“IN OUR VEINS FLOWS THE BLOOD OF MANY BRAVE RACES”: THE
INFLUENCE OF THE GERMAN LITERARY VAMPIRE ON CONSTRUCTIONS OF
RACE AND NATION IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRITISH VAMPIRE FICTION

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ABSTRACT

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The literary vampire figure, as it would be recognized today, entered English literature through translations of late eighteenth century German poetry. The purpose of this project is to explore how the relationship between German vampire ballads and British vampire narratives acts as a literary manifestation of German-British cultural and political attitudes and interactions in the roughly century and a half before World War I. This relationship will be discussed through an exploration of the constructs of blood and body within vampire narratives in direct relationship to sociocultural discourses of race in Pre-WWI England. This project seeks to explore the following questions: Are vampire narratives a fictional response to “the German Problem” of nineteenth century imperialism? What is the significance of the vampire figure being outside normative constructions of race and nation? Drawing on Goethe’s “Bride of Corinth” and Bürger’s “Lenore,” I will do a close reading of John Polidori’s *The Vampyre*, J.S. LeFanu’s *Carmilla*, and Bram Stoker’s *Dracula*. This reading will be theoretically framed by Homi Bhabha’s theories of liminality, mimicry, and ambivalence as one way to describe the vampire body.
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The ultimate binary exists between life and death. The vampire, because it exists as something both living and dead concurrently, destabilizes this constructed boundary, setting the stage to destabilize other binaries whose essential nature are taken for granted: self/other, male/female, colonizer/colonized. The literary vampire figure, as it would be recognized today, entered English literature through translations of late eighteenth century German poetry. The purpose of this project is to explore how the relationship between German vampire ballads and British vampire narratives acts as a literary manifestation of German-British cultural and political attitudes and interactions in the roughly century and a half before World War I. This relationship will be discussed through an exploration of the constructs of blood, body, and nationality within vampire narratives in relationship to sociocultural discourses of race in Pre-WWI England. In the following chapters, I will briefly outline the rise of the literary vampire in the German Kunstballade tradition, and its translation into English-language literature. Specifically, I draw on Goethe’s “Die Braut von Korinth” and Gottfried August Bürger’s “Lenore” to do a close reading of John Polidori’s The Vampyre, J.S. Le Fanu’s Carmilla, and Bram Stoker’s Dracula and “Dracula’s Guest,” which will encompass the last sections of this project. I argue that because the early incarnations of vampires came from Eastern Europe through the lens of Germans (Austrian-Germans, but German speakers nonetheless), this connection establishes from the beginning a popular association
between German intellectual and political power and Eastern European vampirism. In British vampire fiction, as I will demonstrate in later sections, this connection evolves into a three-part system in which Germanness acts as a filter for how British vampire novels use the vampire figure and how they construct an idea of Eastern Europe. In this system, Germans act as others to English characters, but are depicted as less other than Eastern Europeans.

My goal is to show how these texts contrast constructs of Englishness against constructs of Germanness and those of Eastern Europeans: e.g. English rationalism and logic against continental superstition, the English language against German/French/Slavic languages, etc. This project seeks to answer the following questions: Are vampire narratives a fictional response to “the German Problem” of nineteenth century imperialism? What is the significance of the vampire figure being outside normative constructions of race and nation? While many nations sought to build ever expanding empires in the nineteenth century, Germany’s entrance into the colony race was viewed with suspicion bordering on derision. The “German Problem” refers to when, in 1870, Germany unified and became the most populous and powerful state in Europe. Concurrently, their economy was also growing rapidly, paving the way for them to become strong imperial contenders. This became the “German Problem” to their neighboring nations because it threatened to create an imbalance of power and instability.

Overall, the purpose of this introductory study is to present a basic outline that will be guiding my reading of vampire ballads and narratives. I believe offering a new reading of British-German political and cultural relations in light of the continuing
influence of Germany in twenty-first century political and racial discussion is valuable. One of the eventual goals of this research is to contribute to expanding the scholarship around European Gothic movements, their influences, and the reverberations back from English movements. I would argue that while Gothic tropes began in European fiction and were then incorporated into English-language fiction, the English cultural dominance in the genre also served to reshape future Gothic movements in European fiction. The vampire, as a figure of extensive cultural meaning, offers the perfect vessel with which to start such an analysis.

While numerous volumes have explored the tumultuous interactions between Britain and Germany during the nineteenth century, for the context of this project and literary analysis, some part of this history must be mapped out here. Since the reunification of Germany in 1990, there has been a continuing interest in redefining, debating, and analyzing German society and national character. With this persistent global attention, there has been a tendency to deal with the uncertainty over Germany’s powerful role in current international politics (e.g. Germany’s powerful role in the European Union) by falling back on older stereotypes, many of which came out of the nineteenth century. Uncertainty has highlighted the Germans’ own struggle for national identity and stability, and has also been at the heart of the larger “German Question” between national unity and European integration (discussions that often maintain a mutually exclusive either/or relationship). Importantly for this project, on both social and psychological levels, uncertainty has also influenced much of the tone of Anglo-German relations since the eighteenth century, leading to the question of how Germanness can
indicate otherness in English literature. Since reunification, and with the rise of the European Union, apprehensions about German character and German political power have frequently called upon Germany’s negative political past (e.g. Bismarkian militarism and Third Reich politics) while cautiously looking forward to a seemingly promising future of European integration, with Germany as a central figure. This dueling duality of constructions of Germanness has been heavily influenced by the nineteenth-century British image of Germany, an image shaped by revolutions, nationalistic and imperial fervor, and wars.

Since the time of the Roman Empire through to the twenty-first century, the understanding of what it means to be German in Europe has evolved from Gaul’s barbarians, to the pinnacle of artistic, scholarly and scientific achievement during the Enlightenment, from fascist enemy, to an innovative economic heart in modern Europe. As definitions of Germanness change, stereotypes have frequently relied on, and reincorporated the remnants of an implied powerful past. Like many stereotypes, these constructs of Germanness are often conflated with historical events, helping them achieve something close to historical fact themselves, which has continued to define most of the images of both the nation of Germany and the character of its people. This may be partly attributable to a long-standing insecurity and fluidity regarding German political and national identity in comparison with Britain, France, or Spain. These latter global powers became established nation-states long before German unification in 1871, which perhaps gives the impression of greater stability. In the late nineteenth century, many British writers saw Germany as an ambiguous ethnic and diplomatic entity, even though the
larger German states (e.g. Prussia, Bavaria, and Saxony) had been well defined on an international level for centuries (Mander, Firchow). In their attempts to parse out, classify, and understand an evolving German national character, many British writers (both journalists and novelists) relied on a mass of contradictory stereotypes. Some powerful motifs have persisted throughout the centuries, forming a tradition of influential, if conflicting, themes: the barbarian, the intellectual, the professor, the militarist.

During the nineteenth century, the time period overlapping the literature to be analyzed in this project, the primary shift in the public opinions of Germany begins with Otto von Bismarck. Bismarck’s aggressive new form of diplomacy, which led to Prussian victories over Denmark in 1864, Austria in 1866 and France in 1870-1, led to a united German Empire (Fulbrook 127-128). This new, forward moving Germany relied on a tightly run, tariff-protected economy and massive industrial expansion. John Mander writes how the British, mid-Victorian “loyal German” stereotype highlighted “saccharine” and sentimental images of German romanticism and liberal Young Germany. These stereotypes deteriorated into the bitter realities of German imperial rivalry and Weltpolitik before World War I. From this perspective, the twentieth and twenty-first century association of German identity with Prussian militarism, ruthless efficiency, and Nazi brutality is arguably a response to previous uncertainties about what defines Germanness by replacing (and even attempting to forget) the earlier, more benign, idea of German character (Cousins 4, 10-11).

In The Death of the German Cousin: Variations on a Literary Stereotype, 1890-
1920. Peter Firchow explores how the British perception of Germans changed from the image of artistic, educated, if somewhat backward, cousins to a bloodthirsty menace. Using Lukács’ “extreme situations”—the idea that some situations will radiate with a symbolic force beyond their seemingly narrow contexts—Firchow seeks to highlight how the changing perceptions of Germans reflects the cultural work the British were doing late in the nineteenth century to define Englishness. Firchow argues how the Germans functioned as a “defective mirror image” of the English, through which Englishness could be differentiated, maintained, and reinforced (184). From the genesis of the German Empire in the 1870’s through World War I (and later), the conflicting representations of Anglo-German character distinctions rested on ever evolving stereotypes, which, as Firchow explores, provided a way to project the negative aspects of British colonialism and national identity onto their German cousins. Firchow moves on to examine how authors like Joseph Conrad, E.M. Forster, Rudyard Kipling, and H.G. Wells (among others) interpreted the political and social changes happening in Germany by attempting to map out definitions of German character (17-29). It is through these works and, as I will argue in later chapters, late-nineteenth-century vampire novels that the distinct separation between “good” and “bad” Germans continued to gain footing.

Furthering the distinction between “good” and “bad” Germans was the rise of Germany as an imperial power. Partially because it was not a unified nation until 1871, Germany was a relatively late entrant into the nineteenth-century colonial race. However, after unification, starting in the 1880’s, Germany began to acquire territories in West Africa. Almost immediately, British writers and journalists responded by recognizing that
Germany could be a challenge to Britain’s colonial and industrial power. This colonizing Germany increasingly threatened a Victorian Anglo centric worldview. British responses to Germany’s evolution can be arranged into two main camps: Germanophile “idealists” and Germanophobe “realists” (Kennedy, “Idealists”). Paul M. Kennedy explains that the idealists fostered relationships with Germany through goodwill, diplomacy, and free trade. On the other hand, the realists rejected what they saw as an overly optimistic view of Germany in favor of defensive nationalism and protectionism. Kennedy, in a separate work, also coined the phrase “Anglo-German antagonism” to describe the pervasive cultural and diplomatic opposition that marked social and political relations between the two countries from the time of Bismarck to the outbreak of World War I. At the core of Kennedy’s argument is that this antagonism stemmed from competing imperial interests. On one hand, England sought to preserve a hegemonic structure based on British superiority; on the other hand, the up-start German empire sought to carve out a place as a global power at the expense of Britain’s position.

Britain and Germany’s relationship not only developed through their political interactions, but also reflected changing ideas about race. Ivan Hannaford’s *Race: The History of an Idea in the West* analyzes how constructs of race began and evolved over time. Hannaford seeks to analyze the discourses of race in such a manner as to illuminate the historical, social, political, and linguistic epistemologies that have defined racial discourses. Hannaford notes that a unique change in racial definitions happened in the late seventeenth century where the tracking of lineages, or clans, began to shift into definitions of ethnic groups (6). He further explains that “the emergence of the idea of
race had something to do with the insouciant and often deliberate manipulation of texts by scientists and historians abandoning earlier paradigms of descent” (6). Most notably, he says, this emergence coincided with the rise of the Enlightenment. Hannaford starts his journey into the idea of race with the ancient world of the Greeks, Romans, and Barbarian tribes. In the pre-Christian to early Christian eras, the initial division between peoples was “understood as being [the difference between] the civic and the barbarous” (14). After the Goths sack Rome, there is a change in how civic and barbarous are defined, with Augustine’s work showing how the idea of the normative person shifts from being Roman (civic) to being Christian (religious) (93-5). The division between civic (religious) and barbarous lasts until the early modern era, when an epistemological shift occurs from an emphasis on the metaphysical/theological to empiricism and rationalism. Such a change foresees how national bodies will eventually be classified based on pseudo-scientific methods of describing such things as physiognomies, mental characteristics, and bloodlines.

Starting in the early modern era, Hannaford identifies what he calls three distinct stages in the formation of the current idea of race: the first stage is divided into the period of 1684-1815; the second stage demarked as the time between 1815 and 1870, and lastly is the time from 1870-1914 (187). Hannaford further breaks the first stage into three specific changes. First was a change in methodology, “the setting aside of the metaphysical and theological scheme of things for a more logical description and classification” (187). Second was a change in the understood relationship between “body structure, bodily endowment, and mind.” Hannaford notes that “here the argument was
advanced that all three had a bearing on something new called ‘national character’” (189). Lastly, Hannaford discusses the combination of anthropology, history, and literature that brought about the quest for “true national origins in the blood of romantic pasts” in the late eighteenth through the nineteenth centuries (190). In this section, Hannaford singles-out Germanic peoples (English, German, and Scandinavian) as examples of the significance of this three-part change. The relationship between blood and historical past that Hannaford refers to draws on the eighteenth-century resurgence of Aristotle’s writings on physiognomy and art. External characteristics, alongside mental attributes like being a genius or great artist, were “assumed to carry forward as a formative force in something called a race, which realized itself in language, purity of blood, and a rational Reformation Christianity divorced from its authorized biblical and classical political sources and working itself out in the natural processes of the history of the dynamic Germanic peoples” (190). The attention paid to the idea of blood, and the power of blood, becomes significant in the creation of blood metaphors within popular discourse and literature. To say a nation is defined by the blood-based characteristics of its people, then, is to imply that the transmission of blood between peoples holds an immense power over the future health of the nation state. This is significant for a discussion of vampire literature, especially the translation of the vampire myth across cultures, because the thematic attention to blood metaphors in these works often mirrors the external socio-cultural discussions about the power of blood and the health of the nation.

In nineteenth-century nationalistic discourses, blood metaphors were never
merely rhetorical or abstract. Because of the importance of blood in nineteenth-century thought, paired with an increasing awareness of new scientific discourses related to blood, nationality evolved into something based on a literal idea of blood as a key marker of race. “Race,” in these discourses, served as a general term signifying more than ethnicity or skin color; it was the nation, or national body. With the nation state defined increasingly as a race, blood became the marker of citizenship, rather than a particular language or fealty to a monarch. When people like the Social Darwinists in the late nineteenth century, for example, defined citizenship by race and blood, the idea of purity of blood became a central dividing point between defining self and other. Individuals with impure blood, however bodies of power chose to define it, were excluded from citizenship (Smith, German). Similarly, the idea of the nation was re-linked with the older idea of the tribe, into which one could be born (and would be connected to by blood), but which one could not choose to join. Nationalism became an inherent quality, passed through a bloodline, that neither language nor cultural heritage could contain. Growing up speaking English or German, sharing the social and political culture of a country from birth, could not guarantee anyone a national identity if their blood did not pass so-called purity tests first (Kedourie, 75-6, 102-3).

Uli Linke, in Blood and Nation, takes up the metaphors of blood in German literature and history, exploring specific German constructs of racial identity from the medieval period through the modern era. Linke seeks to analyze the depths of blood metaphors as they have been used in “mapping fundamental cultural assumptions about gender, sex, and race” (Linke vii). He connects blood imagery to “allegories of the
European male body, the virile (life-giving) body of mythical protagonists, the medieval body of Christ in central Europe, the medicalized (purged) body of men in early modern Germany, the twentieth-century fascist body” (viii). These bodies, Linke shows, appear in Norse mythology (the stories of Ymir, Oðin, and Loki), religious didactic texts, scientific texts, and propaganda. In nineteenth-century vampire literature, these roles are filled by vampire hunters, defenders of the nation, who use their normative, masculine powers to uphold hegemonic values. Linke argues that images of the nation’s body, “which essentialize[s] masculinist corporeality, stan[d] opposed to the liquid female body…this imagined feminine threat appears in…mythical renderings of women’s bleeding bodies, in medieval and modern German visions of Jewish bodies, and in the symbolization of the immigrant body…defined by abject qualities of wetness, liquidity, and dirt” (viii).

I argue that this description also fits the body of the vampire. Vampiric bodies are connected with abjectness through their ambiguously living/dead state, and their intimate connection with blood. Vampires live off of blood and actively transfer it between sources, tying them to both wetness and liquidity. In the ballads Carmilla and Dracula, the vampire’s long-standing relationship to the grave, and thus dirt, also comes into play. Vampiric bodies are also consistently contrasted to healthy, living bodies. Linke does a thorough discussion of pre-Christian, medieval, and early-modern blood metaphors, but it is his analysis of what he calls the “mapping [of] the modern body” that is most relevant to my exploration of vampire ballads here. The secularization of the body, in particular the rise of medicine, saw the decline of the connection between magic and the body
This new corporeal epistemology opposed what could be considered more traditional constructs of the body (the body and bodily fluids as magical). The point Linke is arguing is that the tradition of blood metaphors, and the understanding of race and nations, are all interconnected in central/western Europe, particularly in German cultural mythology.

From Linke and Hannaford’s work, I argue that what emerges is a two part understanding of how blood and blood metaphors function in vampire literature. While vampire literature refers to blood as a physical substance, which the vampire feeds on for life, such literature also uses blood metaphorically by invoking ideas of hybrid identities, racial purity, and miscegenation. The more literal meaning of blood connects to more plot-driven ideas like kinship, especially normative ideas of kinship directly stemming from heterosexual reproduction: blood relations. The vampire figure, through the exchange of blood with its victims, acts as a conduit between these two conceptions of blood. In the act of biting, vampires and victims share each other’s blood, making not a one-way, but a mutual exchange of bodily fluid. Thus, the vampire subverts the more traditional ideas about blood (i.e. kinship) insomuch as vampires challenge the idea of normative reproduction because they can create “children” without sexual reproduction. The literary vampire has the potential to challenge hegemonic structures because it works against normative ideas of who can be allowed to reproduce for the continuance of a nation state. Vampire children, like Lucy Westenra in Dracula, for example, represent new, hybridized racialized identities. While vampire children maintain the external characteristics that defined their living identities, they also represent a new identity as a
member of what could be called a vampire race. The existence of vampire children, because of their hybrid identities, challenge more traditional national myths about racial purity.

The myth of German racial and moral purity can be traced back to the rediscovery of Tacitus’s *Germania*. Written in 98 A.D., this ethnography idealized German honor, love of freedom, and plainness, contrasting it to decadent Rome. The ideal image of Germanness furnished by Tacitus created a usable myth of Germanic racial and moral superiority. The racial component of the Tacitean stereotype gained credibility during the nineteenth century because of a pan-European desire to equate contemporary political or cultural entities, and national character, with preconceived over-simplifications of the distant past in national myth-making. European nineteenth-century racial discourses divided Europeans into two groups: Northern “industrial” and Southern “sensual.” According to this racist logic, Anglo-Saxons and Teutons were attributed the efficacious qualities of reason, industry, thrift, morality and southern Europeans (i.e. Mediterranean, Spanish) were ascribed the traits associated with moral decline, such as emotionality, laziness, extravagance, and eroticism (Firchow 25, Mander 52). While this division began before the nineteenth century, it was an important part of nineteenth-century national myth making. Peter Stadius traces one of the origins of the Northern/Southern divide to the religious reformations of the seventeenth century, but argues that religion is only one part of this constructed difference and that the stereotypes that most clearly define this division gained prominence in the nineteenth century (2-3). The racial constructions of the Northern/Southern division foreshadowed and rationalized maintaining the image of
the imperial dominance of Germanic, but especially English, peoples with a deterministic racial hierarchy. Such a hierarchy relied on racially stereotyping, pseudo-scientific assumptions about physical features, like cranial capacity or skull shape.

In establishing the idea of British superiority over Germans and Scandinavians, the supposed unique heritage of the British racial mixture became an important point of discussion. Englishness, supposedly, was the result of blending the qualities of Teutonic, Nordic, Mediterranean, and Alpine peoples. This mapping was meant to set Anglo-Saxons apart from their “racially pure” Germanic cousins. Throughout the nineteenth century, as older Germanophilic ideas of similarity gave way to Germanophobic differences, the English sought less to emphasize relationships to their German cousins, opting instead to perpetuate a new theory of English exceptionalism. British conceptions of racial character during the nineteenth century generally attributed Anglo-Saxons with all of the Teutonic, or German, virtues and none of the vices. The English, for example, had supposedly inherited mechanical ability, deliberation, ethics and sexual morality without the obstinacy, gloominess, and pugnaciousness of the Germans. Like phoenixes rising from the ashes, the emerging idea of English blood purity was based, ironically, on theories that had previously touted racial impurities (multiplicity) (Hannaford 187-232, 246-49, 265-70; Mander 1-15, 44; Langford 1-27; Linke; Firchow 25-29, 31).

Concurrent with the rise of modern nation states, Anglo-German antagonism, and evolving racial discourses, was the pan-European interest in national myths and cultural mythology. This interest in myth making coincided with the rise of Romanticism in the nineteenth century. Romanticism, as a movement, believed in the value of intellect and
spiritual transcendence through an aggrandizement of the past. English Romanticism was greatly influenced by the Romantic Movement in Germany. In her article “The Mysteries of Eleusis at Howards End: German Romanticism and the Making of a Mythology for England,” Elizabeth Hodge argues that German Romanticists like Friedrich Schlegel saw that “…the rise of empiricism, called for the making of new mythologies that could speak for transcendent truth…” (33). While the creation of a new mythology in Forster’s novel is part of an early-twentieth-century response to the rise of industrial-capitalism, such myth-making was common in the creation of a national identity, the implied transcendent truth being racial unity/purity, and loyalty. These new myths were also, as Firchow explores, an artistic response to the new Germany, and to competing definitions of Germanness. The fervent desire to craft a national identity often led to abuses of history that quickly dissolved into pseudoscientific speculations about race and ancient (mythic) origins. Romantic literature and a revived interest in national folk tales reiterated and reaffirmed nascent ideas about connections between race and national character.

The idea of Englishness is still an ambiguous, often contested, concept today in the twenty-first century. At its core, however, Englishness represents some idea of shared values, beliefs and attitudes. It is the belief in a national identity based on a complex set of images, myths, collective memories, and beliefs (Giles and Middleton). A consistently evolving cast of characters has embodied representations of England, from John Bull in the eighteenth century to the educated gentleman of the nineteenth century (Giles and Middleton). Arguably, what is established in these new national myths is that the fundamental binary constructed between English and Other, for my purposes in this
project between the English, and the Germans, and Eastern Europeans, rests upon the basic idea that the English body is inherently different from the other body. For the purposes of this project, one characteristic of Englishness rests in the intrinsic idea that the English body is living while the other’s body is not. Throughout the texts examined in this project, there is only one vampire of English descent, Lucy in Dracula, and she is so violently removed from the text that it is clear that Englishness and vampirism cannot exist within the same person. English men and women, in their natural states, are not vampiric; rather, it is from the edges of Europe, and through the hands of German knowledge, that the undead enter Englishness.

Overall, the goal of this first section has been to outline some of the complex history between Britain and Germany, history that will be guiding my reading of vampire ballads and narratives. From this history, the literary vampire figure emerges first in German ballad poetry, and is then transformed in British vampire fiction. Within these texts, writers contrast constructs of Englishness against constructs of Germanness and those of Eastern Europeans. As vampire fiction evolves throughout the nineteenth century, so too does the relationship between Britain and Germany. In the hands of British writers, the vampire figure at the end of the nineteenth century reflects two constructs of Germanness: the “good” German, embodied by Stoker’s Van Helsing, and the “bad German,” embodied by Le Fanu’s title vampire protagonist in Carmilla. In the following sections, I will analyze the evolution of the literary vampire from its origins in German ballad poetry to Stoker’s fin-de-siecle landmark novel.
The vampire of folklore represents a diverse conglomeration of competing stories. While it is difficult to make a conclusive portrayal of the folkloric vampire, there are several commonalities among European folktales. In the eighteenth century, and earlier, vampires are usually depicted as bloated, ruddy, or dark in color. Unsurprisingly, these are characteristics that were often associated with blood drinking. In some descriptions, blood was seen trickling from the mouth and nose of suspected vampires (Barber 2, 41-42). Paul Barber’s seminal work *Vampires, Burial, and Death* explains how individuals that were thought to be vampires were described as looking quite healthy for being dead, their bodies were plump, and they showed little or no signs of normal decomposition. In his analysis of vampire folklore, Barber breaks down what evidence communities used to identify an active vampire: death of cattle, sheep, relatives and/or neighbors (96, 109, 114-115). A significant shift in the modern construction of the vampire came during the eighteenth century when a streak of vampire sightings in Eastern Europe was accompanied by frequent attempts by whole communities to rally together to identify and kill people deemed to be vampires. A testament to the figure’s adaptability, the belief in vampires increased dramatically during a time when Enlightenment theories were replacing previous emphases on folklore, culminating in wide-spread interest in vampires, both popular and academic, throughout most of Europe. What emerges from the initial vampire reports in Eastern Europe is the birth of the literary vampire in
German ballad poetry. Influenced by the German ballads, the figure of the vampire will be transformed in British fiction throughout the nineteenth century. In later chapters, I will demonstrate how this evolution forms a three-part system in which Germanness acts as a way to see how British vampire novels realize the figure of the vampire itself and how they create an image of Eastern Europe. From the Anglo centric perspective in British vampire fiction, Germans are others to English characters, but because of their cultural similarities, are depicted as less other than Eastern Europeans.

What is the literary vampire and where did it originate? To help explore these questions, we can turn to Erik Butler’s *Metamorphoses of the Vampire in Literature and Film*, which analyzes the vampire figure and its continuing relationship to Germanness. The scope of his study starts in 1732, which is the year Austrian soldiers’ reports of vampires came out of Serbia and became part of popular German cultural discussions. Starting a little before Butler’s timeframe, in 1716 the Ottoman Turks declared war on the Habsburgs after the Habsburg Emperor Karl VI had formed an alliance with the Venetians. On August 5, 1716 the Habsburgs, under Prince Eugene of Savoy, defeated the Ottoman army at Petrovaradin (Hungary) (Crawford “Cultural” 1-2). On July 21, 1718 at Passarowitz, in Serbia, peace was restored among Turkey, Austria and Venice. As a result of the peace treaty, the Habsburgs kept territories in the Banat, eastern Slovenia, northern Serbia and western Wallachia, while the Turks kept territories in Venice and Greece (Crawford “Cultural” 1-2). After the war, the remaining occupying forces from the Austrian armies in these areas observed, and made official reports of, the bizarre custom of exhuming bodies to prevent vampiric activity. These reports, which
were most often officially recorded by clergy, scientists, and medical doctors from Germany, were published in scientific journals and pamphlets throughout Western Europe.

Two of the most famous Serbian vampire cases were those of Peter Plogojowitz and Arnold Paole. Plogojowitz reportedly died at 62, but he later returned after his supposed death to ask his son for food. When his son refused, the son was found dead the next day. Plogojowitz also purportedly attacked some of his former neighbors (who died from blood loss). Paole, on the other hand, was a former soldier who allegedly was attacked by a vampire years before. After his death, nearby villagers began dying, leading many to believe that Paole had returned from the dead to feast upon his neighbors (Barber 5-10, 15-21; Butler 27-30). Stories like those of Plogojowitz and Paole reached Western Europe through observations made by Austrian occupying forces that had recently gained control of these territories.

This international interest in vampires eventually led to debates among philosophers, theologians, poets, and scientists on the existence of vampires. In drawing the connection between the Austro-Hungarian wars and vampires, Heide Crawford writes that “in part [due] to Emperor Karl VI’s fascination with stories of vampirism from his Balkan lands, and his daughter Maria Therese’s subsequent efforts to ban practices associated with this superstition and the persecution of witches in Hungary, there developed a general association of Hungary by Western Europeans with the vampire and other supernatural creatures, such as werewolves” (Crawford “Cultural” 7, Klaniczay 179). Although, as noted in Polidori’s The Vampyre, many vampire beliefs at the time
were primarily Greek or Slavic in origin, the increasingly popular stories and reports in the eighteenth century related the vampire to the area including and surrounding Hungary. This is important to remember when looking at the German vampire ballads and the subsequent British vampire novels because the literary vampire in the first German ballads from the eighteenth century exhibits characteristics indicative of the vampires from the stories and reports collected in Austrian reports, rather than from Germany’s own folkloric undead stories (Crawford “Cultural” 3).

If the inspirational spark that the vampire reports ignited did not match local folklore, what other features would come to define vampires? Butler pinpoints the essence of the vampire as “the power to move between and undo borders otherwise holding identities in place” (1). The core of vampiric legend lies in “an affinity for rupture, change, and mutation,” (Butler 2). Butler argues that the vampire, like a mimic, never wholly subverts the borders it crosses, and, in fact, the figure’s mythical existence is used to validate these borders (2). Butler sees the vampire’s function, because it is not a stable figure, as reflecting a human anxiety that “we, perhaps, do not know at all who ‘we’ are” (9). This uncertainty about identity is central to examining interactions between Britain and Germany through vampire literature.

In order to understand the literary figure of the vampire, Butler focuses on four characteristics. First is the metaphysical transgression: the vampire is neither “wholly dead nor entirely alive”; secondly, the vampire redistributes energy (blood, money, life) in both a mystical and material manner; thirdly, “when vampires draw life from their victims, they infuse them with death and make the living resemble them,” which is often
represented as the false-friend or seducer; and lastly a vampire’s existence violates the “boundaries of space and time, and it seeks to spread terror actively” (11). Butler argues that the vampire thrives “where the heroes of modern individualism experience their greatest triumphs: the realms of imagination, erotic exploit, knowledge-seeking, and foreign adventure” (17). The vampire, as a mimic, reacts to the constraints of hegemonic society and succeeds in threatening the implied universality of many of western culture’s national myths.

While it is less recognized in twenty-first century manifestations of the vampire, the Germanness of the modern vampire becomes apparent when we examine the vampire’s historical and folkloric past. By analyzing the Austrian army’s reports, each maps out the origins of today’s incarnation of the vampire in German literature (Butler 27; Crawford “Cultural” 1-2). From the vampire’s translation into German literature, the figure represents a position that borders the lands of Eastern and Western Europe, which is significant in a discussion of how the literary vampire is a stylistic tool to address fears of an Eastern other by Western intellectuals. More specifically, these early incarnations of vampires came from Eastern Europe through the lens of Germans (Austrian-Germans, but German speakers nonetheless), thus establishing from the beginning a cultural association between German intellectual knowledge and Eastern European vampirism.

What this connection establishes in British vampire fiction, as I will demonstrate in later sections, is a three-part system in which Germanness acts as a lens for how British vampire novels characterize the figure of the vampire itself and how they construct an
image of Eastern Europe. In this system, Germans exist as others to English characters, but are depicted as less other, or more allied with Englishness, than Eastern Europeans.

Drawing a connection between Germanness and vampirism also highlights the role of religion in analyzing the vampire reports. While the connection between Germany and religion may often only bring to mind the Protestant revolution, vampire reports further established a cultural divide between the Protestant north and the Catholic south through the political, religious, and social division between reason and myth (Butler 30). In the context of eighteenth-century reports of vampirism, it is the impact of the vampire legend on the “‘Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation’” or “‘greater Germany’” that proves to be a long lasting connection for vampire narratives (Butler 28).

The essential relationship Butler makes here is that future incarnations of vampire myths will “display not only the Slavic coloration that is common knowledge, but also a less frequently remarked ‘German’ tinge…vampires belong to territories under the rule of German-speakers” (37). This relationship between Germanness and Eastern European vampirism is based upon many layers of cultural associations because “[t]he vampire, like its hosts, Germany/Austria, will, time and again, represent the other, ‘uncivilized’ side of Europe” (37). This will become a noteworthy point to explore once the vampire figure leaves German-occupied lands and travels into British imaginations. The vampire will retain these qualities of both foreignness and familiarity in British fiction, and it is this contradictory aspect of otherness/sameness that makes the vampire so terrifying.

Butler goes on to state that the proliferation of vampire stories repeatedly reveals a monster that “represents a threat at the frontiers of the civilized world that intrudes upon
European homelands” (46). As introduced earlier, the three-part system at work within British vampire fictions shows the vampire moving through the fringes on Eastern Europe, through more familiar Western cultures like Germany, finally crossing into English spaces to threaten English hegemony.

From the eighteenth century onward, the vampire figure will continue to evolve in both fiction and sociopolitical writings. In the nineteenth century, the vampire is used as an allegorical figure for the dehumanizing nature of modernization as seen in Karl Marx’s _Das Kapital_, one of the most famous examples of a non-literary vampire. Marx refers to capital (Kapital) as “‘dead-labor’” that “‘vampire-like only lives by sucking living labor’” (Butler 56). Marx uses the vampire motif to “represent the relations of production that kill both body and soul” (57). Published in 1867, _Das Kapital_ is a concurrent popular narrative that follows the translations of German ballads into English. While this may be a minor point, it is further evidence of the widespread interest in using the figure of the vampire to explain social (or economic, or political) relationships. The vampire’s liminal, fluid nature grants it a unique position to transverse different spheres of discourse, acting as an embodiment of countless ills without ever being trapped to one defining idea.

**Acculturating the Vampire**

In order to analyze the vampire as an outsider, one constructed as a form of an Eastern other, I will begin with Edward Said’s influential 1978 work, _Orientalism_. Said argues that the idea of the Orient, in the Western mind, is more than just part of the
cultural imagination; rather it is “an integral part of European material civilization and culture” because of its important role in the history of European colonization (2, emphasis original). Said sees the late eighteenth century as a time when the field of Orientalism expanded into an encompassing cultural institution indicative of the “Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient” (3). This timing overlaps with the general period in which reports of vampirism were coming out of Serbia and when the literary vampire figure entered German poetry. What is important about the overlap in time between the rise of Orientalism and the evolution of the literary vampire is how vampire fiction reflects this discourse due to widespread interest in Orientalism in Western centers (i.e. Germany and Britain). By the end of the nineteenth century, with Bram Stoker’s Dracula, the relationship between Orientalism as a discipline and the literary vampire will culminate in the character of Dr. Van Helsing, a German philosopher/doctor who acts as a gateway for English characters in the novel to access folkloric knowledge about vampires.

Said discusses Orientalism in terms of it being an over-arching discipline, based upon “an ontological and epistemological distinction” made between “the Orient” and “the Occident” (2). Said further defines Orientalism in terms of its functioning as a Western “corporate institution” which constructed the Orient by “making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it” (3). Said draws specifically on the poststructuralist theories of Foucault to emphasize what he sees as the relationship between knowledge and power. Said contends that Orientalist discourses illuminate the power and authority exerted by the West over the
Orientalist discourses have been instrumental in defining European self-image, and as such, Western appropriations/interpretations of the East had much “less to do with the Orient than it does with ‘our’ world” (12). Said maintains that European identity has been constructed through the establishment of difference, opposites, and ‘Others,’ arguing that the Occident/Orient binary has operated on oppositional terms, ensuring that the Orient has been constructed as a negative, inferior inversion of Western culture (7).

In *The Location of Culture*, Homi Bhabha suggests that the very techniques that attest to the dominance and impenetrability of imperialistic discourse actually expose systemic inherent weaknesses. Further, with these techniques the empire will ultimately destroy itself from within. The imperial nation, imperial identity, is constructed upon the core tenet that there must always remain a recognizable distance between the colonizers and the colonized. The separation between the imperial center/home (*heimlich*) and the colonial fringe (*unheimlich*) is reinforced by the continual construction of the colonized as other, something distinctly different from the essence of what imperial power embodies. While I would in no way argue that the position of Germany, or that of Eastern Europe, in the nineteenth century was anywhere near like the position of the British colonies, the idea of constructing the other as the *unheimlich* (uncanny), especially given the *unheimlich*’s connection to the Gothic and supernatural motifs, does lend itself to an application of these ideas to Anglo-German interactions and vampire fiction.
Mimicry, one of Bhabha’s key theoretical terms, destabilizes the supposed absolute between center and home, or for this discussion, *heimlich/unheimlich*, because a mimic threatens to destroy the security vested in defining the self by an absolute (unchanging) Other. In Bhabha’s argument, colonized peoples embody the other; in this project’s argument, Germans, Eastern Europeans, and the vampire embody otherness. According to Bhabha, a mimic will imbibe all the external markings of the original society except for the internal core of its meaning. What this means is that a mimic will externally resemble the traits of dominant society without ever fully integrating into that culture. Mimics never become the thing they mimic. This implies that the very idea of purity in the home society will be under threat of contamination by the act of imitation. The “Other” will have become a false “equal”; however, the “mother country” will “be more equal than others.” Bhabha describes this sort of false equal, as “almost the same, but not quite” (86). He goes on to explain that

[the menace of mimicry is its double vision, which in disclosing the ambivalence of colonial discourse also disrupts its authority. And it is a double vision that is a result of what I’ve described as the partial representation/recognition of the colonial object. …*almost the same but not white*: the visibility of mimicry is always produced at the site of interdiction…*inter dicta*: a discourse at the crossroads of what is known and permissible and that which though known must be kept concealed; a discourse uttered between lines and as such both against the rules and with them. (88-89)
If a power is no longer able to sustain the image of its own absolutism, if that power becomes transferable, then it can no longer exist beyond the reach of the disempowered (colonized). The utterances or people that embody a discourse at the crossroads explain Bhabha’s idea of liminal space. Liminal space, or the “threshold” between two binaries, refers to the metaphoric, though sometimes physical, or psychical, space occupied by persons with hard to define identities. Bhabha uses liminal space to explain the position occupied by colonized peoples.

In connecting postcolonial theory to vampire fiction, Stephen Arata’s article “The Occidental Tourist: Dracula and the Anxiety of Reverse Colonization” takes the position that Stoker’s novel uses the vampire figure to reveal fin-de-siècle British fears about the consequences of imperialism. Arata believes that Stoker makes a deliberate shift from the vampire of folklore to address the Eastern Question “that so obsessed British foreign policy in the 1880’s and ‘90’s” and by doing so, Stoker is creating an image similar to that of the Empire/Colony relationship (627). Because Victorian audiences would have been familiar with such policies, Stoker’s use of Transylvania as the location of his vampire makes the subject matter modern, together with the novel’s form, due to Transylvania’s connection with British foreign policy about the Eastern Question. The fears expressed in Dracula speak to the “cycles of empire—rise, decay, collapse, displacement…” and about how English society was struggling with what would possibly be the direction their own empire was taking in this type of cycle (628). The modern aspects of the novel make a break from an earlier Gothic tradition that set plots in not
only distant lands, but also the past. Therefore, instead of keeping the monstrous element of his tale at a distance, Stoker aligns the vampire with the current state of the Empire.

Arata also argues that the fin de siècle period “was saturated with the sense that the entire nation—as a race of people, as a political and imperial force, as a social and cultural power—was in irretrievable decline” (622). The late nineteenth century was marked by unnerving feelings that the world of Victorian values, a world where Englishness was the center of global power, was irrevocably disintegrating. These growing apprehensions about purity versus degredation, and the loss of national identity, extended to nearly all areas of life.

Circling the ideas of colonialism back to Stoker’s own life, Arata claims that “Dracula suggests two equations in relation to English-Irish politics…Dracula [the vampire] is to England as Ireland is to England, but Dracula is [also] to England as England is to Ireland” (634). It is interesting to note, in light of reading Butler and Crawford, that Arata does not address the state of the British Empire in conjunction with the rising state of the Austria-Hungary and German empires. For the goals of this study, it might be helpful to rewrite Arata’s equation as the vampire is to England as Germany is to England, and that the vampire is to Germany as Eastern Europe is to Germany. The cycles of influence and conflict represented by this equation address the fears discussed by Hannaford, Linke, and Butler. The vampire figure, as Stoker explains through Dr. Van Helsing, follows in the wake of imperial decay, and addresses some of the anxieties surrounding Germany’s late rise to imperial power. If empires are vulnerable to vampires once they have started to decline, perhaps reverse colonization is the first step towards
displacement. Arguably, however, it is the Empire’s own policies that lead to its decay, thus making room for its lands to be occupied by the very figures it fears.

In contrast to Arata’s argument, William Hughes’s interpretation of Dracula in Empire and the Gothic: the Politics of Genre sees the conflict in the novel as more abstract. Similarly to Arata’s essay, Hughes views the Gothic as an essential part of postcolonial readings because one of the genre’s main purposes is to illuminate the other, the forgotten, and the ab-normal. Hughes, and his co-editor Smith, sees “the Gothic use of non-human and ab-human figures such as vampires” as “calculated to challenge the dominant humanist discourse,” which is why the genre lends itself to postcolonial readings (2). Hughes’ “A Singular Invasion: Revisiting the Postcoloniality of Bram Stoker’s Dracula” reads Stoker’s novel as part of a greater postcolonial practice of addressing temporality (89). Hughes believes the Gothic “has to be the face of the postcolonial because the culture of Gothic—grandiose, oppressive, deviant and yet awesome in the power of its presence—is somehow not merely the face of the past, but of the imperialist past also” (89). Hughes sees the act of reading Gothic, or the process of becoming “Gothicized” as a method to allow the past to be in the present and retain “all its oppression and arbitrary injustice” (89).

One of Hughes’ main arguments, which is in opposition to Arata’s reading of Stoker’s novel, is that a reading of the vampire as an embodiment of the East must recognize that Transylvania is not akin to the traditional East of a British colony like India (91). Hughes suggests reading the “invasion script” of Dracula not as a specific racial threat but “as an abstracted conflict of Orient against Occident—a conflict which
may unite… the West against any challenge to the latter’s cultural integrity or hegemony” (92). Hughes bases his reading on the novel’s depiction of Dracula as the consummate individualist; he invades alone and only has one “convert” in Lucy, and because of this a reader should not see Dracula as the embodiment of an entire racial/ethnic group but as part of the colonial mythology of “the Great Man or Imperial Hero” (96-97). In this reading, Hughes’ argument aligns with the second half of Arata’s colonial equation; the vampire is a manifestation of the actions and consequences of colonization, which is more important to understanding the vampire than reading the figure as a manifestation of “reverse colonization” fears.

The Vampire Ballads: Gottfried August Bürger’s “Lenore” And Goethe’s “Die Braut Von Korinth”

To understand the literary vampire, one must understand how the figure moved from folklore to literature, and to do so involves looking at how thought evolved from the Enlightenment to Romanticism. Between these two cultural movements is the German literary movement Sturm und Drang. Sturm und Drang emphasizes intense subjectivity. Translated from the German, these two terms literally translate to mean “storm and urge,” even though they are often translated as "storm and stress." This name encapsulates the two primary elements of Sturm und Drang art: first, “storm” emphasizes the role of nature's sublime power in inspiring the artist; second, “urge” or “stress” emphasizes the role of the emotions or the will in expressing the turmoil present in nature. At its core, this literary movement argued that while man is capable of having and understanding moral choices, his emotional nature may compel him to act irrationally. Unlike
Enlightenment thought, however, *Strum und Drang* writers saw this irrational urge not as a problem, but as one of the hallmarks of human character. A human being is most human, it holds, when she or he acts in accordance with unhindered emotions. It is from this movement that the vampire ballads emerge, and with their translation from German to English, the vampire came to British literature.

While Bürger’s “Lenore” is not always recognized as the first vampire ballad, this poem does mark a significant turning point in the literary life of the vampire. This poem represents the shift in time where the eighteenth-century interest in vampire reports transitioned into German literature. It is this figure that will be translated into many other languages. Gottfried August Bürger published “Lenore” in 1774. Upon its publication, the ballad became an immediate success with translations into several languages, including one in English by Sir Walter Scott in 1796 (Crawford 83). After its translation into English, the poem had a widespread influence on British Gothic poetry. For example, similar motifs and themes appear in Samuel Taylor Coleridge’s “Christabel,” Lord Byron’s “The Giaour,” and John Keats’s “La Belle Dame Sans Merci” (Williams 4-9).

“Lenore” tells the story of a young woman whose fiancé does not return from war. From the very first stanza, Lenore is afraid that he has died because she has not heard from him for so long. When other soldiers begin returning from the war, Lenore’s fears are confirmed when her fiancé does not return with the others. Following this news, Lenore breaks down into deep, even bitter, depression where she renounces faith in God and wishes to die (Stanzas 5-11). Lenore’s passionate despair leads into the night, and the arrival of a visitor. Her visitor is Wilhelm, her fiancé, who is there to claim her as his
bride, taking her away on horseback. Once the couple reaches the graveyard, Wilhelm’s clothes fall off of his body, revealing his spectral, skeleton-like appearance with an hourglass and scythe. His appearance is strikingly like that of the Grim Reaper, but Wilhelm’s function in the poem is not just the embodiment of Death (as an eternal Truth); rather, he embodies essential thematic elements from Strum und Drang poetry—the reliance on passionate emotions over reason, and the return of the dead lover (Crawford 82). It is from these more abstract thematic connections that Wilhelm’s vampiric nature takes precedence over his direct Death-like image.

In Scott’s stanza 29, his translation of Wilhelm’s explanation to Lenore about why they must ride hurriedly through the night has Wilhelm say “‘We saddle late—from Hungary / I rode since darkness fell; / And to its bourne we both return / Before the matin bell.’” Crawford identifies this particular change in the translated version—in which the German original has Wilhelm mention the urgency of the journey, that the couple must reach their destination that night—as one way of strengthening the argument to read Wilhelm as a vampire (88). Referring to the passionate emotions that are at the core of Strum und Drang poetry, Crawford notes that Wilhelm’s lack of emotion in the ballad is a suspicious characteristic that marks him as other (96). When his fiancée Lenore invites him into the house in stanza 13, he declines to enter by telling her he cannot enter her house. These unusual behaviors and characteristics help the reader to recognize Wilhelm’s otherness, especially in contrast to Lenore’s passionate responses throughout the piece.
Crawford identifies five key characteristics in Wilhelm’s character that she connects to the folkloric vampire: 1. he “appears bodily to his loved one(s)”; 2. he returns to his lover “with amorous intent”; 3. he must return to his coffin; 4. he must return to his coffin “that night, i.e. before sunrise;” and 5. he is “not allowed to enter the home of the loved one for whom he returns” (Crawford 101, Melton 95). Unlike archetypes of Death, such as the skeletal image at the ballad’s conclusion, Wilhelm appears vampire-like because of his human face; he is easily mistaken for being alive. When he shows up at Lenore’s doorstep to take her away, it is already night and he tells her that he must return with her within that night. As will become more widely seen in later vampire tales, but is also a feature (though not universal) of folkloric vampires, Wilhelm cannot cross the threshold of Lenore’s house. While these features may not appear significant overall, they are characteristics that make the reader understand who (and what) Wilhelm is. As Crawford notes, not every interpretation of this poem will recognize Wilhelm as a vampire. However, it is important to see how his character highlights a transition between reports and folklore into poetry. Wilhelm is also important because the text marks him as a figure that is decidedly undead, but difficult to recognize as such, which will become an important feature of later vampires.

In 1797, concurrent with the initial rise of English Gothic fiction and the translation of “Lenore” into English, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe wrote “Die Braut von Korinth.” The poem was first published in 1798, in Schiller’s Musenalmanach, introducing the female vampire figure to Western literature, a figure that will reoccur in Carmilla and Dracula. In discussing Goethe’s interest in vampires, Crawford notes that
in his “Tagebuch,” Goethe makes two references to his drafts of “Braut,” specifically mentioning that his current poem has a vampire theme by calling it a “vampyrisches Gedicht” (124-5).

In a pattern that both Le Fanu and Stoker will follow, Goethe reveals his bride’s vampiric nature gradually; however, unlike Stoker and similarly to Le Fanu, Goethe’s Bride\(^1\) waits until the end of the poem to explain herself (to her mother) that she is undead. While this technique serves to increase the suspense, a common Gothic fiction device, Goethe’s Bride is more elusive than many of the genre’s stock devices (i.e. the Gothic heroine). From the reader’s perspective, she goes through three key identity changes: stanzas 4-10 seem to give her more traditionally ghost-like qualities, stanzas 11-20 complicate this quick identification—separating her from ghostliness, and stanzas 21-28 see her self-identifying with the vampire (Crawford 125). However, as Crawford points out, Goethe and the Bride never explicitly use the word “vampire” anywhere in the poem (132). Much like Wilhelm’s character in Bürger’s poem, the Bride is a dead lover who has returned from a deathly state to occupy a liminal living and dead state, returning for his/her love.

Early in the ballad, in stanza 4, the Bride first appears to the young male protagonist in his bedroom, right when he is falling asleep. She moves not like a solid figure, but more like a ghost, not walking but gliding or floating: “On the couch he laid

\(^1\) In the poem, the female protagonist is not given a name (neither is the young man); however, I am choosing to capitalize bride when referring to her character to both draw attention to her lack of a name and give her the attention she deserves as a main character.
him, still undressed. / There he sleeps—when lo! / Onwards gliding slow, / At the door appears a wondrous guest” (lines 27-30). As the stanza closes, the bride’s appearance is described in more detail: she is wearing a white dress and veil, she is silent, and very pale: “By the waning lamp’s uncertain gleaming / There he sees a youthful maiden stand, / Robed in white, of still and gentle seeming, / On her brow a black and golden band. / When she meets his eyes, / with a quick surprise / Starting, she uplifts a pallid hand” (lines 31-37). That the Bride appears to the young man when he is in the liminal space between sleeping and waking, that she has no voice of her own yet, and that she has an ethereally pale appearance connect her more with traditional depictions of ghosts; however, her own descriptions of her behavior (thirst, rituals, etc.) later in the poem are arguably more significant than her ghost-like traits. These are the important traits that, upon later translation into other works, will themselves become part of vampire lore.

The Bride’s pale skin will be mentioned again in stanzas 7 and 14, creating a reoccurring feature for the reader to take note of. Along with her gliding, her silence, and her etherealness, her pale skin, which is also described in the poem as cold (stanzas 16-18), is the physical feature that marks her as something not quite “normal.” Goethe creates a dual image with his female vampire; she is at once both an embodiment of beauty, a sensual object, and she is also non-human, a liminal figure that is both living and dead. This, perhaps, is one of Goethe’s most lasting contributions to vampire literature, one that strongly shapes the genre today. Though the Bride seems like she could just be a ghost at the start of the ballad, by the end of the piece she is clearly a vampire. In contrast to the vampire of folklore, Goethe’s Bride leans less towards
features of the living and more towards a truly ambiguous state between life and death (Melton 95; Barber 114-115). Given Goethe’s influence on later writers, his conscious choices in how he depicts his vampire are important to later vampire representations.

One feature that both ballads share is that the vampire figure, while being undead, appears to still be part of the community, much like some folkloric vampires. The ballad vampires are welcomed lovers, not instant objects of fear. In this way, the literary vampire in Goethe and Bürger seems more like a figure of an imagined German center instead of an invasive force from the Eastern European fringe. This characteristic of the literary vampire, its familiarity, appears more strongly in the German ballads than it does in much of British vampire fiction, but it is a characteristic that will return in later, twentieth-century vampire tales. The ballad vampire is part of the home, the *heimlich*, a feature that Le Fanu will explore in his novella. However, overall, once the ballads are translated into English, the German vampire undergoes an identity change that will make the figure less *heimlich* and more *unheimlich* as British writers push the vampire out of Germany, further away from Western centers, and back into Eastern Europe.
CHAPTER TWO: ALMOST THE SAME, BUT NOT QUITE: JOHN POLIDORI’S

THE VAMPIRE

Upon first reading, John Polidori’s English novella *The Vampyre* would not offer much for an analysis of British-German socio-political relations in the nineteenth century. However, the novel offers readers a clear transition (and translation) between the origins of the literary vampire in German ballads and the figure that emerges throughout the nineteenth century in the hands of British writers. While Polidori’s novella does not have an explicitly German setting, or even Germanic characters, his tale helps to establish three key characteristics of British vampires that will become more important for discussions of *Carmilla* and *Dracula*: the vampire as unequivocally Other, the vampire as border crosser (both cartographic and class borders), and the vampire as near-perfect mimic. As earlier explored in this project, each of these characteristics can also be used to describe some of the perceptions of Germans during the nineteenth century in Britain.

*The Vampyre* tells the story of young Aubrey, an orphaned young gentleman recently in possession of a sizeable fortune. Aubrey arrives in London for the season where he meets the mysterious Lord Ruthven, whom all the ladies are interested in. Once Aubrey befriends Lord Ruthven, and upon discovering that Lord Ruthven is planning a trip to Europe, he decides to take his grand tour at the same time so that they may travel together. However, the longer Aubrey is with Ruthven the more he discovers that his new friend may not be all that he appears to be. As the story progresses, Aubrey tries to distance himself from Ruthven, but he is unsuccessful. By the novella’s end, Aubrey has
lost his sister to the charismatic Ruthven after she becomes Ruthven’s victim.

Using a similar stylistic device, Polidori follows Bürger and Goethe in not revealing the vampiric nature of his outsider at the beginning of the story; however, where Polidori breaks from this generic conviction is to use the label of “vampyre” to explain the physical and social differences of Lord Ruthven. The charismatic and mysterious Lord Ruthven represents multiple types of otherness in the text, all of which threaten the dominant social order in the novel. Firstly, Ruthven takes the form of an aristocratic relic, associated with the distant past. Secondly, he is a nomad, lacking a named homeland or national affiliation. And finally, as will become a staple characteristic of the vampire figure, he is frighteningly sexual. These characteristics of the vampire allow Polidori to comment on the social structures Ruthven challenges. Carol Senf argues that Polidori uses the figure of the vampire "to probe the realistic social problems that plague the lives of ordinary human beings" (“Vampyre” 206). From the very beginning of the text, Polidori establishes Ruthven’s otherness. Although he is invited to social events, he remains on the margins, “gaz[ing] upon the mirth around him, as if he could not participate therein” (69). In spite of his aristocratic title, Ruthven is not fully part of the same world as young Aubrey; the text will later mention that Ruthven has “nothing in common with other men” (70). While the narrator offers clues about Ruthven’s supernatural otherness—his “dead grey eye” and the “deadly hue of his face”—Aubrey sees him as something romantic, "the hero of a romance" (69-70). Aubrey’s response to Ruthven early in the text shows how the vampire figure excites a conflicting feeling of attraction and repulsion. The depth of Ruthven’s otherness is
beyond the comprehension of Aubrey and of London society; they only know that he is someone different, exciting and somewhat off-putting, while his true nature remains mysterious.

Polidori conspicuously marks Ruthven as physically different, something significant to contemporary cultural anxieties about otherness/foreignness, the vampire of folklore, and the changes made to vampire characteristics from the ballads. It was often common in the earlier histories and reports of vampirism that the members of society who were noticeably (physically) different were thought to be doomed to vampirism (Butler 35-37, 39-45; Leatherdale 27-28). As already mentioned, the first things the reader learns about Ruthven are physical features, like his eye and skin color. However, in spite of its color, his countenance is also described as beautiful, just as his stare produces a "sensation of awe" (69). While Polidori repeatedly describes Ruthven’s marked (his pallor and dead eyes) qualities, as a vampire he is more like the figures in Goethe and Bürger—not the monster of folklore, but a human-non-human hybrid that embodies both ethereal beauty and monstrosity. Because he is an embodiment of beauty and horror, Ruthven’s physical otherness is not so different that he cannot move within Western Europe’s fashionable circles. Importantly, his ability to infiltrate this exclusive space reflects a subconscious cultural fear that we cannot recognize the other, that he is not so different from us after all. This question of identification will continue to play a significant part in later Gothic fiction with undead figures like the vampire often at the center of this identity conflict.

Ruthven’s vampire nature and origins, because he lacks the qualities of folkloric
vampires, remain largely a mystery, adding to the idea of him as an object of both fascination and fear. While the qualities of vampirism that came out of eighteenth-century reports had definite causes such as suicide, at least according to local folklore, the origin of Ruthven’s current state and nature are enigmatic. The text is not clear in explaining whether or not Ruthven’s otherness is due to the fact that he is a vampire, or if he was notably distinct in appearance before becoming a vampire. From the perspective we get in the text, it appears as if Ruthven has always been an other—he is always already different from normative social circles because of his physical differences—which is perhaps why he floats around various social circles throughout Europe. As Erik Butler notes about the vampire, one key feature is that, because of his immortality, a vampire is a creature from another time, even all time—a figure literally outside the boundaries of normative time—adding to the idea that Ruthven’s origin is mysterious because it cannot be catalogued by history (11). Later vampire fiction, specifically *Carmilla* and *Dracula*, will forgo this aspect of Polidori’s vampire figure, instead returning to something more akin to the folkloric vampire, with vampires having a “real” historical identity.

Unlike folkloric vampires, which usually appear close to their homes and to the people they are closest to, Ruthven seeks his victims wherever he desires. Social and physical mobility is a key difference that makes Ruthven more threatening to the dominant society, suggesting that his influence is not bound to a particular country, and that he is capable of invading even the most well-guarded circles in British society. Judith Halberstam argues that Ruthven’s reliance on travel may also indicate the otherness of
traditionally un-landed groups, such as gypsies or Jews (343). In the nineteenth century, excessive mobility was a cause for fear, both because of its invasive potential and because of the respectability of land-ownership. Further, despite his social position (possessing the title of “Lord”), Ruthven does not seem to have an ancestral home; he simply appears in London. Indeed, he threatens the very values of “marriage, monogamy, and community” Halberstam connects with the concept of “home,” or heimlich (343). Ruthven’s lack of set roots goes against what is expected of someone of his proclaimed aristocratic position. He is an inversion of the idealized, paternalistic aristocrat, giving charity not to the needy, but to the corrupt “to allow him to wallow in his lust, or to sink him still deeper in his iniquity” (Polidori 71-72). Ruthven personifies the stereotypical evil nobleman, parasitic and obsessed with his own gain.

While Ruthven’s class position might seem confusing at first, looking deeper into how he moves within social circles reveals how well he performs mimicry. Ruthven appears to cross class boundaries, embodying both aristocratic and lower-class traits. However, Ruthven’s class duality reveals more about his connection with traditional stereotypes of Jews and Gypsies. As far as the text discusses, Ruthven has no lands or home from which he would collect income. He has no trade, no job. What the text does suggest, however, is that Ruthven makes his living perpetuating an illicit economy, an economy of roguery. If we take up Halberstam’s argument that the text’s representation of Ruthven parallels depictions of Jews and Gypsies in other nineteenth century texts, then the details that he makes his living from illegal, unsavory transactions is unsurprising. In nineteenth-century texts, landless groups are most often associated with
money lending, gambling, thieving, and deception. Ruthven embodies these stereotypes when he is shown working the crowds of London society with his “winning tongue” (69). He frequents gambling halls, “always gambl[ing] with success, except where the known sharper was his antagonist, and then he lost even more than he gained” (71). The narrator comments on Ruthven’s general lack of interest and expertise in how money seems to circle around him. However, as the narrator comments, Ruthven is very interested in working his marks, commenting how his normal routine was to watch “always with the same unchanging face, with which he generally watched the society around him: it was not, however, so when he encountered the rash youthful novice, or the luckless father of a numerous family; then his very wish seemed fortune’s law…and his eyes sparkled with more fire than that of the cat whilst dallying with the half-dead mouse” (71-2). For the narrator, Ruthven’s behavior appears unusual for one of his reported class, but his behavioral deviances connect back with the earlier physical differences mentioned in the text.

Ruthven’s work also extends to his careful seductions of young women like Miss Aubrey. His ability to almost seamlessly mimic the attractive qualities of the aristocracy is part of what makes him a seductive figure and good at his job. Ruthven’s sexuality, arguably his most dangerous characteristic, is directly related to his talent to embody the characteristics of a specific class. This grants him access to “a kind of droit de seigneur, that kind of absolute sexual privilege which is a concomitant of absolute power” (Punter 119). Ruthven, unlike those in the social circles he infiltrates, has a full understanding of how this type of power functions and his own power within the system. He
metaphorically, physically, and economically thrives off of ruining young women like Miss Aubrey with his apparent aristocratic sexuality and vampirism (85).

Earlier in the text, before the reader meets Miss Aubrey, young Aubrey observes Ruthven at work. Aubrey “enter[s] into the same [social] circle [in Italy], and soon perceive[s] that his Lordship [is] endeavoring to work upon the inexperience of the daughter of the lady whose house he chiefly frequented” (73, emphasis mine). What Aubrey sees only adds to his growing unease around Ruthven, and he follows Ruthven as he “carr[ies] out his plans in secret” (73). What this scene reveals about Ruthven is how accomplished he is at mimicking desirable traits; he effortlessly moves from being in a workable position in London society to grafting himself onto an Italian family. While Aubrey sees this as Ruthven acting outside of his class expectations, and thus as somewhat off-putting, he is unable to see how Ruthven has been playing the game with him and that his own family might be at risk.

The vampire figure characteristically exposes the vulnerabilities inherent in trying to establish boundaries between the familiar and the unfamiliar, the self and other. The uncertainty this exposing creates perpetuates fears that the presence of an other can degrade or corrupt the most precious resource of the home society, the right to control procreation. This fear’s locus is almost always women when they, like Miss Aubrey, willingly comply with the other, which affirms the dominant society’s fears. In Polidori’s tale this manifests in the way in which Ruthven acts as the threatening other; he attacks the two women Aubrey most loves (Ianthe and his sister). Much like his later literary cousin, Count Dracula, he only ever attacks women. Both women are young and
beautiful, and they are as innocent as Aubrey, if not more so. Both have been protected
from society life; the “uneducated Greek girl,” Ianthe possesses “innocence, youth and
beauty, unaffected by crowded drawing rooms and stifling balls,” while the eighteen-
year-old Miss Aubrey “has not been presented to the world,” because her debut had been
delayed “until her brother’s return from the continent, when he might be her protector”
(74-5, 81). The women’s innocence makes them more attractive and susceptible to the
vampire. Significantly, Aubrey is unable to protect either of them, appearing throughout
the text as naïve, or incoherent and impotent.

By seducing Miss Aubrey, Ruthven threatens her brother’s masculinity. Indeed,
although he attacks only women, the vampire symbolically attacks Aubrey as well, who
suffers a burst blood vessel in response to his own helplessness in the situation (85).
From this perspective, Lord Ruthven, and the vampire figure overall, proves himself to be
a threat not only to women (who are his primary contacts), but also to naive young men
and to the idea of family as an institution. In essence, Ruthven’s role as infiltrator makes
him a threat to the entire society on whose young blood he thrives. However, the text’s
response to this situation is oftentimes ambivalent; Polidori does not seem to make
Ruthven entirely responsible for the destruction of Aubrey’s world. The narrator mocks
the naïve protagonist and by extension, the society that produced him, revealing Aubrey’s
complicity in his own demise. However much Aubrey is put off by Ruthven, and resists
his sister’s interest in him, his initial romanticization of Ruthven never fully fades away.
As Aubrey grows worldlier in the text, Lord Ruthven still excites a passionate response
from him even though his feelings have become delirious and paranoid.
At the beginning of the text, Aubrey has no knowledge of the world or its problems, believing that “the misery of a cottage merely consisted in the vesting of clothes, which were as warm, but which were better adapted to the painter's eye by their irregular folds and various coloured patches” (70). In spite of his innocence, Aubrey notices that Ruthven prefers to give to “the idle, the vagabond, and the beggar,” and that he seeks out “the centres of all fashionable vice” (71). Although Aubrey (because he doesn’t seem to comprehend) and the narrator don’t seem to pass judgment on these actions, it is clear that Ruthven doesn’t care for anyone in the societies he infiltrates. This establishes a pattern in the text, creating one of Ruthven’s most stark characteristics, that he ignores social constraints. Near the end of the text, after Ruthven has extracted a solemn oath from young Aubrey, it is Aubrey's socially constructed idea of honor that silences him, making him a victim of “his own devouring thoughts” (81). According to Carol Senf, “[h]is [Aubrey’s] high ideals and poor judgment are indirectly responsible for his own death and for the death of his only sister” (“Vampyre” 205). Senf argues that Polidori’s tale addresses the socially relevant issues she calls “the horrors of everyday life: the corruption of the innocent, the destruction of the ignorant, and the exploitation of the young” ("Vampyre" 205). It is significant here, if we take up Senf’s assessment, that it is not only the vampire that inflicts these horrors, but also the victims, who are complicit in fostering these horrors. The innocents play a part in their own destruction, just as the vampire is "a kind of extreme metaphor of ordinary human traits" ("Vampyre" 203). Using the vampire figure, Polidori’s tale breaks down the distinctions between monster and human, between self and other. With this noteworthy early translation of the
figure established in the German ballads, Polidori begins a tradition of the literary vampire who will become not only a definable other, but also a figure without definition, thus malleable in the hands of other writers.

In this short novella, there are several key setting changes that happen, all of which serve to highlight a distinction between an English home and a continental other. This is another trope that will continue in later vampire fiction. From England, we travel to Rome, from Rome to Greece. Polidori focuses the bulk of the story’s plot within either England or Greece, with Rome being a transition point between the two. What is established then is a contrast between normative English society and outsiders like Ruthven and the Greeks. This contrast rests on the idea that cultures like England view themselves in opposition to the primitive Other of their own past (in aristocratic relics like Ruthven), and against non-English regions, such as Greece. Aubrey expresses this idea when he remarks on the absurdity of “a young man of English habits, marrying an uneducated Greek girl” (74). In much the same way as he creates Lord Ruthven in his mind, Aubrey also romanticizes what he constructs as an exotic and innocent woman. Aubrey sees Ianthe this way partly because of her nationality, and partly because of her gender. Ianthe is Othered throughout Aubrey’s interactions with her. Even after her death, Aubrey tries to hold onto an idealized version of her innocence in her memory. The narrator seems to draw a connection between the romanticization of Lord Ruthven and the bucolic characterization of Ianthe, a connection that is highlighted when she speaks for the “primitive” time and place which is the origin of the vampire. Ironically, Aubrey ridicules these folkloric histories, calling them “idle and horrible fantasies” (74).
When confined by London society, Lord Ruthven is a mysterious outsider, delicately walking the line between dangerous and romantic. Once he and Aubrey leave for their tour of the continent, the text frees him from the social boundaries of London, making him more vampiric. While arguably this might reflect a fear of losing control or falling into debauchery, a cautionary tale if you will, the novel's shifting settings also suggest a subtle anxiety concerning invasion by the powerful and seemingly civilized other. Ruthven’s ability to mimic desirable, Western aristocratic characteristics makes him a dangerously mobile figure. What he is able to do in London, Rome, and Greece, to women like the young Italian, Ianthe, and Miss Aubrey, the text implies, he will continue to do in other societies. Ruthven has imbibed the qualities he needs to navigate and profit from the social circles he enters. His mimicry skills are so advanced that, the text implies, perhaps, any society, any individual may be at risk of falling victim to him. Polidori makes a conscious choice not to kill his vampire, unlike later authors. At the conclusion of the text, the reader is left questioning what will happen to Lord Ruthven. Ruthven, one can assume, will continue his pattern of staking out, marking, and then working the naïve members of upper-class societies. He has mastered this craft and can live on indefinitely.

What develops in Polidori’s story is the clear connection between the attraction/repulsion feelings that a vampire excites and the vampire's ability to manipulate both the members of normative society, such as Aubrey, and those who are vulnerable in their positions outside (and even within) it, such as Ianthe and Miss Aubrey. Polidori downplays the characteristics from the folkloric vampires, in much the same way as Bürger and Goethe do, in order to create an Other who becomes more frightening
because of his resemblance to our own humanity. This vampire is believable because he can be, and perhaps even is, a part of us. Aubrey’s oath of silence, that his fears are taken for “the ravings of a maniac,” and his undelivered letter of explanation to Miss Aubrey, help to underscore Aubrey’s failure to articulate the other, the unspeakable nature of Ruthven’s otherness, which simply cannot be believed (77-81). From Polidori onward, the vampire figure that came out of the German vampire ballads will reflect this idea of the unspeakable, indefinable, familiarity that this liminal figure possesses.
CHAPTER THREE: THE VAMPIRE IN THE SCHLOSS: J.S. LE FANU’S CARMILLA

John Sheridan Le Fanu’s *Carmilla* builds upon the models of otherness explored in *The Vampyr*. As with Polidori, and later authors of vampire fiction, Le Fanu’s attitude towards the Other is complex and often ambivalent. However, unlike *The Vampyre*, Le Fanu’s novella transfers the setting from England proper to an isolated pocket of Englishness liminally located in Austrian-occupied Styria. This is a significant shift in that it helps highlight a continuing association, begun in the eighteenth century, among vampires, German-occupied Eastern Europe, and English perceptions of Germanness. This setting change makes *Carmilla* a fruitful text for analyzing how ideas of Germanness, and their connection to ideas of vampirism, play out in English language texts. What emerges in *Carmilla* is a literary figuring of the changing Anglo-German relationship—Germany’s evolution from cousin to rival—as the character of Carmilla moves from being Laura the protagonist’s best friend (and more) to a threatening demon who undermines the carefully constructed boundaries keeping Englishness intact at the family schloss\(^2\).

*Carmilla* tells the story of Laura, a young woman living with her father in their remote castle in Styria’s dense forests. Laura’s father is English, having come to Styria to help the Austrian army (88). Laura lives a solitary life, having no companionship except for her governess and occasional visitors. Enter the novel’s second protagonist, the mysterious Carmilla. Carmilla and Laura form an instant bond, which is further

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\(^2\) Schloss is the German word for castle.
strengthened in the text when they discover they are related via shared Styrian heritage. Whilst Laura seems to be both attracted and repulsed by Carmilla, she seems unable to resist her companionship. Once outbreaks of sudden wasting disease afflict the peasants in the countryside around the castle and Laura herself falls ill, the novella quickly unravels Carmilla’s mysteries. She is a vampire. With the help of two others—General Spielsdorf, an Austrian officer, and Baron Vordenburg, a local aristocrat—Laura’s father works to save his daughter and to eliminate Carmilla’s vampiric threat.

Like Lord Ruthven, Carmilla’s present situation is an enigma for the reader. The circumstances of Carmilla’s arrival at Laura's father's schloss are strange, to say the least. But for Carmilla's presence the next morning, her arrival seems but “an illusion of the moment” (97). Her true origins remain mysterious until the climactic conclusion of the text when she is revealed to be a vampire. Throughout the rest of the text the reader, through Laura, finds that “she [Carmilla] exercises with respect to herself, her mother, her history, everything in fact connected with her life, plans, and people, an ever wakeful reserve,” revealing only her name, the age and nobility of her family, and the fact that her home lies “in the direction of the west” (103). Similarly, her earlier introduction to General Spielsdorf at the masked ball seems to signify her mysterious nature and changing identity, qualities which her mother shares as well. Carmilla’s mother, known to the General only as “Madame la Comtesse,” will not reveal her nationality, and invokes “secrecy” when discussing their identities (131-33). Her presence is never explained, nor is anything substantial learned about her: is she actually Carmilla’s mother; is she a vampire herself; who is she? The novel does not go into any detail about
her, but from the contexts offered in the novel, Carmilla and this mother figure have a long standing relationship. These two characters work seamlessly together to craft a near-perfect deception. The Comtesse is important because it is through her work that Carmilla is able to infiltrate different homes.

Despite her dramatic arrival at the schloss, Carmilla soon fits in easily with the society there, and is even welcomed as a companion for Laura. Laura describes her thus: “slender, and wonderfully graceful. . . . Her complexion was rich and brilliant; her features were small and beautifully formed: her eyes large, dark, and lustrous; her hair was quite wonderful” (102). In sum, she is “the most beautiful creature” Laura has ever seen (103). Carol Senf notes that women are, like vampires, “defined primarily by their physiology” (“Women and Power” 30), and that the languid, passive Carmilla is no exception. Although she apparently has “the sharpest tooth—long, thin, pointed, like an awl, like a needle,” only another outsider—the hunchback—notices this, and Laura's father does not think to suspect the beautiful young lady of causing the rashes of illness and death surrounding his home (108). Indeed, Laura's father demonstrates the same attitude towards his daughter. His dismissal becomes apparent early in the text when he responds to her childhood encounter with the vampire as if “[it were] nothing but a dream,” while she remains certain that “the visit of the strange woman was not a dream” and is “awfully frightened” (91). He continues to disregard her throughout the text; she reacts by not telling him of her symptoms once she falls ill because she is afraid he will laugh at them, and later, when she asks about the doctor's diagnosis, his replies, “you are not to trouble your head about it” (118, 126). Because he dismisses her, he “fails to give
her information that might enable her to protect herself” (Senf “Women and Power” 28). What is interesting about this reaction from Laura’s father is that, while it fulfills basic archetypes of dismissive paternalism, Laura’s father is also drawing a line between himself (as someone of pure English descent) and his hybrid daughter and the local Carmilla. As women of Eastern European descent through their connection to the Karnstein family, Laura and Carmilla are less likely to be seen by an Englishman as capable of rational thought.

Carmilla’s connection to deception, demonstrated by the carriage ruse she repeats at both Laura’s schloss and at General Spielsdorf’s, is one of the ways that the text aligns the vampire figure with more traditional characterizations of the colonial Other. The association with deception, and the text’s descriptions of Carmilla's degeneracy, connect her to foreignness, racial otherness, and negative stereotypes about the aristocracy. However, there are aspects of her identity that challenge this association. As a woman and a vampire, Carmilla herself lacks a stable identity. She is a shape changer, able to appear as something like “a monstrous cat,” and she embodies both descriptions of the “beautiful stranger” and the “writhing fiend” (115, 96, 148). Laura, in her reflection in the text’s conclusion, refers to the vampire's “amphibious existence” (146). Carmilla’s mercurial nature is interesting because, as Said argues in Orientalism, the Other is usually defined as an unchanging position against which the changing self is defined (230). However, Carmilla is neither living nor dead, but instead a relic of the past living in a changing present, constantly fluctuating between seemingly dissimilar categorizations. Carmilla’s vampirism signifies her ambiguous position as an Other, allowing other
characters in the text (and readers) to simultaneously feel connected to her and feel put off by her difference. Carmilla’s fluid identity accentuates what is perhaps most threatening about the vampire: she exists beyond our constructions of self/other by simultaneously embodying both. As self, the vampire reflects all of the external characteristics of living human bodies, but as other, the vampire violates a seemingly necessary part of being human, being alive. Because vampires subvert this seemingly fixed, concrete binary, all other oppositional pairs in traditional binary relationships are also open for questioning, including that of colonizer and colonized, masculine and feminine, and English and German/Eastern European. The potential threat that this fluidity implies explains some of the key contradictory responses to Carmilla in the text, as when Laura describes her arrival in terms of “curiosity and horror” (95).

As with Ruthven, and later Count Dracula, part of what makes her an object of both fear and fascination is her connection to both an ancient past and an obscured, even conflicting, present. As the story progresses, however, and the pieces of Carmilla’s past and present begin to weave together, the reader (and Laura) learns that Carmilla is not without a nation or a home; rather, she is a multi-generational local. Carmilla is part of Styria; like Count Dracula she is part of a local aristocracy. This is rather unlike the lack of connection Lord Ruthven has to any one nation or nationality. What is significant about this explicit connection between Carmilla and the native nobility is that this is a feature that will strictly exclude her from being wholly integrated into the English-inspired society of Laura and her father, reiterating how she can never fully be English no matter how well she appears to fit in.
The sense of mystery and ambiguity surrounding Carmilla is related to her position as a creature from another time and as a member of a changing, somewhat uncertain, class. Where Polidori implies Ruthven’s ancientness with his resemblance to the folkloric vampires Ianthe describes, Carmilla is directly connected to tangible figures, both people and places, of a decaying past. She is linked to the ruined village with its “mouldering tombs” and “equally desolate chateau” (89). Laura refers to Carmilla’s family as “extinct,” as the last of the “proud family of Karnstein, now [presumed to be] extinct,” and the text notes how she holds the views of a feudal aristocracy famous for its “atrocious lusts” (137). She is, indeed, one of “the great and titled dead” Laura associates with General Spielsdorf’s vampire tale (142). While she will reveal little else about her identity, she is careful to state that her family is “very ancient and noble” (103). She defines herself by her lineage, the nobility of which is inherently implied by its age (103). She also scorns the lower classes, declaring, “I don’t trouble my head about peasants” (106). There is some indication that Carmilla herself sees the absolute power of the upper classes as characteristic of the glorious and longed-for past when, perceiving herself insulted by a hunchback peasant, she exclaims: “...my father would have had the wretch tied up to the pump, and flogged with a cart-whip, and burnt to the bones with the castle brand” (108). This is one of the few moments in the text where Carmilla reacts in a noticeably anachronistic and socially non-normative way. By remarking that she would respond to the hunchback with the punishments of a feudal past, she distances herself from the supposedly more enlightened English response of Laura (whom the hunchback does not taunt).
Further, as a vampire, she feeds on peasants, making literal the long-standing idea of a parasitic aristocracy that drains the lower classes dry. While all Carmilla's victims are of a lower class than she is, it is the victims that are closer to her station, the middle classes represented by Laura and Bertha Rheinfeldt, who provide her with emotional and sexual sustenance, instead of just blood. Carmilla's class, like Ruthven’s, also invites a mixed response from these middle-class characters; while it obviously renders her different from them, this difference is a characteristic that other characters find admirable about her. For example, General Spielsdorf's fawning over the aristocracy is made clear in how he is obviously impressed by “Madame la Comtesse,” who instills in Laura a similar “conviction that she [is] a person of consequence” (95). Laura feels “flattered” by Carmilla's attentions and occasionally thinks herself “ill-bred” by comparison, significantly when she tries to learn more of the details concerning Camilla's family: “their armorial bearings . . . the name of their estate . . . the country they lived in” (103-5).

Laura, like other middle-class characters in the text, envies the aristocratic Carmilla and often feels that she is inferior to her. These feelings lead to ambivalent responses on the middle-class character’s parts, because, although her vampirism threatens them, her external characteristics and bearing ensure Carmilla’s desirability. These ambivalent feelings in the novella echo the changing perceptions of Germanness in Britain during the nineteenth century. While Germany still occupied the role of distant relation, after unification Germanness also came to represent a threat to Englishness and Britain as a world power.

Although Le Fanu sets his tale entirely in remote Styria, Laura's father's schloss
appears as a little piece of England. Within this island of Englishness, everyone speaks English, “partly to prevent its becoming a lost language among [them], and partly from patriotic motives”; they drink tea, and read Shakespeare “by way of keeping up [their] English” (87, 94, 98). All of the specific examples of Englishness are used to draw attention to the division between Laura’s family and their servants, and Laura’s family and the unfamiliar land they live in. Eventually, this division will also apply to the relationship between Laura and Carmilla. While it is never mentioned in the text, based on her historical position and social class, a person in Carmilla’s situation would have been fluent in at least German and Hungarian, but not necessarily English. Carmilla’s mother, the text does note, speaks with Laura’s father in “very pure French,” but not in English (99). While Laura and her father, and even Laura’s lady maids, are multilingual, the emphasis on the English language and English customs reminds the reader that they are isolated from England proper and in the minority, even so far as Laura remarking that “[she had] never [seen] England” (87). Though Laura’s mother was Styrian, she died when Laura was an infant (presumably having no influence on her), so Laura’s primary socialization has been with her English father, and her two French and German speaking governesses.

Laura’s hybrid identity as Styrian and English is an important characteristic in the text because closely associates her with Carmilla. Laura declares, “I am descended from the Karnsteins; that is, mamma was,” to which Carmilla responds, “Ah!...so am I, I think, a very long descent [sic], very ancient” (111). Both Carmilla and Laura share a special connection to the outside Styrian world. Laura’s Englishness from this moment forward
is always in question. She is not like her father, purely English, but a Styrian-English hybrid, someone who is always already Othered even within her own family unit. Laura and Carmilla’s blood-level connection is also highlighted when we discover that Carmilla visited her in her nursery, biting her just above her breast (90). Carmilla and Laura share a family lineage and have also exchanged blood before the current action of the text. While these connections can be seen as Le Fanu’s attempt to make the doppelgänger relationship between Carmilla and Laura more obvious, it is significant that a story about a vampire blurs the lines between literal blood relationships and the more abstract idea of blood purity via the blood metaphor tied to kinship. Because she is both Styrian and English, Laura transverses the metaphorical barriers constructed between the English schloss and the Austrian-occupied outside world, just as Carmilla literally transverses them.

By entering the English-dominated schloss, Styrian Carmilla can be seen as an Other from the fringe crossing the artificial boundaries of an imperial center, even if the example of the center exists within her native land. This highlights the three-part relationship between Eastern European vampire lore, German (Austrian) occupation, and English-speaking British citizens. Carmilla is local (as we discover later in the text) to the area, presumably she is fluent in French and German (as the other principal characters are), and she smoothly enters (and quickly integrates into) Laura’s re-created English world. Later in the text, when Laura writes of the vampire legend's origins in eastern European locations, she specifically notes, “Upper and Lower Styria, in Moravia, Silesia, in Turkish Serbia, in Poland, even in Russia” (144). Implied in her assessment is the idea
that the vampire, the threat, begins in places that are decidedly not English; vampires invade English spaces from this disconcerting fringe area.

Le Fanu's portrayal of Carmilla's origins, her time, place, and class, as markers of her otherness correspond to concurrent social anxieties in Britain, given the rapidly changing international colonial picture triggered by Germany’s rapid rise to imperial power. The determined efforts of Laura's family to maintain its Englishness imply a fear of losing it. The fear of losing a national or racial identity by living in foreign territory was a common theme in nineteenth century fiction, especially the idea of “individual regression or going native” (Brantlinger 230). In vampire fiction, this fear manifests itself in the threat of being consumed or converted by the local vampiric Other. Patrick Brantlinger identifies the idea of regression or conversion along with “an invasion of civilization by the forces of barbarism or demonism” as two of the "principal themes of imperial Gothic,” a category in which it seems reasonable to place Carmilla (230). If nothing else, Laura's family lives in Styria, and despite their valiant attempts to remain “English,” they are associated with the foreign Other via the family schloss. For instance, the schloss possesses a “Gothic chapel” and a “Gothic bridge” (88). Similarly, the family is saved by the local folklore of Baron Vordenburg who, like Carmilla, is a Styrian aristocrat and connected to an old and significant family.

The fact that Laura and her family are implicated in, even complicit with Carmilla's attacks suggests the potential for social critique on Le Fanu's part. They invite the vampire into their English home, and it takes Laura's father an inordinate amount of time to discover the truth about her. Even when he does so, Laura is unable to condemn
her utterly but remembers her in her “ambiguous alternations” (148). The text ends on a
note that suggests exorcising the vampire has not been entirely successful, as Laura
concludes with the words “often from a reverie I have started, fancying I heard the light
step of Carmilla at the drawing-room door” (148). Clearly, she continues to be haunted
by the vampire, who is not portrayed as a simple representation of the evil other.
Carmilla's origins in the past and her embodiment of both Eastern Europeanness and
Germanness establish her as an outsider and a potential invader of the nest of British
civility that exists in the Styrian mountains. Once Eastern European and vampire qualities
are associated with Carmilla, they evoke a response of fear as soon as Laura’s father,
General Spielsdorf, and Baron Vordenburg realize them.

These men between them represent all the institutions of a patriarchal social
order: “doctor, father, general, scholar, baron, priest” (Waller 53). When Laura is
excluded from the plan to destroy Carmilla, the idea that Laura is allied with the female
vampire (because both are women) is reaffirmed. Laura’s femininity, as well as her
unusual hybrid identity makes her as much of an Other as the vampiric Carmilla to these
men (143-44). As far as Laura is concerned, Carmilla's nature is unspeakable, “a secret
which [her] father for the present determine[d] to keep from [her]” (144). While her
father's secrecy in part indicates that he wants to protect his innocent daughter, it also
seems to suggest that he cannot trust her, because she, like Carmilla, is a woman and not
fully English. Is Laura complicit with the enemy? Is she an enemy herself who has been
lurking all this time inside the safety of her father’s English home? Suspicion or fear and
paternalistic condescension are two of the stock patriarchal responses to women and
correspond to two masculine constructions of femininity: the angelic woman who requires masculine protection and the demonic woman who inspires masculine fear. Both constructions of femininity are present in Carmilla as the vampire. Before she is revealed as a threat to patriarchal institutions, she plays a more traditional role, that of the ideal Victorian woman (The Angel in the House), who is less threatening, but equally Othered. Such reactions are also archetypal responses by imperialists towards colonial others. That Laura’s father, the principle patriarchal figure in the novella, is English, living in lands that he helped the Austrians conquer, confirms this relationship between two fundamental elements of Otherness.

Like many a stock feature of vampirism, Carmilla's condition is contagious. Baron Vordenburg explains that the bite of the undead has the power to turn the living into vampires, causing the reader to wonder about the fate of Bertha (General Spielsdorf’s niece), who dies as a result of Carmilla's attacks (147). Spielsdorf also describes vampirism as a “plague,” and Laura's condition is treated as a disease before its cause becomes known. This vocabulary of infection is interesting as it is often used to described otherness. Infection is used as a metaphor to demonize marginalized groups of people (like colonized peoples and women), who the dominant society wants to ostracize. There is a deep-seated fear of coming to resemble the other, and the blame for such a transformation is usually displaced onto that “infectious” other, when, in fact, the results can be used to deconstruct the categories of self and other, and ultimately, to critique the self. Laura, for example, does not find Carmilla's advances entirely repulsive; rather, “the sense of attraction immensely prevail[s]” (101). Carmilla has “interested and won
[Laura],” who begins to act like Carmilla (102). She also begins to describe her nocturnal encounters using Carmilla's language of desire, rather than her earlier vocabulary of nightmare. Again, the prevalent sensation is agreeable, “that pleasant, peculiar cold thrill which we feel in bathing, when we move against the current of a river,” a highly sensual description that invokes nudity, moisture and motion in a way which is undeniably sexual (118).

Many critics see Carmilla as a representation of Laura's own transgressive sexuality and the threat to her innocence as a threat to the “pure blood” of the patriarchy (Punter 167). Carmilla threatens the English as patriarchs, and so the men in the text, led by an Englishman, band together to destroy her. Laura can see both the angelic and demonic aspects of Carmilla, her “ambiguous alternations,” and is able to accept her own response of combined fear and desire as she writes, “this I know is paradox, but I can make no other attempt to explain the feeling” (104). The men, however, achieve no such balanced reading, but think in the binary terms of self/other, angel/demon. To them, the woman is either submissive or dangerous, but never anything more than someone always socially othered. When Carmilla is revealed as something other than the ideal young lady, she must be constructed as a “monster,” a “fiend,” a “plague” on the region, and "the horrible enemy" (92, 93, 137, 144). While the father, the general, and the baron, in the company of “the good priest,” protectively exclude Laura the “good” woman, they must utterly destroy Carmilla the demon (144). The powerless ideal woman is patronized, but for the threatening female vampire only a violent ancient ritual is sufficient: “a sharp stake was driven through the heart of the vampire, who uttered a piercing shriek at the
moment, in all respects such as might escape from a living person in the last agony. Then
the head was struck off, and a torrent of blood flowed from the severed neck. The body
and head were next placed on a pile of wood, and reduced to ashes, which were thrown
upon the river and borne away” (145). While this account invites some sympathy for the
vampire who resembles a living person, it never mentions Carmilla’s name, or even her
gender. The end of the ritual has destroyed any human features the vampire possessed,
literally turning her into an inanimate object. In Stoker’s *Dracula*, Lucy Westenra will
suffer the same fate as Carmilla. Both women are violently removed from the text under
the pretense that their deaths will save other, more virtuous women.

The patriarchs feel perfectly justified in committing this “pious sacrilege” (128).
This oxymoronic response is in some ways as fraught with contradictions as is Laura’s
response to Carmilla, and it is certainly more violent than any of Carmilla’s own attacks.
Nevertheless, this act fulfills both a public and private judgment in that it has the sanction
of the Imperial Commission (approval by the Austrian government), and serves to avenge
the death of Bertha and the attacks on Laura. In this respect, two key aspects of
patriarchal power are upheld: a man’s power over the family and the public construction
of masculine authoritative power. Carmilla’s death appears to restore the patriarchal
authority she threatens and, according to the text’s multiple justifications, is presented as
the best way to handle this type of threat.

The similarities between Laura, a daughter of the dominant society, and Carmilla,
the vampire, show that the binary opposition between self and other is artificial and
arbitrary. The sudden hostility of the patriarchs, who admire Carmilla until they belatedly
discover her Otherness, not only demonstrates a similar arbitrariness, but also reveals them to be hypocrites. Instead of making the reader more hesitant to sympathize with Carmilla, these actions instead increase the reader's sympathy for the other, whom the text portrays as being nearly indistinguishable from the self. Nevertheless, despite Laura's fond memories and the sympathy the reader feels for Carmilla, her ultimate fate cannot be ignored. To read Carmilla as a portrait of the unfairly persecuted empowered woman, however tempting that may be, is to misread General Spielsdorf's statement to Laura's father: “you believe in nothing but what consists with your own prejudices and illusions. I remember when I was like you, but I have learned better” (127). Here prejudices refer to a refusal to believe in the supernatural. Spielsdorf speaks about the necessity of believing in the supernatural Other for the purpose of killing or containing it. In Dracula, Professor Van Helsing makes a similar statement concerning the desirability of an “open mind,” and nowhere is the violent repression of the Other by representatives of the dominant ideology more apparent than in Stoker's text (Dracula 243). Whether she is dead or living-dead, one thing is clear about Carmilla—she is not English. Instead she haunts English domestic spaces and, in the eyes of English patriarchs, threatens to destroy the happiness of “true” English men and women. Carmilla perfectly embodies the three part system in British vampire fiction. She walks the line between Eastern Europeanness and Germanness, always remaining decidedly non-English. Instead, she is an object of English imaginations, deconstructing the carefully crafted boundaries between Englishness and otherness.
CHAPTER FOUR: OF LORDS, DOCTORS, AND VAMPIRES: BRAM STOKER’S

*DRACULA*

While both *The Vampyre* and *Carmilla* explore multiple ideas of otherness, and the cultural anxiety surrounding the feelings of attraction and repulsion toward the Other, Bram Stoker’s novel *Dracula* presents a more in-depth, and well-known, exploration of this theme. Similarly to *Carmilla*, Stoker’s novel also examines the contrast between characteristics that define Englishness in contrast to constructs of Germanness and Eastern Europeans. Unsurprisingly, there is more blood, both literally and metaphorically, in this novel than in either the ballads or Polidori’s and Le Fanu’s novellas. In *Dracula*, blood is present as a marker of violence, of vampiric (deviant) sexuality, and of the definition of Englishness through the quest to preserve “pure blood.” The novel defines purity of blood as being English, male, white, Christian, and heterosexual. The vampire figure threatens this purity with its ability to seamlessly infiltrate the constructed boundaries between seemingly stable identities. The threat of unwitting conversion from within is much more insidious than any direct threat of violence. In *Dracula*, this threat manifests in images of corruption, infection, or poison, exemplifying anxieties about the degradation of boundaries between self and Other.

In a pattern followed by both Polidori and Le Fanu, Stoker’s novel, even with all of its varying voices, gives readers only the point of view of the English center. Arguably, the purpose of this is to attempt to create a more discernible barrier between definitions of self and other. However, while *Dracula* relies more heavily on repressing
the Other than both the ballads and novellas, this novel also further explores the increasingly indiscernible distinctions between self and other. As David Punter remarks, 
"[Dracula is] one of the most important expressions of the social and psychological dilemmas of the late nineteenth century...a powerful record of social pressures and anxieties" (256). The novel questions the seemingly stable identity categories that reinforce the English center, which may be why it highlights feelings of social anxiety. For, as Fredric Jameson writes in *The Political Unconscious*, artificial binary oppositions are often created to serve the interests of dominant ideologies (88). In Stoker, as with other vampire fiction, the figure of the vampire exists to destabilize the binary system. Being both dead and alive simultaneously, the vampire, at its core, exists outside one of the most fundamental binaries, thus opening up the possibility to question other seemingly absolute binaries.

The vampire in Stoker is still a shape-changing figure like Carmilla, the supernatural everyman, but in Stoker the vampire more directly and violently attacks the constructed divisions between center and fringe. Further, while the human protagonists of *The Vampyre* and *Carmilla* are often complicit in the Other’s attempt to invade the civilized world, in *Dracula* they are in danger of becoming other themselves. Through these characters, the distinctions between good and evil blur, just as the vampire obscures the boundary between life and death. Stoker’s use of the vampire myth allows him to extend the fear of foreign invasion into farther depths because of the vampire’s ability to adapt and blend in. In the novel, the vampire figure does not represent just a single figure to be feared, a single disruptive force, but instead acts as a subversive force that threatens
the larger, presumably more civilized and ordered, imperial center. In the novel, Stoker’s characters remark how the threat is not simply from vampires, implying a singular or small group of supernatural invaders, but from “vampire kind,” implying a vast race of un-dead.

“Dracula’s Guest”: Germany’s Mark on Dracula

While the completed version of Stoker’s novel briefly mentions Jonathan Harker’s stay in Munich, the short story “Dracula’s Guest” expands on this visit, offering an important place to begin discussing how Stoker uses Germanness in his fiction. There has been much disagreement between Stoker scholars over whether or not this piece was an original part of the novel, or a short story written either before or after its publication. From Stoker’s working notes, it is arguable that the genesis of the story emerged concurrently with the drafting of the novel. However, what is important for this project is that this short story is set in the same universe, within the same timeline, as the larger novel, and that it fleshes out an important connection between Stoker’s quintessential vampire story and representations of Germanness.

Stopping in Munich on his way to Transylvania, Jonathan Harker decides to take a day to enjoy the German countryside. The innkeeper at the Quatre Saisons, Herr Delbrück, nervously agrees to Jonathan’s request, assigning Harker his coachman Johann, and urging him to return before nightfall. There’s a hint of snow in the air, a possible storm that may roll in, and it also happens to be Walpurgismacht, a pagan holiday on April 30th when the dead rise from their graves. When setting out, Harker is
unaware of what the date signifies, and has to ask his German carriage driver what is so important. It is through Johann that we learn it is *Walpurgisnacht*. Johann, and the horses he is driving, are uncomfortable and wary about this journey. Harker, in contrast, merely motions for Johann to continue, noting only that it is clear to him that Johann doesn’t want to talk about *Walpurgisnacht* (57-8).

Things go well for Harker until he notices a “road that looked but little used, and which seemed to dip through a little, winding valley” (57). Enticed, Harker asks Johann to take the detour, which Johann strangely refuses to do. Harker notes how nervous Johann is about taking this detour, remarking how he “frequently crossed himself” (57). When Harker presses him, Johann tells him that the trail leads to an abandoned town. It seems the former residents fled seeking a new home where “the living live and the Dead remain dead and not—not something” (59). Harker responds with an imperialist’s confidence and aggression, and an Englishman’s skepticism. He dismisses Johann’s backwoods superstitions, calling the man a coward, saying he’ll tackle the valley on foot and return in his own good time. Reluctantly the coachman takes his leave, asking God and Mary to watch over Harker. Someone is indeed watching over Harker, but it isn’t God. A dark silhouette observes him from afar, and a strange white wolf tracks his every move through the valley.

What is important about this scene is that Harker’s Englishness is further accentuated by the breakdown in language between him and Johann. When Johann tries to explain to Harker why he should not go into the village, Harker notes that he speaks “first in German, then in English” (58). Later, as Johann’s fear grows, Harker remarks
how “[h]is English was quite gone now. In his anxiety he had forgotten that his only means of making me understand was to talk my language, so he jabbered away in his native German. It began to be a little tedious” (59). This interaction comes after Jonathan claims his Englishness with pride, in response to Johann’s fears, that “[a]ll my English blood rose at this...Walpurgisnacht doesn’t concern Englishmen” (59). Unlike the Jonathan Harker that the reader meets in the finished novel, this Jonathan embodies more of the robust idea of the Englishman, the brave imperialist.

Of course, things get worse from here in this cautionary tale. The weather turns quickly, and the sky darkens with the onset of a sudden winter storm. Harker is haunted by disembodied female laughter. Seeking shelter from the cold, he makes his way into the abandoned town and is inexorably driven into the mausoleum of Countess Dolingen. Written in German above the door is “Countess Dolingen of Gratz in Styria Sought and Found Death. 1801” (62). However, the figure Harker sees in the tomb is not a long dead woman, but “a beautiful woman, with rounded cheeks and red lips, seemingly sleeping on a bier” (62). As the thunder is crashing and lightning breaks overhead, Harker sees this beautiful (dead) woman rise from her resting place, her voice screaming out, when he is overtaken by a strong grasp and dragged away. The Countess’s malevolent presence torments and drives him on, and Harker seems doomed to awaken her, becoming her first meal. As Harker comes back into consciousness, the local Germans arrive with soldiers looking for him. Dracula had sent a telegram to the hotel sometime after Harker had left to explore, cautioning the locals to “[b]e careful of my guest...he is English and therefore adventurous. There are often dangers from snow and wolves and night. Lose not a
moment if you suspect harm to him...” (66). Even in Münich, Dracula has power. He inspires fear and respect from the local Germans, further emphasizing a connection between Eastern Europeans (Dracula’s homeland) and Germanness.

From the very first page of the published novel, Stoker establishes Jonathan Harker’s Englishness as distinctly different from the world we are entering—Count Dracula’s Eastern Europe. Harker remarks, en route by train to Transylvania, that he feels he is “leaving the West and entering the East” (151). While it should be noted, as Andrew Smith does in his analysis of Dracula, that Eastern Europe does not occupy the same metaphorical space in English literature as do more traditional Eastern locations like India, Harker’s explicit reference to the gap between Western and Eastern Europe should not go unnoticed.

Even though he recognizes that he is leaving his home for a markedly foreign place, Harker is initially comfortably detached from the world he arrives in, since his visit to Dracula’s country is work related. As a junior solicitor, he is sent to broker the deal of a foreign aristocrat’s purchase of estates in England. This attitude shows in his journal entries, which describe the customs, geography, and local foods, resembling a travel narrative, including interlineal notes to himself about things he would like to bring back home. For example, he explains that, for dinner, he has “chicken done up some way with red pepper, which was very good but thirsty. (Mem., get recipe for Mina)” (151). Harker is cataloguing the foreignness of this new place, like a tourist collecting souvenirs. He sees this exotic land, and the unfamiliar customs of the people he encounters, as something like an exhibition, constantly comparing the unfamiliar, barbaric East to his
civilized, Western home. He dwells specifically on the punctuality of the trains, remarking, “[i]t seems to me that the further east you go the more unpunctual are the trains. What ought they to be in China” (152)? Here Harker’s casual remark draws a strong connection between how he sees his journey into Eastern Europe and more traditionally defined Eastern spaces.

As he travels further into this "wildest and least known portion of Europe,” he notes losing the comfort of his English home; in the East there are fewer amenities than he is used to. For Harker, he has left both his actual home and his idea of home behind in England. The place where Harker is going, while not the Far East, is still strikingly foreign to him, is decidedly un-English. Harker’s journal catalogues the unpunctual trains, the coach to Dracula’s wildly driven carriage, and eventually his temporary home at Castle Dracula, which at first appears to be deserted except for the Count, as examples of moments where things around him remind him of how far from England he is (151-2, 162-3). The theme of contrasting British advanced civilization with Transylvanian barbarity continues throughout the novel, which allows Stoker to accentuate the threat of the vampire, a seemingly primitive and ancient force, invading England.

The reader follows Harker’s journal in the first four chapters, his journey, his arrival at Castle Dracula, and his steady realization of the danger he is in. From Harker’s point of view, he describes this movement as something like travelling backward in time, to the primitive state that was the stereotypical view of the East, including Eastern Europe, in the nineteenth century. As Harker reaches his destination, his preconceived opinions about the stark differences between Transylvania and Britain reach an apex. In
Dracula’s ancient castle, isolated in every respect, he encounters an eccentric aristocrat who is in every way different from typical English nobles. Ironically, however, it is from Dracula and not Harker that their cultural dissimilarity is emphasized, when Dracula says, “We are in Transylvania; and Transylvania is not England. Our ways are not your ways, and there shall be to you many strange things” (168). From this point on, Harker becomes lost in the strangeness of the castle, leading to his near vampiric conversion by Dracula’s mistresses and by the Count himself.

As Harker moves deeper into Dracula’s mysterious country and reaches his castle, the boundaries slowly dissolve that safely separated him as an English citizen living in England from the archaic world of Eastern Europe. This leads to a vulnerable Harker entering the symbolic heart of darkness, one deep in the Transylvanian forest, high up a craggy mountain. Burton Hatlen argues that the English “are vaguely aware that surrounding the island of light that is England there is a vast darkness; but they, like Conrad’s Kurtz, are confident that the light will gradually penetrate the darkness. As he travels east towards Castle Dracula, however, Jonathan Harker discovers, again like Kurtz, how deep this darkness is, and he himself is very nearly swallowed up by it” (125). Being close to a powerful locus of otherness, Harker is no longer able to remain the professional, an observer, which puts him in a vulnerable position to be more easily converted. Like Aubrey, Harker’s vulnerability is connected to his inherent innocence, which explains his initial confusion in the confrontation with evil.

Although Harker doesn’t know this from the beginning, Dracula, like Carmilla, is more concretely associated with the past than even his decaying castle indicates. He is
approximately four hundred years old, “a revenant from a pre-enlightenment age,” tied explicitly to the land he lives in, both militaristically and historically (Hatlen 126). The Count passionately recounts his lineage when he tells Harker that “[w]e Szekelys have a right to be proud, for in our veins flows the blood of many brave races who fought as the lion fights, for lordship” (175). The Count further lists his connection to the ancient empires of the Vikings and Attila, scorning the upstart empires of the Hapsburgs and the Romanoffs. This early conversation establishes what becomes Dracula’s “many races” argument, that a multiplicity of bloods is stronger than the idea of English blood purity. Dracula’s effort to gain Englishness in an effort to strengthen himself by adding another so-called race to the mixture, and his blood beliefs, separate him from more typical depictions of aristocrats. Unlike Carmilla, he does not make derisive comments about the lower classes; the text even implies that he is the only worker living in his castle. These differences accentuate the idea that Dracula is less like a powerful aristocrat and more like the peoples usually subjugated under the aristocracy. And, while peoples in subject positions often are forced through systemic rape and forced sexual concubinage to absorb the blood of many conquerors by adapting to new regimes to survive, that Dracula wants to turn this perspective into a position of power challenges the traditional imperial narrative.

While Stoker relies on creating a connection to real places and historical figures, he also establishes a connection to myth and superstition early in the novel, which he uses to help highlight the differences between Englishness and Eastern Europeans. Harker writes, “I read that every known superstition in the world is gathered into the horseshoe
of the Carpathians, as if it were the centre of some sort of imaginative whirlpool; if so my stay may be very interesting (Mem., I must ask the Count all about them)” (152). This statement gathers force as local Transylvanians warn him of the perils of Saint George's eve, when “all the evil things in the world . . . have full sway,” a belief which Harker finds “ridiculous” (154). For Harker, the Count acts not only as an expert in local knowledge, but also as an expert in local superstition and the supernatural. Of course, as the novel unfolds, it is obvious that the Count has a close insider’s knowledge of these topics because of his own un-natural state.

Count Dracula, and the figure of the vampire he represents, is part of a distant past, foreign and primitive places, irreverent superstition, and the supernatural. These characteristics are presented in direct opposition to those of his English (and American) enemies. It is these qualities that make the vampire a viable threat and all the more frightening when he invades their homeland. In bringing the foreign vampire to England, Stoker goes further than either Polidori, whose tale does not emphasize Ruthven’s foreignness, or Le Fanu, who, despite the Englishness contained within the schloss, sets his entire tale in Styria. The Count himself explicitly acknowledges his own position, what Hatlen calls "the culturally other,” when he tells Harker that "Transylvania is not England" (“Return” 15; Dracula 168). Indeed, the Count represents much of what is not English, and carries his association with a decaying past with him to contemporary London. He expresses his approval of Carfax Abbey, itself a relic from such a time: "I am glad that it is old and big. I myself am of an old family, and to live in a new house would kill me. A house cannot be made habitable in a day; and, after all, how few days go to
make up a century” (170). Dracula, then, represents the East and the past, both of which are connected, as is the vampire myth, to superstition and thus seem directly opposed to the rational and scientific forces of the West.

While Harker’s supernatural-tinged arrival at Castle Dracula sets up the connection between place and superstition, once Harker sees Dracula “crawl down the castle wall over that dreadful abyss face down with his cloak spreading out around him like great wings,” which he later calls “his lizard fashion,” Dracula himself becomes a recognizable object of the supernatural (178-9, emphasis original). Throughout the novel, Dracula’s attacks are associated with the supernatural and the non-scientific, while Harker and the other men of the West employ and praise up-to-date technology such as Mina’s typewriter, Seward’s phonograph, and Van Helsing’s medical equipment. In order to defeat the vampire, however, the rational Englishmen must first believe that he exists, ironically turning superstition into fact. At first Seward—representing the general attitude of “here in London in the nineteenth century”—is reluctant. For him, only the empirical evidence of Lucy's transformation causes him to begin to believe in the remedies prescribed by Van Helsing, who has his own knowledge of the supernatural and superstition. However, scientific procedures such as blood transfusions can neither save Lucy's life, nor can they kill Dracula. In order to defeat the supernatural, the hunters must acquiesce to it, relying on tools like garlic and wooden stakes. Thus, the progressive, scientific citizens of the Western world are not as far removed from the superstitious practices of the primitive East as they, or Stoker's nineteenth-century English readers, would like to believe.
Part of exploring the Count’s identity in the novel relies on analysing how Dracula is constructed as the active alien invader of the civilized world. Early in the novel, an essential shift in the perception of Dracula is depicted in the scene in which Harker descends into Dracula’s crypt. After lifting the lid of Dracula’s coffin, Jonathan discovers the Count “gorged with blood,” which makes him realize the awful truth that “[t]his 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” (193). Once Harker experiences this, he cannot un-see it, and can no longer treat Dracula as a curious stranger, existing in a nebulous, distant frontier of Western culture. Harker realizes that the Count is an active invader who will attempt to overrun the civilized world.

The direct threat of incursion into Britain sparks Harker’s transformation from a passive observer into an active defender of his world, of Englishness. Unlike the slightly hysterical Jonathan of the earlier parts of the novel, this shift in his personality recalls his attitude in the short story “Dracula’s Guest.” The more imperialist Jonathan, whom we met in the short story, helps to stress how Dracula’s immigration to England is akin to an invasion. Similarly to Jonathan’s references to his adventurous English blood, Dracula is established early on as one of a long line of conquerors, and later refers to his military skill in direct relation to his plans for England, telling Mina that he has "commanded nations, and intrigued for them, and fought for them, hundreds of years before they [the English male protagonists] were born” (386). Dracula, who Mina fears has come to London with imperialist designs, later declares: “My revenge is just begun! I spread it
over centuries, and time is on my side. Your girls that you all love are mine already; and through them you and others shall yet be mine—my creatures, to do my bidding and to be my jackals when I want to feed. Bah” (401)! He envisions himself in control of English society, enslaving its people, and literally living off of them.

Although Dracula is not himself a member of a colonized race, but was instead a defender of Christianity and European land from invading Turks, Hatlen considers the idea that because he “has spent so much time guarding the frontier against the dark, barbaric outsider that, like Kurtz, Dracula has become such an outsider, a metaphoric Turk” (“Return” 129). The novel conflates Dracula as conqueror with the people he has colonized. It is from this ambiguous space that he emerges as a threat to the pure blood of England. Despite his “extraordinary pallor,” he is associated with darkness, in both his consistently black clothing and his nocturnal habits (“Return” 129). For example, when Mina first sees the Count in London, she refers to him as the “dark stranger,” and makes no reference to the pale skin that Jonathan noticed. If Dracula is a racial other, however, it must also be noted that he is not depicted like traditional colonized racial others in other nineteenth-century novels. He is instead a racial other with power, the slave turned master, which is Renfield's name for him. By immigrating to London, Dracula the vampire brings this colonial evil into the heart of the imperial center, destabilizing the constructed boundary between center and fringe. Dracula’s imperialist discourse, which makes England its victim, “reads like a grim parody of the ‘conquering race’ rhetoric in much imperialist writing” (Brantlinger 234). Stephen Arata argues that Dracula’s attacks may be regarded as a “colonization of the body” because his victims do not die, but are
transformed by Dracula: “they receive a new racial identity, one that marks them as literally ‘Other’” (630).

Building off of this idea, Carol Senf argues that Stoker’s vampire represents contemporary apprehensions about “a kind of reverse imperialism, the threat of the primitive trying to colonize the civilized world” (“Unseen Face” 97). The novel continually reaffirms Dracula’s status as a racial other, someone decidedly non-English, starting with the description of his heterogeneous ancestry and the complex history of his native regions (*Dracula* 174). As discussed earlier, Dracula prides himself on his racial diversity, presenting his land as a bloody battlefield, inhabited by “the whirlpool of European races” that constantly struggle for dominance. Dracula’s description of the local racial heterogeneity puts Transylvania in opposition to Britain, where, as Jan Gordon observes, the British at this time were trying to “attribute their cultural domination to an inherent racial homogeneity” (103). Ethnic purity is juxtaposed to racial diversity; therefore, Dracula’s threat is to be perceived predominantly in racial terms.

Even though Dracula takes pride in his racial ancestry, as the novel progresses, he diligently works to erase his foreign identity, signing himself “Count de Ville,” and studying English “history, geography, politics, political economy, botany, geology, law” (374, 156-7). While Harker’s task is to broker the sale of property, he has also been asked to provide more insider, native knowledge of Englishness, and to be an English-language tutor. The Count is especially concerned about his accent because he realizes that it distinguishes him more so than other physical characteristics. He says, "I am content if I am like the rest, so that no man stops if he sees me, or pause in his speaking if he hear my
words, to say 'Ha, ha! a stranger!'” Dracula expands on his interest in language in the
next line: "I have been so long master that I would be master still — or at least that none
other should be master of me" (167). Dracula is well aware that his success in England
hinges on his ability to make himself as invisible as possible, which means that the
external markers (like an accent) that would signal his differences must be diminished.
Dracula’s attention to detail, and his exemplary efforts to master Englishness, recalls his
greatest characteristic: his ability to mimic and absorb racial identities. From the Szekelys
to the Ugric races and Nordic gods, Dracula’s “whirlpool of European races” reflects how
his heritage has adapted to change, implying the ability to imbibe the racial qualities of
others (174).

Unlike the construction of a passive or distant other, the Count's ability to learn
and change makes him a far more powerful adversary. This is especially true considering
that the Count embarks on his invasion alone, choosing not to rely on forces brought with
him from outside England, such as the Szgany or the Transylvanian vampires (all of
whom remain in Castle Dracula). What he does instead, which is far more frightening, is
convert English citizens, beginning, as he tells the male protagonists, with Lucy and
Mina. This is why Van Helsing’s remark that “the circle goes on forever widening” is
significant (327). Van Helsing’s statement evokes Harker's earlier fear that Dracula might
“create a new and ever widening circle of semi-demons to batten on the helpless” (193).
The novel is careful to make the point that Dracula's minions will not necessarily be
others like him. Instead, like Lucy and Renfield, they will be as English as Jonathan
Harker, who demonstrated how susceptible an Englishman could be to vampiric charm
when he was approached by the women in the castle (33). Harker's susceptibility extends
to his work to help Dracula reach London, which is akin to Dracula's invitation to
London, a version of the invitation necessary for the vampire to enter a house. Like that
invitation, this signifies how the English are not only corruptible, but in part responsible
for the invasion of their homeland, and the possession of their women.

Any analysis of Stoker’s vampire should reference the similarities between
Stoker’s descriptions of the Count and late-nineteenth-century stereotypes of Jewishness.
The late nineteenth century witnessed a noticeable escalation of anti-Semitism, as rising
fears concerning impending imperial decline coincided with a great influx of Jewish
immigrants, primarily from Eastern Europe, who were perceived as a threat to “the
mythical homogeneity of the indigenous population” (Hughes 132). Immigrants were
branded as an occupying force, or as parasites. Significantly, Stoker depicts Dracula as a
foreigner who attempts to assimilate the customs and to master the language of the
country he plans to invade, which would allow him to merge with the natives and secretly
feed upon them, like a parasite, or a highly adept mimic. Van Helsing carefully describes
Dracula’s tactics: “He find out the place of all the world most of promise to him…He
study new tongues. He learn new social life; new environment of old ways, the politic,
the law, the finance, the science, the habit of a new land and a new people” (413). The
professor’s assumptions, which the reader already knows, were confirmed much earlier in
the novel when Jonathan described Dracula’s library that contained an impressive
collection of various books and magazines, “all relating to England and English life and
customs and manners” (166-7).
The resemblance between Stoker’s vampire and the late-Victorian image of the Jew is also reflected in numerous descriptions of Dracula’s physical characteristics, considered typically Jewish at that time according to anti-Semitic stereotypes; he is described as having pointed ears and a hooked nose (165). Moreover, Dracula’s association with gold, which he keeps locked away, and his lack of allegiance to his homeland also connect him to popular anti-Semitic stereotypes of the 1890s. Arguably, Stoker decided to use these specifically loaded and well-known descriptions to construct the fictional epitome of the fin-de-siècle fears, since “during Stoker’s era, Jewishness functioned as a signifier under whose aegis the fear of syphilis, alien invasion, sexual perversion, and political subversion, stood united” (Davison 152). In some ways, this relationship to landless peoples is Dracula’s strongest connection to Lord Ruthven. Both men carry with them noticeable physical characteristics that mark them as other and yet they hold places both in and out of English normative society.

As with any good horror novel, after Dracula arrives in Britain and begins to carry through his invasion plans, a strong oppositional force emerges. Christopher Craft calls this group of male protagonists the Crew of Light, and they are very carefully crafted by Stoker to represent key cornerstones of the empire. Each of these men is expected to perform a specific role in the annihilation of the foreign other in order to preserve Englishness, even if not all the members are Englishmen themselves. Three vampire hunters are native Englishmen, representing different aspects of Englishness. As a

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solicitor, Jonathan Harker personifies the British legal system, while Dr Seward embodies Enlightenment thought and science, whose development helped make England a world power. Lord Godalming, Arthur Holmwood, epitomizes the current English aristocracy. As Hatlen claims, his first name associates him with King Arthur, and thus with English national myth and heritage, while his family name Godalming “God almighty” suggests a connection with divinity and divine protection (121). The law, Enlightenment, and Christianity all work together to support the carefully crafted imperial superiority of Britain in the nineteenth century.

The final two members of the group are, significantly, not English. Van Helsing is a learned Dutch professor and Dr. Seward’s former teacher, who comes from the Continent bringing intimate knowledge about the Other. In Stoker’s working notes about the novel, Van Helsing is German, with a blend of learned German characteristics (philosopher, doctor, scholar)\textsuperscript{4}. In the completed version of the novel, he is from Amsterdam, referred to as Dutch. While this may seem like a small point, it draws attention to the connection between Germans, Enlightenment learning, and knowledge of vampires. As an advocate of the philosophy of an “open mind,” Van Helsing is able to combine Western science with Eastern superstitions, unlike the English protagonists who are restricted by trying to rely solely on rationalism. Van Helsing is essential to the English because of the specificity of Dracula’s threat, which embodies the primitive and the superstitious, and cannot be fought by solely rational means. It is Van Helsing who

enlightens readers and the English about the existence of vampires, who uses hypnotism, thought-reading and other occult practices to hunt the Count. Van Helsing is also a Catholic, and religious scholar, and has access to the Host and holy artefacts. As the text reveals more about Van Helsing and his commitment to help his former student, his character embodies the qualities associated with “good” Germans. Van Helsing has no desire to take anything away from the might of England; rather, he works diligently to use his knowledge to aid in upholding English hegemony. To compare the two primary non-English European characters, Van Helsing and Dracula, what emerges is a modified version of the three part system I mentioned earlier. The English view Eastern Europeans filtered through Germanic Enlightenment knowledge. Even Jonathan’s journey into Eastern Europe passes through a German gateway. Regardless of their support of England, however, Germans (or the Dutch) are never seen as being English themselves.

In spite of his positive role, Van Helsing is still depicted as noticeably different from the British protagonists. Van Helsing’s vast knowledge of evil separates him from the English members of the Crew, who are initially unaware of the dark threat that suddenly invades their native land. Further marking his differences, like Count Dracula, Van Helsing’s imperfect English marks him as an outsider. However, unlike Dracula, Van Helsing never works to eliminate this linguistic difference. While Dracula loses his accent, Van Helsing’s is marked throughout the text. For example, in a letter sent by Van Helsing to Seward, he writes, “[h]ave then rooms for me at the Great Eastern Hotel, so that I may be near to hand, and please it so arrange that we may see the young lady not too late on to-morrow…” (244, emphasis mine). Later, in conversation, Van Helsing says
“[y]ou [Seward] were only student then; now you are master, and I trust that good habit have not fail” (249, emphasis mine). In the italicized portions of the two examples, Van Helsing demonstrates patterns of error associated with Germanic English learners. In the text, Dracula’s language is less marked than Van Helsing’s, yet his character is still depicted as more of an outsider than the Germanic doctor. Because Van Helsing is working to help the British protagonists, his language errors are comical, and he shows no desire to lose his accent. This is perhaps due to the fact that, unlike the ambiguously Eastern Count, Van Helsing represents the qualities of “good Germans” discussed in the introduction to this project. Van Helsing shows no desire to control British territory or citizens, or to mix undetectable among the English, or even to stay in England; instead he acts as a benevolent gatekeeper of Enlightenment knowledge, willing to help fortify Germanic peoples against a third-party other.

It is through Van Helsing’s knowledge of Eastern Europe and vampirism that Stoker connects his vampire to the monster of folklore. Van Helsing's lecture on the origins, habits, and limitations of the vampire is much more detailed than those of his predecessors. It is an important shift to note that Stoker places vampire knowledge in the mouth of a character closely connected with German archetypes, with his many degrees. This is in contrast to Polidori, who uses a Greek woman, or, like Le Fanu, who uses a naive young woman paraphrasing a mysterious Styrian nobleman. This move, Leatherdale argues, allows him to "tur[n] vampire lore into vampire law,” which I would argue is another example of the vampire breaking down a barrier between superstitious fringe and empirical center (121). Van Helsing, unlike Ianthe and Laura, is an example of
Van Helsing exhibits a mastery of the other through his knowledge of it, without ever being part of that culture. It is easy to imagine his office in Amsterdam being filled with books on vampire lore, Styria, and Transylvanian history. Just like Dracula, he has catalogued a distant culture. His association with universities connects him with Enlightenment rationality, so that his knowledge of folklore is sound even when other characters are apt to view it as irrational superstition. The English characters in the novel have to accept Van Helsing’s knowledge because the text has so carefully constructed his authority. On the surface, the text suggests that Van Helsing’s idea of powerful knowledge, achieved through the German-inspired university system, is superior. However, the character of Dracula, whom Arata argues is the consummate Occidentalist, with his ability to absorb and mimic new racial identities, challenges this power.

The last member of the Crew is an American, specifically a Texan with a very strong accent. Quincey Morris is depicted as a no-nonsense man of action, providing the group with practical tools like hunting knives and Winchesters. Unlike the continental-Germanic Van Helsing, who aids the British with metaphysical knowledge, Morris is ready to violently defend hegemonic values against the other. In the novel, Morris represents the rising United States, American virility, and pragmatism, qualities which the British apparently need to bolster their faltering nation and empire. However, despite his dedication to his English friends he is, like Van Helsing, marked as an outsider by his speech. Similar to Van Helsing, he has knowledge about vampires before the text begins. When he is confronted with Lucy after Dracula’s attack on her, he instinctively recalls his
adventure on the Pampas when his mare was attacked by “[o]ne of those big bats that they call vampires” (275). Like Van Helsing, Morris’s character is an ally of the British, but the text is careful to remind the reader of his outsider status. Morris is more decisively excluded from joining British society when he does not get the chance to marry an Englishwoman, being prevented first by Lucy's refusal, and then by his heroic death. Morris’s outsider status is most noticeable in the novel’s conclusion. Dracula is annihilated with, in Stephen Arata’s words, “the weapons of empire”: Jonathan’s Kukri knife, symbolizing British rule in India, and Morris’s bowie knife, epitomising “American westward expansion” (641). What is significant about this ending is that the American male dies in the struggle. Arata further argues that this belies the idea that Stoker perceived Morris not solely as an ally to the British, but also as a representative of America, an emergent imperial power that posed “a second threat to British power hidden behind Dracula’s more overt antagonism” (641).

Stoker’s depiction of the two foreign vampire hunters highlights a typical late-Victorian view of the role of external influences on Britain: the British may make use of the knowledge of the continent and the nascent power of America only for the purpose of preserving national identity. These “good” others, like “good” Germans, might help restore the order only if they operate as outsiders, without trying to merge with, compete with, or conquer the English. Implied in England’s need for external help is the idea that the purity narrative may be ineffective, that England’s insistence on blood purity reveals how England is perhaps incomplete, perhaps not as capable of imperial power or rule as they would like to believe.
As with many vampire tales, it is in the close relationship between the vampire and blood that Stoker builds on the idea of racial contamination, relying on both symbolism and pseudo-scientific ideas about blood. According to some late-Victorian scientists, blood was to be treated as a material that contains all the information about an individual’s mental and physical characteristics. If, as Hughes argues, a person is professed to be “a synecdoche of a greater community united by encodings invested within a common blood,” blood becomes a powerful signifier of racial relationships and the vampire’s thirst for blood may be seen as a desire to appropriate the victim’s racial qualities encoded in the blood signifier (Hughes 242). Significantly, the vampire’s victim is also seen as contaminated through his/her interactions with a vampire. William Hughes maintains that “[t]he vampiric process is not simply one of drainage, but of osmosis also. As sustenance is taken out, degeneration is injected in, and the widening circle of vampires represents the gradual decline of the host race. In an age of pogroms and mass-immigration into Britain, the potential racist connotations of the vampire metaphor become seemingly unavoidable” (244). It is important to recognize that Dracula chooses two English victims to initiate this exchange with, the novel’s two primary female characters, Lucy and Mina. In much the same way as Le Fanu portrays Carmilla and Laura, Lucy’s and Mina’s roles as victims highlight the correlation in the novel between gendered otherness and colonial otherness.

When Dracula attacks Lucy, taking her English blood, her upstanding male suitors offer their own blood to revive her, hoping to restore her racial identity. How the Crew tries to revive Lucy is significant. Starting with the first transfusion, Lucy is given
the blood of her aristocratic fiancé, Lord Godalming. Successively she is rejuvenated by the bourgeoisie, but still English, blood of Dr Seward, then by a Dutchman, Van Helsing, and by an American, Quincey Morris. In spite of their valiant efforts, Dracula manages to repeat his attack and irreversibly convert Lucy into a vampire. While the Crew of Light view their actions as an attempt to save Lucy with injections of purer blood, the fact that she takes in the blood of four individual men, which she promptly loses to Dracula, supports Dracula’s “many races” argument and undermines the idea of blood purity. Lucy’s health returns only in the moments when she houses more than one blood type, but Dracula’s centuries of blood mixing quickly overpower any efforts to save her.

Instead, through their blood exchanges and her eventual conversion, Dracula gives her a new, multifarious racial identity. Once Lucy attains this new hybrid identity, she becomes a threat to English normative sexuality. The text is very clear that she feeds on children, leaving them bitten and with the desire to leave their homes to be with the “bloofer lady” (308-11). Thus, vampire Lucy makes a mockery of traditional motherhood.

Once the Crew assembles to take care of the un-dead Lucy, she again uses her vampirism to mock the idea of normative sexuality and reproduction. She reaches out for Arthur, calling him “my husband,” in a moment that implies that their blood exchange would be akin to a consummation of their marriage (324). In an inversion of traditional consummation, Lucy would make Arthur like her instead of her taking within herself a part of Arthur. Were this union to take place, Arthur would become Lucy’s vampire child, and they would not create any new biological children. Lucy’s death is perhaps the most explicit and horrifying scene in the novel. As her body is repeatedly staked, and her
head cut off, the text makes apparent the importance of quickly removing such a
dangerous mother. Significantly, it is her husband Arthur whom Van Helsing tasks with
this troubling deed (328). “Look[ing] like a figure of Thor,” Arthur “never falter[s]” in
his task to kill Lucy (328).

Dracula’s second victim in the novel is Lucy’s close friend Mina, the eventual
wife of Jonathan Harker. After the Crew of Light has eliminated Lucy, they turn their
attention to Dracula himself. As the Crew works on discovering and thwarting the Count,
Mina starts to be visited by a mysterious nocturnal caller, shrouded in thick mist (362).
Her visitor, we learn, is Dracula. Once Renfield tells Dr. Seward and Van Helsing of the
Count’s plans, they rush into Mina and Jonathan’s rooms. They find Jonathan on the bed
“as though in a stupor,” a “tall, thin man, clad in black,” and Mina with “[h]er nightdress
[smeared] with blood” (381). Dracula is feeding Mina his blood from “a thin stream
trickl[ing] down his chest” in the very bed she shares with her husband. Van Helsing
chases Dracula away with a holy wafer then wakes Mina and Jonathan. When Mina
shares her dream-like recollections with the Crew, she tells them what Dracula said to
her, including his plan for her. Dracula warns her that she, “their [Crew of Light’s] best
beloved one, are now to me, flesh of my flesh; blood of my blood; kin of my kin; my
bountiful wine-press for a while; and shall be later on my companion and my helper”
(386). This speech from Dracula is where he is the most explicit about how sharing blood
initiates the forming of a new racial identity. Once Mina shares blood with Dracula, she
is no longer purely English. Similarly to Carmilla and Laura, Dracula and Mina will share
a new familial bond that could only be formed with a vampiric exchange. Their bond is
not the same as a traditional marriage, genetic family, or parent/child relationship; rather, it is a bond that subverts the supposed superiority of more traditional notions of kinship.

What seems to be important about Mina’s character, and something she does not share with Lucy, is her resistance to Dracula. Unlike Lucy, who seems to embrace vampirism after her conversion, Mina works closely with the Crew of Light to track down, and finally kill, Dracula. However, it is only through Van Helsing’s use of hypnosis that she is able to be used as a resource (406). Again, this demonstrates the three-part system at work in British vampire fiction. It is through a gateway of Germanic Enlightenment knowledge, Van Helsing’s careful balance of rationalism and metaphysical knowledge, that English characters classify Eastern Europeans. Without Van Helsing, Mina’s connection to Dracula would have been lost, discredited even, but with his established credibility, Mina’s psychical connection to Dracula becomes a useful tool.

*Dracula* is a novel filled with references to the breakdown of boundaries between self and other. At the heart of this is the character of the Count himself, simultaneously powerful and subjected other, alive and dead. While the representations of his character may seem to have little overlap, they blur together, creating a powerful and hard-to-define threat to British racial identity. The birth of Jonathan and Mina Harker’s son at the novel’s conclusion, who is named after members of the Crew of Light, serves as perhaps the most compelling example of Dracula’s “many races” argument. While he is the child of two English citizens, the boy possesses not only the so-called pure English blood of his father, but also Dracula’s blood, which Dracula forced Mina to drink. While Dracula did
not manage to turn England into a vampire-haunted domain, the threat of degeneration and miscegenation remains. While some critics argue that the baby acts as a symbol of a revitalised England, through the injection of Dracula’s primitive vigour alongside the assistance from Van Helsing and Morris, the boy also acts as cautionary reminder that the forces Dracula controls, his essence, were not eliminated with the destruction of his body. Instead, Dracula’s “many races” argument continues onto a new generation of Englishness, threatening the potency of the imperial race.
CONCLUSION

The goal of this project has been to trace and explore how the figure of the vampire moved from folklore into poetry and from poetry to fiction. From the transformations of the vampire figure, I have sought to explore how these changes in vampire depictions act as a literary figuring of how German-British cultural and political interactions evolved before World War I. As I delved into my research about the move from folklore to fiction, I discovered that alongside the depictions of both British and German characters within British vampire fiction there also exists a constructed image of Eastern Europe, which is often seen as the birthplace of the vampire. It is from these overlapping relationships within British vampire texts that I draw my core argument.

The eighteenth-century early incarnations of vampires came from Eastern Europe through the lens of Germans via the Austrian Empire’s occupation of Eastern European lands. This established from the beginning of the literary vampire’s usage in poetry and fiction an association between German intellectualism, or Enlightenment knowledge, and Eastern European vampirism, or superstition. What this correlation establishes in British vampire fiction, as I have argued throughout this project, is a three-part system in which Germanness acts as a filter for how British vampire novels use the figure of the vampire to construct an image of both Germanness and Eastern Europeness. This system is absent in the earliest novel discussed, Polidori’s *The Vampyre*, but is fully developed and visible in Bram Stoker’s *Dracula*. Thus, there is a historical correlation between the development of British imperialism, and Britain’s changing relationship with Germany,
and these representations in British vampire fiction. Within the system at work in
nineteenth-century British vampire novels, I argue, Germans exist as others to English
characters, but are depicted as less other, more aligned with Englishness, than Eastern
Europeans. The three-part system at work within British vampire fictions reveals how the
vampire moves from the borders of Eastern Europe, through more familiar Western
circles like Germany, finally traversing into English dominated spaces to threaten English
hegemony.

Drawing closely from their folkloric cousins, the ballad vampires appear as part
of the community like something akin to well-missed lovers, and they are not instantly
seen as objects to be feared. While the folkloric and ballad vampires are not positive
figures, and are eventually feared figures, these early vampires are perhaps more
ambiguous than the later figures in fiction (many of whom have more complex
backstories). In some respects, the ballad vampire is more like a part of an imagined
German center instead of, as will later come to pass, an invasive force from the Eastern
European fringe. The ballad vampire is a model example of the *Heimlich* at work. This
figure embodies both feelings of familiarity and discomforting unfamiliarity. While Le
Fanu will explore this quality in his novella, once the ballads are translated into English,
the German vampire evolves into a figure less *heimlich* and more *unheimlich* as British
writers push the vampire out of Germany, further away from Western centers, and back
into Eastern Europe.

While Polidori’s novella does not fit directly into the three part Anglo-German
system I establish at the core of my argument, the novella does offer a very clear
transition between the poetic vampire and the vampire of fiction. What develops in Polidori’s story is how the vampire excites both feelings of attraction and repulsion and how the vampire uses its near-perfect skill at mimicry to manipulate both the members of normative society and those who are vulnerable in their positions at the margins. Polidori downplays characteristics from the folkloric vampires to create an Other who becomes more frightening because he so perfectly mimics our humanity, making us question whether or not the qualities and character of the vampire are perhaps ours as well. Aubrey’s failure to articulate the Other implies that the evolving figure of the vampire exists as something indescribable to the living because it has crossed the constructed divisions between life and death.

In Le Fanu, we see a nascent relationship developing between German-occupied Eastern European lands, vampires, and English-dominated spaces. At the center of this tale is Carmilla, a female vampire that is not the novella’s heroine, but is the central figure. Carmilla herself demonstrates the three-part system of my argument. She has crafted for herself an identity that reflects qualities of both Eastern Europeanness and Germanness, but she always remains decidedly non-English. She is a member of the local nobility, a “living” remnant of a feudal past. Carmilla has also adapted quickly to the changing political and cultural powers of the land, absorbing and using both French and German. However, once Carmilla enters Laura’s family’s English-dominated schloss, even though she appears to fit in, she remains a consummate outsider with noticeably odd behavior. The division that is constructed between Carmilla and Laura, in spite of Le Fanu’s attempts to draw their characters together with plot-driven similarities, rests on
Laura having access to Englishness where Carmilla does not. Carmilla’s ruse works on the family of an Austrian general, but fails to work at the English schloss. The work Le Fanu does to show how Englishness and vampirism cannot endure for long within the same space, or person, will only be magnified (become more violent) in Bram Stoker’s *fin-de-siecle* novel, which was published as conflicts between the rising German Empire and the waning British Empire were elevating.

While many scholars have discussed *Dracula* as a novel that explores common *fin-de-siecle* fears like miscegenation and degeneration, few have explored the novel within the contexts of Britain and Germany’s changing relationship during the nineteenth century. *Dracula* is a novel that relies heavily on images of the breakdown of boundaries between self and other, mirroring Britain’s evolving, often confusing kinship to its German cousins. It is in Stoker’s novel that we meet the only vampire of confirmed English descent, Lucy Westenra, who, like Carmilla, is horrifically removed from the text. The act of converting and killing Lucy highlights the interdiction that within the three part system Germandness and Eastern Europeanness may overlap, but these characteristics must be kept from taking root in English dominated spaces (and people) at all costs.

At the center of this novel is the figure of the vampire, the Count himself, who is simultaneously the most powerful figure in the text and representative of a subjected other. While these opposed representations of his character may seem contradictory, the novel blurs these characteristics together, creating a far more powerful and hard-to-define threat. The overlap between a position of power and subject position occurs in the
Count’s “many races” argument. Dracula argues that his strength, a strength that is afforded to him both by his history and his vampirism, comes from having the blood of many races within him. This argument is in direct opposition to the hegemonic imperial narrative. At the novel’s conclusion, the birth of Jonathan and Mina Harker’s son serves as perhaps the most compelling example of Dracula’s “many races” argument. While Dracula did not manage to turn England into a vampire-dominant domain, the threats of degeneration and miscegenation remain in the blood of Mina and Jonathan’s son. This child, while the product of two English parents, also reminds the reader Dracula controls both the literal and metaphorical aspects of his blood, which were not eliminated with his death. Rather, what remains will be a new generation of Englishness built off the blood of many races, including a vampiric race.

As the vampire further evolved into the beginning of the twentieth century, the figure continued to reflect ever-changing fears. From the propaganda of World War I and II, to the translation of the vampire into film, the vampire continued to navigate the complicated relationships between nations\(^5\). What we see beginning in the German ballads, the idea that the vampire is someone who is both familiar and dangerous, will return in many filmic adaptations of the vampire figure, most notably Francis Ford Coppola’s 1994 version of Stoker’s *Dracula*. More recently, the current trendiness of the vampire in young adult films and books also relies on tropes from the ballad tradition and early British vampire fiction. Now we see undead lovers offering their living partners a

\(^5\) For more on the vampire and propaganda, see Sara Robinson’s “Blood Will Tell: Blood and Vampires as Metaphors in the Political and Popular Cultures of Great Britain, France, Germany, and the United States, 1870-1914”
chance to share eternity. In some respect, these new vampires owe their most desirable characteristics to Wilhelm and the Bride, Lord Ruthven, and Carmilla. Without these earlier vampires, the vampires of today would be the ruddy, earthy vampire of folklore instead of undead embodiments of sensuality.

The three-part system—a German Enlightenment lens that helps British vampire fiction construct images of Germanness and Eastern Europeans—that is at the core of this project has also continued on into the twentieth century. While the system too has evolved, what remains is the almost mythic association of vampire lore with Eastern European nations. Starting with Tod Browning’s 1931 adaptation of *Dracula*, with Bela Lugosi’s strongly accented vampire, filmic adaptations have frequently (to the point of cliché) included a vampire that is part of Eastern Europe either through location, plot knowledge, or accent. The popularity of this association—between vampires and Eastern Europe—is still seen in what could be called “meta-vampire fiction,” or self-reflexive vampire fiction, where vampire characters themselves recite and reflect on popular vampire lore (i.e. Anne Rice’s *Vampire Chronicles*).

Overall, what I hope my research will lead to is a further examination of the role of Germanness in later texts and films. Are there more characters like Van Helsing who walk an ambiguously German line? This project has served as my introduction to this movement, and has brought together both my longstanding interests in the Gothic genre and German literature. From here, I would like to explore more about how the vampire figure evolved in German literature after the translation of English-language authors like
Le Fanu and Stoker. Did the German vampire change? How might the British text’s constructions of Germanness influence Germany’s own Gothic tradition?

This project contributes to the changing conversation within Gothic studies. As the Gothic genre has continued to receive more critical attention, the field has been moving away from solely an Anglo-American centric view towards recognizing how the Gothic has developed in other national literatures, both before and after the initial rise of British Gothic. What I have been exploring with my research is, on some level, how some Gothic tropes began in European fiction and were then incorporated into English-language fiction, while the English cultural dominance in the genre has also served to reshape future Gothic movements in European fiction. The vampire, as a figure of extensive cultural meaning and malleability, offers the perfect vessel with which to start such an analysis.
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