' Arata, 'Occidental Tourist,' 630.

their midst; national identity being in essence performative, Dracula needs only to don an Englishman's clothes to 'become' English.

The ease with which Dracula can impersonate an Englishman in his homeland of Transylvania threatens to be equally effective in London itself. The Count's stated aim is to blend in with the rest of British society, to 'go through the crowded streets of your mighty London' and be 'like the rest, so that no man stops if he see me, or pause in his speaking if he hear my words' (*Dracula* 20). To this end, he has amassed a great collection of English books, believing that in learning about 'history, geography, politics, political economy, botany, geology, law – all relating to England and English life and customs and manners' (*Dracula* 19) he will camouflage himself. In short, he seeks to familiarise himself with every aspect of British life that is 'other' to his own in Transylvania: not just the human aspects of its legal systems and politics, but its natural elements as well. This aim would ostensibly align Dracula as the perfect colonised specimen: he wishes to discard his old 'inferior' life and follow to the letter the ways of the superior Englishman. In practice, however, this process is far from desirable. So devoted is he to achieving this mimesis that, if realised, he would be indistinguishable from a genuine Englishman, his looks and speech so perfectly refined that he no longer *imitates* but *identifies*.

Dracula's extensive studies of British culture have not just enabled him to impersonate an Englishman, they have moulded his actions into a horrific parody of imperialism. The Count proves so suited to such techniques, so open to 'growing and [...] experimenting' (*Dracula* 302), that the student soon threatens to become master. He combines knowledge of East and West, old and new, in a way his opponents seem unable – or unwilling – to entertain. Van Helsing describes Dracula as being 'in some faculties of mind [...] only a child; but he is growing, and some things that were childish at the first are now of man's stature' (*Dracula* 302). Critics such as Arata have seen the idea of racial development behind this familiar metaphor of the child growing to adult, reasoning that as 'Dracula's growth is not bound by a single lifetime [...] he is in effect his own species, or his own race, displaying in his person the progress of ages.'²⁸ Given the tendency of imperialist rhetoric to view colonial subjects as children, immature beings in need of strict guidance from a superior 'maternal' nation, this is a potent comment on Dracula's

²⁸ See Arata, 'Occidental Tourist,' 640.

imperial imitations.²⁹ If, as European imperial powers argued, a ‘child’ colony could not be given independence as it was not yet ready – or as one popular textbook on Dutch East India put it, that ‘if a young child is allowed to stand on his own legs too soon, it will be easy for him to stumble and fall, or wander off the good path’ – then Dracula’s ‘race’ is leaving childhood behind.³⁰ Being ‘now of man’s stature,’ the vampiric race is ready to break the binds of childhood and forge an imperial path of its own.

The fictional vampiric race’s developing ‘man’s stature’ perhaps owes a debt to the real human race behind it. Arata points to Emily Gerard’s *The Land Beyond the Forest: Facts, Figures, and Fancies from Transylvania*, a recognised source of Stoker’s, that sees the Romanian people as a representation of ‘manhood in the future tense.’³¹ Gerard accepts the popular Victorian belief that the Romanians were the descendants of ancient Rome, and thus a ‘Western’ race suited to rise to superiority above the ‘Eastern’ ones.

It is scarcely hazardous to prophesy that this people have a great future before them, and that a day will come when, other nations having degenerated and spent their strength, these descendants of the ancient Romans, rising phoenix-like from their ashes, will step forward with a whole fund of latent power and virgin material, to rule as masters where formerly they have crouched as slaves.³²

Dracula’s threat to England thus comes not just from his embodiment of the dangerous vampiric race, but the Romanian one – a race waiting patiently to ‘step forward’ when previously superior nations tire. As such, he threatens not just to mimic imperial practices, but to surpass them. Dracula’s subsequent invasion of London echoes British imperial activities abroad; as Arata observes, the vampire’s journey from Transylvania to England stands as an inversion of the latter’s own exploitation of ‘weaker’ races.³³ Here lurks the dark underside of imperialism: the pervasive fear of successful colonial resistance and the resultant collapse of the British self.

This feared collapse of the British self is also present in *The Jewel of Seven Stars*. As their connection grows, the Egyptian sorceress Tera deracinates Margaret Trelawny

²⁹ See William B. Cohen, ‘The Colonised as Child: British and French Colonial Rule,’ *African Historical Studies*, 3/2 (1970), 427-31.

³⁰ A. J. Eijkmann and F. W. Stapel, *Leerboek der geschiedenis van Nederlandsch Ost Indie*, quoted in translation in Cohen, ‘Child,’ 428.

³¹ Emily Gerard, *The Land Beyond the Forest: Facts, Figures, and Fancies from Transylvania* (London: William Blackwood, 1888), 211. Arata, ‘Occidental Tourist,’ references Gerard’s conception of the Romanian identity at 640-41.

³² Gerard, *Forest*, 211.

³³ Arata, ‘Occidental Tourist,’ 634.

until her speech is ‘parrot-like’ (*Jewel* 204), dictated by an external other beyond her control. As the narrative continues she becomes increasingly associated with Orient instead of Occident: a ‘queenly figure’ (*Jewel* 64), ‘undulating as the lily or the lotus’ (64), with eyes like ‘the great distant lamps of a mosque’ (28). As Margaret’s ‘lapses into her new self’ (*Jewel* 209) become more pronounced, Ross is forced to consider the possibility that the Egyptian queen has deracinated her to the point that her original self no longer exists – or even that it never existed at all. This raises the possibility that Ross, an eligible Englishman of the professional middle classes, has inadvertently rejected his own countrywoman to pursue an Egyptian lover. This act precipitates the collapse of the British self in two ways: through the undermining of the desirability of the Englishwoman on the one hand, and the respectability of the Englishman on the other.

The revised conclusion of 1912, the ostensibly ‘happy’ ending Stoker’s critics demanded, does not alleviate this threat of deracination. The original ending contained within the 1903 edition of the text is surprisingly gruesome for its time – and for Stoker as an author – having Ross mistakenly rescue Tera instead of Margaret and his companions die. This was not received well by contemporary readers, with reviewers complaining that they had ‘addled their brains’ trying to even comprehend such a ‘most extraordinary story.’³⁴ Nine years after *The Jewel of Seven Stars*’ original publication it was republished, with chapter sixteen (‘Powers Old and New’) excised, and a new ending in which the Great Experiment fails and Malcolm Ross and Margaret marry. There is considerable speculation around the cause of this revision.³⁵ In his biography of Stoker, Harry Ludlam claims that it was the publishers who demanded a more conventional ending, disappointed with poor sales.³⁶ William Hughes, on the other hand, points to Stoker’s 1908 essay in which the author insists upon the virtues of self-censorship:³⁷

The strongest controlling force of imagination is in the individual with whom it originates. No one has power to stop the workings of imagination [...] individual discretion is the first line of defence against such evils as may come

³⁴ ‘Some Novels of the Season,’ *The Review of Reviews*, 28 (1903), 638, cited in William Hughes, ‘Bram Stoker,’ *Victorian Fiction Research Guide*, 25 (1996).

³⁵ Stoker was not averse to revising his texts, cutting some 19,000 words from his 1905 novel *The Man* for its 1909 American republication as *The Gates of Life*. Glover notes that Stoker ‘was always willing to revise or adapt at a publisher’s request [...] solicit[ing] suggestions and criticisms from friends and associates [and...] alter[ing] his manuscripts accordingly.’ Glover, *Vampires, Mummies and Liberals*, 8. While the revision of *The Jewel of Seven Stars* must be distinguished from these other examples, the alterations occurring nine years after the initial publication and not being necessitated by the demands of an overseas market, Stoker’s willingness to revise texts upon instruction provides valuable insight into his authorial practices.

³⁶ Harry Ludlam, *A Biography of Dracula: The Life Story of Bram Stoker* (London: Foulsham, 1962), 128.

³⁷ William Hughes, ‘Profane Resurrections: Bram Stoker’s Self-Censorship in *The Jewel of Seven Stars*,’ in *Gothick Origins and Innovations*, A. L. Smith and V. Sage, ed. (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994), 132-40.

from imagination – itself pure, a process of thought, working unintentionally with impure or dangerous material. ('Censorship' 482)

Hughes posits that this revised ending was likely a result of self-censorship, Stoker removing the controversial chapter and altering the ending to avoid inciting religious doubt. He is also quick to note the specifics of the subject being addressed in 'The Censorship of Fiction,' however: literary pornography, or the exploitation of 'the sex impulses' ('Censorship' 483) in fiction. Stoker is clearly not quite as quick to practice 'restraint' ('Censorship' 484) in this department as he would claim, sections of *Dracula* in particular having explicit sexual overtones that are every bit as 'wantonly coarse' (486) as those works he decries. *The Jewel of Seven Stars* itself crosses similar sexual taboos, the revised edition retaining the gratuitously voyeuristic scene in which the naked double of Margaret is unwrapped by her own father to the fascination of the surrounding men. Among these men is Margaret's fiancé who, forbidden to yet look upon Margaret herself in such a manner, gazes at her replica 'with irreverent eyes,' an act he deems 'indecent [...] almost sacrilegious' (*Jewel* 235).

Considering the efforts Stoker would appear to have made to leave a sinister shadow over the revised ending, and the dire financial state he was in by 1912, the former argument – that of enforced (or at least encouraged) censorship – would seem a more likely explanation.³⁸ The revised ending conforms to external pressures to produce a less explicitly provocative ending, yet retains at its heart the nuances of an inherently nonconformist text. As it is never established that Ross's theories about Margaret's 'dual existence' (*Jewel* 208) were incorrect, Queen Tera's disappearance at the end of the experiment could be interpreted as a final exchange having taken place between the two women. Stoker would seem to point towards this possibility, having Margaret wear 'the mummy robe [...] and the strange Jewel of Seven Stars' as her marriage vestments, while telling her husband with a 'far-away eloquent dreamy look' that Queen Tera 'may have found the joy she sought' (*Jewel* 250). While certainly a less violent show of aggression than the original, this ending offers the potential for a different form of deracinating subversion. Margaret's marriage to Malcolm Ross is presumably intended to produce children – children who, if Ross's initial conclusions were correct, will bear not English but Egyptian blood. Tera's powers would seem to have something ancestral about them,

³⁸ Lupton offers another explanation, arguing that, as Stoker died 20 April 1912 following a series of strokes, he would have been too ill to write the 1912 revision himself. Instead, Lupton attributes this new ending to Stoker's wife. Carter Lupton, "'Mummymania' for the Masses – is Egyptology Cursed by the Mummy's Curse?" in *Consuming Ancient Egypt*, Sally MacDonald and Michael Rice, eds. (Walnut Creek: Left Coast, 2003), 23-46.

it being noted earlier in the narrative that it was her father who had schooled her in magic as a child. As such, it can be presumed that these modern offspring will in time also possess such abilities – abilities that could devastate the modern world. What is more, as the only child of an aging widower, ‘Margaret’s’ entire familial line rests with her. And if it is not her but Tera who weds Ross in the closing pages, then the queen is set to start a new legacy of her own in Britain.

The constant emergence of such threats in Stoker’s writing muddies the carefully defined boundaries upon which imperial Britain depends – the divide between the civilised and the savage, the conqueror and the conquered. This blurring of ostensibly clear boundaries is exemplified by Rupert’s increasingly confused national identity in *The Lady of the Shroud*. As noted, his authority over the primitive natives of the Land of the Blue Mountains is based primarily in his Englishness: he is ‘that gallant Englisher’ (*Shroud* 356), of a ‘great nation, wherein the principle of freedom it a vital principle’ (389). It is the Englishness of their new arrival that helps this small and backward Balkan nation creep forwards, obtaining modern weapons from his country’s allies and imposing upon his new compatriots the ‘spirit and customs which have made his own country great’ (*Shroud* 389-90). As such, although Rupert may reside in the region and even call it ‘his’ country, it is essential that he keeps his British nationality. As the narrative progresses, however, Rupert’s sense of his national identity deteriorates, something he tries to reconcile with increasingly contradictory statements; he insists that ‘the Land of the Blue Mountains is my country now, despite the fact that I am still a loyal subject of good King Edward’ (*Shroud* 297). In his eventual decision to surrender his British nationality and become ‘naturalised [...] to the Land of the Blue Mountains’ (*Shroud* 376), Rupert undermines the ultimate division of the coloniser and the colonist. As he is no longer English, the natural superiority that won him his kingship has disappeared: the coloniser has become the colonised.

Stoker’s portrayal of the Mountaineers is a reimagining of the *bon sauvage* or ‘noble savage,’ but with white skin instead of dark. They are figures of ‘romantic naturalism,’ living an idyllic life of simplicity away from the corruption of modern civilisation.³⁹ They are a people unlike any Rupert has met before, ‘so proud, so haughty, so reserved, so distant, so absolutely fearless, so honourable, so hospitable’ (*Shroud* 213) – ‘civil [and] almost deferential’ (215) towards their guest, but at the same time utterly

³⁹ Terry Jay Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2001), 6.

‘untameable’ (190). To Rupert, the Mountaineers are completely free of the evils of modern civilisation, ‘the most primitive people I ever met’ (*Shroud* 212) – a bold statement for a man who has travelled the largely untouched wildernesses of Africa, Asia, and South America – yet they possess a cultured savagery that he can never quite understand. Although entirely unlike those of England, they too operate by ‘rule[s]’ and ‘etiquette,’ and have rituals and ceremonies that, although primitive, are ‘as regular and quick and simultaneous as St. James’s Palace’ (*Shroud* 214-15). As an outsider, Rupert cannot hope to understand these practices. As such, even after he has declared his love for the small Balkan nation and desire to lead the Mountaineers as one of their own, he must still voice these unfamiliar rituals in anglicised terms if he has any hope of making sense of them.

The Lair of the White Worm’s Edgar Caswell also complicates this dichotomy. He is a gentleman by birth, but not by character: ‘a savage, but a cultured savage’ (*Worm* 20). Even more curiously, this savagery would appear to come from his noble English lineage rather than from the expected corruption of his time in Africa – he shares the same ancestral characteristics displayed by generation after generation of Caswells, ‘cold, selfish, dominant’ (*Worm* 11). Caswell stands as an unwelcome reminder of atavism, that to go back just a few thousand years was to find Englishmen as ‘savage’ as Africans – a savagery still not yet fully extinguished. Stoker compares these two breeds of savage – the Englishman and the African, the one bearing the ‘traces of softening civilisation of ages’ (*Worm* 20) and the other ‘unreformed’ and ‘unsoftened’ (20) – through the characters of Caswell and his servant Oolanga. While Caswell displays signs of ‘some of the higher instincts and education of man’ (*Worm* 20), Oolanga is purely animalistic: he is a ‘tortured beast’ filled with ‘the grossest animal passions’ (66), who ‘sniffed [the ground....] like a bloodhound’ (46) and ‘ground his great teeth’ (66). Despite his cruelty, Caswell retains the human status and inherent superiority awarded to the white man. Oolanga, on the other hand, as a member of ‘one of the most primitive races of the earth’ (*Worm* 65), is considered a barbaric subspecies, only ‘ostensibly human’ (20). He is an amalgamation of the raw emotions and vices that ‘civilisation’ seeks to suppress, a seething mass of ‘vanity [...], lust and greed’ (*Worm* 67) – the opposite of the ‘noble savage’ depicted in the uncivilised white Mountaineers of *The Lady of the Shroud*.

These damning judgements, however, are all those of white men. Stoker muses that, in Oolanga’s own eyes, he was doubtlessly filled with ‘noble and captivating qualities’ (*Worm* 65) – or at least, with those qualities deemed noble and captivating in

West Africa. As such, Oolanga would have been ‘startled’ to learn his ‘real value’ (*Worm* 65), a value that Stoker insists he is incapable of understanding. This ‘real value’ is that which is placed upon him by white Europeans, a value presumed to be of significantly more worth than that placed upon him by his fellow Africans. Indeed, it is noted that Oolanga is a ‘great person in the nigger world of the African West Coast,’ and that ‘men of his own colour [...] are always ready to trumpet his greatness’ (*Worm* 37). The qualities so admired by his countrymen are his ‘lavish[ness] with money’ and his ability to ‘make them afraid’ (*Worm* 37). What are these, however, if not the governing traits of the English aristocracy? Edgar Caswall has secured respect using the exact same means: he holds extravagant parties for his neighbours to celebrate his return and is feared by all on first sight due to his air of ‘ruthless[ness]’ and ‘domination’ (*Worm* 20). That which would at first appear to differentiate the two actually equates them, the values of the ‘nigger world’ being proven not so different to those of Europe after all. This, however, is of little consequence in England, where even a mass-murdering, serpentine monster is considered superior to Oolanga when it takes the guise of an aristocratic white woman. Despite acknowledging her true nature relatively early in the novel, Stoker still holds that the notion of Lady Arabella being with Oolanga – ‘the white woman, and the black man’ (*Worm* 50) – was abominable, a grotesque contrast that would prompt laughter and revulsion in any representative of the ‘white race’ (65). This ‘contrast’ is not that of the human and the inhuman, but of colour: as ‘the White Worm’ Arabella still ranks above the black man. Indeed, Oolanga’s foreignness and his perceived evilness are intrinsically linked in Adam’s eyes: he is not just a ‘nigger’ (*Worm* 36) and a ‘savage,’ but a ‘devil-ridden child of the forest and the swamp’ (20), a ‘malignant devil’ (36), and a ‘monster’ (37).

For Stoker, the imperial and the occult are often connected. Rupert recounts his travels through foreign lands, amongst ‘savages’ who have carried ‘unchecked traditions and beliefs [...] and powers’ (*Shroud* 251-52) through the ages. These ‘powers’ that lurk in the shadows of the uncivilised world are explicitly occult: ‘wild, mystic rites held in the deep gloom of African forests’; ‘fanatic priests’ of the Himalayas; ‘rites of inconceivable horror in the fastnesses of Patagonia’; and ‘wild, fantastic dances of the Devil-worshippers of Madagascar’ (*Shroud* 287). These four different peoples, spread across three different continents, share nothing in common but their perceived barbarism – a barbarism that is largely due to resistance to colonial efforts, residing as they do in ‘realms where commerce and pure real affairs have no foothold’ (*Shroud* 188). As in

Stoker's other Gothic tales, an unfettered belief in the sublime is shown to only be possible away from the civilising restraints of the modern metropolis.

In Rupert's youthful ventures through the shadowy corners of the world he is shaping himself for a 'loftier adventure, which would crown more worthily [his] matured manhood' (*Shroud* 189). This idea that one must journey out into the unknown and explore in order to become a man is common in imperial adventure stories of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As Brock notes, the 'colonial adventure was often depicted as a rite of manhood and featured in narratives about upper and middle-class enterprisers conquering uncharted territories and dark continents.'⁴⁰ In Haggard's *Allan Quatermain* the importance of this adventuring spirit to English masculinity is made clear: 'this is what Englishmen are, adventurers to the backbone; and all our magnificent muster-roll of colonies, each of which will in time become a great nation, testify to the extraordinary value of the spirit of adventure.'⁴¹ But while in adventure tales an Englishman might journey out into the unknown to discover his heroic self, in Gothic narratives he was far more likely to find his dark self. In the depiction of the rapacious 'other' imperial Britain sees its own monstrous reflection staring back. At this, Stoker excels. In *The Jewel of Seven Stars* the British characters travel far into the deserts of Egypt only to bring back the mummy of a woman who bears a 'strange likeness' (*Jewel* 207) to Trelawny's own daughter. Likewise in *Dracula*, in his first encounter with the Count, Harker in a sense meets himself; the two bond over books and a shared love of England, with the Englishman musing that his new friend 'would have made a wonderful solicitor' (*Dracula* 31). This equivalence is finally realised in the much commented upon scene in which Harker looks for the Count in a mirror and sees only his own reflection: 'there was no sign of a man in it, except myself' (*Dracula* 25).⁴² The expected opposition between the two, these representatives of East and West, is thus undermined and an unforeseen equivalence established: the one an 'Orientalist travelling East' and the other 'an Occidental travelling West.'⁴³ In these dark spaces and dissolving boundaries Stoker perhaps encourages an unwelcome comparison between the vampire and the imperialist. Both are 'parasites,' leeching upon living things to survive. They prosper at the expense of others, consuming and draining countries and people of that which is valuable to them: the literal and symbolic sucking of life-blood.

⁴⁰ Brock, *Stoker*, 7.

⁴¹ Haggard, *Allan Quatermain*, 89.

⁴² Arata, 'Occidental Tourist,' discusses this scene at 638.

⁴³ Arata, 'Occidental Tourist,' 638.

The tantalising lure of these dark spaces and uncharted territories has inspired generations of writers, from Defoe to Conrad. Marlow, the adventurer of *Heart of Darkness*, recalls his childhood dreams of adventure, a ‘passion’ engendered by those ‘glories of exploration’ extolled by the ‘blank spaces’ on the map.⁴⁴ Many tales have begun this way, with blank malleable spaces which allow reader and writer alike to dream of unexplored worlds.⁴⁵ When Rupert discovers that there are no accurate maps of the Land of the Blue Mountains, he initially finds it exhilarating. When his adventure is done, however, and his position secured, he reverts back to colonist, seeking to make his new land knowable by mapping it. Wanting to ‘survey the whole country’ he sets out aboard an aeroplane, accompanied by ‘military and naval experts’ with ‘scientific apparatus of various kinds, also cameras and range-finders, so that they could mark their maps as they required’ (*Shroud* 378). As a ruler, his concern is no longer the adventure and freedom that first drew him to the region, but control and regulation. The very unknowability that was so attractive at the start of the novel now threatens to depose him if not overwritten accordingly.

Upon learning that he is to travel to Transylvania to visit Castle Dracula, Harker is similarly thrilled to discover that ‘there are no maps of this country as yet to compare with our own Ordnance Survey maps’ (*Dracula* 1). His chosen breed of map, the ‘Ordnance Survey,’ is particularly telling. Its name indicates its military roots, having originated in 1747 with the mapping of the Scottish Highlands in an attempt to suppress the clans involved in the Jacobite rebellion.⁴⁶ This imperialist history continued with the mapping of Ireland in the nineteenth century, one of the most ambitious projects of its time. The Ordnance Survey maps not only made the unfamiliar and hostile Irish landscapes amenable to imperial administrative structures, but overwrote the place names of an entire nation, inscribing Gaelic names in a phonetic anglicised form for native English speakers.⁴⁷ At Stoker’s time of writing, Ordnance Survey mapping had only been carried out in the British Isles. As such, Harker’s remark that Ordnance Survey maps of

⁴⁴ Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, 8.

⁴⁵ Among Phillips’ list of authors inspired by maps are Jules Verne and Robert Louis Stevenson, who was inspired to write *Treasure Island* after drawing maps of islands for his son. Richard Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire: Geographies of Adventure* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1997).

⁴⁶ See Rachel Hewitt, *Map of a Nation: A Biography of The Ordnance Survey* (London: Granta, 2011). Clougherty briefly discusses the Ordnance Survey map in relation to *Dracula*. R. J. Clougherty Jr., ‘Voiceless Outsiders: Count Dracula as Bram Stoker,’ *New Hibernia Review*, 4/1 (2000), 138-51, at 146.

⁴⁷ See J. H. Andrews, *A Paper Landscape: The Ordnance Survey in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975).

Transylvania do not exist ‘as yet’ is a striking reflection of his colonial mind-set: the Balkan nations are by no means out of the empire’s reach.

This scramble to map the world was also a scramble to ratify colonial power. To map a space is to assert control over it: to compress it, to decide what is worth including and what excluding. This is clearly illustrated by the number of societies, ancient and modern, that have adhered to the rule of ethnocentricity in the construction of their world maps, placing their own territories or Holy Lands at the centre.⁴⁸ This ‘subliminal geometry’ lends geopolitical force to geographical renderings, legitimising particular world views and turning maps into ideological documents.⁴⁹ A society’s world map interprets not just their own place, but that of the world around them, the inaccuracies laden with meaning; Mercator’s shrunken Africa, for instance, or the enlarged land mass of North America.⁵⁰ As such, the only truly accurate world map would have to be the size of the world itself – like Lewis Carroll’s surreal disaster in *Sylvie and Bruno Concluded*, with ‘the scale of a mile to a mile.’⁵¹ This is not to argue that the accuracies and inaccuracies of cartography are always meant as conscious displays of power, simply that societal inequalities are inevitably transcribed on to physical renderings; the powerful are given prominence on paper as in life.

The power of the map, as Harley notes, is that it operates ‘behind a mask of a seemingly neutral science,’ concealing its social and political dimensions beneath a display of naturalness and transparency.⁵² It is thus easy to overlook the marked difference between maps and landscapes: while a landscape can be neutral, a map has a patron that finances its creation and a reason for its commission. They are crucial to maintaining state power – as Rupert realises upon his ascendance to king of the Land of the Blue Mountains – regulating and monitoring a country’s borders, population, and military strength. Maps also change the way that power is exercised: they allow commanders to fight battles remotely with pins and strategies rather than swords, and for imperial powers to carve up territories and claim them as their own without seeing the

⁴⁸ Ancient Greece, Babylonia, and China, medieval Christian Europe and the Islamic East, and modern Britain and North America are just some of the civilisations to adhere to ethnocentricity in their maps. See J. B. Harley, ‘Deconstructing the Map,’ *Cartographica: The International Journal for Geographic Information and Geovisualisation*, 26/2 (1989), 1-20, at 6-7.

⁴⁹ J. B. Harley, ‘Maps, Knowledge, and Power,’ in *The Iconography of Landscape*, Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 289-90.

⁵⁰ The Mercator projection depicts Africa as equal in size to Greenland, when in fact it is fourteen times larger, and renders Alaska comparable to Brazil when it is actually almost five times smaller.

⁵¹ Lewis Carroll, *Sylvie and Bruno Concluded* (London: Macmillan, 1893), 169.

⁵² Harley, ‘Deconstructing the Map,’ 7.

reality of their actions. The map, then, provides a rendering of reality that is easier to manipulate and control than the physical landscape it represents. It can be edited, censored, and falsified, a manmade ‘truth’ overwriting reality in the minds of those who read it.⁵³ To map a place, then, is to have authority over it, not just to make it knowable but to claim it as your own – a valuable tool for imperial Europe.

Eventually, however, there will be nowhere left to map. To many Europeans, the turn of the century signalled just that: ‘the conclusion and the end of geography [...that] there was nowhere left to go.’⁵⁴ With the cessation of adventures in the real world many writers retreated back into imaginary spaces, mapping fantastical realms and the stories they produced. For authors such as J. M. Barrie the two intersected, fictional spaces meeting factual. Among the illustrations in Barrie’s 1906 *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* was a scale map of the gardens, the material landmarks of the ‘Round Pond’ and ‘The Broad Walk’ peppered with the fantastical additions of the ‘Fairies’ Winter Palace’ or ‘Cecco Hewlett’s Tree.’⁵⁵ These layers of reality allow their reader to occupy both spaces simultaneously: to walk through the familiar gardens of London while being whisked away on magical wings. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle’s *The Lost World* (1912) makes a similar effort, including alongside the text the ‘first map of the lost world’ compiled during the protagonists’ adventures in the Amazon. Like the Ordnance Survey maps of Ireland, the place names included on this map are not those used by the native inhabitants. The names of the Accala nation are overwritten by titles significant to the adventurers: ‘Maple White Land,’ ‘Challenger’s Geyser,’ or ‘Lake Gladys.’ And as this ‘lost’ world is ‘lost’ only in the sense that contemporary white Europeans are not aware of it, it can be assumed that it is not actually the first map after all. Indeed, the natives’ capacity for creating rudimentary maps is exhibited just a few chapters later, when the young chief aids their escape with a chart of the labyrinthine caves.

If, as Malone’s editor ruefully notes, the ‘big blank spaces in the map are all being filled in, and there’s no room for romance anywhere,’ then a new, fictional space is required in order for the desired adventure to be fulfilled.⁵⁶ It is only in such fictional

⁵³ The revelation that the Soviet Union had falsified virtually all public maps of the country for some fifty years is an archetypal example of this. See Mark Monmonier, *How to Lie with Maps* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014).

⁵⁴ Phillips, *Mapping Men*, 6.

⁵⁵ J. M. Barrie, *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* (1906; New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1930). For a discussion of fictional maps see Franco Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel, 1800-1900* (London: Verso, 1999).

⁵⁶ Conan Doyle, *Lost World*, 13; 9.

spaces that daring men may seek the promise of riches, adventure, and success increasingly lacking in the real world. Stoker's *Land of the Blue Mountains* holds a similar appeal for his English protagonist. As Roger Melton notes, 'in our own [nation] we are limited by loyalty (and common-sense),' and it is only in small, faraway lands that 'great ambitions can be achieved' (*Shroud* 190). These 'great ambitions' are unlimited in imagined realms, as their people are typically uninhibited by the strict social codes of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Britain. Stoker seems to express a certain nostalgia for simpler times when he observes that 'most things – even kingship – *somewhere* may now and again be won by the sword' (*Shroud* 192), an echo of Kipling's claim that 'in any place that they fight, a man [...] can always be King.'⁵⁷ In this land of opportunity Rupert, a modestly born Englishman, may become king through nothing more than a 'brave heart and a strong arm' (*Shroud* 192) – an adult reimagining of the boys of *The Coral Island* who declare themselves kings of their own paradise.

In Stoker's two Gothic novels set primarily in Britain, the difficulty of engaging in true adventure in the modern Western world is an underlying theme. In *The Jewel of Seven Stars* the protagonists struggle to carry out their 'Great Experiment' as, unlike in the deserts of Egypt, it is impossible for them to achieve the necessary isolation. Trelawny lists the many 'needs and habits of a great city with its ingrained possibility of interruption' that threaten to disrupt their progress, citing among them: 'telegrams, registered letters, or express messengers,' the 'policeman on his rounds,' 'the servants, [...] the servants of the neighbours [...] and, perhaps the neighbours themselves,' plus the 'active and intelligent Press [...] with its usual zeal for the enlightenment of the public' (*Jewel* 190). In a bustling capital city equipped with cutting-edge technology and services, one simply cannot go about things with the gung-ho adventuring spirit required for such ventures. In *The Lair of the White Worm* this results in an almost comic intersection of the Gothic fantasy and the mundaneness of real life, as Sir Nathaniel realises that they cannot just kill Lady Arabella because there are 'all sorts of legal cruxes to be thought out' (*Worm* 97). Whereas in Transylvania or the Land of the Blue Mountains an unwanted adversary can be swiftly disposed of without a second thought, in England 'Lady Arabella, be she woman or snake or devil, owned the ground she moved in, according to British law' (*Worm* 97) and cannot simply be destroyed, despite her monstrosity. The frightened peasants of small backward nations may well accept the

⁵⁷ Kipling, 'Man Who Would,' 252.

slaying of one of their own without question but, with a robust police force and complex legal system to back them up, the rational and orderly citizens of Great Britain promise to be considerably less understanding. In England, appearances matter; and as Arabella appears to be an English aristocrat she must be treated as such, even once everyone involved knows her true form. To this end, they must circumnavigate not only laws on murder and physical harm, but also the more mundane property laws – concerns that never occur to Stoker’s heroes abroad, who storm foreign castles and slay the occupants to their hearts’ content.

As an Egyptian transported forcefully to Britain, Queen Tera has no such protection, imperial might serving to threaten rather than defend her. Her mummy is discovered by Western exploration in the East at a time when the British imperial presence in Egypt was at the forefront of popular imagination. Although the main narrative can be presumed to be contemporary, thus occurring soon before the publication date of 1903, the inner story of Corbeck and Trelawny’s discovery of the tomb is set in 1884 – ‘soon after Arabi Pasha’ (*Jewel* 123).⁵⁸ British forces had intervened in 1882 to end a nationalist uprising led by the Egyptian army officer against Egyptian khedive Tewfik Pasha, recognised by both England and France as the only legitimate authority. This resulted in the unofficial British occupation of Egypt – a ‘veiled protectorate’ that placed Egypt under British influence while theoretically allowing it to remain a vassal state of the Ottoman Empire – which lasted until the Anglo-Egyptian treaties of 1922 and 1936 gradually handed control back to the Egyptian government.⁵⁹ These years were characterised by a scramble for ancient artefacts that rapidly descended into outright pillaging, with collectors appropriating antiquities and shipping them home to Britain.⁶⁰ In contemporary fiction this habit was reflected enthusiastically, with Egyptologists travelling to the tombs of Egypt to retrieve priceless objects of national interest and defeat the savage locals – past or present. In Haggard’s ‘Smith and the Pharaohs’ (1913) Smith’s retrieval of jewels and even a mummified hand from an ancient tomb – an act decried by the ghostly pharaohs who rise up to confront him – is defended by the hand’s owner, the beautiful Queen Ma-Mee. The queen rehearses the argument being touted by Egyptologists and politicians alike, that if British archaeologists did not intervene and

⁵⁸ Corbeck states that ‘It was the 3rd of November 1884 when we entered the Mummy Pit for the second time’ (*Jewel* 135).

⁵⁹ See Peter Mansfield, *The British in Egypt* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971).

⁶⁰ See Dalia N. Osman, ‘Occupier’s Title to Cultural Property: Nineteenth-Century Removal of Egyptian Artefacts,’ *Columbia Journal of Transnational Law*, 37 (1998-99), 969-1002.

protect such artefacts by taking them back to Europe, the local population would destroy them in their ignorance:

He took the jewels. Would you have had him leave them to be stolen by some peasant? And the hand? I tell you that he kissed that poor dead hand which once had been part of the body of my Majesty, and that now he treasures it as a holy relic.⁶¹

This idea of the West having a greater appreciation of the relics of the East than their own people is also expounded in *The Jewel of Seven Stars*. Corbeck fears that the ‘thief’ who has taken the set of antiques lamps will be ‘ignorant of its historic wealth’ and ‘have it melted’ (*Jewel* 86) to conceal his crime. Just like Haggard’s Smith seeing a ‘holy relic’ where the Egyptian peasants only saw monetary value, Corbeck sees these lamps as ‘my property’ (*Jewel* 86) because he sees their ‘artistic value’ (88). This ignores the complications of his acquisition of said lamps. Their position in Queen Tera’s tomb, concealed and carefully guarded, implies that they were never intended to be removed. Having discovered them missing – stolen by a ‘grave-robber’ – Corbeck tracks the lamps for three years before purchasing them from a trader and bringing them ‘safe home’ (*Jewel* 85) to England. His perceived ownership is a contentious issue. Having first sought to simply remove them from the tomb, he is no less a thief than the man who actually did so. The difference between ‘grave-robber’ and collector is thus little more than nationality, something Corbeck himself seems to acknowledge when he tells Ross about ‘the treasures which we had – ah! – taken from the tomb’ (*Jewel* 137).

In *The Jewel of Seven Stars*, the imperial figures carry home not just lamps, ‘scarabs, rings, [and] amulets’ (*Jewel* 45), but a royal mummy – a complex manifestation of the imperial commodity.⁶² The Egyptian mummy blurs the line between subject and object, a once-living person whose corpse can be sold and displayed. For late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Egypt, this meant that the bodies of powerful ancient rulers could be shipped back to Britain alongside their possessions to sit in museums or private collections. In some cases these mummies would be literally consumed by colonial powers, with ‘corpse medicine’ prescribing the consumption of powdered mummy parts to cure an array of ailments well into the seventeenth century.⁶³ Trelawny justifies his

⁶¹ H. Rider Haggard, ‘Smith and the Pharaohs,’ in *Smith and the Pharaohs and Other Tales* (1913; New York: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1921), 1-68, at 61.

⁶² See Nicholas Daly, ‘“Mummie is Become Merchandise”: The Mummy Story as Commodity Theory,’ in *Modernism, Romance, and the Fin de Siècle: Popular Fiction and British Culture, 1880-1914*, Nicholas Daly ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 84-116.

⁶³ See Richard Sugg, *Mummies, Cannibals, and Vampires: The History of Corpse Medicine from the Renaissance to the Victorians* (London: Routledge, 2011).

appropriation of Queen Tera's mummy through his own interpretation of her wishes, insisting that she has 'seen through the weakness of her own religion' and 'prepared for emergence into a different world' (*Jewel* 166), that is to say, the world of Edwardian Britain. This is somewhat undermined by the fact that Tera had laid out the exact conditions for her resurrection 'in a tomb high up in a rock, in a desert solitude, shut away from the world by every conceivable means' (*Jewel* 210), with even Trelawny admitting the 'completeness of her preparations' (211). Despite insisting that he is following the ancient queen's wishes, Trelawny's ulterior motives frequently slip through his façade. He makes repeated reference to the ancient wisdoms he dreams of acquiring, 'knowledge of lost arts, lost learning, lost sciences' (*Jewel* 212) of which, despite his advances in other areas, the modern man is 'profoundly ignorant' (167). And while Ross and Margaret embark on the Great Experiment out of a certain sympathy for Tera, an ambitious woman born ahead of her time, Trelawny's reasons are considerably less noble. He meets Ross's concerns for protecting 'the woman's life' with the emphatic cry 'what is a woman's life on the scale with what we hope for!' (*Jewel* 212), listing instead the many gains that could be brought about by potentially sacrificing the ancient queen. This would seem to negate his previous claims, that he is simply following Tera's wishes, and point to a far more selfish motivation. For if he is not working for the Egyptian then he must be working for himself, driven by a desire for valuable knowledge – and for the personal gain that it will bring.

This appropriation of ancient knowledge is yet another form of imperialism; an intellectual imperialism to accompany the political and economic imperialism of the time. Just as it takes Corbeck's superior Western palette to appreciate the ancient artefacts of Egypt, so too does it take Trelawny's superior Western mind to appreciate the country's ancient wisdom. Like the jewels and mummified creatures, this knowledge must be claimed and protected by imperial Britain's representative instead of squandered in the contemporary East. In Gothic literature, however, this acquisition of foreign or ancient knowledge is accompanied by the threat of regression. As the hunger for ancient secrets surpasses the appreciation of modern ones, Stoker's characters begin to retrogress. In *The Jewel of Seven Stars*, this manifests in the withdrawal from city to countryside, exchanging the bustle of technology-fuelled modern life for isolation and primitive oil lamps. The lighting of these ancient oil lamps signals a turning point in the narrative, the modern world that the Englishmen have previously clung to fading away as the old world rears its head once more. This literal exchange of electric light for oil lamp prompts a

further figurative change, a realisation of the frailty of modern powers in the face of ancient that causes ‘all the world [...to] stand still’ (*Jewel* 240), the ever-moving twentieth century stopped in its tracks. This regression can also be seen clearly in the heroes of *Dracula*’s abandonment of modern technology in favour of archaic rituals and superstitions as the novel progresses, crosses and holy water proving more effective than medicine and rationality.

Trelawny desires an understanding of the ‘lost’ arts – astrology, acoustics, hypnotism, and so on – so that he may ‘enlighten’ not just England but ‘the world’ (*Jewel* 168). In other words, so that he may add the ancient knowledge of Egypt to the lucrative material trade of imperial Britain. The imperial West already supplemented its trading of silks, precious stones, and furs from various colonies with an intellectual and spiritual trade in foreign religions, with everything from ‘Buddhism to Rosicrucianism’ being shipped back to England to sate the growing desire for new and exotic beliefs.⁶⁴ Popularised by literary works such as Edwin Arnold’s *The Light of Asia*, these new systems of faith rushed in to fill the growing void created by a declining Christianity, crushed beneath the advances of science. Such trades exploited the stereotypical features regarded as characteristic of the Orient – exoticism, mystery, and resplendence – tapping into a popular demand for the strange and unusual fuelled by rising European interest in occultism. One result of this imperial trade in knowledge was the development of so-called ‘magical orders’ such as the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, of which both Stoker and Conan Doyle were rumoured to be members.⁶⁵ Structured around a hierarchical formation like that of the masonic lodges, the Golden Dawn augmented its occult beliefs with ancient Egyptian religious teachings and Hermetic Qabalah (an offshoot of the traditional Jewish Kabbalah), carving up the traditional beliefs of the East and refiguring them into a new, Westernised system.

Despite his Protestant upbringing, Stoker repeatedly plays with the idea of exotic, non-Christian religions in his novels. Rupert Sent Leger’s exposure to the many ‘savage’ religions of the world pushes him to the blasphemous consideration that the ‘wonders’ he has witnessed ‘may have been older still than the accepted period of our own period of creation’ (*Shroud* 252). Having seen ‘Obi-ism and Fantee-ism’ practised and proved before his very eyes, he considers that perhaps the wonders of the modern Western world

⁶⁴ Brantlinger, ‘Imperial Gothic,’ 246.

⁶⁵ See Israel Regardie and John Michael Greer, eds., *The Golden Dawn: The Original Account of the Teachings, Rites, and Ceremonies of the Hermetic Order* (1937-40; Woodbury: Llewellyn, 2015).

– that is, the wonders of Christianity – are ‘different only in method, but not more susceptible of belief’ (*Shroud* 252). A similar line of thought is pursued in *The Jewel of Seven Stars*, which goes so far as to assign the gods of ancient Egypt to a pre-biblical history. Their reign belongs to an age whose ‘history began before the concrete teaching of our Bible’ (*Jewel* 213), and whose ‘mysterious powers [were] begotten of them when the world was young’ (184). Like the power struggles of human history, *The Jewel of Seven Stars* sees dynasties of gods that rise and fall on a cosmic scale. As godhead is in its essence a ‘creative and recreative’ (*Jewel* 185) force, one that cannot be destroyed, then all gods that have ever existed must have existed simultaneously. Thus, either at some point the gods of old lost their power and others rose to superiority, or there is ‘room in the Universe for opposing Gods’ (*Jewel* 185). Whichever conclusion is accepted, the omnipotence of the Christian God is irrevocably challenged.

Religion, then, is not a singular truth but an amalgamation of dynastic knowledge that has been building since the beginning of time. This is imitated by the empires of man, the knowledge of the Egyptians passing to their Greek successors, who in turn were subsumed by the Romans – something succinctly illustrated by Haggard’s Ayesha, who over her centuries has seen ‘the religions come and the religions pass, and the civilisations come and pass.’⁶⁶ Stoker’s immortal figures of ancient wisdom – Dracula, Tera, and even Lady Arabella – thus represent the accumulation of centuries upon centuries of knowledge. Like the ageless Ayesha, who has watched nation after nation rise and fall, learning their languages and gathering their secrets, they hold the promise of untold wisdom. Ayesha may possess the secret of immortality, but Tera knows magical arts lost to the modern world and Dracula has learnt ‘the Evil One[‘s...] secrets in the Scholomance’ (*Dracula* 241). The enigmatic blend of promise and threat that these ‘villains’ pose to their British adversaries is thus rooted in this wisdom: they might be capable of destroying the imperial representatives, but they could also bring them greatness.

This valuable store of foreign wisdom is threatened by another aspect of intellectual imperialism: the imposing of Western intellectual ‘superiority’ on foreign minds. Syed Hussein Alatas discusses this aspect at length, arguing that Western imperialism has resulted in an ‘alienation from one’s own tradition’ in former colonies – that the thinking of the Western world has been accepted as ‘right,’ while any other form

⁶⁶ H. Rider Haggard, *She* (1887; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

is ‘wrong.’⁶⁷ Thus philosophy students, even in Asia or the East, will study Plato, Aristotle, and Machiavelli, yet omit Wang An Shih, Ibn Khaldun, Rizal and Nehru, no longer believing their own heritage to be as valuable. Even Stoker’s villains can be seen to fall victim to this aspect of intellectual imperialism. Dracula believes that he must move to London and try to blend in with the Englishmen in order to progress. So too, if Trelawny’s interpretation of her plans are correct, does Queen Tera. This ancient sorceress so ‘far beyond her age and the philosophy of the time’ (*Jewel* 166) is depicted as having fantasised about Britain as a moral and intellectual haven, a land ‘of wholesome greenery’ (176) and noble thought. Having been persecuted in her own land for her ‘youth and sex’ (*Jewel* 128), Tera is said to have planned to be resurrected in the ‘newer and nobler world’ (181) of Edwardian England. Quite what it is that makes this land ‘nobler’ is never explained, although the accuracy of such an assessment – and the likelihood that it is that of Tera and not Trelawny himself – must be called into question. Women in ancient Egypt enjoyed a legal, social, and sexual independence unparalleled by their ancient Greek or Roman counterparts, or indeed by most woman until the turn of the twentieth century.⁶⁸ Egyptian women could own and trade in property, head a business, or even become doctors. In contrast, married British women had no legal right to even retain their own property until the Married Women’s Property Acts of 1882 and 1893, and the first qualified female physician was not allowed to take up a medical post due to her gender.⁶⁹ When Trelawny asks ‘what is a woman’s life in the scale with what we hope for’ (*Jewel* 212), he renders Tera expendable due to her gender – every bit as much as the ancient priests of Egypt did. Where, then, does this fantasy of progressiveness come from? Either the illusion of Western superiority was being imposed upon the East even all those centuries ago – and before many Western countries were global powers themselves – or the contemporary representatives of imperialism are attempting to validate their supremacy by re-writing the ancient Egyptian’s intent.

Like Tera, who is both fetishised and feared by the imperial representatives, Stoker’s European vampires are closely associated with colonialism and conquest. As *Dracula*’s Van Helsing tells the astonished Crew of Light,

he is known everywhere that men have been. In old Greece, in old Rome; he flourish in Germany all over, in France, in India, even in the Chermosee; and

⁶⁷ Syed Hussein Alatas, ‘Intellectual Imperialism: Definition, Traits, and Problems,’ *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science*, 28/1 (2000), 23-45, at 28.

⁶⁸ See Joyce Tyldesley, *Daughters of Isis: Women of Ancient Egypt* (London: Penguin, 1995).

⁶⁹ See Sylvia Paletschek, *Women’s Emancipation Movements in the Nineteenth Century: A European Perspective* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005).

in China, so far from us in all ways, there even is he, and the peoples fear him at this day. He have follow the wake of the berserker Icelander, the devil-begotten Hun, the Slav, the Saxon, the Magyar. (*Dracula* 239)

These countries are all known for their roles in empire building, whether the great historic empires of ‘old Greece,’ ‘old Rome,’ and China, the contemporary imperial powers of Germany and France, or nations like India or ‘the Chermosese’ prominently threatened by imperial advance. While Calmet’s *Treatise on the Apparitions of Angels, Demons, Spirits, Ghosts, and Vampires of Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia*, the 1750 work instrumental in bringing the notion of the vampire to Britain, mentions the belief in ‘vroucolacas’ in Greece, he does not note any prevalent belief in revenants in the superstitions of Germany, France, India, the Chermosese, or China.⁷⁰ It must thus be asked why Stoker chose to cite these countries instead of Hungary, Poland, or any of the other nations in which the belief in vampires were prominent.

As Coundouriotis notes, both the vampire and the imperialist are ‘connected by implication to conquest, the spilling of blood.’⁷¹ For Stoker, the vampire is linked to military conflict and conquest, and thus thrives in areas in which ‘the earth has been enriched by the blood of men, patriots or invaders’ (*Dracula* 21). The vampire thrives in regions that have already been scourged by war, following in ‘the wake of the berserker Icelander, the devil-begotten Hun; the Slav, the Saxon, the Magyar’ (*Dracula* 239). It is curious, then, that the most prominent imperial force of the late nineteenth century is not mentioned – Britain. Indeed, it was the British presence in foreign regions that brought the notion of the vampire back to England. The word ‘vampire’ represents a rare case in English, a loan from Slavic languages: it comes from the Magyar *vampir*, occurring in the same form in Russian, Polish, Czech, Serbian, and Bulgarian, with variants including Bulgarian *vampir*, *vepir*, Ruthenian *vepyr*, *vopyr*, *opyr*, Russian *upir*, *upyr*, and Polish *upior*.⁷² While Calmet’s eighteenth-century study was the first to gain popularity in the West, a host of works on Eastern European anthropology and ethnography, as well as

⁷⁰ Augustin Calmet, *Treatise on the Apparitions of Angels, Demons, Spirits, Ghosts, and Vampires of Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia*, Henry Christmas, trans. (1750; London: Richard Bentley, 1850). Calmet discusses the ‘ghosts of France and Germany,’ and the ‘demons’ and ‘magicians’ of India, so could be expected to mention any belief in vampires that existed within these regions as well as those of ‘Hungary, Silesia, Bohemia, Moravia, and Poland,’ 247. Felix Oinas posits that there is a belief in vampires in both China and India but it would appear that what he is actually referring to are separate creatures entirely, the closest thing to a vampire in Sanskrit folklore being the ‘vetala’ (ghost-like beings that inhabit corpses) or the ‘pishacha’ (demons that feed on human energy), and in Chinese folklore the ‘jiangshi’ (magically reanimated corpses). Felix Oinas, ‘East European Vampires and *Dracula*,’ *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 14/1 (March 2004), 108-16, at 108.

⁷¹ Eleni Coundouriotis, ‘*Dracula* and the Idea of Europe,’ *Connotations*, 9/2 (1999-2000), 143-59 at 148. Arata, ‘Occidental Tourist,’ also discusses this at 627.

⁷² See Cain, *Russophobia*, x-xi.

examinations of superstitions, appeared in the next two centuries that popularised the concept among readers and authors alike. Stoker relied on such books for his creation of the Count, with both Emily Gerard's descriptions of Transylvanian superstitions and the legends gathered in Sabine Baring-Gould's *Book of Were-Wolves* appearing in *Dracula* – a strange type of intellectual reverse colonisation.⁷³

These books provided an experience of fictional tourism for their reader, laying out snapshots of a distant country to be consumed from within the safety of a library or reading room. Stoker's consumption and reproduction of these lands in his own work – copying in such errors as Baring-Gould's misspelt 'vlkoslak' in place of the Serbian 'vukodlak' (werewolf) – remove the reader yet further, guiding them through countries that their author had never set foot in.⁷⁴ The landscapes created in his pages overlay fact with fiction, altering their very fabric to suit the narrative: the 'Lake Hermanstadt' (*Dracula* 241) by which Dracula is said to have attended the Scholomance is non-existent, a potential misinterpretation of Gerard's reference to the Transylvanian city of Hermanstadt, while Rupert's tour of the Land of the Blue Mountains manages to incorporate both the 'Calabrian Mountains' (located in southern Italy) and 'Plazac' (a village in south-western France).⁷⁵ This fictional tourism reaches an epitome in *The Jewel of Seven Stars*, an 'Egyptian' novel that never actually reaches Egypt. Characters reminisce about their adventures there, speculate about the country's history, and even visit it vicariously through books, but the narrative itself never manages to leave the shores of Britain. From beginning to end, Egypt remains a shadowy, intangible place, simultaneously seen and unseen. The countries themselves are thus appropriated and altered to suit the novels' purposes every bit as much as the folklore. They are part fact, part fiction, existing within Stoker's pages purely for the entertainment of the Western reader. As such, they have no choice but to adapt to fit the stereotypes and expectations of the *fin-de-siècle* Briton.

⁷³ Sabine Baring-Gould, *The Book of Were-Wolves: Being an Account of a Terrible Superstition* (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1865). See Elizabeth Miller, ed., *Bram Stoker's 'Dracula': A Documentary Volume*, (Detroit: Gale, 2005).

⁷⁴ Stoker visited neither Egypt nor the Balkans. Baring-Gould asserts incorrectly that 'the Serbs connect the vampire and the were-wolf together and call them by one name vlkoslk.' Baring-Gould, *Were-Wolves*, 115. For etymological roots see Vesna Goldsworthy, 'The Balkans in Popular Fiction,' in *Inventing Ruritania: The Imperialism of the Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 42-111, at 78-79.

⁷⁵ Gerard's discussion of the Scholomance locates it by 'a small lake [...] high up among the mountains south of Hermanstadt.' Gerard, *Forest*, 5. While no body of water exists by that name, Păltiniș Lake and Bâlea Lake both stand in the Carpathian region near the city of Hermanstadt.

The Western stereotype of the vampire, for instance, is one rooted predominantly in the literary. The archetypal aristocratic bloodsucker immortalised by Stoker was first propagated by Polidori's Lord Ruthven, a shadowy Byronesque figure who flits through high society under a series of elaborate disguises. This is markedly different to the understanding of the vampire in its homeland of Moravia, Hungary, or Silesia. Calmet reports cases of mischievous figures who tied cows 'together by their tails,' or frightening but seemingly non-violent ones who returned to their loved ones to ask for food or engage in sexual relations, albeit often spreading disease in their wake.⁷⁶ Rather than suave aristocrats, these 'revenants' are almost invariably from the peasant class, and often the victims of unnatural deaths. This 'modern' formulation of the vampire is an appropriation of the foreign, an imported horror adapted for the Western market 'in the midst of our scientific, sceptical, matter-of-fact nineteenth century' (*Dracula* 238).

It is the imperial West, then, that creates the modern vampire, Britain's power – and use of said power – bringing the monster to her gates. Stoker would appear to have specifically connected Dracula's acts of aggression with those levied against him in the past by Britain, having the Count declare that 'my revenge is just begun!' (*Dracula* 306). This statement of 'revenge' has distinctly political connotations, Britain having played her part in the Eastern Question by propping up a rapidly collapsing Ottoman Empire in an attempt to thwart Russian ambition.⁷⁷ Despite numerous promises of support for nationalist ambitions, the support of old empires was the perpetual outcome. Dracula's 'revenge' is thus the return of the repressed, decades of imperial oppression being visited back upon its enactor. *The Jewel of Seven Stars* also sets its stage upon a site of historic imperial oppression, Egypt having been variously under Ottoman, French, or British control for nearly four centuries.⁷⁸ By the turn of the century, its position beneath Britain's 'veiled protectorate' – occupied by British forces yet theoretically still a vassal state of the Ottoman Empire – made the country a complex subject. As Said notes, Egypt was simultaneously a victory for and a threat to imperial Britain.⁷⁹ This polarisation of triumph and threat, victory and defeat, manifests in Gothic literature of the period in a series of ambiguous Egyptian figures – figures such as Queen Tera, who is said to desire only to

⁷⁶ Calmet, *Treatise*, 261.

⁷⁷ See Matthew Gibson, *'Dracula' and the Eastern Question: British and French Vampires Narratives of the Nineteenth-Century Near East* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

⁷⁸ See Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 131-39; Alfred Milner, *England in Egypt* (1892; London: Edward Arnold, 1894); Lanver Mak, *The British in Egypt: Community, Crime and Crises 1882-1922* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012).

⁷⁹ See Said, *Orientalism*, 201-14.

‘begin life again as a humble individual’ (*Jewel* 210) yet is readily acknowledged to have ‘waded to it through blood’ (209). Stoker’s ancient sorceress stands beside a flood of popular Gothic novels set in Egypt that appeared on the British literary scene between 1880 and 1914, including Guy Boothby’s *Pharos the Egyptian*, Arthur Conan Doyle’s ‘Lot No. 249,’ and Richard Marsh’s *The Beetle*. Their murderous Egyptians all turn their wrath toward Britain because of her exercising of imperial power, plundering the tombs of long-dead rulers and removing their treasures to be ‘gaped at in alien lands.’⁸⁰ With each subsequent publication this threat grows more severe: Conan Doyle’s ambulant mummy picks off unsuspecting Oxonians, Marsh’s creature hunts a prominent British politician, and Boothby’s immortal priest spreads a plague across Western Europe that kills thousands.

If the monster is created by the imperial, then it is also destroyed by it. In a reversal of the typical Gothic structure, the revelation of *The Lady of the Shroud* is that the beautiful and mysterious Teuta is not in fact undead at all. It takes the arrival of a gallant Englishman to dispel these fears of vampirism, spread amongst the backwards Mountaineers who lack the medical knowledge to understand her waking from a ‘strangely-prolonged trance’ (*Shroud* 307) they took to be death. In fact, it is Rupert’s nationality that allows him to defeat both of the ‘evils’ of the novel – the ‘vampire’ and the marauding Turks – and rise to power using a combination of modern weaponry and Western knowledge. This places Stoker’s work among the prevalent *fin-de-siècle* fantasies of ‘empire united not by force but by information.’⁸¹ In such cases, fictional works functioned within the imperial discourse not just as tales of fantasy and release, but as instructional exemplars, their heroes creating examples to be followed in everyday life. These fantasies of imperial erudition were enacted – partially, at least – in contemporary strategies. Hughes discusses the vital role played by knowledge and technology in the colonial mission, factors just as important as military and economic might: ‘For the nineteenth century, the implicitly progressive notion of bringing European culture and moralities to the colonised world in the guise of Christianity masked the technological imperatives which permitted such determining power to be wielded by and through the written word.’⁸² Such technologies – not just the printing press, but the railway, the

⁸⁰ Boothby, *Pharos*, 56.

⁸¹ Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London: Verso, 1993), 1. The word ‘fantasy’ is used throughout this thesis in a sense closer to Richards’ than Freud’s, denoting an act of imagination rather than a psychoanalytic term.

⁸² Hughes, ‘Colonising Europe,’ 33.

telegram, the phonograph, *et cetera* – all function to replace the perceived irregularities of the Orient with the organisation of the Occident. Stoker, too, pursues this ideal, peppering his texts with gratuitous references to typewriters, phonographs, and even cutting-edge medical procedures such as blood transfusions.⁸³ What is more, he endeavours to either tame or destroy his Eastern characters with Western technology: the Mountaineers of *The Lady of the Shroud* are persuaded to accept Rupert as their leader by his shipments of modern weaponry, and it is the Crew of Light's collection of Western knives and guns that destroys Dracula, as well as their knowledge of train timetables and modern technology.

While Rupert uses the very British methods of fair play and authority to disperse an imaginary vampire, the tale descending into a quasi-political adventure with half the book still to go, when faced with a real monster the heroes of *Dracula* respond slightly less cordially. The Crew of Light combine the traditional weapons of knowledge and technology with considerably less savoury tactics, resorting to violent or superstitious methods that, as Bollen notes, 'seem out of keeping with the values they should stand for, even to the extent of mirroring the vampire's actions or attitudes.'⁸⁴ This willingness to mutilate and kill raises the question of whether the representatives of the West have been contaminated by their contact with the East, or whether their carefully constructed differences never existed after all. For contemporary readers these methods seemed at odds with their expectations – not their expectations of Western morality, but with their expectations of modernity. One review in *The Spectator* criticised the incongruity of the 'up-to-dateness of the book' with the 'medieval methods which ultimately secure victory for Count Dracula's foes,' arguing that Stoker's story would have been far more effective if set in an earlier time period.⁸⁵ In seeing the problem with the novel's violent resolution as lying not with the 'medieval methods' themselves but with the presence of 'phonographs, diaries, typewriters, and so on,' the reviewer inadvertently highlights a deeper cause for unease: in an era characterised by such evidence of human advancement it is unsettling that the resolution rests not in the present but in returning to the barbarism of the past.⁸⁶

⁸³ See Jennifer Wicke, 'Vampiric Typewriting: *Dracula* and its Media,' *ELH*, 59/2 (1992), 467-93.

⁸⁴ Katrien Bollen and Raphael Ingelbien, 'An Intertext that Counts? *Dracula*, *The Woman in White*, and Victorian Imaginations of the Foreign Other,' *English Studies*, 90/4 (2009), 403-20, at 403.

⁸⁵ *The Spectator* (31 July 1897), cited in Miller, *Documentary Volume*, 266.

⁸⁶ *The Spectator*, cited in Miller, *Documentary Volume*, 266.

The Crew of Light's Western alliance is itself formed through their shared imperial mission. Stoker hints throughout the text at colonial adventures shared by his heroes in days gone by, the 'yarns by the camp-fire in the prairies' (*Dracula* 61), the injuries incurred 'landing at the Marquesas' (61), the toasts 'on the shore of Titicaca' (61), or the escape from a wolf pack 'at Tobolsk' (324). It is only natural, then, that they unite to destroy Dracula using imperial weapons. Harker wields a 'Kukri knife' (*Dracula* 376), the anglicised spelling of the Nepalese 'khukuri' and a symbol of British imperial control in India; Morris holds a 'great bowie knife' (376), the symbol of America expansion west; while the others carry Winchester rifles, a weapon colloquially known as 'the gun that won the west' for its popularity on the frontier.⁸⁷ It is not one but a combination of these symbolic weapons that destroy Dracula: Seward and Lord Godalming 'cover [him with...] the Winchesters' (*Dracula* 376), Harker's 'great knife [...] shear[s] through the throat' (377), and Morris's 'bowie knife plunged into the heart' (377). Only when the forces of the modern world rally together, joined by powers old and new, does the 'whole body crumble into dust' (*Dracula* 377) and disappear.

As Arata notes, this 'triumph' extends further still for Britain, as the Count is not the only casualty.⁸⁸ The American Quincey Morris, a subordinate threat to British supremacy largely overshadowed by the more overt danger posed by the Count, is also destroyed. America at the close of the nineteenth century was a rising global power, one that was beginning to threaten Britain's political and economic hegemony.⁸⁹ Stoker later parodies this American threat through the exchange of Rupert and the mysterious naval captain in *The Lady of the Shroud*, with the Balkan scribe reporting that Rupert hailed the ship 'using one after another the languages of England, Germany, France, Russia, Turkey, Greece, Spain, Portugal, and another which I did not know; I think it must have been American' (*Shroud* 345). The former eight languages all belong to the great Western imperial powers of the world, past and present, presumably because these are the only nations perceived to be powerful enough to own a warship. The final language, which the scribe does not recognise but believes 'must have been American,' stands as a dig at both the States and the Balkan scribe himself. The scribe is ignorant of what exactly America is, being aware simply that it is a new power and thus suitable to be added to the list.

⁸⁷ See Richard C. Rattenbury and R. L. Wilson, *A Legacy in Arms: American Firearm Manufacture, Design, and Artistry, 1800-1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014), 29-32.

⁸⁸ Arata, 'Occidental Tourist,' 641.

⁸⁹ See Jeffrey G. Williamson, *Late Nineteenth-Century American Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). Stoker's America will be discussed in chapter five.

Stoker seems to imply that this is a passing phase, not worth small and insular countries like the Land of the Blue Mountains learning about – at least, not in the way they all seem to have learned about their revered Britain. Indeed, it seems no wonder that the scribe mistakes ‘American’ for a foreign language: the parodic drawl that Stoker creates for characters such as Morris renders him almost as foreign as the Dutch Van Helsing with his strange mannerisms and broken English.

In recent years, the traditional interpretation of Morris’s function as an honorary Englishman whose ‘reward’ is the ‘privilege’ of dying to save England has been countered by more complex character readings.⁹⁰ Certainly there is something cryptic about Morris. He lacks the surprise or disbelief expressed by the others at the revelation that vampires exist and responds to everything ‘laconically’ (*Dracula* 204; 238; 327) or ‘phlegmatic in the way of a man who accepts all things’ (209). For Arata, this is an indication that Morris too is aligned with the vampiric and racial ‘other’ – perhaps even that the American is conspiring with the Count against his Western brothers.⁹¹ This constant tension between trust and betrayal, ally and adversary, captures contemporary approaches to an America that was both born of, and threatening to supersede, Britain. Stoker’s 1886 ‘A Glimpse of America,’ an account of his travels through the States with Irving’s theatrical tour, expands upon these attitudes.⁹² Although recognising the shared racial origins of Britain and the United States, and thus a sense of kinship, Stoker sees a developing racial difference in American citizens and the suggestion of future conflict between the countries. As Arata notes, if *Dracula* is to be read as participating in the late nineteenth-century discourse of racial strength and decay, the strong replacing the weak, then the greatest threat to *fin-de-siècle* Britain comes not from the Ottoman or Austro-Hungarian empires but from a new rising power: the United States.⁹³ This is a fear echoed by Stoker’s characters themselves, the fear that ‘if America can go on breeding men like that, she will be a power in the world indeed’ (*Dracula* 173).

This idea of racial strength is key to Stoker’s novels – not just the deracination of individuals, but of nations. Harker expresses an explicit concern that *Dracula* will

⁹⁰ Hatlen is one of numerous critics to see Morris’s death as an honour that confirms his loyalty. Burton Hatlen, ‘The Return of the Repressed/Oppressed in Bram Stoker’s *Dracula*,’ *Minnesota Review*, 15 (1980), 80-97, at 83. For a discussion of Morris as potential threat see Arata, ‘Occidental Tourist,’ 641-43, and Louis S. Warren, ‘Buffalo Bill Meets *Dracula*: William F. Cody, Bram Stoker, and the Frontiers of Racial Decay,’ *The American Historical Review*, 107/4 (October 2002), 1124-57, at 1129.

⁹¹ See Arata, ‘Occidental Tourist,’ 642-43.

⁹² Bram Stoker, ‘A Glimpse of America,’ in *A Glimpse of America: and Other Lectures, Interviews and Essays*, Richard Dalby, ed. (1886; Essex: Desert Island Books, 2002), 11-30.

⁹³ Arata, ‘Occidental Tourist,’ 642.

‘colonise’ England, both its land and its bodies, repopulating its people with monsters: ‘this was the being I was helping to transfer to London where, perhaps for centuries to come, he might, amongst its teeming millions, satiate his lust for blood, and create a new and ever widening circle of semi-demons to batten on the helpless’ (*Dracula* 51). This anxiety rests not just in the fear of a monstrous enemy race’s potency, but in the impotency of Britain – a theme that runs through all of Stoker’s Gothic works. Stoker’s texts are striking for their lack of conventional families: the dead mothers of *The Man*, ‘A Baby Passenger’ (1899) and ‘A Young Widow’ (1899), the orphans of *The Snake’s Pass*, *The Lair of the White Worm* and *The Lady of the Shroud* and the absent families of ‘Bengal Roses’ (1898).⁹⁴ This trend comes to an exaggerated peak in ‘When the Sky Rains Gold’ (1894) with Victor’s vehemently uninterested father, a man who provides his three sons with careers around the world ‘contingent on [them...] remaining in distant waters’ while matter-of-factly stating that ‘I wish that none of you had ever been born.’⁹⁵

The Jewel of Seven Stars is especially notable for its lack of conventional families. With the exception of Margaret (and for a brief time Nurse Kennedy) the characters are all single males, either widowers or bachelors. Even Malcolm Ross, the only male character to express an interest in married life, can be interpreted as being considerably older than the object of his affections, having told Margaret’s father that he received such insight into her life ‘as a man of my years and experience may get from a young girl!’ (*Jewel* 150). Into this narrative – a narrative that drops in and out of dreams, unconsciousness, and shifting reality – the only active force is Tera, an ancient mummified queen. While the middle-class representatives of contemporary Britain are easily overcome by mysterious smells and ‘hypnotic sleep’ (*Jewel* 30), the sorceress has mastered death itself. It is strongly implied that she has also mastered the art of reproducing, or at least replicating, herself. When Mrs Trelawny dies in childbirth, the ancient queen reaches out from ‘another country a thousand miles away’ to restore life to the ‘dead child’ (*Jewel* 206-07) – a child that bears a striking resemblance to Queen Tera’s pictures. This act raises the worrying implication that an Egyptian who has been

⁹⁴ Bram Stoker, ‘A Baby Passenger,’ in *The Forgotten Writings of Bram Stoker*, John Edgar Browning, ed. (1899; New York: Macmillan, 2012), 121-25; ‘A Young Widow,’ in *The Forgotten Writings of Bram Stoker*, John Edgar Browning, ed. (1899; New York: Macmillan, 2012), 113-18; ‘Bengal Roses,’ in *The Forgotten Writings of Bram Stoker*, John Edgar Browning, ed. (1898; New York: Macmillan, 2012), 93-111.

⁹⁵ Bram Stoker, ‘When the Sky Rains Gold,’ in *The Forgotten Writings of Bram Stoker*, John Edgar Browning, ed. (1894; New York: Macmillan, 2012), 57-92.

mummified for ‘four or five thousand years’ (*Jewel* 34) is still more fertile than a contemporary living Briton.

In *Dracula*, too, Stoker’s British characters are noticeably lacking in the vitality displayed by their enemy: Lucy succumbs easily to the mysterious ‘illness’ (*Dracula* 127); Mrs Westenra dies from fright; Arthur Holmwood’s father is ‘taken seriously ill’ (72) and dies; Mr Hawkins, the solicitor, dies ‘very suddenly’ (157); and even Jonathan Harker suffers from ‘a violent brain fever’ (99) brought on by the shock of encountering the Count. As many critics have noted, *Dracula* appears to grow in strength across the novel – in contrast to his pursuers. Arata cites their corresponding physical changes as evidence of this exchange: while Harker grows ‘tired and white-haired,’ *Dracula* looks as though ‘his youth had been half renewed, for the white hair and moustache were changed to dark iron-grey; the cheeks were fuller, and the white skin seemed ruby-red underneath’ (*Dracula* 51).⁹⁶ The vampire’s rejuvenation presumably depends upon its feeding, and can thus be presumed to be incremental – and so, curiously, is Harker’s deterioration. Rather than a gradual decline, his transformation occurs overnight. Dr Seward notes that:

last night he was a frank-happy-looking man, with a strong, youthful face, full of energy, and with dark brown hair. To-day he is a drawn, haggard old man, whose white hair matches well with the hollow burning eyes and grief-written lines of his face. (*Dracula* 301)

The ‘draining’ effect of the vampiric episode is visited not upon the direct victim, but upon the indirect one. *Dracula* does not need to attack Harker directly to drain him of his vitality. His aging and loss of strength comes not from being bitten, but from witnessing the victimisation of his loved ones. In contrast, the direct victim of the attack is revitalised, human frailty being replaced with monstrous energy. Mina notes that, rather than having harmed her, Lucy’s ‘adventure of the night [...] has benefited her, for she looks better this morning than she has done for weeks’ (*Dracula* 92). The incursion of the vampire thus paradoxically strengthens its victims, while weakening those that oppose it. The speed with which the vampire can reproduce – at a time in which the birth rate was steadily declining – makes it an even more formidable enemy.⁹⁷ There is little more than a month between Lucy’s first encounter with *Dracula* and her rising from the grave to seek new victims – an exponential reproduction rate that Van Helsing fears could be

⁹⁶ Arata, ‘Occidental Tourist,’ 631.

⁹⁷ See G. Udny Yule, ‘On the Changes in the Marriage- and Birth-Rates in England and Wales during the Past Half Century; with an Inquiry as to their Probable Causes,’ *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 69/1 (1906), 88-147, at 112-13.

catastrophic.⁹⁸ The vampire thus illustrates the shocking decline in fertility in Victorian Britain, the dead being more virile than the living.

The battle to defeat the Count is thus a battle to defeat his fertility, with Van Helsing insisting that in order to destroy the vampire they must ‘sterilise the earth’ (*Dracula* 242) in which he rests. Dracula’s final decapitation is often described as a metaphoric castration, his mouth being his means of reproduction.⁹⁹ The novel’s true ending is thus not the death of the Count, but the birth of the Harker baby, a child that ‘links all our little band of men together’ (*Dracula* 378). Although it is mentioned in Harker’s note that, seven years after Dracula’s defeat, ‘Godalming and Seward are both happily married’ (*Dracula* 378), the reference to any fellow Crew of Light children to accompany baby Quincey is notably absent.¹⁰⁰ This ultimately undermines the optimism of Stoker’s ending, for, as Arata asks, ‘how secure is any racial line when five fathers are needed to produce one son?’¹⁰¹ It can be argued, however, that this child is the product of not five, but six fathers: if Dracula’s blood still flows in Mina’s veins, then it flows in her offspring’s too.¹⁰² In attempting to create a new generation, they have unwittingly continued Dracula’s lineage.

Similarly evasive conclusions appear across all of Stoker’s Gothic novels. In either ending to *The Jewel of Seven Stars* the true fate of Tera remains unclear – the original sees her disappear out into the modern world, while the revised ending retains the aforementioned doubt as to whether the sorceress and Margaret have changed places completely. In *The Lady of the Shroud*, although ostensibly a conventionally happy ending – Rupert having found himself a new wife, a new baby, and a new kingdom – the Lord High Admiral’s closing remark that ‘it is easier to drop bombs, Your Majesty’ (*Shroud* 430) sets the stage for imminent war. And despite the fawning reporter’s declaration of ‘God help the nation that attacks “Balka”’ (*Shroud* 430), one cannot help but wonder at the true fate of this newly-formed, insubstantial nation posturing so

⁹⁸ Lucy is first bitten on 11 August and dies on 20 September, a mere forty-day gestation period.

⁹⁹ Hennelly, Astle, and Bentley all take this reading. Mark M. Hennelly, Jr., ‘The Gnostic Quest and the Victorian Wasteland,’ *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, 20 (1977), 13-26; Richard Astle, ‘Dracula as Totemic Monster: Lacan, Freud, Oedipus and History,’ *Substance*, 8/4 (1979), 98-105; Christopher Bentley, ‘Sexual Symbolism in *Dracula*,’ in *Dracula: The Vampire and the Critics*, Margaret L. Carter, ed. (Ann Arbor: Umi Research Press, 1988), 25–34.

¹⁰⁰ This absence of traditional families has been read by Craft as an indication of concealed homosexuality. Craft, ‘Kiss Me.’ For an exploration of queer theory and the attack on the idealisation of the child see Lee Edelman, *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004).

¹⁰¹ Arata, ‘Occidental Tourist,’ 632.

¹⁰² See Hennelly, ‘Gnostic Quest,’ 23.

aggressively at the behemoths of the world. Even *The Lair of the White Worm* concludes with the ominous insistence that ‘the horrors of the last few hours had played such havoc with Mimi’s nerves that a change of scene was imperative – if a permanent breakdown was to be avoided’ (*Worm* 145). This habitual refusal to give his imperial representatives the decisive conclusions that contemporary convention required points to a clear anxiety in Stoker’s writing around the empire and its fruits. The actions of his British ‘heroes’ – hunting, maiming, and killing with every bit as much ferocity as their adversaries – would seem to leave them no more deserving of a triumphant conclusion than the monsters they destroy.

Throughout Stoker’s Gothic novels anxiety is so clearly pointed towards the East that it is easy to overlook the undercurrent of apprehension towards the West – and towards Britain herself. The rapidly changing balance of global power at the turn of the century – the decline of Britain as a world power, the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, growing unrest in the colonies, and the rise of rival nations such as America – had a lasting effect on the British literary scene, especially the Gothic branch with which Stoker has become so enmeshed. Although often appearing to resist this prevalent sense of decline, through Stoker’s closing tableaux of triumphant heroes and defeated monsters an unbridgeable doubt of British progress and hegemony can still be perceived. Stoker’s conscious effort to define what is ‘British’ and ‘civilised’ in relation to what is ‘other’ and ‘savage’ collapses over and over again, as his characters’ acts undermine the proposed binaries. His novels may end in British victories, but the victories are undeniably hollow. In the evasive endings of *Dracula* and *The Jewel of Seven Stars* an unwelcome parallel between the colonist and the monster must be recognised. The deracination practiced by both vampire and sorceress parodies what Valente calls the ‘soul-making’ mission of the imperialist.¹⁰³ They prey not just on their victims’ outer selves but on their inner selves as well, using both force and knowledge to overwrite their victim in their own image. Like the Gothic monster, the imperialist seeks to drain the individuality from their subject, a process that in turn enriches and strengthens them. In short, the imperialist survives upon the life-blood of its victims every bit as much as the vampire.

¹⁰³ Valente, *Dracula’s Crypt*, 63.

Chapter Three

‘The Lord Fights for the Cross Against the Crescent’: *Dracula, The Lady of the Shroud, and the Eastern Question*¹

To the minds of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the Balkan region we now know as ‘Eastern Europe’ was barely Europe at all. The countries of South Eastern Europe were generally perceived not merely as ‘Eastern’ in a Slavic sense, but oriental: an ‘East’ separate to North Eastern Europe and Russia, and predominantly not Christian.² This area came to form what was known contemporarily as the ‘Near East,’ defined in 1911 by H. Charles Woods as encompassing the Balkan Peninsula and Asia Minor and so prevalent in thought that the London magazine *The Near East* ran articles on Bosnia, Montenegro, and Serbia alongside reports from Yemen and Morocco.³ This designation relies not just on geographical positioning, but on cultural and political constructs: the influence of the Ottoman Empire on the Balkan countries, and thus the influence of Islamic systems of government, placed them alongside the Levant and Gulf in popular perception. This gave the Balkan nations of the Victorian and Edwardian era a distinctly Eastern identity; an identity separate to that which the region would acquire after the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 as it reorganised itself into individual European nation states.

For the West, the importance of the Balkan region as a buffer, a ‘barrier of quarantine, separating the light of Christian civilization from whatever lurked in the shadows,’ was vital.⁴ In Alexander Kinglake’s *Eothen; or, Traces of Travel Brought Home from the East*, a popular travelogue published in 1835, Turkish-governed Belgrade signals the end of Europe and the beginning of the East. When the author leaves Austrian-occupied Semlin for the Ottoman outpost, he steps into the unknown: ‘I had come, as it were, to the end of this wheel-going Europe, and now my eyes would see the splendour and Havoc of the East.’⁵ Here ‘the East,’ a homogenous region defined only by its otherness to Europe, is figured as embodying the almost contradictory ideas of

¹ Stoker, *Shroud*, 350.

² See Gibson, *Eastern Question*, 1.

³ H. Charles Woods, *The Danger Zone of Europe: Changes and Problems in the Near East*, (Boston: Little, Brown, & Co., 1911), 5. See Gibson, *Eastern Question*, 1-2.

⁴ Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 2.

⁵ Alexander Kinglake, *Eothen; or, Traces of Travel Brought Home From the East*, (London: John Ollivier, 1845), 1.

‘splendour’ and ‘havoc.’ In essence, it is a place of excess; a place where a lack of Western morals and restraint results in both exotic indulgence on the one hand, and chaos on the other. This renders it simultaneously intoxicating and repulsive to the visiting Englishman, a motif common to travelogues of the time – whether the biographical accounts of Archibald Lyall, Emily Gerard, or M. Edith Durham, or the fictional journeys of literary characters such as Stoker’s Jonathan Harker.⁶

The popularity of travelogues in the nineteenth century provided reams of Western literature about the East, from historical and geographical works to fictional tales. One common feature of such works is the recurrent images of ambiguity. The countries that make up the modern definition of ‘Eastern Europe’ are all situated on the divide: neither European nor Asian, savage nor civilised. Their people may look European, yet they speak in strange tongues, eat peculiar food, and hold unfathomable superstitions. Their landscapes are barren and wild, all mountains and forests and open space. The aristocrats of Eastern Europe on the other hand, as Kleberg notes, could at times almost pass for their Western counterparts, mimicking their fashions and their rituals.⁷ Rather than negating the uneasiness of the Western traveller, however, this only increases it, rendering the aristocrat even more ‘ambiguous’ than the peasants in their disguise. At all points, then, the ‘Near East’ offers confusion and doubt to its Western visitors. Whether through the disturbing unfamiliarity of its common people, or the even more disturbing familiarity of its aristocracy, nothing is as it seems.

For Gothic literature, a genre obsessed with boundaries and ambiguities, the transgressive nature of the Balkan nations makes it a perfect setting – so much so that Stoker locates both *Dracula* and *The Lady of the Shroud* within the region. Castle Dracula, a crumbling fortress that has weathered centuries of conflict, is situated ‘in the extreme east of the country, just on the borders of three states, Transylvania, Moldavia, and Bukovina, in the midst of the Carpathian Mountains; one of the wildest and least known portions of Europe’ (*Dracula* 1). It exists in the very shadows of Western knowledge, ‘the exact locality’ unknown as ‘there are no maps of this country as yet’ (*Dracula* 1). The castle not only borders three states, but three empires: Moldavia being one of the Danubian Principalities under Ottoman rule, Transylvania being under

⁶ Archibald Lyall, *The Balkan Road* (London: Methuen, 1930); M. Edith Durham, *The Burden of the Balkans* (London: Edward Arnold, 1905).

⁷ Lars Kleberg, ‘In Search of *Dracula* or, Cultures in Dialogue,’ in *State Frontiers: Borders and Boundaries in the Middle East*, Inga Brandell, ed. (London: I. B. Taurus, 2006), 187-214.

Hungarian control, and Bukovina being under the rule of Austria. It is inhabited by ‘four distinct nationalities’ (*Dracula* 2) who speak five different languages, and the very landscape seems divided, the mountain range having ‘separated two atmospheres’ (*Dracula* 9), one stormy, one calm. In every conceivable way, this land is ‘other’ to the visiting Englishman: in its location, its people, even its weather. What is more, it is an obscure and indefinable type of otherness: it cannot be located precisely on a map, its people cannot be clearly understood. In the midst of this uncertainty Harker is made vulnerable, disoriented. In this land of seemingly no clear identity, his own starts to falter, stripping him of both memory and sanity by the close of his first visit.

Despite the established tradition of English-speaking Balkan travel writers, Stoker produced his tales of the Balkan nations from the Reading Room of the British Museum without ever visiting the area.⁸ Among the volumes listed in his research notes – compiled over some seven years – are historical and travel accounts such as William Wilkinson’s *Account of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia* (1820), E. C. Johnson’s *On the Track of the Crescent: Erratic Notes from Piraeus to Pesth* (1885), and ‘Magyarland’: *Being the Narrative of our Travels through the Highlands and Lowlands of Hungary* by ‘A Fellow of the Carpathian Society’ (1881), as well as works on the superstitions of the Baltic regions such as Emily Gerard’s *The Land Beyond the Forest* (1885) and Sabine Baring-Gould’s *The Book of Were-Wolves* (1865).⁹ It is no wonder, then, that Stoker’s Gothic novels often bear a striking resemblance to the travel narrative, containing the familiar trope of the civilised Westerner setting out into the wilds of the East. This in itself is not unusual; Arata notes a strong ‘travel component’ in Gothic fiction in general, whether the restlessness of Melmoth’s wanderings, Hyde’s nightly exploration of London, or Frankenstein’s pursuit of his monster.¹⁰ What is striking, however, is the sheer conventionality of some of Stoker’s writings: Harker’s diary details his journey east in

⁸ Robert C. Hudson, ‘Humanitarian Imperialism as a Spin-Off of Cultural Imperialism: Problems Engendered by Misrepresenting the Balkans,’ in *Peace and Conflict: Europe and Beyond*, Alexander I Gray and Abraham Al-Marashi, eds. (Bilbao: University of Deusto, 2006), 61-74, at 67.

⁹ William Wilkinson, *Account of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia* (London: Longman, 1820); E. C. Johnson, *On the Track of the Crescent: Erratic Notes from Piraeus to Pesth* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1885); Nina Elizabeth Mazzuchelli, ‘Magyarland’: *Being the Narrative of our Travels through the Highlands and Lowlands of Hungary* (London: Low, 1881); Baring-Gould, *Were-Wolves*.

¹⁰ Arata, ‘Occidental Tourist,’ 635-36. Charles Maturin, *Melmoth the Wanderer* (Edinburgh: A Constable, 1821); Robert Louis Stevenson, ‘Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde,’ in *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde and Other Stories*, Roger Luckhurst, ed. (1885; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 1-66; Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein* (1818; Ware: Wordsworth, 1999).

such precise (and often mundane) detail that one could be forgiven for thinking that they were not in a Gothic novel at all, but a simple account of a man's travels in foreign lands.

Stoker's lesser known works of Gothic fiction all draw on this motif, albeit to a slightly lesser degree. Malcolm Ross of *The Jewel of Seven Stars*, although never physically leaving the comfort of Edwardian London, allows his imagination to wander alongside the author of a travelogue he discovers in an Egyptologist's library. He reads avidly about the explorations of 'one Nicholas van Huyn of Hoorn' (*Jewel* 110) in Egypt, becoming so absorbed in the text that the reader temporarily forgets that Ross himself is not adventuring through North Africa. In *The Lair of the White Worm*, the narrative begins with Adam Salton's journey from a slightly more civilised Sydney, though he is no less pleased to see 'rural England' (Worm 4) than any other weary traveller. This motif is most pronounced, however, in Stoker's tales of Eastern Europe: *Dracula*, and *The Lady of the Shroud*.

In *Dracula*, Harker's initial journey to the Carpathian Mountains constitutes a 'travel narrative in miniature,' the early entries in his journal fully adhering to the conventions of the genre.¹¹ Here Stoker follows what Iser terms the 'repertoire of the familiar,' a set of conventions that the reader expects to find contained within a specific genre of text: Harker lists times, and dates, and exact locations, as well as precise details about the peoples he passes and their languages and habits.¹² His early diary entries are observational, a record of a series of impressions rather than the cohesive, plot-driven narrative of the traditional novel form. Even his entry into the East is formulaic. Drawing on the traditional boundary marker of the river, Harker crosses the Danube at 'Buda-Pesth' and steps into a new world. Like the instant transformation that Kinglake experiences between Austrian Semlin and Ottoman Belgrade, in making this short crossing Harker leaves 'Europe' behind – both geographically and mentally – and steps into the fringes of the Orient: 'The impression I had was that we were leaving the West and entering the East; the most Western of splendid bridges over the Danube [...] took us among the traditions of Turkish rule' (*Dracula* 1). The bridge is a common metaphor used in both the travelogue and the novel, simultaneously signifying connection and separation. Here, it both joins and divides East and West, narrowing the distance between two distinct entities. It also provides an unspoken risk. For while we only witness a single

¹¹ Arata, 'Occidental Tourist,' 635.

¹² Iser, *Implied Reader*, 34, cited in Arata, 'Occidental Tourist,' 636.

flow of traffic – the Englishman journeying east – by its very nature this bridge also provides a different function: the movement west of Easterners. This is a central fear of Stoker’s Gothic novels: for while the monsters of *Dracula et al* are dangerous in their native lands, their true horror isn’t realised until they threaten the Englishman on his own soil.

For Harker, this gulf that separates the Western traveller from their Eastern hosts is represented by the same backwardness that appalled Lyall in 1930: that ‘certain lack of comfort, a certain indifference to the rules and timetables, a certain *je m’en fichisme* with regard to the ordinary machinery of existence’ that arises as soon as there is a ‘whiff of Balkans in the air.’¹³ Harker also has reason to complain about the Balkan ‘indifference to [...] timetables,’ despairing that ‘it seems [...] that the further east you go the more unpunctual are the trains’ (*Dracula 2*). Eventually, he is forced to abandon the locomotive altogether in favour of the archaic stagecoach, the local vehicle of choice. In travel literature transport is an important barometer of social advancement, measuring how quickly a nation’s people move forward – both literally and metaphorically. In the case of Transylvania, the inefficient railways are simply an extension of the people’s backwardness, making it all the more suspect that the Count is observed reading a copy of ‘Bradshaw’s Guide,’ an English train schedule, ‘of all things in the world’ (*Dracula 22*).

As Arata notes, the emerging contrast between ‘British punctuality and Transylvanian tardiness’ supports the more fundamental contrasts beginning to form in Harker’s mind.¹⁴ The inefficiency of Transylvania’s transport systems is symptomatic of the nation’s inertia and primitiveness, traits that stand in direct contrast to the progress and civilisation of the West. As he travels east, the Western world he filled with gratuitous references to ‘phonograph[s]’ (*Dracula 60*), ‘typewriter[s]’ (53) and ‘Kodak[s]’ (23) gives way to ‘the horseshoe of the Carpathians [...where] every known superstition in the world is gathered’ (2). Here even writing, the representative of human thought, is dramatically different, and Harker must abandon his telegrams and shorthand – the products of the ‘nineteenth century up-to-date with a vengeance’ (*Dracula 36*) – for the letters of yesteryear. As all the trappings of modern innovation are stripped away, he is forced to realise that ‘the old centuries had, and have, powers of their own which mere

¹³ Lyall, *Balkan Road*, 164.

¹⁴ Arata, ‘Occidental Tourist,’ 636-37.

“modernity” cannot kill’ (*Dracula* 36). With this, comes the shocking realisation that contemporary Britain and her citizens are far from invincible, able to be destabilised by little more than antiquated transport and a lack of modern technology.

This familiar motif of the crossing into foreign lands also appears in *The Lady of the Shroud*, as Rupert Sent Leger boards a steamer bound for Durazzo, Albania. When he arrives in the fictional Balkan nation of the Land of the Blue Mountains he marvels at its primitiveness. It’s all rocky outcrops, ‘towering’ mountains, ‘great frowning precipices,’ and ‘iron-bound’ coastline – ‘stark and bare’ (*Shroud* 201) and hostile. Rupert seems to envision the journey not just as a journey from West to East, but as a journey back through time. He considers the promontory upon which the castle is set ‘a natural bastion such as a titanic Vauban might have designed in primitive times,’ musing that it must have been built by ‘Dame Nature [...] in the early days of her housekeeping’ (*Shroud* 202). The castle itself is an amalgamation of ‘every style of architecture, from the Twelfth century to where such things seemed to stop in this dear old-world land – about the time of Queen Elizabeth’ (*Shroud* 202). In Rupert’s eyes, the eyes of the twentieth century, the Balkans have not advanced beyond the sixteenth century.

In fact, Stoker creates the impression that time works differently in the Balkan region, cyclical rather than linear. The perpetual rise and fall of empires – ‘Roman, and British, and Austrian, and Hungarian, and Greek and Turkish’ (*Dracula* 47) – is presented as an inevitable fact, with the Count watching them all come and go. This idea of the cyclical nature of the Balkans seems to have prevailed in contemporary Western accounts of the area, Jean Victor Bates being just one author to note the compressed cycle of empire exhibited in the ‘Near East’: ‘Greeks, Romans, Huns, Avars, Magyars, Turks, Slavs, French and Germans, all have come and seen and gone, seeking conquest one over the other.’¹⁵ Here Bates exploits the famous tricolon ‘veni, vidi, veci’ or ‘I came, I saw, I conquered,’ replacing the last with an expression of defeat instead of victory. Each individual empire is so fleeting, so insignificant on the grand scale, that their legacy is in defeat not victory, one after another fading into nothing.

As such, in *Dracula* Harker actually makes the traditional crossing from West to East three times: first to meet Dracula, then to destroy him, and then again to revisit the site of his victory. Each trip rewrites the previous one, with Mina seeing ‘a lovely country

¹⁵ Jean Victor Bates, *Our Allies and Enemies in the Near East* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1918.), 3. See Charles Boner, *Transylvania: Its Products and Its People* (London: Longman, 1865); Andrew W. Crosse, *Round About the Carpathians* (London: William Blackwood, 1878).

[...] full of beauties of all imaginable kinds' (*Dracula* 361) where Harker once saw unimaginable horrors. The final journey to Transylvania confirms that 'every trace of all that had been was blotted out,' yet the immediate contradiction in Harker's observation that 'the castle stood as before, reared high above a waste of desolation' (*Dracula* 378) sets another cycle in motion. Dracula may have ostensibly been destroyed, but his blood line lives on in the Harkers' baby, a child conceived after its mother was bitten.¹⁶ And while it may be 'an added joy to Mina' and Harker that their 'boy's birthday is the same day as that on which Quincey Morris died' (*Dracula* 378), this also places the child's birth on the anniversary of Dracula's death.¹⁷ The Count may have been destroyed, but the stage is set for him to rise again.

Along with this treatment of time and supremacy as cyclical – the endless circle of rise, fall, and regeneration – comes the tacit acceptance that the British Empire too will one day pass away. While *The Lady of the Shroud* and *Dracula* both focus on the cycles of the Balkan regions, *The Lair of the White Worm* turns its attention to those of Britain. Sir Nathaniel de Salis' account of the history of Castra Regis condenses the dynasties of England in the same way that Dracula's does those of Transylvania:

each fresh wave of invasion – the Angles, the Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans – found it a desirable possession and so ensured its upholding. [...] Then it was that the fortified camp of the Caesars developed into the castle of the king. As we are as yet ignorant of the names of the first kings of Mercia [...] Then the sweeping changes which followed the Norman Conquest wiped out all lesser records than its own. (*Worm* 15)

These powerful lines of yesteryear have not only fallen from power but been obliterated from memory – a recurrent theme in the text. Stoker doesn't just remark upon the forgotten kings of Mercia whose names 'no historian has been able to guess' (*Worm* 15), but the unknown founders who had already forged a structure upon the site before the Romans came: the long-forgotten 'Druid times,' and the countless powerful rulers whose memories were demolished completely by the cycles of conquest and defeat. This fear that power may not guarantee longevity is confirmed by the tale's conclusion, as both Castra Regis and Diana's Grove – sites said to have stood for thousands of years – are utterly decimated, 'as if Nature herself had tried to obliterate [...] what had occurred' (*Worm* 144). These landmarks that had withstood wave after wave of invasion have finally fallen, leaving a new era to take over. This leads to the unnerving conclusion that

¹⁶ See Hennelly, 'Gnostic Quest,' 23.

¹⁷ Arata, 'Occidental Tourist,' also discusses this corruption 643-44.

Edwardian England is no more immune to the cycles of rise and fall than the pagan kings from which it is descended – and to which it might return. Indeed, in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century writing the British Empire was regarded not just as a barrier to protect against the savage other, but as a way of preventing England herself from relapsing into the barbarism of her past. In texts such as Erskine Childers' *The Riddle of the Sands* (1903) the narrator insists that there are men who 'when forced by their calling to live for long periods in utter solitude – save for a few black faces – have made it a rule to dress regularly for dinner in order to [...] prevent a relapse in barbarism.'¹⁸ Implied within such statements is the fear that the division between the Edwardian English gentleman and the atavistic racial other, or the skin-wearing savages of his own history for that matter, rests upon little more than routine and sophisticated clothing.¹⁹ Time is thus envisioned as potentially cyclical not just for primitive regions such as the Carpathians, but for Britain as well: it is only through diligent prevention that the civilisation of the modern age – itself an amalgamation of previous ages – does not give way once more to the savagery of the past.

The Balkan lands in which *The Lady of the Shroud's* Castle Vissarion stands are not merely an amalgamation of ages and architectural styles, but of cultures. As Hughes notes:

The Balkans represent one of the most truly explosive of all cultural contact zones: simultaneously the eastern edge of contemporary Christian Europe and the Adriatic boundary of earlier Muslim expansion, and retaining not merely an Islamic hinterland but also, at its heart, an Orthodox Christianity that differs, ceremonially and doctrinally, from the Protestant and Roman Catholic nations to the west.²⁰

These nations of the 'Near East' serve a vital political function as a boundary between Ottoman influence and the West. As such, they have value far beyond that which might be expected of a small and insular country. Rupert seems very aware of the power held by his newly adopted nation, quickly noting the constant threat posed to his homeland by other nations 'great and small, [that] pressed the land, anxious to acquire its suzerainty by any means' (*Shroud* 184). The Land of the Blue Mountains stands as both a barrier and a gateway to the wider Orient, simultaneously dividing and joining East and West. In protecting it from the encroaching Ottomans, then, Rupert's role as guardian far extends

¹⁸ Erskine Childers, *The Riddle of the Sands: A Record of the Secret Service* (1903; New York: Dover, 1976), 15.

¹⁹ See Said, *Orientalism*; and Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness*.

²⁰ Hughes, 'Colonising Europe,' 34.

that which he originally envisioned: he protects not just the Mountaineers from invasion, but Western Europe as a whole.

This land and its 'strange history' (*Shroud* 183) formed the area around which nineteenth-century politicians framed 'The Eastern Question': namely, the problem of what to do with the Balkan regions once the Ottoman Empire fell, a fate that looked increasingly inevitable. This 'question' remained at the forefront of Western minds for several decades, and has been seen by critics such as Gibson to have prompted a surge in British and French narratives of the vampiric Gothic as a means of politic commentary.²¹ The source of this literary vampirism, the deeper meaning beneath the surface, has been explained in many ways by different scholars: for Punter it is a bourgeois expression of anxiety over an aristocratic resurgence; for Richardson a Freudian reading of the son rising up to defeat the father; for Senf a destabilisation of traditional gender roles prompted by the New Woman; for Leatherdale a sublimation of incestuous and homosexual desires.²² No single explanation seems wholly satisfactory, especially for a literary phenomenon that ranges so widely and adapts so readily to its individual circumstances. What does seem certain, however, is that by the point of Stoker's writing the literary vampire had become emblematic of unease and indefinableness. This suits it perfectly to the Balkan region, an area that embodied these exact qualities in the minds of the British public, and would justify Stoker not only using the setting for *Dracula* but returning to it twelve years later in *The Lady of the Shroud*. The very presence of the literary vampire in the latter is a contentious matter – it is largely irrelevant to the plot, and completely discarded half way through in favour of a return to the traditional realms of romance and adventure. So why, then, does Stoker lean so heavily on this familiar trope in the opening of his text? One explanation would be a simple desire to capitalise on the unprecedented success of his vampiric *magnum opus*, a text received to considerably greater critical acclaim than his other publications. Another would be a planned exploitation of the surge of interest in the Balkan region prompted by the Eastern Question – the very *topicality* of the Near East. Alternatively, however, in this repeated linking of the vampiric and the Balkan we could see an attempt to identify the exact nature of their equivalence. Like the vampire, the Balkan region is quintessentially 'other' to English eyes: unmapped and unmodernised, seemingly unmoved by Western progress,

²¹ See Gibson, *Eastern Question*, 2.

²² David Punter, *The Literature of Terror* (London: Longman, 1981); Maurice Richardson, 'Psychoanalysis of Ghost Stories,' *The Twentieth Century*, 166 (1959), 419-81; Senf, 'Response to the New Woman;' Clive Leatherdale, '*Dracula*': *The Novel and the Legend* (Essex: Desert Island Books, 1988).

its borders and allegiances constantly shifting. Rather than one producing the other, then, the two form a sort of bilateral dependency, each underpinning the strangeness of the other: a vampire of Stoker's kind could only emerge from the Balkan region, a region whose character is in turn sustained by the oddness of its preternatural creatures.

This would certainly appear to be supported by Stoker's early notes for *Dracula*.²³ He had originally located his castle in the Austrian state of Styria in homage to Le Fanu's famed vampire tale 'Carmilla.' In revising this setting to Transylvania, a region familiar to the British public primarily for its role in the Eastern Question, Stoker deliberately engages with the political situation. His vampire is an allegorical threat, a demon that threatens to consume his own countrymen as well as the good people of Britain. If we do consider this demon to be one of political unrest – not of a certain aspect or side, but just of general uncertainty – then it is the very indecisiveness of the participant nations that threatens to be their undoing. This seems fitting for a period characterised not by all-out war, but by the oppressive spectre of things to come. Stoker mimics this in his fiction. Despite being figured as a hostile threat throughout, the Turks never actually declare war on the Land of the Blue Mountains, preferring instead to operate by shadowy and 'nefarious schemes' (*Shroud* 357). As such, Rupert and his new compatriots spend the entire novel waiting expectantly for 'some message from Constantinople, fully expecting either a declaration of war, or else some inquiry so couched as to make war an inevitable result' (*Shroud* 357) – a message that never comes. This 'vampire' then, is the vampire of uncertainty – neither living nor dead, draining the life blood of nations from its place in the shadows.

In charting the difference in treatment of vampirism between the two texts, then, it is possible to trace subtle changes in perception between 1897 and 1909 – an eventful twelve years that saw the much-anticipated turn of a century, the death of a long-reigning monarch, and an escalation of European hostilities. For the Englishmen of *Dracula*, vampirism exists primarily in the shadows. Even when faced with undeniable evidence, a captive Harker refuses to put a name to his fears: despite having witnessed the Count crawl 'lizard fashion' down the walls of the castle and lie seemingly dead in a coffin, he goes no further than to wonder 'what manner of man is this, or what manner of creature is it in the semblance of a man?' (*Dracula* 34). In fact, despite the focus in the early narrative on supernatural occurrences and blood drinking, the word 'vampire' is not

²³ See Miller, *Documentary Volume*.

actually uttered until chapter fifteen, where it is widely derided by the listening Englishmen who still seek a logical solution to Lucy's death. In *The Lady of the Shroud*, however, while it might be expected that the primitive Mountaineers accept the Voivodin Teuta's alleged vampirism without question, Rupert's belief in the superstition is somewhat more surprising. In fact, while Harker *et al* have to be convinced by a visiting expert of the existence of such abominations, Rupert reaches this conclusion himself through a logical examination of facts:

Her coming was at night—the time the Vampire is according to the theory, free to move at will.

She wore her shroud—a necessity of coming fresh from grave or tomb; for there is nothing occult about clothing which is not subject to astral or other influences.

She had to be helped into my room—in strict accordance with what one sceptical critic of occultism has called “the Vampire etiquette.”

She made violent haste in getting away at cock-crow.

She seemed preternaturally cold; her sleep was almost abnormal in intensity, and yet the sound of the cock-crowing came through it. (*Shroud* 233)

Although starting as a *Dracula*-esque text, characterised by darkness and confusion, Rupert just as quickly casts off this acceptance of the preternatural. In the space of a single letter Stoker provides a logical (albeit farfetched) explanation for this foray into the unknown: Teuta was not dead but in a ‘strangely-prolonged trance,’ a revelation that had to be kept secret both to prevent the Turks from plotting further invasion and for fear that the superstitious Mountaineers, having seen her dead, would ‘not be willing to accept the fact of her being alive’ (*Shroud* 307). This explanation appeals to both Rupert's masculine and his imperial sensibilities: he must not only protect a beautiful and vulnerable woman, but also guard a superstitious people from a simple fact that their primitive minds would not be able to comprehend. With this revelation, Stoker returns his hero to the realms of a Victorian boy's adventure story, a world of certainties where an Englishman can defeat the dark-skinned invader, rescue the damsel in distress, and assume his rightful place at the head of the table. This heavy-handed imposition of the colonial masculine is abrupt and jarring, creating such a schism within the text that it is difficult to find any sense of continuity between the two halves. While in *Dracula* Stoker seems happy to revel in the uncertainties inherent in his tale, a world in which modernity and Englishness both fail to offer the protection that its characters feel they should afford, by *The Lady of the Shroud* this confidence has faltered. Instead, Stoker abruptly returns his narrative to the realm of the containable and familiar, halting his expressions of doubt before they have fully taken

shape. The rising European tensions that characterised the period between Stoker's two vampiric texts would seem to have played a key role in this reversal of fortune. Faced with an increasingly unstable reality, Stoker seeks comfort in the imposition of a controllable veneer of fictional certainty over the doubts of previous years.

These tensions, and the seemingly unavoidable descent towards European war, form the backdrop to Rupert's adventuring. Stoker's narrative is peppered with thinly-fictionalised accounts of the 'Balkan Struggle' (*Shroud* 182), historically accurate accounts crystallised into the 'strange history' (183) of the fictional Land of the Blue Mountains. Scholars have consistently taken this Land of the Blue Mountains to be based on the Kingdom of Montenegro, citing the obvious titular similarity (Montenegro meaning 'black mountain') and Stoker's tendency to use either invented Slavic-sounding toponyms ('Gadaar,' 'Plazac,' etc) or 'slight variations of Montenegrin place-names' ('Astrag' instead of 'Ostrog,' 'Ispazar' instead of 'Virpazar,' 'Bajana' instead of 'Bojana').²⁴ It is also true that Stoker draws heavily from Montenegrin history to create the Land of the Blue Mountains' heroic past: Roger Melton's account of the nation's founding states that 'for more than a thousand years – ever since its settlement after the disaster of Rossoro [i.e. Kosovo] – it had maintained its national independence under several forms of Government' (*Shroud* 183). However, while the named neighbouring countries correspond with Montenegro's – Albania, Dalmatia, Herzegovina, Serbia, Bulgaria – Montenegro herself is also named several times. Melton compares the influence of the vladika to that of 'the Prince-Bishops of Montenegro' (*Shroud* 183), and Rupert bemoans the mounting aggression of Austria-Hungary that made it appear that 'Montenegro was to be deprived for all time of the hope of regaining the Bocche di Cattaro,' that 'gallant little Montenegro was already shut out from the sea by the octopus-like grip of Dalmatia crouching along her western shore' (410). It would seem, then, that the Land of the Blue Mountains is simply a generic representation of a small Balkan nation – albeit an unoriginal one – rather than corresponding to a specific country.

Stoker may not have chosen a real-life nation in which to set his tale, but that does not prevent him from engaging with the real-life contemporary politics of the 'Near East.'

²⁴ Goldsworthy, 'Popular Fiction,' 85. Aside from Goldsworthy, other critics to interpret the Land of the Blue Mountains as Montenegro include Lisa Hopkins, 'Bram Stoker's *The Lady of the Shroud*: Supernatural Fantasy, Politics, Montenegro and its Double,' *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, 57.4 (2014), 519-34; Katarina Gephardt, *The Idea of Europe in British Travel Narratives, 1789-1914* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014); and Cain, *Russophobia*. Cain also considers that, if the Calabrian Mountains are visible, then the country would 'appear to lie somewhere in the region occupied by present-day northern Greece or Albania.' Cain, *Russophobia*, 154.

Between the 1870s and the outbreak of World War One, the Balkan region stood as a major point of contention between the great powers. The decline and gradual collapse of the once-great Ottoman Empire, the formation of independent states in Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria, and Romania, and the undisguised ambition of the former three to acquire Ottoman land, all served to keep the attention of Europe focused on the Balkans. Unrest was further sown by the growth of nationalism in the region (the Hungarian revolution of 1848, the Croatian South Slav movement, and rising Romanian resistance to Magyarisation in Hungarian-ruled Transylvania) and by territorial disputes, with Austria-Hungary occupying the Ottoman provinces of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Sanjak of Novi Pazar in 1878. Stoker makes frequent reference to such events, and to the reputation for volatility and instability that they engendered. He has Rupert view European dynamics with a quintessentially English eye: Austria-Hungary, Germany, Italy, and Russia are considered great threats, Serbia and Bulgaria minor threats, and Montenegro, Bosnia, and Herzegovina gallant victims. These divisions would seem to have less to do with the threats posed to the Land of the Blue Mountains, as originally claimed, than they do with the wider risk posed to an Anglocentric Europe. Any nation seeking unsanctioned expansion is thus considered hostile, the level of hostility dependant on the perceived threat not to a small fictional Balkan nation (to which neighbouring countries such as Serbia would surely pose greatest risk) but to the stability of wider Europe.

This European tension would erupt in the Balkan Wars just three years after the publication of *The Lady of the Shroud*. The First Balkan War lasted from October 1912 to May 1913, and finished with the ‘Balkan League’ of Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro, and Serbia reclaiming territories west of the Çatalca line from the Ottomans.²⁵ This peace was short lived, however, with disagreements over the division of acquired territories sparking the outbreak of a second Balkan War – a six-week conflict that resulted in Bulgaria conceding much of her territorial gains to her old allies. The Voivode Peter Vissarion’s abdication speech is surprisingly accurate in its predictions of the region’s military and political future. He foresees the need for the ‘uniting of the Balkan forces’ (*Shroud* 389) that, in the form of the Balkan League, would engender the defeat of the Ottomans in 1912. He also anticipates the ‘mightier composite Power’ of Austria-Hungary, a nation perceived as dangerous not just in her own right, but because ‘she has

²⁵ See Jacob Gould Schurman, *The Balkan Wars, 1912-13* (New York: Cosimo, 2005); Kemal H. Karpat, *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Benjamin Miller, ‘War and Peace in the Balkans,’ in *States, Nations, and the Great Powers: The Sources of Regional War and Peace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 205-55.

so enmeshed herself with the Great Powers of Europe' (*Shroud* 389). This distaste at such an 'enmeshing' implies that the dual nation does not belong amongst the great powers – a feeling that, given Rupert's prior statements, must be seen as being based primarily in geographic location. Austria alone would perhaps be accepted alongside Germany and Italy as a behemoth of Europe, her central positioning allowing her membership of the elite. When yoked to Hungary, however, she is rendered too Eastern to stand among her Western neighbours as a justified power in the world. Instead, then, her ambitions must be seen as greed, driven not by nationalism or pride (as it surely would with Britain) but 'German lust of enlargement' (*Shroud* 410), a mere puppet in a Western game.

Vissarion, then, as well as identifying key antagonists in the Great War to come, sees (to some extent, at least) Germany as a driving force behind the impending conflict. This is a different set of allegiances than envisioned by the 1893 contingent of British naval and military experts who produced a document entitled 'The Great War of 189-: a Forecast' in an attempt to assess the country's position in the event of a European war.²⁶ This 'forecast' saw Britain join the war alongside Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Belgium, standing against the combined forces of France, Russia, and Serbia. These visions of impending battle are deeply rooted in the prevalent late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century fear that even the most trivial of incidents could spark a major conflict. According to the document, 'The Great War of 189-'

erupts in a remote Balkan village with the attempted assassination of a Bulgarian prince by a Russian spy disguised as a priest. The Serbs, having been thrashed by the Bulgarians in 1885, seize this opportunity to provoke a border incident, only to be surprised by a lightning attack by the Austrians, who occupy Belgrade. Outraged by this violation of Serbian sovereignty, the Tsar lands troops in Bulgaria and demands the evacuation of Belgrade.²⁷

This is a scene that could easily have come from the pages of an adventure story. Stoker himself opts for a similarly complex plot, although his potential conflict is sparked by the kidnapping of a Balkan princess by Turks instead of an assassination attempt by the Russians. The influx of turn-of-the-century fictional accounts depicting the Balkans as

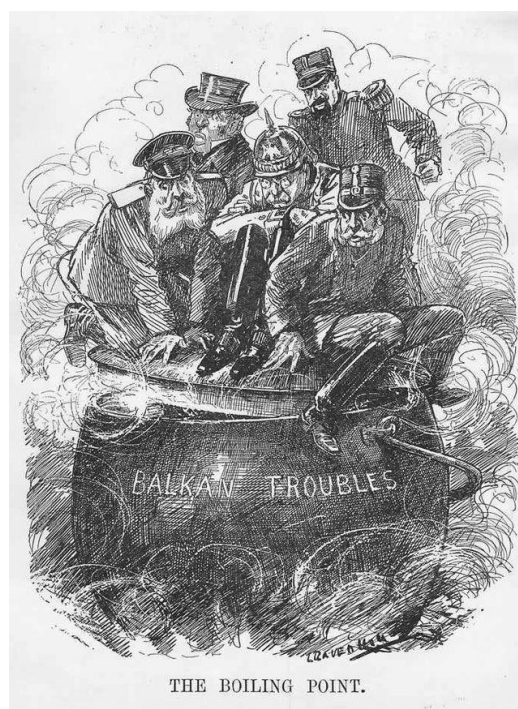
²⁶ P. H. Colomb, J. F. Maurice, F. N. Maude, A. Forbes, C. H. Lowe, D. Christie Murray, and F. Scudamore, *The Great War of 189-: a Forecast* (London: William Heinemann, 1895), cited in Goldsworthy, 'Popular Fiction,' 71-72.

²⁷ Summary quoted in Cecil D. Eby, *The Road to Armageddon: The Martial Spirit in English Popular Literature, 1870-1914* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987), 23.

the ‘powder-keg’ of Europe further cemented this image in the minds of the public – an image of instability and imminent conflict that could be readily exploited.²⁸

Figure 1.

Punch (2 October 1912), by Leonard Raven-Hill.



The Boiling Point

As Goldsworthy notes, *fin-de-siècle* descriptions of the Balkans often struggle with one inherent ambiguity: the tension between the ‘centrality of the region’ on the one hand, and its ‘total marginality in the world of European politics’ on the other.²⁹ As such, the conflicts that erupt in the Balkan region are simultaneously extraneous to and integral to wider Europe. Just as the fictional Land of the Blue Mountains pulls England into her war with the Turks, so do her real counterparts enmesh larger powers in their disputes. The perpetual European involvement in the Balkans is aptly portrayed by ‘The Boiling Point,’ a *Punch* cartoon published in October 1912 (Figure 1). It depicts Germany, Britain, France, Russia, and Austria-Hungary straining to keep the lid on the nationalist and imperialist tensions simmering in the cauldron of ‘Balkan Troubles’ – something that

²⁸ Anthony Hope’s *The Prisoner of Zenda* (1894; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1917) was a classic example of this trend.

²⁹ Goldsworthy, ‘Popular Fiction,’ 70.

would cease to be possible by 1914. The Balkan fantasy is thus not a fantasy of ‘strictly local affairs,’ as Hughes notes, but one of much wider implications: a ‘tense cultural and political flashpoint’ in which the smallest incident could be the catalyst for setting greater powers into motion.³⁰ While the main narrative of *The Lady of the Shroud* focuses on the Mountaineers’ attempts to protect their country and royal family, beneath there are hints that such actions could indirectly ignite a powder keg in wider Europe. Rupert’s role in arming the Balkan nation for war brings Britain into the equation, pitting her empire against that of the crumbling Ottomans. It also risks provoking powerful neighbours to the west, with Austria-Hungary alert to any show of aggression. The literary Balkan nation itself, then, is merely a stage upon which to set a greater European drama. It provides little more than a backdrop against which to play out tensions between the romanticised imperial idea of a heroic and distant war and the growing anxieties over an impending clash of Europe’s great powers.

One popular suggestion for averting this impending crisis was the creation of a Balkan federation, a ‘defensive alliance [...] to the end of ultimate protection’ between neighbouring countries willing to put their fear of ‘northern advance’ (*Shroud* 410) above their dislike of one another. This idea of a ‘Balkan Federation’ emerged from the left-leaning political minds of the late nineteenth century, aiming to establish a republic that unified the Balkan Peninsula through internationalism, socialism, and economic equality.³¹ It remained a popular refrain among twentieth-century politicians, with leaders such as Adem Demaçi of the Parliamentary Party of Kosovo proposing a confederation of Kosovo, Serbia, and Montenegro that he wished to call ‘Balkania.’³² Stoker has Rupert present a similar idea, a ‘great Balkan Federation’ by the name of ‘Balka’ that is formed of everything ‘south of a line drawn from the Isle of Serpents to Aquileia’ (*Shroud* 411). This, of course, is a heavily idealised solution. As Glover notes, Stoker creates a utopia that adheres to both the Liberal concept of the nation state and the British imperial desire, in which all participant countries set aside ‘pride and suspiciousness’ to join the alliance (*Shroud* 410).³³

³⁰ Hughes, ‘Colonising Europe,’ 34.

³¹ See Cyril E. Black, ‘Russia and the Modernisation of the Balkans,’ in *The Balkans in Transition: Essays on the Development of Balkan Life and Politics Since the Eighteenth Century*, Charles Jelavich, ed. (Oakland: University of California Press, 1963), 145-83.

³² See Robert C. Hudson, ‘Federal “Balkania,” “Kosovo Republika” or Balkan Meltdown,’ in *Cultural Identities and Ethnic Minorities in Europe*, David Turton and Julia González, eds. (Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto, 1999), 71-80.

³³ See Glover, *Vampires, Mummies, and Liberals*, 53-55.

In contemporary opinion this solution was an unlikely one. Writing in 1911, Woods echoed popular opinion when he stated that ‘the Balkan Peninsula and Asia Minor may always be the scene of insurrection or massacre, on account of the many diverse people who inhabit the different districts of which they are composed.’³⁴ When these massacres did occur – such as the Armenian genocide carried out by Turks in 1894 and 1896, or the killing of Bulgarian Christians in 1876 – they were widely reported in the British press. For Western readers and writers, the defining characteristic of such regions were both racial hegemony and racial intolerance – and nowhere more so than the Carpathians. The volatile potential of so many peoples living side by side was something that Stoker readily acknowledged, with Rupert expressing concerns that ‘if a war should break out, it might easily become [...] a war of creeds [...] one of races, the end of which no mind could diagnose’ (*Shroud* 185). The region is figured as being seemingly more predisposed towards genocide than any other, even a conflict arising from independent matters facing a swift and inevitable descent into a race war.

In such expressions, Stoker continues a Western tradition of seeing unrest in the Balkan region primarily in terms of racial conflict. To the minds of the nineteenth century, the concept of ‘race’ was all-encompassing, ‘invariably impl[ying] culture as well as physical attributes’ and ‘demarcated by more subtle variations than mere skin pigment.’³⁵ These ‘subtleties’ of race variation that filled the Carpathians were well-noted in fictional texts and historical sources alike. Charles Boner, author of the 1865 account *Transylvania*, observed the ‘diversity of character which the various physiognomies present [...] at every step.’

The slim, lithe Hungarian [...] the more oriental Wallachian, with softer, sensuous air, – in her style of dress and even in her carriage unlike a dweller in the West; a Moldavian princess, wrapped in a Turkish shawl. [...] And now a Serb marches proudly past, his countenance calm as a Turk's; or a Constantinople merchant sweeps along in his loose robes and snowy turban. There are, too, Greeks, Dalmatians, and Croats, all different in feature: there is no end to the variety.³⁶

Despite their geographic proximity, each of the Carpathian races is seen as fundamentally different to the next – not just in clothing or attitude, but in corporeal form too. They are divided by both innate physical difference and constructed social difference, irresolvable

³⁴ Woods, *Danger Zone*, 5.

³⁵ Warren, ‘Frontiers of Racial Decay,’ 1127.

³⁶ Boner, *Transylvania*, 1; 2. For further consideration of these passages see Arata, ‘Occidental Tourist,’ 629.

lines that translate into the antagonisms consuming the region, century after century. In fact, the only feature that unites them is their shared otherness to the West.

In *Dracula*, as Arata notes, the vampiric race is simply the strongest of the many ‘warrior races’ that reside in the Carpathians – Slovak, Czech, Magyar, Wallach, Szekely, Saxon, Szgany, and Turk.³⁷ Yet despite his unsavoury taste for human blood, the Count is portrayed as less ‘other’ than the Szgany, who are ‘almost outside all law [...] fearless and without religion, save superstition, and [...] talk only their own varieties of the Romany tongue’ (*Dracula* 41), or the Slovaks, who are ‘more barbarian than the rest’ and wear ‘enormous heavy leather belts, nearly a foot wide, all studded over with brass nails’ (3). Though he drinks blood, Dracula speaks fluent English and reads ‘a vast number of English books’ including ‘the London Directory,’ ‘Whitaker’s Almanac,’ and ‘the Army and Navy Lists, and [...] the Law List’ (*Dracula* 19) – he is, nominally at least, civilised. Indeed, the fact that Dracula himself once ‘crossed the Danube and beat the Turk on his own ground’ (*Dracula* 29) makes him an unlikely ally of Rupert’s. As Wasson notes, the Count sees himself as having ‘performed an important political function’ for the Western world in his subduing of the enemy Turk.³⁸ This dialogue echoes Gladstone’s description of the bloody history of the Ottoman Empire:

A tremendous incarnation of military power. This advancing curse menaced the whole of Europe. It was only stayed, and that not in one generation, but in many, by the heroism of the European population of those very countries, part of which form at this moment the scene of war.³⁹

Gladstone and Dracula both attempt to remind England of a forgotten history: that, as Coundouriotis notes, Europe was ‘saved by the sacrifices of the people on its Eastern frontier.’⁴⁰ For Dracula, imminent war is not the only threat on the horizon: as he laments to Mina, he is now being hunted by the very men he fought to protect ‘hundreds of years before they were born’ (*Dracula* 288). In achieving military victory Dracula has inadvertently made himself obsolete. Now that the ‘warlike days are over’ (*Dracula* 29) and his nation stands in ‘dishonourable peace’ (30) the only place for a savage warlord such as the Count to exist is in memory: ‘the glories of the great race’ are now no more than ‘a tale that is told’ (30). This betrayal by the Western world forces the Count to seek vengeance, removing him from the realm of Christianity and aligning him more with his

³⁷ Arata, ‘Occidental Tourist,’ 628.

³⁸ Wasson, ‘Politics of *Dracula*,’ 24.

³⁹ W. E. Gladstone, *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East* (London: John Murray, 1876), 13, cited in Coundouriotis, ‘Idea of Europe,’ 150.

⁴⁰ Coundouriotis, ‘Idea of Europe,’ 151.

old enemies, the Ottomans. It is perhaps this monstrous hybridity that prompted Stoker to set his vampiric tale in Eastern Europe – and more specifically the Balkan region of Eastern Europe – instead of Madagascar, Malaysia, or Indonesia where belief in vampiric creatures is also well documented.⁴¹ From a British perspective, Dracula's threat is deeply rooted in his *Europeanness*. Dracula – and vampirism in general – can thus perhaps be read as a symbol of the Balkan condition: a race of 'impure' Europeanness that is rejected by the West.⁴²

This uneasy 'impurity' of the Balkan population also surfaces in *The Lady of the Shroud*. The people of the Land of the Blue Mountains may be a 'fierce' and 'proud' race that inhabits a 'strange and dangerous country' (*Shroud* 198) situated too far to the east to be comfortable, but they are, nonetheless, white Christians. They are frequently compared to ancient white races renowned for their strength and nobility: when they run it is like 'the Olympic race of old Greece' (*Shroud* 314), the charging of the 'Paladin[s] of old' (315), the fury of the 'Vikings' (311). For, as it is later revealed, the Mountaineers are somehow the descendants of Viking ancestors, their first Voivode Vissarion having been a Berserker. This revelation of historic European ancestry is a device used to similar effect by Kipling in 'The Man Who Would Be King,' where a reclusive Afghan tribe are revealed to be the descendants of Alexander the Great and thus 'fairer than you or me.' Despite having spent more than two thousand years living in Kafiristan, 'the top right-hand corner of Afghanistan, not more than three hundred miles from Peshawar,' their skin colour automatically lends them superiority over their neighbours, with Carnehan noting that 'the Kafirs didn't allow Mohammedans to talk to them.' This moral superiority is explicitly linked to their racial heritage: Dravot insists that 'you won't cheat me, because you're white people – sons of Alexander – and not like common black Mohammedans.'⁴³ The Kafirs' very identity is rooted in their otherness to the homogenous Islamic peoples around them, the tribe's name presumably coming from the Arabic word 'kafir,' meaning 'unbeliever.' This creation of a positive identity through contrast with a perceived negative other is reminiscent of Said's theories of the West creating the Eastern other to stand as its contrasting image – in Kafiristan, we see a sublimated microcosm of the

⁴¹ See Matthew Bunson, *The Vampire Encyclopaedia* (London: Gramercy, 2001).

⁴² Goldsworthy and Kostova both discuss the perceived 'impurity' of Balkan Europeanness. Ludmilla Kostova, 'Straining the Limits of Interpretation: Bram Stoker's *Dracula* and its Eastern European Contexts,' in *Post/Modern 'Dracula': From Victorian Themes to Postmodern Praxis*, John S. Bak, ed. (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007), 13-30.

⁴³ Kipling, 'Man Who Would,' 261; 252; 267.

creation of imperial Western identity.⁴⁴ Stoker creates a similar legacy for his Mountaineers, a ‘noble race’ (*Shroud* 306) locked in deathly opposition with the dark, ‘Moslem’ Turks that threaten to overrun their borders. These ‘Turkish ruffians’ (*Shroud* 358) all possess stereotypically Eastern names – such as ‘Captain Ali Ali’ of ‘The Mahmoud’ – and value women ‘no more than a sheep’ (312). They represent a homogenous darkness to match the light of the Mountaineers: both backward and primitive, but in very different ways. Much like Haggard’s Kafirs, despite living outside of the reach of England’s civilising influence the Mountaineers have nevertheless retained the values of an Englishman: they are fiercely loyal, respectful towards their women, deferential to their superiors, proud of their country. Seemingly by the merit of their white skin alone, they are inherently good. The Turks, on the other hand, embody all of the evil of the ‘uncivilised’ – and un-English – world: they are dishonest, violent, treacherous, seeking only to further their own selves at any cost.

Stoker’s choice of villain is pertinent. Rupert makes frequent note of the sheer number of hostile nations looking to conquer the Land of the Blue Mountains:

Greece, Turkey, Austria, Russia, Italy, France, had all tried in vain. Russia, often hurled back, was waiting an opportunity to attack. Austria and Greece, although united by no common purpose or design, were ready to throw in their forces with whomsoever might seem most likely to be victor. Other Balkan States, too, were not lacking in desire to add the little territory of the Blue Mountains to their more ample possessions. Albania, Dalmatia, Herzegovina, Servia, Bulgaria, looked with lustful eyes on the land. (*Shroud* 184)

Turkey initially seems an odd choice of adversary. She neither shares a border with the fictional country (said to be surrounded by Albania, Dalmatia, Herzegovina, Serbia, and Bulgaria) nor, by 1909, was she a formidable world power. The so-called ‘Sick Man of Europe’ was in visibly poor health by the time of Stoker’s publication, the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 deposing the sultan and forcing major constitutional reforms upon an already ailing country.⁴⁵ Britain herself had provided intermittent support for Turkey across the nineteenth century, a desire to block Russian advancement and to prevent any other European power from gaining excessive influence over the weakening nation leading her to intervene on behalf of the Ottomans on several occasions.⁴⁶ So why, then, are Stoker’s villains Turkish instead of Russian or Austrian? A simple answer would seem

⁴⁴ Said, *Orientalism*.

⁴⁵ See M. Sukru Hanioglu, *Preparation for a Revolution: The Young Turks, 1902-1908* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

⁴⁶ See Gerald David Clayton, *Britain and the Eastern Question: Missolonghi to Gallipoli* (London: White Lion, 1974).

to be their very ‘otherness’: of all the adversaries listed, the Turk is the most visibly different, his dark skin and foreign religion exposing him. In order for Rupert to overcome the differences between himself and his newly adopted people, their unfamiliar customs threatening to destabilise both his romantic and professional prospects, another more visible other must appear. The Englishman can happily unite with these strange proponents of the ‘Eastern Church’ (*Shroud* 306) if it is to the common purpose of defeating a dark race of ‘heathens’ (318).

Stoker’s depiction of his Turks as ‘villainous [...] heathen murderers’ (*Shroud* 319) is in accordance with the racial hierarchy enforced by novelists who chose Balkan kingdoms, fictional or factual, as the setting for their tales. Such texts contrast ‘Englishness,’ ‘Europeanness,’ and ‘Balkanness,’ placing all in order above the true ‘Easternness’ beyond. To be English is to be superior to all, while ‘Balkanness’ is shown to be an inferior, impure breed of European ‘otherness.’ As such, as Goldsworthy notes, even the lowliest English gentleman is better suited to ruling than any European royal.⁴⁷ In S. C. Grier’s *An Uncrowned King*, the Prime Minister of the fictitious Balkan nation ‘Thrace’ complains that ‘it is the boast of you English nobles that you are on a level with any of the princely houses on the Continent that are not absolutely royal [...] and you are far richer.’⁴⁸ Although – perhaps unwittingly – supporting their underlying spirit in the crowning of Rupert as king of the Land of the Blue Mountains, Stoker parodies the extremity of these views through the character of Ernest Melton. Ernest’s sense of superiority over his cousin, the ‘barbarian – or perhaps semi-barbarian – king’ (*Shroud* 414) simply because he himself is head of ‘a real first-class English country house’ (415) is emblematic of a wider feeling of Western superiority. He is thus able to ignore the Balkan royal welcome rituals and shun the Voivodin Teuta, ‘saunter[ing] leisurely forward’ and extending ‘one finger’ to be kissed instead of his hand as – as an English gentleman – he ranks above even the ‘Great Lady’ (*Shroud* 368) of a Balkan nation. She occupies such a lowly position in his eyes that when he offers her a sovereign, as in England ‘one “tips” a housekeeper,’ he means it as a ‘kindness’ instead of an ‘affront’ (*Shroud* 368).

In becoming king of the Land of the Blue Mountains, Rupert both elevates and lowers his social position: he is a king, but a Balkan king. Despite his newly acquired royalty,

⁴⁷ Goldsworthy, ‘Popular Fiction,’ 69.

⁴⁸ S. C. Grier, *An Uncrowned King: A Romance of High Politics* (London: William Blackwood, 1896), 13.

his influence and superiority over his new countrymen would seem to stem not from his kingship but from his English heritage. There is no marked increase in the respect shown to him before and after his crowning, as the Mountaineers had revered him as an Englishman long before they revered him as a king. This dual superiority manifests in what Anthony Hope termed ‘an Englishman’s wonder [at] why other countries cannot manage their affairs better,’ a wry bemusement at the peculiar ways of Balkan peoples.⁴⁹ Despite becoming naturalised and declaring his utter devotion to the Mountaineers, Rupert still regards them as rather simple and childlike in their ways.

Nevertheless, the desire for an English hero to avert crisis in unstable Balkan nations prevailed in both life and literature. Lord Byron’s death in Missolonghi in 1824 while attempting to orchestrate Greek independence from the Ottoman Empire helped to create a special calling for the Englishman abroad. This role, defined by Goldsworthy as that of the ‘mythical warrior and saviour,’ was transformed across the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries into ‘a *Boy’s Own* hero who symbolised Britain’s superior sense of justice, unencumbered by the awkward implications of Byron’s anti-colonialism and radicalism.’⁵⁰ This model was adopted by several writers, including Allen Upward, who unsuccessfully supported the Greeks in the 1897 Greco-Turkish war, and Joyce Cary, who stood alongside the Montenegrins against the Turks in the Balkan wars of 1912-13.⁵¹ In literature, this translated not just into the rousing poems of Tennyson and Marquis – with their ‘mightier mountaineers’ and ‘fierce eagles’ – but into the Byronic heroes of fictional Balkan lands.⁵² These stories frequently bring their fictional Balkan nation – or even Europe as a whole – to the very edge of war, only to be snatched back from the brink by a selfless hero exercising the ‘natural’ desire of the Englishman to champion peace and order.

These fictional heroes and their missions of salvation can perhaps be seen as a method of excising imperial guilt.⁵³ The ensuing fantasies of oppressed natives joyfully welcoming the arrival of the British colonial presence rewrites the begrudging locals who met the imperial forces of real life. If the Land of the Blue Mountains provides a fantasy refuge for Rupert, then it also provides one for the reader. Here Englishmen are welcomed

⁴⁹Anthony Hope, *Sophy of Kravonia* (London: J. W. Arrowsmith, 1906), 246.

⁵⁰Goldsworthy, ‘Popular Fiction,’ 42.

⁵¹See Goldsworthy, ‘Popular Fiction,’ 42, and David Roessel, *In Byron’s Shadow: Modern Greece in the English and American Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

⁵²Alfred Tennyson, ‘Montenegro,’ in *Ballads and Other Poems* (1877; London: C. Kegan Paul, 1880); Don Marquis, ‘Nicholas of Montenegro,’ in *Dreams and Dust*, (1912; London: Nabu, 2014).

⁵³This guilt is presumed to be a sublimated one; Britain did not hold any Eastern European territories.

as citizens of ‘the Great Nation [...] mighty Britain,’ a country which champions lesser nations in ‘direst need’ and is duly celebrated for having a ‘hand [...] ever [...] raised in the cause of freedom’ (*Shroud* 236). The Vladika’s picture of Britain as protector, ‘stand[ing] with sword in hand face to face with our foes’ (*Shroud* 236) is a far cry from the reports of an imperial force generally despised by those they colonised.⁵⁴ Instead of the bloodshed and oppression required to colonise a nation in reality, Rupert gains control of the Land of the Blue Mountains through little more than the Mountaineers longing for their country to be more similar to Britain. This desire to emulate Great Britain, to copy ‘the spirits and customs which have made [her...] great’ (*Shroud* 389-90), is so prevalent that the Mountaineers not only welcome Rupert into their homeland but allow him to reorganise their entire system of governance – an idealised account of the political restructuring inherent in the British-run administrations of the colonies.

By the turn of the century this myth had progressed a step further, with the heroic saviours of the Balkans not only rescuing their adopted country but being crowned as its king. Anthony Hope’s *The Prisoner of Zenda*, the 1894 tale of an Englishman saving a fictional Balkan land by posing as its king, ushered in a spate of swashbuckling aristocratic romances set in Eastern Europe. This popular subgenre – known as ‘Ruritanian romance’ after Hope’s imagined land – saw authors such as George Barr McCutcheon and Frances Hodgson Burnett try their hands at creating remote and beautiful nations upon which to stage their tales of intrigue and romance.⁵⁵ Such stories invariably revolved around Englishmen – or Englishwomen, in the case of Hope’s *Sophy of Kravonia* – who found royalty and romance in the far-flung corners of Eastern Europe, a convention which Stoker follows to the letter in *The Lady of the Shroud*. For S. C. Grier, the ‘peace of Europe’ depends upon an Englishman taking the Thracian throne; for Stoker, it is imperative that ‘an Englishman would become our King [and...] carry into our Government the spirit and customs which have made his own country great’ (*Shroud* 389-90).⁵⁶ This idea of itself was hardly outlandish, with the newly established Balkan royal families of the nineteenth and twentieth century being drawn from around Europe – chiefly Germany, whose many ‘redundant but eligible’ princes had strong European

⁵⁴ See Richard Gott, *Britain’s Empire: Resistance, Repression, and Revolt* (London: Verso, 2011).

⁵⁵ George Barr McCutcheon, *Graustark: The Story of a Love Behind a Throne* (Chicago: Herbert S. Stone, 1901); *Beverly of Graustark* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1904); *Truxton King: A Story of Graustark* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1909); *The Prince of Graustark* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1914); *East of the Setting Sun: A Tale of Graustark* (New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co., 1924); *The Inn of the Hawk and the Raven: A Tale of Old Graustark* (New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co., 1927). Frances Hodgson Burnett, *The Lost Prince* (1915; New York: Appleton, 1934).

⁵⁶ Grier, *Uncrowned King*, 79.

connections.⁵⁷ Although none as powerful a figure as Rupert, there were several British royals in the Balkans, including Queen Marie of Romania (1875-1938), granddaughter of Queen Victoria, and Prince of Bulgaria Alexander Battenberg (1857-1893), uncle of Lord Louis Mountbatten. Back in Britain, publicity was generated by some of the more controversial candidates for the Balkan thrones: the Albanian throne was offered two times to British diplomat Aubrey Herbert, the inspiration behind Sandy Arbuthnot in John Buchan's *Greenmantle*, and even once to cricketer C. B. Fry.⁵⁸

This tantalising possibility that a Briton – and a non-royal Briton at that – could become king or queen, not from being born or marrying into royalty, but through their own merit, inspired a generation of fiction.⁵⁹ Rupert, an ‘Englishman of such noble character and achievements that a rising nation has chosen him for their King’ (*Shroud* 395), is installed as the head of a ‘Constitutional Monarchy [just like that which...] hold[s] in Great Britain’ (385) – but one that, unlike its British exemplar, allows a worthy ‘individual to be appointed King’ (386). This captures the central contradiction of the situation: in trying to emulate Britain they must appoint a king, but in appointing a king they become even less British. This is furthered by Peter Vissarion’s abdication in favour of Rupert because he is ‘strong and brave’ (*Shroud* 389) – characteristics required in primitive rulers, not in civilised kings of Constitutional Monarchies. As such, he is hardly a recognisable king away from the Balkan Peninsula – for all the gushing tributes paid to him – as revealed by the reports of the ‘Special Correspondent’ of the *London Messenger*: he is always ‘King Rupert (nominated),’ a ‘King who had not (in a Court sense) been born’ (*Shroud* 395).

In keeping with his unorthodox rise to power, Rupert forms an unlikely meritocracy of his ‘barbaric’ country. The ‘People’s Deputation’ is formed of an equal number of men ‘from each political section, so that the body as a whole represented the entire nation,’ men ‘of all sorts of social rank and all degrees of fortune’ (*Shroud* 419). This fantasy refuge that transcends the strict social boundaries of early twentieth-century Britain is exemplified by Rooke, once a common pirate, who has risen to the position of Lord High Admiral through his bravery and loyalty. He heads a new order, one in which

⁵⁷ Goldsworthy, ‘Popular Fiction,’ 44.

⁵⁸ See Robin Hanbury-Tenison, *Land of Eagles: Riding through Europe’s Forgotten Country* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), xxii-iii. Goldsworthy discusses prominent British royal figures in the Balkans at 44-45.

⁵⁹ On 16 August 1923, a headline appeared in the *London Evening News* that read: ‘A Crown Awaits an English Gentleman. Wanted, a King: English country gentleman preferred. Apply to the Government of Albania.’ Hanbury-Tenison, *Land of Eagles*, xxii.

seasoned officers ‘with old-crusted ways of their own importance’ are discarded in favour of ‘young men’ (*Shroud* 375). For all Rupert seeks a new beginning in the Balkans, declaring the Land of the Blue Mountains ‘his’ country and even giving up his British nationality when crowned, his every action looks back to Britain. The ‘new nation’ he seeks to build is to be ‘an ally of Britain, who will stand as an outpost of our own nation, and a guardian of our eastern road’ (*Shroud* 375) – little more than a buffer between Western Europe and the Ottomans. This buffer country cannot even be trusted to supply its own fighters, with Rupert sending home to London for ‘the sort of officers we want’ (*Shroud* 375) – a strategy reminiscent of the British in India.⁶⁰ As Rupert boasts in his journal, even a ‘mere amateur’ like himself is more qualified to lead an army than the highest ranking Balkan soldier, organising the haphazard fighting of the Mountaineers into a ‘systematic effort’ (*Shroud* 256) and bringing civilised warfare to a primitive people. The Mountaineers themselves are seen as just another untapped resource to be utilised, a ‘splendid material’ (*Shroud* 256) like the virgin forest or clean waters. As such, Stoker’s last-minute attempt to legitimise Rupert’s claim to the throne with the surprise revelation that the Englishman is also descended from the legendary Viking founder of the Land of the Blue Mountains does little to alter perceptions. His ensuing exploitation of the country’s resources and introduction of modern warfare to its people would thus seem to be as much about aiding Britain as it is protecting the Mountaineers. He turns the grassy hills into radium mines, the ‘virgin forests’ into logging centres, and extracts the ‘vast mineral wealth’ from the craggy rocks, all exported through the once-peaceful bay that he has transformed into ‘a mart for the world’ (*Shroud* 381). In imposing Western materialistic values on to his new land, Rupert strips away all that first appealed to British writers about the Balkans – the purity that caused Major Percy E. Henderson to write that the land was ‘as yet unspoilt by the hand of European civilisation.’⁶¹ Like the corrupted idylls of *The Lost World* or *The Land that Time Forgot* (1918), the blissful sense of pre-civilisation is lost as soon as Westerners set foot in the country. Rupert sets up ‘public works’ (*Shroud*, 407) and industrial coal mines, imposing upon the Mountaineers the ‘intrusion of civilised monotony’ that the *Morning Post*’s H. H. Munro praised them for having thus far escaped.⁶² The question that must then be asked is whether Rupert will still marvel at the pride and fierceness of the Mountaineers once they are not rustic

⁶⁰ See Peter Duckers, *The British-Indian Army, 1860-1914* (Oxford: Osprey, 2003).

⁶¹ Major Percy E. Henderson, *A British Officer in the Balkans; the Account of a Journey through Dalmatia, Montenegro, Turkey in Austria, Maygyarland, Bosnia and Hercegovina* (London: Seeley, 1909), 68.

⁶² H. H. Munro, ‘The Cupboard of the Yesterdays,’ in *The Toys of Peace: And Other Papers* (London: John Lane, 1919), 167-70, at 167.

woodsmen or gallant swordsmen but factory workers and coal miners, enduring hours of monotonous labour for low wages just like the working classes of Rupert's birthland. In seeking to civilise his new country, Rupert has inadvertently imitated the only model of civilisation that he knows: in essence, he has recreated Britain in a land that existed primarily to be *un-British*.

While the Mountaineers had been preparing to defend themselves from a Turkish invasion when Rupert first arrived on their shores, by the close of the novel he appears to have readied himself for global warfare. The Mountaineers' rifles and bayonets are replaced with 'siege-guns' (*Shroud* 409), 'aerial fleet[s]' (409), 'battleship[s]' (379), and 'explosives' (409), all churned out of 'great factories for war material' (374). Rupert is well aware of the potential consequences of these actions. That, should the 'Great Powers' of Europe find out about his plans, they would 'immediately try to take active measures against us' (*Shroud* 408) – measures that he acknowledges would lead to a European war. This matters little to him, however, as in just a year's time he intends to have 'the war material[s...]' to be able to defy any nation in the world' (*Shroud* 408). Rupert has effectively started an arms race with the 'Great Powers' of Europe to match the one he started between the Mountaineers and the Turks with his imported South American weaponry. While Stoker's text pre-dates the arms race that followed the Balkan Wars, with Greece and Turkey both struggling to amass a greater number of dreadnoughts, it was contemporary with several other high-profile tensions. Between 1891 and 1914 arms races between several European countries (Britain, Germany, France, Russia, and numerous smaller nations) took place, ending in the forming of two antagonistic blocs, the Allies and the Central Powers, and the outbreak of World War One.⁶³ These arms races – particularly the Anglo-German arms race – are commonly cited as a central cause for the War, having given each individual government the military technology and strength to engage in global warfare. Far from protecting his newly adopted country, then, Rupert in fact endangers it further. Despite his claims of superior supplies and weaponry he lacks both the men and the skill to rival the military might of Germany or Austria-Hungary. His people are farmers, used to carrying a 'rifle [and...] a handjar' not manning siege guns and battleships. What is more, in amassing these weapons Rupert overwrites the original purpose of the Mountaineers: their desire throughout has been to defend their small country from hostile encroachments, not to make shows of outward aggression

⁶³ See Robert Cowley and Geoffrey Parker, 'Arms Race,' in *The Reader's Companion to Military History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1996), 33-35.

towards other nations. At his first meeting with the ‘Great Powers’ Rupert is deliberately antagonistic. Each visiting ruler arrives by sea, demonstrating their naval prowess. Foremost among them is the great ‘Western King,’ who sends a fleet of ‘fifty of the finest ships in the world [...] Dreadnoughts, cruisers, destroyers’ (*Shroud* 424) to the christening of this small yet ambitious Balkan nation – a clear message to anyone that would seek to challenge his supremacy. By appearing to the crowd not on a ship (presumably having none to rival that of the Western King) but on top of a towering aero station Rupert deliberately eclipses this show, drawing the attention of the masses away from the established leader and towards the challenger, a bold move with potentially deadly consequences. The Englishman, it would seem, is not happy simply to reign over a small insular nation, instead casting his eyes further afield to greater glory. Under his rule, he seeks to see the Land of the Blue Mountains ‘flourish and become a power in the world’ (*Shroud* 390).

The Gothic tales of Balkan kingdoms are a new breed, an emerging subgenre that overwrites the confidence of previous years with uncertainty yet retains at its heart the colonial fascination with expansion and adventure. This unease is linked explicitly with location: when Stoker opens *The Lady of the Shroud* with the line ‘a strange story comes from the Adriatic’ (*Shroud* 149) he envisions the strangeness and the foreignness as entwined. Like the Transylvanian lands that have become forever associated with *Dracula*, a tale of such sorts could *only* happen in the Balkans, the last ‘refuge’ of superstition before the ‘wand’ of science.⁶⁴ The horror of this land that has just ‘come up out of the primeval slime’ with its ‘rough, primitive, barbarian, elemental’ (*Shroud* 373) people – a horror that manifests itself in vampires and werewolves and creatures of unfathomable evil – is a manifestation of Western unease at the uncertainty of the Balkan lands. This land that is neither ‘Europe’ proper nor ‘Asia,’ that is populated by neither the barbarians of Africa nor the refined citizens of Britain, that is neither at peace nor at war, is a source of constant threat. In its very uncertainty it threatens to destabilise the identities not just of those Western travellers who visit it, but of the West itself, an impure breed of Europeanness that corrupts and is corrupted in turn. In figuring this otherness as monstrous, the Gothic imaginings of the Balkans seek to define that which is undefinable – to identify the feared unnaturalness at the root of this unease. In the realisation of these fears, however, the veil must inevitably fall. The emergence of the literal threat thus

⁶⁴ Gerard, *Forest*, 130.

eradicates the metaphorical threat, certainty overwriting uncertainty. Whereas in 1897 the Balkan risk to Britain came in the form of fangs and giant anthropomorphised bats, in 1909 it was siege guns and warships. As such, by the close of *The Lady of the Shroud* Stoker has discarded his preternatural demons altogether, replacing them with the all too real spectre of imminent war: the unnatural state of the Balkan lands has finally birthed the monstrosity anticipated for so long.

Chapter Four

'The Mystery of that Mysterious Land': Bram Stoker's Egypt¹

Between 1880 and 1914 dozens of fictional texts appeared that focused on the supernatural Egyptian. The popularity of this subgenre, and its identity as a distinct body of work, is evident from contemporary literary reviews. *The Athenaeum*'s rather scathing appraisal of Guy Boothby's *Pharos the Egyptian*, a Gothic tale of an immortal priest of Isis who seeks vengeance against Europe for the despoiling of Egyptian tombs, refers disparagingly to the text as yet another one of 'these pseudo-Egyptian stories.'² Boothby's 1898 novel is entirely typical of its time and genre, portraying as it does an Egypt that is menacing and dangerous – the very same Egypt that appears in the pages of Marsh, Conan Doyle, and Heron. Interestingly, however, few notable tales of Egyptian terror can be said to precede the British occupation of the country. While the occasional account of a reanimated mummy can be seen emerging from the early nineteenth century, no doubt fuelled by interest in the Napoleonic expeditions of 1798, such stories fail to engage with the complex themes of later works.³ They talk of scientific interest and humorous misunderstandings rather than malignancy and vengeance. The emergence of the Egyptian Gothic as a distinct subgenre at such a politically significant time, then, must be seen as a specific response – an expression of unease and distrust towards a power that Britain was struggling to both contain and comprehend.

British interest in Egypt had multiplied with the Anglo-Egyptian War of 1882, a conflict between British and combined Egyptian and Sudanese forces under the Egyptian army officer Ahmed 'Urabi – commonly known in English as 'Arabi Pasha.' The intervention ended a nationalist uprising against the khedive Tewfik Pasha, recognised as

¹ Stoker, *Jewel*, 106.

² 'Historical Romances,' *The Athenaeum*, 3726 (March 1899), 368, cited in Ailise Bulfin, 'The Fiction of Gothic Egypt and the British Imperial Paranoia: The Curse of the Suez Canal,' *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, 54/2 (2011), 411-43, at 422.

³ Jane C. Loudon's *The Mummy! Or a Tale of the Twenty-Second Century* (1827; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995) depicted the first English literary mummy. An amalgamation of an 'early science-fiction morality tale and Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*,' the text has very little in common with the mummy fiction of the latter part of the century. John Johnston, 'Going Forth By Night,' in *Unearthed*, John Johnston and Jared Shurin, eds. (London: Jurassic, 2013), 9-42, at 11. Another notable early story is Edgar Allan Poe's 'Some Words with a Mummy,' *The Works of the Late Edgar Allan Poe* (1845; New York: J. S. Redfield, 1850), 438-54, a satirical piece published in 1845. See Roger Luckhurst, *The Mummy's Curse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

the only legitimate authority by both Britain and France, and greatly expanded British influence in the North African country.⁴ British forces then occupied Egypt until the Anglo-Egyptian treaties of 1922 and 1936, which gradually returned control to local government. This long occupation was fraught and hesitant, punctuated by sporadic and unfulfilled plans of withdrawal, and termed ‘the most absurd experiment in human government’ by one of Lord Cromer’s own undersecretaries.⁵ This question of governance, the forming of a ‘veiled protectorate’ that placed Egypt under British influence yet theoretically allowed it to remain a vassal state of the Ottoman Empire, became known in the public mind as the ‘Egyptian Question’ – a question that would spend decades unanswered.

This turbulent political scene is one that Stoker deliberately engages with in *The Jewel of Seven Stars*, locating the retrospective sections of his novel ‘soon after Arabi Pasha’ (*Jewel* 123). At this point, the change in political climate has rendered Egypt a ‘not so safe place for travellers, especially if they were English’ (*Jewel* 123). The unspoken acknowledgement here is that the Egyptian people supported Colonel ‘Urabi; that, contrary to popular media depictions, the returning of power to the khedive by British force was unwanted – as Lord Randolph Churchill declared, that ‘he was the leader of a nation, the exponent of a nation’s woes, and that the military rebellion was the desperate struggle of a race.’⁶ Rather than address this complexity, however, Stoker produces a polarised depiction of the human faces of the two nations. The Egyptians, it is implied, are violent and dangerous, savages in need of civilised restraint, while the Englishmen are praised as ‘fearless’ (*Jewel* 123) for daring to walk among them at such a time. This allows an exaggeration of a dichotomy already prevalent in contemporary literature – for the restraint of the civilised to be heightened by the unbridled release of the uncivilised, and *vice versa*.

Stoker is not alone in choosing to deliberately locate his novel during the height of Anglo-Egyptian conflict. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle’s own foray into Gothicised Egypt, the short story ‘Lot No. 249,’ is set in the year 1884, some eight years prior to its publication date. H. D. Everett’s 1896 publication *Iras: A Mystery* also chooses to set itself retrospectively, this time in the very year of Arabi Pasha’s attempted coup, 1882.⁷

⁴ See Mak, *British in Egypt*, 10-14; Robert T. Harrison, *Gladstone’s Imperialism in Egypt: Techniques of Domination* (Westport: Greenwood, 1995), 11-30.

⁵ Milner, *England in Egypt*, 6.

⁶ Cited in Brendon, *Decline and Fall*, 168.

⁷ H. D. Everett, *Iras: A Mystery* (New York: Harper, 1896).

The Anglo-Egyptian conflict is a situation that found itself readily Gothicised; at its root were fears not just of political unrest, but economic destabilisation and racial discord. The result of these fears, as Said notes, was the creation of an intense anxiety that swept Britain, the feeling of ‘living in an atmosphere of permanent crisis.’⁸ Over time, this anxiety metamorphosed into the creation of monsters: indefinable fears given names and shapes, and released into the pages of literature.

This propensity to associate the Egyptian with the Gothic is not just limited to the arts. Even factual accounts of Egypt tended to draw on the vocabulary of the supernatural in an attempt to explain the contemporary unease surrounding the situation. Viscount Milner, who served in Cromer’s administration in the 1880s, wrote of his concern that everything ‘seemed to be going wrong at one and the same time. Alike in military matters, in diplomacy, and in politics, Great Britain was simply haunted by the Egyptian Question.’⁹ In resorting to this Gothic imagery of ‘haunting,’ Milner conjures a powerful image of a stagnated situation neither alive nor dead; a veiled protectorate that is barely tangible yet inescapable, everywhere yet nowhere. What’s more, he voices it in remarkably similar terms to the curse tales that so dominated the Egyptian Gothic subgenre – as an epidemic of bad luck trailing its victim wherever they go. General Wolseley’s own staff officer, Sir William Butler, adopted a similar approach, seeing in a comet crossing the sky a warning from the heavens against hubris, a sinister omen amplified by his belief that Egypt ‘has ever played a strange part in the destiny of empires.’¹⁰ This process of orientalising, a concerted effort to perceive something as ‘other,’ is a necessary stage of imperialism. In order to commit fully to the occupation of a foreign country its people and ways must be othered, re-categorised as strange and improper and newly defined in opposition to the occupier. It is thus significant that these expressions of supernatural othering came not from journalists or authors, but from the pens of military men.

The Gothicised Egypt that fills the pages of *fin-de-siècle* texts, however, is invariably not a modern Egypt. Whether by time travel, reincarnation, or reanimation, the Egypt that the literary Englishman finds himself interacting with is an ancient one. Certainly ancient Egypt lends itself easily to the genre: the opulence of treasures, strange

⁸ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Random House, 1994), 406.

⁹ Milner, *England in Egypt*, 74, cited in Bulfin, ‘Gothic Egypt,’ 417.

¹⁰ William Butler, *An Autobiography*, Eileen Butler, ed. (London: Constable, 1913), 248-49, cited in Brendon, *Decline and Fall*, 169.

rituals, many gods, and – above all – the lure of the unknown, appears so fantastical that it translates easily into fiction. On a deeper level, however, this fetishisation of the ancient Egyptian is as much about fleeing the modern as it is seeking out the old. While contemporary Egypt was messy and unmanageable, a complex nation mired in political turmoil, ancient Egypt was seen as a beacon of civilisation – a Britain of the ancient world, pioneering science, and arts, and trade routes. This schism between old and new is so pronounced that Stoker, like many authors of the subgenre, fails to recognise any ancestral link between the greedy, ignorant natives his characters encounter in contemporary Egypt and the noble figures of the country's past. He (erroneously) divides these natives of modern-day Egypt into two camps: the 'fellaheen,' synonymously referred to as 'Egyptians,' and the 'Bedouin,' whom he also calls 'Arabs.'¹¹ These two peoples are divided not only by their racial groupings, but by the homogenous traits shared by all members of their tribe. The fellaheen, initially engaged by Trelawny and Corbeck to guide the Englishmen through the desert to the Valley of the Sorcerer, are depicted as ignorant and superstitious. They refuse to continue the exploration after sunset or even to speak of the shadowy sorcerer in darkness, their fears eventually driving them to the verge of rebellion. The Bedouin who replace them, although willing to take on this risky venture, are portrayed as no better than the unwilling fellaheen, simply greedier and more treacherous. They ransack the tomb, breaking priceless artefacts in their scramble for items of monetary value, and raise fears in the Englishmen not just that the Bedouin will desert them, but that they will kill them and abscond with the treasure. Despite Corbeck's sweeping claims that 'the Arabs were not bound by the same superstitious fears as the Egyptians' (*Jewel* 112), it is implied that the Bedouin do in fact share some of these fears, taking as they do the mummified hand of Queen Tera to use as 'an Amulet, or charm' (116). As such, it is not that they lack superstitious beliefs, simply that their greed outweighs their fear.

The Egyptians of yesteryear, however, form a sharp contrast. Trelawny and Corbeck both rhapsodise endlessly about the advancement of the ancient Egyptians – their intelligence, their inventiveness, their ingenuity. And while the class undertones of this contrast cannot be ignored – the ancient Egyptians discussed are predominantly priests, royalty, or courtly figures while the modern Egyptians encountered are peasants or tribal

¹¹ The 'Fellaheen' are peasant farmers in the Middle East and North Africa. The word derives from the Arabic word for 'ploughman,' in no way specifically denoting Egyptian heritage. The 'Bedouin' are a seminomadic Arab group with significant populations across twenty-one countries in North Africa and the Middle East.

members – the fact that the Bedouin sheikh fares no better than his men would seem to imply that the gulf is a racial, not status-based phenomenon. Although by no means at the bottom of the nineteenth-century racial hierarchy, modern Egyptians were generally regarded as the ‘fallen offspring of their pharaonic forbears.’¹² Writing in 1898, the year that Boothby released *Pharos the Egyptian*, renowned travel writer G. W. Steevens mourned the existence of a ‘squalid, modern Egypt’ after ‘all the aeons of [its] wonderful history.’¹³ Living among the remnants of a glorious past, he saw the ‘debased and parasitic Egyptian who cringes for backsheesh’ as evidence of a spectacular fall from grace – a fall commonly believed to have been prompted by the nation’s conversion to Islam.¹⁴ This view of the modern Egyptian’s alterity is reproduced over and over again in literary depictions: Stoker’s characters are forced to distribute ‘backsheesh’ (*Jewel* 123) before they can continue on their journey, while the Englishmen of *The Beetle* and *Pharos the Egyptian* speak of ‘unbaptised Mohammedan[s]’ and ‘dark [...] foreigners.’¹⁵

One of the key reasons for the distain that Stoker feels for the modern Egyptians – aside from their uncivilised nature and foreign ways – is the lack of subservience that they show towards the visiting Englishmen. Unlike the Mountaineers of *The Lady of the Shroud*, who were ‘amazingly civil, almost deferential’ (*Shroud* 215) towards Western visitors, both fellaheen and Bedouin alike reject this role – whether through their refusal to work or through the threat of violent rebellion. Each of these transgressions destabilises the superior position of the Englishman, the former through the placing of native beliefs above Western capitalism (the distribution of money by the upper or middle classes producing any desired action from the working classes in Stoker’s other texts) and the latter through a refusal to bow to accepted racial or class hierarchies. Instead of being greeted by welcoming and deferential natives, the Englishmen find themselves faced with a hostility that attacks both their superiority and their safety – a hostility undoubtedly prompted by the political events surrounding its fictional setting.

The Egypt that is pursued is resolutely an Egypt of the mind, of fiction rather than of fact. Indeed, modern Egypt is of so little consequence to the *fin-de-siècle* author that

¹² Bulfin, ‘Gothic Egypt,’ 426. Sosra espouses a similar view in ‘The Ring of Thoth,’ declaring himself ‘an Egyptian – not one of the down-trodden race of slaves who now inhabit the Delta of the Nile, but a survivor of that fiercer and harder people who tamed the Hebrew.’ Arthur Conan Doyle, ‘The Ring of Thoth,’ in *Tales of Unease* (1890; London: Wordsworth, 2000), 1-16, at 9.

¹³ George Warrington Steevens, *Egypt in 1898* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co, 1899), 226. For further consideration of these passages see Bulfin, ‘Gothic Egypt,’ 426.

¹⁴ Steevens, *Egypt*, 226-27. See Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, 106; 112.

¹⁵ Marsh, *Beetle*, 68; Boothby, *Pharos*, 11.

few texts ever actually set foot in the country, preferring instead to visit it through books, dreams, or stories. The lure of ancient Egypt, then, is in part its controllability. A dead culture is, by its very nature, containable and knowable, able to be reshaped and disseminated by scholars and academics. It exists primarily in museums and in stories, its artefacts carefully labelled and ordered by category. Its history and culture are pieced back together by Western minds, taught in Western schools, and discussed in Western journals. It can be no coincidence, then, that the height of the British Empire coincided with the rise of the museum as a point of national interest, providing a contained space in which the world could be made known.¹⁶ As imperialism could reorder disparate global cultures, so too could the museum freeze them in time, ensuring they stayed where they were put. As the nineteenth century progressed, publicly funded institutions opened their doors *en masse*, ushering in the working classes to gaze at the fruits of empire. Somewhat paradoxically, as Daly notes, displaying items from ‘primitive’ cultures was intended to have a civilising effect, distracting workers from drinking and ‘places of demoralising amusements.’ Just as it would make people more controllable, so too would it control the objects. Placed in cabinets, exposed to the imperial gaze, these objects of empire lost their air of mystery, their foreignness safely contained within a strict and clinical regime of classification. The nineteenth-century museum thus stands as a ‘point of intersection’ between two distinct imaginings of purpose: the museum as instrument of ideology, and the museum as mediator between the foreign and the domestic. As Daly notes, the former ‘endowed objects [...] with the power to influence people; the latter returned objects to the control of the collector.’¹⁷ Within the confinement of this cautiously controlled space the unruly other could be fully incorporated, disorderly parades of foreign objects carefully contained within the strict discipline of classification. This is what Foucault sees as a ‘fundamental arrangement of knowledge, which orders the knowledge of being so as to make it possible to represent them in a system of names’ – the overwriting of native terminology in an effort to familiarise and contain.¹⁸ It is perhaps due to the museum’s precarious position as intermediary that it is the chosen setting for so many tales of the Egyptian Gothic. Stories like ‘Smith and the Pharaohs’ or ‘The Ring of Thoth’ (1890) –

¹⁶ See Richards, *Imperial Archive*.

¹⁷ Nicholas Daly, ‘That Obscure Object of Desire: Victorian Commodity Culture and Fictions of the Mummy,’ *Novel: A Forum on Fiction*, 28/1 (Autumn 1994), 24-51, at 31-32.

¹⁸ Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, A. Sheridan, trans. (1966; New York: Random House, 1970), 156.

all exploring the complex relations of subjects and objects – see at least part of their action played out within the walls of a museum.

If the museum seeks to achieve conceptual control over objects by assigning them new origins within the confines of the collection then, in the case of the private collection, this origin is the collector themselves.¹⁹ The collector thus ceases to be simply a consumer of the objects that surround them, the self ‘generat[ing] a fantasy in which it becomes the producer of those objects, a producer by arrangement and manipulation.’²⁰ In mastering the items around him, the collector imbues himself with new powers. The possession of these objects, and the intimacy inherent in the relationship between the owner and the owned, thus allows an extension of self. As Walter Benjamin wrote: it is ‘not that they come alive in him; it is he who lives in them.’²¹ This statement is complicated by the Egyptian Gothic, a subgenre in which, more often than not, inanimate objects do in fact ‘come alive,’ escaping the rational framework of classification imposed upon them and confronting their collectors with their own objectification.

Within such texts, divisions between the museum and the domestic space – and thus between public and private spheres – prove impossible to uphold. Abercrombie Smith of Conan Doyle’s ‘Lot No. 249’ considers the rooms of his Oxonian neighbour Bellingham to be unlike any ‘chamber [...] he had seen before – a museum rather than a study.’ The density of Conan Doyle’s descriptions here mimic the overwhelming exoticism of the room, its walls and ceilings ‘thickly covered with a thousand strange relics from Egypt and the East’ including ‘bull-headed, stork-headed, cat-headed, owl-headed statues,’ ‘beetle-like deities cut out of the blue Egyptian lapis lazuli’ and ‘a great, hanging-jawed crocodile.’ Even in the heart of England, in a seat of Western learning that has housed the ‘tide of young English life’ from ‘the long-gowned scholars of Plantagenet days down to the young bloods of a later age,’ foreign influences can infiltrate and destabilise.²² In entering Bellingham’s chambers the young Oxonians are metaphorically transported to a different time and place, the contents of the room overpowering its corporeal position. This use of domestic space as museum substitute is also knowingly referenced in ‘The Story of Baelbrow,’ in which the room that the ‘dilettante’ Swaffam

¹⁹ Daly discusses these origins in detail in ‘Obscure Object,’ 31.

²⁰ Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 159, cited in Daly, ‘Obscure Object,’ 31.

²¹ Walter Benjamin, ‘Unpacking My Library,’ in *Illuminations*, Hannah Arendt, ed., Harry Zohn, trans. (1931; New York: Random House, 2011) 47-69, at 69, cited in Daly, ‘Obscure Object,’ 31.

²² Conan Doyle, ‘Lot No. 249,’ 81; 75.

‘stored the various curios he picked up during his excursions abroad’ is called ‘the museum.’²³ In the London abode of the Trelawnys, her father’s avid collecting leaves Margaret unsure as to the type of space she inhabits; as she remarks despairingly to Ross, ‘I sometimes don’t know whether I am in a private house or the British Museum’ (*Jewel* 33). When collections of foreign objects are amassed within it, a domestic space ceases to be domestic. Instead, the past permeates the present, replacing familiarity with foreignness. This is especially true in the case of ancient Egypt, a palpable force that makes its presence felt not just through objects but through the cloying ‘peculiar Egyptian scents, bitumen, nard, aromatic gums and spices’ (*Jewel* 21) that cling through millennia. Indeed, this invasive force is so prevalent in the Trelawnys’ house that it cannot be avoided – even when an escape is attempted. Margaret proudly informs Ross that her father has had her bedroom furnished differently to the rest of the house, fearing that she ‘might get frightened with so many records of death and the tomb everywhere’ (*Jewel* 95). The item she uses to illustrate this choice, however is a ‘cabinet [that] belonged to the great Napoleon’ (*Jewel* 95) – the very man whose campaigns in Egypt reignited Western interest in the North African nation.

Of all Egyptian artefacts, the mummy is most problematic. As an object, its value as a commodity is generated not by production but by demand, its desirability to consumers drawing it into the realm of economic exchange. It is valuable not because of its raw material, unlike the precious metals or stones drawn from ancient tombs, but because of the value temporarily placed upon it by a certain subset of society. This is what Marx defines as ‘commodity fetishism,’ the imposition of an exchange value that has ‘absolutely no connection with the physical nature of the commodity.’²⁴ Indeed, before the mummy became valuable as an artefact it had a multitude of uses: it could be burned as fuel, crushed to use as fertiliser, ground into dust to form a brown pigment known as ‘Egyptian brown,’ or used in any number of medicinal remedies.²⁵ This gulf between production and consumption is demonstrated by Conan Doyle’s ‘Lot No. 249,’ a prototypical horror story of a mummy reanimated to avenge the grudges of an Egyptologist. Here, the mummy’s purchaser narrates the financial exchange that transformed what was once a living person into ‘Lot No. 249,’ an inanimate object to be

²³ Heron, ‘Baelbrow,’ 215.

²⁴ Karl Marx, *Capital, Volume I: A Critique of Political Economy*, Ben Fowkes, trans. (1867; London: Penguin, 1982), 165. For a full discussion of the mummy and commodity fetishism see Daly, ‘Commodity Theory.’

²⁵ See Sally Woodcock, ‘Body Colour: The Misuse of Mummy,’ *The Conservator*, 20/1 (1996), 87-94; Sugg, *Mummies, Cannibals, and Vampires*.

bought and sold: ‘I don’t know his name [...] Lot 249 is all the title he has now. You see it printed on his case. That was his number in the auction at which I picked him up.’ Unusually for the subgenre, Lot 249 is entirely without history. There are no legends of his life as a great pharaoh or powerful sorcerer, no clue as to how he died, no details of his plans for resurrection. He exists now as he has always existed in the mind of his purchaser: as an object to be controlled, ambulant or otherwise. This stands in contrast to Smith’s assessment of the situation. He sees ‘intelligence’ as well as ‘strength’ in the withered creature, even when it lies inanimate.²⁶ These qualities are supported by the mummy’s rebellion against his passive role, terrifying his owner half to death with his roaming.

These observations all lead to a central conundrum: at what point does a mummy make the transition from corpse to display item, and thus from subject to object? In mummy fiction, this is a contentious issue. Even before reanimation occurs there is confusion as to how to categorise the mummified bodies of the long-dead. While the characters of ‘The Story of Baelbrow’ *et al* see nothing more than an artefact, Stoker’s characters seem to regard the mummified Queen Tera as retaining some humanity, even after five thousand years in the tomb. She retains human pronouns, with talk of ‘her belongings’ (*Jewel* 162) and ‘her wishes’ (209, 211) instead of the usual inanimate ‘it.’ Despite this recognition of her autonomy, however, her body has been displayed among Trelawny’s other artefacts, treated no differently to a stone table or a carved chest. This objectification prompts rebellion, with the reanimated mummies of numerous texts bemoaning their treatment at the hands of modern imperialists; the degradation of being owned, displayed, and destroyed. In Boothby’s *Pharos the Egyptian*, Pharos complains bitterly about Forester’s treatment of the mummy in his possession: ‘by what right did your father rifle the dead man’s tomb? [...] perhaps you will show me his justification for carrying away the body from the country in which it had been laid to rest and conveying it to England to be stared at in the light of a curiosity.’ He counters Forester’s belief that the mummy in his possession is simply an object, passed down to him from his father like regular property, highlighting instead its human past. This nameless mummy, he insists, is in fact ‘Ptahmes, the King’s magician’ and the founder of Pharos’s own house. He refers to it not as a mummy but a ‘body,’ invoking outrage that ‘sacrilegious hands’ should have removed this corpse from its grave for public observation.²⁷ In evoking such

²⁶ Conan Doyle, ‘Lot No. 249,’ 85; 106.

²⁷ Boothby, *Pharos*, 105; 59; 104.

images of humanity, Pharos attempts to re-categorise the body of his countryman, removing it from the realm of objects and imbuing it with subjectivity once more.

This tension between subject and object frequently manifests in the fragmentation of the mummified form, its physical presence in the modern world represented by single, isolated body parts such as a hand or foot. This reduction of the human body to a series of ownable parts is the ultimate form of containment: the bodily autonomy of a whole being is removed, relegating it to the realm of objects. Haggard's 'Smith and the Pharaohs' provides an archetypal example of such fragmentation, the ancient queen Ma-Mee being restored to full stature by the 'metonymic extension' of a severed hand that the eponymous Smith possesses.²⁸ Here, the object rejects the confines of the collection in which it is simply a component part, freeing itself from its constraints and rendering itself whole once more.

The isolation of the whole into fragmented parts also forms the basis of Théophile Gautier's 'Le Pied de Momie.' Although originally published in 1840 in the French periodical *Musée des Familles*, a late entry in France's own period of Egyptomania, it didn't reach the British literary scene until 1908, with Lafcadio Hearn's translation 'The Mummy's Foot.'²⁹ As such, it no doubt influenced Haggard and other authors who drew upon the trope of the isolated mummified appendage in subsequent years. It tells the tale of a young man who purchases a mummified foot in a Parisian *marchands de bric-à-brac*, intending to use it as a paperweight. A beautiful ancient Egyptian princess then appears to him in a vision, weeping for her lost foot. The procuring of the foot illustrates what Daly calls the 'contradictory aspects of commodification,' where 'uniqueness is rewritten as exchangeability and thus as costliness.'³⁰ This is embodied by the dealer himself, who follows his customer's progress with the conflicting attentions 'of an antiquarian and a usurer' – simultaneously focused on the object's value and its price. The narrator enters the curiosity shop in search of something unusual, a paperweight unlike the 'trumpery bronzes [...] which may be found on everybody's desk.' Having made his choice, a period of haggling ensues between the young man and the shop owner, in which the appropriate financial value for 'authentic' originality is negotiated.³¹ Daly's study of commodity

²⁸ See Daly, 'Obscure Object,' 38.

²⁹ Théophile Gautier, 'The Mummy's Foot,' in *Stories by Gautier*, Lafcadio Hearn, trans. (New York: Dutton, 1908), 52-70. For a discussion of French Egyptomania see Desmond Hosford and Chong J. Wojtkowski, eds., *French Orientalism: Culture, Politics, and the Imagined Other* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars, 2010).

³⁰ Daly, 'Commodity Theory,' 103.

³¹ Gautier, 'Foot,' 54; 55; 58.

theories in Gothic fiction asserts that the ‘logic of exchange value struggles with the concept of originality to establish the object’s worth,’ the rise of mass production in the nineteenth century eroding the concept of the unique.³² This difficulty is reflected in the dealer’s bargaining technique. Despite insisting that ‘nothing is more rare’ than the foot of a Pharaoh’s daughter, and that the item will not sell for anything ‘less than five hundred francs,’ when his customer claims to have just five louis on his person the dealer willingly agrees.³³ The foot, then, despite its age and uniqueness, is only worth as much as someone is willing to pay for it in the moment – an extrinsic and fluctuating price.

The young man purchases the mummified foot in the hope that this unique object will imbue him, the subject, with some of its distinction. To borrow from Bourdieu’s theory of ‘cultural capital,’ he believes that his own individual social status is increased through his knowledge and possession of an item then widely considered to be desirable by the French elite.³⁴ The young man leaves the shop filled with pride at this newfound superiority, the ‘pride becoming one who feels that he has the ineffable advantage over all passers-by [...] of possessing a piece of the Princess Hermonthis.’ The very act of naming, of acknowledging the human status of the person to whom this foot belongs, clashes abruptly with the adjacent claims of ‘possession.’ Although recognising the princess’s capacity for autonomy in her title, he simultaneously regards her as something that can be broken down into ‘pieces’ and owned. Faced with its own objectification, the artefact rebels against the passive role assigned to it, and ‘instead of remaining quiet, as behoved a foot which had been embalmed for four thousand years’ it comes back to life, forcibly re-categorising itself as a subject.³⁵ The private collector’s attempts to domesticate a foreign object by reclassifying it in his own terms (in this case as a paperweight instead of a body part) and removing it from its previous associations are thus disrupted. He endeavours to remedy this and restore his dominant position as subject through another means: marriage. When the pharaoh rejects his request for the princess’s hand, however, and the rebellious object looks set to retain its new position as a subject, his construct of superiority is shattered. The story thus ends by restoring his power the only way it can: by returning the collector to his own world, a realm in which knowledge and identity give him control over objects.

³² Daly, ‘Commodity Theory,’ 104.

³³ Gautier, ‘Foot,’ 57.

³⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Richard Nice, trans. (1979; London: Routledge, 2010).

³⁵ Gautier, ‘Foot,’ 60; 62.

Stoker, too, employs the bodily fragmentation so typical of *fin-de-siècle* writing in the depiction of his female mummy. Indeed, we never actually see Tera as a complete figure. Her features are always described in isolation, her ‘long, black, curling lashes,’ ‘full, red lips,’ and ‘white forehead’ (*Jewel* 236) seeming to exist separately. Her physical form is itemised, broken down into parts and reclaimed as inanimate materials: her skin is ‘ivory’ or ‘satin’ (*Jewel* 236), her bones ‘opal’ (127), her blood ‘rust’ (127). This fragmentation is written into the very fabric of the narrative. Trelawny claims that ‘each part of her body, though separated from the rest, can be a central point or rallying place for the items or particles of her astral body. That hand in my room could ensure her instantaneous presence in the flesh, and its equally rapid dissolution’ (*Jewel* 176). Like Princess Hermonthis or Queen Ma-Mee, Tera can materialise in full form from the metonymic extension of an isolated appendage. But while the others appear in passive roles – requesting the return of their stolen body parts or declaring their love for their imperial suitors – Tera’s role is perilously active. Her severed hand forcibly rebels against its categorisation as an object, squeezing the life from those who would trade it or keep it as an ‘amulet.’

This tension between subject and object, life and death, is just one of the many uneasy oppositions that renders the Egyptian mummy such a liminal figure. Its very existence undermines the oppositions that structure the identity of *fin-de-siècle* Britain, occupying the grey area between fact and fiction, rationality and superstition, science and magic. It is perhaps for this reason that the figure of the Egyptian mummy is such an enduring staple of horror. Day suggests that the mummy is the most ‘appropriated Egyptian motif’ of all time, having been ‘adapted to a wider range of uses’ than any other.³⁶ So much so, in fact, that the modern image of the mummy – or even that of the late nineteenth century, for that matter – is markedly abstracted from its source. Certainly there does not seem to have been an initial tendency to depict the Egyptian mummy, ambulant or otherwise, as a creature of horror.³⁷ The earliest tale of a reanimated mummy comes from Egypt’s Ptolemaic Period (332-31 BC), with tales up to the mid-nineteenth century focusing purely on historic and scientific interest, their mummies the stuff of romance or science fiction, rather than horror.³⁸ Even the propensity to include mummy

³⁶ Jasmine Day, *The Mummy’s Curse: Mummymania in the English-Speaking World* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), 4.

³⁷ See Paula Guran, ‘The Mummy,’ in *Icons of Horror and the Supernatural: An Encyclopaedia of Our Worst Nightmares*, S. T. Joshi, ed. (Westport: Greenwood, 2007), 375-408.

³⁸ In the earliest tale of a living mummy, Setne Khamewase enters a sorcerer’s tomb in search of the Scroll of Thoth. Here he must compete against the sorcerer in a game of *semet* to gain the information he seeks.

unrollings in upscale events throughout the nineteenth century would seem to point to curiosity – albeit a morbid curiosity – rather than fear. The transition from this to the horrifying images of late is perhaps self-fulfilling; a vicious circle, of sorts. The figure that occupies the modern mind, a twisted figure trailing yellowed bandages and filled with murderous intent, comes not from a museum but from the pages of a novel or the frames of a film. The literary creation, then, has spawned itself: one tale of terror producing another. Stoker himself warns as much, his brain specialist declaring to Ross that he must not be misled by ‘any number of “penny dreadful” mysteries’ (*Jewel* 58) in his assessment of the situation.

Certainly this idea of the ‘mummy’s curse’ – the staple of most modern day Egyptian horror stories – has its roots in fiction instead of fact. While superstitious tales of malevolent beings protecting ancient Egyptian tombs can be traced back to the Arabic tradition of the *jinn* spirit, introduced to the Western world during the medieval *mumia* trade, the fact that hieroglyphs weren’t deciphered until the beginning of the nineteenth century means that any prior reports of ‘curses’ were little more than general perceptions of bad luck surrounding the handling of ancient artefacts.³⁹ Over time, these superstitions solidified into a unified concept: the ‘curse of the pharaohs,’ a plague of ill fortune cast down upon anyone who dared disturb the eternal rest of a mummified Egyptian. The most famous iteration of this was the 1922 opening of Tutankhamun’s tomb, an archetypal instance of fictional fear passing into real-life hysteria. Contemporary literary authors helped to bridge this gap between fact and fiction, with writers of popular mummy fiction such as Conan Doyle and Haggard offering their opinions on the ‘curse’ freely to the press. Conan Doyle, a staunch spiritualist, remarked to *The Morning Post* that he was ‘inclined to support to some extent the opinion that it was dangerous for Lord Carnarvon to enter Tutankhamun’s tomb, owing to occult and other spiritual influences’ and that ‘an evil elemental may have caused Lord Carnarvon’s fatal illness.’⁴⁰ Haggard, on the other hand, took a rather different stance, publicly dismissing the notion of any curse being attached to the pharaoh’s tomb and ‘mourning the sensationalism that embroiled the august Egyptian dead in these displays of vulgar modernity.’⁴¹ Seeing this widespread fascination as little more than lurid intrusion, Haggard implored that the royal mummies

³⁹ See James Hamilton-Paterson and Carol Andrews, *Mummies: Death and Life in Ancient Egypt* (London: Collins, 1978), 189; John Ray, *The Rosetta Stone and the Rebirth of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007).

⁴⁰ *Morning Post* interview with Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, cited in Luckhurst, *Mummy’s Curse*, 10.

⁴¹ ‘Sir Rider Haggard Condemns it as Nonsense,’ *Morning Post* (7 April 1923), 7, cited in Luckhurst, *Mummy’s Curse*, 10.

be scientifically examined, photographed, and respectfully reinterred in the Great Pyramid without being made the ‘butt of the merry jests of tourists of a baser sort’ – a statement reminiscent of his fictional pharaohs’ admonishments.⁴² Haggard’s pleas appear to have fallen on deaf ears, however, and when Lord Carnarvon died on 5 April 1923 *The Daily Express* printed a ghoulish account of his demise, full of claims about mysterious power cuts and howling dogs.⁴³ These reports prompted such terror in the general public that the British Museum received an anonymous ‘avalanche’ of parcels containing mummified hands and feet, all posted by private collectors who feared the curse of the pharaohs’ reach – the objects of desire and prestige that filled the pages of ‘Le Pied de Momie’ *et al* finally turning on their owners.⁴⁴ Here it would seem that decades of literary focus upon the malevolence of the Egyptian mummy began to spill over into the real world, fiction creating fact in the minds of its readers.

The literary mummy, then, is entirely at odds with the literal mummy. To the public, however, they may have been equally familiar. The somewhat voyeuristic practice of mummy unrolling was a popular nineteenth-century spectacle, and a staple of desirable social events.⁴⁵ Augmenting the supposedly scientific endeavour with a liberal dose of showmanship, the presiding scholar would remove the bandages from the mummy to display the form beneath, parading the empty skull cavity before the audience. Rather than the supple limbs and soft skin of fictional mummies such as Tera, however, in reality the bandages would fall away to reveal a handful of amulets and the remains of a shrivelled corpse – the mystery unravelling with the bindings. The *literary* mummy then, with its treasures and its un-aging power, perhaps excels precisely because the *literal* mummy fails to do so, the unsatisfactory nature of the one prompting the creation of the other. The unrolling of the bandages and the ‘unrolling’ of the narrative thus sit hand in hand.

⁴² ‘King Tutankhamun Reburial in the Great Pyramid: Sir Rider Haggard’s Plan, *The Times* (13 February 1923), 13, cited in Luckhurst, *Mummy’s Curse*, 10-11.

⁴³ ‘Lord Carnarvon’s Last Hours,’ *Daily Express* (6 April 1923), 1, cited in Luckhurst, *Mummy’s Curse*, 9.

⁴⁴ ‘Egyptian Collectors in a Panic,’ *Daily Express* (7 April 1923), 1, cited in Luckhurst, *Mummy’s Curse*, 10.

⁴⁵ See Dominic Montserrat, ‘Unidentified Human Remains: Mummies and the Erotics of Biography,’ in *Changing Bodies, Changing Meanings: Studies on the Human Body in Antiquity*, Dominic Montserrat, ed. (London: Routledge, 2002), 162-97; and Gabriel Moshenska, ‘Unrolling Egyptian Mummies in Nineteenth-Century Britain,’ *The British Journal for the History of Science*, 47/03 (September 2014), 451-77.

These literary mummies have previously been roughly divided into two categories: the mummy of the romance tale, and the mummy of the curse tale.⁴⁶ The two compete with one another on the *fin-de-siècle* literary field, with both narrative strands intrinsically connected to the escalating exploitation of modern Egypt. And while they each enact different fantasies – the former the romantic pursuit of a beautiful female mummy by masculine representatives of imperialism and the latter the violent revenge of the mummy against the disturbers of an ancient tomb – they share a similar root cause. Both are iterations of a deep-seated fear of the unknown and uncontrollable. The complex tension between imperial Britain’s desire for and fear of Egypt results in narratives of containment, in which efforts to either wed or destroy the ‘other’ work to achieve the same aims. In this we can see two proposed solutions to the Egyptian Question: while the curse tale would seek to obliterate the threat through violence, the romance prefers to consume it through union, replacing the linen wrappings of the mummy with the veil of the bride. Texts such as *The Jewel of Seven Stars* defy this binary categorisation, however, refusing to fit neatly into either class. Queen Tera is simultaneously a sexualised object of desire and a violent threat to the physical safety of her disturbers, the two interacting to strengthen rather than negate the other. Like Haggard’s Ayesha, Tera’s gender is an essential aspect of this equation, her dangerousness increasing her erotic appeal and *vice versa*.

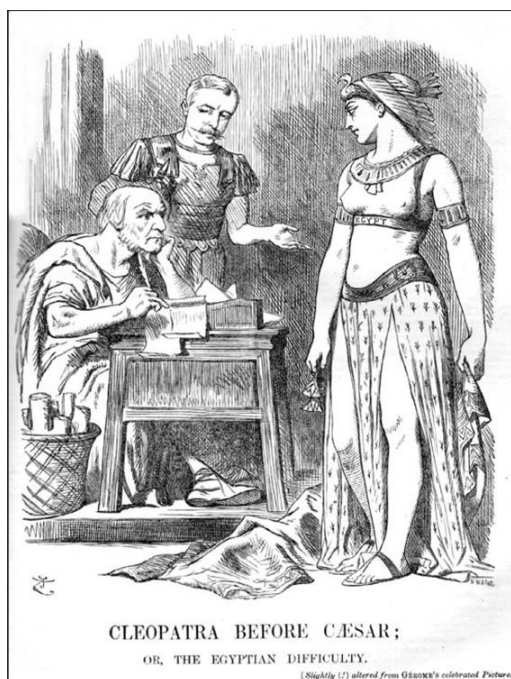
Whichever end of the spectrum the tale belongs to, curse or romance, stories of the Egyptian supernatural predominantly feature female mummies. Clearly this is a significant part of the contemporary imagining of Egypt, but how? One potential explanation is that the frequent cultural depictions of modern Egypt as a vulnerable woman in need of protection had established an anthropomorphised gender in the mind of the British public. Whether as a veiled oriental beauty cowering before the sultan of the Ottoman Empire, or a sparsely-clad Cleopatra begging Britain for its protection (Figure 1), the ‘Miss Egypt’ of the media was resolutely female. This nationally-accepted imagining thus passed into the pages of fiction, in which the ancient beauties of Egypt – however powerful or high born – always retain a degree of vulnerability that the imperial heroes seek to guard. This conforms to the established structure of portraying the

⁴⁶ Among those who cite this division are Bulfin, ‘Gothic Egypt,’ 419; and Daly, ‘Commodity Theory,’ 102.

colonised as women or children, figures in need of protection and education, the imperial masculine thus disguising its power struggle beneath a mask of chivalry.

Figure 1.

Punch, 83 (December 1882), 163, by John Tenniel.



Cleopatra before Caesar: or, the Egyptian Difficulty

Another explanation for this gendering lies in the ambiguity of the threat posed by modern Egypt. Female antagonists of *fin-de-siècle* fiction pose a complex threat to male protagonists, prompting a conflict of desire and revulsion epitomised by the ‘weird sisters’ of *Dracula*. This is reflected in Egyptian supernatural fiction by the underlying unease that haunts even the most romantically inclined text. While the female figures of ancient Egypt often lack the raw physicality of their male counterparts – there are few depictions that match the ‘claw-like hand[s],’ ‘blazing eyes and stringy arms’ of ‘Lot No. 249’ or the ‘malignant face,’ ‘darkened teeth’ and ‘dark, bony hand[s]’ of ‘The Story of Baelbrow’ – most pose some degree of threat to their imperial pursuers, albeit a more complex one.⁴⁷ If they are reanimated it is usually in their former beauty, not as the

⁴⁷ Conan Doyle, ‘Lot No. 249,’ 81, 103; Heron, ‘Baelbrow,’ 212. ‘The Mummy’s Soul,’ an anonymous short story published in American periodical *The Knickerbocker* in 1862, is a rare example of a malevolent female ambulant mummy existing in its desiccated form. Even this mummy, however, lacks the physicality of its male counterparts, the deaths it inflicts being caused indirectly by a poisonous insect revived alongside it. Anon., ‘The Mummy’s Soul,’ *The Knickerbocker; or New York Monthly Magazine*, 59/5 (1862), 435-46.

withered corpses of masculine figures. As such, even a violent murderer such as Tera retains her desirability. Where they do remain in their desiccated form, the harm they inflict is passive, enacted through poison or mysterious illness rather than through violence.⁴⁸ Crucially, however, while texts such as ‘Lot No. 249’ or ‘The Story of Baelbrow’ are established as curse tales from the outset, all texts featuring female mummies originate with the potential for either outcome: curse or romance. This is because all female mummies are initially considered in terms of their past physical beauty. When Paul Forsyth first stumbles upon the mummified form of an ancient sorceress in Alcott’s ‘Lost in a Pyramid’ he considers wistfully how she must once have been a ‘lovely, soft-eyed Egyptian girl,’ a pivotal point in the tale that mirrors Atma’s transformation from ‘sunk[en] and discoloured’ to ‘extraordinary loveliness’ in ‘The Ring of Thoth.’⁴⁹ While the passive and benevolent Atma is allowed to live on in the narrative memory as a figure of ‘youth and beauty’ even after she has returned to her shrivelled state, however, the malevolence of the deadly seeds buried alongside Alcott’s sorceress remove her from the passive realm.⁵⁰ The idea of her as a ‘lovely, soft-eyed Egyptian girl’ is thus discarded, and her depiction as a ‘dark, ugly thing’ takes precedence.⁵¹

Even when she remains benign, differences in time and place conspire to prevent the ancient oriental female from being a suitable bride for her imperial groom, the promised unions invariably remaining unfulfilled. This intangible idea of unsuitability finds its way into all pieces of romanticised mummy fiction, undermining the explicit declarations of devotion. In Haggard’s ‘Smith and the Pharaohs’ the eponymous hero stumbles upon the sculpted mask of a beautiful queen of ancient Egypt as he strolls around the British Museum one rainy afternoon. He ‘looked at it once, twice, thrice, and at the third look he fell in love,’ his newly-inflamed passions driving him to abandon his life of idle bachelorhood and become an eminent Egyptologist. As luck would have it, one of the first tombs that Smith discovers belongs to Ma-Mee, the ancient queen with whom he is so infatuated. And although her body has been burned by grave robbers the archaeologist manages to recover a single hand, ‘a woman’s little hand, most delicately shaped,’ two exquisite rings, and a broken statuette in the queen’s likeness – a likeness

⁴⁸ The former includes Eva M. Henry, ‘The Curse of Vasartas,’ *Belgravia*, 54 (October 1889), 1-13; Charles J. Mansford, ‘At the Pyramid of the Sacred Bulls,’ *The Windsor Magazine*, 3/4 (April 1896), 386-439; Frederick Graves, ‘The Dead Face,’ *Pall Mall Magazine*, 46 (July-December 1910), 494-98. The latter includes Alcott, ‘Lost in a Pyramid;’ and Peasgood, ‘The Necklace of Dreams.’

⁴⁹ Alcott, ‘Pyramid,’ 72; Conan Doyle, ‘Thoth,’ 6.

⁵⁰ Conan Doyle, ‘Thoth,’ 8.

⁵¹ Alcott, ‘Pyramid,’ 72.

that later comes to life. Even in the first waves of infatuation, however, Smith is subconsciously aware of the ancient queen's deficiencies. While he declares that he could 'never, never [...] forget the face which the carven mask portrayed,' the 'face [that] was beauty itself,' he is also on some level aware that 'the lips were too thick and the nostrils too broad' – characteristically African features that prevent her from embodying a Eurocentric ideal. This 'foreignness' is indefinably painful for Smith, and 'it hurt him to reflect that the owner of yonder sweet, alluring face must have been a mummy long, long before the Christian era.'⁵² The inescapable unsuitability inherent in her origins interrupts even the fantasy of romantic unity, denying Smith the opportunity to daydream convincingly about their life together.

Stoker's heroes have similar concerns about the religious leanings of the mummified Queen Tera. Unable to reconcile the characterisation of Tera as being infinitely wise and desirable with the inevitable implications of her having lived several thousand years before the birth of Christianity, they conclude instead that she must have transcended the beliefs of her people. The ancient queen, Trelawny insists, had foresight so 'far, far beyond her age and philosophy of her time' that she 'seems to have seen through the weakness of her own religion' (*Jewel* 166). The incompatibility of this statement with the knowledge that it is precisely Tera's ability to command the ancient forces of her religion that allows her resurrection remains one of the key unspoken inconsistencies within the text. Indeed, everything would seem to point to the sorceress having a profound and unshakable belief in these ancient gods: she places her trust in them and their influence to enact her resurrection, the success of which must point to their continued presence. The scepticism, then, is entirely in the eyes of the imperial protagonists. Throughout the text both Ross and Trelawny make active attempts to Westernise Tera: they make unfounded claims about her resistance to unchristian religions, and comment constantly upon her likeness to the Caucasian Margaret. This likeness is a source of continued unease for the imperial heroes. The resemblance between the two women confronts them at every turn, through pictures, words, and finally through the body of the queen herself. It disturbs Ross not just as a potential suitor but as an Englishman: Margaret, this paragon of middle-class English virtue, is made foreign in her resemblance to Tera. For if Queen Tera belonged to the 'Eleventh, or Theban Dynasty of Egyptian Kings which held sway between the twenty-ninth and twenty-fifth centuries before Christ' (*Jewel* 128) she would

⁵² Haggard, 'Smith,' 5; 23; 5; 7.

have undoubtedly been of native North African descent. After all, the lighter-skinned rulers of the Ptolemaic dynasty – Cleopatra the most famous among them – would not ascend to power for almost two thousand years.⁵³ This is an issue that Stoker seems to struggle with. The Margaret he depicts is at times unmistakably linked with the Orient: she is described as ‘dark,’ with black hair ‘as fine as silk,’ and eyes ‘as black and soft as velvet’ that shine like the ‘great distant lamps of a mosque through the open door’ (*Jewel* 28). Any mention of her darkness, however, is instantly tempered by Stoker’s enthusing about the whiteness of her skin. She is ‘pale as snow’ (*Jewel* 11), ‘startlingly white’ (77) – even more so, it is emphasised, ‘in contrast with her black brows’ (77) and hair. What he would seem to desire, then, is a figure that is just oriental enough to be exotic and intriguing while still retaining her essential ‘Englishness.’ And as Stoker’s heroes would seem to find the possibility of Margaret being fully deracialised so abhorrent, it is necessary that Tera is rendered Western in order for their similarities to be recognised.

This shared exoticness is a key part of both women’s appeal to Ross. Stoker devotes whole paragraphs to the barrister’s descriptions of their ‘lotos’-like (*Jewel* 64) bodies and dark features, most evident in the much remarked upon differences between Margaret and Nurse Kennedy. The darkness of the former contrasts sharply with the ‘yellow-brown hair’ and ‘golden-brown eyes’ of the other, which combine with the ‘freckled’ skin and ‘rosy cheeks’ to create the aura of an ‘autumn leaf’ (*Jewel* 29). The physiognomic inferences that Stoker draws from the nurse’s characteristics are all earthly and practical: she has a ‘snub nose [that...] showed a generous nature,’ a ‘broad white forehead [...full of] thought and reason’ and ‘broad, strong, capable hands’ (*Jewel* 29). Margaret, on the other hand, is seen as projecting an aristocratic aloofness, full of ‘mysterious depth’ and ‘refinement and high breeding’ (*Jewel* 28). Her ‘mysteriousness’ is a recurring theme throughout *The Jewel of Seven Stars*, with Ross being constantly torn between the image of the Margaret that he believes himself to know and the glimpses of a new and hostile Margaret that emerge from behind the mask. At times, ‘Margaret’ seems to be little more than a carefully constructed façade, a veneer concealing the unknown beneath. This motif of concealment – the hiding of identity and intentions beneath a veil of opacity, metaphoric or otherwise – is a cornerstone of *fin-de-siècle* Egypt. It is precisely this

⁵³ See Paul Edmund Stanwick, *Portraits of the Ptolemies: Greek Kings as Egyptian Pharaohs* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002).

opacity that gave rise to the term ‘veiled protectorate’ – a formulation that drew upon the conventional ‘exoticism, mystery, and even femininity’ of the Orient.⁵⁴

Figure 2.

Punch, 110 (7 March 1896), 110.



Turk the Sublime

Sultan (loq.). “Now, Mr. Bull, you have been Miss Egypt’s Guardian long enough, so I invite you to consider whether the time has not now arrived for her return to the arms of her loving Uncle.”

This Orientalist fantasy of a shrouded and feminine Egypt manifests frequently in popular culture. *Punch* cartoons such as ‘Turk the Sublime’ (1896) personified Egypt as a beautiful veiled woman in traditional dress, clinging to the arms of John Bull for protection (Figure 2). Before them looms the Turkish Sultan, *tarboosh* on head, asking England to ‘consider whether the time has not now arrived’ to relinquish the role of ‘Miss Egypt’s Guardian’ and ‘return [her] to the arms of her loving Uncle.’ The exact nature of John Bull’s relationship with this Egyptian damsel in distress remains ambiguous, although given the romantic desires of the imperial males of contemporary fiction it seems possible that it is that of lovers. Once again, imperial Britain seeks fulfilment in the arms of a feminised ‘other.’ This association between the veiled Arabic woman of Egypt and

⁵⁴ Bradley Deane, ‘Mummy Fiction and the Occupation of Egypt: Imperial Striptease,’ *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, 51/4 (2008), 381-410, at 391.

the ‘veiled’ British protectorate has a third counterpart in the linen-shrouded mummy.⁵⁵ All three conceal mystery beneath their veils – a mystery that can only be dispelled by unwrapping. In fictional cases, this mystery is most often dispelled by the discovery of a beautiful and lifelike female form beneath the ancient bandages. In Conan Doyle’s ‘The Ring of Thoth,’ as John Vansittart Smith watches the immortal priest Sosra raise his long-dead love from the grave, the unwrapping of the mummy’s bandages is more akin to a striptease than to a scientific procedure. As each strip is removed it reveals another alluring feature, to the delight of the hidden watcher:

He thrilled all over with curiosity, and his bird-like head protruded farther and farther from behind the door. When, however, the last roll had been removed [...] it was all that he could do to stifle an outcry of amazement. First, a cascade of long, black, glossy tresses poured over the workman's hands and arms. A second turn of the bandage revealed a low, white forehead, with a pair of delicately arched eyebrows. A third uncovered a pair of bright, deeply fringed eyes, and a straight, well-cut nose, while a fourth and last showed a sweet, full, sensitive mouth, and a beautifully curved chin. The whole face was one of extraordinary loveliness [...]. Vansittart Smith's eyes grew larger and larger as he gazed upon it, and he chirruped in his throat with satisfaction.⁵⁶

Stoker, too, eroticises the unshrouding of his mummy. Despite Trelawny’s insistence that they are conducting a scientific experiment and not a ‘pleasure party’ (*Jewel* 231) there is an undeniable voyeurism in his descriptions. Even Ross, the most reluctant of participants, cannot deny his delight as he watches his companions unswathe the figure before him: ‘as the men unrolled [the bandages ...] I grew more and more excited’ (*Jewel* 233). Rather than the naked body of the queen that is clearly anticipated, however, this ‘outrage on modesty’ is deferred by the revelation that below her bandages Tera is shrouded in a ‘full robe of white linen [...] covering the body from the throat to the feet’ (*Jewel* 234). Given the renowned opacity of the novel, this seems rather apt: one veil falls away only to reveal another.

This refusal to satisfy imperial desire is a recurrent theme, with romantic fulfilment being constantly deferred. In no text is the romance between the modern imperial man and the ancient Egyptian woman concluded happily, the story escaping the undercurrent of doom that invariably haunts its pages. Everett’s unlikely romance between a British Egyptologist and a revived Egyptian princess (who, like Tera, remains veiled even after her unwrapping) is doomed from the start by a vicious curse. Perhaps,

⁵⁵ For further discussion of veiling see Deane, ‘Mummy Fiction,’ 384-85.

⁵⁶ Conan Doyle, ‘Thoth,’ 6.

then, rather than Iras' veiling signifying 'at once her exotic appeal and her demure submission' as Deane argues, it is a representation of her unattainability: she can be neither clearly seen nor known by her imperial suitor.⁵⁷ Vansittart Smith's 'satisfaction,' too, is ultimately thwarted. In his eagerness he interrupts the priest's ritual, halting the enchantment and watching the beautiful face crumble before his eyes. Next time he looks upon the mummy's exposed features 'the skin had fallen away, the eyes had sunk inwards, [and] the discoloured lips had writhed away from the yellow teeth' – imperial desire denied once more.⁵⁸

These romances depend upon an unfulfillment of desire.⁵⁹ The ancient women revived are cherished for their mystery, their exoticism – traits which would undoubtedly vanish upon becoming English wives. In order for them to retain their timeless allure they must always remain just out of reach. For the imperial male figures, frequently archaeologists or Egyptologists, this narrative of incompleteness extends far beyond their romantic pursuits. In subscribing to the much-touted argument that the presence of British scholars in a foreign land is necessary for the protection of vulnerable relics – relics that native peoples were argued to neither appreciate nor understand – they too rely on a deferment of completion. Should these artefacts ever be declared safe, the colonial presence would be rendered unnecessary – the British archaeologists forced to pass the articles to their native caretakers and return home. In light of the protracted occupation of Egypt during the period, this is a pertinent point. Here, an occupation enacted specifically to restore stability to the nation contradictorily relied on maintaining instability. Should the country truly be 'protected' to the extent that it is stable once more, British forces would have to withdraw and surrender valuable resources (the Suez Canal among them) back to the Egyptians. Cromer admits as much in his 1908 *Modern Egypt*, describing among his duties as Consul General the order to 'keep the Egyptian question simmering, and to avoid any actions which might tend to force on its premature consideration.'⁶⁰ Here lies the central contradiction of colonialism: should the cultivating process of imperialism ever be truly completed and the foreign inhabitants civilised to the level of the civiliser, then the two would be equal and the former no longer open to the imperial mission of the latter.

⁵⁷ Deane, 'Mummy Fiction,' 391.

⁵⁸ Conan Doyle, 'Thoth,' 8.

⁵⁹ See Deane, 'Mummy Fiction,' 400-01.

⁶⁰ Evelyn Baring, The Earl of Cromer, *Modern Egypt Vol. II* (New York: Macmillan, 1908), 325, cited in Deane, 'Mummy Fiction,' 400.

Stoker, too, denies his characters romantic fulfilment. But while the female figures of other texts enact a passive deferment, their physical forms returning to their desiccated reality or disappearing altogether, Queen Tera's refusal is perilously active. Her resurrection is intended to be the 'consummation' not just of the Great Experiment but of her 'marriage' to the surrounding Englishmen. She is clad in a 'marriage robe' (*Jewel* 235) and a 'girdle of jewels' (234), the removal of which to reveal her 'unclad beauty' (235) is objected to fiercely by Margaret – said to be channelling the words of Tera herself. This union is postponed not just indefinitely but catastrophically, manifesting in two separate stages: the first with the deaths of Corbeck, Trelawny, and Doctor Winchester, three of Tera's would-be suitors, and the second with the vanishing of Tera herself. Ross is then left alive not just by coincidence, but to allow the full force of this unfulfillment to be felt: his romantic desires are doubly thwarted, with Margaret dead and her supernatural double missing.

This uncharacteristically gruesome ending is a rebellion against imperial intervention. For while the mummies of 'The Ring of Thoth' and 'Smith and the Pharaohs' are raised by their ancient lovers, the imperial male a witness rather than a driving force, Tera's revival is an interference by outside forces. In attempting to reanimate her in the cavernous cellar of a Cornish mansion Trelawny and his companions uproot the carefully constructed plans that she has spent millennia forming. The ancient sorceress has clearly prepared for the Great Experiment to occur in her native land, smoothing the sides of her rocky tomb to prevent 'the disturbances of human hands' (*Jewel* 169), leaving the mummy pit open and the sarcophagus unlidded, and filling its chambers with everything necessary for the resurrection to take place. The transference of both her body and her plans to England thus directly contradicts her intentions. This is something that Trelawny is quick to argue against, relentlessly insisting that his Cornish cellar is equally appropriate for the cause:

This is the spot which I have chosen, as the best I know, for the scene of our Great Experiment. In a hundred different ways it fulfils the conditions which I am led to believe are primary with regard to success. Here, we are, and shall be, as isolated as Queen Tera herself would have been in her rocky tomb in the Valley of the Sorcerer, and still in a rocky cavern. (*Jewel* 199)

Despite these insistences, the differences are manifest: rather than attempting to recreate, Trelawny has sought to improve upon the queen's plans, wiring the cavern with electric lights and sourcing an 'ample supply' (*Jewel* 183) of the finest cedar oil to fill the lamps. This imperial desire to improve upon the foreign and inferior is perhaps what ultimately

causes their downfall. Indeed, the entire notion that Tera is content with their plans and intended to be revived in England – a narrative that the other characters unquestioningly believe – relies on our acceptance that Trelawny is telling the truth. Blinded by imperial pride, they embrace the claims that this powerful queen had intended to be resurrected in a ‘newer and nobler world’ (*Jewel* 181), a world ‘naturally’ (180) identified as Edwardian England. As with the artefacts filling the museums around them, the British protagonists seek to contain and reclassify the Egyptian queen and her plans, overwriting the foreign and unknown with familiarity. If anything, Ross’s parroting that ‘as time went on I grew more and more to recognise the wisdom and correctness of Mr. Trelawny’s choice’ (*Jewel* 201) contributes to our scepticism – he is utterly unqualified to recognise Trelawny’s ‘correctness’ having only started learning about Egypt the previous week.

If not in accordance with the queen’s wishes, then, why does Trelawny insist upon conducting the Great Experiment in England? The most obvious explanation would be the Eurocentric view held by all involved. Given the depiction of modern Egypt as dangerous and corrupt, it would follow that they would seek to conduct their work in a more ‘civilised’ location. Like countless other priceless artefacts, Queen Tera’s body has been shipped back to England for safekeeping. Perhaps more important, however, is the ruthless ambition that Trelawny displays upon occasion. Through the extravagant claims of his devotion to the sorceress’s ‘cryptic instructions’ – his tales of the ‘hardship [...] endured’ and ‘danger [...] braved’ in the pursuit of ‘her Great Experiment’ (*Jewel* 211) – slips the occasional glimpse of a man who believes this endeavour to in fact be *his* Great Experiment. Amidst Ross’s concerns for Tera’s earthly safety, Trelawny’s careless declarations of indifference reveal his true priorities: “‘A woman’s life!’ What is a woman’s life in the scale with what we hope for! [...] “‘proof that resurrection can be accomplished!’ That is much. A marvellous thing in this age of science’ (*Jewel* 212). While Ross might be deemed noble in his motivation, swayed by romantic stories of long dead queens, Trelawny would seem to be driven by more selfish desires. He hungers not just for humanity to be placed ‘on the road to the knowledge of lost arts, lost learning, lost sciences’ (*Jewel* 212) but for himself to be the one to place them there. And while the power inherent in being the sole human possessors of such knowledge doesn’t ever seem to occur to the other characters, it is never far from Trelawny’s thoughts. He speaks constantly of the secrets he believes to be in Tera’s possession, not just lost knowledge of chemistry and physics, but control over death itself.

These secrets are ones that Tera seems loath to surrender. Her instructions are opaque, at times forcing the Egyptologists to guess her meaning instead of simply deciphering. The language that Trelawny and Corbeck use to describe their ventures emphasises the force necessary for Western discovery: they have ‘tomb-hunt[ed]’ (*Jewel* 80), ‘wrested open the mysterious prison-house of Egyptian language’ (124). Their entry into Queen Tera’s hidden tomb is particularly violent, the scholarly Egyptologists apparently temporarily discarding their professional care in breaking through the ancient rock. Efforts thwarted by the ‘impenetrable smoothness’ of the cliff, Corbeck’s desire to see the inside of the grave subsumes him and using ‘much force [...] by many heavy strokes won [his] way into the tomb’ (*Jewel* 112). Jasmine Day’s study of two newly-discovered short pieces of American mummy fiction, Jane G. Austin’s ‘After Three Thousand Years’ and the anonymous ‘The Mummy’s Soul,’ examines the latter’s invasion of a female mummy’s resting place – a similarly violent act. Having used dynamite to gain entry into the sarcophagus, the narrator expresses a momentary regret ‘for such a sacrilege, when I found it was the body of a woman.’⁶¹ Here Day draws a comparison between the violation of the dead body and the violation of the living body, seeing the exploitation and objectification of women in a patriarchal society ‘mirrored in the abuse of mummies.’⁶² She thus divides mummy literature of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries into two opposing types, a darker overlay to the traditional curse-romance split: the masculine narrative that depicted the attempted sexual conquests of the oriental female, and the ‘proto-feminist’ narrative that saw the mummified female seek revenge upon her despoilers.

The Jewel of Seven Stars’ place in this analogy remains unclear. Certainly Stoker creates a similar sense of voyeurism in the unwrapping of Queen Tera’s mummy as in the infamous staking scene of *Dracula*, a scene described by Demetrakopoulos as the perverse sexual indulgence of a ‘voyeuristic brotherhood.’⁶³ Trelawny, Corbeck, Ross, and Dr Seward stand as parallels to Arthur, Quincy, Harker, and Dr Winchester: an assembly of unmarried professional males expressing a gratuitous interest in events under the guise of concern. As Van Helsing insists that Lucy must be staked to save her immortal soul, so too does Trelawny argue that Tera must be unswathed lest she suffocate upon waking. And while this may justify the unwrapping of the bandages, no

⁶¹ Anon., ‘Mummy’s Soul,’ 436.

⁶² Day, *Mummy’s Curse*, 171.

⁶³ Demetrakopoulos, ‘Sex Role Exchanges,’ 105.

explanation is offered for the removal of the bridal robe or the presence of so many people – after all, the Great Experiment does not begin for several hours. Even Trelawny cannot think of a valid reason for Ross's presence at the unrolling, falling into uncomfortable silence when confronted by Margaret:

we men are accustomed to such things. Corbeck and I have unrolled a hundred mummies; and there were as many women as men amongst them. Doctor Winchester in his work has had to deal with women as well of men, till custom has made him think nothing of sex. Even Ross has in his work as a barrister..." He stopped suddenly. (*Jewel* 231)

Trelawny would seem to argue that Ross is qualified to attend purely through the masculine professionalisation of knowledge: the very fact of being a middle-class male entitles him to offer his opinion. Trelawny's sudden insistence that Tera is 'not a woman [but...] a mummy [...] dead nearly five thousand years' (*Jewel* 230) directly contradicts all of his previous statements. The success of the Great Experiment relies on the fact that Tera is not dead but sleeping, her consciousness ever-present and free to roam at will. And despite these assertions that they are 'grave men' intent on scientific exploration, Ross's response reveals his true feelings. His initial apprehension and shame – driven in no small part by Margaret's disgust at his presence – soon give way to a rising excitement as the wrappings fall away.

If the Great Experiment is the consummation of the Egyptian queen's 'marriage' to the masculine figures of imperialism, then it is also a kind of sublimated wedding night for Ross and Margaret. As she becomes increasingly distant, placing the prospect of physical union in jeopardy, Ross's unfulfilled desires for Margaret become transposed on to Tera. The description of her unclad form makes a perfect parallel to earlier descriptions of Margaret, the one's 'hair, glorious in quantity and glossy black as the raven's wing' (*Jewel* 236) matched by the other's 'black [hair....] as fine as silk' (28); the 'full, red lips [with...] the tiniest white line of pearly teeth within' (236) mirrored by 'scarlet lips and white teeth' (28). The onslaught of emotions that he experiences upon the culmination of the unwrapping – the conflict of a 'rush of shame' for looking upon such 'glorious beauty' (*Jewel* 235) – coincide with the confusion of his feelings for Margaret: an explicitly physical attraction tempered by paternal concerns. This is further muddled by the constant focus on what is the 'right' thing to do: Ross must not seek confirmation of his affection from Margaret until he has first asked her father; he is unable to arrange their wedding until the mystery is solved and harmony restored to the Trelawny household; and he

cannot act upon his desire for Margaret until they are married. As such, his description of the conflict he feels upon gazing at Tera is rather telling:

As he stood back and the whole glorious beauty of the Queen was revealed, I felt a rush of shame sweep over me. It was not right that we should be there, gazing with irreverent eyes on such unclad beauty: it was indecent; it was almost sacrilegious! (*Jewel* 235)

His desire to find the scene before him pleasurable, a scene of ‘glorious [...] unclad beauty,’ is stifled by the knowledge that it would not be deemed ‘right’ by society. Although fitting the societal definition of a ‘professional reader’ he is not a medical man, nor a scholar, and as such has no reason to be gazing upon the naked body of a woman with his fiancée’s face.

From the moment that Trelawny issues his cryptic instructions, the sexes are set against one another. That Stoker never attempts to explain why the presence of both a male and female watcher is required only goes to further this perceived conflict, the differences being iterated but not justified. Like the other dichotomies of the novel – good and evil, East and West, living and dead – masculinity and femininity are posed as polar opposites. And just like these other dichotomies, this gendered divide threatens to collapse at any moment. As if sensing the impending collapse Stoker’s male characters strive to reinforce their traditional models, talking endlessly of ‘a woman’s interest in fine things’ (*Jewel* 234) and a ‘man’s fortitude’ (238). This reaches its most obvious manifestation in their continued attempts to exclude Margaret from the narrative, seeking to limit the action to the closed circle of male professionals. Their eager efforts to investigate the mystery at hand are somewhat reminiscent of a boy’s adventure story grown to adulthood: they talk fondly of shared memories from ‘our old Bow Street days’ (*Jewel* 18), frequently retiring to ‘have a pipe [...] and] talk things over’ (103) in private, retreating to a realm in which Margaret cannot follow. Despite her unique insight into the case, and continued efforts to assist in its solving, Margaret is repeatedly pushed back into the domestic sphere. Her every contribution is tempered by expressions of concern over the ‘shock to a woman’s mind in matters of apparent mystery’ (*Jewel* 109), each breakthrough combated with ‘Miss Trelawny [being...] sent for on some domestic matter’ (95).

Tera and Margaret are thus bonded not only by their physical similarities and spiritual connection, but by their shared experience of existing in a predominantly masculine environment from which they are continually excluded. Queen Tera, it is said, faced many

challenges to her rule due to her gender. To retain her power it would seem that she began to discard her femininity. Drawings depict her image in masculine dress beside the White and Red crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, crowns only to be worn by a king. This masculinisation, however, is more of an incubation stage than a permanent adoption: with time, the drawings alter to depict her ‘in female dress, but still wearing the Crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, while the discarded male raiment lay at her feet’ (*Jewel* 129).⁶⁴ In growing to full stature, Tera has learned to incorporate her femininity into her power rather than mask it. This is evidenced in her choice of titles: she is referred to as a ‘Wizard Queen’ (*Jewel* 166), a blend of gendered terms that incorporates both the masculine and the feminine in equal parts. Much like their experience with Margaret, however, Stoker’s male characters fail to recognise this assimilation, constantly seeking to temper stories of her power or ruthlessness with mentions of her beauty, or perceived desire to fall in love. Even the account of her masculine pictorial representation focuses not on the ascent to unprecedented power but the ‘feminine profusion of adornment’ (*Jewel* 126) and ‘great beauty’ (128) of the brush strokes. It is precisely this refusal to accept or acknowledge the extent of Tera’s power that leads to the catastrophe of the final chapter. Trelawny is too ready to believe that her will can be overpowered, that in putting in electric lights and relocating her body to England he can contain her ancient force. This imperial hubris supersedes all mentions of her unflagging ‘resolution’ and ‘unimpaired’ (*Jewel* 213) will – a hubris whose roots lie in a refusal to acknowledge superior power in a non-Western, non-male entity.

Margaret is arguably the only character to truly recognise the power that lies dormant in Queen Tera’s body – not least because of the connection they share. As Tera’s influence grows, Margaret moves from a quiet subservience to something Ross deems outright hostility, shunning his presence and snubbing his shows of affection. This construction is unusual for the genre, not to mention the author. Stoker tends to portray his predatory masculine forces corrupting Western women – the vampiric count of *Dracula* or the gombeen man Black Murdock. Where evil forces are perceived to be feminine, the threats they pose are primarily towards men: the weird sisters never encounter Mina or Lucy, only Harker; Lady Arabella is chiefly concerned with Adam and Caswell. *The Jewel of Seven Stars* is remarkable not just for its depiction of a predatory feminine force corrupting a Western woman, but for the Western woman’s implied

⁶⁴ For a discussion of gender as a performative construct see Judith Butler, *Gender Troubles: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1990).

complicity. Margaret shows no discernible resistance to the influence creeping over her, even in what Ross perceives to be her lucid moments. This is a stark contrast to Mina's distress over the psychic connection that Dracula forges between them, declaring fervently that she will take her own life if the link cannot be broken. In her whole-hearted embrace of this foreign influence, Margaret indicates a deep-seated desire to be corrupted, to be made 'other.' If through the women of *Dracula* Stoker explores tensions between the horror of the invasive other and the secret desire to be colonised by it, in *The Jewel of Seven Stars* this tension has been discarded, leaving in its place only a hunger for the unknown.

In Tera, then, Margaret finds a force that allows her to elevate herself above the role prescribed for her by her male companions. With the ancient queen's influence upon her, she becomes increasingly assertive, contradicting the other characters' statements and imparting her own assessments of the situation. Whereas the Margaret of early chapters defers demurely to the male characters in her midst, declining even to see the case's evidence as 'Father would doubtless have shown it to me had he wished me to see it' (*Jewel* 16), the Margaret of latter sections speaks her mind readily. As Ross and Mr Trelawny discuss the risks of the night to come Margaret not only counters them but halts the entire conversation:

"But may it not be dangerous? If you knew as we do—" To my surprise Margaret interrupted me:

"There will be no danger, Malcolm." (*Jewel* 161)

Before long she has even usurped Ross's position as confidante to Trelawny, sitting at her father's right hand and 'guid[ing]' (*Jewel* 239) group decisions. Her moving and then recovering of the jewel during their journey to Kyllion is thus less an attempt to alter the course of events than it is a display of power – a hand that she 'almost smile[s]' (*Jewel* 197) while revealing.

In gaining this increased autonomy, however, she is perceived as losing a degree of femininity. Much like Queen Tera donning masculine dress to be seen as an effective ruler, Margaret must shed her more overtly feminine qualities to complete her transition. This is most marked in her treatment of Silvio, the pet cat to whom she has been so devoted in previous chapters. During the cat's first appearance Ross proudly observes that Margaret treats him 'as though he were a baby,' cradling him maternally and speaking to him in hushed, loving tones: 'O you naughty Silvio! You have broken your parole that mother gave for you. Now, say goodnight to the gentlemen, and come away to mother's

room!' (*Jewel* 31). When Silvio interrupts the Great Experiment, however, Margaret's response differs drastically. Far from the affectionate chastising she issues over earlier incidents, this infraction elicits only rage.

The incident showed Margaret in a new phase, and one which gave my heart a pang. She had been standing quite still at one side of the cave leaning on a sarcophagus, in one of those fits of abstraction which had of late come upon her; but on hearing the sound, and seeing Silvio's violent onslaught, she seemed to fall into a positive fury of passion. Her eyes blazed, and her mouth took a hard, cruel tension which was new to me. Instinctively she stepped towards Silvio as if to interfere in the attack. (*Jewel* 201)

The instant return to 'her old grace and sweetness' following the incident does little to assuage doubts – although Ross takes great comfort in the fact that she once more cradles Silvio 'as though he were a little child who had erred' (*Jewel* 201). It is not her anger that would seem to concern him, then, so much as it is her perceived rejection of accepted gender roles. In discarding her maternal instincts she destabilises the balance of their relationship, a change in character that threatens not only her role but Ross's as well.

Ross sees these changes in her character not as independence, but as 'distance' (*Jewel* 195), 'haught[iness]' (195), and 'intellectual aloofness' (204). The latter is crucial to an understanding of their relationship. Ross's desire for Margaret hinges upon his feelings of authority, adopting a paternal role in his efforts to shield her from the unknown and soothing her 'as I used to do with my little sister long ago when in her childish trouble she would come to her big brother to be comforted' (*Jewel* 48). Her newfound 'intellectual aloofness' – offering solutions instead of seeking reassurance, dictating rather than following – renders Ross redundant, constructing a mental barrier that obstructs his sense of intimacy. In seeking to recover the 'old Margaret' (*Jewel* 204; 217), Ross seeks to return her to a state of malleable domesticity. As her attempts to assert her autonomy grow bolder, he increases his use of possessive pronouns: she is 'my Margaret' (*Jewel* 179), 'his daughter' (179; 212; 214), defined increasingly by the men around her. Combined with his repeated use of diminutive terms – she is always a 'child' (*Jewel* 153; 223; 231; 236) or a 'girl' (159; 178; 204), despite being over the age of eighteen – this inclines the reader to accept Ross's image of Margaret: that of a sweet and innocent girl victimised by external forces. Increasingly, however, we are forced to question whether there is any validity in Malcolm Ross's assessment of the situation. After all, despite his emphatic declarations of love he has only known Margaret for a matter of weeks. The depictions of Margaret's warmth and kindness delineated by the narrative voice are all tainted by Ross's infatuation, and her later transgressions excused by his desire for

reconciliation. Indeed, Margaret's own father has previously judged her to be 'indifferent' and 'cold of heart' (*Jewel* 152), the explanation for which – that she has been uncertain and shy around her estranged parent – is nothing more than Ross's conjecture.

Such evidence would all seem to imply one thing: that the exchange, if indeed an exchange did take place, actually occurred much earlier than Ross would have us believe. Stoker makes several heavy-handed hints that this narrative should be accepted. Whenever Margaret ventures to discuss her understanding of Tera's plans the other characters muse enthusiastically that she sounds like 'some new strange being from a new strange world' (*Jewel* 179), that she 'couldn't speak more eloquently if the very spirit of Queen Tera was with her to animate her and suggest thoughts' (214-15). Even before then, however, connections are made between the two: Margaret is constantly associated with royalty, likened to a 'princess' or a 'queen' (*Jewel* 64) by Ross; the focus on her hands at their introduction mirrors the emphasis on Tera's own. If Tera's influence over Margaret has been in full force for an extended period, then it can be seen to colour everything that she does and says. Her insistence upon being present for the experiment is thus not the act of a devoted daughter seeking to protect her father but a manipulation to ensure Tera's presence in the room, the mortal body of Margaret being cast off once no longer needed. This, then, is where the accepted narrative of Tera's romantic desires originates. Margaret's emphasis on the idea that Tera wishes to be resurrected to find love softens and feminises her, blinding her male companions to her true cause. The romanticised story of a 'high-souled lady of old' who has spent millennia dreaming

the dream of a love that might be; a love that she felt she might, even under new conditions, herself evoke. The love that is the dream of every woman's life; of the Old and of the New; Pagan or Christian; under whatever sun; in whatever rank or calling (*Jewel* 177)

endears Ross to her plight in a way that a tale of a sorceress hungry for power never could. Indeed, whenever talk of the queen's ruthlessness arises Margaret makes a concerted effort to steer the conversation back to matters of love, overwriting the image of a tyrant who had 'waded [...] through blood' (*Jewel* 209) to fulfil her ambitions with a more suitably feminine vision.

Ross proves himself to be an unreliable narrator in admitting that there is no empirical basis for these claims, that 'in her record there was no expression of love to be sought or found' (*Jewel* 209). Indeed, Margaret's coldness towards her suitor whilst under Tera's influence would seem to imply that the ancient queen has no interest whatsoever

in seeking out romance. As with Tera, then, Ross and Trelawny's fatal mistake is to underestimate the female presence in their midst, to 'fear for' (*Jewel* 215) Margaret rather than simply fearing her. Despite the occasional glimpse of the danger that she poses – the cold indifference to her companions and the 'eyes of a caged lion' (*Jewel* 215) – Ross's gendered preconceptions prevent him from seeing the risk until it is too late. Although noting that 'the change [...] was more marked in Margaret than in any of us' he assumes that this is because 'she was a woman, and we were men' (197).

Margaret has been read as a literal (and *literary*) embodiment of the veiled protectorate. She is, as Deane notes, 'the offspring of an undying occult power and imperial archaeology': an incarnation of an ancient sorceress, born to an Egyptologist father in imperial Britain. She is depicted as leading a 'strange dual existence,' an existence that 'reconciled opposites' (*Jewel* 208), pairing a delicate vulnerability with a strident ability to command all those in her presence. As such, she represents a strange union of unlikely opposites: old and new, familiar and foreign. Her ancient double, too, has been imbued with historical and political significance, standing as a representative of Egypt itself. On the one hand, she promises great power to those who would join her, yet on the other she threatens destruction for anyone who would link their cause to hers. Indeed, as Deane notes, the aims of Stoker's imperial figures are entirely in keeping with the stated aims of the imperial occupation of Egypt: they seek to protect Tera, to restore her to power and guide her path to self-sufficiency, albeit driven by an ulterior motive.⁶⁵ Despite the disruptions and outbreaks of violence along the way, full-scale disaster only occurs once these aims are complete: in restoring the queen's autonomy they have achieved that which British imperial forces tried so hard to postpone, rendering themselves redundant in the process. The moment the Egyptian queen no longer needs their support she unleashes her full fury upon them – a fury presumably prompted by their disruption of her plans. This, then, is an exploration not of the dangers of imperialism itself, but of the dangers that must inevitably emerge when an imperial nation falls.

The 1912 re-release of *The Jewel of Seven Stars* saw a marked change in the novel's close. The controversial sixteenth chapter 'Powers Old and New' had been excised, and the grisly conclusion replaced with a more conventional ending in which the Great Experiment fails and Ross and Margaret live happily ever after. While the cause (and even the author) of this revision is debated, what is certain is the manner in which

⁶⁵ Deane, 'Mummy Fiction,' 404; 406.

the new ending was intended to alter interpretations of the text – ostensibly, at least.⁶⁶ Here it is the containment of foreign powers that is embraced rather than their unleashing, the threat of the ‘other’ successfully neutralised by the might of imperial Britain. With the formulaic matrimonial conclusion the old is absorbed into the new, the re-appropriation of Tera’s bridal robe as Margaret’s wedding dress ensuring that she can never repeat such a challenge.

The political climate of Egypt had altered dramatically in the nine years between Stoker’s initial publication and the release of the revised version. By 1912 the ‘veiled protectorate’ was rapidly losing its opacity. With the signing of the 1904 *Entente Cordiale* ensuring French support of Britain’s claim to Egypt, the narrative of uncertainty was discarded and Egypt became an official protectorate.⁶⁷ This dropping of the political veil removed the need to depict Egypt as a seductively elusive bride, allowing Tera’s union with imperial Britain to be not just deferred but negated entirely. The revised ending no longer sees the threat of imperial demise in a revitalised Egypt: the Egyptian queen, herself a once-potent colonial force set on the ‘conquering of unknown worlds’ (*Jewel* 214), has been returned to an acceptable position of subservience.

Stoker’s vision of literary Egypt is a complex blend of national and sexual politics. The two converge in Queen Tera to create a figure that is overtly ‘other’ to the masculine imperialism of the narrative voice: a form both foreign and feminine. What is perhaps most perturbing, however, is just how un-other she proves to be, finding her double in a Western woman. That Stoker initially envisioned this ‘other’ as a triumphant force, not only defeating but obliterating her imperial opponents, destabilises expectations of Western superiority, setting the novel apart from its subgenre. Here the figure of the oppressed returns to seek vengeance against its oppressors – made all the more potent by an imperial ignorance of the power at its disposal. It is difficult not to read parallels into the contemporary political state, imperial paranoia over the stagnated situation in Egypt holding out simultaneous fantasies of release, either through victory or defeat. The superficial closure apparently offered by the revised ending signifies not that all questions have been answered, but rather that so many remain that they can no longer be contemplated. Ultimately, *both* of Stoker’s endings revolve around the same patterns of

⁶⁶ The potential reasons for (and interpretations of) this revision are discussed in full in chapter two. For this chapter, however, I will take the revised ending at face value in the manner that contemporary readers were no doubt intended to: as a victory for the West.

⁶⁷ See Mansfield, *British in Egypt*, 17-41.

suspense and irresolution that characterised *fin-de-siècle* Egypt: a force simultaneously hostile and alluring that could prove to be imperial Britain's greatest triumph or its greatest threat.

Chapter Five

'The New World Was Speaking to the Old': Stoker's Glimpse of America¹

In Stoker's early work he conceives of America not as a foreign entity but as an offshoot of England. It is a nation 'not merely like ourselves, but ourselves – the same in blood, religion, and social ideas' ('Glimpse' 13), a utopian ideal that ignores the complex realities of an immigrant nation. While the real America of the 1880s may have been a nation of many bloods, religions, and social ideas, a melting pot of different peoples and cultures, for Stoker it was England reimagined. As such, the prized unity between countries was not an alliance of Americans and Englishmen at all, but of 'the English on both sides of the Atlantic' ('Glimpse' 30) – an idea echoed by contemporaries such as Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, who once had his famous detective declare that 'our children [will be...] some day citizens of the same world-wide country under a flag which shall be a quartering of the Union Jack with the Stars and Stripes,' envisioning a literal blending of nations.² Over the next twenty-six years of Stoker's writing career, however, these narratives of unity would slowly morph into narratives of difference. What was once configured as 'the Old World and the New, each working out its destiny' ('Glimpse' 29) in harmony became increasingly antagonistic, as both fictional America and her real-life counterpart sought out her place in the modern world.

Whereas elsewhere the metaphor of colonies as children was widely used to argue against independence – that 'if a young child is allowed to stand on his own legs too soon, it will be easy for him to stumble and fall, or wander off the good path' – Stoker saw 'England's first-born child' ('Glimpse' 30) as having grown almost to adult status by the time he delivered the lecture 'A Glimpse of America' in 1885.³ With the teenage rebellion of the War of Independence in the past, 'America has got over her childhood' ('Glimpse' 30). Rather than helping to draw the rest of the world forward, however, her reward is to be inducted back into 'the salon of old Time amidst the queens of the world' ('Glimpse' 30) – ushered into place to quietly uphold the existent status quo. It is her perceived shared

¹ Stoker, *Mystery*, 180.

² Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Adventure of the Noble Bachelor,' *Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1892), 229-53, at 250.

³ A. J. Eijkmann and F. W. Stapel, *Leerboek der geschiedenis van Nederlandsch Ost Indie*, quoted in translation in Cohen, 'Child,' 428.

ancestry that holds the key to America's maturation, her permission to stand alongside these 'queens' of the old world. For even as colonies in Africa, India, and East Asia were suppressed, their bids for independence feared as detrimental to the motherland, America's progress shone back upon England: 'Our history is their history – our fame is their pride – their progress is our glory' ('Glimpse' 30). This mutually beneficial relationship – America gaining from Britain's global reputation and Britain gaining from America's growing industry – is based on perceived likeness. Unlike in her other colonies (and former colonies), Britain had been governing not natives but equals. The two peoples were thus bound together not by conquest, but by 'the instinct of a common race' – by 'the bright hopes of parents who send their children to seek fortune' on the one side, and 'by the old remembrances of home and common kin' ('Glimpse' 30) on the other. This metaphor envisions a loving and close relationship, driven by the wisdom and experience of the old on one side and the courage and hope of the young on the other. What is more, it envisions America as an English invention, as a nation built by the sons of Britannia, sent out by a nurturing parent to seek their fortunes.

This trope of children 'seek[ing] fortune' was not just a convenient metaphor. Between 1830 and 1920 approximately 4.5 million British and 4.6 million Irish arrived on the shores of the United States.⁴ America was a land of fresh opportunity, a 'New World' of possibility away from the entrenched social systems of Europe's 'Old World.' Even Stoker's love of Britain and devotion to the monarchy didn't prevent him seeing the potential of the United States, a fledgling nation with a shared ambition for greatness, its entire 'population of fifty million simultaneously moving to a higher social plane' ('Glimpse' 20). In 'A Glimpse of America' this social elevation takes a number of forms: a wealth of education, even among the lower classes (Stoker is amazed to find that his hackman has an in-depth knowledge of science); a criminal justice system of 'ruthless severity' ('Glimpse' 15); and the 'cellular' creation of a new Republic, built from the ground into a 'compact, cohesive, and structurally perfect mass' (22). Armed with a knowledge of the faults inherent in older European societies, these immigrants are equipped to build a utopia in which any man can excel by virtue of his merit. This potential for elevation transmutes into an aspirational population of the sort unimaginable in the entrenched class systems of Victorian Britain. To Stoker's astonishment, Americans are not content to occupy the menial roles they would have been assigned in

⁴ Sophie Bessis, *Western Supremacy: The Triumph of an Idea* (New York: Palgrave, 2003), 39.

their ancestral homelands, rejecting domestic servitude in favour of more ‘remunerative employment’ (‘Glimpse’ 14). Although evidently impressed by the ambitions driving this trend, Stoker would seem to be in two minds about the actual effect of such a shift: he struggles to reconcile an admiration for such progressive systems with a tacit awareness that domestic service is needed nonetheless if men like himself are to live in comfort.

This conflict between aspiration and necessity is settled in Stoker’s mind by the majority of domestic work being ‘undertaken by Irish and Negroes’ (‘Glimpse’ 14), a strangely derogatory coupling given his Celtic heritage.⁵ Indeed, this line seems to betray a momentary lack of self-consciousness in Stoker’s work. The ‘Irish’ that he refers to as suited to menial domestic work are not *his* Irish, the anglicised Protestants of the emerging middle classes, but a different race altogether. As such, he feels no more kinship with the impoverished Irish Catholics that journeyed to America *en masse* during the famine years than he does with the black communities of slave descendants. Both are figured as entirely other, to Stoker himself and to America. The social restrictions of Victorian Britain have thus not actually been escaped at all, simply modified and concealed beneath a superficial veneer of progress. This ostensibly unparalleled opportunity for social elevation is in fact only accessible to a narrow stratum of society: the American Dream is actually the dream of the white Protestant Anglo-Saxon.

Even in 1886 Stoker does not seem to see these ‘inferior’ races as afforded – or indeed deserving of – the same level of opportunity as the Anglo-Saxon.⁶ While the discerning traveller may have observed that class boundaries in the States were so muddled that, when journeying across the country, one ‘could not possibly distinguish classes as at home,’ it is noted that this rule does not cover the ‘excretions of society’ (‘Glimpse’ 15). Rather than a multifaceted class system of many layers, then, Stoker’s nineteenth-century America has a two-class system: those that belong, and are thus afforded all the benefits that the New World has to offer, and those that don’t, the ‘excretions’ of society that are rejected by New and Old World alike. By the time he published ‘Americans as Actors’ in 1909, Stoker’s definition of ‘excretions of society’ had expanded considerably.⁷ The United States, having spent more than a century in a globally unparalleled condition of

⁵ Stoker’s complex national identity is discussed in full in chapter six.

⁶ For a full discussion of the Irish Catholic ‘racial type’ and their exclusion from the Anglo-Saxon race see Bruce Nelson, *Irish Nationalists and the Making of the Irish Race* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

⁷ Bram Stoker, ‘Americans as Actors,’ in *A Glimpse of America: and Other Lectures, Interviews and Essays*, Richard Dalby, ed. (1909; Essex: Desert Island Books, 2002), 84-92.

expansion and development had, in Stoker's eyes, become a destination not for the hungry and ambitious but the 'dumping ground of all the over-peopled countries' ('Actors' 85) of the world. Emigrants from a long list of struggling nations (Italy, Germany, Russia, Hungary, and Poland being just some that Stoker mentions by name) had descended on America's shores, all seeking permanent settlement. This rapid influx of migrants, whom Stoker considered 'as a rule, not well educated [...] mainly from the lower and poorer classes [...] and thus] immediately inferior to their surroundings' ('Actors' 87), threatened to disturb the national balance, it being chiefly the poor and desperate who chose to risk the long journey.⁸ In the twenty-three years between the publications of 'A Glimpse of America' and 'Americans as Actors' Stoker's seemingly remarkable change in attitude was tracked by his numerous works of fiction that depicted American characters. They can be seen to trace the development of the American from the spirited if ruthless adventurer of 'When the Sky Rains Gold' (1894), to the trigger-happy vigilante of *Lady Athlyne* who readily kills over an insult.

One arena where prospects weren't dictated by race or nationality (at least, not to the same extent) was the gold rush of the mid-nineteenth century. Between 1848 and 1855 some 300,000 people arrived in California to seek their fortune, coming not just from the surrounding states but from Mexico, Chile, Peru, Ireland, Germany, France, England, Australia, New Zealand, China, and Japan.⁹ The riches promised by this land of opportunity were hard won, both in life and in fiction. The men who reaped them are the prototypes of adventure novels: unstoppable men of 'iron will' ('Gold' 71) and unbreakable spirit. For Stoker, these men represent the epitome of masculinity – a trait he cherishes throughout his work. Men like Colonel Ogilvy, the Kentuckian millionaire from *Lady Athlyne* who has 'killed men before now for want of [respect]' (*Athlyne* 7); or Chris Dana of 'When the Sky Rains Gold,' one of the so-called 'Forty-niners' who journeyed to California across the perilous Rocky Mountains 'amid incredible hardship and won fortune' ('Gold' 15); or Elias P. Hutcheson of 'The Squaw,' an adventurer from the almost parodic 'Isthmian City, Bleeding Gulch, Maple Tree County, Neb[raska]' ('Squaw' 37), who claims to have:

Spent a night inside a dead horse while a prairie fire swept over me in Montana Territory-an' another time slept inside a dead buffler when the Comanches was on the war path an' I didn't keer to leave my kyard on them. I've been two days

⁸ The exception to this rule, in Stoker's eyes, were the 'German emigrants,' as he believed that 'in Germany every one is educated up to a certain degree' ('Actors' 87).

⁹ See Dennis B. Fradin, *The California Gold Rush* (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 2008).

in a caved-in tunnel in the Billy Broncho gold mine in New Mexico, an' was one of the four shut up for three parts of a day in the caisson what slid over on her side when we was settin' the foundations of the Buffalo Bridge. ('Squaw' 46)

These men are stereotypes, representations of an ideal, rather than lifelike depictions. Like the 'iconographic' figures that Sander Gilman sees in all artistic depictions, these figures represent elements of life rather than presenting the world as it is, the 'ideologically charged iconographic nature of the representation' dominating.¹⁰ They represent the specific aspects of the New World that Stoker wants to be foregrounded in his texts, without providing the complexities of realism to muddy them. Such figures can embody bravery and adventure entirely, their gun-slinging ways and cartoonish accents shielding them from the complications of a rounded character. Even his fellow characters recognise that Stoker's All-American hero, with his 'quaint speech and his wonderful stock of adventures, might have stepped out of a novel' ('Squaw' 38).

Like the protagonists of so many adventure stories – Stoker's *The Lady of the Shroud*, for instance, or Kipling's 'The Man Who Would be King' – these men purposely seek out savage arenas in which 'any man could rule a crisis if he had sand in him' ('Gold' 76). Away from the strict social codes in which one's birth dictated one's position in life, any man could win a fortune with his mental and physical strength alone. But while Stoker superficially seeks to celebrate the rugged masculinity of men brave enough to set out into the unknown, the daily struggle against 'Indians, or starvation, or drought, or wolves, or bears, or snow storms, or burning prairies' ('Gold' 76) promotes savagery as much as it does courage. Glimpses of this savagery emerge repeatedly beneath the accounts of bravery: Colonel Ogilvie's brief reference to a man being shot for 'hesitating markedly' (*Athlyne* 39) at poker when on a full house, or Mrs Bates' allusions to Chris Dana's unorthodox leadership style: 'there were men who rebelled against his ruling, but they say that he was handier than anyone with either gun or bowie, and, when the row was over, the rest of the party went on quite satisfied.' ('Gold' 76). He does not lead by respect or admiration, the standards of a modern and democratic leader, but by fear and brute force – the remnants of a savage past. Stoker's America is, in many ways, a counterpart to the fictional lands of opportunity depicted in *The Coral Island* and 'The Man Who Would Be King.' Here, in a heavily fictionalised imagining of a real place – a place in

¹⁰ Sander Gilman, 'Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine, and Literature,' *Critical Inquiry*, 12/1 (1985), 204-42, at 204.

which the restrictions of civilised life do not apply – a man can regress to his most primitive form.

To prosper in such climates, a man must have a savage side to his character – a brutality that often lurks just beneath the civilised veneer. While the civilised surface demands that Chris Dana show ‘hospitality’ to his daughter’s new acquaintance and invite him to stay, the barbarism beneath dictates that he must demand this guest remains in the house ‘even if he had to shoot [him] to keep [him] there, or he intended to shoot [him] the next day for being there’ (‘Gold’ 86). This overlaying of the civilised and the savage results in confusion, in an erraticism that can be neither predicted nor contained: Victor does not know if his American host will welcome him or kill him. Elias P. Hutcheson has a similarly violent undercurrent to his charming exterior. Although cheerfully regaling his new friends with ‘racy remarks’ (‘Squaw’ 37) and exciting tales about his wild adventures, his idea of fun is inherently violent. When he volunteers to try out the Iron Virgin, an ancient torture device of gruesome purpose, he remarks that:

I've not had enjoyment like this since I left Noo York. Bar a scrap with a French sailor at Wapping – an' that warn't much of a picnic neither – I've not had a show fur real pleasure in this dod-rotted Continent, where there ain't no b'ars nor no Injuns, an' wheer nary man goes heeled. (‘Squaw’ 47)

These ‘pleasures’ that Hutcheson so enjoys – namely fighting, hunting bears, killing Indians, and carrying firearms – have allowed him to flourish in the wilderness of the States. Indeed, contrary to Stoker’s other Gothic works, which constantly toy with the intoxicating prospect of the simultaneous liberation and destruction promised by a descent into savagery, Elias P. Hutcheson openly declares barbarism to be an idealised state. He even expresses disappointment at America’s failure to surpass the ingenuity of medieval Europe’s torture devices:

Pears to me that we're a long way behind the times on our side of the big drink. We uster think out on the plains that the Injun could give us points in tryin' to make a man oncomfortable; but I guess your old mediaeval law-and-order party could raise him every time. [...] It'd be a good thing for our Indian section to get some specimens of this here play-toy to send round to the Reservations jest to knock the stuffin' out of the bucks, and the squaws too, by showing them as how old civilisation lays over them at their best. (‘Squaw’ 45)

Hutcheson sees nothing but pleasure in these instruments of pain, ‘play-toy[s]’ for ‘law-and-order part[ies]’ to enjoy. What is more, he seems to envision these devices as the product of centuries of ingenuity, as the apex of a civilisation rather than its nadir. Stoker also unwittingly reveals the Eurocentricity of his narrative in Hutcheson’s ramblings:

when he declares that an ‘old civilisation’ could show the ‘Indian section’ a thing or two about torture he overlooks the fact that the Native Americans are an old civilisation themselves, having lived for millennia in their native lands. Hutcheson seems almost incapable of envisioning an America before white colonisation: in his mind, the Indians only came into existence when the European first landed on their shores. Alternatively, perhaps it is the word ‘civilisation’ that excludes the Native Americans from his narrative: whilst medieval Germany with its fine architecture and cultured aristocracy is somehow rendered *more* civilised by its sophisticated torture devices, the same is not true of the Native American. Instead, their skinning posts and fire torture render them savages, an uncivilised people unsuitable for inclusion alongside the great civilisations of Europe.

For all he depicts the ‘Injuns’ as the prototype for North American savagery, the real atrocities of the text are far closer to home. In a gruesome scene quite apart from Stoker’s usual writing style the gung-ho American drops a rock on to a frolicking kitten’s head, killing it instantly. While Stoker’s narrative voice typically excels in its evasiveness, even Gothic tales such as *Dracula* relying on the unseen and untold, the implied violence sanitised and screened, here nothing is left to the imagination.¹¹ As Hutcheson drops the stone, it ‘fell with a sickening thud that came up to us through the hot air, right on the kitten’s head, and shattered out its little brains then and there’ (‘Squaw’ 39). The unexpected horror of this twist in what was previously a tale of newlywed romance is exaggerated by the anthropomorphised account of the mother cat’s reaction. The black cat gave ‘a muffled cry, such as a human might give’ and hunched over the dead kitten, ‘licking its wound and moaning [...] the black fur smeared with its brains and blood’ (‘Squaw’ 39). Despite Hutcheson’s conspicuous declarations of dismay, he never actually expresses any regret for the act itself. His concern is directed towards the fact that he may have upset his new friend’s wife with his ‘clumsiness,’ a term that both negates his own culpability and highlights his concern with maintaining appearance. While his tales of fighting ‘Injuns’ and killing bears back in the wilderness might be a thrill for his new acquaintances to listen to, he is aware that, in Europe, he must retain at least a veneer of civilisation if he is to be accepted. As such, although the death of a kitten means little to a man who has slain both beasts and men, etiquette demands that he respond accordingly. His listeners may well find a thrilling escapism in

¹¹ The other exception to this rule is ‘The Dualists,’ a macabre short story that rivals ‘The Squaw’ for gruesomeness. Bram Stoker, ‘The Dualists; Or, The Death Doom of the Double Born,’ *The Theatre Annual: Containing Stories, Reminiscences and Verses* (1886), 18-29.

these wild stories of his savage past, but they are stories that belong firmly in the primitive arena of the frontier.

As the cat stalks the group, the battered kitten in her mouth, Hutcheson recounts the tale of another 'savage' who sought to avenge her child. This rambling account centres on a 'half-breed' what they nicknamed "Splinters" 'cos of the way he fixed up [a squaw's] papoose which he stole on a raid' ('Squaw' 40), setting into motion a cycle of destruction. Just as the cat was humanised, her feelings justified, so the Native American is rapidly dehumanised, rendered more beast than man. She is never a 'woman' but a 'squaw,' her family 'braves' and 'papooses' instead of 'men' and 'children.' This dehumanisation renders their deaths as insignificant an event as that of the kitten – less so, in fact, as Hutcheson is only willing to apologise for the killing of the kitten, leaving the 'squaw' and the 'papoose' unanswered for. This perceived insignificance and savagery is largely down to race. What disapproval Hutcheson shows for Splinters' behaviour during 'that papoose business' is due to his failure to act like 'a white man, for he looked like one' ('Squaw' 40). As a passible Caucasian American, despite his muddled ancestry, Splinters must be held to a higher standard than the 'inferior' races around him. Indeed, it seems unlikely that such standards would be insisted upon for the 'half-breed,' even with ancestry unchanged, had his skin been several shades darker. As such, 'Americanism' can be perceived as a performative state – his looking the part is all that matters. Splinters looks like a white man, so he should be expected to act like one – a statement that ignores the fact of Hutcheson, a Caucasian male, having exhibited similar violent behaviours with no such rebuke. Perhaps as a pure-blooded 'American' Hutcheson's actions can be excused, his motives assumed to be righteous where Splinter's are assumed to be base. It is in failing to adhere to this performative whiteness that Splinters position is destabilised: whereas previously he could 'pass' as white, his defining characteristic is now that of the 'half-breed,' an inferior being of whom nothing better could be expected.

Despite not approving of Splinters' killing of the papoose, Hutcheson nonetheless feels obliged to slay the squaw in response. This establishes a pattern of retribution visited upon Native Americans for the acts of others – a common occurrence in nineteenth-century America. A town would be attacked or a prospector killed and raiding parties would wipe out surrounding native villages in response, not caring which individual or

village had been responsible.¹² In this case, the Apache squaw's baby is killed in retribution because another 'Indian' (potentially not even from the same tribe) had given Splinters' mother 'the fire torture' ('Squaw' 40). As such, the black cat is not just a parallel to the squaw, a similarly sad story of a bereft mother, but another link in a never-ending chain: Indians kill Splinters' mother, Splinters kills the papoose, the papoose's mother kills Splinters, Hutcheson kills the papoose's mother and then the kitten, the cat kills Hutcheson, and the narrator kills the cat. The over-riding theme here – apart from the fury of a mother's love, something strangely absent in Stoker's usual world of orphans and inattentive parents – is the shared savagery of human nature. This 'chain,' after all, consists not just of 'Indians,' 'half-breeds,' and animals, but Americans and Englishmen as well, the civilised veneer providing little exemption from barbarism. And while, understandably given the first-person narrative, the English narrator retains most of his civility, arguing that 'no one will call me cruel' ('Squaw' 49) for the execution, Elias P. Hutcheson unleashes an unrivalled savagery. For all he criticises the Apache methods of killing their enemies – the 'fire torture' and the 'skinnin' posts' – Hutcheson himself keeps the skin of a dead ally and has it 'made into a pocket-book' ('Squaw' 40) that he carries in his breast pocket. This is made all the more sinister by his false compassion, a compassion insisted upon by the narrator but contradicted by actions, that has him claim 'Lor, bless ye, I wouldn't hurt the poor pooty little critter more'n I'd scalp a baby' ('Squaw' 39) – a strangely macabre expression. His prior unorthodox uses of human skin (a parallel to the scalping methods of the Native Americans), as well as the resultant crushing of the kitten, leaves one wondering about his true capabilities.

If the kitten's death was uncharacteristically gruesome for Stoker, then its killer's demise is abhorrent. Upon viewing a chamber of medieval torture instruments in Nurnberg's 'Torture Tower' Hutcheson develops an unhealthy fascination with the 'Iron Virgin,' a spike-filled metal case that impales the victim upon closure. His desire to be tied up and placed inside it does not, as Smith notes, assign him the role of victim, rather it focuses on Hutcheson's 'sadistic fascination with the kind of terror such a victim might have felt.'¹³ In wanting to be placed inside the Iron Virgin he seeks not to empathise with the powerless, but to heighten his own feelings of power through an understanding of their fear. As such, he takes excessive care to replicate the victims' experience exactly:

¹² See Alan Axelrod, *Chronicle of the Indian Wars: From Colonial Times to Wounded Knee* (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 1993).

¹³ Andrew Smith, 'Demonising the Americans: Bram Stoker's Postcolonial Gothic,' *Gothic Studies*, 5/2 (2003), 20-31, at 25.

he not only wishes to be placed inside the spiked case, but to be bound as well. The blood-splattered cat, the mirror of the war-painted squaw trailing her child's killer, seizes this opportunity for revenge, swinging the spiked face of the Iron Virgin shut on Hutcheson. The door is opened to a most un-Stoker-like scene:

The spikes did their work. Happily the end was quick, for when I wrenched open the door they had pierced so deep that they had locked in the bones of the skull through which they had crushed, and actually tore him – it – out of his iron prison til, bound as he was, he fell at full length with a sickly thud upon the floor, the face turning upward as he fell. ('Squaw' 49)

This gruesome description is unparalleled in Stoker's Gothic writings, the precision of the 'crushed' bones and the 'sickly thud' excelling where his other works evade. In death, Hutcheson finally achieves a parallel with his many victims: he too becomes dehumanised, an 'it' rather than a 'he,' without agency or power. Rather than delivering justice and ending the murderous cycle however, as the narrator seems to believe he is doing, in slaying the cat he extends the pattern yet further. There is no reason to believe that this massacre will be any more final than when Splinters attempted to find closure in the papoose's death, or Hutcheson in the squaw's. Where previously these acts of barbarism had been limited to America and her citizens – a wild land in which savagery may be justified – in shearing the cat 'in two as she sat' ('Squaw' 49) among the relics of 'excruciating pain' (44), the narrator proves that Europe's bloodthirsty past is not as past as thought. While Smith makes a compelling argument that within 'The Squaw' Europe becomes the 'place where punishment and justice take place,' the reproduction of the Iron Virgin in the form of a birthmark on the narrator's son suggesting 'an oblique continuation of a European mode of justice,' he ignores the fact that, in the final lines, the narrator takes on the role not of judge, but of Hutcheson himself.¹⁴ If the cat is strongly aligned with the squaw, reproducing its revenge, then this pattern extends to their shared demise. Just as the squaw finds relief only in death, Hutcheson recalling that 'the only time I ever seen her smile was when I wiped her out,' so the cat spends her final moments 'purring loudly' ('Squaw' 49) as she laps up the blood pouring from Hutcheson's eye sockets. As such, their killers are similarly equated: both kill a bereft mother for avenging her dead child out of no discernible reason aside from duty, the threat they posed having clearly passed. The narrator's use of an 'old executioner's sword' ('Squaw' 49) to slay the cat thus places him not as a bastion of Old World righteousness, but alongside

¹⁴ Smith, 'Demonising Americans,' 26.

Hutcheson as a brute entrenched in the belief that vigilante justice is theirs to hand out at will.

Rather than distancing Europe from the savagery of 'The Squaw,' then, the narrator's final actions make him complicit. As Stoker noted seven years earlier in 'A Glimpse of America,' even among the 'high civilisation' of London there exists in places 'as complete a system of savagery' ('Glimpse' 13) as that attributed to the 'aborigines' made infamous by their encounters with Captain Cook. In both texts, Stoker thus recognises not the superiority of Europeanness, as it initially appears, but the savagery of humanity in general: the 'ultimate limits of which our nature is capable' ('Glimpse' 13). It is perhaps for this reason that the parallel he chooses to London's concealed savagery in 'A Glimpse of America' is not that of the Native American, as might be expected in a text that focuses primarily on the United States, but of the more generic 'aborigine': savagery does not belong to a single race or religion, but is seen as a shared base state. It may be concealed and controlled in ostensibly 'civilised' peoples, but it is present none the less. Whilst in Europe centuries of civilisation have moved the 'star of human progress' ('Glimpse' 13) away from such open barbarism, employing the strict social expectations that demand the narrator mitigate his murderous actions with claims of worry for his wife and insistences that 'no one will call me cruel' ('Squaw' 49), in the wilderness of the American frontier there is no such restriction. Europe's savage past may be enough of a distant memory for its citizens to queue up to see the collections of 'headsman's swords,' 'chairs full of spikes,' 'racks, belts, boots, gloves, collars' and 'many, many other devices for man's injury to man' ('Squaw' 44), but for Americans they are the stuff of day-to-day life. And while the brutal actions of the 'aborigine' can be excused as the work of savages, uncivilised barbarians who know no better, America has clung to its atavistic origins despite its march of progress into the 'New World.' This produces the pattern of attraction and repulsion that seems to have so fascinated Stoker: America has New York City, the epitome of civilisation, but also the wildness of the Frontier; it has produced men who can make great scientific discoveries and build complex machines, but also men who torture and kill for their own pleasure; it enables Hutcheson to travel the world and appreciate historical sites, but also to skin a man without a second thought. Indeed, Hutcheson is utterly unapologetic about his actions, calling the grief-stricken cat 'the savagest beast I ever see-' ('Squaw' 40) – an obviously false hyperbole given the stories we've heard from his past – and threatening to shoot if

it continues to follow their party. Like Stoker's other Americans, the savagery within Hutcheson is not only given free reign by the American frontier, it is rewarded.

Stoker's American men may all be identikit adventurers with broad accents and quick trigger fingers, but his women are equally interchangeable. The American heiresses of *The Mystery of the Sea*, *Lady Athlyne*, and 'When the Sky Rains Gold' are all cut from remarkably similar cloth: beautiful yet unconventionally strong and independent – traits that miraculously wane upon meeting their gallant British lovers. Their tales even follow an identical template: a heroic rescue by a handsome stranger that leads to an infatuated love affair and eventually marriage, female independence being briefly acknowledged and then discarded along the way. While this may be a fairly common staple of the *fin-de-siècle* romance, the similarities cannot be overlooked, especially as they do not seem to extend to Stoker's gender dynamics elsewhere: the Irish Norah of *The Snake's Pass* is not rescued by her English lover until the closing chapters, when the two are already betrothed; *The Lady of the Shroud's* Balkan Voivodin Teuta has the upper hand on Rupert for the first half of the novel, the two marrying despite his belief that she is a vampire; while in *The Man* it is the English heiress Stephen who does the rescuing, saving her lost love from a shipwreck. All of these 'romances' present very different models of heroine, devoid of the repetition exhibited by the storylines surrounding American women. For all Stoker's insistence on the remarkable individuality of the American woman, the fact that this individuality manifests in exactly the same way each time undermines the claim entirely. What is more, it shifts the character's purpose from individual to type – they are not Marjory, or Joy, or Riddy, but an interchangeable figure providing an identical function in a tale that is told over and over again.

Stoker envisions American women as being fundamentally different to English women, something he attributes to the 'natural pluck and dominance – the assertion of individuality which is a part of an American woman's birthright' (*Mystery* 78). Born outside of the strict social confines of England, American girls are raised with different expectations of life, given 'equal companionship in study with boys in school and college' (*Mystery* 78) and the freedom to take unconventional actions, such as long bicycle rides with strange men. This allows the creation of an idealised figure: a well-bred and beautiful lady who has all the resourcefulness and audacity of a peasant girl – or of a man. As such, the boys' adventures that so characterise Stoker's novels can be continued in her presence without undue hindrance. In *The Mystery of the Sea* Marjory can shoot a gun and disguise herself in men's clothing, yet retains enough femininity to bruise her delicate limbs if she

brushes a wall, the ‘jagged rock [...] scarr[ing] her tender skin’ (*Mystery* 303). Similarly Riddy, the American heiress of ‘When the Sky Rains Gold,’ responds to crises with a masculine strength. When her companion falls into the sea Riddy immediately flags down a passing boat, shouting ‘with a strong, clear voice,’ sprinting ‘down the gully at breakneck speed,’ and ‘help[ing] to lift her from [the rescuer’s] shoulder’ (‘Gold’ 61). Even her appearance is unconventional, with ‘brown skin [...filled with a] rosy hue of health’ and ‘brown eyes full of fire’ (‘Gold’ 61). This female independence serves to bridge the gap between the Gothic and adventure stories that are Stoker’s stock-in-trade, and the romance genre that he ventures into upon occasion. In creating women willing to drive motorcars in the fog and search waterlogged caves for hidden treasures he replaces the masculine bonds of *Dracula* or *The Jewel of Seven Stars* with heterosexual romantic ones.

For all their masculine traits, however, the inescapable confines of the heroines’ gender inevitably upset the balance of such adventures after a time. While Riddy’s courage may be admirable on the clifftops, once she boards Victor’s yacht the status quo is disturbed. He informs her awkwardly that ‘we have, of course, no women on board,’ leaving Riddy to play ‘lady’s maid’ (‘Gold’ 63) herself. Marjory also impedes the spirit of masculine adventure, Archie even suggesting that she ‘dressed as a man’ (*Mystery* 212) to better fit in. Indeed, there is almost a sense of relief when the heiress is kidnapped and a real boys’ adventure can begin. When U.S. Embassy diplomat Sam Adams arrives to help locate Marjory with two young men in tow, ‘Lootenant Jackson of West Point’ and ‘Lootenant Montgomery of Annapolis’ (*Mystery* 370), the very sight of them makes Archie’s ‘heart warmer’ (371). Up till now he has had little male companionship in the novel, his interactions being largely divided between Marjory, Mrs Jack, and the mysterious Gormala. Now having a ‘sufficiency of intelligent, resolute men’ (*Mystery* 371) they quickly solve the mysteries that Archie and Marjory have spent nearly forty chapters chasing.

Since the publication of Craft’s seminal 1984 study “‘Kiss Me with those Red Lips’”: Gender and Inversion in Bram Stoker’s *Dracula*,’ critics have sought to explain Stoker’s proclivity for prioritising masculine bonds over heterosexual ones using queer theory. In Stoker’s *magnum opus* Craft sees an implicit homoeroticism not just between the Count and Harker but between the members of the Crew of Light as well, a homoeroticism that

is repeatedly deferred through the ‘heterosexual mediation’ of the novel’s women.¹⁵ It must be noted however that, despite using a quotation from *The Lair of the White Worm* as a subheading (‘our strong game will be to play our masculine against her feminine’), Craft deals only with *Dracula* in his queering of the author.¹⁶ In fact, studies of Stoker and queer theory seem to revolve almost exclusively around this text, with no works to date expanding the dialogue to include his romances and other Gothic novels. This is somewhat problematic for, while *Dracula* certainly contains some of Stoker’s most explicitly homoerotic material, it also dips into numerous other sexual taboos, exploring not just homosexuality but incest, gender inversion, and female domination. As such, it can perhaps be interpreted not as an indication of the author’s own latent homosexual desires but an exploration – and exploitation – of deviant sexuality as a representation of unease and unnaturalness. In fact, this pattern is reproduced almost exactly in another of Stoker’s Gothic works: *The Jewel of Seven Stars* features not just potentially homoerotic bonds between the male characters but the implication of female sexual dominance in the ancient queen’s masculine strength and sublimated incestuous desires in Trelawny’s unwrapping of his daughter’s naked double. For Stoker, sexual taboo is just another facet of the all-encompassing horror of the Gothic, one of many vehicles through which to explore alterity.

In the characterisation of Stoker’s American heroines, then, what we see is not an indication of latent homosexuality but an author who has prioritised (and romanticised) the platonic masculine bond of the adventure story struggling to balance the genre expectations of a romance. It is significant that all his novels featuring American women are a blend of the two genres, of the romance and the adventure story. As the Victorian and Edwardian romance demands that the main characters be heterosexual, Stoker has to make do with the adventuring woman as a companion for his protagonist. This choice proves to be a poor one, with Stoker appearing to subconsciously resent the intrusion of the female into the traditionally masculine realm every bit as much as the characters themselves. That it is this blending of genres to blame for Stoker’s masculinised women can be proven by a comparison with his other texts. In the pure romance, such as *Miss Betty*, there are few adventures to be had. As such, the female characters can stay in the traditionally feminine roles carved out for them by society. The American woman, on the other hand, has no choice but to intrude. The mysteries and adventures around which the

¹⁵ Craft, ‘Kiss Me,’ 115.

¹⁶ *Worm* 100, cited in Craft, ‘Kiss Me,’ 116.

novels revolve demand that she tries to fill the gaps in Stoker's boys' adventure stories – even as her gender destines her to fail.

Although ostensibly praising the independence of American girls, Stoker spends much of his stories undermining it. Joy, the Kentuckian heiress of *Lady Athlyne*, is introduced spiritedly disputing her father's view on a woman's place. The Colonel's ramblings on what 'women should learn' – namely not to 'go gallivantin' round the world in weather that would make any respectable dog want to lie quiet by the fireside' – is quietly supported by the narrative voice, which remarks from time to time how 'travel is, as a rule, men's work' and that the ladies were 'naturally [...] greatly in the minority' (*Athlyne* 6). This comparison of women to a domesticated animal, one that is owned to do man's bidding, as well as the emphasis on 'respectability,' is one that resonates throughout the text. Indeed, although in the opening pages Joy displays the independence and spirit superficially exhibited by all of Stoker's American women, such claims are soon discarded. In the space of just a few short chapters she is referring to her mysterious lover as 'Him,' capitalised and deity-like, and preparing to 'accept [...] the position of a true wife' in learning that 'the man's will was law' (*Athlyne* 142). Joy's first sign of real independence is actually just the decision of which man to back in the forthcoming duel. For all the descriptions of her 'fixed high-strung look' (*Athlyne* 270) and 'potent force' (271) the choice she faces is whether to transfer her allegiances from her father to her new lover. Decision made, all of this 'flinty fixedness [...] soften[s]' (*Athlyne* 271), her obedience now being for Athlyne alone:

"Speak on, daughter! Finish what you were saying." [...]

"I cannot, father. My... Mr. – Lord Athlyne desires that I should be silent."
(*Athlyne* 303)

Rather than gaining adult status through marriage she is relegated back to that of a child. Lord Athlyne assumes the role previously occupied by her father, while Joy herself 'dance[s] around the room gaily,' 'clapping her hands like a happy child' (*Athlyne* 311).

Senf has argued that Stoker includes numerous examples of the New Woman in *Lady Athlyne*, Joy amongst them. She sees the heiress as 'definitively an example of a New Woman,' 'frequently present[ed...] as the equal of the man she loves.'¹⁷ But while it is true that Joy is portrayed as a capable horsewoman and a passable motorist, Senf's two

¹⁷ Carol A. Senf, 'Rethinking the New Woman in Stoker's Fiction: Looking at *Lady Athlyne*,' *Journal of 'Dracula' Studies*, 9 (2007), 1-8, at 3.

key examples, she still ultimately needs rescuing from both. Although the stage is set repeatedly for Joy to stand as an equal, she always falls at the last moment: she needs Athlyne to stop the runaway horse for her, crashes the motorcar in the fog. Like Marjory and Riddy, Joy is just capable enough to be a novel and captivating love interest. Anything more, and the dashing Lord Athlyne would become redundant – his primary traits of masculinity and desirability being undermined.

Judy, Joy's maiden aunt and another candidate for Senf's New Womanhood, falls equally short. Although a single woman of 'only forty' (*Athlyne* 10), she appears to have no income of her own, being fully dependent on her brother-in-law, Colonel Ogilvie. Having lost a lover to some undisclosed and terrible fate in her youth, she has never married – a plight she bemoans to almost comic extent throughout:

Only forty, indeed! My dear child when that unhappy period comes a single lady is put up on the shelf – out of reach of all masculine humanity. [...] What is forty? Not old for a wife! Young for a widow! Death for a maid! (*Athlyne* 10-11)

These three options are the only available feminine categories: one is either married, widowed, or a 'maid' – an unmarriageable and pitied figure.

Despite displaying a quick wit and an affection for Joy strangely lacking in her invalid mother, Judy's position in the family is constantly undermined by the unnaturalness of her situation. Her 'old maid's instinct' (*Athlyne* 76) warps her judgement, and her inability to ever be 'actuated by the overwhelming impulses of mother-hood' (72) seemingly negates her love for her niece. While surrogate father figures are not unusual in Stoker's works, surrogate mothers would seem to be an impossibility. Whereas Nathaniel de Salis can offer paternal advice and support to his old friend's grandnephew Adam in *The Lair of the White Worm* and *The Lady of the Shroud's* Colin MacKelpie can guide his godson Rupert with a fatherly hand, motherhood is figured as a biological tie that cannot be recreated. Judy's childlessness fixes her position from the very start: having not borne children of her own, she can never be more than a peripheral figure. As such, once Joy is betrothed and her aunt becomes redundant once more, she is quietly married off to the first single stranger they meet – an elderly Scottish sheriff that they have known for a matter of hours. This coupling is such an afterthought that it is to be completed immediately after Joy and Athlyne's wedding, in the same church. Far from an anthem of the New Woman, the closing lines of *Lady Athlyne* celebrate the new-found subservience of the novel's women, tamed through marriage, as the former 'merry

spinster' Judy is reminded that she must 'sit down and try to get accustomed to silence so as to be ready to keep your Sheriff out of an asylum' (*Athlyne* 33).

Stoker's accounts of female independence in 'A Glimpse of America' are all overwritten by comments on the 'protective spirit' and 'chivalry' ('Glimpse' 19) exhibited by American men: women are in fact only independent when helped to be so. They avoid 'molestation or affront' and may, for the most part, walk alone safely, as any attack on their person 'would be promptly resented by the first man to come along' ('Glimpse' 19). As such, beneath any pride in the so-called native 'spirit of independence' ('Glimpse' 14) of Americans exists a sense that such freedom is unnatural – even in the minds of the women themselves. When Marjory describes the pioneering ancestors from whom her unbreakable spirit arises, it is specifically through the male line that she sees it passed: 'I come from a race of men who held their lives in their hands from the cradle to the grave. My father, and my grandfather, and my great grandfather were pioneers in Illinois, in Kentucky, in the Rockies and California' (*Mystery* 176). And while the male line seems to thrive under these conditions, the 'woman's heart' must be 'tame[d ...] to the solitude of life' (*Mystery* 140) on the frontier, the self-reliance and independence being recast as loneliness. An apparently innate desire in women 'to care for some one or something, [even] if it is only a cat or a dog' (*Mystery* 140) is neglected by independent life – more specifically, the desire to care for a man, expressed by Marjory in her longing for a brother. This maternal need is depicted as so natural to the female mind that it is expressed without implication or context, arising from a distinctly unrelated discussion. No amount of social or political change can alter what is cast as a biological impulse: Stoker's women, like so many women of nineteenth-century fiction, are defined primarily by their gender, no matter where they are from or how they are raised. Their primary purpose in life, as W. E. Greg argued, was in 'completing, sweetening, and embellishing the existence of others' as wives and mothers.¹⁸ And as Marjory's unconventionality is only appealing to her admirer when she is chaste – a bicycle-riding woman who expresses the occasional opinion being the upper limit to Stoker's female liberation fantasies – her premarital desire to care for a man must be expressed not through the longing for a husband or a son, but for a brother.

¹⁸ W. R. Greg, *Why Are Women Redundant?* (London: N Trübner, 1862), 5, cited in Mary Poovey, *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2009), 1.

Curiously, then, when she does gain someone to take care of in the form of a husband, Marjory rejects the traditional role, preferring to remain alone in her own home instead of return to Archie's with him. This decision impacts not just upon her suitability as a wife, but upon her claim to femininity. Mrs Jack remarks somewhat snidely that she 'wonder[ed] if you were a girl at all, when I see you let your husband go away from you day after day and you not holdin' him back, or goin' off with him' (*Mystery* 314), Marjory's failure to be intimate with her husband betraying her gender. In failing to embody the typified characteristics expected of a woman, she destabilises her position as one. Despite the aforementioned advances in American women's liberation that Stoker makes so much of, Mrs Jack holds steadfastly traditional views on the subject, informing Marjory firmly that 'a woman only learns true happiness when she gives up all her own wishes, and thinks only for her husband' (*Mystery* 314-15). Marriage, then, is figured not as a joining of two halves but the absorption of one by the other. For Marjory, this clash of opinions results in crisis, the external voice dictating that 'when a woman takes a husband she gives up herself' and the internal one reminding her that her 'bringing up [...] has not made [her] need [one]' (*Mystery* 313). While certainly an individual crisis, in a sense this can also be seen as a collision of Marjory's assigned gender and national roles: as a woman, she is expected to submit to her husband, but as an American she is expected to bow to no one.

This failure to conform to gender standards makes Marjory a dangerous figure. She is described as 'reckless' and 'peculiar' as much as 'independent' and 'plucky' (*Mystery* 155), masculine conversations on the subject revolving primarily around how to contain her. Whether Archie's inner monologues about how to obtain her hand in marriage or Sam Adams' remarks that 'when she is taken rightly you can lead her with a thread; but you can't drag her with gun-ropes' (*Mystery* 156), they are all dialogues of control. Her continued resistance to this control – evading the Secret Service agents and rebuffing Archie's sexual advances – translate into a distrust that permeates the novel until her kidnap, when she is redefined as an appropriately helpless victim. When Archie meets Marjory unexpectedly in the cave, she keeps her gun pointed at him significantly longer than necessary; long enough for him to note that 'it seemed strange that she did not lower the revolver on seeing who it was' (*Mystery* 253). More specifically, this 'ominous ring of steel' directed by her 'inflexible [...] hand and eyes' prevents Archie from embracing her as he wishes. Despite his declarations of love for her, Marjory's unpredictability makes her a potential threat both to Archie and to their mission. This leads to a number

of comparisons across the novel to literary and historic women whose independence and curiosity have disastrous effects, either for themselves or others: she is Eve at the 'Tree of Knowledge,' the inquisitive wife at 'Bluebeard's Chamber,' Joan of Arc, tempted by the 'unknown and forbidden' (*Mystery* 195).

In marrying Marjory, Archie hopes to dispel this untrustworthiness and make her the kind of wife that Mrs Jack describes. Despite her complaints about being driven from the States by the harassment of male suitors, the indignity of having 'seedy looking scallywags ogle you' and the embarrassment of knowing that 'the girl, or in any rate her personality, counts for so little, but her money, or her notoriety, or celebrity or whatever it is, counts for so much' (*Mystery* 166), Archie's initial proposal is every bit as superficial. Initially believing her to be 'only [a] companion to a wealthy woman,' he feels he would be 'justified' (*Mystery* 106) in asking Marjory to be his wife after just a few days – money (or lack thereof) playing an equally pivotal role in the equation. As he thinks her to be poor, Archie takes her beauty as an alternative currency, Marjory's indignant claims that 'you don't know anything about me' being rebuffed with 'I know that you are beautiful; the most beautiful and graceful girl I ever saw' (*Mystery* 108). With the revelation that the fortune belongs not to Mrs Jack but to Marjory herself, the American's marital value increases exponentially. Disillusioned of the idea that he can impress the girl simply by being a 'gentleman, of fair stock, and well-to-do' (*Mystery* 106) – and thus a match that even a beautiful girl should be grateful for, if she has no money – Archie plays on her fear of a public scandal. With Marjory relying on his plan to help her evade both the confines of her bodyguards and the threat of the kidnappers, he declares that 'my suggestion is that we be married at once. Then no one can ever say anything in the way of scandal; no matter what we do, or where we go!' (*Mystery* 209). The courtship is conducted more like a battle than a seduction, every move calculated towards the endgame of a marriage whose intention was declared in the opening chapters.

A similar fear of public scandal drives *Lady Athlyne's* wedding. In fact, Joy is not even aware that she has been married at first, a convenient anomaly in the Scottish marriage laws allowing a retrospective claim in order to avoid humiliation. There is a strong undercurrent of coercion beneath this ostensibly happy union. Not only did Joy not intend to get married, but she is unable to dissolve the union without both ruining her own reputation – and thus ensuring that no other offers of marriage will ever arise – and causing her lover's death, the Colonel having sworn to duel with Athlyne if his daughter's reputation is tarnished. The potential outcome of such a scandal is briefly alluded to in 'A

Glimpse of America.’ Stoker’s discussion of the ‘freedom which women enjoy in the States’ closes on a rather sobering note. Despite his initial praises of the ‘high regard’ (‘Glimpse’ 19) in which women are held, Stoker concludes with a rather dramatic leap to the subject of suicide. Although admitting that ‘there is not [...] any means of forming an exact estimate’ of statistics, and thus relegating his point predominantly to personal opinion and conjecture, he argues that ‘it seemed to me that of the suicides reported in the papers the vast majority were women, mostly young, and with, in every case, a sad old story behind’ (‘Glimpse’ 19). Given the taboo around suicide in Victorian England, this is an extremely powerful point. Stoker would seem to imply that, although allowing women freedom from the ‘petty restraints’ (‘Glimpse’ 19) of social conduct that rule in the Old World may be initially impressive, without the strict systems to protect their honour women are vulnerable. These ‘sad old stories’ that lead to so many young women’s untimely demise – presumably abandonment by a lover, or pregnancy out of wedlock – are all preventable. This serves to undermine, in just four lines, the praise of paragraphs.

Despite his claims of admiration, Archie too repeatedly undermines the readers’ sense of Marjory’s independence. He describes her as ‘delicate’ (*Mystery* 321), ‘shy’ (167) and ‘gentle’ (210) in spite of the scenes that depict her swimming in the sea or shooting a gun, building an overlaid image of fragility. Even before her abduction she is compared to a fairy tale character, an ‘up-to-date story of the Princess in disguise’ (*Mystery* 150), recasting her as a damsel in distress long before she actually becomes one. This is a common metaphor, even among Stoker’s ‘independent’ female characters: Riddy may only marry her suitor ‘when the earth is silver and the sky rains gold’ (‘Gold’ 83), while Joy encounters her ‘Fairy Prince,’ ‘galloping about like a knight-errant on a big black horse rescuing distressed ladies’ (*Athlyne* 116). And while this discrepancy could be taken as proof of the unreliability of Archie as a narrator, projecting the image of Marjory that he desires to see rather than that which she actually casts, it could also indicate Stoker’s own narrative incongruence. He has essentially created two characters, Marjory the adventurer and Marjory the love interest, each of whom has a very different part to play in the story. As such, they are often overlaid rather than intermingled, their simultaneous presence discordant and jarring. This provides an explanation for the delayed consummation of the marriage. As for the first half of the book Marjory exists primarily to be Archie’s companion in the adventure rather than his wife, any sexual relationship would muddy the roles. Since their union is not complete until it is consummated, despite

the ceremony in chapter twenty-six they do not actually become man and wife until after the mystery is solved and Marjory can return to a passive role. While recklessness and audacity might be admirable traits in a female acquaintance, especially in the novel guise of an American woman, they are not as desirable in a wife. Thus, just as Norah Joyce, the peasant girl of *The Snake's Pass*, cannot marry a gentleman until she has completed two years of schooling, Marjory must be fully removed from the masculine sphere of adventure before she can become a wife. The boldness that was so quaintly appealing originally must be overwritten, and Marjory the adventurer fully excised, before a suitable marriage can take place.

This struggle to shape a suitable wife is often voiced in Stoker's work through the image of betrothal as a battle, the potential husband fighting not just *for* his wife but *against* her. Upon learning that Joy does not oppose their union, Athlyne 'felt all the triumph of a conqueror' (*Athlyne* 327): 'his song would have been a war-song rather than a love-song [...] The battle was won, and his conqueror's booty was beside him, well content to be in his train' (*Athlyne* 327). Like a defeated warrior, Joy must surrender herself in order to become a wife, adopting a 'sacred duty of obedience' to 'her Master' (*Athlyne* 127). Marjory, too, is depicted in the guise of 'surrender' to her wooer, the 'glorious self-surrender' (*Mystery* 109) of love.

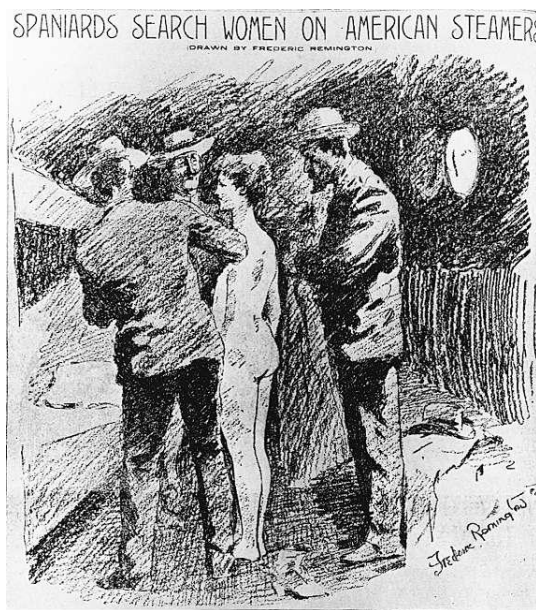
This coupling of the American heiress and the British gentleman was popular both in fiction and in life, bringing in New World money to prop up the crumbling aristocracies of the Old World. Authors from Henry James to Marie Corelli played on this cliché, exploring the challenges to convention brought about by the introduction of the 'pretty, charming, naïve, intelligent and (when set within a European context) shockingly liberated American girl' to British high society.¹⁹ Unlike the complex and spirited heiresses of James *et al*, however, the exaggerated surrender of Stoker's rather two-dimensional American women to their British lovers can be read as an intended comment on national relations as much as on gender ones. The American Joy cannot help but bow to the strength of Athlyne – the embodiment of a united Britain with 'estates in Scotland an' England an' Wales, as well as in Ireland' (*Athlyne* 13) – despite her father's initial

¹⁹ P. J. Keating, *The Haunted Study: A Social History of the English Novel, 1875-1914* (London: Faber & Faber, 2012), 170-73, at 170. James explores such couplings in 'An International Incident' and *The Portrait of a Lady*; Corelli in *The Sorrows of Satan*. Henry James, 'An International Incident,' in *The Complete Tales of Henry James, Vol. IV, 1876-1882* (1879; London: Rupert Hart Davies, 1962); Henry James, *The Portrait of a Lady* (1880; London: HarperCollins, 2012); Marie Corelli, *The Sorrows of Satan* (London: Methuen, 1895).

disapproval. Similarly, if Marjory is to be seen as a representative not just of women but of America, then the changes needed in order for a successful ‘marriage’ between Britain and the United States to take place can be projected on to an international scale. The independence and unpredictability that cannot be fully controlled by Britain poses a threat to relations between the two countries. This is especially portentous given the setting of the novel amid the Spanish-American War of 1898, a watershed moment for the United States – and for the rest of the world.

Figure 1.

New York Journal (1898), by Fredric Remington



Spaniards Search Women on American Steamers

Figure 2.

The New York Journal (1898)



The Cuban Mother

The Spanish-American War of 1898 – the result of US intervention in the Cuban War of Independence – was a deciding factor in the United States’ emergence as a global power. It recast a previously insular nation as a military powerhouse willing to intervene in foreign affairs – and eager to expand. There had been rebellion against Spanish rule in Cuba for many years, a cause that the American people were largely sympathetic towards thanks to the anti-Spanish propaganda disseminated by journalists such as Joseph Pulitzer and William Hearst.²⁰ These emerging proponents of ‘yellow journalism,’ a new and sensationalist style of reporting that cared little for facts or reputable sources, made as

²⁰ See W. Joseph Campbell, *Yellow Journalism: Puncturing the Myths, Defining the Legacies* (Santa Barbara: Greenwood, 2001).

much of a discursive effort in their newspapers as in a novel. Their stories were similarly fictionalised, printing lurid accounts of male Spanish officials strip-searching female American tourists (Figure 1) and sketches of starving Cuban mothers and children (Figure 2). Indeed, the polarised depictions that saw Spain characterised as a bestial, ape-like monster terrorising Cuba, usually depicted as a white woman (Figure 3), could easily have stepped from the pages of a Stoker novel. Although the actual influence of such papers on the decision to go to war is debateable – President William McKinley allegedly declining to read such publications – Hearst was eager to take credit. Within a week of the United States’ declaration of war, the *New York Journal*’s front-page headline read ‘How do you like the *Journal*’s war.’



Figure 3.

Puck, 39/1004 (1896), by C. Jay Taylor

The Cuban Melodrama

The Noble Hero (to the Heavy Villain) – Stand back, there, gol darn ye! – If you force this thing to a fifth act, remember that’s where I git in my work!

The more popularly accredited catalyst for war was the sinking of the *Maine*, an American warship patrolling Cuban waters in preparation for a possible evacuation of US citizens. On the evening of 15 February 1898, while stationed in Havana harbour, a series of massive explosions decimated the ship, sending it to the bottom of the harbour and killing 261 of its 355-man crew. Although the Spanish never admitted responsibility (and later investigations have pointed to an accidental explosion caused by a fire reaching the powder bunker) America was outraged. With rallying cries of ‘remember the *Maine*, to hell with Spain’ echoing around the nation, President McKinley had no choice but to declare the war he had fought so hard to avoid.²¹ Although the main issue at stake was

²¹ See Robert B. Edgerton, ‘Remember the *Maine*, to Hell with Spain’ – *America’s 1898 Adventure in Imperialism* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 2005).

Cuba – not just because of inhumane conditions but because American businesses were heavily invested, some \$150 million being tied up in the island’s sugar trade and other ventures – the war was fought in both the Caribbean and the Pacific. US Navy fleets soon arrived in the Spanish-governed Philippines, and within just fourteen weeks the numerically-superior American, Cuban, and Filipino forces obtained the surrender of Santiago de Cuba and Manilla. The resultant Treaty of Paris gave the United States her first real taste of expansion, granting her the Spanish territories of the Philippines, Guam, Puerto Rico, and Cuba.

Marjory has clearly adopted the views espoused by Hearst and Pulitzer. She openly declares her hatred for ‘Spaniards’: ‘nasty, cruel, treacherous wretches! Look at the way they are treating Cuba! Look at the *Maine!*’ (*Mystery* 84). As she continues, however, it becomes clear that this hatred runs far deeper than just the Spanish-American War. Marjory’s speech reveals a history of antagonism between Spain and the United States:

I and mine know how to bear our own troubles, as our ancestors did before us. We do not bend before Spain; no more to-day than when my great ancestors swept the Spaniard from the Western Main [...] As for me, the three hundred years that have passed without war, are as a dream; I look on Spain and the Spaniard with the eyes, and feel with the heart, of my great uncle Francis Drake. (*Mystery* 272)

This is just one example of a predominant theme in the novel: the persistence of history in the present.²² Neither nations nor individuals are exempt from this pattern, which reappears over and over again. Don Bernardino, the Spanish ‘Dago Lord’ (*Mystery* 383) who appears in Scotland, is said to have retained the instincts of his ancestors, ‘the rulers and oppressors of the land, the leaders of the Inquisition’ (271). His entire life is ruled by a conversation that occurred centuries before his birth, an unquestionable mission that has occupied generation after generation of men. Equally, Marjory, who has personally funded a warship in the hope of defeating Spain, is revealed to be descended from Sir Francis Drake, the famous sea captain who fought against the Spanish Armada of 1588. There is a sense, as in much of Stoker’s work, that individual agency counts for very little in the face of pre-existent roles. Characters behave the way they do because of the roles that they were born into – as Americans or as Spaniards, or as men or women. As such, Marjory and Don Bernardino have no option but to hate one another, as their ancestors

²² Smith discusses the persistence of history in detail. Andrew Smith, ‘Bram Stoker’s *The Mystery of the Sea*: Ireland and the Spanish-Cuban-American War,’ *Irish Studies Review*, 6/2 (1998), 131-38, at 133.

would have hated one another before them, despite the insubstantiality of their differences. This insubstantiality is further exposed through the revelation that Don Bernardino's ancestor, Bernardino de Escoban, 'had the battleship *San Cristobal* built at his own cost for the King's service in the war against England' (*Mystery* 340) – a parallel to Marjory, 'the girl who gave the battleship to the American Government' (149) that the characters themselves do not seem to realise. Both occupy the somewhat hollow role of the wealthy patriot in a time of war, a stock position that predates the distinctions of race and gender. Whether during the sixteenth or nineteenth century, this role is fixed. When Don Bernardino compares Marjory to Joan of Arc or tells her that she is a 'new patriot who restores in the west our glorious memories of the Maid of Saragossa' (*Mystery* 273) he acknowledges not the individual valour or generosity of her actions, but the inescapable nature of the role within which she is trapped.

This racial conflict is traced back by Stoker to the undeclared Anglo-Spanish War of 1585-1604, an event that is referenced frequently throughout the novel.²³ And although in this new war Britain is said to be a neutral power, the two nations having been 'at peace ever since that unhappy time of the Invincible Armada' (*Mystery* 342), the constant resurfacing of past antagonism would seem to challenge this impartiality. When Don Bernardino reminds Archie that 'at no time has there been war between England and the Pope, even when his priests were proscribed and hunted, and imprisoned when captured' (*Mystery* 342) he seems to make a greater case for going to war than preventing it. Archie's angry words to Don Bernardino reveal where the real conflict lies, the brief war between Spain and America appearing as an afterthought to a centuries-old feud: 'This is an affair of two nations, or rather of three: The Papacy, the Spaniard, the Briton. Nay, it touches another also, for the lady who shares the secret with me represents the country with which your nation is at war!' (*Mystery* 336-37).

This antagonism was based largely in religion: the staunchly Catholic Spain against Protestant England – and later America. From the days of the Armada, sent to depose the 'English Queene [and] her hereticall surroundings' (*Mystery* 118), to the war against a largely Protestant America, divisions in faith play a prominent role. Critics such as Linderman have tried to make the case that this conflict between Catholics and Protestants was reminiscent of another struggle – one close to Stoker's heart. He argues

²³ See Paul E. J. Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars: War, Government, and Society in Tudor England, 1544-1604* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 121-53.

that Anglo-Irish relations were often superimposed upon the Spanish-American conflict, particularly by American Catholic publications who, 'unable to support either "brigands" or a revolt advertised by Protestants as anti-Catholic, found a quite different analogy':

Cuba was suffering Spanish tyranny as Ireland endured English tyranny. Its persuasiveness lay in the suggestion that the Cubans, like the Irish, were oppressed because of their religion, the faithful persecuted for their beliefs. Its weakness lay in the necessity to overlook the Catholicism of the Spaniards.²⁴

Although this would be sufficient justification for Stoker's changing attitude towards America, the flaws in the analogy seem too great: the Catholicism of both the Spanish oppressors and the Cuban oppressed; Stoker's own Protestant background and professed belief in the benevolence of the British Empire. It would seem more likely, then, that America became demonised in Stoker's eyes not through her intervention in a quasi-metaphorical oppression but through her increasingly aggressive challenge to the global power balance. Now grown to full stature, Britain's formerly beloved child had become an oedipal threat. The Spanish-American War was thus the arena through which America made her global entrance, Spain's defeat representing a transfer of power from an old, crumbling empire to a new and unpredictable one. And while the difference in religion may have been an apt tool for propaganda, it can hardly be attributed as a deciding factor in war. America was, after all, a nation of plural religions, founded on the premise of freedom of worship.

Spain and America were portrayed as 'natural' antagonists not just because of religious differences, but because of racial ones. Although European, Spaniards were portrayed as a separate – and somewhat inferior – race. The text is littered with racial epithets and stereotypes that had become the norm in America during the early part of the war: they are 'swarthy' (*Mystery* 328), 'Copperheads' (153), 'dago[s]' (383) – statements that even when uttered by Marjory are admitted to be 'racial hatred' (132). As such, the war of 1898 is not a war between the Spanish and the Americans, but between the 'Latin' and the 'Anglo-Saxon' – a continuation of the 'racial mission' (*Mystery* 336) of three hundred years ago. America is simply a 'new branch of the ancient foe of Spain' (*Mystery* 336), bound to the conflict not by nationality but by race. As such, when Marjory and Don Bernardino come face-to-face, they stand not as individuals but as representatives of their racial types:

²⁴ Gerald F. Linderman, *The Mirror of War: American Society and the Spanish-American War* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1974), 130.

It would have been hard to get a better representative of either, of the Latin as well as of the Anglo-Saxon. Don Bernardino, with his high aquiline nose and black eyes of eagle keenness, his proud bearing and the very swarthinness which told of Moorish descent [...] And Marjory! She looked like the spirit of her free race, incarnate. The boldness of her pose; her free bearing; her manifest courage and self belief; the absence of either prudery or self-consciousness; her picturesque, noble beauty, as with set white face and flashing eyes she faced the enemy of her country. (*Mystery* 269)

Curiously, while the Spaniard's racial aspects are all physical – dark skin, black eyes, aquiline nose – the American's are all in attitude. Marjory's 'race' is represented by boldness of pose, free bearing, self-belief, and a lack of prudery, the only physical aspect mentioned being her 'white face.' As a nation of immigrants, America has no 'racial type' to describe. It is thus one's spirit that makes one 'American' – provided that their skin is white. Stoker's only true 'Americans' – or at least, the only perfect representations of type – are Caucasians who have absorbed the ethos of their new nation.

Stoker elaborated on this division of racial types some years later in his 1909 study 'Americans as Actors.' In it he dictates the division of Europe's nationalities into the two distinct 'types' described in *The Mystery of the Sea*. There are the 'Latin' or 'impulsive races,' into which category also fall the French, Italian, Irish, Hungarian, and Polish, and the 'German' or 'phlegmatic races' ('Actors' 87), which include the English, Scotch, German, and Russian. If his view remained constant, Stoker's earlier designation of America as an entrant into the 'Anglo-Saxon' or 'phlegmatic' category in *The Mystery of the Sea* would seem to be based on little more than numbers. Given the noted custom to count as 'Americans' all those born on United States soil, all foreign elements would be quickly absorbed into the 'existing race' ('Actors' 87). As it seems safe to assume that the children of immigrant parents, although technically 'American,' would be strongly influenced by their ancestral culture, the national spirit will be continuously altered by migration patterns.

The 1900 Census that Stoker references (Figure 4) lists the 'foreign born' population of the United States as consisting of two and a half million of the 'impulsive races' and four million of the 'phlegmatic races' ('Actors' 87). Based on numbers alone, it would thus stand to reason that any variation in national character caused by said foreign elements would lean towards the phlegmatic rather than the emotional, a trend that then passes through into subsequent generations of American-born citizens. The 'spirit of [the] race' that Marjory is said to embody is therefore not a fixed or defining character, as one might expect in an older European nation, but a fluid and constantly fluctuating concept

that changes with each new wave of migration. The ‘race’ itself is thus not an organic but a synthetic one, formed in a condensed period by the amalgamation of many different peoples into a transplanted land. This stands in stark contrast to the naturalisation process in Europe. *The Mystery of the Sea’s* Don Bernardino is repeatedly referred to as a ‘foreigner’ (*Mystery* 341) despite having anglicised his name to ‘Mr Barnard,’ purchased property in England, and presumably originated from a family that has lived in Britain for generations, Francisco de Escoban’s letter having instructed his ancestor to settle in the region and adopt English as his ‘mother tongue’ (120). In spite of his best efforts to blend in with those around him Don Bernardino must always be identified as other, his ‘swarthy’ skin tone and religious heritage preventing him from ever adhering to England’s own particular national spirit. America, then, has a far more fluid concept of national identity, one that changes in accordance with her immigration patterns – but only up to a point. While she certainly absorbs her migrants into the national spirit at a much rapider pace than the old nations of Europe, this welcome only applies to the ‘right’ sort of migrants: arrivals from England, Germany, and Scotland might be accepted as Americans, their white skin and Christian faith allowing them to embody a version of the national spirit with little effort, but other racial groups are destined to remain outsiders.

Figure 4.

Bram Stoker, ‘Americans as Actors’ (1909).

In the last Census, 1900, the foreign born population was as follows, counting in thousands only:-

- English	843,000
- Scotch	234,000
- Irish	1,619,000
- French	104,000
- Italian	484,000
- Polish	170,000
- Hungarian	145,000
- Russian	424,000
- German	2,669,000

New waves of immigration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries from Latin, Asian, Jewish, and Slavic peoples prompted fears that American values would be contaminated by an influx of obscure cultures and languages. The resultant revival in the nativist movement led the United States government to impose strict immigration

quotas, limiting or even suspending immigration from certain cultures. Chinese immigration, for example, was forbidden by the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, a ban that wasn't officially repealed until 1965.²⁵ Stoker makes grateful reference to this prohibition, remarking favourably upon the 'penalising conditions' of such legislation that has 'largely stopped the incursion of this race' ('Actors' 85). In envisioning these migratory patterns as an 'incursion' Stoker makes a clear distinction between the white and the non-white immigrant: where the former seeks to better themselves and their new land, the latter is more akin to an invader, seeking only to profit from what they can take. While using this legislation to exclude races such as the Chinese from pursuing the American Dream, the United States government actively encouraged immigration from those of Nordic heritage, who were seen to be more suitable for integration into American life.²⁶ This is yet another official stance that Stoker supports, reasoning that the Swedes came as foresters to make 'permanent settlement' ('Actors' 85) whereas the Chinese sought simply to profit and return home.

This preference for white skin influenced the United States' foreign policy as well as its domestic. During the early stages of the Cuban rebellion the press classed the Cubans as 'white' and the Spanish as 'black.'²⁷ Drawings of light-skinned Cuban insurgents fighting for their cause filled the papers, creating familiarity and sympathy in the minds of the public, while the Spanish were depicted as dark and malevolent (Figures 5 and 6). Smith argues that 'fantasies of conflict' governed American attitudes towards the two nations, the war being first 'fought in the mind, constructing the Cubans and Spanish in terms of racial status' as a way of familiarising or othering them.²⁸ Of course, this dichotomy collapsed once American forces actually encountered the Cubans, many of whom were of Haitian descent and thus ultimately African.²⁹ American support for Cuba faded rapidly following this revelation, and before long the press were referring to Cubans as 'mongrels with no capacity for self-government [...] a yellow-legged, knife-sticking, treacherous outfit.'³⁰ In fact, having secured a victory the Americans effectively refused to leave Cuba, citing among their reasons a fear of the construction of a 'Negro

²⁵ See Ross Forman, *China and the Victorian Imagination: Empires Entwined* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

²⁶ See Ricardo Miguez, *American Dreams: Dialogues in U.S. Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars, 2009).

²⁷ See Smith, 'Demonising Americans,' 28.

²⁸ See Smith, 'Spanish-Cuban-American War,' 133.

²⁹ See Linderman, *Mirror of War*, 144-47.

³⁰ William Allen White, Editor of the *Emporia Gazette*, cited in Smith, 'Spanish-Cuban-American War,' 134.

Republic.³¹ Conversely, the Spanish acquired a new reputation for honour and courageousness, with Theodore Roosevelt (then Assistant Secretary of the Navy) declaring that ‘no men of any nationality could have done better.’³² The preoccupation with constructed signifiers that previously served to divide the two nations can now be seen to unite them, racial difference proving to be relational.

Figure 5.

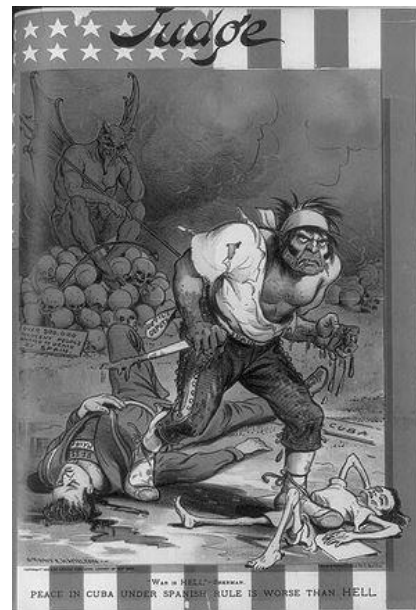
Harper’s Pictorial History of the War with Spain (1899)



Cuban Patriots Rallying Round Their Flag
(The kneeling figure is the son of General Cespedes)

Figure 6.

Judge (30 April 1898), by Grant E. Hamilton.



“War is hell” – Sherman.

Peace in Cuba under Spanish rule is worse than Hell.

It is a similarly racially-charged consideration that ultimately unites Latin and Anglo-Saxon in *The Mystery of the Sea*. While religion and politics can sometimes be overlooked, race cannot – and it is in the form of the black kidnapper who abducts Marjory, a ‘buck nigger from Noo Orleans’ (*Mystery* 379), that a unifying force is finally delivered. The nefarious gang behind this kidnapping are racially and nationally diverse, yet all exist outside of the close system of patriotism that redeems even Don Bernardino. Among them are ‘a half-bred Spaniard,’ ‘a Dutchman,’ ‘two Chicago bums from the Levee,’ and ‘a man from Frisco [...] a cosmopolite for he doesn’t come from nowhere in particular’ (*Mystery* 379) – but even among the ‘worst kind of scoundrels from all over

³¹ See Smith, ‘Spanish-Cuban-American War,’ 136-37.

³² Cited in Smith, ‘Spanish-Cuban-American War,’ 134. Stoker acknowledges this perceived Spanish honourability, referring to ‘the valour and chivalry which had been shown by the nobler of America’s foes’ (*Mystery* 159).

the earth,' the 'black devil [...] negro' (380) is the lowest. Unlike the others, he is nameless. While speculation is made about the identities of the other kidnapers – the leader is thought to be 'Whisky Tommy – which was Tom Mason;' the Dutchman is 'that Max that she named;' the 'man from Frisco' is someone 'they call Sailor Ben;' and 'Feathers is none other than Featherstone' (*Mystery* 379) – the black kidnapper's name is of no consequence, despite his focal role in the finale. Instead, he represents a faceless darkness, a pervasive and primordial evil that exists beneath the civilising criteria of names and titles. He is described using the crude racial stereotypes employed elsewhere by Stoker in his depiction of Oolanga, the 'malignant devil' (*Worm* 36) of *The Lair of the White Worm*: he is 'coal-black,' 'hideous' (*Mystery* 426), with 'grey lips of terrific thickness' (388) and an 'evil smile' (427). Also like Oolanga, he is dehumanised to the point of being described only in bestial or supernatural terms: he is 'wicked,' 'devilish,' a 'demon' who dies like a 'stricken bullock,' a 'beast' to be killed 'with less compunction than [...] a rat or a snake' (*Mystery* 438). This hatred of the 'negro' is portrayed as such a universal phenomenon that even his own co-conspirators dislike him, refusing to allow him to touch any of the parcels loaded on to the ship and complaining about 'that damned nigger' and his failure to take 'his share of work' (*Mystery* 439).

Although not the leader of the gang, the black kidnapper quickly becomes the focus of hatred for both Archie and Don Bernardino, the 'active principle of whatever evil might be' (*Mystery* 402). This shared hatred unites the two in common cause, much like when 'the nations fought side by side in the Peninsula' (*Mystery* 342) a hundred years before. The presence of a more alien enemy in their midst serves to unite Anglo-Saxon and Latin, Protestant and Catholic. Andrew Smith argues that the black kidnapper can be seen as a representative of Cuba, the demonised 'Negro Republic' that so rapidly lost favour with America.³³ Although plausible, it seems more likely that this 'buck nigger from Noo Orleans' represents another, darker, side of America itself – a side tainted by the kind of dangerous and primeval forces that typically characterised Africa in such texts. As with John Buchan's 'Rev. John Laputa,' a black priest in a small Scottish town who is revealed to actually be a voodoo witchdoctor, the savagery of the fictional black man will always surpass his civilising restraints.³⁴ This savagery is one that America has to

³³ Smith, 'Spanish-Cuban-American War,' 136-37.

³⁴ John Buchan, *Prester John* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1910).

some extent embraced – or at least tolerated – the nation’s ethnic diversity garnering comment from Stoker in both ‘A Glimpse of America’ and ‘Americans as Actors.’

The Mystery of the Sea presents two future options for the containment of the United States. For while the civilised aspects of America represented by Marjory can be domesticated through marriage, tamed politically through alliance and concession, the wilder parts must be overcome by violence. The two are equated with each other through an eroticisation of language in the black kidnapper’s killing that is usually reserved for Marjory:

With a bound I was upon him, and I had struck at his heart; struck so truly and so terrible a blow [...] The blood seemed to leap out at me, even as the blow fell. With spasmodic reaction he tumbled forwards [...] Never before did I understand the pleasure of killing a man. Since then, it makes me shudder when I think of how so potent a passion, or so keen a pleasure, can rest latent in the heart of a righteous man. It may have been that between the man and myself was all the antagonism that came from race, and fear, and wrongdoing; but the act of his killing was to me a joy unspeakable. It will rest with me as a wild pleasure till I die. (*Mystery* 438-39)³⁵

This tableau is remarkably similar to Lucy’s staking in *Dracula* – a scene almost universally acknowledged to be sexual in its implications: the brutal piercing, the ‘spasmodic’ writhings, the sense of ‘wrongdoing’ mixed with ‘wild pleasure.’ It is a narrative not just of eroticism but of control, the violent conquering of one party by the other.

This outlet of sexualised violence, the forcible crushing of an enemy, is itself the result of an incomplete alliance. Although America might have bowed to Britain in consenting to marriage – the post-wedding tableau in which Marjory sits on a ‘little stool’ at Archie’s feet so that ‘from our position I had to look down at her, and she had to look up at me’ (*Mystery* 318) perfectly capturing their altered positions – it is strongly implied that Marjory refuses to consummate. Archie expresses anger that his wedding day ‘was not like a wedding day or a honeymoon at all’ (*Mystery* 217), his new wife insisting on returning alone to her own home after their wedding instead of following her husband back to his. That it is the lack of physical intimacy inherent in this arrangement that troubles him is made clear by his emphasis on honeymoons, the traditional period of marital consummation:

³⁵ Smith discusses the two options presented for the containment of America and the erotic language of the death scene briefly in both ‘Demonising Americans,’ 28, and ‘Spanish-Cuban-American War,’ 137, but focuses on Homi Bhabha’s ideas of psycho-sexual anxieties being projected on to the colonised other. Homi K. Bhabha, ‘The Other Question,’ *Screen*, 24/6 (1983), 18-36.

Other husbands instead of parting with their wives were able to remain with them, free to come and go as they pleased, and to love each other unfettered as they would. [...] She was my wife; mine against all the rest of the world. [...] This was not my wedding day in the ordinary sense of the word at all. This was *not* my honeymoon. (*Mystery* 217)

As such, the threat that the black kidnapper will rape Marjory is as much a threat to Archie as it is her.³⁶ In denying him his virgin bride and robbing him of his rightful honeymoon the kidnapper threatens to destabilise not just Marjory's identity but Archie's too, undermining the masculinity that has defined him thus far.

It is this threat to female honour, as well as a shared enemy, that brings Archie and Don Bernardino together. The Spaniard, as he reminds Archie, is a '*caballero*' above all else, a gentleman who places 'a woman's honour [...] before all the treasures of Popes or Kings; before the oath and duty of a de Escoban' (*Mystery* 361) – that is, before religion, politics, and nationality. Gender is thus placed as the principally defining characteristic: a man is a man before he is a savage or a gentleman. This is an argument made by both Don Bernardino and Archie at various places in the narrative and supported throughout by Stoker's narrative voice. Amid the constant references to 'woman's nature' and 'man's anger,' as well as almost comic generalisations about women always writing postscripts to letters and suchlike, Don Bernardino informs Marjory of the overriding importance of her gender: 'All good women, as well as all men, should be loyal to their Flag. But oh *Señora*, before even your nationality comes your sex' (*Mystery* 270). Her attempts to assert her superiority through national identity are rejected, overwritten by her 'inferior' gender. Even when Marjory tells Archie that her outburst at Don Bernardino was 'the American in me,' he responds knowingly that it was rather 'the girl in you': 'The girl that is American, and European, and Asiatic, and African, and Polynesian' (*Mystery* 274). Gender is envisioned as pre-existing those who possess it. What a woman will do, even the most rebellious or intelligent woman, is predetermined by the fact that she is still a woman. Thus Conan Doyle's female characters can all be outwitted by the fact that 'when a woman thinks that her house is on fire, her instinct is at once to rush to the thing which she values most [...] a married woman grabs at her baby – an unmarried one reaches for her jewellery box' – every character transitioning from one allotted role to the other.³⁷ For Stoker this means that the actions of any female character can be accurately

³⁶ Archie describes his kidnapped bride as a 'woman fighting for her life – her honour,' while Marjory herself writes that there have been 'frightful threats to give me to the negro if any trouble.' (*Mystery* 396).

³⁷ Arthur Conan Doyle, 'A Scandal in Bohemia,' *Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* (1891; New York, Harper & Brothers, 1892), 3-28.

predicted, women being obliged to always write postscripts to their letters, forget to dock boats correctly, and make decisions based on intuition rather than rationality.³⁸ As such, even the most rebellious of Stoker's women can never hope to break away from a pattern determined before their own existence. Even the independent Stephen of *The Man*, or *Lady Athlyne*'s spinster Judy, must eventually conform to the inevitability of marriage and domesticity, assigned gender roles surpassing even national or racial ones.

As gendered concerns replace national ones, Marjory's strength is rewritten as vulnerability. Although proficient with a gun, able to break century-old ciphers, and even outwit the Secret Service, with her abduction she is rapidly reduced to a victim awaiting rescue by a gallant Briton. As such, her role is redefined in her capacity both as a woman and as an American. While earlier sections of *The Mystery of the Sea* focus on religious and political differences, the concluding chapters reveal that issues of race and gender overshadow them. The former two, being essentially manmade divides, must always crumble before the latter, which are portrayed as insurmountable differences. As such, an Englishman like Archie has no choice but to join with the Spaniard Don Bernardino – who although 'swarthy' and Catholic is still ultimately a European Christian – against a 'devilish [...] buck nigger' (*Mystery* 379) who threatens a lady's honour.³⁹

Even as Stoker claims the totality of these divides, however, praising the disparity of white and black, male and female, his own words undermine him. The narrative voices of his texts look for absolutes, placing their protagonists on the opposing ends of *Lady Athlyne*'s gender spectrum, in which 'the ideal man is entirely or almost entirely masculine, and the ideal woman is entirely or almost entirely feminine' (*Athlyne* 82). Initially, this reads like a rallying against the *fin-de-siècle* erosion of gender boundaries that Showalter so convincingly portrays in *Sexual Anarchy* – a 'remasculinisation' of fiction akin to Haggard's efforts.⁴⁰ Upon closer study, however, the very existence of these racial and sexual divides can be seen to be called into question. As Butler notes in her polemic *Gender Trouble*, these projections of polarised gender identities, or 'true genders,' are narratives sustained by 'the tacit collective agreement to perform, produce

³⁸ Alongside Stoker's remark that 'Of course there was a postscript – it was a woman's letter!' (*Mystery* 68), he also concludes that Marjory 'like a woman forgot to see that the other end [of the rope] was fixed to the boat, so that when the tide turned she drifted away with the stream' (62).

³⁹ For further discussion of the Spanish as a Caucasian race, see Graham Faiella, *Spain: A Primary Source Cultural Guide* (New York: Rosen, 2004), 35.

⁴⁰ Elaine Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (New York: Viking, 1990). Showalter quotes Karl Miller: 'Men became women. Women became men.' 3. For a discussion of the remasculinisation of fiction in Haggard's work see Nancy Armstrong, 'The Occidental Alice,' *Differences*, 2/2 (1990), 2-39.

and sustain discrete and polar genders as cultural fictions.⁴¹ The complexities of gender identity are masked by a social desire to – in this case literally – write a static dichotomy, the hyper-masculine and the hyper-feminine. Thanks to Stoker’s borrowing of the genre-typical device of cross-dressing that has filled the pages of romances from *Twelfth Night* to *Trilby*, however, even a character as hyper-feminine as Marjory can be universally confused for a man if she dons male clothing.⁴² In a world as superficial as Stoker’s Britain, a world in which to pretend to be married renders you husband and wife, to pass yourself off as a man is to become one (temporarily, at least). For all Archie’s insistence that ‘the ease and poise of her beautiful figure [was] fully shown in the man’s dress’ (*Mystery* 224), the fact that even the Secret Service agents believe her to be a footman places gender as a discursive production alongside religious or political boundaries. As such, the uniting force that brings the Spaniard and the Englishman together becomes more about their shared discourse – a collective cultural dialogue around race and gender – than any concrete similarities or differences.

To employ Smith’s metaphor of Bacon’s bilateral cipher, the two have found that they ‘essentially share the same language,’ the appeal to honour proving a common cause. Rather than implying a ‘mediation between opposites,’ however, the Protestant language of the English cipher being used to express the Catholic intent of the Spanish, it would seem to imply a revelation that the two are not opposites at all.⁴³ It is not so much ‘the same language’ then – after all, Don Bernardino must still die in the end to be fully redeemed – as it is a more similar language than that of another adversary. It is only in the face of a common cause – the hatred of the racial other and the protection of the gendered other – that this similarity can emerge.

If this common enemy is to be seen as a representative not of Cuba, as Smith suggests, but of America itself, then Britain is willing to discard centuries of mistrust of Spain to suppress this emerging threat. The Spanish empire having been brought to its

⁴¹ Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 179. This is not to suggest that Showalter and Butler necessarily exist in opposition to one another. Showalter’s depiction of the perceived erosion of traditional gender roles at the turn of the century and Butler’s assertion that these gender roles are in fact performative can be read in tandem.

⁴² William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night* (1601; London: Penguin, 2005); George du Maurier, *Trilby* (1894; London: Penguin, 2006).

⁴³ Smith, ‘Spanish-Cuban-American War,’ 135-36. Smith argues that ‘the use of Bacon’s cipher by the Spanish means that a Protestant language (the cipher) is used in order to disguise Catholic intent (the money given by the Pope for the subjection of the British). In this sense there is a collaborative process at work between the message and the medium, which can be turned into a positive expression of negotiation and agreement.’

knees by defeat in the Spanish-American War, and thus no longer a threat to the global power balance, this would seem to be a strong possibility. Through the characters of Marjory and the black kidnapper two possibilities for this suppression emerge: America can make concessions to Britain, form a peaceful 'marriage' with its former guardian, or it can be brought to heel by force. The dark side of America is a threat not just to England but to civilised America herself – a threat represented by the 'negro,' whom Stoker long characterised as a 'terror to the statesmen of the Federated States' ('Actors' 85). It is significant that Stoker chooses to represent this threat through a character of African origin, evoking the characteristics of savagery and atavism so often applied to the continent in literature of the time. This dark side of America threatens to pull her citizens back into primitiveness, a state that Stoker seems increasingly wary of as time passes. While in his early works the gun-slinging, adventuring American hero provides welcome escapism, a thrilling look into a world so unlike England's own, the savagery that must inevitably underpin this adventuring becomes increasingly problematic. Stoker constantly toys with this divide, with a savagery that is both repulsive and attractive to the Englishman looking in. And while in white Christian figures such as Chris Dana and Quincey Morris a certain admiration can be read for the rough hyper-masculine spirit of the adventurer, the transference of this atavism to the black American shows that, by the publication of *The Mystery of the Sea*, Stoker was having serious doubts about its legitimacy.

The rebelliousness that frontier America fosters in her citizens manifests in Stoker's men and in his women in markedly different ways – but to similarly dangerous effect. While his male characters display glimpses of savagery and cruelty beneath their civilised veneers, the females frequently defy the roles carved out for them, both by fellow characters and by Stoker himself. With the passing of years, and America's progressive emergence as a global player, what was once deemed a charming quirkiness becomes refigured again and again as a prominent threat – a threat that requires greater sacrifice to contain each time. Whether forcibly crushing her enemies with violence or forging advantageous alliances through marriage, Britain's global supremacy becomes increasingly insecure. Behind each tale lurks the burgeoning inevitability that America's 'race of patriots' will eventually break free of her old guardian's apron strings, and 'swell in unison til the great voice of the nation [...] can ring and echo through the world!' (*Mystery* 139); that, with enough time and power, America's oedipal threat will slay its parent nation once and for all.

Chapter Six

'Patrick's Problem Is Fast Finding Its Solution': Bram Stoker's Ireland⁴⁴

If external threats to the Western world are filtered back through Gothic literature, recast into the mummy's curse of Egypt or the vampiric monsters of the Balkans, then so too are the internal threats. And nowhere is this internal threat – a fear of unrest and attack from within – more prevalent than in the Irish question, a question that has remained unanswered for more than a century. Certainly the dominant Protestant literary scene of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw Ireland less as a 'land of saints and scholars' than a land of savages, providing, as Siobhán Kilfeather notes, 'a Gothic closet or priest-hole for many colonial skeletons of the English imagination.'⁴⁵ And while Stoker's imagination might not be strictly 'English,' his literary Ireland undoubtedly unearths a colonial skeleton or two. *The Snake's Pass* might be Stoker's only full-length novel to be set in Ireland (along with two short stories, 'The Man from Shorrox' and 'A New Departure in Art' [1908]) but echoes of his homeland, and of the fractured identity produced by its influence, can be seen across his entire canon.⁴⁶

Bram Stoker's position was one full of contradictions. Born in Dublin to a middle-class Protestant family, and educated at Trinity College, almost his entire literary life was spent in England.⁴⁷ By the time that he published his second full-length novel, *The Snake's Pass*, Stoker was living in London and working as acting manager of Henry Irving's Lyceum Theatre. Despite having spent the first thirty years of his life in Ireland, by the time Stoker's *magnum opus* was published in 1897, the *Dracula* author was being described as 'a Londoner of nearly twenty years.'⁴⁸ This reticence to categorise Stoker as

⁴⁴ Bram Stoker, 'The Great White Fair in Dublin,' *The World's Work: An Illustrated Magazine of National Efficiency and Social Progress* (May 1907), 570-76, at 571.

⁴⁵ Siobhán Kilfeather, 'Origins of Female Gothic,' *Bullán: An Irish Studies Journal*, 1/2 (1994), 35-45, at 42.

⁴⁶ Bram Stoker, 'A New Departure in Art,' in *Snowbound: The Record of a Theatrical Touring Company* (1908; Essex: Desert Island Books, 2000), 49-61.

⁴⁷ Prior to this relocation, Stoker travelled around rural Ireland working as Inspector of Petty Sessions. This period familiarised him with the landscape and peoples of wider Ireland, something that can be seen reflected in his later fictional works. It also formed the basis of his first work of non-fiction, *The Duties of Clerks of Petty Sessions in Ireland* (Dublin: John Falconer, 1879). For further biographical detail see Belford, *Dracula*; Paul Murray, *From the Shadow of 'Dracula': A Life of Bram Stoker* (London: Random House, 2004).

⁴⁸ 'Mr Bram Stoker: A Chat with the Author of *Dracula*,' *The British Weekly* (1 July 1897) 185, cited in Glover, *Vampires, Mummies, and Liberals*, 26.

an ‘Irishman,’ while simultaneously refusing to accept him as a proper Englishman, underscores his entire literary career. His liminal status, traversing the boundaries of both race and nationality, frequently left Stoker on opposing sides of passionate debates, a representation of both a ruled and a ruling people. The tensions produced by being what Clougherty termed a ‘visible colonial in an imperial city’ – Stoker’s great size and red hair presumably making him reasonably conspicuous – spill over into his literary life, texts littered by shadowy figures and mysterious outsiders.⁴⁹ The archetypal example of this outsider figure is, of course, Count Dracula, a voiceless exile in a bustling Victorian metropolis.

Despite the frequency with which critics have labelled Stoker as an exile, an Irishman stranded across the sea, he seems to have retained a strong connection with his homeland. While the author may have relocated permanently to England, that did not mean that he ceased to engage with the questions plaguing the land of his birth. And while the notable lack of autobiographical material that Stoker left behind has made it notoriously difficult to pinpoint the specifics of his political views, his non-fiction works reveal a deep-seated conservatism in which ‘duty to the [British] state’ (‘Censorship’ 479) takes clear precedent. A self-declared ‘philosophical home ruler’ and an ardent monarchist, he appears to have supported Home Rule for Ireland if brought about by peaceful means, while simultaneously retaining a strong belief in the positive influence of the British Empire.⁵⁰ These beliefs led Stoker to be a staunch supporter of Prime Minister William Gladstone, whose model of Home Rule favoured devolution instead of total separatism. The two even seem to have struck up a mutual admiration of sorts. In a private conversation the Liberal leader informed Stoker how much he had enjoyed reading *The Snake’s Pass* – a novel itself significant in timing, having been serialised in 1889 between the first and second Home Rule bills and published in full in November 1890, the month of Parnell’s anti-Gladstonian manifesto ‘To the People of Ireland.’⁵¹ Stoker records in his *Personal Reminiscences* the value of this compliment, and his pleasure that such a ‘great Englishman’ should have found time to read ‘an Irish novel’ during

⁴⁹ Clougherty, ‘Voiceless Outsiders,’ 138.

⁵⁰ See Hughes’ justification that Stoker’s political stance was ‘the expression not of a cultural separatism, but of a paternalism whose application was intimately connected to a belief in the maintenance of the Union, with Ireland as one of the “natural” borders of the United Kingdom.’ William Hughes, “‘For Ireland’s Good’: The Reconstruction of Rural Ireland in Bram Stoker’s *The Snake’s Pass*,” *Irish Studies Review*, 3/12 (1995), 17-21, at 17. For further discussion of Stoker’s political leanings see Glover, ‘Crisis of the Liberal Subject,’ 984-87.

⁵¹ See David George Boyce and Alan O’Day, *Ireland in Transition, 1867-1921* (London: Routledge, 2004).

‘one of the greatest troubles and trials of his whole political life’ – the ‘shatter[ing]’ of his ‘hopes [...] for the happy settlement of centuries-old Irish troubles.’⁵²

This ‘greatest trouble’ – the question of Home Rule – had been a contentious issue in Ireland since the Acts of Union in 1800, which abolished the Parliament of Ireland and endowed the Parliament of the United Kingdom in London with full control over all Irish affairs. With this one act of parliament, Ireland ceased to be an independent entity (albeit an occupied one) and took on the contradictory position of a domestic colony. This liminal space contained two pronounced polarities: those who advocated the total submission of Ireland to English sovereignty on the one hand, and those that sought independence for Ireland through any violent means necessary on the other. One result of this discord was a new flowering of Irish literary talent in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with writers both at home and abroad expressing a renewed interest in the Gaelic heritage of Ireland. Far from Hyde’s explorations of the Irish language or the political engagements of Yeats, Stoker’s contribution to the Irish Literary Revival is unignorablely negligible. He does not engage directly with contemporary politics or provide any in-depth explorations of cultural history. In fact, on the surface he would appear to write the same story over and over again: the peaceful submission of a subject people to the powerful benevolence of the English crown. This idealised Anglocentrism presents an oversimplified solution to a complex problem – a problem that Stoker, given his education, background, and connections, would presumably have understood in its full complexity. As such, these simplified representations must be read as a deliberate refusal to engage with the political strife engulfing Ireland. Rather than an arena in which to explore and process such complexities, Stoker’s literary Ireland is an attempt to retreat into the safety of the fantasy world; a world in which characters understand and accept the places his fiction allots them, and in which endings are happy and final. Even in a fantasy world, however, Ireland rejects this confinement. Beneath the surface Stoker’s novels cannot help but to obsess over issues that are inseparable from the Irish question: the location of identity; imperial Britain’s place in the world; the role of the outsider.

Despite Stoker’s noted reluctance to engage directly with Irish politics in his fiction, the occasional contemptuous reference would appear to reveal a marked aversion to political extremism of all kinds. In his 1907 essay ‘The Great White Fair in Dublin’ Stoker seems to classify ‘Fenianism and landlordism’ (‘Fair’ 570) as equally distasteful

⁵² Bram Stoker, *Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving* (London: William Heinemann, 1907), 79, 261-62.

– not for the particularities of their political leanings, but because he saw both as emblems of an outdated Ireland. This was an idea that he returned to a year later in *Lady Athlyne*, in which the hero's elderly Irish nurse comments snidely upon the increasing redundancy of Fenianism in a modernised Ireland: 'Ireland's changin' fast [...] I'm thinkin' that the Shinn-Fayn'll have to wake up a bit if that's the way things is going to go' (*Athlyne* 326).

Elsewhere, this politicisation has a less tangible presence, existing in the shadows of Stoker's literary world – unseen and often unremarked upon, but very much present. In *The Snake's Pass* Arthur is warned 'against going out too much alone at night' lest he should encounter 'the moonlighters who now and again raided the district' (*Snake* 162). These so-called 'moonlighters' were bands of Irish nationalists, supporters of the Irish National Land League, who committed acts of agrarian violence under cover of darkness during the 1880s and 1890s. In Stoker's writing, the danger posed by these 'moonlighters' is three-fold. Arthur is said to be at risk not only of being attacked as a visible foreigner (and specifically an English foreigner) but also at the 'more obnoxious' risk of being mistaken for 'one of those very ruffians' (*Snake* 162) by the police – a mistake that would have severe consequences. The third potential hazard is made very clear by the short story 'The Man from Shorrox.' The narrator stays at an inn formally run by one 'Misther Mickey Byrne,' a local publican who met his grisly end

wan dark night whin the bhoys mistuk him for another gindeman [...] Mickey was comin' back from the Curragh Races wid his skin that tight wid the full of the whiskey inside of him that he couldn't open his eyes to see what was goin' on, or his mouth to set the bhoys right afther he had got the first tap on the head wid wan of the blackthorns what they done such jobs wid. ('Shorrox' 657)

These 'blackthorns,' hard wooden walking sticks or clubs, were increasingly associated with the unrest in late nineteenth-century Ireland. Events such as the 1887 Mitchelstown Massacre brought local 'blackthorn brigades' to international attention, chiefly to be seen as agitators and criminals, albeit sometimes with a legitimate cause.⁵³ Interestingly for Stoker, these 'blackthorns' do not seem to be explicitly associated with either good or evil – simply chaos. While the community grieves for the loss of Mickey Byrne at the hands of these blackthorns, when agitated by the arrival of the English businessman it is said that there was not an Irishman in the inn who would not have liked to 'have shtud opposite the Manchesther man wid a bit iv a blackthorn in his hand' ('Shorrox' 660). Here Stoker demonstrates a keen appreciation of the complexities inherent in such a

⁵³ See L. P. Curtis, *Coercion and Conciliation in Ireland 1880-1892* (1963; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 197-99.

situation – that even acts intended to help a nation may hurt it. Thus despite the stated aims of the Land League (namely ‘to bring about a reduction of rack-rents’ and to ‘facilitate the obtaining of the ownership of the soil by the occupiers’) ostensibly benefitting the community, the actions taken to achieve them unintentionally damage it.⁵⁴ This damage is something that the local peasants feel inherently, as in their grieving for Mickey, but it is not something that they endeavour to stop. Even as they mourn the damage inflicted upon one man by the blackthorns, they contemplate inflicting it upon another themselves – not for soil or liberty, but out of irritation. Here, despite his previous display of insight into a complex situation, Stoker resorts back to the perpetuation of the perennial image of the savage native: unconsciously and unthinkingly violent.

The words ‘soil,’ ‘earth,’ and ‘land’ were particularly pertinent to the Irish Nationalist movement – a movement that insisted on Irish land for Irish people. As journalist and revolutionary James Fintan Lalor declared in *The Irish Felon*:

Ireland her own—Ireland her own, and all therein, from the sod to the sky.
The soil of Ireland for the people of Ireland, to have and hold from God alone
who gave it—to have and hold to them and their heirs forever, without suit or
service, faith or fealty, rent or render, to any power under heaven.⁵⁵

This distinction between ‘soil’ and ‘land’ is here key. As Seamus Deane notes in his discussion of the ontological hierarchy of the near-synonyms, ‘the nation is the soil; the state is the land.’⁵⁶ ‘Land’ is thus a politicised term; it can be conquered and re-conquered, its boundaries changed and titles altered. Soil, on the other hand, is the very earth itself, given to the native peoples by God himself. Land may be subject to sovereign laws, but the soil that pre-dates it is not. It is thus the ‘land’ that must be legally reclaimed for the Irish people, the ‘soil’ has always been theirs in the eyes of God. Lalor’s ‘The Faith of a Felon,’ published that same year in 1848, articulated the narrative history of the two-part conquest of Ireland by the English: the ‘conquest of our liberties’ and ‘the conquest of our lands’ – lands, of course, here denoting the politicised state.⁵⁷ These two elements – the people and the land – are seen as separate entities, separate battles to be fought, yet

⁵⁴ See R. Barry O’Brien, *The Life of Charles Stewart Parnell 1846-1891* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1898), 175-97.

⁵⁵ James Fintan Lalor, ‘The Rights of Ireland,’ *The Irish Felon* (24 June 1848). Reprinted in James Fintan Lalor, *The Rights of Ireland and The Faith of a Felon* (New York: Donnelly Press, 1900), 6-11, at 8. For further consideration of these passages see Bruce Stewart, ‘Bram Stoker’s *Dracula*: Possessed by the Spirit of the Nation?’ *Irish University Review*, 29/2 (1999), 238-55, at 241.

⁵⁶ Seamus Deane, ‘National Character and the Character of Nations,’ in *Strange Country: Modernity and Nationhood in Irish Writing Since 1790*, Seamus Deane, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 49-99, at 76.

⁵⁷ James Fintan Lalor, ‘The Faith of a Felon,’ *The Irish Felon* (8 July 1848). Reprinted in Lalor, *The Rights of Ireland*, 11-16, at 11.

intrinsically connected. Although ‘conquered’ separately by the English invader – the process of oppressing a people using the controlling power of knowledge continuing long after the initial seizure of lands and rights – their return must be unified in order for any real victory to take place. As Lalor concluded, ‘the re-conquest of our liberties would be incomplete and worthless without the re-conquest of our lands.’⁵⁸

In nineteenth-century Ireland these two elements, the conquest of land and the conquest of people, had a particularly strongly connection. Legal rulings rendered Irish land the very tool used to oppress the Irish people.⁵⁹ Thanks to the mass confiscation of land from Irish Catholics during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, landowners in the late nineteenth century were predominantly members of the ascendancy class – Protestant Anglo-Irish, like Stoker.⁶⁰ Many did not live in Ireland themselves, instead employing an agent to manage their estates and rent out the land in portions to Irish tenant farmers. This system, known as ‘absenteeism,’ both left the tenant farmers open to exploitation from unscrupulous agents and ensured that any wealth generated by Irish land was exported overseas. This was especially detrimental to the Irish people during the Great Famine (*an Gorta Mór*) of 1845-52, when grain was transported to the docks under British military guard and shipped to England while Irishmen starved in their thousands.⁶¹

Questions of land ownership preoccupy Stoker throughout his fiction, crossing genre, time, and place. Characters frequently seek to purchase land (‘When the Sky Rains Gold,’ *Dracula*, *The Snake’s Pass*, and *The Mystery of the Sea*) or reclaim land which they feel rightly belongs to them (*The Lady of the Shroud*, ‘Crooken Sands,’ and *The Man*).⁶² The question of the ‘ownership’ of native Irish soil is addressed directly through the character of ‘Black Murdock’ in *The Snake’s Pass* – a vicious and miserly creature who lends money to men desperate enough to place their land as security. Stoker’s decision to render this money-lender an Irishman, instead of following the traditional characterisation of the Jewish usurer, is telling. Indeed, he proves himself not to be averse to such stereotypes elsewhere in his canon, characterising the money-lender of *The Man* as one ‘Mr

⁵⁸ Lalor, ‘The Faith of a Felon,’ 11.

⁵⁹ See Mike Cronin and Liam O’Callaghan, *A History of Ireland* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

⁶⁰ The ban on Catholics inheriting land wasn’t lifted until the Government of Ireland Act 1920, which repealed ‘any existing enactment by which any penalty, disadvantage, or disability is imposed on account of religious belief or on a member of any religious order.’ See Josef L. Altholz, *Selected Documents in Irish History* (London: Routledge, 2015), 117.

⁶¹ See Christine Kinealy, *The Great Irish Famine: Impact, Ideology and Rebellion* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 90-116.

⁶² Bram Stoker, ‘Crooken Sands,’ *Holly Leaves the Christmas Number of the Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* (1 December 1894), 28-32.

Cavendish, whose real name was Shadrach' (*Man* 226), and naming the deceitful salesmen of 'Crooken Sands' (1894) 'Emmanuel Moses Marks' and 'Joshua Sheeny Cohen Benjamin' ('Crooken' 32). Stoker even gives a Jewish name to the solicitor who sells English land to the Count in his original notes for *Dracula*, attributing the vampire's early encroachments to one 'Abraham Aaronson.'⁶³ As such, this decision to depict the oppressive force of *The Snake's Pass* as a native Irishman must be read as a deliberate comment. One potential effect of this Irishisation, as Hughes has noted, is to prevent a negative reading of Arthur's intervention by an Irish nationalist audience.⁶⁴ The colonial forces represented by the Englishman, who is in effect the new landlord for the district, must thus be read as liberating rather than oppressive, freeing the native population from the binds imposed upon them by one of their own countrymen. In short, the Englishman's role in Stoker's fiction is to rescue Ireland from herself.

Despite his desired role of liberator, Arthur's inability to understand his newly-adopted land is inescapable. His casting of the 'gombeen man' as just a regular usurer prompts a wise old Irishman to reply indignantly: 'Ushurer? aye that's it; but a ushurer lives in the city an' has laws to hould him in. But the gombeen has nayther law nor the fear iv law' (*Snake* 28). While the usurers of Arthur's experience are professionals, contained by the strict confines of the English legal system, the 'gombeen man' is the unique product of rural nineteenth-century Ireland. He is unfettered by human laws. In fact, he uses land laws as a tool to oppress his fellow countrymen, the embodiment of an inequality that could not exist within England.⁶⁵ As a native of an industrialised land such as England, Arthur cannot appreciate the importance placed upon soil by an agrarian nation such as Ireland. As a consequence of his foreign value system, the Englishman fails to realise the true significance of Joyce's forced land exchange. The true tragedy for the farmer is that his fertile land has been swapped for a barren expanse of bog, yet Arthur's chief concern is the loss of their family home. For Stoker, then, the heroic Englishman occupies a seemingly contradictory role: he is both superior to, and completely unable to understand, Ireland. Despite his desire to revolutionise his adopted country – a desire in which he would appear to succeed – the very fact of it being an adopted country forces him to remain an outsider. To return to Lalor's terms, the

⁶³ Elizabeth Miller, ed., *Bram Stoker's Notes for Dracula: A Facsimile Edition* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2008), 17.

⁶⁴ Hughes, 'For Ireland's Good,' 20.

⁶⁵ Laws such as the Irish Encumbered Estates Act of 1849 greatly disadvantaged the Irish tenants, forcing any tenant of an insolvent landlord to choose between buying their holding or risking an increase in rent under a new (and potentially absentee) landlord. Most of these laws had no equivalent on English law.

Englishman might be able to possess and know Irish land, but he cannot possess or know its soil.

Although never explicitly connected with Ireland, the Count of Stoker's *chef-d'œuvre* is also intrinsically associated with the soil. He is dependent upon it, bound to his 'great wooden boxes' (*Dracula* 47) of earth by day, and never moving far from them in his nocturnal ventures. Significantly, however, given the Irish Nationalist rhetoric, this 'soil' refers not to dirt in general, but to the earth of his homeland. Dracula carries these boxes of earth overseas with him, as only the soil of his native Transylvania can replenish him in his absence. This 'soil' is 'friendly soil' (*Dracula* 22), 'enriched by the blood of men, patriots or invaders' (21). Despite Stewart's assertions that this duality is unexpected, that the enriching presence of both foreign and native blood is counter to the usual nationalist rhetoric, this in fact makes perfect sense given Dracula's earlier speeches.⁶⁶ His pride in his people lies in their patriotism, the determination of 'men and women, the aged and the children too' (*Dracula* 21) to fight to defend their homeland. It is thus fitting that the soil of this 'conquering race' (*Dracula* 29) is enriched by both the victory symbolised by the spilling of foreign blood, and the sacrifice symbolised by the spilling of native blood.

Given Dracula's inextricable connection with his native soil, it seems appropriate that a significant number of the formulations of the wish to destroy the Count revolve around the word 'earth': they must 'rid the earth of this terrible monster' (*Dracula* 222), sound 'the knell of the Un-Dead who walk the earth' (219), 'sterilise the earth' (242), 'destroy that earthly life of him' (309). This literal and figurative uprooting will not only destroy Dracula, but all those who come after him, permanently ending a bloodline viewed as troublesome by these representatives of the West. This idea of 'sterility' in *soil* is a pertinent one.⁶⁷ Despite Dracula's assertions of the richness of his native soil, Van Helsing informs his companions that the Count has left his 'own barren land [...] and com[e] to a new land where life of man teems till they are like the multitude of standing corn' (*Dracula* 319). This contrasting image of desolateness and fertility is echoed frequently in contemporary imperial rhetoric, in which no foreign nation can hope to match the fruitfulness of England at the turn of the century. In seeking to sterilise the soil that he carries with him, the symbol of his native land, the Crew of Light render their Western view of Dracula's homeland a reality.

⁶⁶ Stewart, 'Spirit of the Nation,' 245-46.

⁶⁷ Of the six uses of the word 'sterilise' in *Dracula*, all relate to the imported earth.

This Anglocentric view of foreign lands as substandard resonates throughout Stoker's work. In *The Snake's Pass* Arthur can't help but note the difference in price between even the best Irish land and that which you could purchase in England: 'He accordingly named a sum which, to me, accustomed only as I had hitherto been to the price of land in a good English county, seemed very small indeed. He evidently thought he was driving a hard bargain' (*Snake* 118). The discrepancy between the way in which a nation is viewed by its inhabitants and the way it is viewed by external colonial forces creates this gulf. Stoker's imperial representatives are unable (or unwilling) to view the foreign lands they encounter as anything other than low value, judging them unfavourably against their anglicised standards. That these standards are imposed upon – and in most cases accepted by – the native inhabitants of these foreign lands indicates an overwritten narrative so prevalent that it is taken as true. The Irish peasants of *The Snake's Pass* can see no higher achievement than 'winnin' name and credit, and perhaps fame to come, even in England itself' (*Snake* 50) and even the rampaging warlord Dracula longs to set foot in 'mighty London' (*Dracula* 20), the heart of the empire. This standard is one internalised by Stoker himself, a man who succeeded in 'winnin' name and credit' in England. Biographical depictions of Stoker seem to conjure up an almost part-time Irishman, an accentless and anglicised businessman who would nonetheless acquire a broad Irish brogue when entertaining company.⁶⁸ This exploitation of stereotypical national traits when beneficial, in both his real and literary lives, while simultaneously declining to address deeper national issues renders Stoker's work complicit in the orientalisering of Ireland. His Ireland is often parodic, something to be drawn on for the amusement of others. Somewhat fittingly, given the theatre circles in which he moved, the 'Irishman' was just another costume to don and remove at will.

This orientalisering process was not just a social movement. Pseudo-scientific literature of the time often depicted the Irish as an inferior race, an atavistic people far closer in ancestry to 'apes' than the superior Anglo-Saxon. Political cartoons depicted the Irishman – and especially the Irish radical – with a heavy, bestial brow and a prognathous jaw that signalled his degeneracy. These ape-like caricatures, so readily assigned to the black African, were all the more disturbing because of the whiteness of the Irishman's skin. Charles Kingsley, in a letter to his wife, wrote of his shock at first seeing the Irish

⁶⁸ Belford notes that 'Stoker had a proper British accent, but often put on a Milesian brogue.' Belford, *Dracula*, 99. In this instance, the 'proper British' accent to which Belford refers must be presumed to in fact be an 'English' accent.

race: 'I am haunted by the human chimpanzees I saw [in Ireland...] I don't believe they are our fault. [...] But to see white chimpanzees is dreadful; if they were black, one would not feel so much.'⁶⁹ Indeed, the two races were often closely linked in popular thought. John Beddoe, president of the Anthropological Institute from 1889 to 1891, classified the Celt as significantly lower in the 'Index of Nigrescence' than other white races.⁷⁰ In *The Races of Britain*, he used skull shape, hair colour, and other such variables to identify core races that had once migrated to form the British Isles, concluding that the 'type' found in West Ireland was 'Africanoid' due to their concave noses, prognathous jaws, and flattened foreheads.⁷¹ In *The Mystery of the Sea*, the ghostly representatives of Celtic racial history that pass before Archie's eyes could be the product of one of Beddoe's studies: 'skin-clad savages with long, wild hair matted; then others with rude, primitive clothing. [...] Red-haired Vikings and black-haired Celts and Phoenicians, fair-haired Saxons and swarthy Moors in flowing robes [...] Spaniards [...] men of the great Armada' (*Mystery* 38). They are classified by physical type, all conforming to their set racial characteristics: the Saxons are 'fair-haired,' the Moors 'swarthy.' Curiously, the last specifically dated group to pass Archie are set as having died some 'three centuries back' (*Mystery* 38) – clinging firmly to the image established by Stoker in 'When the Sky Rains Gold' that, as a people, the Celts are 'of a somewhat primitive kind,' governed not by the sophisticated thought processes of their neighbours but by an 'obedience in all things to the chief which is common to feudalism and the semi-barbaric method of clanship' ('Gold' 59). This feudal obedience that manifests across the majority of Stoker's Celtic characters is exemplified by the unnamed Ross clansmen of *The Lady of the Shroud*, who leave behind their homes and families to travel to the distant Land of the Blue Mountains upon Sir Colin MacKelpie's instruction.

This notion of 'Celticness' is key when discussing Stoker's fictional Ireland – or when discussing its absence. For while Irish Celts are few and far between, Scotland plays a prominent role in many of Stoker's works. *The Mystery of the Sea*, *Lady Athlyne*, *The Watter's Mou* (1895), *The Man*, *The Lady of the Shroud*, 'When the Sky Rains Gold,' and

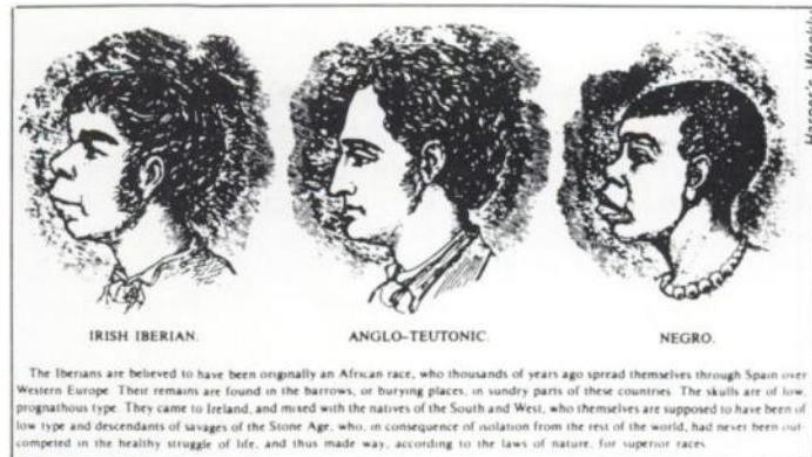
⁶⁹ Charles Kingsley, quoted in L. P. Curtis, *Anglo-Saxons and Celts: A Study of Anti-Irish Prejudice in Victorian England* (Bridgeport: Bridgeport University Press, 1968), 84.

⁷⁰ John Beddoe, *The Races of Britain* (Bristol: Arrowsmith, 1885). See Glover, *Vampires, Mummies, and Liberals*, 36-38.

⁷¹ Beddoe, *The Races of Britain*, 11. The popularity of this belief can be seen in a Harper's Weekly cartoon illustrating the difference between the 'Irish Iberian,' 'Anglo-Teutonic' and 'Negro' races (Figure 1).

Figure 1.

Harper's Weekly (1899), by H. Strickland Constable



Scientific Racism

Irish Iberian

Anglo-Teutonic

Negro

The Iberians are believed to have been originally an African race, who thousands of years ago spread themselves through Spain over Western Europe. Their remains are found in the barrows, or burying places, in sundry parts of these countries. The skulls are of the prognathous type. They came to Ireland, and mixed with the natives of the South and West, who themselves are supposed to have been of low type and descendants of savages of the Stone Age, who in consequence of isolation from the rest of the world, had never been out-competed in the healthy struggle of life, and thus made way, according to the laws of nature, for superior races.

‘Crooken Sands’ are all set at least partially in Scotland, and all support this image of Celtic lands as wild, untameably beautiful, and filled with shadowy folk legends.⁷² These similarities are born, in part, by the bonds between the two peoples. Following the famine years Irish immigration to Scotland boomed, the Irish-born population of Scotland increasing by ninety percent between 1841 and 1851.⁷³ Indeed, the frequency with which these two nations intersect within his fiction – characters such as the Sent Legers and the Athlynes boasting mixed lineages – makes it difficult not to read Scotland as a sublimated Ireland. This refiguring of his home nation allows Stoker to exploit all of the motifs,

⁷² Glover discusses Stoker’s use of Scotland as a sublimated Ireland in *Vampires, Mummies, and Liberals*, 13.

⁷³ See Christopher A. Whatley, *The Industrial Revolution in Scotland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 67.

stories, and stereotypes with which he was so familiar, while avoiding the overt politicisation inevitable when discussing Ireland at such a turbulent time.

Stoker certainly makes use of the extended stereotype of the Irish as savage and primitive. His characterisation of Ireland in *The Snake's Pass* and 'A New Departure in Art' places it behind even the war-torn Balkan regions of *Dracula* in technological advancements. Harker might complain about steam trains giving way to horse-drawn carriages as he nears Transylvania, when Mr Parmentire arrives in a 'little town on the west side of the Bog of Allen' he is met by a 'donkey cart without springs' ('Departure' 50-51). The very fabric of the place is primitive – the roads raw and heavily rutted, the landscape inhospitable. So much so, in fact, that Parmentire's account of this 'wretched place' with its impoverished residents and dilapidated housing is deemed so dreadful by the 'shuddering' ('Departure' 49) English listeners that his story is halted before it has even begun.

This parallel between the Balkan and Irish peoples extends further still. For the British reader, the Irish of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries occupied a similar position to the Balkan people: white yet visibly foreign; European yet not conventionally so; Christian yet unorthodoxly so. Glover has made a study of the parallels between these two peoples, the Balkan and the Irish, some of which come from known literary sources of Stoker's.⁷⁴ George Stoker's *With 'The Unspeakables'; Or, Two Years' Campaigning in European and Asiatic Turkey* is filled with descriptions of the East that are reminiscent of the brothers' homeland: the impoverished and superstitious populace, the wild landscapes, even the Bulgarian peasants who end their bagpipe-fuelled dancing with an emphatic cry as 'one hears during the course of an Irish jig.'⁷⁵ One record of an encounter with a fellow countryman miles from home inadvertently captures perfectly the central contradiction of the Stokers. George Stoker and his new friend happily sing 'The Wearing of the Green' together – a nationalist ballad lamenting the persecution of supporters of the Irish Rebellion of 1798. Conscious of the song's incendiary nature, however, even when surrounded by strangers and far from home, they immediately follow it up with a hasty rendition of 'God Save the Queen,' an act intended to 'counterbalance the rebellious sentiments therein expressed.'⁷⁶ This balancing act provides a snapshot of

⁷⁴ Glover, *Vampires, Mummies, and Liberals*, 33-34.

⁷⁵ George Stoker, *With 'The Unspeakables'; Or, Two Years' Campaigning in European and Asiatic Turkey* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1878), 10, cited in Glover, *Vampires, Mummies, and Liberals*, 33.

⁷⁶ Stoker, *Unspeakables*, 13, cited in Glover, *Vampires, Mummies, and Liberals*, 33.

the Stokers' complex national identity: lines bemoaning 'the cruel cross of England' and her 'tyrant's hand' can be followed immediately by invocations that the monarchy be 'long to reign over us' without any conspicuous sense of incompatibility. While the British national anthem might more accurately encapsulate their political sentiments, the traditional songs of Ireland evoke the Stokers' cultural history – and neither is able to overpower the other.

Glover also points to a second acknowledged source of Stoker's: Major E. C. Johnson's *On the Track of the Crescent: Erratic Notes from the Piraes to Pesth*. Johnson draws yet another common parallel in national stereotypes, comparing the Wallachs and Szekelys of Transylvania to the 'imprudent Irishman,' whom he terms 'lazy, pleasant, good-natured, drunken, careless [and] improvident.'⁷⁷ This is certainly a stereotype of which Stoker makes use. When Arthur first arrives in Carnacliff, he encounters a crowd of inebriated locals with exaggerated accents and glasses full of whisky punch. They are hospitable to this English stranger in their midst – and markedly deferential, as Stoker's Irishmen invariably are – but their conversation never manages to progress past superstitious 'laygends and stories' (*Snake* 14) and queries over the existence of more alcohol. One even declares that he has no desire to be a member of parliament once he learns that they do not 'allow punch to the Mimbers iv Parymint whin they're spakin'' (*Snake* 14) – a surprisingly direct political comment for Stoker. This single line moves to negate even the strongest arguments for Home Rule, depicting the general population of Ireland as both ignorant and apathetic. What is more, the Irishman 'naturally' defers to the Englishman in his midst, judging him to be the expert on all such matters of 'Parlymint' – and seeming content for it to remain that way. Stoker's literary Irishmen are complicit in the political simplification of his fantasy world. Their lack of complexity allows their creator to distance himself from the crises dividing his homeland; in depicting his Irishmen as simplified and self-destructive, Stoker excuses himself from engaging with questions of *why* there is such unrest in the first place. Instead, his literary Irishmen see and accept their places in life as Stoker dictates: in dutiful submission to a 'superiority' that is defined by both class and nationality.⁷⁸

The Irishmen of 'A New Departure in Art' are cut from a very similar cloth – thinly-sketched caricatures that are well-meaning, but stupid and drunken. Upon

⁷⁷ Johnson, *Track of the Crescent*, 235, 249, cited in Glover, *Vampires, Mummies, and Liberals*, 34.

⁷⁸ That Stoker desires his literary Irishmen to conduct themselves in a way which is conducive to the plot is not to argue that he necessarily envisions such conduct to be fitting for real Irishmen.

completing his first performance in rural Ireland, Mr Parmentire notes that his audience ‘weren’t used to play-acting, and [...] most of them took what they saw as reality’ (‘Departure’ 49). This child-like wonder places the Irishman among other colonial entities of the time, as a juvenile race in need of parental guidance from a benevolent motherland. Ernest Renan’s *Poetry of the Celtic Races* described the Irish as ‘credulous as a child, timid, indolent, inclined to submit and obey.’⁷⁹ This was a familiar argument to the Home Rule movement, in which the perceived dichotomy of the sentimental and feminine Celt and the pragmatic and masculine Englishman made an unfavourable contrast.⁸⁰ Stoker, too, makes this connection between the Irish and excessive emotion. His Irishmen are genial and incensed in turn, while his Irishwomen alternate between the ‘air of distinction that most Irish-women have in their moments of reserve’ (‘Departure’ 51) and total hysteria, dissolving into ‘violent sobbing’ (55) and tearing at their clothes, or ‘laughin’ an’ cryin’ both together’ (‘Shorrox’ 669). These women are depicted as being so susceptible to emotional outbursts that they even ‘sympathetically burst into tears’ when faced with another’s misfortune, able to turn a tranquil scene in moments into one of ‘unmitigated grief’ (‘Departure’ 55). So extreme is this changeability that Stoker manages to employ two opposing stereotypes of the Irish peasantry at once: the one dignified and industrious, and the other feckless and agitated.

This unpredictability is mirrored by the landscapes around them. Stoker focuses on the wilderness of the scenery, littering his texts with accounts of the ‘almost primal desolation’ (*Snake* 1) of rural Ireland. Such descriptions augment the images of savagery and backwardness with a sense of bleakness that is both matched and contradicted in turn by the specifics of Stoker’s imagery. This Ireland is an Ireland populated by both ‘tufts of emerald verdure’ and ‘walls of frowning rock,’ (*Snake* 1) by both fertility and barrenness. This is exemplified by the difference between Joyce and Black Murdock’s land: although directly adjacent, one is rich and fertile and the other stark and unyielding. In these contrasting plots of land we see Stoker’s two visions of Ireland – the Ireland that is fruitful and serene and the Ireland that is hostile and bleak. Like the conflicting depictions of its populace, these two visions prove to be fundamentally incompatible. As such, rather than a single cohesive whole, they appear across Stoker’s work as separate images overlaid, able to exist simultaneously, but never able to be reconciled.

⁷⁹ Ernest Renan, *Poetry of the Celtic Races, and Other Studies*, William Hutchison, trans. (1854; London: Walter Scott, 1908), 49.

⁸⁰ Renan also remarked that ‘the Celtic race [...] is an essentially feminine race.’ *Celtic Races*, 8.

The dichotomy of the emotional Celt and the rational Englishman that filled contemporary rhetoric found its physical analogy in the nations' contrasting landscapes: the restrained and cultivated English garden and the wild and untamed Irish countryside. This contrast has a profound effect on Arthur who, having grown up surrounded by the 'quiet pastoral beauty of a grass country, with occasional visits to [... a] well-wooded estate in the south of England' is awestruck by the sight of this rough land in which 'earth, sea, and air all evidenced the triumph of nature' (*Snake* 3) over nurture. Arthur's ability to appreciate both of these aspects – the beauty of both cultivation and rebellion – is a key turning point in his worldly education. At the opening of the text, Arthur's years in England have barred him from the intimate connection with the natural world exhibited by Stoker's Celtic characters. As he stumbles through the darkness of West Ireland with Andy, Joyce, and Norah, he laments that 'I felt like a blind man, for not a thing could I see, whilst each of the three others was seemingly as much at ease as in the daylight' (*Snake* 55). He is conscious that, not only do they have an enhanced connection with nature, but that his own has been somehow dulled; that the Irishmen 'seemed to have a sense lacking in myself, for now and again they spoke of things which I could not see at all' (*Snake* 53). As he begins to accept the beauty of this wilderness however, and be accepted by it in turn, he is able to access this natural part of himself that civilisation had fettered. By the closing chapters Arthur is opting to make his way about at night without even the help of a lantern, judging its light to be 'an evil' (*Snake* 326) that hinders his new-found sight.

Stoker's Englishman of *The Mystery of the Sea* undergoes a similar conversion in Scotland. The development of his so-called 'Second Sight' is inextricably linked to his growing understanding of the land around him. He aspires to mimic the soothsayer Gormala's powers, although recognising the inherent difficulties given the extent to which her 'magic' and her native intuition intersect. Indeed, it is debatable whether this force that Archie originally identifies as 'magic' is in fact supernatural at all. He alternates throughout the novel between calling Gormala a 'witch-woman' (*Mystery* 49) with 'supernatural power' (391) and declaring that her 'power was no longer a mystery' but a 'skill,' her upbringing amongst the remote Scottish islands imbuing her with far keener 'instincts' (411) than those born inland. This leads to the realisation that, if he is to develop his own 'Second Sight' (a power that only begins to manifest once he leaves the cities of England for the Scottish wilderness) he too must enter into this communion with nature – a 'nature [that] seemed altogether sentient, and willing to speak directly to a man

in my own receptive mood' (*Mystery* 20). In short, he must exchange English modernity for Celtic atavism.

For the Englishman, accustomed to the confines of the city, these Celtic lands offer an atavistic return to the past. Unnerved by a consciousness of that which is lost in the process of civilising and modernising, he seeks to return temporarily to his primitive self. In *The Mystery of the Sea*, Celtic atavism extends not just to communion with nature and intuition but to religious practices as well. When Archie dismisses Gormala's insistence upon the importance of an upcoming festival with the declaration that 'I don't know anything of 'Lammas-tide' [...] we do not keep it in the Church of England' (*Mystery* 26) he implies that Scotland is a heathen nation. This blurring of lines inherent in a Christian people observing a Pagan festival, although problematic for Archie, does not trouble Gormala. Although Archie considers the old woman's repeated use of the word 'Fate' to be proof that her Christian faith is at the very least heavily supplemented by atavistic Pagan beliefs, when Marjory voices this concern the soothsayer is mortally offended.

"Wha be ye, ye hizzie, that wad daur to misca' me that is a Christian woman all my days. What be your reelegion, that ye try to shame me wi' mine." Marjory said deliberately, but with all the outward appearance of courtesy:

"But I did not know that in the scheme of the Christian belief there were such things as the Doom and the Voice and Fate!" [...]

"Then learn while ye may that there be lesser powers as well as greater in the scheme o' God's world, and o' His working o' the wonders therein." (*Mystery* 184-85)

These 'lesser powers,' 'the Doom and the Voice and Fate,' themselves capitalised and deity-like, occupy a potentially dangerous place. Like the ancient Egyptian divinities acknowledged by Stoker in *The Jewel of Seven Stars*, the novel envisions a world in which a Christian God can co-exist with other deities – something fundamentally against the central doctrines of Christianity. That their existence is ratified by Archie, an Englishman and an Anglican, strays even closer to heresy. His encounter with his primitive self is not as fleeting as anticipated: far from proving its superiority, his belief in modern religion is in fact proved inadequate. Rather than promote crisis, however, this revelation brings about a positive transition: it is voiced not as losing an old belief but gaining an understanding of a new one. It is the remoteness and perceived backwardness of the region that engenders this new understanding: in the isolation of Cruden, surrounded by just a few rows of fisherman's cottages [...and] a few scattered farms,' (*Mystery* 6) Archie

finds himself for the first time not bound by societal expectation, free instead to moderate and self-identify at will.

A similarly quaint community greets Mr. Arthur Fernlee Markam upon his arrival in the Mains of Crooken, a coastal village situated somewhere between Aberdeen and Peterhead. Being himself a ‘London merchant’ (‘Crooken’ 28), a professional inhabitant of a bustling metropolis, Markam seeks an idealised version of Scotland – a Scotland that is primitive and warlike, and that arguably never existed. His appropriated Scottish dress is not a tribute but a ‘costume’ akin to those featured in ‘chromolithographs and on the music-hall stage’ (‘Crooken’ 28). His attempts to mimic the Scotsman’s dress are thus cast as superficial and mocking instead of complementary, a self-serving vanity project instead of a genuine interest in a culture unlike his own. The affluent Englishman’s desire to escape the city for the imagined adventure and atavism of the Scottish wilderness is such a prevalent phenomenon that an entire business has grown up around it. Two enterprising (and presumably Jewish) shopkeepers – Joshua Sheeny Cohen Benjamin and Emmanuel Moses Marks – have assumed the stereotypically Scottish names of MacCullum More and Roderick MacDhu and established ‘The Scotch All-Wool Tartan Clothing Mart’ (‘Crooken’ 28) to target unsuspecting tourists. This mimicry is a shallow and incomplete one – despite the shopkeepers taking Scottish sounding names they have not moderated any other aspect of their characters, continuing to speak in the ‘remarkable cockney accent[s]’ (‘Crooken’ 29) of their former selves. Wishing to acquire a similar façade of his own, Markam pays them a considerable amount of money to purchase some Scottish authenticity in the form of a ‘traditional’ tartan. Having no direct claim of Scottish ancestry himself, however – unlike the Kentuckian Ogilvies of *Lady Athlyne* – Markam settles for a bastardisation of several of the most famous clans: the ‘Royal Stuart dress tartan’ crossed with the ‘pattern from the Macalister and Ogilvie clans’ and the ‘colour from the clans of Buchanan, Macbeth, Chief of Macintosh and Macleod’ (‘Crooken’ 28-29). This literal carving up of Scottish history mimics its metaphorical dissection by imperial England, an appropriation of people, land, and culture. In a century that saw Balmoral Castle built in the Scottish Baronial style for Queen Victoria, and the popularisation of fashionable tartan by both King George IV, and Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, this emphasis on the consumption of an ancient culture primarily for its value as a novelty seems particularly pertinent.⁸¹ This appropriation is portrayed not as a

⁸¹ Balmoral Castle was purchased by Prince Albert in 1848 and reconstructed in the Scottish Baronial style. The prince personally supervised the decoration of the castle’s interior, using the red ‘Royal Stewart’ and

homage to Scottish culture but as an exploitation, perpetrated on the one hand by those who would wish to claim an alien heritage for personal vanity and on the other by those who would exploit an alien culture for financial gain.

This appropriation of Celtic culture by the colonial Englishman is mirrored by the exploitation of Celtic land. Although Scotland is seen as a physical commodity throughout Stoker's writing – the scenery in 'When the Sky Rains Gold' is described in terms of precious jewels, as a 'sea of diamond and sapphire' ('Gold' 64) and a sky of 'golden light' (62) – this commodification is most explicit in the treatment of Ireland in *The Snake's Pass*. In the space of just a few short chapters, Arthur has purchased the land surrounding Knocknacar Hill from its impoverished owners, drained the centuries-old bog, and created a new and highly profitable landscape for himself and his countryman. Like the fictional Balkan nation of *The Lady of the Shroud*, the natural landscapes of Ireland must be irrevocably altered to become useful. This transformation, although frequently claimed to be beneficial to the local populace, is violent and aggressive – voiced as 'attack[ing] the hill' (*Snake* 92) and 'kill[ing] the vital principal of growth' (65). Arthur himself disturbs plants and animals as a mindless distraction from his thoughts of unrequited love, freely admitting to his being 'generally obnoxious to the fauna and flora of Knocknacar' (*Snake* 111). This destruction allows Arthur to create a self-sufficient 'paradise' away from the shores of England, in which all amenities are provided by the land itself:

we can not only get water for irrigating and ornamental purposes, but we can get power also. Why, you can have electric light, and everything else you like, at the smallest cost. [...] We can build a harbour on the south side, which would be the loveliest place to keep a yacht in that was known – quite big enough for anything in these parts – as safe as Portsmouth (*Snake* 178)

This landscape is not only altered, but anglicised. And while under Irish stewardship it has been used as a 'farrum' (*Snake* 39) for raising livestock and growing crops, with an Englishman in charge it exists for pleasure alone – all ornamental gardens and yachting harbours.

This subject of Irish advancement was one that Stoker returned to in his 1907 essay 'The Great White Fair in Dublin.' Here, he considers Ireland's

the green 'Hunting Stewart' tartans for carpets, and the 'Dress Stewart' for curtains and upholstery. The royals also commissioned the design of the 'Victoria' tartan and the 'Balmoral' tartan – like Markam's efforts, both modifications of existing patterns.

geographical position [...] as the outpost on the Western sea; its isolation, emphasised by the neglect of many centuries; and, from the nature of its natural products, a logical lack of transport facilities – all have tended to create for its inhabitants a personal ignorance both of itself and of the outside world. ('Fair' 571)

Its designation as an 'outpost' locates it firmly on the peripheries, despite the short distance between the island itself and mainland Britain. And while the 'neglect of centuries' can be seen as a chastisement of England's failure to enforce advancement upon her neighbour, responsibility for Ireland's 'personal ignorance both of itself and of the outside world' is laid firmly at the feet of the inhabitants themselves. Their perceived ignorance of themselves and others is envisioned as the key hindrance to national progress, Stoker casting them as an insular people who desire neither trade nor transport to broaden their horizons. To achieve prosperity then, some galvanising force must be brought in from the outside to develop these 'natural products' that have remained stagnant for so long – a familiar imperial argument. This so-called 'fiction of improvement' espoused by Stoker in both *The Snake's Pass* and 'The Great White Fair in Dublin' propagates the perennial fantasy of untapped potential lurking beneath colonial lands, a potential simultaneously neglected and guarded by the local populace.⁸²

In the creation of this unlikely utopia Stoker enacts an imperial fantasy of control, neutralising a formerly hostile region and recasting its people as the grateful subjects of a generous Englishman. In draining the bog and overlaying it with limestone quarries and yachting harbours, Arthur seeks to replace the native Irish agricultural methods with the capitalist systems of England.⁸³ With the suggested modifications, Dick asserts that he can 'supply five hundred square miles of country with the rudiments of prosperity' (*Snake* 294) thus bringing nearly a quarter of the county under the influence of the Englishman's system of capitalism. This focus on reforming and anglicising Irish land is particularly pertinent given the importance placed upon soil in nationalist rhetoric. Despite his efforts to abstain from such political involvement, in engaging with questions of English interference with Irish land Stoker cannot help but engage with the nationalist narratives of Lalor *et al.* And while Lalor insists upon 'the soil of Ireland for the people of Ireland,' Stoker would seem to see this as a recipe only for stagnation: despite the inescapable undertones of exploitation, English intervention is depicted as an essential component of progression.

⁸² See Helen O'Connell, *Ireland and the Fiction of Improvement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

⁸³ For a discussion of this replacement, see Hughes, 'For Ireland's Good,' 20.

It is not just Ireland's landscape that Arthur seeks to modify, but her people as well. Norah, the peasant girl whose untamed beauty stands as a personification of the 'wild majesty' (*Snake* 3) of the Irish nation, must change dramatically in order to become a suitable wife. Like the scenery that Arthur so enjoys, Norah is attractive to the English aristocrat because of her novelty: the 'quaint speech' (*Snake* 315), rough clothing, and hands that were 'manifestly used to work' (75). These aspects that originally drew him to admire her while in Ireland, however, are less attractive in a potential wife with which to return to England. As such, she must spend two years in a Parisian finishing school learning to become a proper 'lady' – a mandatory 'period that had to be put in' (*Snake* 176). There is an acknowledgement from both sides that this alteration will occur not when she graduates from the school, but when she leaves her homeland. On their final evening together in Knocknacar, Arthur notes that this is the 'last time that [he] might sit by the fire with the old Norah' (*Snake* 214) – a prospect he seems simultaneously excited at and nostalgic for. When she returns two years later and they can finally be married, Arthur's exultant statement that 'we felt like we were one' (*Snake* 343) is less to do with the unity of wedlock and more to do with the fact that they are now of the same 'type': Norah can pass for an English aristocrat like him.

Although calling Knocknacar her home, Norah is separated from the other Irish peasants throughout the novel. She lacks the exaggerated brogue that characterises other figures, even her father, and displays none of the stereotypical traits of her literary countrymen. Indeed, Stoker even goes so far as to render Norah from the outset more inclined (religiously, at least) towards England than Ireland. She is identified early on as a Protestant, and thus an anomaly in a rural Irish village, who has achieved acceptance through the purity of her character. As Andy remarks, 'even the nuns in Galway [...] thrates her like wan iv themselves, for all she's a Protestan' (*Snake* 97). What is more, she is the product of a colonial past, her beauty being of 'the Spanish type [...] tempered with northern calm' (*Snake* 100). Her cursory education, good looks, and religion all stand as steppingstones for her to eventually make the leap from Ireland to England – a transformation close to Stoker's own heart. Indeed, throughout Stoker's work there is a strong indication that it is only with this variety of 'Irishman' that he himself associates. There is no sense of autobiographical affiliation with the majority of his 'Irish' characters. The Catholic peasant masses that provide the backdrop to texts such as *The Snake's Pass* would seem to be no closer to Stoker's internal vision of himself than the Mountaineers of *The Lady of the Shroud* or the Slovaks of *Dracula*, portrayed as superstitious, ignorant,

and drunken. Indeed, in his discussion of transatlantic servitude in 'A Glimpse of America' Stoker goes so far as to couple the 'Irish and Negroes' ('Glimpse' 14) together as inferior races suited primarily to domestic work.⁸⁴

In joining Norah to Arthur, Stoker forges a union that is feasible. As a Protestant she is one of his 'type' of Irishmen, one capable of making such a leap and anglicising themselves entirely, having as she does the 'belief that London is the only home of luxury, power, and learning' (*Snake* 108) – a leap impossible for a Catholic peasant girl. The effect of this is less the tying together of 'the two countries [...] in a new kind of Act of Union' and the guaranteeing of 'Anglo-Irish heirs in perpetuity' as Glover argues, than it is the subjugation of the Irish by English blood.⁸⁵ It is no coincidence that the feminine Irish matches with the masculine English: she is overwritten in marriage, her name and identity subsumed by a dominant power. The very purpose of sending Norah away to school is to mould her, childlike, into a suitable English wife, removing all traces of her Celtic heritage from her clothes to her mannerisms. Even her childhood home is purchased and reformed, the peasant's cottage being replaced by an English country house 'of red sandstone [...] with red tiled roof and quaint gables, and jutting windows and balustrades of carven stone' (*Snake* 359). The wedding itself takes place in Hythe, Kent, a town that Norah presumably has never set foot in before, although one familiar to Arthur. It is even noted that she 'had no bridesmaid' (*Snake* 362), her former friends having been cast off as unsuitable, although Dick is there to be Arthur's best man. Their union is one that prioritises the 'superior' Englishness of the husband, the wife shedding the defining traits of both her nationality and her identity to prove acceptable.

Much like the Irish landscape, Norah cannot transform herself into a valuable commodity without the help of an outside colonial force. It is Arthur's input, both through his funding of her education and his offer of marriage, that allows her to transcend her origins completely. On the other hand Andy, the so-called 'second transformation' of the novel, cannot break fully from these bonds as an independent entity.⁸⁶ Although he arrives at the wedding 'so well dressed and smart that there was really nothing to distinguish him from any other man in Hythe' (*Snake* 248) – in other words, able to pass convincingly for

⁸⁴ Stoker's reliance on these crude stereotypes can also be seen in the depiction of Mrs O'Brien in *Lady Athlyne*, where he depicts the nurse as a 'stage Irishman' – superstitious, uneducated, and heavily accented. In contrast, the Ogilvies could be seen to parallel Stoker's own brand of Irishness. Although of Celtic heritage (albeit Scottish rather than Irish) they have transcended their roots, relocating overseas and shedding their accents and mannerisms.

⁸⁵ Glover, *Vampires, Mummies, and Liberals*, 49

⁸⁶ Glover discusses this second transformation fully in *Vampires, Mummies, and Liberals*, 49.

an Englishman – this illusion is ruined as soon as he begins to speak. His grating blessing upon the happy couple ‘an’ yer childher, and yer childher’s childher to folly ye’ (*Snake* 365) only serves to underline the impossibility of his ever truly fitting in to Norah’s new life.

For Stoker, the myths and legends of these Celtic nations are every bit as valuable a commodity as the land and inhabitants. The folklore of his native Ireland can be seen to underpin much of his Gothic creations, from *Dracula* to *The Lady of the Shroud*. Ireland in the mid-nineteenth century would have been particularly rife with stories of death and destruction. Although, having been born in 1847, Stoker would have been too young to remember the Great Famine of 1845-52 himself, he would undoubtedly have been familiar with stories about it. Curran cites examples of starving villagers in County Clare and County Galway, some of the most famine-stricken regions, syphoning blood from the necks of cattle to make ‘relish cakes’ – fresh blood mixed with oatmeal and rotted cabbage stalks. In some cases, desperate Irishmen were even reported to have fed directly from cattle or horses, or bitten the heads from chickens. This Great Famine that so permanently altered the psyche of Ireland even produced folklore of its own. It was rumoured that those who had drunk blood out of desperation during the famine years had grown addicted to it and continued to secretly consume it even in prosperous years, essentially becoming human vampires.⁸⁷

In mythologising such a catastrophic event, weaving legends from tales of hardship and suffering, these stories served a vital cultural need. They captured the extremity of the crisis, accurately representing the fear and desperation of such times (if not always in literal then certainly in figurative terms). As such, these tales also served as a political rallying point, uniting the Irish against the English oppressors. Erroneous stories such as the popular rumour that Queen Victoria, known in later years in Ireland as the ‘Famine Queen,’ had donated just five pounds from her personal funds to help famine relief supported claims of wilful neglect from the English.⁸⁸ The more fanciful of these tales – the stories of human vampires and the like – served an additional purpose: the bolstering of a declining tradition in folklore. With an estimated one and a half million losing their lives to starvation and famine-related disease, plus an additional million emigrating

⁸⁷ Bob Curran, *Encyclopaedia of the Undead: A Field Guide to Creatures that Cannot Rest in Peace* (Franklin Lakes: Career Press, 2006), 56-57.

⁸⁸ Victoria actually donated £2,000 from her personal funds to famine relief, making her the largest individual donor, as well as being the patron of a fundraising charity. See Kinealy, *Great Irish Famine*, 24.

overseas, the Irish language and cultural traditions were threatened as never before. Writing soon after the Great Famine, Sir William Wilde noted this decline in traditional Irish culture, the ‘rapid decay of our Irish vernacular, in which most of our legends, romantic tales, ballads, and bardic annals, the vestiges of Pagan rites, and the relics of fairy charms were preserved.’ In the face of this destruction – a phenomenon that he blamed on a combination of the Famine and its aftereffects, and external attempts to modernise Ireland – Wilde questioned whether ‘superstitious belief [...could] continue to exist’ at all.⁸⁹ One way in which such superstition *could* continue to exist in the face of such adversity was in the creation of a new, adapted cultural identity – an identity that incorporated this disastrous famine and the changed world it had left behind, forming legends from its horrors.

The attribution of supernatural legends to periods of Irish hardship began long before the nineteenth century. Edmund Spenser, the English poet, penned a ‘first hand’ account of the 1579 Munster famine, comparing the starving Irishmen to ‘ghosts’ who drank blood and devoured human flesh:

Out of every corner of the woods and glynnes they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legges could not beare them, they looked like anatomies of death, they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves, they did eate the dead carrions, happy were they could finde them, yea, and one another soon after.

But while the English legends of Irish famine placed the blame firmly with the starving, judging it a ‘folly [...] which they themselves had wrought’ and marvelling at how little time it took for the Irish to begin to ‘devoure one another,’ the Irish-born myths attempted a refocus.⁹⁰ Reclaiming their history from foreign voices, such legends not only dwelt on the horrors of such periods but the virtue it inspired in its poorest sufferers. Across the nation stories abounded of impoverished housewives who gave away their last cabbage or final drop of milk to one in need, only to find their supplies miraculously replenished next morning.⁹¹ This legend, while common in the oral tradition of the Famine, is also found in numerous other contexts. A variation of the tale occurs in a seventh-century life of Saint Brigid, one of Ireland’s patron saints, although the best-known account occurs in

⁸⁹ William Wilde, *Irish Popular Superstitions* (Dublin: James McGlashan, 1852), 10-11, cited in Diarmuid Ó Giolláin, *Locating Irish Folklore: Tradition, Modernity, Identity* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2000), 17.

⁹⁰ Edmund Spenser, ‘A Veue of the Present State of Irelande,’ *The Works of Edmund Spenser* (1596; London: F.C & J. Rivington, 1805), 430-31.

⁹¹ See Arthur Gribben, *The Great Famine and the Irish Diaspora in America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 31-33.

the first book of Kings’ ‘Miracle of the flour and oil’ (I Kings 17: 7-16). Although clearly not based in fact, such tales intersected with the myths of human vampirism, serving to contrast the depths of suffering the Irish people were pushed to with the Christian goodness many still retained.

While modern understandings of the vampire are heavily indebted to Stoker’s creation, the origins of the figure cemented into ‘Dracula’ by Hollywood are arguably far humbler. Legends surrounding the returning dead exist in most cultures, perhaps indicating an innate discomfort with the finality of death. The representation of such vampiric creatures varies greatly from culture to culture, however: the *Aswang* of the Philippines, for instance, is believed to draw bodily fluids from its victims via a hollow tongue, while the *Sasabonsam* of West Africa is said to have iron teeth and iron hooks for feet which it uses to hang from trees and ensnare its prey. The vampire of European folklore, on the other hand, was predominantly the result of ‘unnatural’ death or excommunication, the revenant body of the recently deceased. While such tales were fairly unusual in England – Montague Summers noted in *The Vampire in Lore and Legend* that ‘after the twelfth century the vampire tradition seems to have entirely died out of England, and with the rarest exception not to have re-appeared until the nineteenth century when there was so marked a revival of interest in occultism’ – the Celtic nations were home to several prominent legends of vampiric creatures.⁹² Bob Curran posited in *History Ireland* that Stoker may have been inspired to create his undead count by the legends of Abhartach, a bloodthirsty Irish chieftain whose reign of terror was only halted by the driving of a yew branch through his heart.⁹³ According to Joyce’s *The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places in 1875*, the first printed account of the tale, Abhartach:

was at last vanquished and slain by a neighbouring chieftain [...and] was buried in a standing posture, but the very next day he appeared in his old haunts, more cruel and vigorous than ever. And the chief slew him a second time and buried him as before, but again he escaped from the grave, and spread terror through the whole country. The chief then consulted a druid, and according to his directions, he slew the dwarf a third time.⁹⁴

Various versions of the myth have the undead chieftain being subdued in numerous ways. In some, it is an early Christian saint rather than a druid who is consulted, telling the hero that Abhartach is one of the *neamh-mairbh* – literally the walking dead – and can only be

⁹² Montague Summers, *The Vampire in Lore and Legend* (London: Dover, 2001), 99.

⁹³ Bob Curran, ‘Was Dracula an Irishman?’ *History Ireland*, 2/8 (2000), n.p.

⁹⁴ Patrick Weston Joyce, *The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places* (Dublin: McGlashan & Gill, 1875), 319.

destroyed by being pierced with a yew branch, buried upside down, and having his grave topped with heavy stones and thorns. This placing of stones upon a gravesite, according to Summers, can be traced back across various Irish hagiographical lore, and was generally regarded as ‘heathenish, doubtless since such a pile marked haunted places.’ Indeed, the tradition spread far beyond the Irish shores, with a letter attributed to the fifth-century Byzantine bishop Theodoret reading ‘let every one throw a stone on his grave, lest perchance [...] he returns to earth.’⁹⁵

Abhartach’s elevated social position makes his case especially interesting. In contrast to the peasants that provided the human bases for vampire myths on the Continent, Ireland has a long tradition of finding her monsters amongst the nobility. In 1904 Wardell and Westrop recorded the tale of a noble woman of the Fitzgeralds who served as an abbess at Shanagolden Abbey during the late sixteenth century.⁹⁶ According to local legend, this abbess consumed the blood of her novices to rejuvenate her into her old age, a parasitic relation similar to that of Dracula and his victims. Such tales of the bloodthirsty elite – local aristocracy and members of the clergy in particular – continue into the twentieth century and beyond. Writing in 1925, Breene records the tale of a parish priest who rose from the grave, the ‘intense, livid palour of his skin [...] and the extraordinary length of his strong white teeth’ leaving little doubt as to what he has become. Breene’s vampirism is the result not just of elevated social standing but neglected spiritual condition. The parish over which the priest resides is described as ‘wild, isolated and mountainous,’ and although Roman Catholic ‘not of a high type,’ characterising it as solitary and lax in style of worship. This neglect of spiritual condition translates into a moral sickness that plagues the region, resulting in a flood of ‘senseless’ and ‘terrible’ violent crimes that culminate in vampirism.⁹⁷

For Stoker, this connection between spiritual and corporeal states extends even further. Van Helsing informs the Crew of Light that the vampire trails not just spiritual but physical destruction, following in the ‘wake of the berserker Icelander, the devil-begotten Hun, the Slav, the Saxon, the Magyar’ (*Dracula* 239). Like the war-ravaged Eastern regions of *Dracula*, Ireland had been sporadically occupied by foreign oppressors for centuries. Colonial records depict it as a site of eternal conflict, a land divided by

⁹⁵ Summers, *Lore and Legend*, 117.

⁹⁶ John Wardell and T. J. Westropp, ‘The History and Antiquities of Old Saint Catherine’s Abbey,’ *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquities* (1904), 50. For further discussion of this tale see Curran, ‘Was Dracula an Irishman?’

⁹⁷ R. S. Breene, ‘An Irish Vampire,’ *The Occult Review*, (October 1925), 119-20.

warring chieftains. This endemic warfare was said to have produced countless blood feuds which, as Valente notes, would later become known as *droch-fhola* (literally ‘bad blood,’ or ‘of evil blood’), pronounced ‘droc’ola.’⁹⁸ Whether or not Stoker deliberately drew upon the Gaelic term in the creation of his undead count is unknown – after all, it doesn’t seem to appear in any of his notes – but the phonetic similarity between the two seems too much to overlook. ‘*Droch-fhola*’ is certainly a fitting title for the literary Dracula. Like the chieftains of ancient Ireland, Dracula is said to have been engaged in blood feuds with his racial enemies for centuries. His blood is also ‘bad’ in the sense of its corrupting powers, his victims feeding as well as being fed upon to complete the transformation. This foreign blood is so potent that it overpowers that of the host body, even in small quantities, deracinating them and appropriating their forms for his army of the undead.

Besides the ‘vampire’ of popular legend, there are numerous other creatures of Gaelic folklore said to subsist on human blood. Summers also records the story of the *dearg-dul*, literally ‘red blood sucker’ in Irish Gaelic, whose ‘ravages were universally feared.’⁹⁹ Summers’ *dearg-dul*, like many of Ireland’s malevolent spirits, takes female form, preying upon the men her beauty draws. The Scottish *baobhan sith*, a creature akin to the Irish *bean-sídhe*, also incorporates the bloodlust and sensuality of the vampire.¹⁰⁰ It is the sexualisation of the vampire – and more specifically the vampiric woman – that is so distinctive in literary characterisations of the nineteenth century. Like the *baobhan sith*, Stoker’s ‘weird sisters’ are overtly sexual, seducing their male victims before they attack them. Their ‘deliberate voluptuousness’ (*Dracula* 38) renders Harker completely incapable, paralysed by the ‘wicked, burning desire that they would kiss me with those red lips’ (37). This explicit sexualisation is a pattern that extends to all of Stoker’s female vampires: they do not bite but ‘kiss’ their victims, their allure simultaneously erotic and terrifying.

Sheridan Le Fanu, a fellow Irishman, provided a template for the sexualised female vampire with his 1872 novella ‘Carmilla.’ Robert Tracy, in his introduction to *In a Glass Darkly*, sees Le Fanu as leaning heavily on Irish folklore in his creation, stating that ‘Carmilla is at once vampire and Irish banshee, *ban si* [...] Le Fanu combined aspects of Irish tradition with his reading [...] and used the sexual element that is so strong in both

⁹⁸ Valente, *Dracula’s Crypt*, 61-62.

⁹⁹ Summers, *Lore and Legend*, 117.

¹⁰⁰ See Jason Marc Harris, *Folklore and the Fantastic in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction* (London: Routledge, 2008), 135.

vampire lore and vampiric fiction.’ Although erroneously asserting that ‘the *si* do not suck blood,’ Tracy identifies a key parallel between the literary vampire and the creatures of Irish lore: their sexualisation.¹⁰¹ ‘Carmilla’ not only lays the foundations for the sensuality of the vampire so vital to Stoker’s work, but the joining of the aristocratic social class with the vampiric being. Although the upper-class literary vampire was pioneered by Polidori in 1819 through the suave Lord Ruthven, the unique circumstances of late nineteenth-century Ireland – and the frequency with which the term ‘vampire’ was thrown around in relation to it – makes this connection a vital one. Opponents of the Corn Laws labelled landlords and their supporters ‘blood-sucking vampires,’ feeding off the toil of the peasant farmer.¹⁰² On the opposing side, the English periodical *Punch* published a cartoon in 1885 entitled ‘The Irish “Vampire”’ (Figure 2) depicting a giant vampire bat with the face of Charles Stewart Parnell and the words ‘National League’ emblazoned across its outspread wings. The bat is shown descending upon a sleeping girl with a harp beneath her arm and shamrocks in her hair, the personified Hibernia. In this case, the threat to slumbering Eire comes from within Ireland itself – the nation being figured, as Hansen notes, as a ‘self-threatening and divided entity, an entity that in this case remains coded as both vulnerable woman and vampiric man.’¹⁰³ This Ireland, then, is not oppressed by colonial forces but liberated – a nation that needs rescuing from the darkness within itself.

This was a view disputed less than a year later with Margaret Allen’s 1886 ‘Bad News in Troubled Times’ (Figure 3). While the painting’s foreground depicts a middle-class farmer and his wife in aspects of grief at the news of their son’s arrest, contradicting popular depictions of Irish recklessness in their visible respectability, the chromolithograph in the background mirrors Tenniel’s own depiction. This time, however, it is the vulture of England that descends upon the prostrate figure of Hibernia – a metaphoric representation of the English occupation through Irish eyes. The difference in predatory creatures here is pertinent. Although both staples of Gothic imagery, the vulture is both larger and more powerful than the bat. It also feeds on the dead rather than the living, a carrion-eater perhaps chosen to represent an England taking advantage of Ireland at her most troubled.

¹⁰¹ Tracy, ‘Introduction,’ in Le Fanu, *In a Glass Darkly*, xxiv.

¹⁰² Harris, *Folklore*, 132, quoting G. Mingay, *Rural Life in Victorian England* (Wolfeboro Fall: Sutton, 1991), 17.

¹⁰³ Jim Hansen, *Terror and Irish Modernism: The Gothic Tradition from Burke to Beckett* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2010), 61.

Figure 2.

Punch, (24 October 1885),
by John Tenniel



The Irish "Vampire"

Figure 3.

The Freeman's Journal (1886),
by Margaret Allen



Bad News in Troubled Times

The vampire was not the only Gothic motif used in political cartoons to criticise the Irish radical. Frankenstein's monster, an image used by both Dickens and Gaskell to represent the horror of the working classes, was exploited by numerous nineteenth-century artists seeking to depict the monstrosity of Fenianism.¹⁰⁴ One early example published by *Punch* in 1843 (Figure 4) – the year declared 'the Repeal Year' by Daniel O'Connell – depicted a gargantuan, bestial Irishman attacking a well-heeled English gentleman with one of the aforementioned blackthorns. Across the front of the Irishman's ragged waistcoat is scrawled the word 'repeal' – or 'repale,' as it is actually written, in a mocking Irish brogue. This illustration taps into the most prevalent fears of the Englishman: fears of an atavistic and ungovernable Ireland rebelling against a refined and genteel England. A similar image appeared twenty-six years later in the satirical magazine *The Tomahawk* (Figure 5), this time depicting the 'Irish Frankenstein' as a counter to the rising nationalism of John O'Mahony's Fenian Brotherhood, a movement that spent the

¹⁰⁴ 'The actions of the uneducated seem to me typified in those of Frankenstein, that monster of many human qualities,' Elizabeth Gaskell, *Mary Barton* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1848), 266; 'The imaginary student pursued by the misshapen creature he had impiously made, was not more wretched than I,' Charles Dickens, *Great Expectations* (New York: James G. Gregory, 1861), 369.

Figure 4.

Punch (4 November 1843), by Joseph
Kenny Meadows

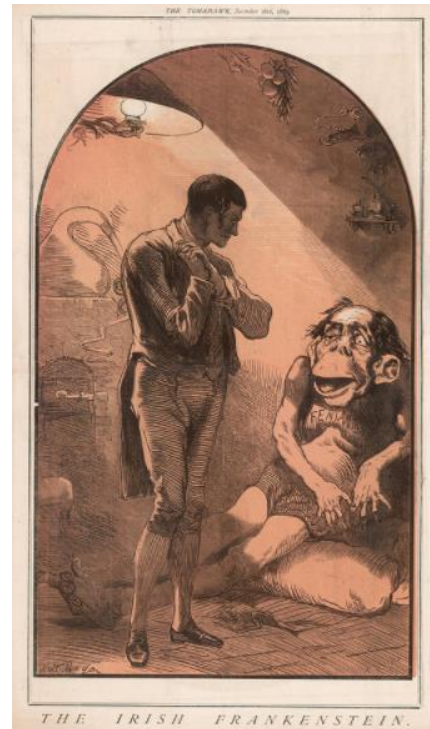


THE IRISH FRANKENSTEIN.

The Irish Frankenstein

Figure 5.

The Tomahawk, 137 (18 December 1869),
by Matt Morgan



THE IRISH FRANKENSTEIN.

The Irish Frankenstein

latter part of the 1860s raising money for the cause in the States. This Frankenstein is the stuff of children's fairy stories, a flabby, misshapen ogre that sprawls idly over grain sacks, the word 'Fenianism' inscribed across its chest. On the front page of *The Tomahawk* was a story entitled 'The Monstrous Legacy,' a faux folk story about a wicked ruler and his descendants who create a hideous monster to keep the land in 'subjugation' for generations to come. This monster is created from 'the blood of brave and good men, [...] the hearts of gentle women, and [...] the bones of helpless babes,' and as such must be constantly fed them if he is to be sustained – a rather heavy-handed metaphor for a Fenianist movement perceived to be thriving on the suffering of its own people. Despite despising this monster that prevents them from living in peace, the people of 'Smaragdus' – an allegorical Ireland – feed it and meet its demands in the hope that it will one day leave of its own accord, inadvertently making it 'more savage and more cruel' in the process.¹⁰⁵ It is only once the possibility is raised that the monster might move on to new lands – much like O'Mahony's Fenian Brotherhood – that the people vow to slay it, refusing to condemn another nation. This equating of the Irish radical with the monster,

¹⁰⁵ Arthur à'Beckett, ed., 'The Monstrous Legacy,' *The Tomahawk*, 137 (18 December 1869), 273-74.

and with the man-made monster in particular, colours the former with the violence and unnaturalness commonly associated with the latter. It figures Irish independence itself as unnatural and wrong, an artificial horror created to inflict harm. This particular interpretation draws on similar themes to Tenniel's 'The Irish Vampire,' figuring Ireland as a divided nation – the main threat to which comes not from oppressive external forces but from the Irish nationalist lurking within.

As the century progressed, and the 'Irish problem' deepened yet further, these satirical responses became more complex. The motif of the Irish radical as monster was evoked yet again in 1882 by a *Punch* cartoon also titled 'The Irish Frankenstein' (Figure 6), a drawing that depicted a shaken Charles Stewart Parnell cowering beside his Fenian monster. The creature displays the typical simian features of *Punch*'s Irishmen, his cache of weapons indicating the readiness with which the radicals were perceived to descend into violence. The cartoon was published shortly after the Phoenix Park assassinations, in which the newly appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland, Lord Frederick Cavendish, and his Permanent Undersecretary, Mr Thomas Burke, were attacked by members of the 'Irish National Invincibles.'¹⁰⁶ Despite giving a speech condemning the murders, Parnell was seen by many to be responsible thanks to his support for the Irish Land League: the creature that he had helped to create had become an uncontrollable monster in the eyes of the English. The cartoon's quotation makes this explicitly clear, envisioning a bilateral relationship in which each belongs to the other. The monster is figured as both Parnell's 'creature' and his 'master': he might control it, but it also controls him. Having created this monster, breathed his 'own spirit' into it, Parnell cannot then separate himself from the extremist actions of such groups.

These Gothic metaphors continued into the late 1880s, with the printing of 'Dr. M'Jekyll and Mr. O'Hyde' in August 1888 (Figure 7). Capitalising on the popularity of Stevenson's publication two years earlier, it depicted the two faces of Irish politics: the respectable face of the rebranded Irish National League and the violent past of the Land League from whence it had sprung. Although appearing the picture of civility, offering the scroll of the National League with his right hand and laying his left across his heart, Dr. M'Jekyll conceals the shadowy figure of Mr O'Hyde – the embodiment of the treacherous desires of Land Leaguers. Anonymised by a mask, knife in hand, the wrath-

¹⁰⁶ See Senan Molony, *The Phoenix Park Murders: Conspiracy, Betrayal and Retribution* (Cork: Mercier, 2006).

like figure literally emerges from his side. This establishes clearly the perceived untrustworthiness of even the most reputable nationalist organisations in the eyes of the British elite. Regardless of the League’s claims of legitimacy, they cannot be fully divorced from the criminal activities of those who support them – and whom they are rumoured to support in turn.

Figure 6.

Punch, (20 May 1882), by John Tenniel.



The Irish Frankenstein

“The baneful and blood-stained Monster *** yet was it not my Master to the very extent that it was my Creature? *** Had I not breathed into it my own spirit?” *** (Extract from the Works of C. S. P-RN-LL, M.P.)

Figure 7.

Punch, (18 August 1888), by John Tenniel.



DR. M'JEKVILL AND MR. O'HYDE.

Dr. M'Jekyll and Mr. O'Hyde

The ‘supernatural’ elements of Ireland so readily exploited by authors, journalists, and politicians capture the marked divide in popular conceptions of the nation. Supernatural Ireland is, on the one hand, an ethereal realm, a Yeatsian land of spirits and fairies. It is the land of the ‘emotional’ Celt, a mysterious and childlike figure that needs guidance, yet still has a great deal to teach the restrained Englishman about art and nature. On the other hand, however, this paranormal subtext translates into a dark undercurrent, capturing a different side of Ireland: Ireland as a dangerous and volatile entity. The

Gothicising of Ireland legitimises England's position of power. It figures Ireland either as a monstrous and ungovernable being in need of subjugation by a strong nation, or as a weak and vulnerable victim in need of protection from those that seek to harm her. Although envisioning very different realities, both of these narratives legitimise England's control of her neighbour. They promote antagonistic notions of English strength against Irish weakness, whether through visions of the ragged and bestial Irishman facing the suave and gentlemanly Englishman, or through images of a proud, sword-wielding Britannia cradling a weeping Hibernia.

The problem with both of these identities is the extent to which they were created by distinctly non-Irish entities. If England is seen to define herself in contrast to a fictional Ireland that she herself created – as a land of reality instead of fantasy, refinement instead of savagery – then how does Ireland in turn define *herself*? This is a question that Stoker would appear unable to answer. His model of success is a profoundly anglicised one, in which one must shed clothes and mannerisms like Norah or replace farms and cottages with ornamental gardens and grand country houses like Knocknagar. In short, in which one must become English.¹⁰⁷ This internalised idea of imperial superiority seems to be at least partially responsible for the complexities of Stoker's own national identity. The simultaneous and incompatible belief in the beauty and majesty of his homeland and in the total superiority of his adopted land leaves Stoker struggling to articulate a single cohesive vision of Ireland. Instead, the two appear as separate images overlaid. His Ireland is at once monstrous and beautiful, savage and spiritual, in need of subjugation and protection. In his futile attempts to reconcile the two, Stoker often resorts to creating simplified and self-destructive images of his countrymen that excuse him from delving deeper into the legitimacy of their grievances. This reticence to engage with the complexities of the political landscape is compounded by his choice of genre. The conventions of the romance allow Stoker to simplify irreducible complexities. Here, the union of two parties separated by a seemingly unsurmountable difference is not only permitted but encouraged. The structure that enables two unlikely individuals to transcend their divisions and forge a simplified yet harmonious whole has its natural extension in the land that they inhabit: in the unlikely peace of Stoker's literary Ireland.

¹⁰⁷ Athlyne also embodies Stoker's ideal balance of national characteristics. His full title – '2nd Earl of Athlyne (in the Peerage of the United Kingdom). 2nd Viscount Roscommon (in the Peerage of Ireland). 30th Baron Ceann-da-Shail (in the Peerage of Scotland)' (Athlyne 17-18) – renders him a literal embodiment of national unity, yet he retains the accent and airs of an English gentleman.

Conclusion

'Impersonators, Pretenders, Swindlers, and Humbugs of All Kinds': Stoker

Concluded.¹

Bram Stoker the author is a hegemonic performance, a carefully constructed image of that which Bram Stoker the man believes to be 'correct.' This performance allows him to masquerade as an 'insider,' to enmesh himself within London's literary elite and acquire a sense of belonging – superficially, at least. To imitate is not to identify, however. Despite his best efforts, Stoker remains an Irishman among Englishmen, an outsider among those he perceives to be 'insiders.' What is more, his sustained imitation does not seem to have resulted in a corresponding alteration of beliefs. His artificial persona may espouse an irreproachable breed of moral conventionality, but it is unable to contain the unorthodox interests threatening to spill out.

This is one explanation for the dramatic difference in both style and substance between Stoker's fictional works. It seems inconceivable that the deviant explorations of *Dracula* or the unapologetic macabre of 'The Squaw' could have sprung from the same mind that produced the tediously moralising *The Primrose Path* or the rather saccharine *Miss Betty*. The works that adhere fully to Stoker's chosen performance, to upholding that which he knows he should think, are so unconvincing that even the author himself cannot commit to them. It is in the works that reach beyond the performance that Stoker truly excels, the mask of conventionality being lifted and returned with dizzying speed. This tension results in accidental masterpieces such as *Dracula*, works in which that which he should not think spills out from beneath the veneer of that which he should think. This, then, is perhaps why Stoker is so fond of blending genres in his fictional works. Romances or adventure stories that lack any unorthodox elements at all prove to be dull and unconvincing, yet he is rarely able to cast off societal expectation long enough to explore such unorthodoxy fully. Instead, Stoker repeatedly opts for the safety of amalgamation: tales of heteronormative romances or adventures that conceal the hunger for alterity beneath. The skill with which Stoker executes this balancing act is evidenced by contemporary reactions to his work: even *Dracula*, a text universally acknowledged to be

¹ Stoker, *Imposters*, v.

sexually explicit in its tone today, was regarded as inoffensive upon its release, described by Stoker himself as containing ‘nothing base [...and] not irreverent.’²

In describing his text so, Stoker sets out the way in which he wishes to be perceived: as the purveyor of wholesome, uncontroversial works. The fact that the story itself seems so at odds with this description – to modern eyes at least – prompts a consideration of whether Stoker was aware of the undertones of his writing. Ignorance, it would seem, is an unlikely explanation. Scenes such as Harker’s encounter with the weird sisters, or Lucy’s staking, border on the explicit. The linguistic choices all occupy a sematic field of sexualisation: the vampires are described as ‘wanton’ (*Dracula* 211) and ‘voluptuous’ (38), and ‘kiss’ (39) their victims. This seems too explicit and sustained a connection to be accidental. Perhaps the explanation for Stoker’s denial of such associations lies in the context of said description. Stoker’s account of his text containing ‘nothing base’ or ‘irreverent’ is found within a letter addressed to William Gladstone, former Prime Minister and one of the author’s many heroes. It would thus stand to reason that, whatever his original authorial intentions, Stoker would wish to assure Gladstone of the moral uprightness of his text, maintaining plausible deniability over any baser associations. The general acceptance of this narrative says as much about the reader as it does about the author – it is as much an issue of consumption as it is an issue of production. To return to chapter one’s discussion of Stoker’s assumed and actual readerships, there is inevitably a gulf between the way that the text is intended to be received by its imagined readers and the way it is actually received by its real readers. While the imagined reader may have been blissfully ignorant of any sexual subtext, it seems implausible that the actual readership did not see such associations. The result of this would appear to be a strange pact of silence in which author and reader alike recognise the deviant undertones of the story yet commit to perpetuating a pretence of ignorance for propriety’s sake.

Such a reading is contingent upon an understanding of the intrinsic connection between text and author, between the man who produces the text and the text itself. As such, it necessitates the eschewing of the once popular understandings of ‘the death of the author’ in favour of a reading more in line with that of Burke.³ Although this reading encapsulates elements of Foucault’s understanding of the ‘author function,’ a concept that

² Bram Stoker to William Gladstone, 24 May 1897 (London), cited in Belford, *Dracula*, 274.

³ In ‘The Death of the Author’ Barthes describes writing as a ‘neutral,’ a ‘negative where every identity is lost, starting with the identity of the very body which writes.’ Roland Barthes, ‘The Death of the Author,’ in *Image Music Text*, Stephen Heath, trans. (London: Collins, 1977), 142-48, at 142.

places emphasis on the figure's discursive role rather than its individuality, it rejects attempts to erase this individuality altogether.⁴ Stoker the man cannot be entirely separated from Stoker the author, or from the texts that he produced. Instead, the figure of the author is created both in and by the text, as well as in and by the man behind them both.

In Stoker's case this is made particularly evident by the visible tensions between that which Stoker does think and that which he should think, between the man and the performance – something that frequently manifests in a layering of imagery. As these contradictory opinions cannot be reconciled they instead appear side by side. The stated claims of Stoker's authorial voice, or those of his characters, are often undermined by the actions depicted. In 'The Censorship of Fiction,' for instance, Stoker makes the case for an authorial responsibility not to exploit the 'sex impulses' ('Censorship' 483). Despite professing to be staunchly opposed to any form of literary pornography, something he saw as 'impure [...] dangerous material' ('Censorship' 482), his fictional works are notorious for their sexual suggestiveness. *Dracula* explores all manner of sexual deviancies, while even the reissued version of *The Jewel of Seven Stars* retains its quasi-incestuous depiction of a man unwrapping the naked body of his daughter's double as her fiancé looks excitedly on. Here we see the tension between Stoker the hegemonic performance, a middle-class, Christian gentleman scandalised by the exploitation of such base instincts, and Stoker the literary imagination, who finds such tawdry insinuations fascinating. While the former would appear to provide a clear moral framework for his fictional characters, denouncing the improper and upholding the chivalric ideals of conventional romance, the latter pushes them to deviate from this. As a result, he repeatedly creates multi-layered scenarios in which sexual deviance is clearly implied, but always remains deniable. The mummy unwrapping of *The Jewel of Seven Stars* is clearly intended to be sexually provocative; Stoker depicts a group of unmarried men stripping a naked female body. He focuses not just on the process itself but on the responses of his protagonist, whose excitement at seeing such 'unclad beauty' is tempered by 'a rush of shame' (*Jewel* 235) at their actions. The characters' relations to Margaret, the physical double of the naked figure before them, complicates this further. Within this masculine assembly stands not just Margaret's fiancé, whose engagement in a sublimated wedding night is implied by the removal of a 'marriage robe' (*Jewel* 235) from the body,

⁴ Foucault, *The Order of Things*; Sean Burke, *The Death and Return of the Author: Criticism and Subjectivity in Barthes, Foucault, and Derrida* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992).

but her own father. In this single scene Stoker thus engages with numerous sexual taboos, pre-marital sex, group sex, and incest among them. At the same time, however, the text retains plausible deniability. The body before them does not belong to Margaret, for all it looks like her, and is in fact said to not be a living body at all. Besides, however sexually stimulating the viewers may find the process it is still ostensibly a scientific endeavour embarked upon by respectable professionals. He works to a similar effect in *Dracula*, where even the most explicit of depictions can still be denied. Harker's encounter with the weird sisters, his longing to submit to their sublimated penetration, can be dismissed as nothing more than a fear-induced trance; the Crew of Light's graphic staking of Lucy, described by Craft as a 'corrective penetration' imbued with 'murderous phallicism,' can be read as simply the destruction of a monster.⁵ Stoker the man may wish to explore these dark thoughts, to succumb to the temptations of transgression, but Stoker the hegemonic performance is never far behind. What is more, the former is only willing to explore such thoughts from within the safety of the latter's pretence, concealing himself within it should uncomfortable questions be raised.

This division is not just limited to the exploitation of 'the sex impulses'; in fact, it extends to all facets of Stoker's fictional world. Stoker the hegemonic performance claims to prioritise 'good' women over bad, Christianity over heresy or religious doubt, the strength of the coloniser over the weakness of the colonised. Stoker the man, however, longs to explore the obverse. As such, his depictions of the unconventional, of the things that he feels he should not think, are infinitely more exciting than his conformism. His 'bad' women, despite being decried by the narrative voice, prove so fascinating that even their fellow characters are unable to resist them. When Stoker depicts Harker reclining in 'languorous ecstasy' (*Dracula* 38) before the advancing vampiresses, simultaneously longing for them and knowing that he should not, he paints a sublimated picture of himself. The two elements heighten one another in their extremity; his knowledge that he should not desire them only increases his longing, while his longing for them underscores the illicitness of his desires.

Stoker the hegemonic performance builds his understanding of the world upon two pillars of faith: science and religion. Far from contradicting one another, they support his created identity: he is both traditional and progressive, a man of God and a man of science. He explains that which he can understand with the wonders of science, and that which he

⁵ Craft, 'Kiss Me,' 122.

cannot with the wonders of religion. This establishes his desired position within both an intellectual and a moral elite, distinguished from both the uneducated who lean too heavily on religion and the unbelieving who rely excessively on science. Both author and implied reader acquire a degree of the superiority with which Stoker imbues his heroes, all of whom are careful to augment their progressive methods with pleas for divine assistance, while simultaneously emphasising the rational modernity of the world in which they reside. Such traits are not limited to Stoker's fictional works. In his consideration of witches in *Famous Imposters* he remarks that 'it is no easy task in these days, which are rationalistic, iconoclastic and enquiring, to understand how the commonality not only believed in witchcraft but acted on that belief' (*Imposters* 149). Modernity – which, to Stoker, is synonymous with rationality and reason – would appear to preclude any belief in the supernatural or unchristian. In spite of these claims – or indeed, perhaps because of them – Stoker's 'enquiring' nature cannot help but to consider the possibilities of unorthodox beliefs. While this exploration is most obvious in *The Jewel of Seven Stars*, evidence of the author's lack of conviction in traditional religion can be seen throughout his fictional canon: Gormala's Pagan magic in *The Mystery of the Sea*, the witch-finder Oolanga's ability to smell death in *The Lair of the White Worm*, and Rupert's exploration of 'wild, mystic rites' (*Shroud* 287) in various far-flung places in *The Lady of the Shroud*. That these unorthodox religious practices are often validated – or at the very least, not disproved – sets Stoker apart from his contemporaries. Whereas Marsh or Haggard take care to confirm that any non-Christian beliefs depicted are hollow charades – the 'Hindoo' goddess of *The Goddess: A Demon* who is revealed to be nothing more than a mechanised doll, or the planned conversion of *Allan Quatermain's* misguided sun-worshippers – Stoker is far more likely to validate these unorthodox beliefs than disprove them. This results in multiple overlaid, incompatible images in which Christianity is simultaneously unquestionable and questioned. Stoker the performance may see Christian doctrines as absolute, but Stoker the man has no such faith.

In these overlaid images we see the irreconcilable tension between Stoker's reality and his hegemonic performance. Stoker's preferred character, the costume that he so often dons, is that of the 'professional,' or as Arata would have it, the 'professional reader': a white, middle-class, representative of imperial Britain who is afforded authority through

his very act of being.⁶ This is the character that Stoker writes and rewrites into his fiction. His protagonists all adhere to the same template: they are staunch adventurers with good pedigrees and even better morals. All too often, however, this authority fails to ring true. His own position as a faux professional, an imitator rather than an identifier, destabilises the very concept of authority on which such premises are built. After all, if the authority of the professional derives from his identity alone, what happens when this identity is a manufactured one? This is a question that Stoker seems simultaneously eager and reticent to answer. His reluctance to look closely at the basis of this authority indicates an unease with its validity, and yet so many of his tales rely upon it: the heroes of *Dracula* could not triumph without their ability to instruct the working classes and the constabulary, Arthur depends upon Irish subservience to his Englishness in *The Snake's Pass*, and Archie must be able to command servants and foreigners alike to get ahead in *The Mystery of the Sea*. It is only in *The Jewel of Seven Stars*, that most unconventional of Stoker novels, that he can truly bring himself to expose the crux of the professional. Having spent the previous nineteen chapters commanding the police force and servants and interpreting various signs as only a *fin-de-siècle* professional can, this middle-class collective suddenly find their authority challenged. To suppress this challenge, and alleviate concern among those who do not meet the necessary requirements for professional status (in this case, a woman), Trelawny reiterates their credentials:

I have unrolled a hundred mummies; and there were as many women as men amongst them. Doctor Winchester in his work has had to deal with women as well of men, till custom has made him think nothing of sex. Even Ross has in his work as a barrister..." He stopped suddenly. (*Jewel* 231)

In his final sentence, Trelawny inadvertently lays bare the crux of the professional. Malcolm Ross is not qualified to attend the mummy unravelling because of the specifics of his profession, but because he *has* a profession. And while he may not be qualified to offer his opinion in the same way that his companions – a doctor and an Egyptologist – are, the masculine professionalism of knowledge renders his opinion valuable anyway.

This iteration exposes the concept of the professional as a hollow one. The suggestion that observing the stripping of an ancient female body would be in anyway useful to a barrister's work is clearly intended to be farcical. Ross and his companions exploit the shared understanding of the professional, the authority it lends them allowing

⁶ For further discussion of the rise of the middle-class professional see Donna Loftus, 'The Self in Society: Middle-Class Men and Autobiography,' in *Life Writing and Victorian Culture*, David Amigoni, ed. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 67-86. Arata's 'professional reader' is discussed in full in chapter one.

them to proceed with behaviour unchecked. That Margaret is the one to question this authority is crucial. As discussed elsewhere, her position as a convention-bound figure who longs for release aligns her with Stoker, an unlikely alter-ego for the author. In her wry exposure of the hollowness of the professional's authority we thus glimpse Stoker's own reflection. He simultaneously doubts and clings to the concept of the professional. On the one hand it is the embodiment of the identity that he wishes to create for himself, and on the other hand it is patently false. Stoker retains an awareness that his identification with this figure is hollow; that, if authority is derived purely from identity, then he cannot hope to fit the mould. Nevertheless, in reinforcing this identity throughout his fiction, in prioritising the view of the professional, Stoker seeks to imbue himself with some of the authority bestowed upon his characters.

Stoker finds his initial identification with the figure of the professional to be satisfactory: he is Caucasian, Christian, middle class, and British. As definitions of sameness narrow, however, he finds himself excluded from his own narrative: his Britishness is of the Irish variety, his Caucasian status improperly Celtic, his professionalism tarnished by the tawdry associations of the stage. Excluded from these complex categories of identification, Stoker finds comfort in the visible signifiers of perceived superiority to which he does adhere. It is these divisions – namely gender and skin colour – around which he structures his narratives. Like the Babu Indian discussed in chapter two, Stoker engages in conscious acts of identification with that which he deems superior. By its very nature, this necessitates a fierce act of othering towards all non-white, non-male figures. To borrow from Spivak's pivotal text, the only way that Stoker's subaltern can speak is through the mask of conformity.⁷ Disappointed by the grey areas of class and nationality and religion, Stoker seeks to reinforce the binary divisions of male and female, white and non-white. Ultimately, however, even these supposed dichotomous categories escape his grasp: women dress like men, men behave like women, 'whiteness' becomes a performative construct. The tighter Stoker's grip on 'normality,' the more he tries to adhere to that which he thinks he should think, the more the deviances slip through the cracks.

For Stoker, gender is purportedly the ultimate category of subjecthood. It outranks nationality, social class, and even race. As such, his fiction often structures itself around

⁷ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, Cary Nelson, ed. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 271-314.

this polarisation – even to its own detriment. The insistence in *The Jewel of Seven Stars* that both a male and a female watcher must be present at all times is a very Stokerian example. It underscores the totality of the division in principle, the assumption at its root being that each sex possesses vital traits lacking in its opposite yet undermines itself in its lack of resolution. There is no final revelation, no illuminating reason as to why a representative of each sex must be in the room. This is a consistent flaw in Stoker's fiction. His characters are so keen to insist upon the absoluteness of sexual difference that they frequently overreach, imposing such standards where they do not reasonably belong. The heroes of *The Lair of the White Worm* plan their assault against Lady Arabella on the premise that they will 'play our masculine against her feminine' (*Worm* 100), a strategy so rooted in preconception that it ignores the obvious flaw: their enemy is not a woman at all, but an ancient primordial snake. Gender being the stated division, it must be seen to underpin everything – even to the ludicrous extent of surpassing the division of species. Whatever her true form may be, Lady Arabella looks like a woman. The rules of Stoker's fiction thus dictate that she be treated as one, even at the expense of a successful resolution.

Despite his insistence on the absoluteness of this gendered divide, Stoker's authorial voice undermines it at every turn. His women don male clothing (Marjory), adopt the masculine role of suitor (Stephen, Lady Arabella), and even occasionally acquire the ability to penetrate (weird sisters, Lucy). Stoker would seem to find the idea of women acting like men a titillating concept, yet it is one to which he is never able to fully commit. Although readily indulging in the idea of cross-dressing in his works of both fiction and non-fiction, it is always qualified by a redemptive form of femininity: Marjory dresses as a man in order to elope with her heroic lover, and Stoker is quick to insist that the historical figures of *Famous Imposters* were driven by 'underlying romances, as of women making search for lost or absconding husbands, or of lovers making endeavours to regain the lost paradise of life together' (*Imposters* 230). Only in his Gothic works is Stoker able to truly unleash the masculine woman, the preternatural forces driving the text excusing the unnaturalness of the depiction. In *Dracula*, *The Jewel of Seven Stars*, and *The Lair of the White Worm* he revels in the concept of transgressive womanhood, his supernatural female villains excelling in a way that his 'good' women never do.

In facing such masculine women, Stoker's men are feminised. Jonathan Harker meets the sexual voracity of the weird sisters with submissiveness, Malcolm Ross defers

meekly to the judgement of Tera/ Margaret, and Adam Salton grows ‘pale’ (*Worm* 111) with fear before Arabella. Rather than resenting this emasculation in the manner of Marsh’s protagonists, however, Stoker’s heroes get a perverse thrill from their feminisation. Harker experiences none of the ‘dumb agony’ or ‘indescribable revulsion’ that Marsh’s Lessingham describes, only a ‘languorous ecstasy’ (*Dracula* 38) – if the former is a fantasy of not being able to resist the sexually aggressive female, then the latter is a fantasy of not wanting to.⁸ The Gothic mode provides Stoker with an outlet for his most transgressive desires. Whereas elsewhere he finds it necessary to overlay any unconventional thought with a strict mask of conformity, the supernatural realm allows him to give his darkest thoughts free reign – temporarily, at least. Stoker’s heroes can submit to being unmanned by the preternatural female in a way that they never could with a mortal woman, the presence of a superior force refuting any weakness on their part. To play the feminine role to a mortal woman would negate their statuses as heroes, but to be unmanned by magic is an excusable – and occasionally enjoyable – fate.

Ultimately, however, Stoker also finds himself unable to commit to this form of transgressive femininity. Having sufficiently revelled in their alluring monstrosity he opts to contain rather than liberate his masculine women: the weird sisters are decapitated, a metaphoric castration that removes their ability to penetrate and thus returns them to the realm of femininity; Lady Arabella is killed in a great explosion, her ‘foul carcase’ (*Worm* 144) blown to pieces. Although appearing fascinated by the process of their creation, Stoker’s commitment to his performance of hegemony does not allow him to see such transgressive creations through to their conclusion. Instead, he retreats back into his pretence, insisting once more that depictions be taken only at face value. The only novel in which he does deviate from this pattern is *The Jewel of Seven Stars*. In the 1903 version of the text Stoker finally commits to his form of transgressive femininity, releasing the ‘wizard queen’ (*Jewel* 166) out into Edwardian England at the expense of his assembly of professionals. Whereas elsewhere he prioritises these representatives of imperial masculinity, perpetuating the shared understanding of their superiority, here he opts for otherness over conformity, alterity over hegemony. As if suddenly aware of the hollowness of this construct of superiority, he shatters it: modern professional masculinity proves to be no match for ancient magical femininity. Even this apparent commitment to challenging normativity proves to be insubstantial, however: within nine years the

⁸ Marsh, *Beetle*, 197.

transgressive femininity of *The Jewel of Seven Stars* would be recast into narratives of containment, the ancient queen destroyed, and Margaret's nonconformity regulated by marriage.

While an untimely death is Stoker's preferred method of controlling his transgressive women, upon occasion such marriages offer an alternative form of containment. Marriage serves to redefine the masculine woman in terms of femininity, returning her to an acceptable state of malleability. In *The Mystery of the Sea* Marjory's unconventional traits – her bicycle-riding, adventuring, and willingness to don male clothing – disappear upon her marriage to Archie. As discussed, two iterations of the character seem to exist across the text: Marjory the adventurer, and Marjory the love interest. As soon as the parameters of the plot allow it, the former is discarded in favour of the latter. The frequency with which Stoker enforces this transition upon his heroines – Marjory, Joy, and Riddy all proving to be masculine adventurers but feminine wives – proves his commitment to this compartmentalisation. Stoker may enjoy masculine traits in his female villains, or even in his unconventional love interests, but he cannot envision them within the traditional roles of marriage. Marriage thus offers an alternative form of correction, overwriting the transgressive elements of the woman and confining her within suitable parameters of convention.

Stoker's repeated depiction of the masculine subsuming the feminine in marriage is yet another iteration of the author attempting to prioritise his own subject position, the brand of white, middle-class masculinity with which he is so keen to identify. In his fictional worlds the masculine element defines the marriage, able to either elevate an inferior breed of woman or lower a superior one. This, then, is why his heroes are consistently allowed to forge marital unions with ethnically ambiguous women, yet the concept of 'the white woman, and the black man' (*Worm* 50) is deemed 'grotesque' (65). The prioritisation of the masculine gender ensures that the man alone carries the racial and cultural signifiers. This negates the need for a British wife, as any resultant children will bear traces of their paternal line alone. Hence Adam can marry the half-Burmese Mimi, or Rupert can have children with his new Balkan wife, without any concern over a perceived corruption of bloodlines: the blood of white masculinity overrides all other considerations. This is exemplified by *The Lady of the Shroud*, in which the new Crown Prince is named for his father rather than for his royal Balkan lineage: 'little Rupert' will further his father's English line, not his mother's.

This prioritisation of British masculinity has its limits, however. While Stoker seems willing to accept a Slavic or Burmese heroine, envisioning their ethnicities as liminal concepts that can be ameliorated or overwritten entirely if desired, he draws the line at the black African. As discussed, Stoker's treatment of the black man is uncharacteristically harsh. He links Africanness not just with the savagery or atavism of his contemporaries, but with preternatural evil – an escalation of popular negative perceptions. The African man is prominent in Stoker's fiction, making villainous appearances in both *The Mystery of the Sea* (the unnamed black kidnapper) and *The Lair of the White Worm* (Oolanga). The African woman, on the other hand, is largely absent, her presence only being felt in a brief comedic exchange between Arthur and his Irish coach driver in *The Snake's Pass* in which Stoker's preconceptions about both gender and race collide. Suspicious that his employer may have developed a romantic interest in a local girl, Andy enquires as to the specifics of Arthur's tastes:

“Nixt, fair or dark?”

“Dark, by all means.”

“Dark be it, surr. What kind iv eyes might she have?”

“Ah! Eyes like darkness on the bosom of the azure deep!”

“Musha! but that's a quare kind iv eye fur a girrul to have intirely! Is she to be all dark, surr, or only the hair of her?”

“I don't mean a nigger, Andy!” [...]

“Oh! my but that's a good wan. Be the hokey, a girrul can be dark enough for any man widout bein' a nagur. Glory be to God, but I niver seen a faymale naygur meself, but I suppose there's such things (*Snake* 139-40)

The humour of the exchange derives from the deliberate misunderstanding on Andy's part that Arthur might have a preference for black women. This idea is regarded as so patently untrue as to be laughable. The ‘faymale naygur’ is voiced as the most extreme form of otherness to Arthur's professionalism – so extreme, in fact, as to have never actually been seen. As a representative of the imperial masculine, Arthur's duty is to continue his superior race of Englishmen. He might be able to subsume the inferior blood of an ethnically ambiguous or lower-class girl, but even he is unable to transform the African woman into a suitable imperial bride.⁹ The conversation also serves a second purpose: to provide an arena of sameness in which Andy and Arthur can temporarily discard the visible signifiers that have hitherto divided them (namely class and

⁹ As concepts of race are driven by discourse and power rather than concrete differences, this line is arbitrary: Stoker chooses where to make this divide of ‘passable’ whiteness.

nationality) and prioritise the shared visible signifiers that unite them (gender, sexual orientation, and skin colour).

The subsuming of the feminine by the masculine also explains Stoker's treatment of cross-class marriages. In both *The Lair of the White Worm* and *The Snake's Pass* the middle-class heroes find themselves infatuated with that epitome of fictional working-class womanhood, the farmer's daughter. The barriers to such unions are envisioned as surprisingly superficial, however, being predominantly rooted in surface traits such as mannerisms and clothing – emblems of cultural rather than natural difference. As evidenced by *The Snake's Pass*, these defining characteristics can be overwritten with ease. When Norah returns from finishing school she has been washed clean of any class signifiers, a blank slate on to which Arthur can draw a middle-class wife.

For Stoker, however, these cross-class marriages are a strictly unilateral affair. The impossibility of such a transformation happening in reverse is illustrated by *The Shoulder of Shasta*. Here Stoker's heroine, a spirited American heiress of considerable means, falls in love with a huntsman by the name of Grizzly Dick, who is in her mother's employ. Esse briefly entertains the possibility of a Norah-esque transformation for her working-class lover – a possibility proved ludicrous in its execution. Whereas Norah could be overwritten entirely, Dick's transformation is nothing more than a pantomime, a joke underscored by the excess of his costume:

Dick had thus arrayed himself in a blue claw-hammer coat with brass buttons, a low-cut waist-coat of mighty pattern, in plaid of many colours, in which primary shades of scarlet, yellow, and blue, predominated, a light pair of yellow cord trousers, of preternatural tightness, and enormous patent leather pumps, which were all too small to be easy on feet accustomed to mocassins. His shirt was what far-western salesmen call 'dressy,' and exhibited on its bosom many rows of fancy pleating with, between them, masses of herring-bone handwork, such as a rustic maiden is wont to exhibit on her Sunday petticoat. [...] Dick, not feeling complete, even in this subjugatory attire, had been to the barber's and undergone a process of curling, oiling, and scenting, which alone would have isolated him in any high-bred society throughout the world. (*Shasta* 208-9)

Dick's transformation is voiced as a feminisation. His hair is curled and scented, his clothes womanly. The process itself is described as 'subjugatory,' a term that encapsulates both the shame and the unnaturalness inherent in its execution. In his willingness to alter himself to fit into a woman's life, Dick is emasculated. He takes on the feminine role of subservience, forfeiting his dominant position and moulding himself to Esse's sublimated masculinity. And while the feminisation of the hero might be acceptable in Stoker's

Gothic worlds, worlds in which the presence of the preternatural excuses the unnaturalness of the situation, in the more prosaic realms of adventure or romance this transformation is voiced as shameful. The transformation of *The Shoulder of Shasta* is a mocking parody of that envisioned in *The Snake's Pass*. Whereas Norah's transformation is proof of her femininity, her willingness to adopt a traditional role in bending to her husband's wishes, the reverse proves to be laughable. The authorial voice confirms as much in its resolution. Disillusioned of any possibility of a successful transformation, and thoroughly disquieted by its attempted execution, Esse detaches herself from her gaudily-clad lover and redirects her attentions to a more suitable match. The novel ends with a reconfirming of the established order: Esse and Reginald engaged to be married, and Dick clad once more in the clothes of a workman.

In many ways, the exclusion that Dick encounters is similar to that which Stoker himself experiences. In the first half of the novel, when among Native Americans in the mountains, Dick is clearly aligned with Esse and her mother. His skin colour, language, and masculinity all earn him the identity of an insider. Among polite society in the second half of the novel, however, he is a clear outsider, definitions of sameness having narrowed to exclude him. The point of this transition is clear. 'Identification' being a relational concept, inferior forms can be tolerated when in the presence of the more foreign other, but not when surrounded by other superior identifiers. As the narrative progresses from the mountain to the ballroom, being white and English-speaking ceases to be sufficient qualification for entry: questions of class and occupation begin to intrude, excluding the hunter.

For Stoker, however, the point of this exclusion is more complex. Whereas Dick's attempted assimilation is a pantomime, a ludicrous display of excess, Stoker's is exceptionally convincing. So much so, in fact, that it is often difficult to tell where the line of exclusion should be drawn. Stoker's character is that of the professional – the white, middle-class, imperial male – a figure that overwrites the reality of his identity entirely. This performance is at times so convincing that it is impossible to tell the difference between Stoker the man, and Stoker the character, between that which he does think and that which he should think. Stoker's treatment of imperialism is one of these conundrums. It is difficult to discern whether the author had truly internalised a belief in English superiority, or whether it is just one of his more convincing masks. Texts such as *The Snake's Pass* and *The Lady of the Shroud* depict utopic fantasies of imperial representatives enriching the lives of backward natives, much to the delight of the local

populace. Such depictions make a conscious effort not to engage with the moral complexities of imperialism, however: the native people are Caucasian (albeit of an 'inferior' variety), the conquest is welcomed and profitable, and the Englishmen are generous and well-meaning. This lack of engagement, the refusal to examine or criticise the actions of his imperial protagonists, perhaps in itself indicates a lack of conviction on Stoker's part. Authors such as Kipling or Ballantyne, despite being explicit in their support of the colonial mission, nevertheless engage with questions of the rights and wrongs of imperialism, their consideration of the latter only enhancing their belief in the former.¹⁰ In *The Settler and the Savage* Ballantyne depicts the colonial administration as corrupt and inefficient, and the native populace as largely hostile to the white settlers encroaching on their land. He is quick to augment this realism with a justification of the imperial mission, however, noting that the Kafirs 'had much more country than they knew what to do with' and received 'the comforts of civilised life' in exchange.¹¹

Stoker, on the other hand, makes no such concessions. His imperial realms are populated by deferential and grateful natives, while his colonisers are all irreproachable Englishmen who regard their new subjects with a paternal (if somewhat bemused) affection. These shallow portrayals serve as two-dimensional caricatures of the imperial fantasy: of profitable benevolence on the one side, and subservience and gratitude on the other. Despite this refusal to explicitly examine the faults of the imperial mission, however, evidence of these faults can still be detected in such tales. The Englishmen of both *The Lady of the Shroud* and *The Snake's Pass* reap huge financial benefit from the repurposing of their adopted lands – a benefit that undoubtedly underpins their decision to take up permanent residence there. Despite his insistence on the resultant improvement of native life, Stoker never goes so far as to champion Kipling's brand of 'moral imperialism,' however. The imperialism depicted in Kipling's 'The White Man's Burden,' with its claims of sacrifice and 'exile' for the good of another, is not Stoker's kind of imperialism. Stoker's imperialism revolves firmly around the coloniser. Any benefit to the native populace is subsidiary, a fortunate side effect of the primary aim. This primary aim is to repurpose native land in such a way that it can become conventionally productive. The heroes replace farm lands with ornamental gardens (*The Snake's Pass*) and virgin forest with radium mines (*The Lady of the Shroud*), acts that not

¹⁰ In 'The White Man's Burden' Kipling remarks that the imperialist must inevitably incur 'the blame of those ye better/ the hate of those ye guard,' 52.

¹¹ Ballantyne, *Settler*, 285-86.

only prioritise imperial values over native ones but trap the native peoples in the colonial project, removing their means of self-sufficiency.

The colonial exploitations in these two texts seem to exist as an undercurrent, discernible but never discussed. Indeed, it seems highly likely that Stoker himself would not have viewed them as exploitations at all. His narrative voice depicts such acts as mutually beneficial, the natural right of the Englishman abroad. After all, in Stoker's fiction the Englishman is the galvanising force needed to propel ignorant and insular peoples towards progress. 'The Man From Shorrox' paints a rather different picture, however. As the only one of Stoker's works to take the side of the Irishman, 'The Man from Shorrox' depicts a strikingly different version of Stoker's birth nation to that shown in *The Snake's Pass* or 'A New Departure in Art.' Far from the rather derisive caricatures of the latter two works, this short story depicts the Irish as fiery and industrious and intelligent. More importantly, it depicts the Irish natives as hostile to the Englishman in their midst – a hostility justified by the disdainful superiority with which Stoker imbues his 'Manchesther Man.' This 'Manchesther Man,' a visiting businessman, believes that his Englishness entitles him not just to the best room in the inn, but to the attentions of the recently widowed proprietor. He is a caricature of imperial arrogance, smoking a 'big cygar nigh as long as yer arm' ('Shorrox' 659) and declaring to all who will listen that 'the best is what I want, an' that's not good enough for me!' (660). In portraying the imperial masculine as a predatory and destructive force, his entitlement to native resources depicted through his sublimated feelings of entitlement to native women, Stoker undermines his previous depictions of benevolent imperial masculinity.

Although the majority of his fictional works would support the generally accepted view that Stoker had a firm belief in the benevolence and superiority of the British Empire in general, and of the English in particular, 'The Man From Shorrox' would appear to challenge such preconceptions. Here we see an element of the author that has been hitherto largely concealed: Stoker the Irishman. What is more, while his Irishness exists elsewhere in the background, a muted presence that is conspicuous in its lack of political engagement, here it is a focal point. The explicit hostility to the imperial representative in their midst suggests a concealed resentment of the very figure with which Stoker would elsewhere claim to identify. This striking depiction, combined with the underlying exploitations depicted in his other texts, calls into question the views that Stoker is typically assumed to hold on the imperial mission. Does the author really see the British Empire as a purveyor of progress and prosperity, or is this avowed patriotism just another

mask? Ultimately, one is forced to ask whether this is a question that even Stoker himself knew the answer to. Perhaps the two options are not so incompatible after all. It seems probable that Stoker did, on a conscious level, believe in the benevolence of the British Empire. As an Irish author growing up in the turbulence of late nineteenth-century Ireland, however, the exploitations he saw around him have inevitably been subconsciously written into his works.

This dynamic can be extended across a variety of other subjects. A lack of conviction in that which Stoker claims to believe can be detected across many of his texts, whether imparted consciously or unconsciously. Although not necessarily indicative of a conscious rejection of that which he claims to believe, Stoker's polyvalent endings would appear to set him apart from near contemporaries such as Haggard. It is difficult not to connect such polyvalence with his own complex identity. The layers of performance inherent in this identity blur the lines of identification, both in literature and in life. If Stoker's authorial persona is itself an artificial construct, then so too are the ideals that support it. The result of this is a pervasive sense of falsehood, in which impersonation is simultaneously the reason for and the subject of the narrative.

Stoker's fourth and final work of non-fiction, *Famous Imposters*, solidifies his obsession with impersonation – a wide-reaching interest that covers not just women pretending to be men and men pretending to be women, but commoners pretending to be royalty and humans pretending to be witches. It would also seem to indicate that Stoker believed such pretences to be a natural part of human existence, an act he referred to as being 'so common that it seems rooted in a phase of human nature' (*Imposters* 227). Given that the examples that appear in *Famous Imposters* are of a very select nature – an array of famous cases such as Mademoiselle Maupin, or the rumour that Queen Elizabeth I was in fact a man – it seems curious that Stoker would use the term 'common'; the examples that he gives are anything but. Perhaps Stoker's interest with impersonation was driven not just by a sense of titillation at such pretence, but by a search for comfort, identification, and power. Having spent his own life imitating something that he is not, he seeks reassurance in the knowledge that others are doing the same. This expression of commonality, of the belief that – in some way or another – everyone's identity is a performance, calls into question the line between imitation and identification. If all identities are in part a pretence, is there any such thing as true identification?

Stoker repeatedly searches for some form of redemptive otherness; a redemptive otherness to validate his own. Despite his desire to discover such a form – a form that is contemplated throughout his works of fiction in the guise of unconventional gender, class, and racial depictions – he consistently fails to fully commit to it. Whether this is because of his own doubts as to the possibility of otherness ever truly being redemptive, or because of his knowledge that such otherness would never be externally accepted as such, remains to be seen. It seems most likely to be a mixture of both. Whether or not he truly believes in it, Stoker is committed to his hegemonic performance. In retreating behind what Wimsatt and Beardsley would later term the ‘intentional fallacy’ he finds himself protected: we cannot know Stoker’s real opinions with any degree of certainty, only those which his text would claim to propagate.¹² While the bulk of his literary work may appear to suggest an orthodoxy of opinion, however, Stoker is paradoxically at his best upon the occasions that he rejects such conformity. It is this rejection that separates a text like *Dracula*, with its controversial undertones and taboo associations, from the likes of *Miss Betty* or *The Shoulder of Shasta*, two of Stoker’s supremely conservative novels. Like Kipling, who sets aside decades of resolute jingoism in the surprisingly critical ‘The Man Who Would Be King,’ Stoker is at his best when casting aside the carefully constructed face of hegemony and exploring the otherness beneath.

The negative reception of the only text to successfully enact a complete rejection of this conformity might provide a clue as to why Stoker prefers to keep his rebellions more nuanced elsewhere. *The Jewel of Seven Stars*, with its prioritisation of an all-encompassing otherness in which the feminine defeats the masculine, the foreign defeats the English, the heretic defeats the Christian, was met with critical dismay. Contemporary reviewers regarded it as either an authorial failure, or a baffling mystery, describing it variously as a text that would ‘fail [...] to impress’ and cause readers to ‘addle their brains.’¹³ This negative reception is intrinsically connected to the dramatic departure from Stoker’s usual prioritisation of hegemonic normativity. The revised ending, whatever its

¹² W. K. Wimsatt Jr. and M. C. Beardsley, ‘The Intentional Fallacy,’ *The Sewanee Review*, 54/ 3 (1946), 468-88. The issue of literary quality also affects our understanding of these issues. In some cases – *Dracula* being the archetypal example – the resultant text can be regarded as exceeding the author in terms of quality: Stoker has produced an accidental masterpiece defined not by authorial skill but by the subconscious capturing of a zeitgeist. This returns once again to Foucault’s understanding of the text as existing outside of the author.

¹³ ‘The Jewel of Seven Stars,’ *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science, and Art* (1903), 768; ‘Some Novels of the Season,’ *The Review of Reviews*, 28 (1903), 638.

origins, represents an allegorical suppression of Stoker's private identity.¹⁴ If we see the author as being aligned with Margaret, a convention-bound figure who longs for release, then the revised version reaffirms the prioritisation of performance over reality, surface over substance. Whereas the 1903 edition offers the possibility of an otherness that, if not redemptive, is at least triumphant, the 1912 edition restores hegemonic normativity to Stoker's world.

Here we return to the dual terms of the title, both the 'invasion' and the 'inversion.' Stoker's personal and literary lives are both driven by these terms, by what is 'out there' and what is 'in here,' by what is trying to get in and what is trying to get out. He consistently directs his readers' attentions to the former, to the things 'out there' trying to get in, structuring his texts around visible signifiers of difference. Stoker insists upon the totality of these constructed differences – upon the otherness of gendered, racial, religious, and class-based difference. The form in which this otherness manifests depends upon the genre of work, yet all share the same root concept. Whether the literal monsters of his Gothic works, or the figurative monsters of his romance and adventure tales, the monstrosity of Stoker's villains is always rooted in their otherness to a protagonist with whom both reader and author ostensibly identify. Stoker directs attention outwards so convincingly that it is easy to overlook the true horror in his work: that the real danger exists within. Stoker's dividing lines repeatedly prove to be insubstantial: women dress like men, men behave like women, monsters disguise themselves as humans, and humans act like monsters. At heart, the author knows these visible signifiers of difference to be false constructs; after all, he has manipulated them himself in the creation of his authorial persona. For Stoker, the true horror exists in his – and our own – interior: not what is 'out there' trying to get in, but what is 'in here' trying to get out.

¹⁴ As in chapter four, this discussion takes the revised ending at face value in the manner that contemporary readers were intended to: as a victory for the West.

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