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THE OCCIDENTAL TOURIST: DRACULA AND THE ANXIETY OF REVERSE COLONIZATION

"Fashions in monsters do change."
Joseph Conrad

BRAM STOKER'S DRACULA (1897) PARTICIPATES IN THAT "MODERNIZING" of Gothic which occurs at the close of the nineteenth century. Like Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1886) and Wilde's *Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891), Stoker's novel achieves its effects by bringing the terror of the Gothic home. While Gothic novelists had traditionally displaced their stories in time or locale, these later writers root their action firmly in the modern world. Yet critics have until recently ignored the historical context in which these works were written and originally read. Most notably, criticism has persistently undervalued *Dracula*'s extensive and highly visible contacts with a series of cultural issues, particularly those involving race, specific to the 1890s. [1] This neglect has in part resulted from the various psychoanalytic ap-

[1] The divorce of Gothic and "history" goes back at least to Walter Scott's famous distinction between the two in the introduction to *Waverly* (1814). By contrast, I take as one of my starting points David Punter's sensible claim, in his *Literature of Terror: A History of Gothic Fictions from 1765 to the Present Day* (London: Longman, 1980), that "within the Gothic we can find a very intense, if displaced, engagement with political and social problems" (p. 62). Recently, critics have begun to place *Dracula* in the context of late-Victorian culture, usefully complementing the traditional psychoanalytic readings of the novel. Carol A. Senf sees Stoker reacting to the phenomenon of the "New Woman" of 1890s fiction; Charles Blinderman relates *Dracula* to aspects of Darwinian materialism; Ernest Fontana sees most of the novel's characters, including the Count himself, as types of Lombroso's criminal man; Mark M. Hennelly, Jr., argues that the novel's British characters are engaged in a gnostic quest to redeem the late Victorian "wasteland"; Christopher Craft relates the novel's "anxiety over the potential fluidity of gender roles" to late Victorian discourses on sexual "inversion"; and Franco Moretti sees Dracula as a "metaphor" for monopoly capitalism that late-Victorian bourgeois culture refuses to recognize in itself. See Senf, "*Dracula*: Stoker's Response to the New Woman," *Victorian Studies* 26 (1982), 33–49; Blinderman, "Vampurella, Darwin, and Count Dracula," *Massachusetts Review* 21 (1980), 411–428; Fontana, "Lombroso's Criminal Man and Stoker's *Dracula*," *Victorian Newsletter* 66 (1984), 25–27; Hennelly, "The Gnostic Quest and the Victorian Wasteland," *English Literature in Transition* 20 (1977), 13–26; Craft, " 'Kiss Me With Those Red Lips': Gender and Inversion in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*," *Representations* 8 (1984), 107–133; Moretti, "The Dialectic of Fear," *New Left Review* 136 (1982), 67–85.

proaches taken by most critics of Gothic. While such approaches have greatly enriched our understanding of *Dracula*, and while nothing in psychoanalytic critical theory precludes a "historicist" reading of literary texts, that theory has in practice been used almost exclusively to demonstrate, as Stoker's most recent critic puts it, that *Dracula* is a "representation of fears that are more universal than a specific focus on the Victorian background would allow."[2] Yet the novel's very attachment to the "Victorian background" — what *The Spectator* in 1897 called its "up-to-dateness" — is a primary source of Stoker's continuing power.[3] Late-Victorian Gothic in general, and *Dracula* in partic- ular, continually calls our attention to the cultural context surrounding and informing the text, and insists that we take that context into account.

In the case of *Dracula*, the context includes the decline of Britain as a world power at the close of the nineteenth century; or rather, the way the perception of that decline was articulated by contemporary writers. *Dracula* appeared in a Jubilee year, but one marked by considerably more introspec- tion and less self-congratulation than the celebration of a decade earlier. The decay of British global influence, the loss of overseas markets for British goods, the economic and political rise of Germany and the United States, the increas- ing unrest in British colonies and possessions, the growing domestic uneasiness over the morality of imperialism — all combined to erode Victorian confidence in the inevitability of British progress and hegemony.[4] Late-Victorian fiction in particular is 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. What I will be examining is how that perception is transformed into narrative, into stories which the culture tells itself not only

[2] John Allen Stevenson, "A Vampire in the Mirror: The Sexuality of *Dracula*," *PMLA* 103 (1988), 139–149. Stevenson's remark is somewhat surprising, since his essay convincingly places *Dracula* in the context of late-century thought on marriage, race, and exogamy. Psychoanalytic readings of *Dracula* include C. F. Bentley, "The Monster in the Bedroom: Sexual Symbolism in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*," *Literature and Psychology* 22 (1972), 27–32; Stephanie Demetrakapoulous, "Feminism, Sex-Role Exchanges, and Other Subliminal Fantasies in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*," *Frontiers* 2 (1977), 104–113; Carrol L. Fry, "Fictional Conventions and Sexuality in *Dracula*," *Victorian News- letter* 42 (1972), 20–22; Gail Griffin, " 'Your Girls That You All Love Are Mine': *Dracula* and the Victorian Male Sexual Imagination," *International Journal of Women's Studies* 3 (1980), 454–465; Maurice Richardson, "The Psychoanalysis of Ghost Stories," *Twentieth Century* 166 (1959), 419–431; Phyllis Roth, "Suddenly Sexual Women in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*," *Literature and Psychology* 27 (1977), 113–121. I am not suggesting that there is a single psychoanalytic paradigm that these writ- ers all follow; but each considers psychoanalysis as the critical approach best suited for Stoker's novel.

[3] *The Spectator* 79 (31 July 1897), 151.

[4] Standard accounts of the late-Victorian crisis of confidence and its relation to the imperial ideal include Elie Halevy, *Imperialism and the Rise of Labour* (1927; rpt. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1961); Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire 1875–1914* (New York: Vintage, 1989); Ronald Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century 1815–1914* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1976); Richard Shannon, *The Crisis of Imperialism* (London: Granada, 1976); and A. P. Thornton, *The Imperial Idea and Its Ene- mies* (London: Macmillan, 1959).

to articulate and account for its troubles, but also to defend against and even to assuage the anxiety attendant upon cultural decay.

I

Dracula enacts the period's most important and pervasive narrative of decline, a narrative of reverse colonization. Versions of this story recur with remarkable frequency in both fiction and nonfiction texts throughout the last decades of the century. In whatever guise, this narrative expresses both fear and guilt. The fear is that what has been represented as the "civilized" world is on the point of being colonized by "primitive" forces. These forces can originate outside the civilized world (in Rider Haggard's *She*, Queen Ayesha plans to sack London and depose Queen Victoria) or they can inhere in the civilized itself (as in Kurtz's emblematic heart of darkness). Fantasies of reverse colonization are particularly prevalent in late-Victorian popular fiction. They occur not just in Haggard's novels, but in Rudyard Kipling's early fiction ("The Mark of the Beast," "At the End of the Passage," *The Light that Failed*), in Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes stories (*The Sign of Four*, "The Crooked Man"), in H. G. Wells's science fiction tales (*The Time Machine*, *The War of the Worlds*), and in many of the numerous adventure novels of G. A. Hope, Henry S. Merriman, and John Buchan. In each case, a terrifying reversal has occurred: the colonizer finds himself in the position of the colonized, the exploiter becomes exploited, the victimizer victimized. Such fears are linked to a perceived decline — racial, moral, spiritual — which makes the nation vulnerable to attack from more vigorous, "primitive" peoples.

But fantasies of reverse colonization are more than products of geopolitical fears. They are also responses to cultural guilt. In the marauding, invasive Other, British culture sees its own imperial practices mirrored back in monstrous forms. H. G. Wells located the germ of his *War of the Worlds* in a discussion with his brother Frank over the extermination of the indigenous Tasmanian population under British rule.[5] Reverse colonization narratives thus contain the potential for powerful critiques of imperialist ideologies, even if that potential usually remains unrealized. As fantasies, these narratives provide an opportunity to atone for imperial sins, since reverse colonization is often represented as deserved punishment.

Fantasies of reverse colonization sprang from the same font of cultural anxiety that produced the innumerable "invasion scare" and "dynamite" novels of the 1880s and '90s. *The Invasion of England*, Sir W. F. Butler's title

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[5] Qtd. in Bernard Bergonzi, *The Early H. G. Wells: A Study of the Scientific Romances* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961), p. 124.

for his 1892 novel, describes the subject matter, overt or displaced, of hundreds of late-Victorian fictions, all of them concerned with the potential overthrow of the nation by outsiders. [6] There are distinctions between these subgenres and the reverse colonization narratives I am discussing, however. Invasion-scare novels focus on the threat posed to Britain by other industrial nations, particularly Germany, France, and the United States. As I. F. Clarke demonstrates, changes in international power relationships were mirrored in these novels, as different foreign powers were in turn perceived as the most likely invader (pp. 107–161). Dynamite novels, with their emphasis on anarchist or nihilist activities, originated partly in the Victorian fascination with the "criminal element," especially as it was thought to exist among the growing urban underclass. These novels articulate a middle-class fear both of foreign revolutionaries (like the mysterious Hoffendahl of Henry James's *The Princess Casamassima* [1886]) and of an industrial underclass that was itself becoming increasingly politicized.

By contrast, reverse colonization narratives are obsessed with the spectacle of the primitive and the atavistic. The "savagery" of Haggard's Amahaggers and Wells's Morlocks both repels and captivates; their proximity to elemental instincts and energies, energies seen as dissipated by modern life, makes them dangerous but also deeply attractive. Patrick Brantlinger has linked this interest in the primitive to the late-Victorian fascination with the occult and the paranormal, and by extension to the Gothic. The primitive and the occultist alike operated beyond or beneath the threshold of the "civilized" rational mind, tapping into primal energies and unconscious resources as well as into deep-rooted anxieties and fears. Brantlinger identifies a body of fiction he terms "imperial Gothic" in which the conjunction of imperialist ideology, primitivism, and occultism produces narratives that are at once self-divided and deeply "symptomatic of the anxieties that attended the climax of the British Empire." The "atavistic descents into the primitive" characteristic of imperial Gothic "seem often to be allegories of the larger regressive movement of civilization" and of the ease with which it could be overcome by the forces of barbarism. [7] What Brantlinger finally shows is how, in late-

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[6] For discussions of invasion scare novels, see I. F. Clarke, *Voices Prophesying War 1763–1914* (London: Oxford, 1966); Cecil D. Eby, *The Road to Armageddon: The Martial Spirit in English Popular Literature* (Durham, NC: Duke University, 1988); and Samuel Hynes, *The Edwardian Turn of Mind* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), pp. 34–53. For a discussion of dynamite novels, see Barbara Arnett Melchiori, *Terrorism in the Late Victorian Novel* (London: Croom Helm, 1985).

[7] Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830–1914* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), pp. 228–229. For a somewhat different account of the conjunction of Gothic and imperialism, see Judith Wilt, "The Imperial Mouth: Imperialism, the Gothic, and Science Fiction," *Journal of Popular Culture* 14 (Spring 1981), 618–628. Wilt sees Britain's "imperial anxieties" summoning up "the great gothic and science fiction tales of the '80s and '90s" (p. 620), which in turn do the cultural work of "subverting" imperial ideology.

Victorian Britain, political and cultural concerns about empire become gothicized. The novel of empire and the adventure story especially become saturated with Gothic motifs: Kipling's "The Phantom Rickshaw" and "At the End of the Passage," Conan Doyle's "The Brown Hand," Edgar Wallace's *Sanders of the River*, and Haggard's *She* are representative in this respect. Unlike dynamite or invasion-scare narratives, which generally aim at a documentary-like realism, turn-of-the-century fictions involving the empire often inhabit the regions of romance and the supernatural.

A concern with questions of empire and colonization can be found in nearly all of Stoker's fiction. His quite extensive body of work shows how imperial issues can permeate and inform disparate types of fiction. Stoker's oeuvre apart from *Dracula* can be roughly divided into two categories in its handling of imperial themes. First, there are works such as "Under the Sunset" (1882), *The Snake's Pass* (1890), *The Mystery of the Sea* (1902), and *The Man* (1905) in which narratives of invasion and colonization, while not central to the plot, intrude continually upon the main action of the story. Legends of French invasions of Ireland in *The Snake's Pass*; attacks by the Children of Death on the Land Under the Sunset in the fairy tales; accounts of the Spanish Armada, Sir Francis Drake, and, in a more contemporary vein, the 1898 Spanish-American War, in *The Mystery of the Sea*; allusions to the Norman invasion of Saxon England in *The Man* — in each work, seemingly unrelated narratives of imperial expansion and disruption themselves disrupt the primary story, as if Stoker were grappling with issues he could not wholly articulate through his main plot. And, as his references to the Armada and to Norman and French invasions suggest, Stoker is everywhere concerned with attacks directed specifically against the British Isles.

The second category comprises Stoker's more overtly Gothic fictions: *The Jewel of Seven Stars* (1903), *The Lady of the Shroud* (1909), and *The Lair of the White Worm* (1911). These works fit Brantlinger's paradigm of imperial Gothic, with its emphasis on atavism, demonism and the supernatural, and psychic regression. Each of the "heroines" in these novels — Queen Tera, Princess Teuta, Lady Arabella — represents the eruption of archaic and ultimately dangerous forces in modern life. (That Stoker associates these eruptions with women is worth noting; fear of women is never far from the surface of his novels.) Equally important is the fact that each of these Gothic fantasies intersects with narratives of imperial decline and fall: the decay of the Egyptian dynasties in *Jewel*, the defeat of the Turkish empire in *Shroud*, the collapse of the Roman empire in *Lair*. The conjunction of Gothic and empire brings Stoker's later novels thematically close to *Dracula*. If they cannot match *Dracula*'s power and sophistication, this is in part because Stoker be-

came increasingly unwilling or simply unable to address the complex connec-
tions between his fictions and the late-Victorian imperial crisis. Only in
Dracula is Stoker's career-long interest in the decline of empire explicitly an
interest in the decline of the *British* empire. Only in this novel does he man-
age to imbricate Gothic fantasy and contemporary politics.

     Several critics have noted the political overtones of Count Dracula's
excursion to Britain. Carol Senf, like Brantlinger, suggests that Dracula man-
ifests "the threat of the primitive trying to colonize the civilized world,"
while Burton Hatlen argues that the Count "represents a dark, primitive
strata of civilization" come to disrupt further an already beleaguered Victorian
culture. Judith Wilt emphasizes the connection between Dracula's "awful visi-
tations" and the "willful penetration" of Transylvania by the emissaries of
Western imperial might. [8] These accounts quite rightly stress the archaic for-
ces unleashed by the Count, forces which threaten to overturn the progres-
sive, scientific world of contemporary Britain. More can be said, however,
both about the nature of the highly overdetermined threat posed by Count
Dracula and about the relation of that threat to what I am calling the crisis of
imperial culture.

     Stoker maps his story not simply onto the Gothic but also onto a sec-
ond, equally popular late-Victorian genre, the travel narrative. By examining
how and to what extent *Dracula* participates in these two genres, we can illu-
minate the underlying fear and guilt characteristic of reverse colonization
narratives. Like late-century Gothic, the travel narrative clearly displays as-
pects of imperial ideology. Like Gothic, too, the travel narrative concerns it-
self with boundaries — both with maintaining and with transgressing them.
The blurring of psychic and sexual boundaries that occurs in Gothic is certainly
evident in Dracula (and is one reason the novel is so accessible to psychoana-
lytic interpretation), but for Stoker the collapse of boundaries resonates cultur-
ally and politically as well. The Count's transgressions and aggressions are
placed in the context, provided by innumerable travel narratives, of late-Vic-
torian forays into the "East." For Stoker, the Gothic and the travel narrative
problematize, separately and together, the very boundaries on which British
imperial hegemony depended: between civilized and primitive, colonizer and
colonized, victimizer (either imperialist or vampire) and victim. By problem-
atizing those boundaries, Stoker probes the heart of the culture's sense of it-

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[8] Carol Senf, "*Dracula*: The Unseen Face in the Mirror," *Journal of Narrative Technique* 9 (1979),
160–170; Burton Hatlen, "The Return of the Repressed/Oppressed in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*," *Min-
nesota Review* 15 (1980), 80–97; Judith Wilt, *Ghosts of the Gothic* (Princeton: Princeton University
Press, 1980). See also Richard Wasson's "The Politics of *Dracula*," *English Literature in Transition* 9
(1966), 24–27. Wasson suggests that in invading England "the Count's motives are political" (p.
25), though it is not always clear what is meant by "political," since Wasson argues that Dracula
represents "demonish forces . . . unloosed in the human psyche" (p. 25).

self, its ways of defining and distinguishing itself from other peoples, other cultures, in its hour of perceived decline.

II

In many respects, *Dracula* represents a break from the Gothic tradition of vampires. It is easy, for instance, to forget that the "natural" association of vampires with Transylvania begins with, rather than predates, *Dracula*. The site of Castle Dracula was in fact not determined until well after Stoker had begun to write. As Joseph Bierman points out, Stoker originally signalled his debt to his countryman Le Fanu's *Carmilla* (1872) by locating the castle in "Styria," the scene of the earlier Gothic novella.[9] In rewriting the novel's opening chapters, however, Stoker moved *his* Gothic story to a place that, for readers in 1897, resonated in ways Styria did not. Transylvania was known primarily as part of the vexed "Eastern Question" that so obsessed British foreign policy in the 1880s and '90s. The region was first and foremost the site, not of superstition and Gothic romance, but of political turbulence and racial strife. Victorian readers knew the Carpathians largely for its endemic cultural upheaval and its fostering of a dizzying succession of empires. By moving Castle Dracula there, Stoker gives distinctly political overtones to his Gothic narrative. In Stoker's version of the myth, vampires are intimately linked to military conquest and to the rise and fall of empires. According to Dr. Van Helsing, the vampire is the unavoidable consequence of any invasion: "He have follow the wake of the berserker Icelander, the devil-begotten Hun, the Slav, the Saxon, the Magyar."[10]

Nowhere else in the Europe of 1897 could provide a more fertile breeding ground for the undead than the Count's homeland. The Western accounts of the region that Stoker consulted invariably stress the ceaseless clash of antagonistic cultures in the Carpathians.[11] The cycle of empire —

[9] Joseph Bierman, "The Genesis and Dating of *Dracula* from Bram Stoker's Working Notes," *Notes and Queries* 24 (1977), 39–41. For a brief description of Stoker's manuscripts and notes for *Dracula*, including a "List of Sources" that Stoker drew up, see Phyllis Roth, *Bram Stoker* (Boston: Twayne, 1982), pp. 145–146. Stoker gleaned his version of Carpathian history and culture entirely from travel narratives, guidebooks, and various works on Eastern European superstitions, legends, and folktales. Daniel Farson, one of Stoker's biographers, mentions his "genius for research" (*The Man Who Wrote Dracula: A Biography of Bram Stoker* [London: Michael Joseph, 1975], p. 148). Stoker's debt to Le Fanu is most immediately evident in a chapter deleted from *Dracula*, in which Harker, travelling to Castle Dracula, discovers the mausoleum of a "Countess Dolingen of Gratz in Styria." The chapter was later reprinted separately as "Dracula's Guest." See *The Bram Stoker Bedside Companion: Ten Stories by the Author of "Dracula,"* ed. Charles Osborne (New York: Taplinger, 1973).

[10] Bram Stoker, *Dracula* (1897; rpt. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984), p. 286.

[11] I have based my observations on the standard Victorian and Edwardian works in English on the region, which include John Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania* (London: Murray, 1855); James O. Noyes, *Roumania* (New York: Rudd & Carlton, 1857); Charles Boner, *Transylvania: Its Products and Its People* (London: Longmans, 1865); Andrew W. Crosse, *Round About the Carpathians* (Edin-

rise, decay, collapse, displacement — was there displayed in a particularly compressed and vivid manner. "Greeks, Romans, Huns, Avars, Magyars, Turks, Slavs, French and Germans, all have come and seen and gone, seeking conquest one over the other," opens one late-century account (Bates, p. 3). The Count himself confirms that his homeland has been the scene of perpetual invasion: "there is hardly a foot of soil in all this region that has not been enriched by the blood of men, patriots or invaders," he tells Harker (p. 33). His subsequent question is thus largely rhetorical: "Is it a wonder that we were a conquering race?" (p. 41).

The "race" in which Dracula claims membership is left ambiguous here. He refers at once to his Szekely warrior past and to his vampiric present. The ambiguity underscores the impossibility of untangling the two aspects of Dracula's essential nature, since his vampirism is interwoven with his status as a conqueror and invader. Here Stoker departs significantly from his literary predecessors. Unlike Polidori and Le Fanu, for instance, who depict their vampires as wan and enervated, Stoker makes Dracula vigorous and energetic. Polidori's Count Ruthven and Le Fanu's Carmilla represent the aristocrat as decadent aesthete; their vampirism is an extension of the traditional aristocratic vices of sensualism and conspicuous consumption. Dracula represents the nobleman as warrior. [12] His activities after death carry on his activities in life; in both cases he has successfully engaged in forms of conquest and domination.

Racial conquest and domination, we should immediately add. Stoker continues a Western tradition of seeing unrest in Eastern Europe primarily in terms of racial strife. For Stoker, the vampire "race" is simply the most virulent and threatening of the numerous warrior races — Berserker, Hun, Turk, Saxon, Slovak, Magyar, Szekely — inhabiting the area. Nineteenth-century accounts of the Carpathians repeatedly stress its polyracial character. The

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burgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1878); C. Johnson, *On the Track of the Crescent* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1885); M. Edith Durham, *The Burden of the Balkans* (London: Edward Arnold, 1905); Jean Victor Bates, *Our Allies and Enemies in the Near East* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., n.d.); and especially Emily Gerard, *The Land Beyond the Forest: Facts, Figures, and Fancies from Transylvania,* 2 vols. (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1888).

[12] Several critics have, correctly I think, placed Dracula in the tradition of aristocratic rakes like Richardson's Lovelace, who in turn have their roots in the medieval lord with his demands for the *droit de seigneur.* This view can obscure Stoker's emphasis on Dracula's military, rather than just his sexual, prowess. In addition to Bentley, Fry, and Hatlen, see Judith Weissman, "Women as Vampires: *Dracula* as a Victorian Novel," *Midwest Quarterly* 18 (1977), 392–405. It is also possible to read *Dracula* as a bourgeois fantasy of aristocratic power and privilege; like the hereditary nobleman, Dracula is associated most closely with land (he must stay in contact with his native soil to survive), wealth (which he literally digs out of the land on the night of Harker's arrival in Transylvania), family (his name is transmitted through generations without the line being interrupted), and of course blood (which in turn is connected with the other three; remember, for instance, that when Harker cuts Dracula with his knife, he "bleeds" a "stream of gold" coins [p. 364]). For the middle-class Victorian audience, the vision of aristocratic puissance embodied by Dracula would have been deeply attractive, especially given the ineffectuality of the novel's only English aristocrat, Lord Godalming.

standard Victorian work on the region, Charles Boner's *Transylvania* (1865), begins by marvelling at this spectacle of variety:

> The diversity of character which the various physiognomies present that meet you at every step, also tell of the many nations which are here brought together. . . . The slim, lithe Hungarian . . . the more oriental Wallachian, with softer, sensuous air, — in her style of dress and even in her carriage unlike a dweller in the West; a Moldavian princess, wrapped in a Turkish shawl. . . . And now a Serb marches proudly past, his countenance calm as a Turk's; or a Constantinople merchant sweeps along in his loose robes and snowy turban. There are, too, Greeks, Dalmatians, and Croats, all different in feature: there is no end to the variety.
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> (pp. 1–2).

Transylvania is what Dracula calls the "whirlpool of European races" (p. 41), but within that whirlpool racial interaction usually involved con-flict, not accommodation. Racial violence could in fact reach appalling pro-portions, as in the wholesale massacres, widely reported by the British press, of Armenians by Turks in 1894 and 1896, the years in which *Dracula* was be-ing written. For Western writers and readers, these characteristics — racial heterogeneity combined with racial intolerance considered barbaric in its in-tensity — defined the area east and south of the Danube, with the Carpathi-ans at the imaginative center of the turmoil.

By situating Dracula in the Carpathians, and by continually blurring the lines between the Count's vampiric and warrior activities, Stoker forges seemingly "natural" links among three of his principal concerns: racial strife, the collapse of empire, and vampirism. It is important too to note the se-quence of events. As Van Helsing says, vampires follow "in [the] wake of" imperial decay (p. 286). Vampires are generated by racial enervation and the decline of empire, not vice versa. They are produced, in other words, by the very conditions characterizing late-Victorian Britain.

Stoker thus transforms the materials of the vampire myth, making them bear the weight of the culture's fears over its declining status. The ap-pearance of vampires becomes the sign of profound trouble. With vampirism marking the intersection of racial strife, political upheaval, and the fall of empire, Dracula's move to London indicates that Great Britain, rather than the Carpathians, is now the scene of these connected struggles. The Count has penetrated to the heart of modern Europe's largest empire, and his very presence seems to presage its doom:

> This was the being I was helping to transfer to London [Harker writes in anguish] 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.
>
> (p. 67).

The late-Victorian nightmare of reverse colonization is expressed succinctly here: Harker envisions semi-demons spreading through the realm, colonizing

bodies and land indiscriminately. The Count's "lust for blood" points in both directions: to the vampire's need for its special food, and also to the warrior's desire for conquest. The Count endangers Britain's integrity as a nation at the same time that he imperils the personal integrity of individual citizens.

Harker's lament highlights the double thrust — political and biological — of Dracula's invasion, while at the same time conflating the two into a single threat. Dracula's twin status as vampire and Szekely warrior suggests that for Stoker the Count's aggressions against the body are also aggressions against the body politic. Indeed, the Count can threaten the integrity of the nation precisely because of the nature of his threat to personal integrity. His attacks involve more than an assault on the isolated self, the subversion and loss of one's individual identity. Again unlike Polidori's Count Ruthven or Le Fanu's Carmilla (or even Thomas Prest's Sir Francis Varney), Dracula imperils not simply his victims' personal identities, but also their cultural, political, and racial selves. In *Dracula* vampirism designates a kind of colonization of the body. Horror arises not because Dracula destroys bodies, but because he appropriates and transforms them. Having yielded to his assault, one literally "goes native" by becoming a vampire oneself. As John Allen Stevenson argues, if "blood" is a sign of racial identity, then Dracula effectively deracinates his victims (p. 144). In turn, they receive a new racial identity, one that marks them as literally "Other." Miscegenation leads, not to the mixing of races, but to the biological and political annihilation of the weaker race by the stronger.

Through the vampire myth, Stoker gothicizes the political threats to Britain caused by the enervation of the Anglo-Saxon "race." These threats also operate independently of the Count's vampirism, however, for the vampire was not considered alone in its ability to deracinate. Stoker learned from Emily Gerard that the Roumanians were themselves notable for the way they could "dissolve" the identities of those they came in contact with:

> The Hungarian woman who weds a Roumanian husband will necessarily adopt the dress and manners of his people, and her children will be as good Roumanians as though they had no drop of Magyar blood in their veins; while the Magyar who takes a Roumanian girl for his wife will not only fail to convert her to his ideas, but himself, subdued by her influence, will imperceptibly begin to lose his nationality. This is a fact well known and much lamented by the Hungarians themselves, who live in anticipated apprehension of seeing their people ultimately dissolving into Roumanians. [13]

Gerard's account of the "imperceptible" but inevitable loss of identity — national, cultural, racial — sounds remarkably like the transformations that Lucy and Mina suffer under Dracula's "influence." In life Dracula was a

[13] Gerard, I, 304–305. Scholars have long recognized Stoker's reliance on Gerard. See Roth, *Bram Stoker*, pp. 13–14, and Leonard Wolf, *The Annotated Dracula* (New York: Clarkson Potter, 1975), pp. xiii–xiv and references in his annotations throughout.

Roumanian (Gerard designates the Szekelys as a branch of the Roumanian race); his ability to deracinate could thus derive as easily from his Roumanian as from his vampire nature.

The "anticipated apprehension" of deracination — of seeing Britons "ultimately dissolving into Roumanians" or vampires or savages — is at the heart of the reverse colonization narrative. For both Gerard and Stoker, the Roumanians' dominance can be traced to a kind of racial puissance that overwhelms its weaker victims. This racial context helps account for what critics routinely note about Dracula: that he is by his very nature vigorous, masterful, energetic, robust. Such attributes are conspicuously absent among the novel's British characters, particularly the men. All the novel's vampires are distinguished by their robust health and their equally robust fertility. The vampire serves, then, to highlight the alarming decline among the British, since the undead are, paradoxically, both "healthier" and more "fertile" than the living. Perversely, a vampiric attack can serve to invigorate its victim. "The adventure of the night does not seem to have harmed her," Mina notes after Lucy's first encounter with Dracula; "on the contrary, it has benefited her, for she looks better this morning than she has done in weeks" (p. 115). Indeed, after his attack, Lucy's body initially appears stronger, her eyes brighter, her cheeks rosier. The corresponding enervation that marks the British men is most clearly visible in Harker (he is "pale," "weak-looking," "exhausted," "nervous," "a wreck"), but it can be seen in the other male British characters as well. Harker and Dracula in fact switch places during the novel; Harker becomes tired and white-haired as the action proceeds, while Dracula, whose white hair grows progressively darker, becomes more vigorous.

The vampire's vigor is in turn closely connected with its virility, its ability to produce literally endless numbers of offspring. Van Helsing's concern that the earth in Dracula's boxes be "sterilized" (pp. 347, 355) underlines the connection between the Count's threat and his fecundity. In marked contrast, the nonvampires in the novel seem unable to reproduce themselves. Fathers in particular are in short supply: most are either dead (Mr. Westenra, Mr. Harker, Mr. Murray, Mr. Canon), dying (Mr. Hawkins, Lord Godalming, Mr. Swales), or missing (Mr. Seward, Mr. Morris), while the younger men, being unmarried, cannot father legitimately. Even Harker, the novel's only married man, is prohibited from touching Mina after she has been made "unclean." In Dracula's lexicon, uncleanliness is closely related to fertility, but it is the wrong kind of fertility; Mina, the men fear, is perfectly capable of producing "offspring," but not with Jonathan. The prohibition regarding Mina is linked to the fear of vampiric fecundity, a fecundity that threatens to overwhelm the far less prolific British men. Thus, as many critics

have pointed out, the arrival of little Quincey Harker at the story's close sig-
nals the final triumph over Dracula, since the Harkers' ability to secure an
heir — an heir whose racial credentials are seemingly impeccable — is the
surest indication that the vampire's threat has been mastered. Even this tri-
umph is precarious, however. Harker proudly notes that his son is named af-
ter each of the men in the novel, making them all figurative fathers (p. 449),
yet Quincey's multiple parentage only underscores the original problem. How
secure is any racial line when five fathers are needed to produce one son?

Such racial anxieties are clearest in the case of Lucy Westenra. If
Dracula's kiss serves to deracinate Lucy, and by doing so to unleash what the
male characters consider her incipiently monstrous sexual appetite, then the
only way to counter this process is to "re-racinate" her by reinfusing her with
the "proper" blood. But Stoker is careful to establish a strict hierarchy among
the potential donors. The men give blood in this order: Holmwood, Seward,
Van Helsing, Morris. Arthur Holmwood is first choice ostensibly because he
is engaged to Lucy, but also, and perhaps more importantly, because his
blood is, in Van Helsing's words, "more good than" Seward's (p. 149). As the
only English aristocrat in the novel, Holmwood possesses a "blood so pure"
(p. 149) that it can restore Lucy's compromised racial identity. Dr. Seward,
whose blood though bourgeois is English nonetheless, comes next in line, fol-
lowed by the two foreigners, Van Helsing and Morris. We should note that
Van Helsing's old, Teutonic blood is still preferred over Morris's young,
American blood, for reasons I will take up in a moment. Even foreign blood is
better than lower-class blood, however. After Lucy suffers what proves to be
the fatal attack by Dracula, Van Helsing, looking for blood donors, rejects
the four apparently healthy female servants as unsafe: "I fear to trust those
women" (p. 180).

More precisely, Van Helsing's distrust of "those women" marks a
point of intersection between his usually covert class prejudices and his often
overt misogyny. [14] That Dracula propagates his race solely through the bodies
of women suggests an affinity, or even an identity, between vampiric sexual-
ity and female sexuality. Both are represented as primitive and voracious, and
both threaten patriarchal hegemony. In the novel's (and Victorian Britain's)
sexual economy, female sexuality has only one legitimate function, propaga-
tion within the bounds of marriage. Once separated from that function, as
Lucy's desire is, female sexuality becomes monstrous. The violence of Lucy's
demise is grisly enough, but we should not miss the fact that her subjection
and Mina's final fate parallel one another. They differ in degree, not kind. By
the novel's close, Mina's sexual energy has been harnessed for purely domes-

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[14] A full discussion of the gender issues raised by *Dracula* is outside the scope of this essay. Many critics
have discussed the thinly disguised fear of women evident in the novel. In addition to Craft,
Demetrakapoulous, Fry, Griffin, Roth, and Weissman, see Alan Johnson, " 'Dual Life': The Status
of Women in Stoker's *Dracula*," *Tennessee Studies in Literature* 27 (1984), 20–39.

tic use. In the end, women serve identical purposes for both Dracula and the Western characters. If in this novel blood stands for race, then women quite literally become the vehicles of racial propagation. The struggle between the two camps is thus on one level a struggle over access to women's bodies, and Dracula's biological colonization of women becomes a horrific parody of the sanctioned exploitation practiced by the Western male characters.

By considering the parallel fates of Lucy and Mina, moreover, we can see how the fear and guilt characteristic of reverse colonization narratives begin to overlap. The fear generated by the Count's colonization of his victims' bodies — a colonization appropriately designated monstrous — modulates into guilt that his practices simply repeat those of the "good" characters. Dracula's invasion and appropriation of female bodies does not distinguish him from his Western antagonists as much as at first appears. Instead of being uncannily Other, the vampire is here revealed as disquietingly familiar. And since the colonizations of bodies and territory are closely linked, the same blurring of distinctions occurs when we consider more closely the nature of the Count's invasion of Britain. Just as Dracula's vampirism mirrors the domestic practices of Victorian patriarchs, so his invasion of London in order to "batten on the helpless" natives there mirrors British imperial activities abroad.

As a transplanted Irishman, one whose national allegiances were conspicuously split, Stoker was particularly sensitive to the issues raised by British imperial conquest and domination. Britain's subjugation of Ireland was marked by a brutality often exceeding what occurred in the colonies, while the stereotype of the "primitive . . . dirty, vengeful, and violent" Irishman was in most respects identical to that of the most despised "savage." [15] The ill will characterizing Anglo-Irish relations in the late-nineteenth century, exacerbated by the rise of Fenianism and the debate over Home Rule, far surpassed the tensions that arose as a result of British rule elsewhere. When that ill will erupted into violence, as it did in the 1882 Phoenix Park murders, Victorian readers could see, up close and in sharp focus, the potential consequences of imperial domination. For Stoker's audience, Dracula's invasion of Britain would conceivably have aroused seldom dormant fears of an Irish uprising.

The lack of autobiographical materials makes it difficult to determine the extent, if any, to which Stoker consciously felt himself in solidarity with his Irish brethren. On the one hand, his few published essays, particularly one advocating censorship, reveal a deeply conservative outlook in which "duty to the [British] state" outweighs all other considerations, even those of a dubious freedom or self-determination. On the other hand, through

[15] See L. P. Curtis, *Anglo-Saxons and Celts: A Study of Anti-Irish Prejudice in Victorian England* (Bridgeport, CT: Bridgeport University Press, 1968).

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Stoker's very adherence to what he calls "forms of restraint" runs a deeply an-
archic streak. The attraction of forbidden, outlawed, disruptive action is evi-
dent enough in *Dracula* as well as in Stoker's other fictions; the same tension
between restraint and rebellion may have characterized his relation to the
ruling state. It probably also characterized his professional life. Certainly his
status as glorified manservant to the autocratic Henry Irving almost uncan-
nily reenacted, on the personal level, the larger cultural pattern of English
domination and Irish subservience. Stoker's lifelong passion for Irving had its
dark underside: the rumors, persistent in Stoker's lifetime, that Count
Dracula was modelled on Irving suggests the deep ambivalence with which
the transplanted Irishman regarded his professional benefactor. Like Quincey
Morris, Stoker seems finally to stand in alliance with his English companions
without ever being entirely of their camp.

    Dracula suggests two equations in relation to English-Irish politics:
not just, Dracula is to England as Ireland is to England, but, Dracula is to
England as England is to Ireland. In Count Dracula, Victorian readers could
recognize their culture's imperial ideology mirrored back as a kind of mon-
strosity. Dracula's journey from Transylvania to England could be read as a
reversal of Britain's imperial exploitations of "weaker" races, including the
Irish. This mirroring extends not just to the imperial practices themselves,
but to their epistemological underpinnings. Before Dracula successfully in-
vades the spaces of his victims' bodies or land, he first invades the spaces of
their knowledge. The Count operates in several distinct registers in the
novel. He is both the warrior nobleman, whose prowess dwarfs that of the
novel's enfeebled English aristocrat, Lord Godalming, and the primitive sav-
age, whose bestiality, fecundity, and vigor alternately repel and attract. But
he is also what we might call an incipient "Occidentalist" scholar. Dracula's
physical mastery of his British victims begins with an intellectual appropria-
tion of their culture, which allows him to delve the workings of the "native
mind." As Harker discovers, the Count's expertise in "English life and cus-
toms and manners" (p. 30) provides the groundwork for his exploitative inva-
sion of Britain. Thus, in Dracula the British characters see their own ideology
reflected back as a form of bad faith, since the Count's Occidentalism both
mimics and reverses the more familiar Orientalism underwriting Western im-
perial practices.[16]

III

    To understand fully how the Count's Occidentalism functions,
however, we must relate it to the second literary genre visible in *Dracula*, the

[16] See Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979).

travel narrative. Jonathan Harker's initial journey to Castle Dracula consti-
tutes a travel narrative in miniature, and the opening entries in his journal
reproduce the conventions of this popular Victorian genre. Critics have occa-
sionally noted the travel motifs in Dracula, but have not pursued the implica-
tions of Stoker's mixing of genres. To be sure, Gothic has always contained a
strong travel component. The restless roaming found in many Gothic fictions
— Victor Frankenstein's pursuit of his monster, Melmoth's wanderings, Mr.
Hyde's perambulations of London — suggests that an affinity between the
two genres has always existed. Stoker's use of travel conventions is new,
however. Earlier Gothic writers were interested primarily in the psychologi-
cal dimensions of travel; the landscape traversed by the Gothic protagonist
was chiefly psychological. [17] Stoker on the other hand is interested in the ide-
ological dimensions of travel. Harker's early journal entries clearly reveal his
Orientalist perspective, which structures what he sees and what he misses as
he travels through the Carpathians. This perspective is embedded in the ge-
neric conventions that Harker deploys, conventions familiar to late-Victorian
readers. Stoker's disruption of Harker's tourist perspective at Castle Dracula
also calls into question the entire Orientalist outlook. Stoker thus expresses a
telling critique of the Orientalist enterprise through the very structure of his
novel.

 Early in his stay at Castle Dracula, Harker to his great surprise finds
his host stretched upon the library sofa reading, "of all things in the world,"
an English Bradshaw's Guide (p. 34). We probably share Harker's puzzlement
at the Count's choice of reading material, though like Harker we are apt to
forget this brief interlude amid ensuing horrors. Why is Dracula interested in
English train schedules? The Count's absorption in Bradshaw's echoes
Harker's own obsessive interest in trains. (Later we discover that Mina, at-
tempting to secure Harker's affections, has herself become a "train fiend,"
memorizing whole sections of Bradshaw's for his convenience.) Harker's jour-
nal opens with the terse note: "should have arrived at 6.46, but train was an
hour late" (p. 9). The next morning, more delays give him further cause to
grumble: "It seems to me that the further East you go the more unpunctual
are the trains. What ought they to be in China?" (pp. 10–11).

 An obsession with trains — or, as in Harker's case, an obsession with
trains running on time — characterizes Victorian narratives of travel in Eastern
Europe. Even Emily Gerard, whose enthusiasm for all things Transylvanian sel-
dom flagged, had little patience with its trains. "The railway communications

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[17] Critics who do address the travel motifs in Dracula generally emphasize travel's connections to psy-
chology rather than to politics. "Transylvania is Europe's unconscious," asserts Geoffrey Wall
(" 'Different from Writing': Dracula in 1897," Literature and History 10 [1984], 20). Alan Johnson
quotes Wall approvingly, and argues that Harker's journey to Transylvania is a "symbolic journey
into his own mind" ("Bent and Broken Necks: Signs of Design in Stoker's Dracula," Victorian
Newsletter 72 [1987], 21, 23).

were very badly managed," she writes of one journey, "so that it was only on
the evening of the second day (fully forty-eight hours) that we arrived at
Klausenberg. . . . It would hardly have taken longer to go from Lemberg to
London" (Gerard, I, 30). Harker immediately invokes a second convention
of the travel genre when, having crossed the Danube at Buda-Pesth, he in-
vests the river with symbolic significance. "The impression I had was that we
were leaving the West and entering the East; the most Western of splendid
bridges over the Danube . . . took us among the traditions of Turkish rule"
(p. 9). In crossing the Danube, Harker maintains, he leaves "Europe" be-
hind, geographically and imaginatively, and approaches the first outpost of
the "Orient." [18]

        Harker's first two acts — noting that his train is late, and then trav-
ersing a boundary he considers symbolic — function as a kind of shorthand,
alerting readers that Harker's journal is to be set against the background of
late-Victorian travel narratives. Once the travel genre is established, there is
an inevitability about Harker's subsequent gestures. Not only does he con-
tinue to gripe about the trains, he also searches for quaint hotels (p. 12), sam-
ples the native cuisine (p. 10), ogles the indigenous folk (p. 11), marvels at
the breathtaking scenery (p. 11), wonders at local customs (p. 15), and, in-
terspersed throughout, provides pertinent facts about the region's geography,
history, and population. Harker's first three journal entries (chapter 1 of the
novel) are so thoroughly conventional as to parody the travel genre. Such
conventions constitute what Wolfgang Iser calls the "repertoire of the familiar"
that readers can be expected to bring to texts. [19] Indeed, Harker is so adept an
imitator of travel narratives in part because he has been such an assiduous
reader of them. Like Stoker himself, Harker "had visited the British Museum,
and made search among the books and maps in the library regarding Transyl-
vania" in order to gain "some foreknowledge of the country" (p. 9).

        This foreknowledge — the textual knowledge gathered before the
fact, the same knowledge that any casual reader of contemporary travel narra-
tives would also possess — structures Harker's subsequent experiences. In as-
suming the role of the Victorian traveller in the East, Harker also assumes the
Orientalist perspective that allows him to "make sense" of his experiences
there. For Harker, as for most Victorian travel writers, that "sense" begins
with the assumption that an unbridgeable gap separates the Western traveller
from Eastern peoples. The contrast between British punctuality and Transyl-

[18] See, for example, the opening of Noyes's *Roumania* (1857). Noyes, an American surgeon living in
     Vienna, ascends "a lofty mountain" overlooking the city and gazes across the river at the "Orient":
     "There, looking into the purple distance eastward . . . I resolved to visit that mysterious Orient
     whose glowing portals seemed to open just beyond" (p. 1).

[19] Wolfgang Iser, *The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett*
     (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), p. 34. See also Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an
     Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982).

vanian tardiness stands, in Harker's view, as a concrete instance of more funda-
mental and wide-ranging oppositions: between Western progress and Eastern
stasis, between Western science and Eastern superstition, between Western
reason and Eastern emotion, between Western civilization and Eastern bar-
barism. The "backwardness" of the Carpathian races displayed itself most
surely in what one traveller called their inability to "[settle] themselves down
to the inexorable limits of timetables" (Crosse, p. 342). As Harker moves fur-
ther east toward Castle Dracula, he leaves even the railroads behind and is
forced to travel by stagecoach. Simultaneously, he leaves Western rationality
behind: "I read that every known superstition in the world is gathered into
the horseshoe of the Carpathians" (p. 10).

      Harker may marvel and wonder at this strange world he has entered,
but he does not expect to be disconcerted. He trades extensively on his "fore-
knowledge," which allows him to retain a comfortable distance from the
scene. He views it simply as a diverting spectacle, imagining the "barbarian"
Slovaks he sees by the roadside as "an Oriental band of brigands" performing
"on the stage" (p. 11). At first, Harker's descent into the dark heart of the
Carpathians serves only to titillate, not to unsettle. His favorite word in this
first section is "picturesque," that stock term of the travel genre. Throughout
his journey, he is able to reduce everything he encounters to an example of
the picturesque or the poetic.

      Until he reaches Castle Dracula, that is. There, everything is dis-
rupted. Stoker undermines the conventions of the travel narrative, just as
Dracula undermines all the stable oppositions structuring Harker's — and his
readers' — foreknowledge of Eastern and Western races. For the fact is, by
Harker's own criteria, Dracula is the most "Western" character in the novel.
No one is more rational, more intelligent, more organized, or even more
punctual than the Count. No one plans more carefully or researches more
thoroughly. No one is more learned within his own spheres of expertise or
more receptive to new knowledge. A reading that emphasizes only the ar-
chaic, anarchic, "primitive" forces embodied by Dracula misses half the
point. When Harker arrives at the end of his journey East, he finds, not some
epitome of irrationality, but a most accomplished Occidentalist. If Harker
has been diligently combing the library stacks, so too has the Count. Harker
writes: "In the library I found, to my great delight, a vast number of English
books, whole shelves full of them, and bound volumes of magazines and
newspapers. . . . The books were of the most varied kind — history, geogra-
phy, politics, political economy, botany, geology, law — all relating to Eng-
land and English life and customs and manners" (p. 30). Displaying an
epistemophilia to rival Harker's own, Dracula says: " 'These friends' — and

he laid his hand on some of the books — 'have been good friends to me, and for some years past, ever since I had the idea of going to London, have given me many, many hours of pleasure. Through them I have come to know your great England' " (p. 31).

The novel thus sets up an equivalence between Harker and Dracula: one can be seen as an Orientalist travelling East, the other — unsettling thought for Stoker's Victorian readers — as an Occidentalist travelling West. Dracula's absorption in *Bradshaw's* timetables echoes Harker's fetish for punctual trains, just as the Count's posture — reclining comfortably on a sofa — recalls the attitude of the casual Western reader absorbed in a late-Victorian account of the exotic.

But of course Dracula's preoccupation with English culture is not motivated by a disinterested desire for knowledge; instead, his Occidentalism represents the essence of bad faith, since it both promotes and masks the Count's sinister plan to invade and exploit Britain and her people. By insisting on the connections between Dracula's growing knowledge and his power to exploit, Stoker also forces us to acknowledge how Western imperial practices are implicated in certain forms of knowledge. Stoker continually draws our attention to the affinities between Harker and Dracula, as in the oft-cited scene where Harker looks for Dracula's reflection in the mirror and sees only himself (p. 37). The text's insistence that these characters are capable of substituting for one another becomes most pressing when Dracula twice dons Harker's clothes to leave the Castle (pp. 59, 64). Since on both occasions the Count's mission is to plunder the town, we are encouraged to see a correspondence between the vampire's actions and those of the travelling Westerner. The equivalence between these two sets of actions is underlined by the reaction of the townspeople, who have no trouble believing that it really is Harker, the visiting Englishman, who is stealing their goods, their money, their children. The peasant woman's anguished cry — "Monster, give me my child!" (p. 60) — is directed at him, not Dracula.

The shock of recognition that overtakes Harker, and presumably the British reader, when he sees Dracula comfortably decked out in Victorian garb is, however, only part of the terror of this scene. The truly disturbing notion is not that Dracula impersonates Harker, but that he does it so well. Here indeed is the nub: Dracula can "pass." To impersonate an Englishman, and do it convincingly, is the goal of Dracula's painstaking research into "English life and customs and manners," a goal Dracula himself freely, if rather disingenuously, acknowledges. When Harker compliments him on his command of English, Dracula demurs:

"Well I know that, did I move and speak in your London, none there are who would not know me for a stranger. That is not enough for me. Here I am noble . . . I am master . . . . [In London] 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!' I have been so long master
that I would be master still — or at least that none other should be master of me."
                                                                                          (p. 31).

To understand fully how disquieting Dracula's talents are, we have only
to remember that in Victorian texts non-Western "natives" are seldom — I am
tempted to say never, since I have not come up with another example — per-
mitted to "pass" successfully. Those who try, as for instance some of Kipling's
natives do, become the occasion for low comedy or ridicule, since Kipling
never allows the possibility that their attempts could succeed to be seriously
entertained. Grish Chunder De in "The Head of the District" (1890) and
Huree Babu, the comic devotee of Herbert Spencer, in *Kim* (1901) are two
examples. Kipling voices a common assumption, one that structures British
accounts of non-Western cultures from Richard Burton to T. E. Lawrence.
The ability to "pass" works in only one direction: Westerners can imperson-
ate Easterners, never vice versa.

Dracula is different, however. A large part of the terror he inspires
originates in his ability to stroll, unrecognized and unhindered, through the
streets of London. As he tells Harker, his status as "master" resides in this
ability. So long as no one recognizes him as a "stranger," he is able to work
his will unhampered. Like Richard Burton travelling disguised among the Ar-
abs, or like Kipling's ubiquitous policeman Strickland passing himself off as a
Hindu, Dracula gains power, becomes "master," by striving "to know as
much about the natives as the natives themselves."[20] The crucial difference
is that in this case the natives are English.

Links between knowledge and power are evident enough in Kipling's
work; his two great impersonators — Strickland and Kim — both work for
the police, and each uses his talents in the service of colonial law and order.
Dracula, too, understands how knowledge and power are linked. In this case,
however, knowledge leads, not to the stability envisioned by Kipling's char-
acters, but to anarchy: it undermines social structures, disrupts the order of
nature, and ends alarmingly in the appropriation and exploitation of bodies.
Stoker's text never explicitly acknowledges the continuity between Dracula's
actions and British imperial practices, but it continually forces us to see the
first as a terrifying parody of the second. In the Gothic mirror that Stoker
holds up to late-Victorian culture, that culture, like Harker peering into the
glass at Castle Dracula, cannot see, but is nevertheless intensely aware of, its
monstrous double peering over its shoulder.

Dracula not only mimics the practices of British imperialists, he rap-
idly becomes superior to his teachers. The racial threat embodied by the

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[20] Rudyard Kipling, "Miss Youghal's Sais," in *Plain Tales from the Hills* (1886; rpt. Oxford: Oxford
University Press, 1987), p. 24.

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Count is thus intensified: not only is he more vigorous, more fecund, more "primitive" than his Western antagonists, he is also becoming more "advanced." As Van Helsing notes, Dracula's swift development will soon make him invincible:

> In some faculties of mind he has been, and is, only a child; but he is growing, and some things that were childish at the first are now of man's stature. . . . That big child-brain of his is working. Well for us, it is, as yet, a child-brain; for had he dared, at the first, to attempt certain things he would long ago have been beyond our power.
>
> (p. 360).

Van Helsing's metaphor of the child growing into manhood is a familiar and homely way to explain Dracula's progress, but the image deflects attention from the notion of racial development that is the real source of the vampire's threat. Since Dracula's growth is not bound by a single lifetime, but instead covers potentially limitless generations, the proper analogy for his development is not that of an individual. He is in effect his own species, or his own race, displaying in his person the progress of ages. Dracula can himself stand in for entire races, and through him Stoker articulates fears about the development of those races in relation to the English.

A passage from Emily Gerard is relevant here, since Stoker seems to have had it in mind when he made his vampire a Roumanian. In discussing the various races in Transylvania, Gerard singles out the Roumanians as representing what she calls "manhood in the future tense":

> It is scarcely hazardous to prophesy that this people have a great future before them, and that a day will come when, other nations having degenerated and spent their strength, these descendants of the ancient Romans, rising phoenix-like from their ashes, will step forward with a whole fund of latent power and virgin material, to rule as masters where formerly they have crouched as slaves. [21]

Gerard's "prophesy" sounds much like Van Helsing's metaphor for Dracula's development. What Gerard again allows us to see is that the anxieties engendered by Count Dracula do not derive wholly from his vampirism. He is dangerous as the representative or embodiment of a race which, all evidence suggested, was poised to "step forward" and become "masters" of those who had already "spent their strength." Even Dracula's destruction (which, if he stands in for an entire race, becomes a fantasized genocide) cannot entirely erase the "moral" endorsed by the rest of the story: that strong races inevitably weaken and fall, and are in turn displaced by stronger races. The novel provides an extraordinarily long list of once-proud peoples, now vanquished or vanished — not just the Huns, Berserkers, Magyars, and others who have passed through Carpathian history, but the Romans who gave their name, and perhaps their

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[21] Gerard, I, 211. Gerard accepts the idea, common in the nineteenth century, that the Roumanians possessed a Roman heritage. This defuses some of the potential anxiety of her observation, since the Roumanians are thereby reclaimed as a "Western" race.

blood, to the modern Roumanians, as well as the Danes and Vikings who, Mina tells us, once occupied Whitby (pp. 80–81).

Do the British evade the fate of Huns, Danes, Vikings, and others, since Dracula is destroyed by novel's end? Critical consensus follows Christopher Craft when he suggests that *Dracula* embodies the "predictable, if variable, triple rhythm" characteristic of Gothic novels: it "first invites or admits a monster, then entertains or is entertained by monstrosity for some extended duration, until in its closing pages it expels or repudiates the monster and all the disruption that he/she/it brings" (Craft, p. 107). This triple rhythm also characterizes many narratives of reverse colonization. The mingled anxiety and desire evident in these texts is relieved when the primitive or exotic invader — Haggard's Ayesha, Wells's Martians, Kipling's Silver Man — is at last expelled and order is restored. *Dracula*, however, is finally divided against itself; it strives to contain the threat posed by the Count but cannot do so entirely. The novel in fact ends twice. The narrative proper closes with a fantasy of revitalized English supremacy: his invasion repulsed, the Count is driven back to Transylvania, and destroyed there. Along with this is what David Seed calls the "diminishment in stature" suffered by Dracula over the final third of the novel, as he is transformed from the essence of evil to a "disappointingly conventional embodiment of Nordau's and Lombroso's criminal type." [22] But the satisfaction of closure brought about by Dracula's diminishment and death is immediately disrupted by Harker's "Note," which constitutes *Dracula*'s second ending.

Dracula, appropriately, is subdued by the weapons of empire. Harker's "great Kukri knife," symbol of British imperial power in India, and Morris's bowie knife, symbol of American westward expansion, simultaneously vanquish the Count (p. 447), apparently reestablishing the accustomed dominance of Western colonizer over Eastern colonized. The triumph extends even further for the British, since Dracula is not the book's only fatality. The American Quincey Morris dies too. His demise is not simply gratuitous, for the American represents, however obliquely, a second threat to British power hidden behind Dracula's more overt antagonism. [23] A shadowy figure throughout, Morris is linked with vampires and racial Others from his first appearance. When he courts Lucy, Morris reminds her of Othello; both aroused and frightened by his words, she compares herself to "poor Desdemona when she had such a dangerous stream poured in her ear, even by a black man" (p. 74). Morris's dangerous hunting expeditions are a modern

[22] Seed, p. 75. See *Dracula*, pp. 405–407, for Van Helsing's description of the Count as a Lombrosan criminal. We should beware, however, of equating Van Helsing's views with Stoker's.

[23] Aside from Moretti's essay, little has been written on Morris. Hatlen gives the majority view when he says that Morris's function is to become "an honorary Englishman," whose "reward" is "the privilege of dying to protect England" (p. 83).

equivalent to the Count's warrior exploits, and Lucy's fascination with his stories of adventure repeats Harker's initial response to Dracula's tales. Later, it is left to Morris to pronounce the word "vampire" for the first time in the novel, when he compares Lucy's condition to that of a mare on the Pampas "after one of those big bats that they call vampires had got at her in the night" (p. 183). Morris's familiarity with vampirism apparently exceeds even Van Helsing's, since he correctly diagnoses the etiology of Lucy's symptoms the first moment he sees her. [24]

There is even a suggestion that the American is at times leagued with Dracula against the others. Morris leaves, without explanation, the crucial meeting in which Van Helsing first names the Count as their enemy; a moment later he fires his pistol *into* the room where they are seated (pp. 288–289). He quickly explains that he was shooting at a "big bat" sitting on the windowsill, but this very brief and easily missed tableau — Morris standing outside the window in the place vacated by Dracula, looking in on the assembled Westerners who have narrowly escaped his violence — suggests strongly that Stoker wants us to consider the American and the Roumanian together.

Morris thus leads a double life in *Dracula*. He stands with his allies in Anglo-Saxon brotherhood, but he also, as representative of an America about to emerge as the world's foremost imperial power, threatens British superiority as surely as Dracula does. "If America can go on breeding men like that," Seward remarks, "she will be a power in the world indeed." [25] If *Dracula* is about how vigorous races inevitably displace decaying races, then the real danger to Britain in 1897 comes not from the moribund Austro-Hungarian or Ottoman empires, but from the rising American empire. Without at all dismissing the powerful anxiety that the Count produces, we can say that Stoker's attention to Dracula screens his anxiety at the threat represented by Morris and America. Stoker insistently directs our gaze East, all the while looking back over his shoulder. [26] It is appropriate, then, that Morris's death,

[24] Moretti extends these speculations by asking why "Lucy dies — and then turns into a vampire — immediately after receiving a blood transfusion from Morris" (p. 76). I am indebted to his essay for pointing out that Morris is the first to mention the word "vampire." Moretti goes on to argue that Morris, like Dracula, is a metaphor for monopoly capitalism.

[25] P. 209. Stoker's ambivalence about America is more visible in his earlier A Glimpse of America (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1886). Stoker claims a kinship between the two countries, since their citizens spring from the same racial stock, but he also sees America becoming racially different, and he suggests that the countries may become antagonistic in the future. His racial language is drawn straight from late-Victorian evolutionism.

[26] In this context, we can note Stoker's apparent confusion over where Van Helsing resides while in London. Van Helsing asks Seward to book him rooms at the Great Eastern Hotel (p. 138), but he apparently never stays there, since Seward later calls for him at the Berkeley (p. 161). The name of the former points clearly enough to the potential for anxiety over the "Great East." The name of the latter, however, points in the most indirect way possible to the threat posed by the West, since it was Bishop Berkeley who, after his visit to America, penned the well-known line "Westward the course of empire takes its way." While Stoker's concerns about the East are generally on the surface of *Dracula*, it takes some digging before his anxieties over the West appear.

not Dracula's, closes the story proper; appropriate, too, that the confrontation between England and America is displaced to the Balkans, traditionally the arena where Western powers conducted their struggles with one another indirectly, or by proxy.

England's triumph is immediately troubled and qualified, however, by Harker's appended "Note," written seven years later. In announcing the birth of his son Quincey, Harker unwittingly calls attention to the fact that the positions of vampire and victim have been reversed. Now it is Dracula whose blood is appropriated and transformed to nourish a faltering race. As Mark Hennelly has noticed, in Quincey Harker flows the blood not only of Jonathan and Mina, but of Dracula as well (p. 23). Little Quincey, who is not conceived until after Mina drinks the Count's blood, is, moreover, born on the anniversary of Dracula's and Morris's demise. Through Roumania, the English race invigorates itself by incorporating those racial qualities needed to reverse its own decline. American energy is appropriated as well, since, as Jonathan tells us, Quincey Morris has also contributed to his namesake's racial makeup: "His mother holds, I know, the secret belief that some of our brave friend's spirit has passed into" their son (p. 449). The "little band of men" can thus rest assured that the threats to English power have been neutralized on both fronts, East and West, through the appropriation of Dracula's blood and Morris's spirit. The cost of such assurance is great, however. Quincey Harker stands as a mute reminder of the violence upon which the stability of the nation, as well as the family, rests.

The remainder of Harker's "Note" is taken up with two related projects: his account of a return visit to Transylvania, and an apology for the "inauthenticity" of the documents comprising the novel. These two projects point back, in different ways, to the two genres — travel and Gothic — in which Dracula participates. Harker first relates that he has recently revisited the Carpathians:

> In the summer of this year we made a journey to Transylvania, and went over the old ground which was, and is, to us so full of vivid and terrible memories. It was almost impossible to believe that the things we had seen with our own eyes and heard with our own ears were living truths. Every trace of all that had been was blotted out. The castle stood as before, reared high above a waste of desolation.
>
> (p. 449).

The text seems to have come full circle and returned securely to its starting point. The conventions of the travel genre are again invoked. Harker's return to Transylvania ostensibly reenacts the trip that opened the novel; or rather, it attempts to reinstate the conditions and attitudes which preceded and, in a sense, enabled that trip. By returning simply as a tourist (this time he has not even the excuse of business to take him there), Harker implicitly asserts that nothing has intervened to make the tourist outlook

problematic. The disruption caused by Dracula is entirely erased; the story ends where it began.

But Harker's words are strikingly tentative. In their general movement, his first two sentences assert that things have indeed returned to "normal." The old ground was (but is not now) full of vivid and terrible memories; we once believed (but do no longer) that what we experienced constituted a living truth. Yet each sentence is significantly qualified, and qualified in such a way as to reverse its effects. The ground not only was, but still is, full of terrible memories; the living truths are not impossible to believe, but almost impossible, which means that belief in them is, at bottom, almost inevitable. The overall effect of the sentences is to exacerbate the anxieties they are presumably intended to assuage. The unalloyed confidence and security of the novel's opening pages cannot be recaptured; any return to the beginning is barred.

The linchpin of the passage is Harker's overdetermined assertion, "Every trace of all that had been was blotted out." On the manifest level, Harker means simply that all evidence of the Count's horrific presence is gone from the land. His next comment contradicts this claim, however, since "the castle stood as before." We might see this "blotting out," then, in psychological terms, as a repression of the insights, the "living truths," revealed by the narrative as a whole. Alternately (or simply in addition), what has been "blotted out" is precisely that vision of Transylvania — landscape, people, culture — which Harker, as a travelling Westerner secure in his "fore-knowledge" of the region, "saw" on his initial visit. The ideological foundations of that vision having been disturbed, Harker can no longer perceive the land or its people in the same way. Significantly, he now sees nothing at all, only "a waste of desolation." The wasteland is the result, not of Dracula's activities — if that were the case, Harker would have noted such a wasteland on his earlier, not his later, visit — but of the desolation that has occurred to Harker's and the Victorian reader's accustomed modes of perception.

Finally, though, both these kinds of erasures, psychological and epistemological, lead to a different kind of obliteration. The "blotting out" of "traces" points to the cancellation of writing, to Harker's (though not necessarily Stoker's) attempt to disavow the Gothic narrative preceding the "Note." When he returns from Transylvania, Harker retrieves the mass of papers comprising the narrative — diaries, journals, letters, memoranda, and so on — which have remained buried and unread in a safe. "We were struck by the fact," he writes in an oft-cited disclaimer, "that, in all the mass of material of which the record is composed, there is hardly one authentic document!"

Such disclaimers are often found in Gothic fictions; in the same way, Harker's "Note" invokes the narrative framing devices that are one of Gothic's distinctive features. But Harker uses this device to *repudiate* parts of his narrative, whereas in Gothic the function of the frame is precisely to *establish* the narrative's authenticity. Indeed, this is the function of the unsigned note that

opens *Dracula*: to overcome readerly skepticism "so that a history almost at variance with the possibilities of latter-day belief may stand forth as simple fact" (p. 8). For Harker, however, the inauthenticity of the documents (what would make for authenticity is unclear) casts further doubt on the veracity of portions of the narrative. "We could hardly expect anyone, even did we wish to, to accept these [documents] as proofs of so wild a story" (p. 449). Not only does Harker not expect us to believe the collected accounts, he does not even "wish [us] to."

At the same time that he tries to recapture the comforting tourist outlook, Harker also tries to erase the "wild" or Gothic parts of his "story," to blot out all their traces. The two gestures are complementary. In effect, Harker asserts the story's "truth" up until the moment he enters Castle Dracula; the moment, in other words, when his travel narrative, disrupted by the Count's Occidentalism, becomes a Gothic narrative. The trouble, in Harker's view, starts there. Once the dichotomies on which Harker's (and imperial Britain's) tourist perspective rest are exploded, anything is possible. The "Note" tries to recontain the anxieties generated by that moment of rupture by invalidating what follows, by calling into question its "authenticity" as narrative. The "realism" of the travel narrative gives way to the fantasy constructions of the Gothic, which can be dismissed — as Harker urges us to do — as untrue. "We want no proofs; we ask none to believe us," Van Helsing says in the novel's final moments, and his words sound remarkably like a plea.

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