Writing the National Self: Bram Stoker's *Dracula* and Anglo-Irish Gothic Identities

By

Sarah Horgan

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Abstract

This thesis announces the special relationship that Bram Stoker's masterpiece *Dracula* has to its creator, taking as its focal point the startling textual reflection of Stoker's own hybridised national identity as Anglo-Irish émigré in his vampire Count. Using this paired relationship between author and antagonist as its base, it thereby proposes an original reading of the novel as a work of imaginative autobiography, as a fictional rendering of the realities of Stoker's own fragmented national existence in *fin-de-siècle* London, positioning *Dracula* as a novel that deeply engages with the complexity of its author's national identity and the place of this national self in his writing.

By their very nature, discussions of nationality are articulated in the interaction between the individual and the community that constitutes the nation. Stoker's own lived experiences in London provide the immediate context for the exploration of such concerns in *Dracula*, but these are experiences shaped by his particular status as an *Anglo-Irish* writer in the metropolis. *Dracula* is therefore first positioned in this work as the product of a historical tradition of Anglo-Irish writing long invested in the complications of national affiliation, something that Chapters One and Two explore, interrogating in the process how the legacy of writers such as Maria Edgeworth, Charles Robert Maturin and Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu forms the foundations of Stoker's work. Chapter Three considers in detail how it is Stoker's migrant status that serves as a keystone in this thesis' reading of *Dracula* by exploring the (Anglo-) Irish migrant experience in Victorian London. Chapter Four deals with the nineteenth-century literary vampire, and asks what such a motif might offer a writer like Stoker seeking to give authentic textual life to his sense of national displacement. Chapter Five reveals the centrality of ideas of writing the (national) self in external perceptions of Stoker and in Stoker's own non-fictional work. Finally, Chapter Six completes a reading of *Dracula* as imaginative autobiography, as a sustained literary engagement with conflicted national identity that proves illuminating of both Stoker and the class that shaped him and his most famous literary endeavour.

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Introduction

But a stranger in a strange land, he is no one; men know him not.[1]

There is a pivotal and somewhat troubling scene in Anglo-Irish writer Bram Stoker's Gothic masterpiece *Dracula* (1897), in which the eponymous invading vampire is glimpsed by his almost-victim Jonathan Harker and his wife Mina a few months after Harker's incarceration at the Count's castle in Transylvania. This sighting takes place amidst the throng of London's 'teeming millions' (p. 167) in Piccadilly and the most striking element of the whole scenario is the effortlessness with which Dracula inserts himself into the ordinary ebb and flow of daily metropolitan life; casually hiring a hansom cab to pursue a beautiful passing woman who has caught his eye and disappearing into the capital's bustling streets with ease. Harker, overcome with the knowledge that his captor has somehow successfully made the journey from remote Eastern Europe to the West End, and, more than that has physically regenerated in the process, sinks down in a nervous stupor. Tellingly, however, he is the only character to react to the Count's presence. Because she has never seen Dracula and knows nothing of his true identity, Mina is unaffected by the experience. Seeing only an innocuous 'tall, thin man with a beaky nose and a black moustache and pointed beard' (p. 160), she responds instead to her husband's subsequent, and to her mind, inexplicable hysteria. *Fin-de-siècle* London, for its part, remains unaware that anything is amiss. Looking positively pedestrian, the Count 'passes' entirely unheeded into the surge of the unsuspecting crowd. And yet, despite benign outward appearances, the reader knows that he remains a malevolent and invading force: the vampire in our midst, the enemy within the gates, the Other at the very heart of the capital.

It is not merely the vampire's sudden manifestation in London that affects Harker so adversely, although the shock he experiences at finding the Count within his own urbane environment is highly significant. There is also, however,

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[1] Bram Stoker, *Dracula*, ed. by Roger Luckhurst (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 23. Other recent scholarly editions of the text include the Penguin edition with a preface by Christopher Frayling: Bram Stoker, *Dracula*, ed. by Maurice Hindle (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2003), and also Bram Stoker, *The New Annotated Dracula*, ed. by Leslie S. Klinger (New York: Norton, 2009).

the question of Dracula's altered personal appearance: 'I believe it is the Count, but he has grown young. My God, if this be so!' (p. 161). Indeed, he looks so different to his previous manifestation as elderly European aristocrat that Harker cannot be truly sure that it is in fact him and it is this uncertainty that affects him most profoundly: 'Oh, my God! my God! If only I knew! if only I knew!' (p. 161). For Dracula's menace here lies not only in his ability to penetrate to the very heart of the British Empire, something he seems to do with ease, but also to transform himself completely whilst doing so. The smartly-dressed gentleman that Jonathan and Mina happen upon on a busy London street bears very little resemblance to the ancient and eccentric Eurocrat of the opening section of the novel, save for a certain malignity of manner, a 'hard, and cruel, and sensual' face and, 'big white teeth, that looked all the whiter because his lips were so red' and 'were pointed like an animal's' (p. 161). And yet, with the benefit of the intermitting Whitby narration — the wrecking of the *Demeter*, the mysterious and disappearing black dog, and the attacks on Lucy Westenra, we are given to understand that they are one and the same. As a consummate shape-shifter, this vampire is immensely difficult to categorise, to finally know as anything. Throughout the text, Dracula's identity is intrinsically unstable; physically he blends into diverse environments with ease and he possesses the ability to change his form at a moment's notice. Outward appearances are wholly unreliable indicators of inner natures in this novel; indeed, stable inner natures in themselves are intensely problematic on a number of levels, and any fixed or abiding sense of self on the part of the Count, who also variously manifests as bestial and elementary forces, is conspicuously absent. As a textual creation Dracula is fundamentally as fractured as his assorted materialisations suggest. This vampire's true 'identity', whatever that may mean, is forever in flux. It should therefore come as no surprise that the novel that bears his name also conspires to elude us in precisely the same manner.

　　Dracula is a text that needs very little in the way of an introduction. The story of Stoker's most famous and successful novel, of the Transylvanian vampire Count that leaves his medieval setting to terrorise the modern metropolis of Harker and his friends, is now so well known that it has completely transcended its original literary sphere and resides in the broadest and most

accessible realms of our popular culture. As Roger Luckhurst observes, in his introduction to the most recent Oxford World's Classics edition of *Dracula*, 'the book crystallized an image, dramatized a certain predatory menace' and, in doing so, 'effectively colonized the West's cultural imagination'.[2] To this end, the novel has been the subject of countless reincarnations, re-imaginings, and revivals, both in literature and beyond, and our recurring and enduring interest in the vampire as a construct owes much to these reappearances, not least in the genres of film and television. Because of the power of Stoker's text, Dracula exists as the archetypal vampiric figure, the most potent and lasting representation of the Un-Dead ever created, and the innumerable blood-sucking doppelgangers that proliferate in our contemporary consciousness, from *Twilight* to *True Blood*, from *The Vampire Diaries* to *Let The Right One In*, are his progeny; they owe their very existence to the successful survival of the compelling monster that Stoker initially imagined into reality.[3]

And yet, for all of this novel's enduring popularity, for all of our apparent familiarity with its intricacies, with the dynamic vampire who seeks to invade a new territory and the characters who oppose him in his plans, Dracula and *Dracula* continue to evade easy categorisation. Even within the stricter boundaries of scholarly discourse, the wealth of interest in the text shows no signs of abating. As this work itself shows, if anything it continues to thrive; new meanings are still to be found and explored within its pages. Conceived of merely as an enjoyable and entertaining pot-boiler for many years, as a text it has been the focus of a relatively recent scholarly rehabilitation by a critical community that now recognises there is far more to the story of the vampire and

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[2] Luckhurst, *Dracula*, p. vii.

[3] Over the course of the twentieth century, the popularity of vampires in mainstream culture has increased exponentially and with it a parallel interest in vampires as worthy of academic study. Examples of the proliferation of the various scholarly treatments of the vampire in literature, film and television are to be found in the footnotes of most of the chapters in this thesis and as such are too numerous to practically list here. However, it is worth pointing out that in the last decade or so especially, we have witnessed a particularly marked interest in the vampire in such lucrative and long running television serials as *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, *Angel*, and more recently, *The Vampire Diaries*, *Being Human* and *True Blood*, as well as films like the *Underworld* and *Twilight* series (themselves a derivative of a series of novels). See also *Let the Right One In*, dir. by Tomas Alfredson (EFTI, 2008), and a remake of *Fright Night*, dir. by Craig Gillespie (DreamWorks, 2011), to name but a few. For examples of scholarship's renewed engagement with the Un-dead, see last year's conference entitled, Open Graves, Open Minds: Vampires and the Undead in Modern Culture, at the University of Hertfordshire, April 2010, and the upcoming, Vampires: Myths of the Past and the Future, at University of London, November 2011.

his adversaries than may ostensibly appear. As such, it has been subject to a diverse variety of scholarly modes of enquiry, from psychoanalysis to gender studies and queer theory, from historicism to Marxism, to name but a few.[4] However, as interesting and illuminating as these lines of analysis have undoubtedly been, the sheer variety of approaches to the text in terms of scope and scrutiny suggests that the reader is still no closer to definitively 'cracking' the 'code', if code there be, of this novel. In truth, we are no nearer now then we ever have been to a definitive answer as to what the novel is 'about', or what the vampire at its core actually signifies. As Maud Ellmann shrewdly asks, 'If the vampire can mean so many disparate things, does he really mean anything at all?'[5] There is, then, the very real danger that the more one reads of *Dracula* criticism, the more it would appear that there are no restrictions to the number of meanings that can be derived from this text, that the very notion of meaning in relation to this novel becomes an unwieldy concept, as intangible as an attempt at any categorisation of the titular Un-Dead aristocrat himself.

Of course, there are those who would argue that this is precisely the point; that texts are not the result of one isolated intention and should not be read as such, that they are in fact, the patchwork of complex processes in which many factors are brought to bear, and the idea that any one critical approach could resolve these innumerable influences is a reductive and simplistic one. In one sense, this is undoubtedly true. The multiplicity of interpretations attached to this novel are each legitimate and important for their own sake, drawing out as they do, the text's many different concerns and contexts. But there is, I think, another reason why the eponymous vampire seems unknowable, why the novel itself has been the subject of such a diversity of critical approaches in the past and why it will doubtlessly continue to encourage a variety of interpretations in the future. This goes to the very essence of the text itself. It goes straight to the man who first conceived of it.

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[4] See Chapter Five, 'The Anglo-Irish Insider: Bram Stoker and the Politics of Passing', p. 200, for detailed discussion of the diverse strands of criticism brought to bear on Stoker's novel over the years.
[5] Bram Stoker, *Dracula*, ed. by Maud Ellmann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. xxviii.

In much the same way as his most famous literary invention, Bram Stoker also exists as enigmatic Other at the heart of the late-Victorian metropolis. An Anglo-Irish émigré who left his native Dublin in 1878 to pursue a career as theatre manager to the famous actor Henry Irving, his complex national designation ensured that Stoker straddled the opposed identities of insider and outsider, native and intruder within the nineteenth-century British capital for much of his professional adult life. According to David Glover, recalled by Horace Wyndham in a particularly revealing description as 'a big red-bearded, untidy Irishman', who 'knew everybody worth knowing', the perception of Stoker in London by those around him speaks of an assimilated alien but an alien nonetheless, marked by the recognisable physiognomy and label of 'Irishman', the Celtic foreigner.[6] And yet, this strange fusion of the seemingly contrasting selves of interloper and insider, merely serves to heighten an already fundamentally divergent sense of identity within the spheres of race and national affiliation for the Anglo-Irish author on a broader, communal level. As the product of a transplanted settler class, deeply conflicted about its own sense of national selfhood, history and place within the context of nineteenth-century Ireland, this Protestant Ascendancy writer necessarily shared, both in his life and in his work, the most profound and troubling concerns of his caste surrounding the difficulty of identity designation, especially in relation to the nation or the state.[7]

Discussions of national affiliation necessarily require consideration on both a personal and communal level. Indeed, the OED defines nationality as 'a group of persons belonging to a particular nation' with a nation here constructed as 'an ethnic or racial group'.[8] Nationality, then, is a construct that is deeply invested in a perceived commonality between the individual and the group for without the group, class or community, any personal sense of national selfhood loses much of its meaning. As a product of his class's broader difficulties in

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[6] Horace Wyndham quoted in David Glover, *Vampires, Mummies and Liberals: Bram Stoker and the Politics of Popular Fiction* (Durham: Duke, 1996), p. 26.

[7] For a discussion on the various names used by and about the Anglo-Irish/Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland, see Chapter One, 'Writing the Nation: The Anglo-Irish Ascendancy and the Question of National Identity', p. 42. For the purposes of this section, and thesis as a whole, I use the above two terms interchangeably.

[8] *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, accessed March 15, 2012.

defining itself and its place throughout its history in Ireland over the previous century and a half or so, national identity for Stoker was therefore undoubtedly initially defined by his positioning as a member of the Anglo-Irish community in latter-day Victorian Dublin. For Anglo-Irish Dublin was in many ways a city all in itself. The sense of exceptionalism conferred upon the Anglo-Irish by two centuries of privileged access to the professions, education and social advancement still prevailed in the nineteenth century, in ideology if not still in practice, and it is within such an environment that Stoker's sense of national identity is first formed.[9] Anglican in a city where religious affiliation still designated certain status, even after Catholic Emancipation, it is crucial that we recognise the importance and influence of this base – it is the bedrock of all subsequent discussion on the subject. And yet, if Stoker's own national affiliation is firstly rooted in the inherited instability and anxiety of his class and community within the context of Ireland itself, such difficulties in designation become all the more potent after he takes leave of his native city for a more successful, but in a sense, even more uncertain, status as an individual immigrant in London. As David Glover contends in *Vampires, Mummies and Liberals: Bram Stoker and the Politics of Popular Fiction*:

> Stoker's relationship to his home country was a complex one and his Irish and English loyalties pulled him in different directions. His managerial post in Irving's company allowed him permanently to leave behind him what he felt to be the provincialism of Irish life and to ensconce himself in the heart of London society [...] Yet he is always remembered as an Irishman.[10]

For Stoker, it is the double distancing of the migrant, the pull between the two already opposed national designations of Anglo and Irish *outside* of the immediate context of the birth nation itself that builds on the inherited foundations of the Ascendancy identity question so long engaged with within Ireland. Like his vampire who 'passes' as a native Londoner to all but those who know his true nature, Stoker managed to integrate himself into the fashionable

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[9] For a more detailed analysis of Anglo-Irish identity formation over the course of the eighteenth century and the necessary context this provides for Stoker in the nineteenth century, see Chapter One, 'Writing the Nation: The Anglo-Irish Ascendancy and the Question of National Identity', pp. 39-81. For this same chapter's discussion of Stoker's own national identity formation in latter-day Victorian Dublin, see pp. 73-80.

[10] Glover, *Vampires, Mummies and Liberals*, p. 12.

and respectable circles of his employer and his friends with ease in a period in which Irishness was almost synonymous with unrest, insurgency and Fenian attack.[11] Known affectionately as 'Uncle Bram' by many of the Lyceum's young actresses, Stoker counted William Gladstone, Alfred Lord Tennyson, Hall Caine, Arthur Conan Doyle and Richard Burton amongst others as personal acquaintances.[12] And yet as we have seen, despite integrated appearances, Stoker's status within the Victorian metropolis was ambiguous for, 'we might also see Stoker – an Irishman in London – as a displaced subject, occupying a kind of no-man's land – neither one thing nor the other, something that (together with his work) made him appear too unconventional to allow him to be neatly slotted in with the other late-Victorians.'[13] The added dimension that migrancy provides such questions of national identity on a personal level enhances, or adds to, the longstanding concerns of class and community in this regard, and it this *fusion* of individual and communal concerns that proves to be one of the most abiding and productive tensions at the heart of Stoker's literary output, nearly all of which was actually produced in the metropolis.[14] As Salman Rushdie asserts in *Imaginary Homelands*:

> Sometimes we feel that we straddle two cultures: at other times, that we fall between two stools. But however ambiguous and shifting this ground may be, it is not an infertile territory for a writer to occupy. If literature is

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[11] For a detailed discussion of the correlation between Irish national identity as popularly constructed in Victorian Britain and perceived threats in the period, see Chapter Three, 'The (Anglo-) Irishman in the Metropolis', pp. 126-141.

[12] Barbara Belford, *Bram Stoker: A Biography of the Author of Dracula* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1996).

[13] Andrew Maunder, *Bram Stoker*, Writers and their Work Series (Tavistock: Northcote, 2006), p. 15.

[14] We need to be careful here not to fall into the trap of viewing Stoker's mixed identity or emigrant status here in an automatically negative light – a heightening of some already existing anxiety as it were. R.F. Foster, in *The Irish Story: Telling Tales and Making it Up in Ireland* (London: Allen Lane, 2001) argues that too often in the case of Irish history we construct narratives from a specific and one-sided viewpoint that frequently paints actions such as emigration as some sort of enforced exile. Foster is quick to argue that such received 'truths' are in fact detrimental to the practice of academic investigation, and advocates instead an unbiased approach that allows us as scholars to view our material afresh. To this end, Liam Harte in *The Literature of the Irish in Britain: Autobiography and Memoir, 1725-2001*, ed. by Liam Harte (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009) challenges the established Irish migration story, discussing at length the often positive and beneficial effect of emigration, 'the exhilaration and empowerment of emigration and the personal hopes and triumphs it can engender', (p. xx). This thesis sees Stoker's particular status as emigrant as a positive attribute. Rather than simply intensifying national insecurity, it intensified Stoker's sense of national fluidity, thereby imbuing his work with the flexibility and creative indeterminacy that allowed him to write *Dracula* as a fictional rendering of his own productively conflicted sense of national selfhood.

in part the business of finding new angles at which to enter reality, then once again our distance, our long geographical perspective, may provide us with such angles.[15]

Viewed from this enabling perspective of the emigrant's 'new angles', Glover's assertion that 'Although Bram Stoker is not an author whose writings are commonly associated with questions of national identity, careful observation of his fiction and journalism reveals that such concerns occupy a central, if frequently uneasy, place in both his early and later work', is particularly significant.[16] We have already seen how such difficulties in (national) designation may be seen to sit at the very centre of *Dracula*.

It is not an uncommon claim to make that we celebrate Dracula, and *Dracula* for that matter, at the expense of Stoker. The power of the *Dracula* legend is such that the author has often been all but eclipsed in the popular imagination by his own creation. As Andrew Maunder asserts, 'Stoker remains a fairly indeterminate and often obscured figure, so much so that it is usual to preface biographical accounts of his life with the proviso that he is an enigma.'[17] Indeed, there is a prevailing attitude amongst Stoker scholars that what we know about the author's own life is scant at best, a few externally verifiable facts that sketch the broad outline of an existence but do not prove illuminating of the essence of Stoker as an individual or as a writer. That said, there are numerous sources that allow us to glimpse if not fully view the man behind the myth. Contemporary journalistic sources such as reviews of Stoker's many novels, articles concerning Henry Irving and the Lyceum, and indeed, Stoker's own obituaries offer the researcher a fascinating if partial view of their subject and will be explored at greater length in later chapters.[18] There are also various

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[15] Salman Rushdie, quoted in Gunnthórunn Gudmundsdóttir, *Borderlines: Autobiography and Fiction in Postmodern Life Writing* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003), p. 141.
[16] Glover, p. 23.
[17] Maunder, pp. 5-6.
[18] For examples of contemporary press coverage of Stoker, see reviews of *Dracula*: 'Review', *The Daily Mail*, 1 June, 1897, 'Review', *Athenaeum*, June 26, 1897, 'Review', *Spectator*, 31 July, 1897, all reprinted in Norton *Dracula*, pp. 363-67. See also, Hall Caine, 'Bram Stoker: The Story of a Great Friendship', *Daily Telegraph*, 24 April 1912. For reference to Stoker in works pertaining to his friends and associates see Hall Caine, *My Story* (London: Heinemann, 1908), Horace Wyndham, *The Nineteen Hundreds* (New York: Thomas Seltzer, 1923), and Laurence Irving, *Henry Irving: The Actor and His World* (London: Faber and Faber, 1951). For obituaries of Stoker see 'Bram Stoker', *New York Times*, 23 April, 1912, 'Bram Stoker', *Daily Telegraph*, 24 April, 1912, 'Mr Bram Stoker', *Irish Times*, 24 April, 1912, and 'Bram Stoker', *British*

collections of primary source material preserved in libraries in Ireland, the UK and the United States that contribute to knowledge of Stoker as a man and as an author. The Brotherton Collection at Leeds University Library consists of letters sent to Stoker in his capacity as theatre manager at the Lyceum and through an analysis of this correspondence, a picture of Stoker as an assured and capable professional begins to emerge.[19] Stoker's working notes for *Dracula* are housed at the Rosenbach Museum and Library in Philadelphia and provide an invaluable insight into Stoker's narrative processes, while the Stoker Family Papers at Trinity College Dublin go some way towards filling in some of Stoker's familial background and contexts, containing as they do sources relevant to Abraham Stoker Snr, his wife Charlotte, as well as one of their other sons, William Thornley Stoker.[20] And all this is to say nothing of the material produced by Stoker himself. His biography of his employer, *Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving* (1906), was considered disappointing by *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* precisely because of the amount of personal information that Stoker included of himself in his study of the famous actor:

> We are occasionally, indeed, driven to ask ourselves who, after all, is the chief personage in the story, and to speculate whether Sir Henry Irving's "Personal Reminiscences of Bram Stoker", if written on the principles on which this work is constructed, would not, in all probability, have told us considerably more about Sir Henry Irving than at the present moment we can profess to know.[21]

Such an opinion of *Reminiscences* is broadly, and much more positively, shared by scholars working on the Stoker biography today, who frequently view the text as worthy of study not for its somewhat hagiographic depiction of Irving, but rather for the fragmented but valuable insights it provides into Stoker's own

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Weekly, 25 April, 1912, amongst others. For a detailed discussion of contemporary perceptions of Stoker that draws on much of this same source material see Chapter Five, 'The Anglo-Irish Insider: Bram Stoker and the Politics of Passing'.

[19] The Brotherton Collection, Leeds University Library. Letters from Sir William Agnew, H.M. Alden (editor of *Harper's* Magazine), and William Fitzgerald (illustrator of Stoker's *Under the Sunset*) amongst others.

[20] Notes and outline for *Dracula*, the Rosenbach Museum and Library, Philadelphia, reprinted in Bram Stoker, *Bram Stoker's Notes for* Dracula: *A Facsimile Edition*, ann. and transcr. by Robert Eighteen-Bisang and Elizabeth Miller (Jefferson: MacFarland & Company, 2008). See also the Stoker Family Papers, Manuscript and Archive Research Library, Trinity College Dublin.

[21] 'Sir Henry Irving', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Review*, Vol. 180 November 1906, pp. 613-21.

story.[22] Another important source in this regard is Stoker's 'Lost Journal', published this year by the combined efforts of Elizabeth Miller and Dacre Stoker, which presents extracts from a diary that Stoker kept whilst still living in Dublin.[23] A fascinating read that reveals some of Stoker's own musings and anecdotes about life in the Irish capital, it is, according to its editors, 'the starting point for tracing his journey as a writer.'[24]

The Stoker archive, then, as it exists today, certainly offers us intriguing if limited insights into the writer's life and world, something that the many biographers of Stoker have been keen to build into narratives that somehow account for *Dracula*.[25] And if we take a moment to analyse such secondary scholarship we find certain key debates emerging. For starters, *Dracula*, crucial as it is, is not the only text worth talking about. Since Paul Murray's *From the Shadow of Dracula: A Life of Bram Stoker*, there has been a marked increase in interest in the broader scope of the author's work, in viewing *Dracula* as part of an overall corpus of literature, not a strange anomaly or accident on Stoker's part.[26] Moreover, in the last decade or so, critics are increasingly interested in the insights these other texts may offer us in any study of Stoker's life. Indeed, the idea of fiction as a biographical source for Stoker is much more prevalent since Belford and Murray, with Maunder and Hopkins also using the Stoker oeuvre as a tool to illuminate their notoriously elusive subject in studies that are fusions of biography and literary criticism.[27] An extension of such an inclusive approach is

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[22] Bram Stoker, *Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving*, 2 Vols. (London: Heinemann, 1906). Often referred to as his most autobiographical piece of writing, the text has proved useful for the small but significant insights it provides into the day to day aspects of Stoker's life at the Lyceum and his relationship to his employer. However, as befits the period that the text was written in, personal insights into Stoker's own private thoughts and opinions are relatively rare. For sustained analysis of this text, as well as other sources about and by Stoker, see Chapter Five, 'The Anglo-Irish Insider: Bram Stoker and the Politics of Passing'.
[23] *The Lost Journal of Bram Stoker: The Dublin Years*, edited by Elizabeth Miller and Dacre Stoker (London: Robson, 2012).
[24] Ibid, p. 11.
[25] Harry Ludlam, *A Biography of Dracula: The Life-Story of Bram Stoker* (London: Fireside Press, 1962), Daniel Farson, *The Man Who Wrote Dracula: A Biography of Bram Stoker* (London: Joseph, 1975), Barbara Belford, *Bram Stoker: His Life and Times* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1996), Paul Murray, From *the Shadow of Dracula: A Life of Bram Stoker* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004) and Lisa Hopkins, *Bram Stoke: A Literary Life* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
[26] Murray, p. 2.
[27] Lisa Hopkins asserts that an over-arching survey of Stoker's fiction is necessary for any study of the author because 'in his fiction Stoker was in fact writing his own literary life.' Hopkins, p. 21.

a parallel acknowledgement that the Irish years of Stoker's life and indeed his (Anglo-) Irishness have been seen as increasingly important to any serious study of the author and indeed of *Dracula*. Murray tells us, for example, that because 'Stoker spent almost half his life in Ireland. [...] the imprint of his early influences is evident in *Dracula* and his other work. His deeply held and apparently sincere religious beliefs, which informed the moral landscape of his fiction, also derived from the Ireland in which he grew up.'[28] Miller and Dacre Stoker continue in this vein by discussing the pressing need to 'present Stoker as an Irish writer'.[29] A driving force behind their publication of Stoker's journal was to address the fact that Stoker 'still has never quite "made it" as a literary Dubliner.'[30] And this summer, a symposium is being held in Stoker's alma mater of Trinity College Dublin to address the relationship that undoubtedly exists between the author's place of birth and his literary endeavours, to 'consider Stoker's relationship to late nineteenth-century Ireland and especially Dublin, and address his status as an 'Irish' writer of substance.[31]

It is undoubtedly true that the Stoker archive as it exists today suffers from certain restrictions. Much of the information that we have at our disposal relates to Stoker only in his official capacity as Irving's manager. Most mention of Stoker in the press of his period derives from his association with the famous actor and there is little personal or intimate revelation amongst the requests for seats or tickets to performances in the majority of letters that make up the primary source collections. Even *Reminiscences* offers the researcher only foretastes of a figure hovering on the sidelines; the main focus of that book necessarily remains Irving. Still, the growing understanding, in the absence of a single autobiographical text to unequivocally explain the realities behind the notoriously secretive mask of 'the man himself' (p. 161), that Stoker's fiction is of increasing importance, is deeply encouraging. So too, is the ever-increasing awareness of the significance of Stoker's national identity to his work. In fact, it would seem that although the various biographers of Stoker, in the business of

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[28] Murray, p. 2.
[29] Miller and Stoker, p. 1
[30] Ibid.
[31] Bram Stoker Centenary Conference 2012: *Bram Stoker: Life and Writing*, Trinity College Dublin, 5-6 July, 2012.
http://www.tcd.ie/English/news-events/Stoker%20Conference%202012.php

the most obvious form of identity narrative as they are, have over the years bemoaned the lack of any definitive autobiographical text detailing Stoker's life, they are well on their way to solving their own problem. For in an important sense this text has been with us all along. *Dracula* is that book. In its pages, these most important advances in Stoker scholarship in the last ten years can be brought to bear. In terms of looking towards his fiction as a valid biographical source, Belford claims it as Stoker's most confessional novel, even though for her part, she overlooks that particularly crucial element of self from which all other identity concerns in relation to Stoker spring – that of his conflicted sense of nationhood.[32] Joseph Valente experiences no comparable difficulties in *Dracula's Crypt: Bram Stoker, Irishness and the Question of Blood*, where he sees Dracula, and *Dracula* for that matter, as an emphatic 'exteriorization of Stoker's residual, partly effacious, often unconscious resistance to his own sociocultural determination' as Anglo-Celt hybrid.[33] Stoker by virtue of his hybrid national, and thereby cultural and social status, a status not created but heightened and intensified by his tenuous position as emigrant in London, was primed to create the character of Dracula. The contradictory and divergent nature of the vampire as created, serves as a type of textual mirror, a literary mapping of Stoker's own national insecurities in a displaced print form. And it is in this symbiotic paralleling between national life and art that this thesis is most deeply invested.

I

There have, of course, been Irish-centric readings of *Dracula* before, modes of enquiry that have sought to position the text within the context of Stoker's national identity as Irishman and/or Anglo-Irishman in the nineteenth century. As will be discussed in detail in Chapter Five, in the absence of any overt references to Ireland or Irish matters in the novel itself, these readings, by critics such as Cannon Schmitt, Raymond T. McNally, Bruce Stewart, or Michael Valdez Moses amongst others, focus on what may be termed an 'Irish

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[32] Belford, p. 5.
[33] Joseph Valente, *Dracula's Crypt: Bram Stoker, Irishness, and the Question of Blood* (Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 2002), p. 11.

Dracula'.[34] That is to say that they are mostly concerned with positioning the Count as a player *within* the political and social situation of late-nineteenth-century Ireland. Predominantly rooted, therefore, in a domestic Irish setting, these readings invariably substitute the Transylvanian wilderness for the untamed Irish countryside, and the superstitious Eastern European peasant for his Catholic Irish counterpart. And in this model, as will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, the Count is figured as both landlord and Land Leaguer, amongst other things, but *always* as a domestic player in late-nineteenth-century (Anglo-) Ireland.[35] However, the over-arching and specifically *Anglo-Irish* dynamic at work in *Dracula* is far more subtle, pervasive and complex than many of these critics have ultimately given Stoker credit for, drawing as it does on Stoker's own complex positioning as Anglo-Irish writer both in Ireland and beyond. Indeed, in light of Stoker's own circumstances as Anglo-Irish émigré, my own analysis here ultimately removes the novel from any of the immediate or obvious connections to the domestic situation so concentrated on by previous scholarly endeavour. For while such interpretations are productive in the way that they have opened the novel up to unprecedented and much-needed culturally and nationally-specific readings, and while *Dracula* is undoubtedly initially indebted to the domestic traditions of Anglo-Irish and Anglo-Irish Gothic writing, while this relationship must be acknowledged and engaged with, it remains that the text was not conceived, written or shaped in Ireland itself and therefore cannot be solely viewed from this domestic perspective.

This work therefore proposes an Anglo-Irish reading of the novel that differs significantly from others in the critical field of Irish Studies; in stark

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[34] The 'Irish Dracula' here refers to the common positioning of Dracula within the field of Irish Studies as (Anglo-)Irishman *within* the context of domestic context of Ireland itself. See Cannon Schmitt, 'Mother Dracula: Orientalism, Degeneration, and Anglo-Irish National Subjectivity at the Fin-de-Siècle', *Bucknell Review*, 38: 1 (1994), 25-43, Raymond T. McNally, 'Bram Stoker and Irish Gothic', in *The Fantastic Vampire: Studies in the Children of the Night*, ed. by James Craig Holte (London: Greenwood, 2002), pp. 11-21, Bruce Stewart, 'Bram Stoker's Dracula: Possessed by the Spirit of the Nation?' in *That Other World: The Supernatural and the Fantastic in Irish Literature and its Contexts*, ed. by Bruce Stewart, 2 vols. (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1998), II, pp. 65-66 and Michael Valdez Moses, 'Dracula, Parnell and the Troubled Dreams of Nationhood', *Journal X*, 2: 1, (1997), 66-112 (p. 79) amongst others.
There are some exceptions to this rule, most notably from David Glover and Joseph Valente, who both devote some discussion to Stoker's positioning within London. For an in-depth analysis of the Irish School's arguments alluded to here, including those closest to my own line of analysis, see Chapter Five, 'The Anglo-Irish Insider: Bram Stoker and the Politics of Passing', pp. 201-11.
[35] MacNally, p. 20 and Moses, p. 79.

contrast to other arguments within the Irish School, it contends that *Dracula* is an Anglo-Irish novel that may be read as such precisely *because* it is written from the metropolitan centre: the site of Stoker's most concentrated and confused hybrid national identity. It is London that adds another dimension to Stoker's already conflicted national self and it is London that is the site of all of the author's significant literary output. A newspaper article from 1897 gives us some sense of the centrality of the metropolis to Stoker's status as Anglo-Irish writer: '[Stoker] has been in London for some nineteen years, and believes that London is the best possible place for a literary man. "A writer will find a chance here if he is good for anything; and recognition is only a matter of time."'[36] We are not looking so much at an Irish Dracula, then, or even a London Dracula, but at an Anglo-Irish London Dracula, and *Dracula* for that matter, something that will become increasingly clear as this work progresses through the discussions of its various chapters.[37] Such an approach offers a new and more holistic perspective than the other interpretations of the Irish School because it takes into account not only Stoker's hybridised Anglo-Irish identity as initially formed in Ireland and the way this provides the necessary context for any meaningful engagement with the text, but it also incorporates the crucial, and to my mind, central, added dimension of Stoker's migrant status as London Anglo-Irish and the heightened national duality that this creates. Or to put it another way: 'Given how far Stoker's own immixed ethnic origins, restless parvenu ambition, and immigration to London combined to mold [sic] his self-conception, we should not be surprised to find his engagement with the question of Irishness [...] to be registered most acutely and profoundly in this less domesticated line of Hibernian narrative.'[38]

Dracula therefore represents a form of autobiography or a 'writing the self' of its author's own personal and national realities as a conflicted Anglo-Irish emigrant and writer within the context of late-Victorian London. This is not

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[36] 'Lorna', 'Mr Bram Stoker: A Chat with the Author of Dracula', *British Weekly*, 1 July 1897.
[37] There have been many readings of the novel within *Dracula* scholarship in general that have utilised its metropolitan setting as a focus for critical analysis. For example, see Stephen D. Arata's, 'The Occidental Tourist: Dracula and the Anxiety of Reverse Colonisation', *Victorian Studies*, 33 (1990), 621-45 for a reading that positions the text as an invasion novel because of the vampire's desires to colonise London.
[38] Valente, p. 13.

the traditional chronicling of womb to tomb it is true. There are no insights to be found here into the mysteries of Stoker's childhood illness, or any sense of how Stoker interacted with his family or friends, the mundanities of his daily routine or his educational experiences. However, Stoker's vampire novel does instead present us with a sustained engagement with questions of national place for the Protestant Ascendancy writer in a removed and overtly supernatural sense. In doing so, I argue that it is as much a textual expression of Stoker's self as any autobiography in the traditional sense of the genre might hope to be. Kathleen L. Spencer argues that 'the central appeal of fantastic literature is that, [...] it allows its writers and readers simultaneously to acknowledge and deny these aspects of themselves and their world that they find most troubling – to see them both as part of the community and available for sacrifice', or, to put it another way, 'The fantastic as a genre is based on violations of reality, which means it is fundamentally concerned with *defining* reality'.[39] The reality in this case, is the core reality of Stoker himself, of his situation as Anglo-Irish émigré, denizen of London, and his national identity concerns in the late-Victorian metropolitan setting.

Dracula encapsulates the *man* who wrote it, as an individual and as a member of a complicated and contradictory class, in the most fundamental and important of ways. As a literary work, it engages with the self-same issues that Stoker himself grappled with: namely, how does one define oneself and one's place within the world? How important is national affiliation in the formation of a stable and successful sense of self and how does this feed into all other aspects of identity construction? What happens to already problematic formations of nationality outside of the nation itself? From what position does the migrant author write? In this respect, it is surely apt that a novel that channels the very essence of Stoker's variable Anglo-Irish condition has attracted such diversity of interpretation; its own fluid identity as a text has been read as 'about' gender, disease, history, technology, racism and capitalism, amongst others. *Dracula* functions, then, as a very specific and fictionalised form of autobiography or self-writing, a genre that is ultimately as preoccupied with constructions and

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[39] Kathleen L. Spencer, 'Purity and Danger: *Dracula*, the Urban Gothic and the late-Victorian Degeneracy Crisis', *ELH*, 59: 1 (1992), 197-225 (p. 220 and p. 208).

contestations of the (national) self in writing as this Anglo-Irish author. Indeed, in chronicling the complex national positioning of Stoker as Anglo-Irishman and Anglo-Irish writer in London it functions as what may be termed an 'imaginative autobiography'.

II

Liam Harte, in his recent edited work on the place of autobiography in Irish literature, *Modern Irish Autobiography: Self, Nation and Society*, remarks that autobiographical writing functions on the whole as the great 'Cinderella genre' of Irish studies, that despite 'the preponderance of life writing in contemporary Irish culture', such as Brendan Behan's *Borstal Boy* (1958),[40] Frank McCourt's *Angela's Ashes* (1996),[41] Nuala O'Faolain's *Are You Somebody?*(1996),[42] and more recently, John McGahern's *Memoir* (2005),[43] to name but a very successful few, 'none of the leading Irish Studies journals have seen fit to devote a special issue to the topic, conferences on Irish autobiography are rare and the subject seldom merits more than a cursory mention in literary companions and encyclopaedias'.[44] While Harte's own study therefore attempts to rectify the above anomaly in scholarship by illuminating such broad-ranging and important intersections as Irish autobiography and gender, religion, class and politics, it is largely prevented from treating in detail any one of these areas because of its need to break an awful lot of new ground all at once. And while it is undeniable that Harte's work, alongside recent projects by Elizabeth Grubgeld and Claire Lynch, has done much to open up discussion of the different facets of autobiographical narrative within the Irish sphere, there is much more to do to fully gain an appreciation for why life-writing is so significant within an Irish and, far more importantly for our purposes in studying Stoker's *Dracula*, a specifically Anglo-Irish context in our period.[45]

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[40] Brendan Behan, *Borstal Boy* (London: Hutchinson, 1958).
[41] Frank McCourt, *Angela's Ashes* (New York: Scribner, 1996).
[42] Nuala O'Faolain, *Are You Somebody? The Accidental Memoir of a Dublin Woman* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1996).
[43] John McGahern, *Memoir* (London: Faber and Faber, 2005).
[44] *Modern Irish Autobiography: Self, Nation and Society*, ed. by Liam Harte (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 1.
[45] Harte, *The Literature of the Irish in Britain*, Elizabeth Grubgeld, *Anglo-Irish Autobiography: Class, Gender and the Forms of Narrative* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2004), and

On the face of it, the practice of autobiographical writing may seem an easy one to define. Perhaps because the exercise of writing the self has become a particularly fashionable and lucrative one in literary spheres of late, and that writing of this kind positively floods our contemporary marketplace, we may presume that we are as familiar with the concept of self-narration as we thought we were with *Dracula*, at any rate that we would certainly know it if we saw it. After all, there appear to be certain incontrovertible 'givens' associated with this particular genre: certain key assumptions that the reader may seemingly and safely make about the autobiographical text that collude to give it away. The first and most important of these is undoubtedly the overriding belief that autobiography is deeply and almost exclusively concerned with the expression of individual experience. It is almost universally considered to be the story of a life, or more specifically, as Laura Marcus states in her study, *Auto/biographical Discourse: Criticism, Theory, Practice*, it is 'the evocation of a life in totality'.[46] In order to distinguish the genre from that of biography it is vital that this evocation must be self-told. The author of this kind of text as written must also be the originator of the life as lived, or to put it another way, 'the author of an autobiography implicitly declares that he is the person he says he is and that the author and the protagonist are the same'.[47] One might also assume that this author should be celebrated or somehow esteemed and thereby worthy of disseminating their experiences into the public sphere, that the style should be, by and large, chronological and retrospective, that autobiographical texts should often begin in childhood or some other formative experience in early life and end in later years.[48] However, these other factors are ultimately secondary to the crucial proviso that it is the individual and the individual's personal experiences that are at the core of what autobiography purports to represent, that the faithful textual expression of the self is intrinsic to its style and very function.

Claire Lynch, *Irish Autobiography: Stories of Self in the Narrative of a Nation* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009).

[46] Laura Marcus, *Auto/biographical Discourse: Criticism, Theory, Practice* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 3.

[47] Linda Anderson, *Autobiography* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 3.

[48] Suzanne Nalbantian, *Aesthetic Autobiography: From Life to Art in Marcel Proust, James Joyce, Virginia Woolf and Anaïs Nin* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 2-4.

Autobiography is primarily seen, therefore, to be rooted in actuality, in ostensibly real occurrences. As a piece of writing it is consequently verifiable and in some sense 'true'. There must be a relationship in the text to the external and fixed events of the 'real world', independent of the realm of the narrative itself. It is fundamentally important that the events on the page correspond to events in life, that there is some dialogue between the two. In the case of Stoker and his Dracula, the textual paralleling is clear. The simultaneous movement from the peripheral into the urban centre, the 'passing' of both Stoker and the Count into London life, the opportunities and challenges presented by the new-found urban landscape, all of these factors ensure fundamental dialogue between life and art. We may go further if we wish, as Murray does when he argues that:

> The Count had a great deal in common with his author: he may have been an aristocrat but he undertook the menial duties of coachman, cook and housemaid, rather like the multi-tasked Stoker at the Lyceum. His quiet, methodical mastery of subjects like the law and his research, using maps, guides and other printed sources, was that of Stoker himself [...] The Count mastered timetables and personally oversaw the movement of his precious boxes of earth, just as Stoker oversaw the transport of the Lyceum's vast baggage [...] In looking for the source of *Dracula*, we have looked in many places but not the obvious one: the mind of its author. (p. 3)

To this end, Marcus discusses the importance of 'referentiality' or the 'truth' that can be expected from autobiography, and she also asserts that the intention, 'to tell the truth, as far as possible, is a sufficient guarantee of autobiographical veracity and sincerity.'[49] The real-life experience of national uncertainty that underlies Stoker's evocation of his vampiric outsider speaks directly to such criteria.

On one level, then, it seems perfectly obvious as to why the ideas that inform autobiography and self-writing may be used to present Stoker's Victorian Anglo-Irish national identity concerns in *Dracula*. For more than any other genre of writing, autobiography gives focus to a sense of self, to a personal, social, cultural, and, especially within the case of Anglo-Ireland, national identity. If, as Lynch argues, 'Autobiography's principal focus is identity: it is often concerned with existential concepts of self-definition, what it means to be a person, how to

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[49] Marcus, p. 3.

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[49] Marcus, p. 3.

live a life and then how to write about it', then this description is equally applicable to any discussion of Stoker's novel.[50] Paul John Eakin's discussion of the centrality of the 'I' in this form of narrative elucidates the point further:

> Given the face-off between experiential accounts of the "I", on the one hand, and deconstructive analyses of the "I" as illusion on the other, my own instinct is to approach autobiography in the spirit of a cultural anthropologist, *asking what such texts can teach us about the ways in which individuals in a particular culture experience their sense of being "I"*– and in some instructive cases that prove the rule, their sense of not being an "I".[51]

Eakin's construction of the primary self here is far from straightforward. By allowing for a certain multiplicity within the 'I' at the centre of an autobiographical text, he is making a key point about the relationship between autobiography and the possibility of different forms of identity, for although constructions of self go to the very heart of autobiographical expression through writing, these formations do not have to be necessarily stable to engender an autobiographical narrative. In fact, as contradictory as this may seem, in the very act of writing the self, the autobiographical account allows for both an assured sense of being whilst simultaneously accommodating its marked opposite, in Eakin's words, a 'sense of not being'. Like the vampire who fluctuates between the designations of man and beast, old and young, male and female, hetero and homosexual in *Dracula*, the self in autobiographical writing can, and often is, a conflicted or contested one. As Linda Anderson asserts in *Autobiography*, 'the lack of an essentialized identity does not rule out the possibility of constructing a place from which to speak'.[52] Moreover, Marcus compounds the often central role that fragmented identity holds in the autobiographical narrative by adding that, 'Autobiographical discourse [...] reveals the extent to which the 'inner' of the self is constituted as both a sacred place and a site of danger'.[53] She goes on to say that that most necessary exercise in life-writing, self-reflection, instead of galvanising an identity as may be imagined, in fact has the capacity to rend it

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[50] Lynch, p. 3.
[51] Paul John Eakin, *How Our Lives Become Stories: Making Selves* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), p. 4.
[52] Anderson, p. 115.
[53] Marcus, p. 15.

asunder: 'Introspection, moreover, divides the self'.[54] Indeed, there is even the sense here that it is the very concerns surrounding the stability of the self that allow for autobiography to be written in the first place, that volatility, both in the individual and in the genre, is a necessary component in the process of self-writing and an essential feature of the genre. As an Anglo-Irish writer in London with an unstable sense of national identity, instability that itself creates the textual life of *Dracula*, Stoker's work encapsulates many of these same issues.

If the 'I' at the centre of autobiographical discourse is one of the key means by which to know the writing of this kind, what does it mean for any fixed categorisation of the genre as a whole if this 'I' can be fragmented and contradictory? It is perhaps worth pointing out here that autobiography as a category is wholly contested in any case.[55] 'Autobiography, despite its development and recognition as a genre, remains an unstable category and yet one on which a great deal rests.'[56] Even as the self at the centre of such a project seems fractured and incomplete, views on the subject position of the genre as a whole, what exactly it is and does, are just as confused and splintered. James Olney argues that, 'like the life it mirrors, [autobiography] refuses to stay still long enough for the genre critic to fit it out with the necessary rules, laws, contracts, and pacts; it refuses, simply, to be a literary genre like any other'.[57] There is significant disagreement, then, about what exactly constitutes an autobiographical text, who is entitled to write it and indeed what form it should ultimately take. As Marcus goes on to say, 'autobiography is itself a major source of concern because of its very instability', precisely because of its 'postulated opposites between self and world, literature and history, fact and fiction, subject and object'.[58] Fragmented, like the shape-shifting vampire, it sits at the intersection of all of these concerns.

This introduction has previously articulated the necessity of viewing Stoker and his *Dracula* firstly against the backdrop of other Anglo-Irish Gothic

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[54] Ibid.
[55] There is intense conflict in scholarship as to what defines an autobiography as a genre, even if it constitutes a genre at all. See *The Uses of Autobiography*, ed. by Julia Swindells (London: Taylor & Francis, 1995) for a good introduction to the various debates.
[56] Ibid. p. 12.
[57] James Olney, *Autobiography, Essays Theoretical and Critical* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 24-5.
[58] Marcus, p. 7.

writing, providing as this does the necessary foundations on which to view the novel. Questions of national identity in text necessarily evoke the communal and the collective and when positioning the novel as a form of autobiographical narrative it should also be pointed out that autobiography as a mode of writing is itself similarly bound up in questions of the individual in the community. As Eakin argues, '*all* identity is relational, and that the definition of autobiography, and its history as well, must be stretched to reflect the kinds of self-writing in which relational identity is characteristically displayed'.[59] Lynch further supports the sentiment by allowing for 'the representation of communities where the author is concerned not only with an individual narrative but also multiple selves and others.'[60] As we have already seen, this emphasis on the individual as part of a wider group is something that has particular resonance for Stoker in our period in that the evocation of a national identity, or lack thereof, automatically initially suggests the individual as part of a broader collective. When Anderson writes that 'the idea that autobiography can become "the text of the oppressed", articulating through one person's experience, experiences which may be representative of a particular marginalised group', then she raises a very important point for the Anglo-Irish writer.[61] For if autobiography can become 'both a way of testifying to oppression and empowering the subject through their cultural inscription and recognition', it is essential that the strength of the relationship between self and society within an Irish context in general, where the two terms are almost interchangeable, is understood.[62] We already know that the conflicted national self that Stoker evokes in *Dracula* is not simply that of the author as individual but as the member of a society that has long channelled many of the same frustrations. In fact, there is a definite tradition of specifically Anglo-Irish autobiographical writing, something that Elizabeth Grubgeld flags up as she argues for the collectivism of the genre:

> As members of a depleted colonial class, Anglo-Irish autobiographers draw from their family histories a sense of continuity and dissolution, influence and irrelevance, identity and nothingness. They rail against

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[59] Eakin, p. 43.
[60] Lynch, p. 2.
[61] Anderson, p. 104.
[62] Anderson, Ibid. See also Roy Foster's discussion of the 'elision of the personal and the national' in relation to Ireland in Foster, *The Irish Story*, p. xiv.

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their own class, and they defend its attitudes and actions; they assert their place within an Irish nation, and they question its legitimacy.[63]

With her emphasis on questions of legitimacy, identity and nation here, Grubgeld could just as easily be discussing the preoccupations of Anglo-Irish Gothic fiction. Explicitly engaged with the relationship between the individual and the collective, then, it is not hard to see how the autobiographical intersects with the concerns at the very heart of *Dracula*.

There has been much discussion here about how the ideas that inform autobiographical or self-writing, both in practice and in the scholarship of this genre, may be productively used as a prism through which to view Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, and through this, both the condition of the Anglo-Irish migrant and the Anglo-Irish literature that it is born out of. *Dracula* evokes many of the concerns regarding the self, both personal and national, that preoccupied the author as the product of a beleaguered class in nineteenth-century Ireland and as an immigrant in England, and the idea that *Dracula* may be legitimately read as a form of autobiographical self expression on the part of Stoker as Anglo-Irish writer is an innovative, and I argue, intensely productive one. And yet, there is an obvious obstacle to such an approach that needs to be surmounted before such a reading can take place. *Dracula* is, of course, an ostensibly fictional and not factual text. If one of the most abiding concerns of autobiography as a genre, as it has been discussed, is an adherence to 'truth', then how can these seemingly opposed entities be satisfactorily reconciled? To pose an answer to this question we must turn again to the fluidity of autobiography's identity as a genre.

'In the last decade or so, generic and disciplinary borders and boundaries have started to break down. The most interesting auto/biographical theory and practice are being written across traditional conceptual and disciplinary divides.'[64] Moreover, the *Oxford English Dictionary*'s defines 'autobiography' as 'the writing of one's own history; the story of one's life written by himself'.[65] Here, what appears to be a somewhat straightforward categorisation is undermined by such problematic terms as 'history' and 'story'. The writing of

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[63] Grubgeld, p. xi.
[64] Marcus, p. 273.
[65] Oxford English Dictionary Online, accessed April 20, 2011,
http://www.oed.com.chain.kent.ac.uk/view/Entry/13379?redirectedFrom=autobiography#eid.

history is necessarily a subjective exercise; it is communicated from a specific viewpoint and mediated by numerous mitigating factors such as context, ideology and discourse. Indeed, to look at things again from a nationally-specific perspective, Roy Foster argues that:

> thinking about the shape of Irish history, or arguing about the accuracy and significance of generally accepted themes, one is struck again and again by the importance of the narrative mode: the idea that Irish history *is* a 'story', and the implications that this carries about a beginning, middle and the sense of an ending.[66]

To write one's *own* history may simply allude to the expression of a personal rather than public narrative but it may also point to the communication of one's own *version* of history, a more traditional kind of 'story' altogether. This is what Foster is drawing our attention to here, an edited and mediated narrative out of which certain things are necessarily excluded or reshaped to suit the author's own particular perspective, circumstance and needs. Similarly, the idea of 'the story of one's life is again problematic because, while it has the capacity to refer to a straightforward telling of externally verifiable events, the label of 'story' can and often does imply a creative narrative, an embellished account not just of a sequence of events in isolation but of the personal opinions, feelings and perceptions attached to the experiencing of those events by an individual consciousness and the communication of this through language. The above definition poses as many questions as it does answers in terms of categorising autobiography. In attempting to arrive at a fixed designation it instead muddies the waters between fact and fiction, literature and life. Indeed, out of this framework theories have emerged that place autobiographical narratives alongside more traditional and fictional forms of writing. Contrary to those earlier critics who argued that the more 'literary' an autobiographical text appeared, the less reliable it seemed in relation to authenticity and sincerity of purpose, there are now those working within the field who even suggest that some forms of fiction may actively constitute a form of covert autobiography or self-writing in their own right.[67]

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[66] Foster, *The Irish Story*, p. 2.
[67] Ibid, p. 6.

Of course, there are those who maintain that life and art are doubtlessly mutually dependent, and that simply because the two coalesce in both autobiography and fiction to greater and lesser degrees does not in itself make the categories related, much less interchangeable. On some level, all literature is autobiographical for 'if the writer is always, in the broadest sense, implicated in the work, any writing may be judged to be autobiographical, depending on how one reads it'.[68] However, according to Paul de Man, because the 'I' at the centre of the autobiographical text is often fragmented and incomplete, 'Autobiographies thus produce fictions or figures in place of the self-knowledge they seek. What the author of an autobiography does is to try to endow his inscription within the text with all the attributes of a face in order to mask or conceal his own fictionalization or displacement by writing.'[69] De Man writes here of a creative process inherent in self-writing, or as Anderson puts it, the sense that 'autobiography might be said always to involve strategies of representation, even if, for political reasons, at this particular juncture, it has re-appropriated the language of confession or truth'.[70] The very phrase 'strategy of representation', rather than representation in its own right, and the allusion to the appropriation of a 'style' of authenticity, like Foster's 'history' and 'story', allude to an intrinsic inventiveness within autobiographical writing, a utilisation of the same imaginative processes employed in the conception and composition of a more traditional kind of literary text. Or, to put it as Liam Harte does, 'We change ourselves by narrating ourselves, and we narrate ourselves in dialogue with others, whether spoken or written forms, such that every autobiography sustains an intricate interplay of factual and fictive elements.'[71] Suzanne Nalbantian in *Aesthetic Autobiography: From Life to Art in Marcel Proust, James Joyce, Virginia Woolf and Anaïs Nin,* and James Treadwell in *Autobiographical Writing and British Literature, 1783-1834,* are just two of the scholars working within the field of autobiographical studies who not only subscribe to this point of view but who take it a step further in their analysis of

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[68] Anderson, p. 1.
[69] Ibid, p. 12.
[70] Ibid, p. 107.
[71] Harte, *The Literature of the Irish in Britain,* p. xxv.

what they perceive to be unproblematically and simultaneously autobiographical and literary works.[72]

The point of intersection between fiction and autobiography forms the basis of Nalbantian's argument in her study of such diverse writers as Proust, Joyce, Woolf and Nin at the beginning of the twentieth century. It is a phenomenon she argues that has been doubly neglected by scholarship, both in the field of literary criticism and in studies of autobiography and self-writing in general. For Nalbantian, the bleeding between the two forms is key and when she writes of 'the artistic manipulation of life facts [...] the creative process – the transformation of life into art', or what she refers to as 'a theory of transmutation and transposition which constitutes the aesthetic element in this fiction', she is writing of her own original theory for a style of 'aesthetic autobiography'.[73] Nalbantian is careful to point out that what she is referring to here is more than a simple 'reflection of personal life material' in the fictional form'.[74] It is the transformation of the life 'facts' into something other, whilst still retaining the integrity of the authentic experience that is paramount here. As she writes, 'An autobiographical style developed in this period of modernisation went well beyond the circumstantial identification of the author in the work. In discerning the threshold of artistic transformation beyond the search for biographical authenticity, insights can be gained into the creative process', or to put it slightly differently, 'within this mode there lies the heart of the creative process whereby the truths of fact were becoming the truths of fiction'.[75] Factual representation fused with fiction therefore functions as a different but equally valid form of the autobiographical for Nalbantian. The key to the distinction between this and autobiography 'proper' is the necessity of an imaginative modification of the individual life experience into a universal aesthetic one, a necessary distancing that accommodates the move from the strictly personal life experience to the public nature of art.

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[72] See also the process that Max Saunders refers to as 'autobiografiction' in Max Saunders, *Self Impression: Life-Writing, Autobiografiction, and the Forms of Modern Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), although here he is more interested in fiction that apes autobiography rather than fiction that is itself autobiographical.
[73] Nalbantian, p. ix.
[74] Ibid, p. 44.
[75] Ibid, p. 61.

Continuing this line of argument, in his survey of autobiographical literary texts in the Romantic period, Treadwell too makes the point that Byron's *Childe Harold Canto III* should properly be viewed within the realms of writing the self for many of these same reasons. According to Treadwell, the poem functions as a form of self-writing for Byron, depicting his exile from both his daughter and his country in the wake of the scandal surrounding his divorce from Annabella Milbanke and his numerous alleged infidelities. Treadwell, like Nalbantian, whilst drawing our attention to the intense similarities between the speaker's fate as written and the poet's life as lived, is rather more concerned with the creative processes Byron employs to turn his own life experiences into a displaced artistic expression that is no longer simply rooted in the individual, to transform the poem so that it speaks not only to his own sense of loss and exile but to these feelings as experienced by the whole of Europe in the post-Promethean age of the Napoleonic Wars. In this sense, the themes of separation that sit at the core of the poem can be read in both private and public terms and it is this transformative distancing between the original experience in an individual life and what is now communicated in more universal terms that allows Treadwell to designate the poem as largely and essentially autobiographical. He argues that 'Separation indicates the privacy of the narrating first person; but it also refers to the widely circulated events of Byron's life in 1816, his separation from family and country. It becomes the link between the rhetoric of subjectivity and the identity of the author.'[76] Continuing in this tradition, Eve Patten, in her essay, '"Life Purified and Reprojected": Autobiography and the Modern Irish Novel', reaffirms the place of fictional autobiography as a sub-section of autobiography 'proper' by drawing our attention to 'its symbolic extension of the self into the social, or the personal experience into some larger [...] narrative'.[77] It is within this convention of Nalbantian's 'aesthetic autobiography', or what Patten terms the 'autobiographical novel', that I now situate Bram Stoker's *Dracula.*.

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[76] Treadwell, p. 200.

[77] Eve Patten, '"Life Purified and Reprojected": Autobiography and the Modern Irish Novel', in *Modern Irish Autobiography: Self, Nation and Society*, ed. by Liam Harte (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 51.

Mine is not the first work to argue for the biographical elements of Stoker's most famous novel. As Maunder maintains, 'the parallels between Stoker's own life and his novels – particularly but not exclusively *Dracula* – have helped to make them compelling works, both for the inquisitive reader and for critics and biographers concerned with Stoker's literary creativity.'[78] Maunder also points out that ever since Daniel Farson ended his biography of his grand-uncle with the claim that Stoker had died from syphilis contracted from visits to London prostitutes, critics have gone out of their way to unearth evidence in *Dracula* especially of the author's deviant sexual proclivities.[79] Maunder argues for 'the very obvious limitations of these kinds of reading', suggesting that those scholars looking to fit Stoker's life and fiction together neglect 'the extent and diversity of his achievements.'[80] However, it is impossible to deny that Stoker privileges the self in his writing – biographical texts like *Reminiscences* attest to Stoker's interest in constructions of personal identity in text. In 1897, editor of the Times, C.F. Moberley Bell wrote to Stoker that 'to read a man's book is the next best thing to talking to him.'[81] And, indeed, it remains that Stoker's novel functions in much the same way as those other texts brought to our attention by Nalbantian, Treadwell and Patten. The vampire's move from the uncivilised, superstitious and predominantly agrarian landscape of Transylvania to the metropolis may be paralleled in Stoker's own move from the provinciality of Ireland to London.

Returning to Marcus' demand for 'referentiality', Dracula's success in adopting the guise of respectable Londoner (he hires solicitors to transact his business, he purchases property, and even devotes some time to such leisure pursuits as visiting London Zoo) is a reflection of Stoker's own successful professional integration in the city. The positioning of the shape-shifting Count as assimilated Other evokes both the shifting categorisations of Stoker himself as Anglo-Irish émigré and also the inherited concerns of his class, shuttling between

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[78] Maunder, p. 19.
[79] See, for example, Hopkins' psycho-analysis influenced identification of 'the darker side of Stoker's fiction, especially its obsessions with sex, gender, disease, and various forms of secret knowledge'. Hopkins, p. 21. For sustained discussion of this and other approaches scholars have taken to *Dracula*, see Chapter Five, 'The Anglo-Irish Insider: Bram Stoker and the Politics of Passing'.
[80] Maunder, p. 20.
[81] Quoted in Maunder, p. 20.

Irish and non-Irish identities. However, Stoker's displaced and Gothicized vampire protagonist also allows for a significant distance between reality as lived and reality as imaginatively reconstructed and through the mediations of the fictive form the text allows for a greater significance than merely the personal, thereby meeting Nalbantian's criteria for autobiography in fiction. In constructing his novel in this way, Stoker creates a narrative that speaks not only to his own concerns surrounding national identity as an Anglo-Irish writer but through this to the concerns of his class as a whole, and perhaps also attempts to somehow resolve or exorcise these concerns in the process. To return to Grubgeld for a moment, in her discussion of Anglo-Irish self-writing she maintains that 'these autobiographies attempt not only to memorialize but also reconsider and reshape their lives'.[82] It is the fusion of the experiential with the transformative powers of fiction, the intensely personal with the concerns of the collective, which constitutes the mode of what I here term 'imaginative autobiography'.[83]

Fiction as an autobiographical source is obviously of crucial importance to this project, but it is equally important at this juncture to clearly state the terms of such a positioning. Stoker's *Dracula* may be considered as an imaginative autobiography because of the close textual mirroring of author and protagonist on a number of fundamental levels, and also because the affinity between Stoker and his vampire is simultaneously distanced enough to allow the novel to function as art. Stoker's novel incorporates many of the key defining features of the autobiographical genre proper. It is primarily concerned with the story of a self, but a self that is in flux. Through its interrogation of the vampire's problematic identity, and also issues of stable designation in the novel at large, it addresses the conflicted national identity concerns of Stoker as an individual but also as the product of a conflicted collective. We have already seen that Stoker's articulation of broader inherited Anglo-Irish identity concerns must prove a key

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[82] Grubgeld, p. xx.
[83] I use the term 'imaginative autobiography' instead of Nalbantian's 'aesthetic autobiography' throughout this thesis because, due to the time and location I focus on, confusion with the principles of the aesthetic movement of *fin-de-siècle* London is possible. 'Fictional autobiography' is not used because I feel that in its linguistic construction, it detracts from the core of authenticity, of real lived experience that necessarily and fundamentally forms the essence of how I position Stoker's *Dracula*.

component of our analysis of *Dracula*, then, but not all Anglo-Irish narratives that explore such identity questions may be considered as imaginative autobiographies. As Anglo-Irish Gothic novelists, Charles Robert Maturin and Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu are important literary precursors for Stoker it is true. Their works authentically convey in a literary form the anxiety of the nineteenth-century Anglo-Irish national identity question in Ireland that will be the subject of Chapter Two, and in this sense their works do indeed comprise a valid writing of the national self, as for that matter, does Maria Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent*.[84] However, in their novels *Melmoth the Wanderer* or *Uncle Silas*, for example, we do not find the same textual paralleling between author and single character that forms such a cornerstone of our analysis of *Dracula*. They lack Marcus's key criterion of 'referentiality' between and individual life as lived and an individual story as narrated. The information that we have on Maturin and Le Fanu's individual lives does not encourage a personally biographical reading of their novels in the same way.[85] Neither, for that matter, are Stoker's other early novels imaginative autobiographies. Discussed in detail in Chapters Two and Three, the works written before *Dracula* represent a progression from their Anglo-Irish Gothic antecedents in that they do channel some aspects of Stoker's own personal life as lived. *The Snake's Pass* draws on much of the scenery that Stoker encountered on his travels around Ireland as a clerk of the Petty Sessions. *The Primrose Path* evokes the metropolitan gazings of a writer anticipating a

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[84] For a more detailed discussion of Maturin and Le Fanu within the tradition of Anglo-Irish Gothic writing, and the broader insights this can offer into national identity for the Anglo-Irish, see Chapter Two 'Stoker's Literary Inheritance: An Anglo-Irish Gothic'. For biographical information on Maturin, see 'Memoirs of Charles Robert Maturin', in C.R. Maturin, Melmoth the Wanderer (London: R. Bentley, 1892), Niilo Idman, Charles Robert Maturin: His Life and Works (London: Constable, 1923) and Dale Kramer, Charles Robert Maturin (New York: Twayne, 1973).

[85] *Sustained* textual identification between author and a single protagonist (or antagonist) is a key defining feature of what I term 'imaginative autobiography' and in the case of Maturin and Le Fanu's most famous novels, we do not find the same specific paralleling between author and any of the characters that we find in the tangible and sustained mirroring of Stoker's own experiences in the eponymous vampire of *Dracula*. It can be hard to establish which out of many characters would serve as either of these author's textual counterparts. For example, are we supposed to view the Wanderer as the evocation of Maturin's own self and if so, what about the large passages of the novel where he is absent? Moreover, where does the younger Melmoth fit in to this construction? In a similar manner, in a text that is entirely fragmented is it Silas or Austin (or both) that textually represent the reality of Le Fanu's experience? For biographical information relating to Le Fanu, see Gary William Crawford, *J. Sheridan Le Fanu; A Bio-Bibliography* (Westport: Greenwood, 1995) and W.J. McCormack, *Sheridan Le Fanu and Victorian Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).

move to London and all its opportunities. However, neither text encourages sustained identification between the protagonists (or antagonists) and author in the way that *Dracula* does. In both texts, a narrative distancing is at work.

The similarities between Stoker and his created vampire, then, constructed so as to reflect the core and abiding nature of the author's own fragmented national identity in Ireland but more importantly outside of it, form the basis of what this thesis is about. As imaginative autobiography, *Dracula* stands alone amongst the Stoker oeuvre as the vehicle through which Stoker variously recognises, refutes and reconciles himself to the aspects of himself that he finds the most troubling: that of his problematic national selfhood. He does so through the creation of a Gothicized yet equally fragmented self: the vampire Other, who manifests much of the same concerns about nationality as his creator. After all, here is the story of an eponymous but indeterminate figure who casts no reflection in the mirror, who must sleep in the soil of his native land whenever he ventures beyond it, and whose preoccupation with imbibing the blood of others 'always refers back to an anxiety about the lineaments of national identity, about the health and vigor of a race'.[86] When relaying the history of his native land to Jonathan Harker, Dracula makes much of his own national heritage: 'We Szekelys have a right to be proud, for in our veins flows the blood of many brave races' (p. 30), but it is a hybrid heritage composed of the intermixing of many different sources. The Count makes frequent reference here to the 'we of the Dracula blood' (p. 31), but the assured confidence apparent in this statement is shaken first of all by the knowledge that 'Dracula blood' may not be as reliable an indicator of a pure and exclusive race as it first appears given its diluted state as the result of the mingling of so 'many brave races', and also by the fact that Dracula's status as vampire divorces him from this, and any other dynasty of human descent, by virtue of his fundamentally alien and inanimate nature. Identity for this aristocratic Un-dead is problematic to say the least, something that can be traced back to the national anxieties of Stoker himself. Ultimately, the figure of author and the vampire count he engendered are so entwined in this regard, so paired in a symbiotic relationship of conflicted national selfhood, that the analysis of one necessarily and fundamentally impacts on the other. *Dracula*

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[86] Glover, p. 41.

survives as its author's masterpiece because it and it alone is the fictionalised account of a displaced and subverted Stoker himself and his own lived experiences as Anglo-Irishman and writer, particularly within the *fin-de-siècle* metropolis. It is an imaginative exercise in the art of autobiographical writing. It is an imaginative autobiography.

III

I have argued here that Bram Stoker's *Dracula* may be legitimately viewed as a sustained fictional rendering of Stoker's own experiences of conflicted national identity as an Anglo-Irish writer. The inherent textual paralleling between author and protagonist at the core of the novel demonstrates the intersection of this imaginative autobiography with the established criteria of traditional autobiographical narrative. Moreover, the instability of the autobiographical genre proper is reflected in the intrinsic instability of Stoker's own national positioning, underlining the genre's suitability as a vehicle through which to express authorial identity concerns. And finally, when it comes to narrating a life, the blurring between fact and fiction, between truth and creative embellishment in the stories that we tell about ourselves, mean that there are significant reasons behind positioning fiction in general, and this work of fiction in particular, as a legitimate biographical source for Stoker's own lived experiences of nationality. There is also here the aesthetic distancing that imaginative autobiography requires – the vampire Count at the core of the novel is a suitably Gothicized and displaced version of Stoker's own national self to allow the novel to transcend the merely personal and to function under the broader designation as art.

In an already saturated field, my interpretation of the text as imaginative autobiography is also one that engages with, but also builds on and progresses, the latest key developments in Stoker scholarship, as already discussed. Hopkins argues that 'in his fiction, Stoker was in fact writing his own literary life'.[87] Through this thesis' reading of *Dracula*, the use of Stoker's fiction as a source is of course especially privileged. And if the other notable feature of Stoker

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[87] Hopkins, p. 21.

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scholarship in recent years is the increasing understanding of the significance of Stoker's own nationality to readings of his work, then this forms an equally key component of reading the text as imaginative autobiography. *Dracula* informs on the man that wrote it in an illuminating but very specific way: it informs on his national identity. To this end, there are necessarily two levels to our reading of the text here at work. Because it uses Stoker's unstable national positioning as its keystone, any reading of *Dracula* as a work of autobiographical narrative must take into account the factors behind Stoker's national identity formation. The fact remains that Stoker's sense of self derives from two main sources: the initial influence of his upbringing and association as Anglo-Irishman within Ireland itself, and the subsequent enhancement of an already complex national designation brought about by his emigration to London, a sort of double displacement. The thesis therefore engages with the problems inherent in the national identity question for Stoker on two interrelated levels – the foundational and communal national identity question carried within the designation 'Anglo-Irish' and the added dimension Stoker's personal migration to London had on such an already fragmented base. If the concerns of this work are perceived to expand and contract, this is only because questions of national identity are invariably articulated in the space between the individual and the group, the self and the nation. We cannot do justice to an analysis of *Dracula* as fictional rendering of Stoker's own national preoccupations (and we know he had these – such is the centrality of the placing of self and nation in his work) without first exploring that broader side of his national formation as the product, the legacy, of a class that had such a long-standing engagement with such concerns. The question of whether Stoker himself was aware of such endeavours, whether he consciously intended them or whether they are manifestations of his subconscious and whether there is therefore a tension between claims that insist upon *Dracula* as the manifestation of Stoker's *own* conflicted sense of national selfhood as experienced and a broader more symptomatic interpretation of the novel as channelling Anglo-Irish national insecurities is one that raises itself here. As Lisa Hopkins argues:

> The central question for many critics and biographers is whether Stoker knew what he was doing. The range of opinion on this point is striking. At one extreme, Stoker's great-nephew Daniel Farson is completely

dismissive of the possibility that Stoker might have been aware of the implications of his own texts. At the other, Joseph Valente assumes total control and design on Stoker's part. [...] A more subtle view sees Stoker's novels as tapping in not only to the workings of their author's mind but also to an entire cultural moment [...] My own approach also seeks to register both the private roots and the public resonances of Stoker's work.'[88]

We cannot ever have a definitive answer to the question of Stoker's own intention in relation to positioning *Dracula* as the fictional rendering of his own national experience. All we can point to in this regard is the recurring appearance of the theme of national identity in his writing as evidence of an abiding preoccupation on the part of the author, and this is something we will see as our chapters progress. But in the manner of Hopkins' work, this thesis also seeks to 'register both the private roots and the public resonances' inherent in a reading of *Dracula* as imaginative autobiography. Bram Stoker and Bram Stoker's *Dracula* did not appear out of a vacuum. Both author and text carry the historical weight or freight of Stoker's community. The story of a life must be the culmination of its individual experiences but also its influences. The story of a national life, then, is not simply a matter of the individual but of the individual in and of the group, and I argue that it is this influence of communal positioning that must first be explored if any comprehensive reading of *Dracula* as fictional manifestation of Stoker's national self is to be achieved. To this end, this thesis positions Bram Stoker's *Dracula* as a covert and displaced writing of the authorial national self as Anglo-Irish émigré in late-nineteenth-century London but sustained and specific analysis of *Dracula* as a text does not feature until the last chapter in this work, and with good reason. If, as I have argued, *Dracula* functions as imaginative autobiography because of the *fusion* of Stoker's own national identification in Victorian London overlaid onto the inherited identity concerns of his class, then the formations of his national identity both as Anglo-Irishman in late-Victorian Ireland and later in London must first be explored. In order to study Stoker's own preoccupations with personal sense of national identity in the metropolitan setting, the contexts out of which these preoccupations are initially produced and later developed must first be examined, beginning with the

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[88] Hopkins, pp. 6-8.

beginnings of the Anglo-Irish experience in Ireland and the impact this has on Stoker's own class and professional formation.

With this in mind, Chapter One, 'Writing the Nation: The Anglo-Irish Ascendancy and the Question of National Identity', explores the establishment of the all-important national identity problem for the Anglo-Irish from the beginnings of their time of Ascendancy in Ireland in the seventeenth century to the era of their demise during the Victorian period and the contexts behind the creation of Stoker's initial sense of national identity in late nineteenth-century Dublin. Fundamental to any comprehensive discussion of Stoker and his *Dracula*, it asks such questions as why the Protestant Ascendancy as a collective had and continues to have in our period, such a conflicted and uneasy relationship with its own sense of national selfhood. Crucially for Stoker, it navigates the impact of such class-based anxieties on individual writers, examining the manner in which the literary output of this Anglo-Irish Ascendancy is so complicit in actively addressing this national identity question through the written word. Through the medium of Maria Edgeworth's seminal novel *Castle Rackrent* (1801), chosen precisely because of its self-proclaimed status as 'national tale', the core relationship between a conflicted national self and a class or communal literature, between fiction and a writing of the individual and collective national self is first interrogated. As such, it serves as the cornerstone to this thesis' investigations into Stoker and the beginning of a chronological line of analysis that begins in eighteenth-century Ireland and culminates in *Dracula* in London at the *fin-de-siècle*.

A common thread in *Dracula* criticism is to classify it as an invasion novel, as a text that successfully channels some of the most abiding concerns of late-nineteenth-century Britain through its masterful manipulation of fear: '[it] evoked an authentic sense of Christian dread, embodying in one elusive figure everything that shiny modernity was at risk of forgetting about its blood-soaked history'.[89] Chapter Two, 'Stoker's Literary Inheritance: An Anglo-Irish Gothic', examines the emergence of this particular genre of writing fear in nineteenth-century Ireland. To this end, it makes a special study of Anglo-Irish Gothic, interrogating the special relationship that exists between the Anglo-Irish national

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[89] Luckhurst, *Dracula*, p. vii.

identity concerns and a 'literature of terror', an evocation of the strange, the supernatural and the frightening through the works of Charles Robert Maturin's *Melmoth the Wanderer* (1820) and Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu's *Uncle Silas* (1864). It also analyses Stoker's own earlier novel, *The Snake's Pass* (1890) as a text that may be positioned within the Anglo-Irish Gothic tradition, engaging with questions of nation, place and the supernatural, and also anticipating the metropolitan focus of the next chapter.

This introduction has already discussed at length the fundamental importance of Stoker's move to London and its role in heightening and giving artistic impetus to his already conflicted sense of national self by constructing him as an émigré within the late-nineteenth-century capital. Chapter Three, 'The (Anglo-) Irishman in the Metropolis', therefore initiates a parallel shift of focus as our attention moves from the complexities of the domestic Irish situation for nationality in Protestant Ascendancy literature and with Stoker to London. Stoker's often-neglected first novel, *The Primrose Path* (1875), itself a fictional representation of an Irishman who leaves his home for a new life in London, provides the literary grounding for an analysis of the act of emigration and its impact on the construction and communication of the national self within a displaced national context and a diaspora culture. This chapter is particularly concerned with the negative connotations of 'Irishness' (and indeed Anglo-Irishness; outside of Ireland itself this distinction was often irrelevant) in the capital and the impact of this on Stoker's navigation of his national identity in London. The dominant focus of this section, however, and of particular resonance for the argument of this thesis as a whole is the often-neglected story of the middle-class, successful and largely invisible Irish emigrants living and working in the late-Victorian metropolis. Like Stoker and indeed Dracula, these 'assimilated Irish' were less easily assigned to any particular national identity. They trod a fine line between insider (by virtue of their class) and interloper (by virtue of their nationality), and thus their relationship to the negative national perceptions of Irishness in Britain already alluded to is a particularly complex and important one. As such, their experiences, their perception in local British culture and the impact of this on these Anglo-Irish own senses of national self,

crucial as this is to our reading of *Dracula*, comprise the main focus of this chapter.

Of course, a central strand of this thesis' argument is centred on the figure of the vampire and its literary construction by Stoker to reflect the realities of his own personal, cultural and national situation. Chapter Four, '"We of Dracula Blood": The Evolution of the Literary Vampire' therefore moves to explore the birth and evolution of the literary vampire in the nineteenth-century text from Byron and Polidori to James Malcolm Rymer and Rudyard Kipling. It asks what particular significance this literary figure might have for an Anglo-Irish writer like Stoker in his efforts to authentically convey the complexities of his national selfhood in imaginative autobiography. Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu's important forerunner to *Dracula*, 'Carmilla' (1872) is discussed at length, as is the *Punch* cartoon, 'The Irish Vampire'. Both text and visual representation are especially important in chronicling the changes the literary vampire underwent when placed within an Anglo-Irish context and have highly significant implications for *Dracula* and Stoker's own very specific later treatment of the vampire in his own novel. Finally, Stoker's short story 'Dracula's Guest' (1914) is flagged up as a linking narrative between 'Carmilla' and *Dracula*. Borrowing heavily from the conventions established by Le Fanu but in this also highlighting the marked differences in the more fully developed narrative of *Dracula*, 'Dracula's Guest' reinforces Stoker's connection to an inherited tradition of Anglo-Irish Gothic writing but also highlights the added influence of Stoker's individual experiences outside of Ireland and their influence on the construction of his vampire doppelganger.

The final two chapters of the thesis are exclusively focused on the Stoker/Dracula pairing. In Chapter Five, 'The Anglo-Irish Insider: Bram Stoker and the Politics of Passing', the issue of Stoker's national self, as seen by others and as self-narrated, takes pride of place. The author's own preoccupation with the theme of selfhood and how this is expressed in writing is discussed through analysis of his most famous work of non-fiction, *Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving*. This text, as much a revelation of Stoker himself as it is of Irving, demonstrates Stoker's own deep investment in the idea of attempting to chronicle the essence of a character through a literary medium. In this manner it

fundamentally paves the way for Chapter Six, 'An Anglo-Irish Dracula', and its sustained engagement with issues of national identity, as both a theme and an over-arching narrative and generic strategy in *Dracula*. Dracula as Stoker, Stoker as Dracula, through the theoretical discourses surrounding life-writing and autobiography, history and culture, the final chapter of this study looks to locate *Dracula* for the first time comprehensively as an imaginative autobiographical narrative. In doing so the chapter serves as a microcosm of the over-arching investigations of the thesis as a whole by advancing a reading of Stoker's novel that reveals the complexities of identity designation and national affiliation for this writer in particular but also the class that created him and it is to this class that our attention now turns.

Writing the Nation: The Anglo-Irish Ascendancy and the Question of National Identity

When *Dracula* recounts the history of Transylvania to Harker at the beginning of Stoker's novel, he makes much of the turbulent past of the region and the fearsome reputation of what he terms 'his' people:

> What devil or what witch was ever so great as Attila, whose blood is in these veins? He held up his arms. "Is it a wonder that we were a conquering race; that we were proud; that when the Magyar, the Lombard, the Avar, the Bulgar, or the Turk poured his thousands on our frontiers that we drove them back? [1]

In this narrative, the Count does not make any distinction between himself and his wider social group, proudly gesturing towards his own body when he describes the blood that flows in 'these veins', and through his assertion that 'we drove them back', emphatically identifying himself as part of the 'conquering race' that successfully spurned other tribes from its borders. Indeed, as Harker points out, 'In his speaking of things and people, and especially of battles, he spoke as if he had been present at them all' (p. 30). Granted, this is a clear possibility, given that immortality, or at least unnaturally prolonged life, is a feature of the vampire that he is later revealed to be. So too is bloodlust, although Dracula's exultation in warfare here is admittedly bloodlust of a slightly different kind. But there is, I think, more to the long description of conquest and resistance that Stoker provides us with than simply highlighting the Count's true age or the violent nature of his character. As Harker goes on to say:

> to a *boyar* the pride of his house and name is his own pride,[...] their glory is his glory, [...] their fate is his fate. Whenever he spoke of his house he always said "we", and spoke almost in the plural, like a king speaking. (p. 30)

It is only to be expected, then, that Dracula begins the narrative of his own history by identifying himself as part of a larger collective, speaking of 'we Szekelys' who '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.' (p. 30) As a *'boyar'* his

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[1] Bram Stoker, *Dracula*, ed. by Roger Luckhurst (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 30.

'fate' as an individual is here intertwined with and indistinguishable from that of his 'house'. At times it is not even clear if the Count is talking about himself or another of his family:

> This was a Dracula indeed! [...] Was it not this Dracula [...] who inspired that other of his race who in a later age again and again brought his forces over the great river into Turkeyland; who, when he was beaten back, came again and again, and again, though he had to come from the bloody field where his troops were being slaughtered, since he knew he alone could ultimately triumph? (p. 31)

In a sense, however, this does not matter. For even if the perpetrator of these acts of violent conquest was not actually the Count himself, for all Van Helsing's implications later in the novel that it was, such is the influence of the warlike race from which he is descended that his subsequent plans to colonise late-Victorian London are in many ways simply a continuation of a pattern of action inaugurated by the dynasty that he positions himself within, a perpetuation, as it were, of an inherited colonising impulse typical of 'a Dracula': "'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'" (p. 285). Viewed in this way, Harker's observation that 'This was the being I was helping to transfer to London, where, perhaps for centuries to come, he might amongst its teeming millions, satiate his lust for blood, and create a new and ever widening circle of semi-demons to batten on the helpless' (p. 51), illustrates the logical result of Dracula's heritage. The vampire's later revealed ambition to invade and overcome the city of London is clearly foreshadowed in the story he tells his guest of his and his nation's blood-soaked history.

There is little difference here in the Count's discourse between individual and communal actions, or even between the past and the present. In many key ways, the history of the group tangibly informs the current actions of the individual, not least in terms of racial or national positioning. For if, as discussed in the Introduction, questions of national identity or nationality are always articulated in the interaction between self and society, then it is hardly surprising that Dracula's self-figuring in the novel is firmly tied to that of his predecessors and to his place. As a work of imaginative autobiography, the text and its eponymous vampire thereby reflect Stoker's own engagement with his wider class and community and Stoker's own literary preoccupations with national

identity similarly carry the historical weight of wider Anglo-Irish concerns. Dracula, and *Dracula* for that matter, are both legacies of broader communal engagement with the definition and defence of national identity, both in actuality, as is the case of the Szekely armies striving to preserve their borders, and in ideology, as the Anglo-Irish (and thereby Stoker) struggle to identify their position within eighteenth and nineteenth-century Ireland and beyond. Just as the history of his powerful antecedents is of paramount importance to Dracula and impact profoundly on his self-perception as '*boyar*' in nineteenth-century Transylvania, the historical exploits of the Anglo-Irish necessarily influence Stoker's own sense of national self in, and later outside of, late-Victorian Ireland and the eventual manifestation of this fragmented national identification in *Dracula*.

As we saw in the Introduction, in his passionate relaying of the history of his native place, the Count makes frequent reference to the 'we of the Dracula blood' (p. 31). In its construction, such a declaration anticipates a very similar pronouncement made by Anglo-Irish poet William Butler Yeats before the Irish Senate in 1925. As part of a speech on the subject of divorce, Yeats proclaims, on behalf of his class, that:

> We are one of the great stocks of Europe. We are the people of Burke; we are the people of Grattan; we are the people of Swift, the people of Emmet, the people of Parnell. We have created the most of the modern literature of this country. We have created the best of its political intelligence.[2]

The 'we' that Yeats is here referring to is a highly significant one. In the poet's estimation it has contributed much to the intellectual and political life of the Irish nation and deserves recognition for this. In his view, 'most of the modern literature of this country' owes a great deal to the pens of the likes of Edmund Burke, Jonathan Swift, and presumably Yeats himself, whilst 'the best of its political intelligence' is attributable to such individuals as Henry Grattan, Robert Emmet and Charles Stewart Parnell amongst others. When speaking of his own and Stoker's class in this way, Yeats could also have profitably mentioned such figures as Maria Edgeworth, Sydney Owenson, Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu,

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[2] Quoted in Alexander Norman Jeffares, *A New Commentary on the Poetry of W.B. Yeats* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984), p. 222.

Edward Carson, Oscar Wilde, and George Bernhard Shaw. Indeed, the wider influence of this Anglican settler class, transplanted into Ireland in the aftermath of the Williamite Wars of the late-seventeenth century to repossess the lands of the displaced Catholic gentry who had supported the defeated James II, wholly defies its ostensibly minority status.[3] During its period of Ascendancy, for example, this Anglo-Irish community established a largely self-sustaining parliament in Dublin, especially after 1782 when it won a greater degree of autonomy from London, thereby consolidating a system of power and patronage for the elite who sat there.[4] The presence of this parliament assured Dublin's status as a fashionable and dynamic urban centre, which, with its magnificent Georgian architecture and lively social season, took its place as one of the foremost cities of the British Empire in the eighteenth century.[5] And even after this heyday of political and social dominance, Anglo-Irish writers and thinkers, politicians and legislators continued to loom large on the Irish and international landscape, making their mark militarily, politically, socially and culturally both inside and outside of Ireland itself.[6] Yeats is well within his rights to champion the numerous accomplishments of this (and his) particular social collective and to position himself a part of it.

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[3] These incomers, who hailed largely from England and Scotland and were considered loyal to the new King William by virtue of a shared religious interest, were transplanted to Ireland to repossess the lands of those displaced Catholic gentry who had overwhelmingly supported the defeated James II in the conflict, and to help to quell the insurgency of the indigenous population. Essentially functioning as caretaker rulers for the British monarchy in Ireland since that point, the plantation of these settlers into strategic positions of power and influence in the late 1600s formed the main thrust of devolved British imperial policy towards Ireland over the next hundred years or so, a trend that continued until the changing political and cultural climate of the nineteenth century brought about the end of Anglo-Irish supremacy and re-established direct British involvement in Irish affairs.

[4] For a brief but informative discussion of the 1782 Repeal of Act for Securing Dependence of Ireland Act or Poyning's Law, and its implications such as what would eventually consolidate into the undertaker system or, 'a succession of local power brokers who in the eighteenth century undertook to manage the business of government in the Irish parliament. In return undertakers expected to be consulted regarding policy and to receive a substantial share in patronage at government's disposal, using this, along with their personal influence, to deliver the required parliamentary majorities,' see *The Oxford Companion to Irish History*, ed. by S.J. Connolly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 453 and pp. 481-82, and David Hayton, *Ruling Ireland: 1645-1742: Politics, Politicians and Parties* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), p. 106.

[5] See *Two Capitals: London and Dublin, 1500-1840*, ed. by Peter Clark and Raymond Gillespie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) for essays on the cultural and social life of Dublin during the eighteenth century.

[6] See *Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. by Kevin Kenny (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) for a discussion of the strong relationship between the Anglo-Irish in Ireland and the imperial mission elsewhere, as well as some sustained discussion on the problematic positioning of Ireland within the British Empire, especially Chapter Four, 'The Irish in the Empire', and Chapter Seven, 'Ireland, the Empire and the Commonwealth'.

And yet, for all his protestations of the indispensable role played by the Anglo-Irish in the forging of a modern Irish state and beyond, as is the case with the 'we of Dracula blood' in Stoker's novel, a certain insecurity undermines the poet's assertions here. For just as 'Dracula blood' may not be as reliable an indicator of a pure and exclusive race as it first appears given its diluted state as the result of the mingling of so 'many brave races', and also by the fact that Dracula's status as vampire divorces him from this, and any other dynasty of human descent, by virtue of his fundamentally alien and inanimate nature, the Anglo-Irish as described here by Yeats are a community also marked by an inherent ambiguity. It is striking that beyond the label of a 'people', the poet offers no further indication of whom he is here speaking, and yet amongst whom he emphatically and almost paradoxically counts himself. There is, after all, a marked tension between the lack of any clear designation on the one hand, to signal who Yeats is discussing, and a simultaneous and somewhat contradictory desire to still affiliate himself, and others, with so amorphous a social grouping. Indeed, looking to the speech in its entirety it is important to note that Yeats speaks only of 'a minority of this nation' throughout, proclaiming himself proud to be 'a typical man' of this group but yet, as before, never stating explicitly who this minority is.[7] The fact that Yeats never here gives a name to the class he so commends, or calls it a class, or indeed anything else at all, may seem a somewhat minor point, lost amidst the energetic championing of many attainments. Words are surely not necessary when there are actions here to speak for them. But this difficulty of designation, this *lack of words* to appropriately describe a national and thereby social, political, cultural, and even religious identity, is a telling one. Indeed, it underlines the portion of Yeats' address quoted here in particular and is also fundamental to any broader discussion of those that may be called the Anglo-Irish in general because of what it draws our attention to; namely, the intense difficulties that historically contextualise the process of Anglo-Irish national self-construction. Returning to Stoker's novel, at the close of his tale of familial and national history, Dracula states that "'The warlike days are over. Blood is too precious a thing in these days of dishonourable peace; and the glories of the great races are as a tale that is told.'"

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[7] The full speech may be found at:
http://www.oireachtas.ie/parliament/education/historicaldebatesandspeeches/.

(p. 31). It would seem that the Count is the last of 'Dracula blood' left and that the exploits of his ancestors are now only known through the stories he may tell others of them. The 'tale' that Dracula tells of his place and people communicates the 'glories' of his race to be sure but his words also point to decline, to loss, to an erosion of national and thereby individual identity. For Yeats here, but for the Anglo-Irish in general, and of course for Stoker as a product of this conflicted class, language is thus highly significant.

'The English in Ireland', 'the Anglican elite', 'the Protestant interest', 'the gentlemen of Ireland', 'the Protestant Ascendancy', these are just some of the various terms used both historically and in contemporary scholarly discourse to describe the class that will be primarily referred to in this work as the Anglo-Irish.[8] The above terms are used freely and interchangeably in modern studies but the manner in which contemporary scholarship has thus far failed to arrive at an incontrovertible definition for this set of settler rulers stands for more than mere academic convention I think. In fact, the difficulty in arriving at a satisfactory designation is indicative of the way in which the Anglo-Irish themselves struggled so profoundly with the question of their own self-classification. For all of its apparently successful integration and intervention in domestic Irish affairs, the story of this Protestant colonising class is a far from straightforward one when even the most basic matter of an appellation is riddled with complexity, with absence. Ultimately, the sheer plethora of possible designations available to us to describe and define these Anglo-Irish, far from clarifying their position, only serves to emphasize the intrinsic uncertainty attached to them as a group, the ambiguity surrounding the national self *behind* the name. For if the Anglo-Irish were deeply conflicted about how to term themselves this is only because they ultimately constituted a social collective

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[8] I am sensible of the hypocrisy that may be inferred by my drawing such attention to the difficulties in designation for this group and then going on to adopt one single term for it, seemingly without issue, in my own work. I do feel, however, that in order to talk about the Anglo-Irish in any detail at all we must call them something and it seems to me that the label of 'Anglo-Irish' is a particularly apt and useful one, given the twin poles of insecurity that this collective struggled to define itself against. On a similar note, in this chapter, and indeed the thesis as a whole, I often refer to the Anglo-Irish as a class. This is partly because this is now accepted terminology within the scholarly field but also because, as my later discussion of the Penal Laws makes clear, economic and material considerations played a large part in how the Anglo-Irish thought of themselves and how they distanced themselves from both native Irish and eventually, English interests.

plagued by an inability to satisfactorily answer the question of who or what it was.

It is with the Anglo-Irish, then, that this first chapter therefore concerns itself with. The story of this class and its history in Ireland in many ways lays the foundations on which the rest of this thesis is built. For just as Stoker's vampiric doppelganger, Dracula's, sense of self is intimately bound up in the past achievements of his race, Stoker's own complex national affiliation and its manifestation in *Dracula* is similarly firstly rooted in the history of his class and its own long-standing difficulties in national identity designation. The manner in which the Count is introduced, or rather introduces himself, in the text, positions *Dracula* as a novel that explicitly engages with the influence of the communal on the individual, the collective past on the personal present. And just as Stoker equips the reader with a history of his vampire's native land and people to prefigure his subsequent actions, this work similarly seeks to explore the conditions that coalesced to create Stoker firstly as an Anglo-Irishman in Victorian Dublin, integral as this formation is to later analysis of Stoker as Anglo-Irish émigré in *fin-de-siècle* London and *Dracula* as the fictional manifestation of these experiences. Any reading of *Dracula* as imaginative autobiography must therefore engage with the history of the Anglo-Irish identity question in Ireland, and especially with its formation over the course of the eighteenth century for such is the influence of this period in which the Anglo-Irish truly were the Protestant Ascendancy on Stoker's own national identity formation in the nineteenth century.

Since the beginning of their time in Ireland, and especially throughout the 1700s, the Anglo-Irish actively shuttled between the adoption of either the Anglo or the Irish aspects of their own national self-construction without ever really finding a satisfactory resolution to the continually problematic question of their own national affiliations. This chapter therefore begins by tracing this vacillation and assessing what obstacles prevented the eventual adoption of a stable national designation for this group up to the beginning of the nineteenth century and the watershed moment of the Act of Union. The possible designations of 'Irish' and 'English' are each explored in detail and with the rejection of both terms as satisfactory single definitions for this community the historical formation of the hybrid Anglo-Irish class that Stoker is later born into in the 1840s is hereby

narrated. Moreover, through this enquiry into the signifiers of Irish and English, what each national label connotes and precludes in the period, this section also investigates the privileged position of words and language already alluded to within the Anglo-Irish search for stable national selfhood. We have seen that the mere act of naming oneself expands to the most profound and unsettling questions of what constitutes a national selfhood, how it is constructed, recognised, and finally labelled and thereby communicated – key questions for a reading of *Dracula* as the literary rendering of Stoker's own conflicted nationhood. The second section of this chapter therefore concentrates on this pairing of language and life, investigating the beginnings of interdependent relationship between text and Anglo-Irish nationality. Touching on such topics as Anglo-Irish antiquarianism and the desire of Ascendancy scholars to actively *write* their way into Irish history, to claim a sense of national selfhood through words, this section goes on to discuss Anglo-Irish literature proper through a sustained analysis of Maria Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent* (1801). Chosen because of its intimate engagement with Union, a turning-point for Anglo-Irish national identity and, in many respects, the end of Anglo-Irish 'ascendancy' in Ireland, *Castle Rackrent* is exemplary of a tradition of Anglo-Irish identity writing, a tradition that Stoker's *Dracula* forms a part of, draws on, and ultimately develops into something new. As such, a detailed investigation of the ways in which this text manifests the Anglo-Irish identity question in literary form is a key base for the rest of this thesis' explorations. Finally, from such broadly significant discussions of formative national constructions in eighteenth-century Ireland and the role that literature plays in this process, the final section returns to focus specifically on Stoker. Drawing together the different strands of this chapter, the last section emphasises the influence of the discussions here on the author's own formation as Anglo-Irishman later in nineteenth-century Dublin, a key foundation to the thesis' later work on Stoker, and indeed *Dracula* and Dracula, in London.

I

In the immediate aftermath of their installation in Ireland in the late seventeenth century, the Anglo-Irish may have sought to mark themselves *as* 'the

English in Ireland', but they were equally concerned with positioning themselves as *against* the native, displaced population, as well as other Protestant dissenters such as members of the Presbyterian Church. Indeed, the early years of Anglican ascendancy in Ireland can be characterised by a tendency to reject rather than appropriate identity designations. This is especially true of any that would ally them with the native population for the difficulties for the Anglo-Irish in terming themselves as 'Irish' in this period were ideologically immense. For the newly instated Anglo-Irish settler community in this period, 'Irishness' signified both popery and primitivism. The native Gael, as well as being Catholic and therefore superstitious and idolatrous, was also seen to be inherently uncivilised, irrational and prone to violent uprisings. [9] Intrinsically linked in Anglo-Irish perceptions of the indigenous population, both of these defining national traits were regarded as equally undesirable and to be vigorously guarded against.

The main difference between the Anglo-Irish settlers and the local Irish was religion, and religion, in the absence of any obviously differentiating racial signifier between colonisers and colonised, became the deciding mark of ethnicity and identity for the Anglo-Irish elite as they constructed their sense of nationality in Ireland over the period of their dominance and beyond. As Seamus Deane argues, 'it is perhaps stating the obvious to say that competing nationalisms [in Ireland] have always defined themselves in relation to either Protestantism or Catholicism. Every attempt to refuse that definition – by the United Irishmen in the late eighteenth century, by the trade union movement in the late twentieth century – has been defeated by ruthless and concerted efforts.' [10] Indeed, the matter of divergent religious beliefs became a vehicle through which the local Gaelic population was constructed as Other in eighteenth-century Ireland, for, as Roy Foster states, 'varieties of identification certainly took religious labels, but as often as not the religious identification was

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[9] Ever since the propaganda wars of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, religious stereotyping was common amongst both Protestant and Catholic communities. For a broader discussion of negative perceptions of Catholicism in the Protestant community at large in this period, see Colin Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in eighteenth-century England, c. 1714-80, a political and social study* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), and Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, 3rd rev. edn (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009) especially Chapter 1 'Protestants'.

[10] Seamus Deane in the Introduction to *Nationalism, Colonialism and Literature*, edited by Terry Eagleton, Frederic Jameson and Edward Said (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), p.8.

simply a flag for a whole range of attitudes and values.'[11] Religion for the Anglo-Irish in this period went far beyond a simple question of theological doctrine; it had profound implications for self-fashioning in history and self-conception. As W.J. McCormack is quick to point out, 'Irish Protestants [...] are identified with the children of Israel: the Williamite settlement is the promised land'. [12] Akin to the manner in which settlers in the United States subscribed to the notion of manifest destiny and the divinely ordained justification for their presence in a new territory, the Anglo-Irish belief in their right to their place and status in eighteenth-century Ireland that McCormack here refers to is one that is specifically rooted in the theological construction of Protestantism itself. If, then, as Ian McBride states in his essay, 'The common name of Irishman', the 'anti-Catholicism of the ascendancy was sharpened by the close proximity and numerical strength' of this "other"', then it is a prejudice born out of a fear that the displaced Catholic gentry would find a way to reclaim their lands through an alliance with the hostile Catholic powers of Spain and France, who would come to the aid of the indigenous Irish effort'.[13] After all, 'the Irish included a large number who were alienated to some degree by reason of their religion and who had a history of collusion with continental foes.'[14]

By virtue of their opposed faith and significant numerical supremacy, these Catholic Irish remained a continuous source of threat to the insecure authority of the newly-arrived settler regime. To this end, in order to protect their interests in a land where they were outnumbered and thereby culturally and religiously alien, the Anglo-Irish as a newly-landed and thereby powerful class, enacted what came to be known as the Penal Laws, a series of legislative measures designed to keep this Catholic majority safely disempowered, in both material and ideological terms. All avenues to power and patronage were to be closed off to the local Catholic population, as well as to non-Anglican Protestants

[11] R.F. Foster, *The Irish Story: Telling Tales and Making it Up in Ireland* (London: Allen Lane, 2001), p. 38. Such attitudes survive far beyond the confines of the eighteenth century and are still in evidence especially in the North of Ireland today, where religious affiliation still functions to a certain extent as shorthand for political persuasion and national identification.
[12] McCormack, *From Burke to Beckett*, p. 170.
[13] Ian McBride, 'The common name of Irishman' in *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c. 1650-c.1850*, ed. by Tony Claydon and Ian McBride (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 236-64 (p. 236).
[14] W.J. McCormack, *From Burke to Beckett: Ascendancy, Tradition and Betrayal in Literary History* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1994), p. 52.

through these measures. The Disenfranchising Act of 1727 dictated that Catholics could not vote or play any part in the political system of Ireland while various other laws prevented Catholics from bequeathing their lands to their families, stipulated the permissible extent of Catholic material wealth and blocked access to the professions, educational advancement, the army and the judiciary.[15]

While the actual effect of the Penal system on Irish Catholics of the eighteenth century has recently come in for scholarly scrutiny by those revisionists who argue that despite the prohibitive nature of the laws passed, their eventual repeal over that time period, coupled with the possibility that they were not as universally enforced as may have previously been believed, must surely lessen their importance in both Irish and Anglo-Irish history. However, we need to be careful here not to underestimate the ideological impact of this type of legislation all the same. McCormack argues that 'a new recognition of the success of many Catholics in business and trade, and a less than absolute application of the law in matters of civil manners and so forth, is timely', but he also goes on to say that 'it remains undenied that Catholics were excluded from every kind of direct political representation and office'.[16] Such a controlled and systematic persecution of certain sectors of the population on religious grounds cannot and should not be ignored, even if the tangible effect of the Penal Laws has been at times overstated – for his part, Seamus Deane refers to the passing of the Penal Laws as 'organized degradation'.[17] But neither can the theoretical environment out of which the directives came into being in the first place be glossed over.

The enacting of the Penal Laws is irrefutable evidence of a prevailing anxiety within the ascendant Anglo-Irish community in the earlier part of their tenure in Ireland regarding the Catholic and thereby native Irish population as it was perceived by their eyes. In order to safeguard its positions of power and privilege this class put in place a series of measures in which it clearly differentiated the interests and identities of itself from those towards whom the

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[15] Other notable Penal Laws included a ban on Catholics attending university or travelling abroad to be educated. For a concise introduction to the concept of the Penal or anti-Popery Laws, see *Anglo-Irish Identities 1571-1845*, ed. by David A. Valone and Jill Marie Bradbury (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2008), 15, or see Connolly, p. 462.
[16] McCormack, *From Burke to Beckett*, p. 51.
[17] Seamus Deane, *A Short History of Irish Literature* (London: Hutchinson, 1986), p. 30.

measures were specifically aimed. It may be valid to argue that not all Catholics were actively or wholly discriminated against or, indeed, that not all Anglo-Irish were ascendant; that for many non-landowning Protestants in eighteenth-century Ireland their economic situation was on par or inferior to many of their Catholic counterparts regardless of legislation. This is undoubtedly true. It is also true to say that not all Anglo-Irish positions in relation to the native population were the same, that at times, the labelling of a class can give an exaggerated sense of unity and conformity of belief and obscure nuance or divergence of position. However, simply by sheer virtue of religious affiliation and more importantly, the benefits this affiliation guaranteed, these Anglican Protestants were still considered, and considered themselves, to be part of a social group that despite any internal differences emphatically distanced itself from and elevated itself above the native Gael. Aside from actual material circumstances, a hegemonic belief system was engendered with the passing of the Penal Laws. If in a society, one section of the population is elevated above another and furthermore, this privileging is enshrined in law and effects tangible everyday things such as the opportunity to access material wealth, or education or a career, then this has an undeniable influence. It has to. For, as Benedict Anderson argues, 'Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined.'[18] The Anglo-Irish as a diverse social grouping in which not all members were on a par, still *felt* themselves to be removed and apart from the majority of the local population, by virtue of their religious belief and their heritage. Whether this had any bearing in what may be termed an objective reality, it is nonetheless what matters.

And yet, religion was not the only reason for an Anglo-Irish 'Othering' of the native population in the early 1700s. As previously mentioned, the rhetoric of barbarism also held great sway in Hanoverian Ireland and, as Toby Barnard makes plain, 'The label 'Irish' conjured the backwardness [and] incivility [...] from which Protestants in Ireland violently disassociated themselves.'[19] If 'Irish' was shorthand for Catholic idolatry, it also suggested primitivism, and racial,

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[18] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), p. 15.

[19] Toby Barnard, 'Protestantism, ethnicity and Irish identities, 1660-1760', in *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c. 1650-c.1850*, ed. by Tony Claydon and Ian McBride (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 206-35 (p. 208).

intellectual, and often moral, inferiority. Such perceptions were widespread outside of Ireland itself, drawing as they did on long-established tropes. For example, when discussing the traditional dress of the native Irishman almost a hundred years before, fellow coloniser Edmund Spenser wrote from his estate near Youghal, Co. Cork, that the Gaelic mantle was 'a fit house for an outlaw, a meet bed for a rebel, and an apt cloak for a thief'.[20] As strongly as the Anglo-Irish elite sought to control and contain Catholicism, then, it sought to refute any accusations of atavism or 'going native' with equal fervour, or as Foster terms it, 'the sensitivity of a marginalized element in British society towards being stereotyped as stupid, feckless and idle-a stereotyping that had been very prominent, and often noted, since the first colonial interactions between Britain and Ireland'.[21] Foster's comments here point to a deep anxiety on the part of the Anglo-Irish class to distance itself from the negative stereotype of the Celt but what is most interesting about his assertions is the manner in which they also allude to the source of such anxiety: Britain. For if the Anglo-Irish in Ireland had some measure of difficulty in identifying themselves Irish as Irish was commonly understood for these very reasons, others outside of Ireland encountered no such problems. Barnard again asserts that, 'whatever Irish Protestants contended, increasingly their behaviour deviated from English norms. As a result, within England the notion of an Irishness at variance with English interests, previously associated with the aboriginal Irish and Catholic Old English, attached to the English Protestants in Ireland',[22] or, to put it another way, as David A. Valone and Jill Bradbury contend in their recent introduction to *Anglo-Irish Identities, 1571-1845*, 'In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Anglo-Irish most commonly styled themselves "the English in Ireland". Outside of Ireland, though, they were simply "the Irish" regardless of descent', something that created not a little resentment amongst the Anglo-Irish.[23] Therefore, the role of Britain and British attitudes and perceptions is also of crucial importance to the formation of the Anglo-Irish national self in this period. Responsible for the undesirable external conflation of Anglo-Irish and Irish

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[20] Edmund Spenser quoted in James Olney, *Memory & Narrative: The Weave of Life-Writing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 379.
[21] R. F. Foster, *Paddy & Mr Punch, Connections in Irish and English History* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1993), p. 171.
[22] Barnard, 'Protestantism, ethnicity and Irish identities', p. 212.
[23] Valone and Bradbury, p. 12.

national selves, Britain also itself represented a potential national positioning that was equally unsatisfactory to Anglo-Irish interests.

If outsider, and particularly English attitudes, tended to designate the Anglo-Irish as simply 'Irish', something that would have been an anathema to their own conceptions given the implications of the term in the popular imagination, then as the eighteenth century progressed, it is important to note that the designation of 'English' also started to lose its appeal for this settler class. Various economic and political crises in Irish/British relations such as the Woollen Acts of 1699 or Wood's Halfpence Crisis in 1722 only served to reinforce the feeling that Anglo-Irish and English interests during the 1700s were divergent, and becoming more so all the while.[24] Valone and Bradbury argue that the Anglo-Irish constituted 'a large population who viewed themselves primarily as English, but wrestled with its legal, economic and social subordination to England'.[25] I would rewrite this to say that the Anglo-Irish may have indeed initially primarily viewed themselves as English (or Scottish) but as their time in Ireland increased, they began to feel somewhat at odds with English interests and subsequently the designation of Englishman in general.[26] The English parliament frequently took measures to interfere; as such action was perceived, in the domestic and economic affairs in Ireland, something that was rarely in accordance with Anglo-Irish wishes. Jonathan Swift's acerbic views on the matter in his *Drapier's Letters* (1735) are especially illuminating here:

> I have looked over all the English and Irish Statutes, without finding any Law that makes Ireland depend upon England; any more than England doth upon Ireland. We have indeed obliged ourselves to have the same King with them; and consequently they are obliged to have the same King

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[24] S.J. Connolly defines the Wood's Halfpence Controversy of 1722-5 as, 'a campaign against the patent to mint £100,800 worth of copper coin for Ireland acquired by William Wood, a Wolverhampton manufacturer. Opponents argued that the patent, allegedly purchased from George I's mistress, the duchess of Kendal, would flood Ireland with worthless coin', and the Woollen Act of 1699 as, 'an act of the English parliament banning the export of woollen goods Ireland to any destination other than England, where they faced prohibitive import duties.' Because of their negative effects on the Irish economy, both measures were perceived within Ireland as proof of an undesirable English involvement in Irish affairs and helped to broaden the distance between the Dublin and London over the course of the eighteenth century. Connolly, p. 628 and p. 630.

[25] Valone and Bradbury, p. 11.

[26] I largely use the term 'English' rather than 'British' here, and throughout the thesis as a whole, because of the particular significance the label has within an Irish context and to Irish writers. As Roy Foster puts it, '"England" carries a historical charge, an implication of attempted cultural dominance, an assertion of power, which is not conveyed to an Irish ear by "Britain"'. Foster, *Paddy & Mr Punch*, p. xii.

with us. For the law was made by our own Parliament; and our Ancestors then were not such Fools (whatever they were in the preceding Reign) to bring themselves under I know not what Dependence, which is now talked of, without any Ground of Law, Reason or common Sense.[27]

There arises, then, a situation in which the Anglo-Irish at the latter end of the eighteenth-century in Ireland felt as removed from the designation of English as they did from the stereotypical constructions of Irishness. Various economic disagreements with the parliament in Westminster, to which Dublin still had to grudgingly acknowledge some form of authority, had highlighted to the Anglo-Irish the ideological as well as geographical gap that had sprung up between them and their place and people of origin. 'The English in Ireland' was no longer an appropriate name for a class that felt itself to be anything but. As Seamus Deane argues:

> the Anglo-Irish insisted on their distinctness as a people with a unique destiny in a country close but profoundly different from England. Their politics, their literature and their philosophy achieved a remarkable prominence because of the high tension generated by the paradoxes of their position and the sense of insecurity that haunted it.[28]

The story of the Anglo-Irish identity question in eighteenth-century Ireland is deeply complex and intricate and as such I have, with the restrictions of space, only been able to provide a brief overview here. However, the key movement or fluctuation of this caste between the designations of non-Irish, English and non-English have, I hope, been made sufficiently clear, for it is this vacillation between fixed categorisations of self, the instability of national positioning, that will prove so important for Stoker in Victorian Anglo-Ireland and beyond. To this end, there is a final fluctuation in the identity question to consider as we move towards the close of the eighteenth-century for there is increasing evidence in this period to suggest that the Anglo-Irish were, at this point, becoming more invested in the idea of an Irish identity than may have been the case on first arrival. To examine the historian F.S.L. Lyons' assessment of the Anglo-Irish, for example, is to find a very different picture emerging from that which has hitherto been seen, as he terms them a 'type still too little noticed by historians-the man or woman in whom love of place transcended divisions

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[27] Jonathan Swift, *A Modest Proposal and Other Writings*, ed. by Carol Fabricant (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2009), p. 174.
[28] Deane, p. 36.

based on origins, religion or politics'.[29] Foster supports this assertion by arguing that by this juncture, the Anglo-Irish 'had their own psychological identification with Ireland'.[30] The reasons he puts forward for such a shift in attitude are themselves illuminating: 'for the Protestant Ascendancy, their monopoly of state religion and parliamentary representation allowed them to describe themselves as "the Irish nation".'[31] By the closing years of the eighteenth-century, the Anglo-Irish parliament was functioning largely independently of Westminster, the Anglican faith was the official state religion and as such the Anglo-Irish position in Ireland seemed a secure and prosperous one. In such an environment of domestic prosperity, coupled with the belief that English interference in Ireland was undesirable if not actively damaging, it is unsurprising that patriotism or a 'new awareness of Irishness' amongst the Ascendancy began to flourish.[32] Manifestations of this 'commitment to the defence of Irish interests' amongst the eighteenth-century Anglo-Irish took many forms.[33] The founding of the United Irishmen were in Belfast in 1791 with the aim of instigating parliamentary reform and removing English control from Irish affairs was a key political expression of such 'colonial nationalism'.[34] More importantly for our purposes, events like 'the establishment of the Royal Irish Academy' gave Anglo-Irish nationalism a cultural, historical and aesthetic dimension that is fundamental to the work of this thesis as a whole and needs to be explored at greater length.

It is clear, then, that by the close of the 1700s, a new sense of Irishness needed to be found, claimed and named. An English identity that discounted the developing Anglo-Irish connection to the Ireland in which they had become established was not a viable proposition. But neither was the already established identity of the Catholic native who should always remain as disenfranchised, disempowered Other. The Penal Laws show, leaving aside for the moment the question of their actual effect, that for the Anglo-Irish there was a lack of a

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[29] Quoted in Foster, *Paddy & Mr Punch*, p. 30
[30] Ibid, p. 26.
[31] Ibid, p. 89.
[32] Connolly, p. 457.
[33] Ibid.
[34] For a discussion of the usefulness of the term 'colonial nationalism' in relation to the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy, see Scott Brewster, *Ireland in Proximity: History, Gender, Space* (London: Routledge, 2000). He writes, 'While the colonial adjective has now been almost unanimously rejected, many commentators are content to retain the term nationalism to describe the ideology of the eighteenth-century Protestant nation', (p. 31).

sustained sense of commonality with the characteristics of the local people as constructed. As Lesa Ní Mhunghaile illustrates:

> As the Anglo-Irish community became increasingly aware that the term "barbarous Irish", once reserved for the Gaelic Irish only, now also referred to them, it became imperative to challenge this slur. Strategies employed by writers to contest this negative image included constructing an alternative identity by rewriting their history and subverting the identity imposed by England.[35]

The emphasis that Ní Mhunghaile places here on writing as a tool by which to challenge or indeed re-write established identity constructions is a key one. By the close of the eighteenth century, this self-styled Anglo-Irish elite, in ideology if not always in actuality, that found itself equally opposed by the twin threats of the disinherited Catholic population who sought to reclaim their lands and rights and also the authoritarian English parliament at Westminster, strove to construct a new sense of national self. Always defined against the Other, be he the dispossessed Catholic native or the removed and superior Englishman, the drive towards a new and secure kind of Irish identity for the Anglo-Irish, and the manner in which this new identity was to be communicated, was therefore of paramount importance. For it is often through language and increasingly through the written word, that these difficulties in self-construction are at once explored and interrogated. As Paul John Eakin states, 'It is through language and the development of imagination in language that man achieves the self-reflexive dimension of consciousness that distinguishes his mental life from the conscious experience of other animals.'[36]

II

The very act of giving something a name carries a weight of significance far greater than may at first appear. If, 'Language is a weapon, dissemblance, seduction, apologia', then writing, or the shaping of language, has a hugely significant power, in making or breaking a stable sense of national self as much

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[35] Lesa Ní Mhunghaile, 'Anglo-Irish Antiquarianism and the Transformation of Irish Identity, 1750-1800', in *Anglo-Irish Identities 1571-1845*, ed. by David A. Valone and Jill Bradbury (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2008), pp. 181-98, (p. 184).

[36] Paul John Eakin, *Fictions in Autobiography: Studies in the Art of Self-Invention* (New Jersey: Princeton, 1985), p. 193.

as anything else.[37] Terry Eagleton argues in his study *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger*, that the very term Ascendancy, coined to describe the Anglo-Irish elite in the 1790s 'is a text all in itself, shot through with tensions and ambiguities. Shuttling between an upper and lower case, it can suggest a social group, a political set-up or a spiritual condition. As a speech act it hesitates between constative and performative asserting into existence the very situation it describes'.[38] After all, the term 'Protestant Ascendancy' is one that explicitly references the question of religious denomination and allies it with social mobility. It communicates a racial and spiritual superiority all the while emphasising how these feed into a tangible material advantage. In the act of mastery over the written word, then, there is a powerful action and as Clare O'Halloran makes plain in her book *Golden Ages and Barbarous Nations*, the process of writing is often the vehicle through which the Anglo-Irish tried to assert some claim over an Irish identity in this period, albeit a complicated and compromised Irish identity at that.[39] O'Halloran discusses the ways in which throughout the eighteenth century and spurred on by a growing sense of affiliation with the land they now found themselves in, the Anglo-Irish attempted to actively write themselves into the history of Ireland itself by appropriating local myths and origin stories as their own, something that Foster is also quick to underline:

> As elsewhere in Europe, those most enthused by the process were rarely themselves of the "indigenous folk"; as so often in Irish history, they were largely the Anglo-Irish middle classes [...] antiquarianism reacted with the discovery of folk tradition and the Ossianic cult to produce history-writing which attempted to use evidence in place of hearsay, and to present a history of the land and its various peoples.[40]

The antiquarian revival of the late 1700s and the key interest taken in ancient Irish manuscripts by such figures as Charles O'Connor and Sylvester O'Halloran is another manifestation of this mindset for, 'Protestant and Catholic antiquaries were driven by similar needs to produce works which would validate the rights of their respective religious communities, whether in terms of religious

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[37] Terry Eagleton, *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger* (London: Verso Books, 1995), p. 171.
[38] Ibid, p. 34.
[39] Clare O'Halloran, *Golden Ages and Barbarous Nations: Antiquarian Debate and Cultural Politics in Ireland, c. 1750-1800* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2004).
[40] Foster, *Paddy & Mr Punch*, p. 3.

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toleration for Catholics, or a growing sense of identity with the land of their birth among Protestant descendants of earlier colonists'.[41] In this movement there is an attempt to actively affiliate the Anglo-Irish community with a version of the Irish past whilst also rehabilitating the Irish national character given that it now was seen to include its newest Protestant arrivals: 'the overall impression was to show early Ireland as bright with culture, not dark with barbarism. The Celt was no longer considered congenitally addicted to massacre; the methods of conquest employed by England in Ireland were generally deprecated.'[42] In this context, the writing of history becomes a means of creating and appropriating a sense of national selfhood, while state of the nation tracts such as Swift's *Drapier's Letters* and his *Modest Proposal* (1729), in which the author advocates the eating of Irish children to resolve the country's food shortages, as well as novels by authors such as Edgeworth and Owenson, show literature as a valid means by which to shed light on the Anglo-Irish elite and their concerns through their writings and engagement with the written text.[43]

Texts can operate as both distancing tools from a local population that was denied intellectual as well as material rights and rebuttals to any charge of barbarism or primitivism levelled at the Anglo-Irish by an English audience. Julia Swindells draws our attention to textual expression as a desirable mode of communication for the significant reason that a style of oral communication could be negatively associated with pre-literate and therefore, by implication, uncivilised cultures. She goes on to say that 'the relationship between oracy and literacy is an issue in all cultures. The questions then are about who controls that relationship, and who takes responsibility for it, and for what purpose.'[44] For a culturally indeterminate class like the Anglo-Irish, struggling to construct a new and tailored sense of national self in eighteenth-century Ireland, the need to achieve a control over the written word is therefore obvious. As Homi K. Bhabha asserts, 'it is the space of intervention emerging in the cultural interstices that

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[41] O' Halloran, p. 7.

[42] Foster, *Paddy & Mr Punch*, p. 5

[43] Sydney Owenson or Lady Morgan's *The Wild Irish Girl: A National Tale* (1806) is another fictive engagement with national identity in this period. It features the mutually beneficial marriage of the wild Irish girl of the title Glorvina, to an Englishman Henry Mortimer in an allegorical representation of the benefits of the Act of Union. Maria Edgeworth, *Castle Rackrent* and Sydney Owenson (Lady Morgan), *The Wild Irish Girl: Two Irish National Tales*, edited by James M. Smith (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005).

[44] Julia Swindells, ed., *The Uses of Autobiography* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1995), p. 8.

introduces creative invention into existence [...] there is a return to *the performance of identity as iteration*, the re-creation of the self in the world'.[45] The act of iterating an identity, of writing and the medium of the text thereby takes on a highly-charged significance in the figuring of the national self in eighteenth-century Ireland. Joep Leerssen sums it up succinctly when he states: 'If [Anglo-] Irish authors are almost invariably read under the aspect of their 'Irishness', this is partly the result of their own preoccupations.'[46] In our period, the study of literature is not an optional extra to the more prosaic historical studies of the foundations and permutations of Anglo-Ireland. On the contrary, it is *through* Anglo-Irish writing that the most engaging discussions of national identity construction in this period is to be found.

To this end, this chapter has thus far been insistent in emphasising that words have a very particular significance in the Anglo-Irish context: words describe reality but they also play their part in constituting it by what Stuart Hall calls the politics of positioning.[47] To illustrate this point, Foster is quick to draw our attention here to the power of language in the foundations of the Irish Free State in the early part of the twentieth century, for

> Words like "Dáil" and "Cathaoirleach" helped obscure the fact that these terms meant "parliament" and "speaker" in an obstinately two-party system. The necessity to speak Irish in order to get a job in the Civil Service concealed the fact that it represented an independent mandarin officialdom in the Whitehall tradition.[48]

It has already been discussed, then, how labels or names are highly significant in creating and taking ownership of the set of ideas they describe, the most important of which is undoubtedly national and therefore social, cultural and personal identity. Therefore, the 'we' that Yeats seems to present so assuredly at the beginning of this chapter in fact represents a profoundly insecure class of individuals who seemed incapable of satisfactorily naming or defining their own national position, however they might want to, and who were intensely sensitive of being named and defined by others. To study the Anglo-Irish identity question

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[45] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 9. My emphasis.
[46] Joep Leerssen, *Forging the Smithy: National Representation in Anglo-Irish Literary History* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995), p. 1.
[47] Stuart Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora' in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. by Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990), pp. 222-37 (p. 226).
[48] Foster, *Paddy & Mr Punch*, p. 93.

in the eighteenth century is to study the writing produced by this society and to acknowledge and address the questions of national identity that unavoidably leak onto the pages of Anglo-Irish literature. It constitutes therefore, a true writing of the preoccupations of national selfhood, a crucial precursor to the example of imaginative autobiography that will later be established in *Dracula*.

There is a certain kind of symmetry to the manner in which, in keeping with the difficulties contemporary scholarship has in pinning the Anglo-Irish down, Julian Moynahan appropriates and then rejects numerous potential classifications in his quest to give the body of literature produced by this class a satisfactory working definition.[49] For Moynahan, Anglo-Irish literature is not simply 'Irish writings in English', nor can it be straightforwardly called the 'body of writings in English produced by English settlers and their descendants' in Ireland.[50] He finally settles on the assertion that:

> Anglo-Irish literature is the writing produced by that ascendant minority in Ireland, largely but not entirely English in point of origin, that tended to be Protestant and overwhelmingly loyal to the English crown, and had its power and privileges secured by the English civil and military presence.[51]

And yet, as is the case with broader designations of the class that produced this literature, even within this carefully constructed explanation, there is room for uncertainty and ambiguity. Moynahan's statement is not without its problems, not least for its simplistic estimation of the Anglo-Irish relationship with England and English authority. Of course, he also effectively glosses over the Anglo-Irish relationship to Ireland and to questions of Irishness in his statement, something that needs to be addressed because it contrasts so sharply with the Yeatsian 'we' encountered at the beginning of this chapter and the obvious belief on the part of the poet of the investment in the literature and politics, in the social and cultural life of 'this country', of Ireland, on the part of his class. In his attempt to define the literature produced by the Anglo-Irish in the seventeen and eighteen hundreds, Moynahan here makes no mention of how that class actually saw themselves in relation to the country they lived in, how they figured their own self-definitions in this regard, if they felt any sense of an Irish identity at all and moreover, what

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[49] Julian Moynahan, *Anglo-Irish: The Literary Imagination in a Hyphenated Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).
[50] Ibid, pp. 3-4.
[51] Ibid, p. 4.

this must mean for the body of literature this class produced. Moynahan's definition here instead places the Anglo-Irish and their writing in a vacuum, something that, as already seen, removes vital motivations from the exercise of national identity making and any literature this may, and did, produce. And yet, despite its inadequacies, Moynahan's construction of the Anglo-Irish condition is an important one because of the manner in which he chooses to present his argument. By explicitly couching his study in the literature produced by this class, Moynahan gives a scholarly attention to what has already been seen to be a key arena for Anglo-Irish self-construction.[52] And yet, while a number of recent scholarly investigations have profitably melded historical and literary approaches in this area, there is still much more work to be done in order to fully explore the workings of Anglo-Irish self-construction through literature and especially fiction in this sphere.

The Introduction has already engaged with the manner in which life-writing can function as an important vehicle for articulating and in some cases, imaginatively resolving certain conflicted realities for those that write. As Liam Harte writes:

> I regard much of this material as a form of resistance writing through which culturally disempowered and displaced subjects seek to become known [...] agents taking charge of their own representation – a case of the written off attempting to write themselves back into social and cultural history, if you will.[53]

The literature produced by the Anglo-Irish, especially towards the end of the eighteenth century, may be viewed as this type of life-writing for it provides an invaluable insight into the cultural, political and social condition of the class that produced it. As Patrick Ward argues:

> Underpinning the discussion is the belief that all cultural artefacts and those constructed in language particularly, are the products of specific histories and that forms of feeling, association, expression and representation are always related explicitly and/or implicitly to the circumstances that pertained at the time of their production. It follows

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[52] Moynahan is not alone in his approach. See also Luke Gibbons, *Edmund Burke and Ireland: Aesthetics, Politics and the Colonial Sublime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), Bryan Fanning, *The Quest for Modern Ireland: The Battle of Ideas, 1912-1986* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2008) and Nicholas Allen, *Modernism, Ireland and Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), for examples of recent predominantly historical studies on Ireland that utilise a literary approach.

[53] *The Literature of the Irish in Britain: Autobiography and Memoir, 1725-2001*, ed. by Liam Harte (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. xxii.

then that while writers may inherit, borrow from, and modify themes and forms in the literary and critical tradition, they are never immune from the discourses and the material circumstances which prevail at the time they are writing.[54]

In this spirit, this chapter must now turn to what is widely regarded to be one of the most important and illuminating texts on the essence of the Anglo-Irish condition in the late-eighteenth century: Maria Edgeworth's novel, *Castle Rackrent*.

III

Castle Rackrent was published in 1800, complete with the subtitle of 'A Hibernian Tale'. Its most immediate historical context was the soon to be enacted Act of Union: that piece of legislation that formally and legally united Britain and Ireland to form the United Kingdom in January of 1801 and was to have a profound effect on the already complex Anglo-Irish national identity question as negotiated in the eighteenth century. Indeed, in many ways, Union inaugurated the beginning of the end of the Anglo-Irish as an ascendant class in Ireland, foreshadowing the further decline of the status of this caste over the course of the nineteenth century that will be the focus of our next chapter. The Act was to neuter any independent political power hitherto held by the Anglo-Irish and abolish their parliament in Dublin, obliging MPs to travel instead to London to represent their individual constituencies and drastically altering the power relationships previously enjoyed by these peers. Of course, Union was also to change the relationship between the Anglo-Irish and the new sense of Irishness they had sought to inhabit in the late eighteenth century by removing much of the economic and social security that had allowed such an identification to take place. Dublin's standing as a city, without a parliament at its centre to provide status, was relegated to the level of a provincial town, 'reduced to echoing, cavernous, half-abandoned public buildings and streetscapes', something that would play a key role in Stoker's own move to the metropolis over fifty years later.[55] As Kreilkamp writes, 'The movement of Ireland's locus of economic and political power to London [...] meant that not only ruling-class landlords but also authors

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[54] Patrick Ward, *Exile, Emigration and Irish Writing* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2002), p. 2
[55] Foster, *Paddy & Mr Punch*, p. 26.

and readers were drawn to the metropolitan centre rather than the colonial periphery.'[56] It is unsurprising, therefore, that even though it predates Union by a year this novel has been primarily studied in the shadow of the undeniably seismic shift in the political landscape of early-nineteenth-century Anglo-Ireland that it engendered. As a narrative that seeks to explore the state of the (Anglo-Irish) nation, how Anglo-Irish national identity was to be constructed and maintained or otherwise in the rapidly changing world of Edgeworth and her class, *Rackrent* has been termed a 'national tale'.[57] To this end, Seamus Deane calls it 'a philosophic fable' indicating what he believes to be the novel's didactic undertones that aim 'to persuade a disbelieving audience of the truth of Irish conditions', and this is certainly borne out by Edgeworth's use of colloquialisms, dialect and allusions to traditional Irish customs'.[58] It is a novel about identity in an Irish context, national and thereby personal, for as we have seen, in (Anglo-) Ireland, the two are often inextricably fused. Furthermore, it is a meditation on how identities are constructed and either maintained or destroyed by periods of great change. In this manner, the novel also functions as this study's earliest example of a tradition of Anglo-Irish life-writing through the medium of fiction.

Castle Rackrent does not function in the same way as *Dracula* does but it does undoubtedly take its place in the textual progression of nineteenth-century Anglo-Irish literature that led to that book. It does not fictively channel the personal life experiences of Edgeworth as that text does of Stoker (although the Edgeworths were Anglo-Irish landlords like the Rackrents figured here). As such

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[56] Vera Kreilkamp, *The Anglo-Irish Novel and the Big House* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1998), p. 4.

[57] Vera Kreilkamp in her Introduction to the New Riverside edition of Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent* and Morgan's *The Wild Irish Girl* explicitly identifies both texts as 'national tales', (p. 1), a point somewhat disputed by Ina Ferris in *The Romantic Tale and the Question of Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), who argues that 'a national tale is not simply a fiction that takes national matters or manners for its subject.' Rather, it is 'a fiction that locates itself in a contentious zone of discourse in order to articulate the grievances of a small people' (p. 50). In this sense, Ferris positions Morgan's novel as a national tale but not Edgeworth's. However, judging by Ferris' criteria, it seems that in its articulation of national identity anxiety for the minority Anglo-Irish, Edgeworth's Rackrent is indeed bound up in 'the grievances of a small people'. Furthermore, if we turn to Eve Eisenberg's essay, 'Jewishness, Irishness and Othering in *Castle Rackent*' in *Irish Women Writers: New Critical Perspectives*, edited by Elke D'Hoker, Raphael Ingelbien and Hedwig Schwall (Bern: Peter Lang, 2011), we find further discussion of the validity of designating Rackrent as national tale, albeit a slightly different one to Ferris' model: 'Castle Rackrent has itself displaced the national and even ethnic and religious identities of its characters so that it seems to fall outside of Ferris's generic definition of the national tale, while working allegorically and metonymically to reproduce the effects of a national tale.' (p. 157).

[58] Deane, p. 91.

it is not an imaginative autobiography. However, it writes the self in the sense that it conveys the volatile state of the Anglo-Irish national identity question on the cusp of the nineteenth century. And for the way it expresses and explores the landscape of turn-of-the century Anglo Ireland and transforms its contemporary instability and anxiety regarding national identity after Union into a narrative of familial discord, dispossession and ruin, it stands as an important predecessor for the imaginative autobiography of Stoker almost a century later. The instability of identity is therefore a key preoccupation. Cliona Ó Gallchoir argues that 'Castle Rackrent takes huge, and successful, risks by bringing readers face to face with the difficulty of establishing a reliable point of view', a point that is further emphasised by Eve Eisenberg, who states 'that there is a great deal of "disorientation", "displacement" and de-centering [sic] of "personal and national being"' in the novel.[59] And if difficulties in identity construction are to the fore of this novel, then it makes sense to turn firstly to the most obvious example of this in the text – Edgeworth's characterisation. For nowhere, is this problematic ambivalence more apparent than in the central character of the narrator, the enigmatic Thady Quirk.

From the very beginning, 'Poor Thady' establishes himself as a deeply problematic storyteller. The question of whether he is genuine in his professions is one that has long engaged critics of Edgeworth's text and their differing and multiple positions have of course substantially influenced their subsequent readings of the entire novel and any over-arching purpose enclosed within.[60]. After all, 'Thady's stated purpose is to tell his story "out of friendship for the family" and the reader of course derives much pleasure from seeing this purpose subverted' although whether this is 'intentionally or unintentionally' is never made clear.[61] Thady is inherently ambiguous. He is presented in the text as illiterate. But if Thady is unable to read or write then why does he possess a book of ballads that Sir Condy mistakes as a Bible to swear an oath on (p. 51)? Throughout the text he tells us that he habitually keeps an eye out for news of Sir Condy in the press when he is Dublin for parliamentary sittings (p. 61) and yet to

[59] Ó Gallchoir, p. 65 and Eisenberg, p. 157.
[60] For a concise and useful summary of the differing critical views on Thady Quirk and his role within the narrative, see Alexander G. Gonzalez, *Irish Women Writers: An A-to-Z guide* (Westport: Greenwood, 2006), pp. 112-14.
[61] Ibid.

trust the Editorial voice on Thady's limitations would mean that he would not be able to read a newspaper and would have no reason for procuring one with his master from home. At one point, Thady is asked by Sir Condy to observe his signature of an undisclosed document. He recounts:

> I was just witnessing the paper that he had scrawled over, and was shaking the ink out of my pen upon the carpet [...] "That will do very well, Thady," says he to me, and took the paper I had signed to, without knowing what upon the earth it might be, out of my hands, and walked, folding it up, to my lady (p. 65).

Of course, it may be that Thady was simply marking the document rather than writing his own name, or it may be that the ability to write his name marks the sum total of Thady's literary abilities, that the capacity to commit his whole tale to paper independently is beyond him. We do not know because the narrative never tells us. However, when combined with the earlier examples of Thady scanning the press for news of 'the family' or in his carrying around a book with him in his leisure time, it seems the reader should at the very least question the Editor's assertion that 'poor Thady' is quite as ignorant as he appears (p. 29) or instead that 'honest Thady' (p. 30) has not been as truthful about his aptitude as he protests. His apparent naiveté and wilful ignorance of the Rackent family's numerous and blatant flaws is so insistent as to render it unbelievable, especially when his testimony is so effective at communicating these flaws to everybody else. The very fact that it is Thady's son, Jason Quirk, who manages to finally dispossess the Rackrent family and claim their estate as his own leads us to wonder about the degree of Thady's complicity in the plot, despite his energetic condemnation of Jason's actions. It is through Thady, after all, that the reader is obliged to view the rise and fall of various members of the Rackrent family. It is Thady that, in many ways, controls and defines Rackrent identity as it is constructed (and deconstructed) in the text. It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that the characters he presents us with are as unstable and elusive as Thady himself.

The first of the Rackrent line, Sir Patrick, is described to the reader as the very epitome of a benevolent, feudal landowner. In the manner of a Shakespearian monarch, the bountiful nature of this lord and retainer filters down for the benefit of all his labouring tenants: 'On coming into the estate, he gave the finest entertainment ever was heard of in the country-not a man could stand after supper but Sir Patrick himself' (p. 32). Through Thady's insistent

assertions, the reader hears that the people of the area mourn Sir Patrick's passing with great sorrow and that he was a popular and much-loved figure in the locality. His funeral is apparently as well-attended an event as has ever been seen in the district:

> all the gentlemen in the three counties were at it-far and near, how they flocked-my great grandfather said, that to see all the women even in their red cloaks, you would have taken them for the army drawn out.-Then such a fine whillaluh! You might have heard it to the finest end of the county, and happy the man who could get but a sight of the hearse! (p. 33)

And yet, Sir Patrick is clearly also a drunkard and a spendthrift. Thady details how 'he could sit out the best man in Ireland, let alone the three kingdoms itself' (p. 32). He spends the vast majority of his brief time in the narrative intoxicated and playing the amiable host to the detriment of both his health and his pocket. The very funeral that seems to testify to Sir Patrick's integrity is interrupted by bailiffs looking to seize the body in lieu of unpaid debts. In this light, his generosity is transformed into foolish excess and the loyalty of his so-called followers may instead be perceived as an astute move on the part of a peasantry out for what it could get from its inebriated landlord. In this character there is the fusion of diametrically opposed elements. Sir Patrick exists both as benevolent patriarch and disgraced defaulter. There is no indication, at any point in the narrative, as to which version we are to accept as truth. Instead, as is the case with our broader discussions of Anglo-Irish identity in this period, it is the fluctuation or movement between both constructions of selfhood that provides this story of a dissolute line of landed gentry with its authenticity, with its ability to fictively capture the uncertainty of the Anglo-Irish national identity question at the turn of the nineteenth century.

To this end, Sir Patrick's heir, Sir Murtagh, is also characterised by duality and instability. On initial appearances, he and his wife run the Rackrent property in a directly opposed manner to that of the late, apparently great Sir Patrick. Seemingly more sensibly aware of the limitations of their resources, they do not attempt to replicate Sir Patrick's legendary hospitality: 'the cellars were never filled after his death – and the open house – or anything as it used to be – the tenants were even sent away without their whiskey' (p. 33). However, this veneer of prudent estate management is all the time undermined by Thady's

emphasis, unwittingly or no, on the actively penny-pinching nature of Sir Murtagh and his lady. The children that are taught 'gratis' on the estate are 'kept well to spinning gratis for my lady in return' (p. 34). Sir Murtagh deliberately keeps his tenant's fences in disrepair so he can sue them when their animals wander onto his grounds. The manner in which Lady Rackrent keeps the household fed so cheaply is not so much attributable to her excellent domestic management skills as to the 'donations' of eggs, butter, fowl, honey etc. from the tenantry, who 'with fear of driving for rent and Sir Murtagh's lawsuits, they were kept in such good order, they never thought of coming near Castle Rackrent without a present of something or other' (p. 34). And, of course, the insistence of Lady Murtagh that all the servants observe strict fasting for the good of their eternal souls means that dinners need not be provided on holy days, although this does have the unfortunate side-effect of fainting maids in the drawing room (p. 34). On the whole, Sir Murtagh's style of governance is summed up thus: 'he was always driving and driving, and pounding and pounding, and canting and canting, and replevying and replevying' (p. 35). For all outward appearances this Rackrent, hardly seems to be any more a model landlord, or stable character, than Sir Patrick was. Sir Murtagh's heir is his nephew, Sir Kit, and like his predecessors, with a fusion of apparently desirable qualities and actually undesirable outcomes his core identity is forever in flux. Unlike Sir Murtagh he is not a miser and unlike Sir Patrick he is not a drunk. In fact, he is young, handsome and charming but he is also an absentee landlord with little or no interest in his estate or his tenants outside of the financial gains they afford him. He actively encourages the process of rackrenting – that is, of raising rents exponentially and often to fund his lifestyle at the gaming tables of Bath and London. No more an ideal husband than an ideal landowner, Sir Kit marries a wealthy heiress for money and when his wife will not part with her jewels to pay his gambling debts he has her locked up in the house where she remains a prisoner until his death. The last Rackrent of the story is Sir Condy Rackrent, who, in keeping with the dual aspect of all of the characters thus far, turns out to be the most sympathetic of the line but also the Rackrent that effectively ends his family's tenure on the estate. He is both the most appealing (and Thady's favourite, whatever that may signify) and the most inept. It is Sir Condy after all, who signs over the Rackrent estate to Jason for a fraction of its worth because he

cannot extricate himself from a financial situation of his own making. His own actions are the cause of his and his family's ultimate demise.

The ambiguity attached to the identities of Thady, Jason, who treads the line between enterprising and ambitious and conniving and cruel, and the Rackrents themselves all testify to the novel's manifestation of anxieties surrounding Anglo-Irish identity in anticipation of Union. Our sympathies are torn between empathising with the pathetic and destitute Sir Condy for being duped by his agent and our belief that such an outcome is justice, given the unsuitability of the Rackrents to manage their lands in the first place. As Deane has it, Edgeworth's novel wishes to 'demonstrate that the Irish needed justice and responsible government' and Jason Quirk's apparent callousness is a direct result of the Rackrent mismanagement of the situation.[62] The Rackrents function in the narrative as both persecuted victims and oppressors who get what they deserve. Their identity as characters within the text, like their real-life Anglo-Irish counterparts, is constantly in flux. Because of the instability of Thady's narrative, the only constant with the Rackrents, or indeed anyone else, is ironically their essential duality and internalised contradiction, their lack of any stable construction of selfhood at all. Indeed, the text presents numerous other unresolved issues. The question of why Sir Kit's apparently Jewish wife wears a diamond cross about her neck, for example, is never questioned, much less explained (p. 42), although Eisenberg argues convincingly that the Jewishness of Sir Kit's wife has more to do with manifesting the ambivalence of Union than making narrative sense. She writes: 'The polysemic Jew of Edgeworth's novel becomes the embodiment of liminality, polyvalence and the anxieties that accompany transitory states.'[63]

While these various characters of Edgeworth's story invite such in-depth analysis as they have received above because in their duality they reflect the insecurity of the Anglo-Irish national identity question at the turn of the century, they are not the only aspect of the text to channel such concerns. The eponymous Castle Rackrent exhibits much of the same duality as the characters that live within its walls, indeed almost functioning as a character in its own right. As a structure it is a highly complex component of the narrative and stands at the very

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[62] Deane, p. 93.
[63] Eisenberg, p. 154.

heart of the novel. It is the most sought-after commodity in the story, and it symbolises acquisition, power and the desire for a stable and permanent national selfhood.

Land and the wealth it signified in late eighteenth-century Ireland communicated status, permanence of place, and of course, identity. As readable as texts, the great houses of the Anglo-Irish gentry were, after all, a way of actively rooting oneself into the land or nation in a definitive way, a way of physically staking a claim to the Irish land and identity that the Anglo-Irishman sought to possess. Like the artificial and somewhat anachronistic attempts of some Ascendancy academics to write themselves and their class into pre-Christian Irish history, to view their arrival in Ireland as the natural next in the line of incursions laid down in the ancient Irish Book of Invasions, the *Leabhar Gabhála*, the building of a Big House or the appropriation and modification of an existing Irish dwelling was an attempt by the marginalised ruling class to physically put down its roots alongside the foundations, as it were. These buildings stood 'for an evident need on the Ascendancy's part not only to lay claim to land recently won, but also to convince themselves that they would remain.'[64] The Big House was a show of strength, a segregating tool that signified power, patronage and Protestantism, for as Foster argues, 'One way of understanding the ethos of the Protestant Ascendancy is through their architecture. It is epitomized in the creation of a deliberately grand imperial city, as well as in the stylish, plain, small Georgian houses scattered through rural Ireland.'[65]

Reflective of the fluctuation of national positioning over the course of the eighteenth century as already outlined, the Anglo-Irish Big Houses were often an incongruous combination of defensive structure complete with thick walls, elevated position and sometimes even a moat, to guard against hostile locals, and beautiful Georgian buildings designed to be as sophisticated as possible and to refute those deeply troubling English claims that the Anglo-Irish were becoming as barbaric and backward as their Catholic neighbours. As Toby Barnard argues in *Making the Grand Figure: Lives and Possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770*, 'In Ireland, from the mid-seventeenth century, money was linked intimately with

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[64] Foster, *Paddy & Mr Punch*, p. 216.
[65] Ibid.

confession and – more hazily-with ethnicity'.[66] To this end, when told that Sir Patrick changes the family name from O'Shaughlin to Rackrent at the beginning of the tale, the reader is not simply being narrated an incidental biographical event but witnessing this process of 'confession' in action (p. 31). The implication, inherent in such a name change and glaringly obvious to a contemporary reader, is that Sir Patrick in adopting a new name is also converting from Roman Catholicism to Protestantism to claim the Rackrent lands, in response to the oppressive measures imposed on the native Catholic population by the Penal Laws. Land was the single most important commodity in eighteenth-century Ireland because it symbolised more than anything else the avenue to power, patronage and the ascendancy of a family and a class. A large part of the Anglo-Irish elite's success in restricting the power of the native Catholic majority, and differentiating itself from this Other was to separate it from and deny it access to its lands, and thereby money and material possessions. We have already seen that under the terms of the Penal Laws, Catholics could not inherit land: the Popery Act stated Catholic properties must be equally subdivided amongst all sons, except if a son converted to Protestantism, in which case he would inherit the entire estate and this, of course, is what Sir Patrick Rackrent does at the beginning of the text. In this manner, the haves and have-nots in eighteenth-century Irish society were clearly marked off along the lines of Protestant and Catholic, settler and native, thereby giving land and material possession a decisive role in Anglo-Irish national identity construction. Or put slightly differently: 'the prevalence of poverty debarred a larger proportion of people than in neighbouring lands from the highly variegated worlds of goods. This affected Protestants and Catholics alike, but the latter predominated among the impecunious. Lives stripped of material possessions were readily equated with backwardness, even with barbarism'.[67] Lives stripped of material possessions thereby designated ethnicity. And given the charged significance of land and physical wealth in Ireland in this period and moreover, its role in constructions of national selfhood, it is hardly surprising that Castle Rackrent

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[66] Toby Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure: Lives and Possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), p. xix.
[67] Ibid, p. xxii.

itself, the manor house of this landed estate, takes centre stage in what may be regarded as Edgeworth's quintessential state-of-the-nation narrative.

And yet Castle Rackrent is more than merely a setting or a goal to strive after in this text, even a highly significant setting at that. As is the case with the individual characters in the story, doubling and duality are also present in the very structure of this Big House itself. Indeed, the manor is, to all intents and purposes, as much a character in this respect as Sir Condy or Sir Kit, as Thady or Jason Quirk. Castle Rackrent embodies within itself a dual identity, encompassing diametrically opposed ideologies simultaneously within its walls. In this narrative it purports to be many disparate things. Indeed, its very name is a contradiction in terms. A castle denotes stability – a fortified structure designed to withstand attack and to maintain its integrity under siege. As a house, this structure should first of all represent security and fortification from external threat. The castle element of its name is no accident for many houses of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy more resembled fortress-like structures than grand and sophisticated residences, especially in isolated, rural areas far from the protection offered by centralised government in Dublin and the surrounding Pale. The Anglo-Irish Big House, like the 'castle' appellation of Castle Rackrent, functioned as a clear and dividing line between its owners and the perceived dangers of the outside world. And yet, this outside world does infiltrate the Rackrent manor repeatedly in the text. The local Irish tenantry manage to infiltrate its walls with ease. Sir Patrick entertains the locals within his own home and at his own expense, Sir Condy almost marries Judy Quirk but for the flip of a coin, foreshadowing the ease with which the native Irish manage to penetrate and repossess the house permanently at the end of the story when Jason becomes its lord and master. Castle Rackrent is therefore a permeable structure, even more so when Sir Condy's economic woes mean that the roof leaks and broken windows are never repaired (60). And, as already mentioned, its very name undermines its position for while 'castle' suggests security, permanence and continuity, the phrase 'rackrent' or the process of 'rackrenting' which means raising rents exponentially and often, and of which many eighteenth-century Anglo-Irish landlords stood accused, actively forced many individuals *out* of their homes. The house does not stand in good repair by the end of the novel:

> There was then a great silence in Castle Rackrent, and I went moping from room to room, hearing the doors clap for want of right locks, and the wind through the broken windows, that the glazier never would come to mend, and the rain coming through the roof and best ceilings all over the house for want of the slater, whose bill was not paid; besides our having no slates or shingles for that part of the old building which was shingled, and burnt when the chimney took fire, and had been open to the weather ever since. (60)

Crucially, Castle Rackrent's degeneration into a ruin parallels the degeneration of the Rackrent line (it should be noted here that none of the Rackrent's marriages produce children), and leads into a darker, more pessimistic atmosphere which is ultimately the defining feature of the narrative as a whole. The name of the house, and the title of the novel come to that, is an oxymoron and is highlighted by the impermanence of the Rackrents, the discontinuity of their line and the passage of their property not from Sir Condy to his son, for crucially he has no heirs, but to Jason. To this end, Kreilkamp draws a parallel between the increasingly isolated and insecure Anglo-Irish class at the close of the eighteenth century and the signifying function of their houses by writing of 'Anglo-Ireland's isolation and homelessness, of an unravelling culture that existed, finally, without purpose and power'.[68]

The fall of the land-owning Rackrents is paralleled by the simultaneous rise of the Catholic peasantry. By the close of the narrative, the Rackrents are left without a house, an heir, or even a decent funeral. It is striking to compare Sir Patrick's lavish wake with the pauper's burial of Sir Condy. Let us compare too, the shift in relations between Sir Condy and Judy Quirk, who was once truly keen to marry him because of his wealth and elevated position. The end of the story however finds her not remotely interested in a man without property, material wealth or even the means of telling his own family's story. The power of language in the Anglo-Irish national identity question is as potent as ever here. It has already been noted that this role falls to Thady. As the mouthpiece of the story, it is through his idiomatic Irish vernacular speech that the story of the Rackrents is remembered, recorded and conveyed to an audience at all. And yet, the inherent unreliability of his character, both as a textual construction and more importantly, as a narrator, underpins the unease and anxiety about this new

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[68] Kreilkamp, p. 11.

relationship, about the interplay and power dynamic shift between the Irish and the Anglo-Irish in the post Union period.

To this end, the Preface of *Castle Rackrent* is characterised by the interplay between Thady and the editorial voice, and especially a need to establish control on the part of the Editor, who is ostensibly taking down what the 'illiterate' Thady says, ordering it and changing it to fit the written medium and presenting it to a readership as a written text that actively undermines the trustworthiness of its own narrator. There is a sense that the native Irishness of the story must in some way be modified, changed and re-shaped, that the reader must find in the Catholic peasant Thady, an incapable (Irish) storyteller whose very words must be changed and in some cases translated by the knowledgeable and competent (Anglo-Irish) Editor into a modified version of an Irish identity, a device that may be read as a textual parallel to Anglo-Irish attempts to appropriate a new type of Irish identity and mould it to reflect their own distinct sense of themselves:

> Those who were acquainted with the manners of a certain class of the gentry of Ireland some years ago, will want no evidence of the truth of honest Thady's narrative: to those who are totally unacquainted with Ireland, the following Memoirs will perhaps be scarcely intelligible, or probably they may appear perfectly incredible. For the information of the ignorant English reader a few notes have been subjoined by the editor (29)

The reader is therefore encouraged to trust the Editor/author voice instead, speaking as it is from the viewpoint of Edgeworth and her class. Mary Jean Corbett writes that

> Edgeworth's linguistic project can be understood, then, as an attempt to create an alternative to this hegemonic discourse [...] in presenting herself as an acute reader and demystifier of the aristocratic language, the editor attempts to win our assent to her own way, which she defines not only against linguistic sophistication but also against the 'illiteracy' of Thady Quirk.[69]

It may seem somewhat odd that there would be so much conflict and opposition between the editor's voice, which is often taken as Edgeworth's own mouthpiece, and that of a character of her own creation but as Corbett goes on to say:

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[69] Mary Jean Corbett, 'Another Tale to Tell: Postcolonial Theory and the case of *Castle Rackrent*', in *Two Irish National Tales*, edited by James M. Smith (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2004), pp. 391-407 (p. 394).

the Irish Thady Quirk – a fictitious, poor, aged retainer who provides the intimate biography of "the family" – clearly has no name at all until his English author endows him with one; whatever authority he may possess he receives at her hands [...] And through the editor, Edgeworth ingeniously and deliberately undercuts Thady's authority as teller of the tale in the hope of securing her own.[70]

The Preface to this text, and the text as a whole, may be viewed, then, as a way of Othering the Irish Catholic narrator, dispensing with the version of Irishness that he is commonly perceived to represent-rural, ignorant, naïve and, as the Editor has it, even lazy, and to pave the way for a new kind of Irishness, and a new kind of Irishman outside of the categories of barbaric native and absentee landlord:

> The Editor hopes his readers will observe, that these are "tales of other times"; that the manners depicted in the following pages are not those of the present age: the race of the Rackrents has long since been extinct in Ireland, and the drunken Sir Patrick, the litigious Sir Murtagh, the fighting Sir Kit, and the slovenly Sir Condy, are characters which could no more be met with at present in Ireland, than Squire Western or Parson Trulliber in England. (29)

This assertion of control, however, on the part of the Anglo-Irish Editor over Thady's narrative is ultimately doomed to failure. Union was the beginning of the end of Anglo-Irish supremacy in Ireland, and Edgeworth, writing as she was on the borders of this altering event, is fundamentally unable to write about it in a coherent and fluid way. Her text eludes her control and takes on an energy of its own. If, as according to Corbett, the reader is supposed to identify themselves against Thady by virtue of his ignorance then this is problematised by a text that refuses to endorse such a rigid point of view. As already seen, Thady's 'ignorance' is complex to say the least. And if the reader is supposed to rejoice in the passing of a corrupt strand of an ascendant Protestant dynasty, further complicated because they used to be Catholic, then the pathos attached to Sir Condy's miserable demise denies them an easy time here either. The Rackrents are left displaced and destitute at the end of the narrative, their lands reclaimed by the indigenous population portrayed unfavourably by Thady Quirk's son, Jason. 'Through devious economic manipulations and the power of cash, the figure of the outsider, usually a Catholic land agent or rising professional man,

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[70] Ibid, p. 395.

usurps control of the Big House from its heirs'.[71] As we have already seen identification of any kind is impossible in this narrative; easy distinctions around 'them' and 'us' collapse at the slightest provocation. The narrative itself, along with its characters, structures and devices, is a response to the spectre of Union and is therefore a paradox. It is broken and incoherent, just as the Anglo-Irish identity question is by the beginning of the nineteenth century. And it is worth remembering that at this juncture, in the quest to claim ownership to a sense of Irishness, history was on the side of Thady, Jason, and their fellow 'native' Irish, as we shall see in our next chapter.

Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent* is a novel steeped in the social and cultural conditions that brought it to birth. The fluctuating selfhoods in the narrative, from characters, to setting, to the position of the text itself confirm it as a text deeply engaged with the instability of Anglo-Irish national affiliation as enacted throughout the eighteenth-century, but in particular respond to the instability of the Anglo-Irish national identity question as Union was formally enacted. It therefore exemplifies a self-conscious literature of identity, a tradition of writing that is preoccupied with the national positioning of a people. Through its illustration of the decline of dysfunctional family and the ruination of a stately home, it also anticipates the more specific national identity writing of the Anglo-Irish Gothic tradition that is the focus of the next chapter, a tradition that itself gives rise to Stoker in the latter-Victorian period. As such, *Castle Rackrent* serves as a fundamental literary predecessor to the imaginative autobiography of *Dracula*. However, the novel and its concerns and contexts have more to do with Stoker than exemplifying the literary convention that he is later influenced by, adopts and ultimately shapes into something new. *Castle Rackrent* is also a text firmly interested in the relationship between the self and the group and what this does to constructions of the self. After all, at its core the novel charts the face-off between two families, each on either side of the ethnic and religious divide. In this way the novel echoes the Yeatsian 'we' that we encountered at the beginning of this chapter as well as the 'we of Dracula blood' that the Count allies himself with at the beginning of *Dracula*. As Lisa Hopkins contends, 'In all Stoker's

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[71] Kreilkamp, p. 24.

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fiction, Ireland plays a part'.[72] This will become apparent as we turn to analyse Stoker's work in our subsequent chapters. We turn now, however, to Stoker's own formation in nineteenth-century Dublin and the crucial impact of eighteenth-century Anglo-Irish identity constructions on Stoker's own sense of (national) self almost a hundred years later.

IV

The Dublin that Stoker was born into in 1847 was a far cry from the thriving capital of his forebears. Indeed, 'while other Victorian cities were experiencing rapid manufacturing growth and increasing population, Dublin was undergoing industrial decline and demographic stagnation.'[73] And if the eighteenth century capital saw the 'Protestant Ascendancy' as both materially and, in many ways, ideologically ascendant, marked off from the indigenous population by the religious/social privileging of the Penal Laws, by the mid-Victorian period the city was a very different place to be. Union had removed the powers and privileges of the Ascendancy parliament and the Catholic Relief Act of 1829 went some way to repealing many of the most substantial restrictions against the native Irish population that the Penal Laws had enacted. By the time Stoker had graduated from university in 1870, the Church of Ireland had been disestablished as the official state religion and Gladstone's commitment to taking up the 'Irish Question' in response to growing pressure to conciliate the Irish Catholic majority, saw the introduction of the first of a series of Land Acts that initiated the erosion of predominantly Anglo-Irish landlord's powers.[74] Such events signalled a dramatic shift in the Irish political landscape and went some way to eroding and alienating Anglo-Irish interests in Ireland. Indeed, Terence Brown's assertion that the Victorian Anglo-Irish were 'a colonial class faced by a nascent Catholic nationalism', merely serves to highlight the gradual wearing away of Anglo-Irish status in the nineteenth-century in the face of militant nationalism and Fenianism, political nationalism in the Land War and agitation

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[72] Lisa Hopkins, *Bram Stoker: A Literary Life* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 19.
[73] Barbara Belford, *Bram Stoker: A Biography of the Author of Dracula* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1996), p. 24.
[74] See Connolly, p. 158 and p. 309 for short synopses of Disestablishment and the Land Acts respectively.

for Home Rule and, all the while, a growing sense of Irish national identity that 'was sure what it was not, and what it was not was "Anglo-Irish"'.[75]

However, despite such alterations in material circumstances, G.J. Watson writes that

> Even as the power of the Anglo-Irish declined, as it did steadily throughout the nineteenth century, their sense of caste superiority, bred into them by history, remained strong. This is where that other term often applied to the Anglo-Irish, the Protestant Ascendancy, is useful, since it suggests something ever present in the general Anglo-Irish consciousness.[76]

In the face of adverse conditions in the post-Union period, in the absence of any stable national (and particularly Irish) identity, in the renewed difficulties in defining what exactly they were, the Anglo-Irish could still fall back on defining themselves by what they were not (Catholic and native). What Watson here denotes as sense of 'caste superiority', engendered especially in the eighteenth century that we have just been discussing, is one that is ultimately rooted in ideas of difference and disassociation, especially from the majority of the Irish population, ideas that even despite Anglo-Irish movement towards a sense of Irishness in their more stable periods, nevertheless remained a constant. After all, it was never the existing Irish identity that the Anglo-Irish sought to appropriate, even in their most nationalist moods. This sense of apartness or distance that Watson sees as being 'bred' into the Anglo-Irish psyche is one that prevails throughout the 1700s as we have seen. But despite a marked change in material and political conditions, it is this sense of apartness that in many ways still characterises Stoker's own formation and that of his class in nineteenth-century Dublin. The weight of the historical national identity positioning of Anglo-Irish in eighteenth-century is still to be felt on the environment that this Victorian Anglo-Irish author lived and moved in and that proved one of the first influences on his work. As noted in the Introduction, one of the most important trends in recent Stoker scholarship has been attempts to reclaim Stoker as an (Anglo-) Irish writer of substance, and, to this end, many critics are keen to stress the importance of Stoker's Dublin years to an appreciation of his work as a whole.

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[75] Terence Brown, Ireland's Literature: Selected Essays (Mullingar: The Lilliput Press, 1988), p. 57, and G.J. Watson, *Irish Identity and the Literary Revival: Synge, Yeats, Joyce, O'Casey* (London: Croom Helm, 1979), p. 27.
[76] Watson, p. 28.

Lisa Hopkins, for example, sees the urban landscape of the city as key, writing that 'the Stokers lived close to St Michan's Church, where the unusually dry air had caused the spontaneous mummification of the bodies in the crypt, a sight which has often been seen as the genesis of the undead bodies in *Dracula*'.[77] And Murray, Belford and Haining and Tremayne, amongst others, have all made much of the influence of local folklore on Stoker as a child, especially the stories his mother told him about her youth in famine-stricken Sligo, of the cholera epidemics of the 1840s and the cases of people being buried alive to attempt to contain the infection. Indeed, Belford argues 'that childhood fantasies bred adult nightmares is clear from Bram Stoker's fiction' and these stories engendered an interest in life and death that would culminate in the story of the vampire in his most famous novel.[78] And to quote Miller and Dacre Stoker on their recent discovery of Bram's Dublin diary: 'Arguably, the strongest impression one gets while reading through the Journal is the "Irishness" of much of the content. Not only is Stoker describing for the most part Irish scenes (both in Dublin and around the countryside), he also presents them with typical Irish flourish.'[79]

It is in this spirit, then, that we now turn to examine the influence of Stoker's positioning as Anglo-Irishman in the city and the influence the inherited customs and concerns of this caste had on Stoker as an individual and as a writer.

Abraham (Bram) Stoker was born into a respectable but by no means affluent Protestant Irish family. Indeed, his family's modest material standing is enough for some critics such as Foster and Murray to argue that the writer cannot be counted legitimately amongst the ranks of what we term the Anglo-Irish. Murray writes: 'It is curious [...] Bram has been referred to as having derived from "Anglo-Irish" and "Protestant Ascendancy" stock in contemporary critical discourse, terms whose aristocratic connotations are at odds with the relative humility of his background.'[80] However, as I have argued in the Introduction and in this chapter, the condition of the Protestant Ascendancy or the state of Anglo-Irishness is not reducible to simple equations of economic standing. The privileging that the Anglo-Irish as a class enjoyed certainly contributed to the

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[77] Hopkins, p. 20.

[78] Belford, p. 13.

[79] *The Lost Journal of Bram Stoker: The Dublin Years*, edited by Elizabeth Miller and Dacre Stoker (London: Robson, 2012), p. 186.

[80] Paul Murray, *From the Shadow of Dracula: A Life of Bram Stoker* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004), p. 20.

wealth and power of the landowning section of this social group but this was a privileging based first and foremost on religious affiliation and the ethnic or racial positioning that this was seen to create. In many ways the state of 'Ascendancy' or Anglo-Irishness is a mental state or mindset, an ideological stance, a way of *thinking* about reality and in this way creating reality itself, often through language. We have already seen that the words 'Protestant Ascendancy' were more a construct than a label of fact. And to quote Brian Friel on the role of language: "words are signals, counters. [...] And it can happen – to use an image you'll understand – it can happen that a civilisation can be imprisoned in a linguistic counter which no longer matches the landscape of [...] fact."[81] Words, and the ideas, wishes, aspirations and desires they convey might not always match 'the landscape of fact', then, but this does not make their impact any less real. The Stokers may not have been land owners or materially 'ascendant' in the same way that others of their class were, but they were Anglican in an Ireland where Anglicanism had come to mean something. Religion, as we have seen, was a mark of ethnicity and national identification like no other. David Glover argues that 'Stoker's middle-class Irish Protestant origins [...] remained with him all his life', profoundly influencing his sense of self inside and later outside of Ireland itself.[82] And Stoker's life in Dublin, the opportunities that he was afforded and the people he met and associated with were all undeniably shaped by his status as Anglo-Irishman, and by the legacy of Anglo-Irish national identity question that we have already discussed.

Stoker's childhood was spent in the respectable town of Clontarf, just outside of Dublin city and he was educated at the Reverend William Wood's private day school in Dublin until 1863. In November of 1864, Stoker entered Trinity College Dublin, the university that the Penal Laws had barred to Catholic (and dissenting Protestants) since the seventeenth century. As Connolly states, 'Trinity was essentially the university of the Protestant Ascendancy. Parliament showed its favourable disposition by generous support for an 18th century building programme that began with the magnificent library in 1712. Not until 1793 were the university and its degrees open to Catholics and it was 1873

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[81] Brian Friel, quoted in Ward, n.p.
[82] David Glover, *Vampires, Mummies and Liberals: Bram Stoker and the Politics of Popular Fiction* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), p. 10.

before all religious tests were abolished.'[83] Indeed, such was the association of TCD with Anglicanism that a ban imposed by the Catholic hierarchy on its members attending was only lifted by Archbishop McQuaid in 1970.[84] Stoker attended Trinity a decade before it opened its doors to full membership for Catholic students, and while there he was an active and involved member of the university Historical and Philosophical Societies and of various sporting clubs. Barbara Belford asserts that 'university life encouraged personal achievement and fortified Stoker's self-esteem', something backed up by Stoker himself who recalled that at college his 'big body and athletic powers' gave him 'a certain position in which [he] had to overcome [his] natural shyness.'[85] Furthermore, Paul Murray's description of those that Stoker associated with through his membership of the 'Phil' situates the author at the very heart of a very well-connected Anglo-Irish network:

> Founded in 1845, its honorary members in the 1870s included, in addition to Stoker himself, Charles Graves, Bishop of Limerick, father of Alfred Perceval; George F. Shaw, [...] the Reverend J.P. Mahaffy; Professor Edward Dowden; John Butler Yeats; and John Todhunter, the poet and playwright. Todhunter, Standish O'Grady and William Wilde, Oscar Wilde's brother, formed the backbone of the prizemen and medallists in the Phil around Stoker's time at college.[86]

This place within the structures of Anglo-Irish society in Dublin continued for Stoker after graduation when he followed his father into work at the civil service at Dublin Castle, the hub of British administrative power in Ireland. Employed as a clerk of the petty sessions, Stoker lodged for a time at an address at Kildare St, 'the centre of masculine Ascendancy life in Dublin at that time. Here were to be found the town houses of such Ascendancy peers as the Duke of Leinster, and at the corner was the Victorian Gothic pile which housed the Kildare St Club, whose membership was a roll call of Ascendancy grandees'.[87] And having known their son William at university, Stoker also socialised with Lord and Lady Wilde, at their residence in Merrion Square, and there met their other son Oscar, with whom he was to frequently cross paths whilst later living in London. In fact,

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[83] Connolly, p. 582.
[84] See Connolly, Ibid, and Introduction, p. 6.
[85] Belford, p. 33 and p. 30.
[86] Murray, pp. 33-34.
[87] Haining and Tremayne, p. 63.

Stoker's wife Florence Balcombe, whom he married in 1878, had been previously romantically linked to the youngest Wilde.

In his spare time Stoker also worked unpaid for the *Dublin Evening Mail*, a newspaper firmly on the Tory Unionist side of politics, anti-Catholic in its stance, and at one time partially owned by fellow Anglo-Irish writer Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu that, 'articulated the ambitions and demands of the city's middle-class Protestants'.[88] Indeed, it was in his capacity as writer for this newspaper that Stoker first met Henry Irving in 1876 who was on a tour of the provinces playing Hamlet at the Theatre Royal, an event that preceded Stoker going to work as business manager for Irving at the Lyceum in London two years later. Suffice to say, then, that Stoker's professional formation, initially as civil servant and journalist and later as Irving's right-hand man and notable figure on the metropolitan theatrical scene, is firmly rooted in his positioning within the Irish capital. In fact, Stoker's education, his job, his interests and his social circle all existed because of and worked around the location of himself and his family as Anglo-Irish. The legacy of the eighteenth-century Anglo-Irish vacillations in a quest for a stable national selfhood between English and Irish denominations is not to be found in a fixed national position in the nineteenth century. In truth, the Victorian Anglo-Irish were as unstable as ever in this regard. However, the demarcation of the Anglo-Irish from both the indigenous Irish population and potential designations of Englishness throughout the eighteenth century can instead be seen in the close-knit and detached nature of Victorian Anglo-Irish Dublin, a city within a city, and Stoker's successful movement within it marks the author as very much a member of this club. Stoker was undoubtedly an active member of the Anglo-Irish community, 'undeniably a leading light in Dublin's intellectual circles'.[89] Ideologically, culturally and socially he identified as Anglo-Irishman. And crucially for this thesis, in terms of his other professional formation – that of a novelist –artistically he identified as an Anglo-Irish writer, albeit as an Anglo-Irish writer with necessarily metropolitan ambitions.

We have seen here that because of the conflation of Irish and Anglo-Irishness in English eyes, London loomed large in the Anglo-Irish psyche as something to define against throughout the eighteenth century. However, as just

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[88] Belford, p. 50
[89] Farson, p. 158.

noted, Union had seen to it that in the political unification of Great Britain, Dublin's standing as a city had accordingly suffered at the expense of the metropole's further elevated status. By the latter end of the Victorian period, London was undoubtedly the centre of political but also cultural power and it was where Stoker felt he needed to be to succeed as a man with literary ambition. As Valente puts it, Stoker was a writer 'on a search for the main chance, social and economic', and literary of course, 'that only a place like London could afford.'[90] London functions, then, as the site of aspiration for Stoker, a sentiment tellingly later echoed by Dracula himself: 'I long to go through the crowded streets of your mighty London, to be in the midst of the whirl and rush of humanity, to share its life, its changes, its death, and all that makes it what it is'"(p. 22). For Stoker, London was the place to be a writer. He felt that it could afford him a 'larger scope and better chance of success than at home' and it was indeed the environment in which he realised his literary potential.[91] If Dublin created Stoker as Anglo-Irishman, London allowed him to become a writer, but a specifically Anglo-Irish writer at that. For just as Stoker's life as Anglo-Irishman in Dublin is in many ways the result of the Anglo-Irish identity question as it played out in eighteenth-century Ireland and the type of society that this had contributed to make, his fiction in general and *Dracula* as imaginative autobiography in particular is similarly influenced by the literary endeavours of his Anglo-Irish forebears.

We ended our discussions of Anglo-Irish identity negotiation in the eighteenth century in this chapter with an analysis of Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent*, a novel that Jarlath Killeen argues clearly anticipates the writing that would follow it for in the story of the decimation of the Rackrent line we find many of the defining features of later nineteenth-century Anglo-Irish literary endeavour, Stoker's included.[92] Castle Rackrent becomes a ruin just as the Big Houses of Charles Robert Maturin and Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu fall into disrepair and the Rackrents prove as unproductive and thereby unsustainable as the families such as the Melmoths or the Ruthvyns who inhabit these homes. Maturin, Le Fanu and Stoker, as Anglo-Irish novelists of the nineteenth century

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[90] Valente, p. 33.
[91] Quoted in Maunder, p. 29.
[92] Jarlath Killeen, *Gothic Ireland: Horror and the Irish Anglican Imagination in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Dublin; Four Courts Press, 2005).

therefore inherit the national identity concerns of the eighteenth-century antecedents and the expression of these concerns in literature. Moreover, in an age where a stable sense of national self is still elusive and where the deteriorating state of Anglo-Irish status in Ireland necessitates that the literature that expressed these concerns was of a darker, more supernatural nature, these writers take the established tropes of eighteenth-century Anglo-Irish identity writing and add to them to engender the genre of Anglo-Irish Gothic, a darker form of writing the national self, and the central focus of our next chapter. Building, therefore, on the foundations of *Rackrent* and the Anglo-Irish identity question as just discussed, we turn our focus to in the supernatural and Gothicised rendering of Maturin's *Melmoth the Wanderer*, Le Fanu's *Uncle Silas* and especially Stoker's first full-length novel, *The Snake's Pass*, written in London but firmly set in Ireland, to see an Anglo-Irish self-writing that channels the further displacement of the nineteenth century Anglo-Irish, and the crucial importance of the movement of Ascendancy literary interests to London. In doing so, we move ever closer to the imaginative autobiography of *Dracula*.

Stoker's Literary Inheritance: An Anglo-Irish Gothic

This was all so strange and uncanny that a dreadful fear came upon me, and I was afraid to speak or move. The time seemed interminable as we swept on our way, now in almost complete darkness, for the rolling clouds obscured the moon. We kept on ascending, with occasional periods of quick descent, but in the main always ascending. Suddenly I became conscious of the fact that the driver was in the act of pulling up the horses in the courtyard of a vast ruined castle, from whose tall black windows came no ray of light, and whose broken battlements showed a jagged line against the moonlit sky.'[1]

One of the things the things that characterises Stoker's *Dracula* from the very beginning is its skill in harnessing the power of the frightening. As a text, its impact is entirely bound up in its ability to draw upon its readers' own anxieties. As Roger Luckhurst writes, 'the book [...] evoked an authentic sense of Christian dread, embodying in one elusive figure everything that shiny modernity was at risk of forgetting about its blood-soaked history.'[2] Terror is therefore a central thematic preoccupation of the novel and references to fear and the frightening positively abound in the narrative. The above quotation, for example, describes Harker's unsettling journey to Castle Dracula at the opening of the novel but the sense of dread that characterises this passage is by no means an isolated affair. When the clerk later encounters the strange women in a disused section of the keep we are told that, 'afraid' to raise his eyelids, his feeling that he had met one of them before is linked 'with some dreamy fear' (p. 38). His diary gives the reader further insight into his experiences as Dracula's guest: 'I feel the dread of this horrible place overpowering me; I am in fear – in awful fear – and there is no escape for me; I am encompassed about with terrors that I dare not think of' (p. 35). Soon after, the log of the doomed *Demeter* describes the 'Men all in a panic of fear, sent a round robin, asking to have double watch, as they fear to be alone' (p. 80). And upon finding Lucy missing from their room in Whitby, Mina recounts how she 'looked in all the other rooms in the house, with an ever-growing fear chilling my heart [...] There was no time to think what might happen. A vague over-mastering fear obscured all details' (p. 86).

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[1] Bram Stoker, *Dracula*, ed. by Roger Luckhurst (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 17.
[2] Luckhurst, *Dracula*, p. vii.

A crucial component of his imaginative autobiography, then, Stoker's sustained literary engagement with the frightening is by no means unprecedented within his caste. Indeed, fellow Anglo-Irishman Edmund Burke, in his *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas on the Sublime and the Beautiful* over a century and a half earlier in 1757, could not keep his reflections on the subject free of similar preoccupations, writing that 'The passion caused by the great and sublime in nature [. . .] is Astonishment; and astonishment is that state of the soul, in which all its motions are suspended, with some degree of horror.[3] To read on through the text is to find that Burke's construction of the sublime is very much rooted in the darker aspects of the human condition, especially in fear, and the related feelings of anxiety and instability produced by the human psyche trying to comprehend that which is incomprehensible. For Burke, the sublime is 'the strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling' (p. 36). It literally paralyses all other mental and bodily processes in experiencing it and is a state in which all the other 'motions' of the soul 'are suspended' (p. 53). Burke finds this paralysis a stimulating and a desirable prospect and yet one anchored in 'terror' all the same. Indeed, one of the most striking features of his aesthetic enquiry is the emphasis that he places on what he terms the 'terrible' throughout:

> WHATEVER is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain and danger, that is to say, whatever is in any sort terrible, or is conversant about terrible objects, or operates in a manner analogous to terror, is a source of the *sublime*. (p. 36)

For Burke, it is primarily through pain and not pleasure that we experience the astonishment and wonder necessary for producing sublime effects (p. 53). He therefore sees terror, albeit, 'at certain distances, and with certain modifications' (p. 36), as the necessary starting point for this transcendent experience. And so, fear, on the evidence of this text at least, appears to pervade Burke's literary imagination for horror, the frightening and the unsettling are all omnipresent themes in his writing on the subject. Ostensibly considered undesirable, they are here transformed into productive forces that instead serve as the fundamental element of Burke's philosophical argument and as the driving force behind his

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[3] Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas on the Sublime and the Beautiful*, ed. by Adam Phillips (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 53.

creative impetus. Through his writing Burke seeks to reclaim fear, to convert it into something constructive and almost positive in nature. And while in some ways this is hardly surprising, given that Burke was writing in an era foreshadowing an age of revolution and social unrest, including *the* Terror in revolutionary France, there are some scholars, like Thomas H.D. Mahoney, who maintain that there may be a more nationally-specific way to assess Burke's writing and to account for the reasons it is so saturated with references to the awful.[4]

As has been noted in the previous chapter, the complexities of the Anglo-Irish national identity question, and moreover, the anxiety and insecurity that this often resulted in is commonly manifest in the literature this class produced. Our recent discussions of Maria Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent* as a tale of familial decline and dispossession position it as a text very much rooted in the expression of anxieties surrounding national identity. Critics such as Mahoney, and more recently, Luke Gibbons and Sean Patrick Donlan are just some of those looking to place, or indeed replace, Burke's literary endeavours on the sublime amongst others, within a specifically Anglo-Irish context, to connect Burke's writings on aesthetic theory here with the other work that voices his inherent concerns as a member of the Anglo-Irish elite in his own earlier period.[5] Moreover, Jarlath Killeen's recent study on the evolution of a writing of fear in Anglo-Irish literature, *Gothic Ireland: Horror and the Irish Anglican Imagination in the Long Eighteenth Century,* goes to great lengths to show how the monstrous and the supernatural were frequent features of a specific type of Ascendancy writing as far back as Sir John Temple's *The Irish Rebellion* of 1642.[6] Written in the aftermath of the Ulster revolt and foreshadowing the Glorious Revolution and the violent upheaval this produced in an Irish setting, this is a text filled with reference to irrational and brutal hostility, bloodshed, and a sinister threat posed to the newly-established Anglo-Irish way of life in Ireland by militant, Royalist Irish Catholics. Killeen, for his part, argues that this text represents the first

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[4] Thomas H.D. Mahoney, *Edmund Burke and Ireland: The Lifelong Efforts of the Great Statesman to Help His Native Land* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1960).
[5] See Luke Gibbons, *Edmund Burke and Ireland: Aesthetics, Politics and the Colonial Sublime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) and *Edmund Burke's Irish Identities*, ed. by Sean Patrick Donlan (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2006).
[6] Jarlath Killeen, *Gothic Ireland: Horror and the Irish Anglican Imagination in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005).

example of a recurring strand of Anglo-Irish literature that actively engages with the concept of terror in a concentrated and thematic way, and, in this respect, he writes that, '*The Irish Rebellion* baptized Irish Protestant identity in bloodshed [...] Through the mythologization of the violence of 1641, the story the Protestants in Ireland told of themselves [...] was in itself a proto-Gothic one.'[7] Again, we find reference to the importance of words and narrative within the Anglo-Irish context, especially in relation to the stories these settlers 'told of themselves', to tales of national identity and the impact that such narratives can have in wider culture. But more than this, there is also reference here to a very particular kind of Anglo-Irish national identity writing, a 'Gothic' convention conceived of in violence and baptised in bloodshed that exhibits a more foreboding character than hitherto encountered in periods of concentrated threat or danger to Anglo-Irish security.

In his work Killeen maps out a fashion for writing the terrible, for using the Gothic, in the Ascendancy literature of the 1700s. He attributes this to a need in Anglo-Irish writing, preoccupied as it is with the national identity question of its authors, to actively respond to flashpoints of threat to a stable Anglo-Irish sense of national self, to rationalise, accommodate and safely categorise the Other as it manifested in its diverse and varied guises throughout the course of the eighteenth century. It is not to be wondered at that the Anglo-Irish writing of the mid-seventeenth century might be said to have such unsettling overtones, given the very real threat of violence faced by the newly-arrived settlers in the first years of their instalment in Ireland. Consequently, this particular type of writing, then, this literature of terror as it might be called, is as much a textual expression of a national identity as any thus far encountered, even if this identity is a fragmented one. In a sense, the convention of transcribing the frightening that Killeen is referring to here represents a perfect, albeit darker manifestation of the figuring of the national self and its attendant anxieties in literature that were encountered in the last chapter. Elements of horror and the supernatural are used as a means of giving textual expression to the issue of national self, or absence thereof, that the Anglo-Irish community struggled so profoundly with, especially in certain periods of crisis or threat and perhaps even resolving such

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[7] Ibid, p. 31.

difficulties through writing: 'the Gothic is concerned, not with accepting that which orthodoxy has defined as monstrous, but with repelling it, expelling it and usually destroying it.'[8]

In this respect, the literature of terror of 'Gothic Ireland' constitutes as clear a genre of identity writing for this class as any hitherto seen. And given its emergence at particular periods of emergency for the Ascendancy identity question throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is almost inevitable that the profoundly unstable social and political climate of the 1800s in Ireland and the acute impact this upheaval necessarily had on Anglo-Irish identity concerns, would mean that the kind of writing produced by that same class in the nineteenth century would return to not only re-echo these themes, but to magnify them into an established and recognisable literary tradition in their own right. Jim Hansen, in his recent *Terror and Irish Modernism: The Gothic Tradition from Burke to Beckett*, argues that Anglo-Irish Gothic is particularly suited to addressing such challenges faced in Anglo-Ireland in the period as 'dispossession – the active, historical disinheritance and disenfranchisement of political subjects by cultural, linguistic, juridical, and economic systems'.[9] And, as Roy Foster makes plain, with Catholic Emancipation and the final and official repeal of the Penal Laws, the Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, to say nothing of the agitation for land reform and, towards the end of the period, an increasingly separatist and militant Catholic-led nationalism, the 1800s would not prove to be a kind one for the Anglo-Irish interest in Ireland:

> By the 1860s [...] a survey showed that Catholics now possessed five out of the twelve judgeships in the Irish Supreme Court, half the administrative power in the banks, the control of three great Irish railway lines, and were by far the largest beneficiaries of sales of landed estates in the Encumbered Estates Court. Political upheavals and land agitation from the 1870s would destroy Ascendancy power completely.[10]

Given the scale of the changes here to the landscape of Irish politics and society in general, and to the roles the Anglo-Irish traditionally inhabited in this system in particular, and given what has already been ascertained about the abiding need for the Anglo-Irish to express the realities of their situation in a textual form, the

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[8] Ibid, p. 17.
[9] Jim Hansen, *Terror and Irish Modernism: The Gothic Tradition from Burke to Beckett* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009), p. 8.
[10] Roy Foster, *Paddy & Mr Punch* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1995), p. 215.

idea that such disruption to the established order of things would find some representation at least in the literature produced by the class that it affected the most is inexorable. In truth, it would do far more than merely represent a passing concern.

It is out of the profoundly uncertain span of the nineteenth century, the period in which Anglo-Irish supremacy in Ireland was under its greatest challenge to date, then, that a new and profoundly influential tradition of what has been termed Anglo-Irish Gothic writing, and with it the works of writers such as Charles Robert Maturin, Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu, and, of course, Stoker himself, emerge as they do. [11] Responding to the heightened instability of Anglo-Irish status in the nineteenth century, the reasons for the emergence of this particular mode of textual expression at this juncture in the Anglo-Irish story are clear:

> the line of Irish Protestant supernatural fiction is an obvious one [...] stemming from families with strong clerical and professional colourations, whose occult preoccupations surely mirror a sense of displacement, a loss of social and psychological integration, and an escapism motivated by the threat of a takeover by the Catholic middle classes. [12]

To this end, this chapter seeks to explore what Foster terms here the 'occult preoccupations' of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy in the nineteenth century, to relate the proliferation of a formalised tradition of Victorian Anglo-Irish Gothic writing to the relationship the Protestant elite in Ireland had with a sense of self as it newly evolved throughout the post-Union world of the 1800s. It examines the manner in which the new type of Irish identity that the Anglo-Irish strove to create out of their dominance in the eighteenth century was already passing out of possibility in the wake of Catholic middle-class resurgence and how, in its absence, the anxieties of national identity designation that so troubled that class in our last chapter, defined as they had hitherto been against both the native Irish

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[11] Terry Eagleton, *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger: Studies in Irish Culture* (London: Verso, 1995), p. 187. W.J. McCormack is a difficult one here because while he does acknowledge the emergence of Anglo-Irish Gothic as a distinct and recognisable literary genre in some of his work, he later contradicts this in 'Irish Gothic' in *The Handbook to Gothic Literature*, ed. by Marie Mulvey-Roberts (London: Macmillan, 1998), when he writes that 'the idea of a coherent Irish Gothic fiction commencing in the late eighteenth century, is doubtful', p. 135. This is a view echoed by Robert Welch, who writes, 'To speak of a tradition in nineteenth-century Irish literature is to be conscious of an absence.' Robert Welch, *Changing States: Transformations in Modern Irish Writing* (London: Routledge. 1993), p. 11.
[12] Foster, *Paddy & Mr Punch*, p. 220.

and outsider English, progress to emerge as the fully-fledged ghosts, demons and shape-shifters that both metaphorically and literally haunt the works of the three writers to be discussed here, for in their attention to the strange, the supernatural and the terrible, Victor Sage argues that their work exhibits 'a particular sensitivity to the darker implications of a fractured society'.[13] More than this, it seeks to show through a sustained engagement with such archetypal examples of the genre as Charles Robert Maturin's *Melmoth the Wanderer*, (1820), Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu's *Uncle Silas* (1864) and, finally, Stoker's own first novel proper, *The Snake's Pass* (1890), how the Anglo-Irish Gothic of the nineteenth century must be considered an inherently important precursor to our later discussions of *Dracula* as imaginative autobiography. For if the last chapter stressed the inheritance of Anglo-Irish eighteenth-century social dominance on Stoker's own sense of himself as Anglo-Irishman in Victorian Dublin distanced and disassociated from the majority of the Irish population by virtue of class and creed, then the legacy of this new kind of Gothicized identity writing is even more important for our later analysis of Stoker and his displaced vampire doppelganger.[14] Anglo-Irish Gothic inaugurates a dialogue between Anglo-Irish questions of national selfhood in Stoker's own time and a darker and overtly supernatural mode of writing. It is the mode in which Stoker's first full-length novel is expressed. Its literary legacy is etched all over *Dracula*.

I

To speak of a nineteenth-century Anglo-Irish Gothic tradition as a distinct and recognizable form of literature is to acknowledge, therefore, the prevailing connection between the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland and what may be called a writing of concentrated anxiety, a textual mapping of concerns surrounding place and position engaged with already on a certain level but that take on a darker and often an overtly supernatural character in the changing landscape of 1800s Anglo-Ireland. For, as critics like David Punter and Glennis Byron have argued, the by-now almost defunct genre of mainstream Gothic, in which Anglo-

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[13] Victor Sage, 'Irish Gothic: C.R. Maturin and J.S. Le Fanu', in *A Companion to the Gothic*, ed. by David Punter (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), p. 82.
[14] Charles Robert Maturin, *Melmoth the Wanderer*, ed. by Chris Baldick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu, *Uncle Silas*, ed. by Victor Sage (London: Penguin, 2000), and Bram Stoker, *The Snake's Pass* (Chicago: Valancourt, 2006).

Irish Gothic undoubtedly has its roots, had something particular to offer to Anglo-Irish writers, in that it was primarily a literary response to the complexities of the social environment that spawned it. Often posited as a reaction against the rigidity of Enlightenment thought, as well as a consequence of the insecurity of an age of revolution, late-eighteenth-century Gothic literature can be seen to offer both an alternative to the official, sanctioned and rational elements of eighteenth-century intellectual currents as well as a means of articulating the inherent instability of the period that gave it prominence.[15] Most critics writing about the Gothic therefore agree that the genre can be categorized as an inherently communal mode of literature; the terror, persecution, supernatural threat and malevolent Catholic clergy that are so often associated with the genre are all features of a style of writing that primarily engages with its immediate environment, and especially with the more difficult or taboo issues of its day: 'the Gothic is frequently considered to be a genre that re-emerges with particular force during times of cultural crisis and which serves to negotiate the anxieties of the age by working through them in a displaced form.'[16] According to Punter, the mainspring of the Gothic's power in its heyday was therefore an ability to exploit the latent fear that our carefully-ordered structures of society would ultimately not prevail, that however much we might construct organised social systems there would always be something unknown waiting in the dark to pull us back to either an antiquated past or a subversive present. Viewed in this way, the Gothic is a literature built around the collective fear of loss or absence. It articulates the possibility of collapse rather than progress, of failure rather than success, of 'something inherent in our very mortality that dooms us to a life of incomprehension, a life in which we [are]…unable to escape from the deathly consequences of our physical form'.[17] By extension, Cannon Schmitt maintains that the Gothic provides 'the means to represent in fiction not only the new elements of the social and political world but also what [were] conceived of as previously hidden or inaccessible realities, chief among them psychological interiority, sexual deviance and scientific discoveries'.[18] For a class like the

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[15] *The Gothic*, ed. by David Punter and Glennis Byron (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), p. 12.
[16] Ibid, p. 39.
[17] Ibid, p. 12.
[18] Cannon Schmitt, *Alien Nation: Nineteenth-Century Gothic Fictions and English Nationality* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), p. 9.

Anglo-Irish in nineteenth-century Ireland, the genre offers a means of conveying through text the reality of their strained and precarious position especially in terms of national affiliation. With this in mind, it is not difficult to see why the Gothic held such appeal for the Anglo-Irish as a class increasingly preoccupied with fears of is own mortality in the face of the erosion of its political, cultural and social power in our period. 'How does a dispossessed populace deal with its own traumatic sense of lost identity? Do they imagine wrathful spirits who return to set things right'?[19] It seems that they do, for if, as Punter, Byron and Schmitt argue, the Gothic speaks directly to human fears of insignificance, of the impermanence of existence and the constant anxiety of collective, and thereby individual, instability, then, as we have already seen, the Anglo-Irish had more to identify with than most, threatened as they were with dispossession and social and cultural negation. It makes absolute sense that the Anglo-Irish writers in the nineteenth century turned to the creative potential of the Gothic mode, even as it was passing out of fashionable usage, as a means of expressing their innermost fears, especially those regarding a sense of national identity.

An interrelated way of understanding the affinities between the Anglo-Irish and the Gothic as a style is to examine it through the all-important question of religion, especially given the importance of religion as racial signifier, discussed at length in the last chapter. To this end, H.L. Malchow, for his part, asserts in *Gothic Images of Race in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, that the Gothic is fundamentally racially (religiously) motivated, concerned with issues of national identity and all that these prescribe and entail.[20] And Victor Sage points to what he feels to be a certain affinity between the Protestant faith and a literature of terror, writing that 'the rhetoric of the horror novel is demonstrably theological in character'.[21] Sage cites various reasons for his hypothesis such as the often grotesque imagery employed by both the Catholic and Protestant sides in the propaganda wars of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation and the lasting impact this has on the formation of religious identities, before going on to argue that Protestantism and the Gothic as a literary genre are inextricably

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[19] Hansen, *Terror and Irish Modernism*, p. 9.
[20] H.L. Malchow, *Gothic Images of Race in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).
[21] Victor Sage, *Horror Fiction in the Protestant Tradition* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988), p. xvi.

entwined.[22] And while his work deals for the most part with mainstream eighteenth-century Gothic texts and does not treat of the Irish Protestant corpus as a special or in any way distinctive case, the explicit connections Sage draws between the Gothic and Protestantism offer up a specific grounding for an Anglo-Irish Gothic literary tradition when one considers how important the issue of religion was for those Protestants living in Ireland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He writes, 'the continuance of the horror novel is equally, if not more strongly, related to the subsequent struggles, doctrinal and political, which flared up between Catholic and Protestant throughout the nineteenth century'.[23] Sage is not talking here of the Anglo-Irish situation in particular but he might as well be.

The Gothic as a genre therefore held a special importance for the Anglo-Irish writer. Its core values and central features are all equally relevant to the concerns of the Anglo-Irish community in the Victorian period and in this sense it is unsurprising that the dominant features of the mode not only survive, but in fact flourish, against the backdrop of nineteenth-century Anglo-Ireland. 'Disruption rather than stability is a function of Irish Anglican psychology, and this psychology expressed itself in rhetorical strategies which eventually came together to form the Irish Gothic of the late eighteenth century.'[24] Anglo-Irish Gothic serves as a way, then, of expressing Victorian Ascendancy anxieties, albeit in safely coded forms, of using the transformative powers of a darker strand of fiction to comment on the instability of their national/racial and thereby social, cultural and aesthetic selfhood. In this sense, the tradition of Anglo-Irish Gothic represents a true writing the self for the beleaguered Protestant minority.

Julian Moynahan argues this point in his book *Anglo-Irish: The Literary Imagination in a Hyphenated Culture*, when he points out how 'the Anglo-Irish "literary imagination" comes into its own just as the privileges and power of this community began to be curtailed and what has been called an Ascendancy heads down toward an inevitable demise'.[25] He also points to the inherent wildness of the Irish landscape and to the political and religious situations in the country to

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[22] Ibid, pp. 27-8, and p. xiv.
[23] Ibid, p. 29.
[24] Killeen, p. 13.
[25] Julian Moynahan, *Anglo-Irish: The Literary Imagination in a Hyphenated Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. xi.

show how for some members of the Protestant elite, Victorian Ireland had become a sort of 'living Gothic'.[26] And, as is appropriate for this blurring of boundaries between text and reality, between art and life that Moynahan evokes here, a phenomenon that this thesis brings to its own point of culmination in its investigations of Stoker's imaginative autobiograhy *Dracula*, the question of national identity serves as both a motivating factor for and thematic preoccupation in the three novels we will now engage with. The first of these texts is Maturin's Gothic masterpiece and fiction of absence of identity extraordinaire, *Melmoth the Wanderer*.

II

As an Anglican cleric, Charles Robert Maturin was in many ways typical of the face the Anglo-Irish would most commonly assume in nineteenth-century Ireland. Resolutely middle-class, Maturin was not a part of the rural landed gentry so associated with the golden age of Anglican dominance in the country and he instead struggled to earn a living for himself and his family within the Church and through his various literary endeavours. However, his insecure financial status coupled with his ideological affinity of ascendancy values by virtue of his religious affiliation, mean that Maturin is particularly well-placed as a writer to interrogate the unprecedented range of issues faced by the Anglo-Irish in the earlier decades of the new century and, in this regard, *Melmoth* does not disappoint. Maturin's fifth novel, it is generally agreed by those who study his oeuvre to be one of his most accomplished texts and frequently appears as a source of academic enquiry in its own right.[27] It tells the story of a certain John Melmoth, called from his studies at Trinity College Dublin, to the decaying estate of his uncle who is dying and of which he is the sole heir.[28] Like the sterile Rackrent family, the elder Melmoth has no children of his own to pass his property on to. Over the course of John's stay in his uncle's household he finds a manuscript, detailing, through the nested testimonies of an unknown Englishman

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[26] Ibid, p. 111.

[27] Robert Lougy, *Charles Robert Maturin* (London: Bucknell Press, 1975), p. 65. Maturin is not widely studied in his own right in contemporary scholarship but he is often included in works that deal with either the Gothic in general or Irish or Anglo-Irish Gothic in particular. See also Sage in Punter, Punter and Byron and Backus for examples of this.

[28] For a discussion of the significance of TCD as an institution for the Anglo-Irish see the Introduction, p. 76.

named Stanton and a Spaniard called Alonzo Moncada, the story of yet another of his family line, an apparently distant ancestor known only as the Wanderer. The reader discovers that this character, who rightly belongs to a different age and who should have been dead for many years, has unnaturally long life and possesses what appear to be superhuman powers. Although it is never made plain how he came to hold such unusual abilities, it is strongly implied that they are the result of a Faustian-style bargain with the Devil or some other demonic being as the Anglo-Irish desire for stability and continuity within an Irish landscape is here transformed into a demonic pact with long-reaching and terrible consequences. As Sage here argues, Maturin 'anatomises, through the repeated motif of the Faustian bargain, the contemporary insecurity of the Big House and the fears of a contemporary landed aristocracy betrayed'.[29] In order to escape the terrible conditions associated with the enigmatic bargain for longevity he has struck, the Wanderer must find a soul to fill his place, to take over his curse before one hundred and fifty years are through. The novel then details through a series of various interweaving stories and complex narrative relations how the Wanderer haunts places of extreme despair and hopelessness in the world searching for a willing party to take over his curse. Stanton encounters him in a lunatic asylum in which he has been wrongfully imprisoned whereas Moncada meets him in the dungeons of the Spanish Inquisition. The reader is also told how he tries to tempt a starving man whose family are slowly perishing from famine, but even as he plumbs the depths of human suffering and depravity, nowhere does he find a soul desperate enough to take his place. The novel ends with the Wanderer's return to the Irish estate of his birth to await his unavoidable fate, that of his own ultimate destruction, and the final pages of the text show John and Moncada staring into the sea where the Wanderer has been dragged by demons, from thence presumably down to Hell and to his final death.

As is perhaps not immediately evident from this rather crude précis, Maturin's text is extremely long and complex and any attempt to summarise or synopsise only detracts from the carefully-constructed complexity of the novel as a whole. However, despite an outline that cannot hope to do justice to the intricacies of the narrative as it stands it is nonetheless not hard to see how such a

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[29] Sage, 'Irish Gothic', p. 87.

story may still be read as in dialogue with the turbulent realities of the Anglo-Irish condition in nineteenth-century Ireland, for, as in the tradition of the form of fictive life-writing hitherto examined, allusions to the Anglo-Irish situation positively abound in the novel's pages. The first element of a familiar Anglo-Irish tradition, then, is assuredly the Melmoth estate, itself, the Big House. As a structure, it sits at the very core of this long and unwieldy narrative acting as ballast in a sea of over five hundred pages. Almost all of the important characters in the novel meet within its walls and as such the house effectively functions as one of the players in its own right. It is the ancestral home of both John and the Wanderer and the location to which the plot, which spans France, Spain, England and the Indian Ocean, keeps returning. Crucially, it is also the vehicle through which the story as a whole is initially facilitated and recounted, for the manuscript which precipitates the first appearance of the Wanderer, and the painting that portrays his image, are secreted within its walls, functioning as clues that foreshadow the arrival of the exile himself. And, of course, as a narrative device frequently implicated in the writing of the self of its owners the Victorian Anglo-Irish Big House also functions as a text in its own right here, as a visible and readable manifestation of the nineteenth-century Anglo-Irish concerns.

The last chapter explored the ways in which the Big House firmly established itself as an extremely powerful image in the Anglo-Irish imagination from the mid-seventeenth century onwards. In the eighteenth century it commonly manifested as a defiant show of identity, but always of an identity under some sense of challenge or threat. Built as it often was, then, out of a sense of insecurity and fear, the Ascendancy Big Houses can also be closely linked to the Gothic. Indeed, R.F. Foster's essay, 'Protestant Magic: W.B. Yeats and the Spell of Irish History', draws specific links between the houses of the Anglo-Irish and a specifically Gothic literature, arguing that 'as the Ascendancy took to castellating their houses, they gothicized their fiction'.[30] As the nineteenth century progressed, however, and the Act of Union and Catholic Emancipation started to sound the death knell of an Anglo-Irish hegemony, this Ascendancy Big House literally became a ruin: a ruin in theory if not yet in practice. Absentee

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[30] R.F. Foster, 'Protestant Magic: W.B. Yeats and the Spell of Irish History', in *Yeats' Political Identities*, ed. by Jonathan Allison (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1996).

landlords were the order of the day and as a result their properties suffered the effects of both physical and emotional desertion. The letters sent by Old Melmoth to his nephew at university convey this story effectively, for the narrator tells us that these letters were: 'epistles, containing [...] complaints of the expences of his education, cautions against extravagance, and lamentations for the failure of tenants and the fall of the value of lands' (p. 8).

It is against such a backdrop that the reader finds themselves at the beginning of Maturin's novel. Old Melmoth's estate is a crumbling wreck:

> There was not a fence or a hedge round the domain: an uncemented wall of loose stones [...] supplied their place. There was not a tree or shrub on the lawn [...] a few sheep were picking their scanty food amid the pebblestones, thistles and hard mould, through which a few blades of grass made their rare and squalid appearance. (p. 9)

John Melmoth, who is the symbol of the elite in its 'descendant' phase, and also of its future, inherits such a property.[31] But far from guaranteeing his social survival and, furthermore, success, as it would have done in the previous century, it has been driven into the ground by his uncle's miserliness and reclusive habits. Indeed, on his arrival even the very house itself seems to actively repel John from his own birthright, denying him access to what should be his home. The windows are boarded against him, the locked front door he tries is without a knocker and the vicious advances of a chained dog force him to give up his knocking and enter the house through the servant's kitchen, thus undermining the status afforded him by his class and his religion and also his claim to the property:

> The house itself stood strongly defined even amid the darkness of the evening sky; for there were neither wings, or offices, or shrubbery or tree, to shade or support it, and soften its strong harsh outline. John [...] addressed himself to knock at the door, but knocker there was none: loose stones, however, there were in plenty; and John was making vigorous application to the door with one of them, till the furious barking of a mastiff, who threatened at every bound to break his chain, and whose yell and growl, [...] savoured as much of hunger as of rage, made the assailant raise the siege on the door, and betake himself to a well-known passage that led to the kitchen. (p. 10)

Far from being a shining symbol of familial security and continuity, then, the Big House here resists its future owner whilst accommodating the native Irish servants that John encounters in the kitchen with ease – as is the case in *Castle*

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[31] Moynahan. p. 11.

Rackrent and as a significant indication of what is to come, the Catholic Irish have no trouble permeating its walls. In fact, the house's primary function in the story seems to be as a paean to the past rather than any acknowledgement of a secure future. It is the place where the Melmoth line comes to die. The reader is left in no doubt as to the tainted nature of this particular bequest. And crucially, in terms of a literary legacy also, the decline of the Melmoth estate as here described is later mirrored in *Dracula* when the Count laments the decline of the standing of himself and his people through the disrepair of his familial home: "'the walls of my castle are broken; the shadows are many, and the wind breathes cold through the broken battlements and casements.'" (p. 26) The Big House is indicative, then, of the waning power of the Anglo-Irish in nineteenth-century Ireland, of the insecurity that has come to be attached to their sense of self and also the way in which they previously asserted a stable selfhood-through their architecture. Its symbolic potency is heightened further when it is shown to accommodate the dark secret that best exemplifies the sterility and doomed future of it owners, that of its most infamous former landlord; the Wanderer himself.

In a trope that will later be adopted by both Le Fanu and indeed Stoker himself, it becomes apparent that the Wanderer is tied to his decaying estate. Despite his powers that allow him to traverse the earth in the blink of an eye, like Dracula who must sleep in the earth of his native place, he keeps returning to his ancestral home. Of course, in some ways he is always present in the house, through the medium of his portrait, or at least he is until John destroys it. Like the painting of the wolf that shows Silas' true nature in Le Fanu's text, or indeed in the work of Maturin's great-nephew Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, the Wanderer is shown as his true self through the medium of art. The painting portrays him as a young, mortal man but it also betrays his true age by depicting him in the seventeenth-century dress of his own true period. It further heightens the strange and unnatural elements of his present existence by showing him both for what he is and also what cannot be: a being that is a few hundred years old. In this sense, it allies the mundane with the otherworldly: 'There was nothing remarkable in the costume or in the countenance, but *the eyes*, John felt, were such as one feels they wish they had never seen' (p. 18), and effectively conveys what is one of the most striking characteristics of the Wanderer in particular and

indeed, the novel as a whole: that of an intrinsic duality. As a prototype to Stoker's Dracula, the Wanderer exists on the borderland of identities. He is strictly neither dead nor alive but exists in a realm outside of such binary oppositions. Neither is he strictly human, for while he can father a child with his wife Immalee/Isadora, he can also cross great distances in the blink of an eye and can infiltrate the most secure and forbidding locations of the world. He does not age and he does not die but he yet he can cause death as in the case of the Fr Olavida at the Spanish wedding. He can see the future, as when he predicts that Stanton will meet him again in unhappy circumstances after their encounter at the theatre but it is important to note that he himself does not possess the ability to influence this, or any other, course of events.

Again, as an important precursor to Stoker's vampire Count, the Wanderer appears to act as an agent of evil, a harbinger of threat in the text. He foreshadows Isadora's unhappy fate by showing her the cruelty and barbarism of the world's religions in a vision. Similarly, he threatens Stanton with his knowledge of what will happen to him if he remains in the asylum:

> A time will come, and soon, when, from mere habit, you will echo the scream of every delirious wretch that harbours near you; then you will pause, clasp your hands on your throbbing head and listen with horrible anxiety whether the scream proceeded from *you* or *them* [...] The time will come, when from the want of occupation [...] you will feel as anxious to hear those shrieks, as you were at first terrified to hear them [...] at last your fear will become a more fearful hope: you will wish to become one of them, to escape the agony of consciousness. (p. 56)

Indeed, the Wanderer's coercions abound in the text but, as Punter and Byron have pointed out, it is important to realise that he is not the source of threat in the text, merely its instrument and messenger.[32] Ultimately impotent, the terrible things that he describes exist and have agency wholly independently of him and his actions. In many ways, he is as much a victim as all of those who in their sufferings he tries to tempt. He too is at the mercy of forces outside of his control. Like the fading status of the Anglo-Irish in nineteenth-century Ireland, the Wanderer is certain only of his imminent and, as the text shows, inevitable destruction. And his fate is oblivion; he will literally be eradicated in Hell by the forces he pledged his soul to and will leave no trace on earth at all, for even his

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[32] Punter and Byron, *The Gothic*, p. 205.

portrait and Stanton's manuscript are later destroyed. For him there is no escape and also no resolution, only a complete eradication of the self. When John and Moncada enter the Wanderer's chamber in the final pages of the novel, the emptiness that confronts them there is described with absolute finality by Maturin:

> They were stilled as in a moment. The silence that succeeded seemed for them for a few moments more terrible than all that preceded [...] they hastened together to the apartment. They entered – it was empty – not a vestige of its last inhabitant was to be traced within. (p. 541)

In this respect, the Wanderer serves as the ideal metaphor for the Anglo-Irish national condition in the nineteenth century. While he can pass everywhere, he truly belongs nowhere. His sense of self is constantly in flux, but, more than this, it is increasingly under threat as the narrative progresses. The Wanderer fears the passing of time because of the eventual reckoning he must face as payment for his unnatural stay on death. As his quest to find one who will offer up their soul in lieu of his becomes increasingly more hopeless, the issue facing the Wanderer is the growing certainty of his own final destruction.

This fear of oblivion, then, of simply not being, is the origin of all of the threat in the text and is inextricably bound up with the Anglo-Irish national condition in the nineteenth century. It also accounts for the extraordinarily virulent anti-Catholicism found in the text and the way in which the novel 'marshalls the Gothic's extensive machinery of paranoia for the purpose of demonizing the Irish followers of the Church of Rome as well as their Spanish allies'.[33] Displaced primarily onto a corrupt and frightening Spain, where the forces of persecution are all-encompassing and where any religious dissent or deviation from social mores is systematically hunted down and destroyed, is the Anglican fear of the growing Catholic-centric Irish nationalism where the Anglo-Irish would have no place. Of course, the Protestant elite do not fully disappear in this text. John Melmoth is still very much alive and well at the end of the novel. But he is unmarried, childless and the landlord of a swiftly decaying estate. Like Stoker's Harker after him, he is also left permanently scarred by his chilling experience; the final image of this young Ascendancy landlord is one with a look of 'silent and unutterable horror' (p. 541) etched on his face. Above all else, the

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[33] Schmitt, p. 147.

reader is left with an anxiety surrounding continuity. This concern, so central to the Protestant Ascendancy psyche in the nineteenth century, is explored in even greater depth in Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu's *Uncle Silas*.

Uncle Silas was published in 1864 and, on the face of it, is less obviously a Gothic and an Anglo-Irish text than Maturin's work. Originally beginning life as a short story entitled 'A Passage in the Secret History of an Irish Countess', the completed novel retains the basic narrative of the original story: that of a young orphaned heiress targeted by her murderous uncle for the fortune her death will bequeath him. Unlike *Melmoth*, there is no obviously supernatural element to Le Fanu's story. In its exploration of Silas' hidden but abiding malevolence towards his vulnerable niece in his isolated and decaying pile, however, it has much in common with the seminal texts of the Gothic genre that portray virtuous heroines in peril in desolate European castles, a tradition that Stoker clearly draws on and to a certain extent subverts in his placing Harker at the mercy of the three vampire women in Castle Dracula. Maud's sinister governess, Madame de la Rougierre, is straight out of a canon of stock European villains and Silas himself, or the Governor, as he is also known, is constructed as deeply unsettling from the off:

> A face like marble, with a fearful monumental look, and, for an old man, singularly vivid strange eyes, the singularity of which rather grew upon me as I looked; for his eyebrows were still black, though his hair descended from his temples in long locks of the purest silver and fine as silk, nearly to his shoulders. (p. 200)

More important than all this, however, is the brooding air of concentrated menace that pervades the narrative, the psychological as well as physical threat that emanates from every page, which more than legitimates this as a text in the Gothic tradition. In this regard, it would be well to keep Julian Moynahan's assertion in mind, that 'Le Fanu's fiction is full of hauntings: his special gift and effect, however, is often to make it appear that the living are being haunted by the living.'[34] And while the action in the completed novel moves from rural Ireland of the short story to the wilds of Derbyshire in the English countryside, this has not stopped critics from recognising that Anglo-Irish identity concerns play a highly significant part in shaping the text that appeared for publication in

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[34] Moynahan, p. 127.

the 1860s, regardless of initial appearances. Indeed, Elizabeth Bowen, positioned as she herself was within the Anglo-Irish community of the early twentieth century, was the first to recognise and apply a culturally and historically specific reading to *Uncle Silas*, calling it 'an Irish story transposed to an English setting'.[35] Since then, it has become commonplace in critical evaluations of the novel to at least allude to the issues facing the Anglo-Irish in nineteenth-century Ireland and the manifestations of these issues in the text. In his introduction to the 2000 Penguin edition of the novel, for example, Victor Sage places Le Fanu's writing firmly within the Anglo-Irish Gothic tradition by relating what he interprets as an inherent national duality of Anglo-Irish identity concerns, given the 'Janus-like aspect' of that class's 'cultural provenance', something that Marjorie Howes is keen to expand on in her highly influential essay, 'Mis-alliance and Anglo-Irish Tradition in Le Fanu's *Uncle Silas*'.[36] She writes that Le Fanu's own personal/collective experiences as Anglo-Irishman could not but influence the writing of the text for

> living close to a military presence that was more show than substance, being not merely isolated from but openly resented [...] by the native Irish at Abingdon: and remaining dependent on his London publisher and the English literary marketplace for his living – all gave Le Fanu an acute sense of the tenuous political and cultural position of the Anglo-Irish.[37]

Howes goes on to give one of the most complete Anglo-Irish readings of the text, interrogating in great detail the aspects of the text that she believes are fundamentally related to the insecurity of the Protestant elite in Victorian Ireland in relation to the increasingly problematic question of their national identity, and in doing so gives a sustained and historically and culturally-specific reading of the novel. It is on the groundwork crafted by her highly influential scholarship that my own interpretation of the text is here initially based.

The Big House setting, as in Maturin's text before it and Stoker's *Dracula* after it, is an intrinsic part of an Anglo-Irish reading of the Gothic dimensions of *Uncle Silas*. As in Maturin's text, such a setting evokes landlordism, familial continuity and material and ideological claims to the land, to the 'nation'. In this light, Howes figures Maud's father Austin Ruthyn as a

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[35] Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu, *Uncle Silas* (London: The Cresset Press, 1947), pp. 7-9.
[36] See Sage, *Uncle Silas*, p. ix, and Marjorie Howes, 'Misalliance and Anglo-Irish Tradition in Le Fanu's Uncle Silas', *Nineteenth Century Literature*, 47 (1992), 164-86.
[37] Ibid, p. 165.

'friendly but absentee landlord', and goes on to say that '*Uncle Silas'*
preoccupation with dynastic families, its description of the power of such
families as present more in its effects than in its physical manifestations, and the
novel's dismantling of the boundaries between the pure and the corrupt are all
characteristics that inform critical evaluations of the text as an Anglo-Irish
Gothic'.[38] Like Melmoth's property that precedes it and Castle Dracula 'with its
broken battlements' (p. 28) that it in turn precedes, this estate has fallen into ruin
with great portions of the house boarded up and out of use, and the grounds
neglected and overrun. Maud's description of her new home when she first
arrives is particularly illuminating here:

> The bright moon shining full on the white front of the old house revealed
> not only its highly decorated style [...] but also its stained and moss-
> grown front. Two giant trees, overthrown at last by the recent storm, lay
> with their upturned roots, and their yellow foliage still flickering on the
> sprays that were to bloom no more, where they had fallen, at the right
> side of the court-yard, which, like the avenue, was studded with tufted
> weeds and grass. (p. 194)

She tells us that 'all this gave to the aspect of Bartram a forlorn character of
desertion and decay, contrasting almost awfully with the grandeur of its
proportions and richness of its architecture' (p. 194). It also evokes the decline in
the Anglo-Irish condition in the period with astonishing insight. In contrast to his
social position, the reader finds that Silas lives a frugal and repressed existence
and despite the generous sum of money left to him for Maud's upkeep in her
father's will, there is never any positive indication of this money being put to
good use. In fact, Bartram Haugh's decay is so pronounced that it is now
irrevocable; Silas' unpaid debts ensure that there can be no reversal of Bartram's
fortunes and there is no potential for growth, regeneration or change. All is
stagnant, or even worse, regressive. And while the estate has heirs, these children
do not portray a confident genealogical continuity regardless of their familial
inheritance. On the contrary, because of their enforced isolation from society and
the profound lack of interest their father has shown in their upbringing they have
become somewhat atavistic, a condition that the Anglo-Irish in their heyday
actively sought to refute, but which here has been allowed to develop freely.[39]

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[38] Ibid, p. 177 and p. 178.
[39] For a discussion of the Anglo-Irish struggle against the label of barbaric, uncivilised and
regressive in the eighteenth century, see Chapter One, 'Writing the Nation: The Anglo-Irish

Milly Ruthyn, despite her innately good nature, 'a rustic Miranda' (p. 201), is described by Maud as no better than a dairy maid, on their first meeting: 'I had first thought only of Milly's absurdities, to which, in description, I cannot do justice [...] But her ways and her talk were so indescribably grotesque that she made me again and again quiver with suppressed laughter' (p. 208). Her brother Dudley, on the other hand, without the positive attributes of his sister to temper the deficiencies in his character, is boorish, poorly-educated and violent. Even the servants exhibit signs of the regressive malaise that seems to pervade the house and grounds. The gamekeeper Pegtop is so named because of his striking physical deformity and the maid assigned to care for Maud and Milly, Silas' daughter, is an old crone, blatantly unsuited to the task given to her, something that is made all the more apparent by her ironic nickname, bestowed by Milly, of L'Amour.

Silas' children are painted as backward in the sense that they lack refinement and finesse but they are also retrograde in that they are doomed to repeat the actions of their primary parent. Dudley in particular is shown to be his father's son by echoing what many in the novel perceive to be Silas' worst affront to his class and position by marrying beneath him. Just as his father made the fatal mistake in Lady Knolly's view of marrying a 'coarse and vulgar' Welsh barmaid (p. 157), an event that can be interpreted in an Anglo-Irish light as a warning against intermarriage with the native or Celtic Irish, Dudley is revealed to be already married to local girl Sarah Mangles even during his pursuit of Maud for her fortune. And, just as Silas murdered Charke to rid himself of financial problems in his youth, Dudley is here manipulated to commit the same act, in exactly the same way to ensure his own survival, economic and otherwise. It is sheer accident that he kills Madame in Maud's place. As in Maturin's novel, this text is preoccupied with the idea that we are doomed to repeat the mistakes of our past; for most of the narrative the novel offers no vision of a new future, or of any lasting change. Journeys that appear to take us away from the estate are revealed to be circular for an apparent change of scenery is revealed to show that Maud remains within her uncle's house, even after she thinks she has left it for a

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Ascendancy and the Question of National Identity', p. 48. For a sustained engagement with these ideas as manifest in the nineteenth century and how they are given new impetus by popularly-held ideas regarding physiognomy and racial hierarchy, see Chapter Three, 'The (Anglo-) Irishman in the Metropolis'.

finishing school in France. Instead she finds herself 'removed to this uncomfortable and desolate room, on the same floor with the apartment in which Charke had met his death' (p. 420).

For all its deficiencies however, Bartram Haugh is only one of the two Big Houses that feature so prominently in the story. What then of Knowl, Maud's home before her father's mysterious but apparently anticipated death? Does this represent an alternative vision for the Anglo-Irish estate? Many critics have pointed to the numerous Swedenborgian references in the text as evidence that Knowl and Bartram are in fact doubles, two sides of the same coin and that brothers Austin and Silas are opposing sides of the same core personality.[40] In this way, Knowl does not offer any alternative version of the future for the Irish Protestant elite anymore than it presents another space for Maud. Silas may be an obviously poor father to his two children but it is Austin who keeps his daughter in the dark about his illness, imminent death and his plans for her thereafter. He refuses to listen to her when she imparts her fears regarding her governess and it is Austin who consciously puts Maud's life and the continuity of his family at risk when he sends her to live with her disgraced uncle in an effort to clear the family name. Bartram Haugh may be the site of nightmare for Maud; a place of secrets and brewing malevolence, but Knowl is upon closer examination no better. It too is full of secrets, and in many ways, Silas is as present here as in his own home through his portrait that hangs there and the extraordinary significance attached to it and his story by Austin's fraternal pride. The Big Houses of the Anglo-Irish class in *Uncle Silas*, just as in *Melmoth*, do not so much represent stability, permanence and continuity but actively rather actively undermine this by their shadows, locked gates and secret rooms. In this sense, they stand as important literary precursors to Castle Dracula.

Le Fanu's Big Houses, then, continue in the pattern already established by Edgeworth and Maturin of serving as texts that write the reality of the Anglo-Irish identity situation in nineteenth-century Ireland in their walls. The reader is left in no doubt when Maud describes the entrance to Bartram as 'grass-grown and ivy-bound, with [...] the Ruthyn bearings washed by the rains of Derbyshire

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[40] See Howes, p. 176, Punter and Byron, *The Gothic*, p. 222, and Sage, 'Irish Gothic', p. 90 for varied assertions that the ideology of Swedenborgianism allows us to look at the text as a series of binaries-Austin and Silas, Knowl and Bartram Haugh etc.

[...] and looking bleached and phantasmal' (p. 193), that she is not just talking about bricks and mortar. But of course, Knowl and Bartram Haugh are just one facet of a novel in which the difficulty of identity designation is a key concern. In this respect, passing as other is a key component of this text also. In his book *Neither Black nor White Yet Both*, Werner Sollers defines the action as 'the crossing of any line that divides social groups', but like Judith Butler and Elaine K. Ginsberg, confines the passing narrative primarily to African-American literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the idea of traversing the colour line.[41] It is important, however, to recognise that the same patterns of rejecting and adopting racial and national identity may be seen at work in the writing of Anglo-Irish novelists like Le Fanu. Like Coleman Silk in Philip Roth's *The Human Stain* (2000),[42] or Clare Kendry in Nella Larsen's *Passing* (1929),[43] and indeed like the figure of the Wanderer in Maturin's novel, no one in this narrative is what they at first appear; in fact, they all 'pass' as something else. The reader is first introduced to Dudley in Scarsdale churchyard where he is presented as a lout propositioning Maud, and again later in the story as a drunken bandit. Of course, he is later revealed to be Maud's cousin and Silas' son and heir, and a co-conspirator and would-be murderer. Milly, on the other hand, projects an air of coarseness from the first, yet unlike her brother she is not truly rough, just badly brought up. Meg Hawkes appears to be wild and unpredictable but she later risks her life to attempt to save Maud. Captain Oakley has all the appearance of a charming suitor when in fact he is a fortune hunter whose main interest in Maud is in her inheritance, and even Cousin Monica's/Lady Knolly's cheerful and girlish exterior does not always ring true, underlined all the more by her dark glances, reticent nature and vacillation between names.

The ability of the various characters to slip in and out of roles, to be one thing or the other at various points in the story represents a progression from the Wanderer in Maturin's work, whose mobility is nearly always merely physical. While he can traverse continents, infiltrate the most secure prisons in the world and he can even gain access to the inner workings of the human psyche to attempt to provoke the response he so desires, he rarely seeks to deceive or to

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[41] Werner Sollers, *Neither Black Nor White Yet Both* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1997).
[42] Philip Roth, *The Human Stain* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000).
[43] Nella Larsen, *Passing*, ed. by Carla Kaplan (New York: Norton, 2007).

disguise himself. In many ways, it seems like this is because he is unable to, for his malevolence and disregard for humanity invariably shine through, something that Moynahan attributes to his Anglo-Irish positioning: 'Melmoth's aggression upon others, his sufferings, and his damnation are, from the beginning, entangled with, and emerge from, the background of Irish Ascendancy history in its darker aspects.'[44] The deceptive quality of the characters in this novel therefore points to the growing sense of a loss of national positioning and the need to try to exist on the borders, on the boundaries between one thing and another, a textual survival strategy as it were. Melmoth remains true to himself to death, and die he does. He is mysterious but never consciously or artfully so yet his ultimate fate in the text is negation. Silas, on the other hand goes out of his way to deceive, and while he does not survive the narrative, he dies on his own terms, a suicide from an overdose of laudanum. It seems, then, that the threat of an eroding sense of national selfhood brings about a new type of monster in Anglo-Irish writing: one that is dangerous and covert, and also now frequently comes from within. In order to guarantee his own personal security Silas is here willing to negate one of his own line. He is part of 'an older generation of an ancient family facing extinction, willing to lay waste to its own children in order to survive a little while longer'.[45] In this trait he anticipates the female vampires of *Dracula* who subvert the Victorian equation of the feminine with the maternal to prey upon the young:

> she pointed to the bag which he had thrown upon the floor, and which moved as if there were some living thing within it. For an answer he nodded his head. One of the women jumped forward and opened it. If my ears did not deceive me there was a gasp and a low wail, as of a half smothered child (p. 40).

The pressures Silas faces from external sources cause him to internally fracture, to inhabit two opposing personas – that of a venerable Rembrandt and a vicious wolf – to attack one of his own bloodline and therefore attempt to feed on the life-energy (money) of his niece, in a type of proto-vampirism, in the same way that he turns to destroy the trees in his estate for the financial support they will temporarily provide when sold as timber.

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[44] Moynahan, p. 117.
[45] Sage, 'Irish Gothic', p. 90.

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In Le Fanu's story of degeneration, exploitation and fear, then, we find another example of Anglo-Irish Gothic; a genre deeply invested in the sense of threatened nationhood facing the Irish Ascendancy as the nineteenth century progressed, and one that was to have a profound later impact on Stoker and his textual vampire. In many ways, in the themes they flag up and the questions they raise, these novels by Maturin and Le Fanu function as important precursors for *Dracula* and, as key examples of the Anglo-Irish Gothic tradition, they need to be analysed as such. However, *Dracula* was not Stoker's only or even first engagement with the genre, as an exploration of his first complete novel, *The Snake's Pass*, written and published in England but imaginatively rooted in the Irish landscape and Anglo-Irish Gothic literary tradition, will now show.

III

The Snake's Pass is not often regarded by critics as a part of an Anglo-Irish Gothic tradition. In fact, it is not often regarded by critics as much of anything at all. Like the vast majority of Stoker's output aside from *Dracula* it has been much neglected and as discussed in the Introduction, serious scholarly studies of this text and others have only very lately started to emerge.[46] The novel tells the story of a young Englishman Arthur Severn's romantic and thereby spiritual, moral and political education in Ireland through the love of beautiful local girl Norah Joyce, and, when viewed in this way, seems to be drawn along the lines of a narrative type best exemplified by Owenson's *The Wild Irish Girl*, in which the eventual marriage between English gentleman and native Irish woman functions as an allegory for a conciliatory vision of political unity between the two countries and a justification of the British imperial mission in an Irish context.[47] This is certainly how Andrew Maunder views it when he writes of the 'new utopia created by the mediating presence of the gentleman hero'.[48] He goes on to assert that

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[46] The rise in interest in *The Snake's Pass* is part of the recent trend discussed in the Introduction for considering the range of Stoker's work as a coherent corpus in place of the previous scholarly tradition of considering *Dracula* as an anomaly amongst the rest of Stoker's substandard literary output. For discussions of the novel see Valente, Glover, Maunder and Hopkins.

[47] Maria Edgeworth and Sydney Owenson, *Two Irish National Tales: Castle Rackrent and The Wild Irish Girl*, ed. by James M. Smith, New Riverside Editions (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005).

[48] Andrew Maunder, *Bram Stoker* (Tavistock: Northcote, 2006), p. 83

these colonial subjects need to be "helped" to move forward by a healthy middle-class young man. Thus Arthur marries Norah, buys her father's land at a knock-down price and discovers a valuable reserve of limestone. This discovery enables him to renovate the district (using the latest scientific expertise) and put its picturesque body of natives to gainful employment in the limestone quarry [...] Arthur is an explorer but also an exploiter, whose instinct is to take possession – both of the girl and the land.[49]

In many ways, this is an important reading of the text, and given what is known of Stoker's own political views as a 'conservative Home Ruler' and his support for devolved power in Dublin whilst maintaining of the formal link with Britain, it is not difficult to see how it is arrived at.[50] It is one that Joseph Valente also endorses when he states that 'The Snake's Pass substantially adheres to the generic conventions of the "metropolitan marriage", an Anglocentric framework for projecting gendered, hierarchically disposed stereotypes of Englishness and Irishness under the sign of a harmonious reconciliation of the two lands and peoples', although for Valente, this novel is more an example of Stoker's literary apprenticeship than any serious engagement with the ideas of national and political identity that such a project would necessarily explore.[51] However, approaching Valente's idea of literary apprenticeship or maturation from a slightly different angle, we can also consider the tale alongside Maturin and Le Fanu's Anglo-Irish Gothic works for a variety of reasons. Indeed, it exhibits many of the same traits that legitimate *Melmoth* and *Uncle Silas* as part of the genre.

The story of Stoker's first full-length novel manifests many of the same features of the texts we have just been looking at. Indeed, in its wild rural setting, threatening central villain who is closely connected to myth and legend in the narrative and a plot against a vulnerable young woman for his own material gain, *The Snake's Pass* owes much to Le Fanu's *Uncle Silas* and also echoes Maturin's *Melmoth*, albeit to a lesser extent. And as is the case with these novels, there are

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[49] Ibid.
[50] For an example of a discussion of Stoker's own political views, his mediations of the relationship between Ireland and Britain, and the movement of people between the two, see especially Chapter Five 'The Anglo-Irish Insider: Bram Stoker and the Politics of Passing', pp. 181-82. See also David Glover, *Vampires, Mummies and Liberals: Bram Stoker and the Politics of Popular Fiction* (Durham and London: Duke, 1996), p. 53.
[51] Joseph Valente, *Dracula's Crypt: Bram Stoker, Irishness, and the Question of Blood* (Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 2002), p. 12.

numerous suggestions throughout this text that characters are not what they appear to be, that they encompass another identity, that as is the case in Le Fanu and Maturin's works, duality abounds. Arthur Severn's construction as rational, scientific and modernising Englishman is undercut by Norah Joyce's pronouncement that 'Arthur, you are the Fairy Prince!' (p. 178), which is in turn paralleled by Arthur's local driver Andy's repeated suggestion that his master is entranced by some 'fairy girrul' (p. 104). And given that both Andy and the reader are fully aware that he is hopelessly in love with Norah, Andy's assertions on the object of Arthur's affections also impact on the narrative's construction of Norah, rendering her not as human but as fairy or leprechaun at times instead (p. 104). Indeed, Norah is also referred to on occasion as the embodiment of Knocknacar bog itself, cementing the relationship that often exists in Irish literature between the feminine and the native land and further complicating her identity in the text.[52] And of course her role as persecuted heroine in peril echoes that of Isadora or Maud Ruthvyn further situating Stoker's novel within a tradition of Anglo-Irish Gothic writing. Moreover, in Black Murdock's dogged pursuit of the Joyces' land, there are echoes of the Wanderer's campaign to find someone to take over his destiny. And of course, the motivation behind Murdock's behaviour, the lost treasure of the invading French militia of 1798, connects him with the machinations of Silas and Dudley to procure money for themselves and their languishing estate by violent or even murderous means. And the fact that the treasure the money lender seeks is buried in the local bog connects this quest for financial gain with the holding of land, with a sense of national identity that again evokes the heightened significance of the Melmoth and Ruthyn estates within a nineteenth-century Anglo-Irish context.

As is the case with the other examples of Anglo-Irish Gothic we have here looked at, characterisation is not the only aspect of this novel that is in flux. If we turn to look at the overtly supernatural elements in this story, derived from the legend Arthur hears upon his arrival of St. Patrick and his battle with the King of the Snakes and overlaid onto the story of Murdock's quest for the lost riches, we find that as is the case with Le Fanu's narrative, these may all be ostensibly explained away by real or natural events. The shifting bog or sinking

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[52] See C.L. Innes, *Woman and Nation in Irish Literature and Society, 1880-1935* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993).

'carpet of death' is rationalized by Arthur and Dick Sutherland's knowledge of the science of geology, the treasure is not magical but simply material wealth lost amidst military unrest. Murdock is not the reincarnated Snake King, merely a greedy and obsessed fortune hunter, and the curse of the mountain does not seem to hold much sway amidst the more prosaic concerns of limestone excavation and rural regeneration this will enable. However, in Arthur's dreams there is an unsettling fusion of apparently 'real' events with supernatural occurrences and crucially, these dreams often bleed into reality as premonitions that foreshadow actual events. The dramatic conclusion of the narrative which finds Norah and Arthur engaged in a deadly confrontation with Murdock on the top of Knockcalltecrore is predicted in the dream Arthur has that same night:

> Again and again the fatal Hill and all its mystic and terrible associations haunted me, again the snakes writhed around and took terrible forms; again she I loved was in peril; again Murdock seemed to arise in new forms of terror and wickedness [...] But even in the first instant of my awakening I had taken a resolution which forthwith I proceeded to carry into effect. These terrible dreams, whencesoever they came, must not have come in vain; the grim warning must not be despised. Norah was in danger, and I must go to her at all hazards. (p. 188)

The dark and displaced elements of the text are therefore not as easily dismissed as at first may appear. Indeed, as is the case with all Anglo-Irish Gothic that seeks to articulate the increasingly unstable Anglo-Irish identity question in this period, the dark, the threatening, the fear-provoking are all central components of this narrative. Amidst the text's engagement with the rational, the scientific, the knowable and the British, swirls the unsettling power of the sublime Irish landscape, the ancient stories of magic and superstition and the central conflict over land and the power and status it connotes. For if Anglo-Irish Gothic is a genre that uses the supernatural, or indeed the suggestion of the supernatural, to engage with the pressing and real issues facing the contemporary Protestant elite in a displaced manner, then it is worth noting that this is also a text with a consideration of the importance of land, place and religion opposition at its core and evoking some old stalwarts of Anglo-Irish literature in the process. In the absence of a Big House to focus religious (and thereby national) tension, we have instead a focus here on place and power, and on the material, social and thereby national gains that ownership of the land, or the nation, conveys. To turn again to

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the importance of Stoker's inherited positioning as Anglo-Irishman, David Glover argues that 'as an Irishman born into the Protestant middle-class and a former civil servant for the Crown, Stoker was predisposed to make sense of the world through similar categories and oppositions.'[53] Therefore, the infinitely sympathetic Phelim Joyce is rendered a Protestant, and a Protestant landlord at that, and Glover also has this to say about the importance of Norah's religious identity:

> In a land of priests, fairy tales, and the legends of the saints, she must also be distinguished as Protestant, and this denomination is then articulated with social class to provide her with the necessary motivation and self-discipline [...] to school herself out of her peasant background so as to rise "higher and nearer to Arthur's level".[54]

Murdock's affiliation is ostensibly Catholic, native, and entirely embodying the negative racial constructions attached by external English and internal Anglo-Irish sources to the indigenous Irish population. The dream that Arthur has before the final shifting of the bog merely serves to reinforce this negative characterisation for 'suddenly Murdock's evil face, borne on a huge serpent body, writhed up beside us; and in an instant Norah was whirled from my side and swept into the bog, I being powerless to saver her or even help her' (p. 177). At other junctures, he is described as a beast in pain, a 'black-jawed ruffian', and a man of wolfish demeanour, clearly drawing on Le Fanu's lupine characterisation of Silas but also anticipating the eponymous vampire count's close relationship with the wolves in *Dracula*: 'There seemed a strange stillness over everything; but as I listened I heard, as if from down below in the valley, the howling of many wolves. The Count's eyes gleamed, and he said: – "Listen to them – the children of the night. What music they make!"' (p. 21) Continuing in this vein, Hopkins in fact sees 'notably strong links between Dracula and the Gombeen Man of *The Snake's Pass*', noting that 'Joyce says to Murdock, "I put my mark upon ye once – I see it now comin' up white through the red of yer passion!" foreshadowing the white complexion and red blood associated with Dracula.'[55] She also draws attention to the similarities between Arthur's clamber down the face of a rock upon seeing Norah and Dracula's lizard-like descent down the wall

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[53] Glover, p. 46.
[54] Ibid, p. 39.
[55] Hopkins, p. 89.

of his castle that Harker witnesses with such horror, and indeed Arthur's response to Norah as 'the girl he recognises but cannot name' and 'the troubling sense of familiarity which the three [vampire] females spark in Jonathan Harker.'[56]

Given the negative portrayal of Murdock in the novel, it seems that Glover is right to state that 'Stoker's treatment of the Irish national character never strays far from the received categories of his period'.[57] And yet, Glover fails to appreciate just how much this novel is concerned with presenting a positive rendering of the Irish environment and its people. *The Snake's Pass* opens with a prolonged meditation on the sublime beauty of the Irish landscape:

> Between two tufts of gray and green, as the rock cropped out between tufts of emerald verdure, the valley, almost as narrow as a gorge, ran due west towards the sea. There was just room for the road-way, half cut in the rock, beside the narrow strip of dark lake of seemingly unfathomable depth that lay far below, between perpendicular walls of frowning rock. (p. 3)

Arthur is completely overcome by what he deems to be the wildness of the landscape of the west coast of Ireland, 'the almost primal desolation' (p. 3) that he finds when he visits whilst on holiday there. Instead of the view being simply frightening, however, it echoes instead the combination of fear and awe so meditated on by Burke in his discussions of the sublime at the beginning of this chapter. In fact, the ferocity of the landscape is rendered optimistically here; it contrasts very favourably with the tame and regulated English countryside that Arthur is used to and its impact on the young Englishman is therefore profound:

> the view was the most beautiful that I had ever seen; and accustomed as I had been only to the quiet pastoral beauty of a grass country, with occasional visits to my great aunt's well-wooded estate in the south of England, it was no wonder that it arrested my attention and absorbed my imagination. (p. 4)

Ireland and the Irish themselves come off very well in this book. Even when a violent storm breaks it merely serves to show off the majesty of the landscape in all its irregular beauty, and as an excuse for Arthur's driver Andy to introduce him to some genuine Irish hospitality while sheltering at Widow Kelligan's house from the weather. The Irish people gathered here are shown to

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[56] Ibid.
[57] Glover, p. 46.

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be honest, respectful, and generous of their time and resources, respectful of the visitor and knowledgeable when he presses them for information on local folklore. The passage evokes many of the stereotypically 'Irish' characteristics that exist in the Victorian popular imagination: loquacity, a fondness for alcohol and storytelling, a deferential regard for the opinions of their priest – but here Stoker works hard to rehabilitate the designation of Irishman and to render it in a positive light to his English guest, and by extension, readership.[58] Arthur tells us that after observing the way his neighbours rallied around Phelim Joyce after his trouble with Murdock, 'The Irish nature is essentially emotional, and a more genuine and stronger feeling I never saw. Not a few had tears in their eyes, and one and all were manifestly deeply touched' (p. 28). And while the character of Black Murdock is never redeemed in the narrative, his identity construction does betray some anxiety about common perceptions of Irishness in the period. In fact, the 'Black' prefix to his name is crucial because it evokes the threatening racialised depictions of Irishness that become increasingly widespread in Britain as the nineteenth century progresses and that form a large part of the discussions of our next chapter. As Hopkins argues, it 'illustrates only too clearly Stoker's awareness of how dangerously volatile and floating the concept of negritude could be, and how easily it could be affixed to the Irish'.[59] Of course, as noted in the previous chapter, by this juncture the Anglo-Irish and the 'native' Irish were virtually indistinguishable from an external perspective, and it is this external perspective that Stoker directs himself towards here. Anglo-Irish Gothic was not just concerned with the complexities of the Anglo-Irish national identity question from the domestic perspective, the, but also how external (English) perspectives on Irishness and Anglo-Irishness helped to shape the national identity question from afar. As the nationalist movement and the alienation it produced for the Protestant elite grew at home, London may have appeared to offer an alternative homeland but in many ways it was ideologically further away than ever before. The Anglo-Irish writer relied heavily on England for both publication and a readership in this period. His professional survival was centred on London rather

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[58] This is to prove to be a recurring theme in Stoker's meditations on Irish and Anglo-Irish national identity in both his fiction and non-fictive prose. See especially the passages in *Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving* (London: Heinemann, 1906), in which Stoker continues this pattern of subverting the Irish stereotype, discussed at length in Chapter Five, 'The Anglo-Irish Insider', pp. 225-27.

[59] Hopkins, p. 70.

than Dublin, especially by the 1800s. Although Maturin never lived outside Ireland, he depended on an English literary marketplace to get by financially. Creatively, too, he was very much bound up in the English canon, in the works of Lord Byron and Walter Scott.[60] Le Fanu, for his part, was also greatly influenced by the writings of Scott and sought to emulate his style, but an engagement with England could also prove restrictive and regulating as it was the demands of that marketplace that dictated what he could profitably write about. This was not, it seems, Irish stories and settings.[61] It is important to remember, then, that even though rooted in Ireland and Irishness, the only one of Stoker's novels to be overtly so, *The Snake's Pass* was written and published in England. And England looms large in this story that is so ostensibly rooted in Irish matters. For in much the same way as the Ascendancy Big Houses of the eighteenth century were originally built as testimonies to the sophistication and civility of their residents, Stoker's novel itself works hard, as we have seen, to render Ireland and its inhabitants, among whom the Anglo-Irish were now assuredly identified, in a positive light, to rebuke the negative connotations that the designation of Irish commonly evoked in the Victorian period. And of course, this rehabilitation of the Irish national character is in many ways an exercise in national identity formation for Stoker himself as we shall presently explore. As Hopkins writes, 'Stoker, then, positions himself ambivalently as an Irishman writing in England. Doubly an outsider, he capitalises on his liminality to interrogate both countries and expose the strengths and weaknesses of each.'[62]

This work has spent the last two chapters discussing the importance of Stoker's foundations and formations in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Anglo-Ireland. The 'Ascendant' experience of his caste in the 1700s is still to be discerned in the close-knit and classed community of Victorian Anglo-Irish Dublin where Stoker spent the first three decades of his life, feeding into his upbringing, education, employment and social networks, and above all, his sense or lack thereof of national identity. Moreover, this chapter has shown that in addition to the cultural inheritance of Anglo-Irish identity, Stoker can also be

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[60] Lougy, p. 41.
[61] See James H. Murphy, *Irish Novelists and the Victorian Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 4, and Punter, *A Companion to the Gothic*, p. 90, for some discussion of Le Fanu's publisher's alleged prohibition of an Irish setting in his later works.
[62] Hopkins, p. 90.

viewed against the backdrop of a more specific literary inheritance – that of Anglo-Irish Gothic that sought to give textual expression to the contentious issue of the national positioning of the Anglo-Irish within his own time. Adopting many of the defining features of this genre of identity writing, it is apparent that Stoker's first full-length novel is therefore deeply indebted to the writings of both Charles Robert Maturin and Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu. However, this chapter has also shown that while the threat posed by a changing Ireland is real and present enough in all of the novels discussed, the influence of England looms large on the Stoker's text in both content and form. *The Snake's Pass* can therefore be considered a bridging text in Stoker's literary oeuvre. Straddling the influences of both Ireland and England through its rendering of the Anglo-Irish Gothic narrative, as Maunder argues, 'it is also a text in which he introduced a number of themes and modes of representation that would be repeated throughout his writing.'[63] Clearly anticipating *Dracula* in theme, characterisation, and especially its metropolitan preoccupations, this work now moves to consider the other side of Stoker's formation as a writer and a fundamental element of any reading of *Dracula* as imaginative autobiography. It now progresses to consider Stoker's life in London and the impact that his position in the metropolis as émigré writer had on his treatment of the Anglo-Irish national identity question is of course, one of the key preoccupations of this work as a whole. And so, like the characters in Stoker's *The Primrose Path* (1875) that make the move from the familiar surroundings of the Irish countryside to the bustling capital, the next chapter shifts our gaze towards London and to the new opportunities that this presented but also the unprecedented challenges it opened up to the already displaced Anglo-Irish writer expressing the realities of a shifting national identity in a new and even more unstable environment – a double displacement and an evolution of the foundations built in the last two chapters. For when the priest speaks to Phelim Joyce about his son Eugene 'winnin' name and credit, and perhaps fame to come, even in England itself' (p. 31), he could just as easily be speaking about Stoker himself and his own aspirations as Anglo-Irishman in the capital.

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[63] Maunder, p. 75.

The (Anglo-) Irishman in the Metropolis

'"What does he do? He finds out the place of all the world most of promise for him. Then he deliberately set himself down to prepare for the task. He find[s] in patience just how is his strength, and what are his powers [sic]. He stud[ies] new tongues. He learn[s] new social life; new environment of old ways, the politic, the law, the finance, the science, the habit of a new and a new people [sic]"'[1]

When Stoker moved to London in 1878 he was enacting in many ways fellow Anglo-Irishman George Bernhard Shaw's assertion that 'Every Irishman who felt that his business in life was on the higher planes of the cultural professions, felt that he must have a metropolitan domicile [...] felt that his first business was to get out of Ireland.'[2] Stoker, for his part, made no secret of his own desire to transcend his comfortable, yet what in the last chapter Lisa Hopkins termed 'cramping', lifestyle of his home city.[3] Writing in his diary of the exultation he felt with 'London in view!', he was an Anglo-Irishman with social, economic and literary ambition and felt, according to Andrew Maunder, that the British capital could offer him better opportunities for success in his chosen field, that 'as a writer' he 'should have a larger scope and better chance of success than at home.'[4] In leaving behind the provincialism of nineteenth-century Dublin to pursue a career with Henry Irving, this Anglo-Irish author actively pursued the 'larger scope' of the British capital, and in this regard, Maunder argues that 'Stoker's own dreams of metropolitan life seem to have been well satisfied.'[5] Irving was, after all, the most famous actor of his day and working in his service enabled Stoker to integrate fully into the best of London life, to move in the most fashionable social circles, and to count the great and the good of metropolitan society amongst his acquaintance: as noted in the Introduction, both Gladstone and Disraeli frequented the Lyceum, and Stoker could also boast the acquaintance of actress Ellen Terry, who called him 'Ma', Alfred Lord Tennyson,

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[1] Bram Stoker, *Dracula*, ed. by Roger Luckhurst (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 297-98.
[2] George Bernard Shaw, *The Matter with Ireland*, ed. by Dan H. Lawrence and David H. Greene (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2001), p. 11.
[3] Lisa Hopkins, *Bram Stoker: A Literary Life* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 69
[4] Andrew Maunder, *Bram Stoker* (Tavistock: Northcote, 2006), p. 29.
[5] Ibid, p. 30.

Hall Caine, Richard Burton and Arthur Conan Doyle amongst others.[6] As is appropriate given *Dracula*'s status as imaginative autobiography, just like his fictional vampiric counterpart that Van Helsing describes above, Stoker identified London as the place that held the most 'promise' for him, and set to inhabiting its 'new environment' with purpose. Indeed, 'by the time he came to write *Dracula*, Stoker could market himself with some complacency as "a Londoner of twenty years standing" who "knew everybody worth knowing" in the glittering worlds of literature, art, theatre and politics'.[7] London, according to Maunder, came to be regarded by Stoker as his 'natural and immediate habitat' the place that he truly became a success, in financial, social and literary terms.[8]

Of course, as is evidenced by Shaw's pessimistic assessment of the lack of opportunities for the ambitious available within the environs of nineteenth-century Ireland, Stoker was not the only Anglo-Irishman to make the move from Dublin to London in our period. Rather he is one of a significant, yet in many respects, invisible, Anglo-Irish emigrant population to seek professional and social advancement in the metropolis over the latter half of the nineteenth century, a population that includes Shaw himself, Oscar Wilde, W. B. Yeats, albeit on an intermittent basis as well as countless other professionals in the spheres of journalism, politics, medicine and the law.[9] Lacking the overt racial signifiers of other emigrant populations, and, because of their predominantly middle-class status, less identifiable than the poorer native Irish that travelled to Britain in much greater numbers, these Anglo-Irish migrants are the hidden face of the Irish migration story yet an analysis of their positioning within nineteenth-century London is necessarily one of the flagstones of this work. Thus far, this thesis has been deeply invested in the idea of influence for Stoker, on the historical inheritance of the Anglo-Irish national identity question, formed out of Ascendancy experiences within Ireland itself and consequently manifested in Anglo-Irish literature, on Stoker's own sense of national selfhood and the expression of this in his writing. The previous two chapters have repeatedly stressed the importance of these key cultural and literary foundations in any

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[6] Barbara Belford, *Bram Stoker: A Biography of the Author of Dracula* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1996), p. 105.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Maunder, p. 30.
[9] See *Ireland Abroad: Politics and Professions in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Oonagh Walsh (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003).

reading of *Dracula* as imaginative rendering of the author's own fragmented national existence. However, it is within this often neglected element of the Irish diaspora community in Britain, this collection of Anglo-Irish 'micks on the make' as R.F. Foster has it, that the national identity question for Stoker must now be placed.[10] For if the question of Anglo-Irish national affiliation, as played out over eighteenth and nineteenth-century Ascendancy texts, are the fundamentals of this work's investigations, then it is Stoker's adopted home London with its 'whirl and rush of humanity' (p. 22), and the influence that London had on Stoker and his work, that builds on these foundations and that provides the necessary immediate contexts for a reading of the literary rendering of the national self that we find in *Dracula* as imaginative autobiography.

> England had conquered Ireland, so there was nothing for it but to come over and conquer England.[11]

The above quotation opens the companion booklet to an exhibition entitled 'Conquering England: Ireland in Victorian London', that took place at the National Portrait Gallery in 2005. Jointly curated by Fintan Cullen and R. F. Foster, the aim of the exhibition was to draw attention to the diverse ways in which the immigrant Irish (and Anglo-Irish among them, like English attitudes the exhibition did not distinguish between them) were creatively, culturally and politically present in the Victorian metropolitan setting. Innovative not least in the manner it which it shied away from traditional representations of the Irish in Britain as the poor immigrant or Fenian terrorist, the exhibition projected something of Graham Davis' assertion that, 'an important starting place contests the idea that there was a uniform Irish migrant experience'.[12] To this end, it instead aimed to show the sizeable and significant contribution made by Irish men and women in the diverse spheres of the arts, literature and political life in late-Victorian London and, as such, the paintings exhibited included portraits of Irish writers such as Shaw and Yeats, politicians like Butt and Parnell and Irish

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[10] R.F. Foster, *Paddy & Mr Punch: Connections in Irish and English History* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1995), p. 284.
[11] George Bernard Shaw quoted in *Conquering England: The Irish in Victorian London*, ed. by Fintan Cullen and R.F. Foster (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2005), p. 10.
[12] Graham Davis, 'The Irish in Britain, 1815-1939', in *The Irish Diaspora*, ed. by Bielenberg, p. 22.

models like Joanna Hiffernan and Kathleen Kelly who regularly posed for the painters Whistler and Tissot. It is on the foundations laid by that exhibition, on the intention by its curators to shed a light on the often forgotten elements of what I call the 'assimilated' and successful Irish diaspora in Britain that this work now builds.

Stoker may have felt initially displaced as a member of a displaced class hovering between national identity designations within Ireland itself, but it was his status as immigrant in London that threw such uncertainties into sharper relief by removing the Anglo-Irishman from the home nation altogether and further destabilising a sense of national belonging: matters of national affiliation are necessarily thrown into far greater relief when distanced by space from an original, if problematic, homeland. Indeed, constructions of the national self become even more urgent in surroundings that remove the individual from the contexts in which he or she is used to defining themselves and of being defined, even if these contexts were themselves intensely conflicted and complex in their own right. Liam Harte, for his part, argues that the immigrant condition actively engenders 'the performative negotiation of prejudice and racism; the fragmentation and transformation of identity under the pressures of migration; the crisis of individuation engendered by the clash of cultures, attitudes and ideologies [...] of being radically unhoused, of shuttling between two shores of separation'.[13] For Claire Lynch

> it is the space of intervention emerging in the cultural interstices that introduces creative invention into existence [...] there is a return to the performance of identity as iteration, the re-creation of the self in the world of travel, the resettlement of the borderline community of migration.[14]

For these émigré Anglo-Irish, then, Stoker included, questions of national identity loom ever larger in the collective consciousness. Foster argues that it is often the case 'With emigrant communities everywhere, [that] the memory of homeland has to be kept in aspic', that national identity often becomes even more significant for the displaced migrant communities than even for those still residing in the country that they have left.[15] And of course, within the

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[13] Liam Harte, 'Migrancy, Performativity and Autobiographical Identity', Irish Studies Review, 14:2 (2006), 225-238 (p. 230).
[14] Homi K. Bhabha, The Location of Culture (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 9.
[15] Foster, Paddy & Mr Punch, p. xiii.

surroundings of the Victorian metropolitan environment the intricacies of the Anglo-Irish identity question and its problematic relationship to an Irish sense of self were further problematised by local attitudes. As already noted in the two previous chapters, the complexity of the constructions of national selfhood explored within a domestic Irish context did not necessarily translate to settings outside of Ireland itself.[16] To an English audience, the Anglo-Irish were more often than not regarded as simply Irish, regardless of caste or creed. And it is also within the metropolis that this very designation of 'Irish', is subjected to further pressures; the mass influx of the pauper Irish into British towns and cities in the wake of the Famine, the rise of militant nationalism and Fenian attacks within the United Kingdom itself, and the dominant racialised theories of threat associated with what were perceived as the most negative aspects of the Irish physiognomy, demand that this is so. For an already insecure populace like the Anglo-Irish in this period, without a stable sense of national selfhood to begin with, the stimulations of the emigrant experience in Britain to this form of national identity construction are therefore acute. And most importantly for the investigations of this work into Stoker and his vampiric doppelganger, both with metropolitan ambition, it is also within London that the *literary* treatment of this shaping of the Anglo-Irish national self finds new direction and impetus.

There is a scene during the Transylvanian section of *Dracula* when the Count explains to Harker the importance of the texts in his library to his plans to travel to England:

> '"I am glad you found your way in here, for I am sure there is much that will interest you. 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; and to know her is to love her. (p. 22)

Dracula's emphasis here on the relationship between literature and place is highly significant. The Count's metropolitan ambitions are closely tied to the books he has read; London and literature are fused in the novel from the very beginning and the influence of literary evocations of the city on the vampire's subsequent actions are plain to see. But if London as constructed in literature

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[16] For further reference to the Anglo-Irish as simply 'Irish' outside of Ireland, see Chapter One 'Writing the Nation: The Anglo-Irish Ascendancy and the Question of National Identity'.

holds significant sway for Stoker's vampire, this is only because London as a real and lived environment conversely impacts notably on Stoker himself as Anglo-Irish novelist within a metropolitan setting. It is the double displacement of the émigré in London that ultimately feeds Stoker's work and that fundamentally underlines Stoker as an author, especially as the author of a fictional rendering of his own national experiences in *Dracula*. Indeed, in the recently published, *The Literature of the Irish in Britain: Autobiography and Memoir, 1725-2001*, Liam Harte discusses how the act of emigration and the new-found realities of immigrant status for the Irish diaspora in Britain are filtered through to the autobiographical literary output of this group as a whole; despite any ostensible differences, an omnipresent and abiding preoccupation with the immigrant condition is present in all works of this kind and binds them together in a collective textual mapping of that very experience.[17] As such, the literary evocation of the migrant state constitutes a very specific form of writing the realities of the author's experiences. And if, as Keya Ganguly argues, 'The immigrant moment provides the occasion for enunciating the discursive structures and mechanisms through which identities are expressed – however tenuously', then this carries a very particular significance for the conflicted cultural hybridity of the late-Victorian Anglo-Irish, Stoker included, who make their way to Britain, and whose experience there in turn makes its way into their literature, albeit in fictional forms, but no less significant for that.[18]

Continuing in this vein, if we turn for a moment to consider Stoker's compatriot and fellow writer Oscar Wilde, we find many critics have commented that there is a certain kind of self-conscious fashioning in Wilde's negotiation of the question of national identity, a performative construction of the national self that masks a conflicted sense of national selfhood that feeds into personal, social and even sexual senses of self, and one that evidently feeds into his work. For Richard Pine, it is Wilde's Irishness 'that for so long prevented all but his closest associates – even perhaps his wife from detecting his homosexuality, because the

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[17] *The Literature of the Irish in Britain: Autobiography and Memoir, 1725-2001*, ed. by Liam Harte (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
[18] Keya Ganguly, 'Migrant Identities: Personal Memory and the Construction of Selfhood', *Cultural Studies*, 6: 1 (1992), 27-51 (pp. 45-6).

two referential contexts were so proximate'.[19] For Regenia Gagnier, Wilde's covert nationality was in fact a distancing tool from mainstream British culture that foreshadows the other ways in which Wilde stood apart from normative and accepted practices. She writes that 'Wilde was removed from life – as his British middle-class adversaries conceived of it – on several counts. By birth Irish, by education Oxonian, by inclination homosexual, he was an adjunct to Victorian imperial, commercial and polite society.'[20] Irishness, or indeed Anglo-Irishness, for Wilde was a double identity, one that imbued him with a fluidity and adaptability in a London setting and that is deeply in evidence in his literary output. To this end, Maureen O'Connor's recent essay, 'The Picture of Dorian Gray as Irish National Tale', is one study that seeks to locate in Wilde's only novel, elements of the problematic Anglo-Irish identity he sometimes claimed as his own. Writing that, 'Wilde insisted on his Celtic nature whenever he wished to be perverse about identity, and it is this very fissured and fantastic nature of his idea of Ireland that enables [...] Wilde's national (dis) identification,' O'Connor locks onto Wilde's status as migrant Anglo-Irishman in London to preface her point about how Dorian Gray is as much about this specific kind of Anglo-Irish identity as it is about anything else.[21] She writes: 'Wilde's Irishness could only be realised when most unreal and distant; he recalled that at home his intellect 'had but learned the pathetic weakness of nationality, but in a strange land realised what indomitable forces nationality possesses.'[22]

The Introduction emphasised the importance of what Salman Rushdie termed the necessary national duality of the migrant's vision and the relationship that this unique way of seeing the world through the prism of national affiliation, in relation to both the home and adopted nation, has to the production of art. This is further strengthened by Patrick Ward's assertion that

> There is a very obvious tendency by artists to refashion their natal
> communities and memories fictively and to stand apart from the communities
> they find themselves resident in after leaving Ireland. There is also, a similar

[19] Richard Pine, The Thief of Reason: Oscar Wilde and Modern Ireland (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1995), p. 12.
[20] Regenia Gagnier, Idylls of the Marketplace: Oscar Wilde and the Victorian Public (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), p. 7.
[21] Maureen O'Connor, 'The Picture of Dorian Gray as Irish National Tale', in Writing Irishness in Nineteenth-Century British Culture, ed. by Neil McCaw (London: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 194-210 (p. 194).
[22] Ibid.

doubleness of vision which may well be explicitly worked out, but is frequently implied dialogically rather than fully and openly stated.[23]

To quote Heidegger, 'A boundary is not that at which something stops but, as the Greeks recognized, the boundary is that from which *something begins its presencing*.'[24] The special circumstances of Stoker's position within London, of assimilated Anglo-Irish writer but Anglo-Irish nonetheless, thereby productively enhance the already established complexity of the authorial national self and, in the spirit of Rushdie and Ward's observations on the relationship between migrancy and literary production, are what ultimately make *Dracula* possible.

In *Dracula*, and Dracula, Stoker's lived experience of fluctuation between place, nation and national identity builds on the foundations of Anglo-Irish self-writing as previously discussed to actively enable the inherent hybridity of the novel in its themes, form and especially in its characterisation.[25] In the shape-shifting vampire whose sense of self is constantly in flux, Stoker is writing himself and his own experiences as Anglo-Irishman in London into the text. In their shared desires for metropolitan horizons, in their ability to integrate or 'pass' in the city, in the absence of any obvious racial signifier to designate them as Other, yet in their shared status as assimilated outsider but outsider nonetheless, Stoker and his vampire parallel and reflect on each other in highly significant ways. As we have already noted, it is not so much a matter of a London *Dracula*, then, but rather an Anglo-Irish London *Dracula* instead. Stoker's sense of national identity in the metropolis is what is at stake here because it is this that is written into unstable and mutating vampire Count. It is the city that Stoker lived in and moreover, the impact of this urban landscape on Stoker's sense of national place and on his literary output that proves so important for our reading of *Dracula* as imaginative autobiography and as such, it is the key focus of this chapter.

This chapter therefore explores how the pattern for Anglo-Irish inscription of aspects of the (national) self in fiction that has already been addressed within a domestic Irish setting, evolves and consolidates in response to

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[23] Patrick Ward, *Exile, Emigration and Irish Writing* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2002), p. 20.
[24] Quoted in Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 1.
[25] I mean here the fluid nature of the novel that allows it to be read as 'about' a huge variety of different things. The hybridity of *Dracula* in terms of themes and character construction is discussed in detail in the last chapter of this thesis, 'An Anglo-Irish Dracula'.

stimulus from new, metropolitan surroundings, and most especially, how this creates the conditions necessary for the writing of Stoker's imaginative autobiography *Dracula*. Importantly, its analysis here seeks to avoid 'The generalizations about Irish emigration [that] remain based on the notion that it was invariably both proletarian and involuntary; and that it was inseparable from a sense of exile' by instead discussing how the act of migration, especially the kind of voluntary migration engaged in by Anglo-Irish like Stoker may be productive or enabling, a store of creative expression that allows a writer like Stoker to express the realities of his experiences as an immigrant and the effect this has on the construction of a national identity in innovative and dynamic ways.[26] Or as Linda Anderson puts it, 'Instead of seeing simply the trauma of an enforced separation and the exile's deracination and mourning for a lost homeland, we should use the concept of diaspora [...] to reorient ate theories of identity "toward contingency, indeterminacy and conflict"', an act that allows us, 'to perceive "new understandings of self, sameness and solidarity"' in the written form.[27]

This chapter is necessarily very interested in Stoker's writing and in Stoker's positioning of himself as an Anglo-Irish author in the city. But while Stoker's *Dracula*, the centre point of this work's focus, is of course deeply rooted within London as we have seen, it is not the only one of Stoker's novels to deal with such subject matter. Our investigations into Stoker, national identity and the metropolis in writing therefore begin with some discussion of Stoker's first metropolitan-focused novel *The Primrose Path* (1875) as a text that initially flags up the importance of London in Stoker's literary imagination, even before he himself had permanently left Dublin.[28] It then continues with a sustained analysis of the city that Stoker himself came to know, of the character of London in our period, the period in which Stoker himself lived there. It explores the complexities and contradictions of the great city in detail and examines the contexts the *fin-de-siècle* city provides to Stoker's writing about national identity. Aware of the almost universal conflation of Anglo-Irish and Irish in the city and thereby concerned with constructions of the migrant Irish national self from both

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[26] Foster, *Paddy & Mr Punch*, p. 288.
[27] Linda Anderson, *Autobiography* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 128 and p. 116.
[28] Bram Stoker, *The Primrose Path*, (Westcliff-on-Sea: Desert Island Books, 1999).

internal and external perspectives, the chapter then turns to examine the phenomenon of Irish migration into the capital as a whole and to especially consider the place the Irish migrant inhabits in relation to these threatening discourses in the British popular imagination and contemporary visual representation, to a sense of fear specifically rooted in the migrant tradition. Continuing with the medium of visual culture, the chapter then moves to focus on the specific experience of the Anglo-Irish immigrant in the city. It seeks to explore how this often-neglected but highly significant element of the Irish diaspora in Britain that included Stoker navigated its already unstable constructions of national selfhood outside of an Irish setting, and how the external perceptions of Irish national identity and threat engaged with here impact upon this process. Of course, in doing so it is also concerned with the manner in which a sense of physical displacement as well as the external opinion of the new host country impacted on the *textual* evocation of such concerns. Therefore we turn now in our first section to Stoker's first novel, *The Primrose Path*.

I

Jerry O'Sullivan's desire to go to England was no mere transient wish. As has been told, he had had for years a strong desire to try his fortune in a country other than his own; and although the desire had since his marriage fallen into so sound a sleep that it resembled death, still it was not dead but sleeping. (p. 33)

As already noted, *The Primrose Path* was completed while Stoker was still living in Dublin, but in its central themes and preoccupations and firm metropolitan focus it shares the interests of its author who would move to the city himself just three years later. A somewhat laboured mix between an emigration parable and a temperance tale, it is not often discussed by critics who perhaps see it as part of the author's juvenilia and therefore as not worthy of sustained analysis. And while there is no denying that as a novel it is not as sophisticated or nuanced as Stoker's later work, in its story of an Irish family's doomed move to the metropolis and the experiences that befall it there, it nevertheless imaginatively engages with the act of emigration to London in much the same way that is later found in *Dracula*. Indeed, like *The Snake's Pass* as an example

of Anglo-Irish Gothic, *The Primrose Path* actually foreshadows Stoker's masterpiece in a number of key ways. As Paul Murray argues, 'Certain features of this story anticipate elements of Stoker's later fiction, including the use of dialect.'[29] And to quote Maunder on the subject, 'There are [...] good reasons for reading *The Primrose Path*, not least for the way in which it acts as a kind of *ur-source* for some of the main concerns of Stoker's other fictions, notably the challenges to identity and selfhood posed by monstrous forces [...] and the clash of cultures.'[30] In its sustained literary interaction with London, then, as well as what Murray perceives to be its importance for Stoker's later works including *Dracula*, *The Primrose Path* offers us an illuminating insight into Stoker's perceptions of London, the rewards and dangers facing the emigrant, the positioning of the Irish within the Victorian metropolis and the manifestation of all these things in textual form.

Maunder argues that in *The Primrose Path*, the protagonist 'Jerry O'Sullivan's social ruin is stated within a Darwinian frame of reference which, in its focus on the dark side of industrial capitalist culture embodied in a particular kind of urban savagery.'[31] In its direct engagement with the city, then, this novel gives London a central importance in the text, a key influence on the ultimate fate of Jerry and his family. As is later the case in *Dracula*, London and its 'urban savagery' is not a passive setting here but almost a character in its own right. Its impact on the text's characters belies an authorial conviction on the part of Stoker that all who inhabit it are effected by the urban landscape. Indeed, David Glover, for his part, sees O'Sullivan's decline into alcoholism as a textual evocation of Stoker's anxieties about his own metropolitan ambitions, something that Joseph Valente echoes when he argues that 'Stoker created Jerry O'Sullivan out of his own abiding but conflicted interest in heeding London's siren call. He even conferred upon O'Sullivan his own specific motive for motive for moving: not the material necessity that impelled the bulk of Irish émigrés to urban England, but metropolitan ambitions'.[32] *The Primrose Path* does not just

[29] Paul Murray, *From the Shadow of Dracula: A Life of Bram Stoker* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004), p. 68.
[30] Ibid, p. 33.
[31] Ibid, p. 32.
[32] David Glover, *Vampires, Mummies and Liberals: Bram Stoker and the Politics of Popular Fiction* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), and Joseph Valente, *Dracula's Crypt: Bram Stoker, Irishness, and the Question of Blood* (Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 2002), p. 33.

anticipate *Dracula* in setting, then, or the fusion of that setting with threat. Although Maunder is undoubtedly correct in his assessment that 'The picture of London offered in *The Primrose Path* is profoundly pessimistic: the capital is morally and spiritually dead. It is perhaps no surprise that it is in the savagery and brutal indifference of its streets that the voracious blood-sucking energies of the "creature" Count Dracula and his victim/helpmate, Lucy Westenra, will make themselves felt in *Dracula*', the text also looks forward to Stoker's imaginative autobiography by fictionally exploring Stoker's own desires for his own metropolitan horizons.[33] For although the text is not an imaginative autobiography in the manner of *Dracula*, although Stoker and Jerry O'Sullivan do not share the commonality that Stoker and his vampire Count later do, like *The Snake's Pass* this novel does writes a national self for the author, but this time this national self, this evocation of Irishness is in the English capital city, and as such therefore evokes Anglo-Irishness as well.[34]

 The Primrose Path shines a light on how Stoker may have thought about the process of emigration, and the place of the (Anglo-) Irish emigrant within a city like London. It also establishes some of the key strands that will later be developed in *Dracula*, not least the move towards writing ones own feelings about (national) identity into fiction against the backdrop of a London setting. This foreshadowing of the imaginative autobiography of *Dracula* makes it, like *The Snake's Pass*, indispensable in this thesis. However, in the twenty or so years intervening between its conception and the publication of *Dracula*, Stoker had made the move to London himself in reality as well as in his imagination and the actuality of London as a city enhances the projections of the earlier novel. By the time he came to write *Dracula*, Stoker also had his own authentic and lived experiences on which to draw. Returning to the recurring theme of communal influence on individual experience, especially in relation to constructions of

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[33] Maunder, p. 43.

[34] Joseph Valente, for his part, believes that in Jerry O'Sullivan Stoker is writing himself. And while in his portrayal of the tragedy of O'Sullivan's decision to move to London, Stoker is certainly writing Irishness (and therefore Anglo-Irishness – we have seen that in London the two are often the same), Valente fails to appreciate the important differences between author and protagonist. O'Sullivan is instantly recognisable as Irish, he cannot 'pass' in the same way that Stoker and his vampire can. O'Sullivan's identity is therefore fixed. He does not possess either the integrative capacity or the fluidity of self that characterises Stoker as professional migrant, as Anglo-Irish, and that this thesis posits as a defining feature of his vampire counterpart. Valente, p. 33.

nationality, this chapter is therefore interested in the relationship between Stoker and his city when he lived there, between Stoker and designations of 'Irish' and 'Anglo-Irish' he himself may have experienced in that city, and ultimately on the various ways late-Victorian London later manifests in the imaginative autobiography of *Dracula*.

This work has already shown that the Anglo-Irish emigrant left behind him a country in which he shuttled unsatisfactorily between such binary oppositions as Catholic/Protestant, colonised/ coloniser, native/outsider, Irish and non-Irish, and this movement manifests in domestic Anglo-Irish literature as internalised contradiction, nationally-related duality and, especially in the nineteenth century, evocations of fear. How might the writing produced in new metropolitan surroundings be seen to engage with and ultimately progress the tradition of inscribing the self already seen into the imaginative autobiographical form of *Dracula*? What impact does the Anglo-Irish migrant's status have, then, on the literature it produces, especially the darker Gothic strand so implicated in the Anglo-Irish identity question transplanted to a new setting? The complex status of Anglo-Irish authors like Stoker in the city can be seen, I think, as a catalyst to the exploration of the Anglo-Irish self in fiction already encountered in Edgeworth, Maturin and Le Fanu and as such, an interrogation of the social and cultural conditions faced by Stoker in his new environment of the *fin-de-siècle* metropolis is fundamental to any later exploration of his literary output. Therefore we now turn to the city of London itself, to the city that Stoker imagined in his one of his earliest literary endeavours and to the city that the author himself inhabited from the late 1870s and that provides such an important context for his work and that proves such a fundamental literary component of the imaginative autobiography of *Dracula*.

II

When Stoker migrated to the metropolis in 1878, he was moving to what was arguably the greatest city in the world. Larger than any other urban centre of its time, it was both the capital of the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland and the first city of the British Empire, a vast and sprawling territory that at its peak would claim almost a quarter of the globe as its own. By the late-

Victorian period, then, London was positioned, ideologically at least, as the epicentre of the western world. In his recent, populist biography of the city, Peter Ackroyd underlines the prevailing character of this particular urban landscape when he remarks that 'the public spaces, the railway termini, the hotels, the great docks, the new thoroughfares, the rebuilt markets, all were the visible expression of a city of unrivalled strength and immensity [...] the centre of international finance and the engine of imperial power'.[35] Ackroyd is not alone in his estimation of the city's importance in our period. Stephen Inwood and Liza Picard both acknowledge the tremendous power and prestige London garnered in the late-nineteenth century in their recent respective works on the metropolis, while Lynda Nead, in her book, *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth-Century London,* compares the capital to one of the most powerful and influential of urban spaces of the ancient world, writing that 'like Babylon, London was at the centre of a global commerce that was subjugating the rest of the world; it was the seat of an empire that was defining contemporary history'.[36] On the one hand therefore, London in the 1890s stood for the progress, economic, cultural and social of the late-Victorian age. Its lately-built public monuments, newly-widened and improved streets and recently-completed drainage and sanitation systems were all testament to Victorian civic-mindedness and the improving zeitgeist of the times. By the latter half of the nineteenth century, it widely housed public art galleries, museums and department stores as well as libraries and parks. Charing Cross, Paddington, Victoria and Waterloo railway stations had all already been built and expanded and work on the city's new underground public transport system was well underway.[37] To a casual observer in the period, *fin-de-siècle* London must indeed have presented a grand and modern spectacle: a city apparently assured of its place in the world and at pains to communicate this both to Londoners and to outsiders alike.

By virtue of its size, centrality and symbolic significance in both domestic and imperial environments, then, the metropolis served as the obvious

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[35] Peter Ackroyd, *London: The Biography* (London: Vintage, 2001), p. 717.
[36] See Stephen Inwood, *City of Cities: The Birth of Modern London* (London: Macmillan, 2005) and Liza Picard, *Victorian London: The Life of a City, 1840-1870* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2005) for recent general introductions to the metropolis in and around our period. Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth-Century London* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 3.
[37] Inwood, p. 266.

focal point for many of the key debates and concerns current in late-nineteenth-century thought and yet it is primarily through some of these same discussions, that another equally important but far less attractive side of the city begins to emerge. Late-Victorian London may have been an industrial centre, a seat of government and monarchy, a throbbing social hub, a modern Babylon, but it was nothing if not a city of profound contrasts, and paradoxically, often its most positive attributes had the opposing potential to be its most negative features. The juxtapositioning of extreme wealth with extreme poverty, civic pride with social malaise, and respectability with moral decay was a key characteristic of urban life in the period. As much as anything else, London was a city that could be characterised by its inherent duality. Nead, for example, recognises that a dark undercurrent of opposition often ran through that which on the surface seemed positive, progressive and necessary. When she figures London as a Babylonian space, therefore, she implicitly also acknowledges the negative connotations inherent in such a comparison: London, 'not only represented the most magnificent imperial city of the ancient world, but also conjured up images of the mystical Babylon of the Apocalypse. It was a place that symbolised material wonder and tumultuous destruction; a city whose splendour was its downfall.'[38] Continuing with this theme of classical comparison, Stephen Inwood asserts that the capital was indeed a 'Cretan Labyrinth', but crucially, that it was one 'with [...] the Minotaur at its centre'.[39] In the late-Victorian metropolis things were rarely as they first appeared; a sense of dual identity permeated most aspects of this ostensibly thriving urban scene. *Fin-de-siècle* London was a commercially successful, economically flourishing city it is true, but it was also a space of marked difference and the site of many anxieties and concerns, chief amongst these unease about race, sex, the consequences of imperialism and the issue of degeneracy. The omnipresent association between London and an underlying atmosphere of threat – a threat that was often perceived to be covert and rooted in that which was apparently benign – is a powerful and recurring theme in the *fin-de-siècle* imagination. It is also nothing new to those who have made it their business to research the city. Countless studies of the Victorian metropolis, be they historical, literary or social, have devoted considerable time to the

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[38] Nead, *Victorian Babylon*, p. 3.
[39] Inwood, p. 316.

coexistence of the disquiet and unease with the confidence and pride that turn-of-the-century Londoners felt about themselves, their city and of course the city's other inhabitants. The city in this period was fundamentally characterised by its dual identity, something that Stoker effectively channels in his imaginative construction of the urban landscape in *The Primrose Path*. For as Maunder argues, 'One of the striking things about [it] is that [it] gives us a rather double-edged view of the capital. London is the stronghold of civilisation but also a place that is extremely vulnerable to attack and can be a place of danger.'[40]

In Stoker's early novel, the main manifestation of this dual identity is in the bar-owner Grinnell, described in the narrative as 'the most repulsive face' Jerry 'had ever seen – a face so drawn and twisted, with nose and lips so eaten away with some strange canker, that it resembled more the ghastly front of a skull than the face of a living man' (p. 52). He presents himself as hospitable and friendly to Jerry, welcoming him as a newcomer to London and offering him drinks without charge in his tavern. He keeps a bottle entitled 'Gift' behind the bar 'to show my customers that when I give it I mean civility and not commerce' (p. 53). He offers reassurance to Katey on the subject of Jerry's rapidly amounting debts and the money that he himself is owed: '"But that doesn't matter. Lord bless you. He's as welcome as the flowers of May. I'm too fond of him to let a trifle of money vex him."' (p. 87). This assertion of genorosity and compassion is immediately undercut by the narrator, however, who writes that 'in all Grinnell had said there was not one word of truth' (p. 87). Of course, at this point the reader is well aware of the bar-keeper's duplicitous nature, of the way in which he deliberately creates in Jerry a state of dependency and addiction, and also of the inherent duality of the other Londoners like Mons and Sebright in the narrative. Indeed, few of the characters that Jerry and his wife encounter in the city are what they initially appear to be. As demonstrated by Stoker here, late-Victorian London, like any urban space, is ultimately a city of people, the people of the city are the living manifestation of the problems with urban life. It is fitting, then, that it is in the city's populace that scholars have habitually anchored their abstract arguments concerning threat and danger, something that later provides a fundamental component of the construction of the invading

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[40] Maunder, p. 29.

vampire easily becoming one of London's 'teeming millions' in the imaginative autobiographical execution of *Dracula*.

To this end, Judith Walkowitz and Kelley Hurley, amongst others, show how the prostitute loomed large in the popular imagination as the primary source of venereal disease and sexual deviancy.[41] Daniel Pick and Gareth Stedman Jones, for their part, discuss the manner in which degenerate behaviour and physical inferiority was deemed to originate in the urban poor, and works by Anne and Roger Cowen and Eitan Bar Yosef and Nadia Valman show how the immigrant Jew was again and again perceived as the archetypal interloper in the period.[42] And yet, for all this, threat was not confined to the lower classes or those who might be considered to exist on the margins of society. The figure of the dandy epitomised all that was deplorable and decadent in the upper orders and critics such as Alan Sinfield, Ellen Moers and Rhonda Garelick have given this topic ample and diverse coverage.[43] Wilde's observation, then, that 'This grey, monstrous London of ours, with its myriads of people, its sordid sinners, and its splendid sins', uttered by his protagonist Dorian Gray, in many ways neatly epitomises much of the conflicting feelings about and perceptions of the metropolis and its inhabitants in the closing years of the nineteenth century.[44] For all the prestige afforded to the city by its association with government, monarchy, money and trade, the *fin-de-siècle* capital had a dark and sinister side, often only partially obscured from view. Behind the gleaming façades was the harsh reality that many of those who lived in the city lived lives that were less than ideal from a conservative middle-class viewpoint. Economic factors had indeed made London great and contributed immeasurably to its prosperity but

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[41] See Kelley Hurley, *The Gothic Body: Sexuality, Materialism and Degeneration at the Fin De Siècle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), and Lynda Nead, *Myths of Sexuality: Representations of Women in Victorian Britain*, (London: Basil-Blackwell, 1988), p. 121, for discussions of the link between perceptions of deviant female sexuality and danger or threat.
[42] See Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, c. 1848- c. 1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) and Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).
Victorian anti-Semitic attitudes are mentioned in many works dealing with nineteenth-century London but for a recent and detailed analysis see L. Trubowitz, 'Acting Like an Alien: 'Civil' Anti-Semitism, the Rhetoricized Jew, and Early Twentieth-Century British Immigration Law', in *'The Jew' in Late-Victorian and Edwardian Culture: Between the East End and East Africa*, ed. by Eitan Bar Yosef and Nadia Valman (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 65-79.
[43] Alan Sinfield, *The Wilde Century: Effeminacy, Oscar Wilde and the Queer Moment* (London: Cassell, 1994).
[44] Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, ed. by Michael Gillespie (New York: Norton, 2006), p. 44.

these same factors were also responsible for the creation of a huge, sprawling labouring class who, by the turn of the century, was largely viewed in terms of danger and disgust rather than as a necessary by-product of progress. In short, the nineteenth century had created in London what were for many, intolerable living conditions. Endemic poverty and enormous social problems paralleled economic growth and public improvements. Slums had grown exponentially, often in the very heart of the city. Centralised because of the poor's need to be able to walk to work, they were often in uncomfortably close proximity to wealthy middle and upper-class areas. The bywords for these 'rookeries', as they came to be known, were disease and poverty, and few but the most zealous of social reformers dared to venture into them. From a middle-class Victorian perspective, the residential areas of the urban poor were not merely dirty and unhealthy; the unsanitary nature of these spaces was judged to have a moral dimension as well. As Nead explains, 'in these areas there [was] congestion, rather than circulation, and terrible physical proximity. People and houses [were] crowded together, too close for comfort and physical or moral health; in this tangled knot, disease and sedition spread and [threatened] the well-being of the entire metropolitan body.'[45]

In this way, the poor of Victorian London came to be viewed as profoundly dangerous. Much was written in contemporary press and pamphlets by writers such as Charles Booth, Henry Mayhew and George Sims, about their objectionable living conditions, as much in an attempt to know, classify and find a solution to an unknown and dangerous difference as out of any sense of philanthropic inclination: 'urban investigators not only distanced themselves from their objects of study: they also felt compelled to possess a comprehensive knowledge of the Other.'[46] It was Booth, however, that first classified the poor into sub-categories and in doing so identified the most threatening element of all: that which he termed the 'residuum' class, clearly distinct in Booth's mind from what might be termed the respectable or deserving poor.[47] Indeed, this lowest

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[45] Nead, *Victorian Babylon*, p. 163. See also Rebecca Stott, *The Fabrication of the Late Victorian Femme Fatale* (London: Macmillan, 1992) for discussions of late-nineteenth-century fears surrounding gender, morality and the health of the nation.
[46] Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in late-Victorian London* (London: Virago, 1992), p. 20.
[47] Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London*, ed. by Richard M. Elman and Albert Fried (London: Hutchinson, 1969).

stratum of urban society was held to be clearly distinct from all other elements of civilised humanity. Barely elevated above animal status in the minds of many, the residuum class incorporated the poorest of the poor. According to most of those that observed it, the people of the residuum did not work to better themselves but were content to live in squalid and fetid conditions. They had little or no moral character and were fundamentally predisposed to alcoholism, sexual deviancy, crime and violence. The residuum was perceived to exist in some form of underworld – a den of crime, disease and decay that finds fictional representation in the pages of Charles Dickens' *Oliver Twist* and George Gissing's novel of 1889, *The Nether World,* and, as we have already seen, Stoker's *The Primrose Path*.[48] What was particularly sinister about this class in the 1880s and 90s however was the perception that it was growing, that it was quickly becoming the largest element of the working classes and that it would eventually subsume the other more benign factions of the urban poor to create a broadly degenerate and dangerous 'Wen'. The fear abided in many that this would eventually come to threaten all forms of civilised London life, and, even more troublingly, that any efforts to improve or eradicate the problem were in fact only making it worse. To this end, Sims argued that 'the poor – the honest poor – have been driven by [...] the clearance of rookery after rookery, to come and herd with thieves and wantons, to bring up their children in the last Alsatias where lawlessness and violence still reign supreme. The worst effect of this system [...] is the moral destruction of the next generation'.[49] For Sims, then, any attempts at reform that in effect forced the respectable working classes to live in the same areas as the degenerate poor would only succeed in spreading the problem, resulting in the infection of the hitherto morally sound with the bestial tendencies of their degraded neighbours, while the clearance of individual slums in the West End merely moved the problem east down the river and consolidated the disparate tenements into one single area that came to symbolise all that was dangerous and threatening in the city, especially after the Whitechapel murders of 1887.

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[48] Charles Dickens, *Oliver Twist*, ed. by Kathleen Tillotson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), and George Gissing, *The Nether World*, ed. by Stephen Gill (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[49] Quoted in Inwood, p. 37.

Urban degeneration, had by the end of the nineteenth century, become a deeply embedded and highly persuasive discourse on the state of the nation and it preoccupied the thoughts and writings of many of the social commentators of its day. As Hurley discusses in *The Gothic Body: Sexuality, Materialism and Degeneration at the Fin de Siècle*, it presupposed the inherently weak condition of the urban poor, in both a physical and a moral sense, but more than that, it pointed to the contagious nature of this infirmity. Discourses on degeneration had been popularly held from the 1850s onwards, when it was thought that the debased poor could and did pass on the features of their degraded state to their own children. It was believed that within the space of a few generations entire elements of the labouring classes would be physically and morally corrupt, lacking both the ability and the motivation to do an honest day's work. The degenerate poor would therefore be stunted, weak and predisposed towards alcoholism and vice. Children would catch this 'disease' from their parents and in this way whole successive generations of families would be infected as a result. But as Hurley points out, the change that occurred in the late-nineteenth century was that degeneration was no longer spread merely through hereditary means. Running parallel to the discovery of germ theory, the urban degeneration discourse mutated into a threat that could take hold anywhere, even in the most respectable of middle-class families. One particularly effective way of doing this was through the medium of sex.

Sexual intercourse in the *fin-de-siècle* was frequently associated with threat and danger; 'aberrant sexuality [...] could be inherited, and was symptomatic of degeneration, but aberrant sexual practices could also be learned, and thus become a fresh cause of hereditary degeneration.'[50] Prostitution was a widespread and pervasive social problem in the period, made all the more troubling because of its perceived relationship with urban degeneration. Sex was, after all, a very efficient way of spreading disease and a previously unblemished family could be irrevocably tarnished by a member's liaison with a prostitute. Judith R. Walkowitz's *City of Dreadful Delight*, or Seth Koven's *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London*, are just some of the many works

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[50] Hurley, p. 73.

that study the alliance of female sexuality and danger in the Victorian psyche.[51] A primary example of their arguments in action however can be found in some highly controversial pieces of legislation that were passed in the middle of the nineteenth century: The Contagious Diseases Acts of the 1860s, enacted because of fears surrounding the spread of venereal diseases in the armed forces. These laws, which were eventually repealed following a campaign by women activists such as Josephine Butler, allowed for the mandatory examination and hospitalisation of prostitutes and sex workers by police and members of the medical profession in an attempt to prevent the spread of syphilis to soldiers. The association between femininity and danger was thereby brought very definitely into the public sphere and although these laws were eventually repealed, the sentiment behind them was not so easily disposed of. In fact, the role of sex in matters of public and national 'health' took on an even greater significance in the later years of the nineteenth century. W.T. Stead, editor of the London newspaper, *The Pall Mall Gazette*, published an editorial in 1885 entitled 'The Maiden Tribute of Victorian Babylon' in which he claimed that young working-class girls were being sold into the sex trade, in some cases by their families. Stead's article implicated all those involved in propagating the London sex industry, targeting not only brothel owners and pimps but also their customers, and these often from the middle and upper classes. In this manner, Stead managed to include all of London life in the sphere of his enquiry and censure; all aspects and levels of urban society were equally implicated in his piece. Sex for Stead was fundamentally linked to the wider question of moral degeneration in the metropolis and this was a matter for the city as a whole to contemplate and guard vigilantly against.

The fact that the apparently sexually motivated Ripper murders had taken place in the East End, the supposed base of the urban poor, had far-reaching implications for how these poor were afterwards perceived in the metropolis. The killings brought into sharp relief the moral depravity conventionally associated with the poor, particularly the very poor 'residuum', by sheer virtue of the fact that the location in which Annie Chapman, Mary Ann Nichols and the other prostitutes were so brutally murdered was deep in deprived London, in the dark,

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[51] Seth Koven, *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

unlit backstreets of Whitechapel. The association between the East End and deeply-rooted danger became fixed in the public imagination not least because of the particularly violent and brutal manner in which the women were killed. The urban poor became violent by association, a circumstance not helped by the fact that the Ripper was never caught. And yet if one single killer could provoke such hysteria and panic amongst London society, what then of the prospect of the assembled and organised poor? It is hardly surprising that these were in turn transformed into a violent, threatening horde. The crowd or mob, which had existed throughout history as a threat in the English imagination, had gained new significance since industrialisation had converted cities into vast centres of population. Furthermore, it loomed large in the English recent memory because of its role in the French revolution, and was also associated with the Chartist agitations of the 1840s. The mob was thereby implicitly associated with radicalism and the destruction of established social order and the spectre of violent insurgence asserted itself in *fin-de-siècle* London in the winter of 1885 and in 1886 in what became known as the Pall Mall Riots. The economic depression of these years prompted the city's working classes to organise and march on parts of the West End to express their grievances over protectionist economic measures and food and job shortages. However, the protests quickly descended into disorganised violence. Shops, offices and buildings were looted and the police responded quickly and violently to the assembled crowd in a deft illustration of the huge levels of fear associated with the assembled poor. 'This was the ogre of poverty, ignorance, and violence whose emergence from its East End lair to terrorize the respectable and vulnerable world of the West End they had so often feared.'[52]

Threat therefore proved to exist everywhere in the late-Victorian London that Stoker inhabited. What is especially important to note here however, is that it is a threat rooted in *people*, in a variety of individuals figured to be representative of a whole raft of diverse social concerns. To take one further illuminating example, particularly relevant to this work's exploration of Stoker's status as immigrant: London's port and dockland area was a thriving one and of central importance to the local and national economies. Yet this borderline area, both of the city and in

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[52] Inwood, p. 93.

a sense outside of it too, also served as a constant reminder of Britain's immense dependence on its colonies for raw materials and desirable imports such as tea, sugar and spices. The constant and visible presence of goods, and indeed people, from throughout the empire within the metropolis itself underlined the already uncomfortable realisation for Victorian Britons that the borders of their capital city were fully permeable. The presence of unwanted colonial subjects, with all of their perceived deficiencies and diseases, their assumed racial inferiorities and uncivilised ways, alongside desirable imported produce, showed that both were finding their way back into the very heart of Britain through the gateway of trade. For, like the prostitute and the pauper, the imperial outsider was perceived as a contaminating presence in the *fin-de-siècle* city, possessed of the ability to spread physical and ideological infection both literally and figuratively by his very presence in London, something that Rod Edmond deals with in some detail in *Leprosy and Empire: A Medical and Cultural History*.[53] Edmond maintains that contemporary discoveries of how illness was spread, illness that was often inextricably linked with foreign colonial bodies in the popular imagination, created even more fear and anxiety about the true condition of a superficially thriving London: 'the arbitrary and invisible menace of disease is the hardest of all foreign bodies to guard against [...] If it were to get [...] into the teeming modern city it would cause untold damage at the heart of empire.'[54] Fears of the incipient and almost inevitable collapse of empire and the spectre of reverse colonisation were constant in the closing years of the nineteenth century and London as a city stood on the brink of this precipice precisely because of those established and celebrated trade links that so actively brought the colonial territories and their people right into the core of British society. The presence of the allegedly diseased and fundamentally threatening outsider as a necessary and constant parallel to lucrative imports in the city is just one more facet of the metropolis' complex and deeply ingrained double character in our period but it is especially important for what it reveals to us about the fraught relationship London had to the influx of external entities, to immigrants, the focus of this chapter.

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[53] Rod Edmond, *Leprosy and Empire: A Medical and Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
[54] Ibid, p. 139.

This was the London that Stoker called home, one in which the association between urban living and threat was a present and real one: not merely as a conceptual keystone but rooted in the recogniseable characters that populated the metropolis in the period, and paticuarly potent in colonial imports and immigrants, like Stoker's Dracula, who literally arrives into Britain as shipped cargo. With this in mind, there is one particular figure who has yet to receive the critical attention afforded to the other outsiders in studies of the *fin-de-siècle* metropolis, a figure who perfectly encapsulates the complexities of duality of late-Victorian London if one cares to look, and of particular significance to the concerns of this thesis as a whole. That figure is that of the immigrant Irishman.

III

Stoker's decision to leave Ireland for the greater opportunities of London places him amongst a group of other Anglo-Irish like Wilde, Shaw and Yeats as we have seen, all similarly keen to make their mark on the metropolitan landscape. These Anglo-Irish, both insider and outsider, similar and at the same time fundamentally different to the native Englishman, exist and are present at the intersection of many of the concerns and discourses already highlighted that shape late nineteenth-century life in the Victorian metropolis. It is this figure, after all, that forms the base in reality for Stoker's literary construction of Dracula and therefore it is this figure in London that this chapter is ultimately concerned with. Relatively little scholarly attention has thus far been paid to Anglo-Irish migration as a phenomenon in its own right but as Foster reminds us, 'statistically invisible and ideologically unattractive though they may be to many commentators, they existed.'[55] Often recognised as individuals worthy of study in their own right, these Anglo-Irish migrants, Stoker included, are rarely considered in the light of their nationality in Britain, perhaps because 'the Irish middle classes in England would not generally have been visible Fenians; in immigrant societies, the further up the class scale, the more pronounced the phenomenon known as "ethnic fade"'.[56] And of course, the numbers of Anglo-Irish travelling to Britain in this manner were nothing compared to the influx of

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[55] Foster, *Paddy & Mr Punch*, p. 289.
[56] Ibid.

predominantly lower-class, predominantly Catholic Irish economic migrants seeking prosperity in the cities across the Irish Sea. Unsurprisingly, then, it is with these Irish that scholarship on Irish migration has mostly focused, and as already noted, given that Stoker and his fellow Anglo-Irish were invariably perceived as also inhabiting this categorisation it is important that we first focus on them here too.

The type of scholarship that engages with the poor Irish migrant in Britain is not without its limitations as will soon become apparent. To begin with, studies of the Irish in the Victorian metropole are generally narrow in their focus in that they rarely treat of the Irish immigrant as an active and assimilated part of wider urban Victorian life. Indeed, this figure is nearly always set apart from broadly encompassing themes such as social uncertainty and degeneracy that pervade nineteenth-century London in a way that the whore, the pauper, the homosexual and the Jew are not, for in an effort to closely assess the Irish condition in the nineteenth-century capital, scholars like Lyn Hollen Lees, Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley, and Graham Davis have for the most part isolated it from all other debates, artificially setting it apart from any wider environment.[57] The themes that pervade other studies of London in the period are rarely touched on in explorations of the Irish diaspora, as if the Irish rookeries exist in a vacuum far removed from any parallel debates or discourse effecting London as a whole. Similarly, those scholars who specifically treat of the theoretical concerns that pervade the metropolis in our period rarely see the Irish as more than a footnote in the grand scheme of their research. Inwood, Picard, White, Walkowitz and Nead, as diverse and varied as their individual approaches are, all adhere to this pattern. All in all, very little attention seems to be paid by scholars, commentaries on anti-Irish attitudes amongst the local British population aside, to the interaction between the immigrant Irish in Britain, their new environment and its people. And if something is known about the impact the Victorian Irish had on Britain, in terms of the types of jobs they did, the types of places they lived in and how they were accordingly popularly perceived by the local

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[57] See Lyn Hollen Lees, *Exiles of Erin: Irish Migrants in Victorian London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979), *The Irish in the Victorian City*, ed. by Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley (London: Croom Helm, 1985), and Graham Davis, *The Irish in Britain, 1815-1914* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1991), for some examples of scholarly treatments of Irish emigration to Britain in our period.

population, it remains that almost nothing at all is known about the impact that late-Victorian Britain had on its immigrant Irish, on how the day to day realities of being immigrants impacted on the Irish migrants' view of themselves, and especially how it influenced such self-perceptions in terms of national identity constructions.

In a way, this is somewhat inevitable. In comparison to the wealth of work undertaken on other strands of the Irish migrant experience, the story of the Irish in Britain, especially in our period, is a curiously neglected one. To this end, scholars like Lees, MacRaild and others have had to break an awful lot of new ground at once. In addition, these pauper Irish were clearly distinguishable from the local populace and tended to live apart from it in areas that often became ghettos in their association with immigrant communities. In this sense it is not hard to see how questions of engagement and integration are neglected here. And yet, it is my contention that this section of the Irish diaspora are far more integrated into their new environments than is often assumed, that they *must* be situated and studied against the backdrop of the whole of late-Victorian London. It is, after all, the Irishman as popularly perceived that unites many of the disparate and dark strands of the *fin-de-siècle* city in one essence in that he may be viewed as the archetypal double in the late-Victorian metropole. It is in this 'Paddy' of the slums and rookeries that the underworld of the metropolis, the dark underbelly of the gleaming city of progress, is to be found. In Paddy too, contemporary fears of urban degeneration, decay and reverse colonialism are played out in one body. And of course, it is Paddy that also impacts most profoundly on the perceptions of Anglo-Irish migrants like Stoker. As Valente argues, in *The Primrose Path* 'Stoker registers his own trepidation' about the experience of migration and particularly 'at being subject to invidious Irish stereotypes in the reception that he arranges for his protagonist.'[58] While by no means representative of the whole picture, then, the most prevalent and pervasive depiction of the Irish in the city at the turn of the century, both in terms of contemporary representations and current historiography, is that of the Irish poor. These poorest Irish emigrated to Britain in the greatest numbers and were incontrovertibly the most obvious and visible element of the Irish in Britain in

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[58] Valente, p. 34.

the nineteenth century. Therefore any study of constructions of Irishness in late-Victorian London and what this might mean for the (Anglo-) Irish immigrants like Stoker, their views of themselves and their own national and personal identities must first address the image projected by and assigned to this particular section of the Irish diaspora.

The main influx of Irish emigrants into British urban centres began in earnest in the late 1840s and 1850s. Of course, that is not to say that there was not a strong link between Britain and Ireland previously; the close physical proximity of the two nations as well as similar climates and cultures meant that historically the Irish had often travelled to Britain in search of a livelihood when economic circumstances made life difficult at home. Up until the second half of the nineteenth century, however, this had often taken the form of transitory migration, where one family member would travel temporarily to Britain for work, returning home when opportunities for casual employment ended. The great change that took place in the mid-nineteenth century, both during and in the immediate aftermath of the Great Irish Potato Famine, was that the Irish economic migrant's move to Britain became an altogether more permanent affair, and often involved whole families crossing the Irish Sea rather than just the parental breadwinner on a short-term or seasonal basis.[59] The Famine can be called a watershed moment in modern Irish history for many reasons but its significance in the discussion of migration cannot be overstated. The failure of the potato crop in 1845 and the subsequent malnutrition, disease and mass exodus of people fleeing Ireland effectively halved the population of that country. Over two million people were forced to emigrate from Ireland in the search for improved circumstances overseas, and for many, especially those who could not afford to travel any further, the first and only port of call were the towns and cities of its nearest neighbour. As already noted, there is comparatively little scholarship on the Irish in Victorian Britain in comparison to that wealth of work done on the fate and fortunes of the Irish who survived the crossing of the Atlantic to America or those who had sufficient funds to make their way to Australia or New Zealand. However, building on the landmark foundations of scholars such as Lees, Swift and Gilley, in recent years, Andy Bielenberg and

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[59] See Lees, p. 36.

Donald MacRaild have added to and revised this small but valuable web of knowledge.[60] The result of this cumulative research is the emergence of a few key trends surrounding the Irish as a whole in Victorian Britain and their reception therein.

With the vast majority of those Irish men and women who came to Britain from the mid-nineteenth century onwards as unskilled labourers, and a significant portion of these of the pauper class, these Irish tended to occupy the cheapest housing in the poorest areas and were unsurprisingly associated with the lowest echelons of the English working classes in terms of their reception and perception by the native population. To this end, the Irish poor, living as their English counterparts usually did in predominantly squalid areas rife with disease and sanitation issues were an obvious focal point for the threatening discourses that have already been seen to pervade the metropolitan environment. For, if the Victorian poor were perceived in the most negative of terms by the middle and upper classes, then this also had profound implications for popular views of the Irish in their midst. The majority of these Irish, then, by virtue of the economic factors that forced them to inhabit these areas as well, were caught up in the often hostile feelings towards the poor at large. As Swift and Gilley posit in their introduction to *The Irish in the Victorian City*, 'anti-Celticism seems to have been wholly inoperative against the advancement of the small Irish Catholic middle-class, suggesting that the prejudice was one essentially against Irish paupers, as a parallel with the more negative attitudes to the English poor'.[61]

And yet, it would be much too simplistic to suggest that all of the hostility the Irish met with in London and elsewhere was solely bound up with their economic situation. Furthermore, it would also be misleading to suggest that the Irish middle classes were not also caught up to some extent in the rhetoric that linked their nationality with danger. In fact, the question of whether the Irish were the recipients of racist feelings in nineteenth-century Britain has become an enduring one in historiography, with scholars such as L.P. Curtis, R.F. Foster and Jacqueline Turton standing on both sides of the critical debate with Turton making the point that 'whilst it would be foolish to deny that there were

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[60] *The Irish Diaspora*, ed. by Andy Bielenberg (London: Longman, 2000), and Donald M. MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain, 1750-1922* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999).

[61] Swift and Gilley, *The Irish in the Victorian City*, p. 5.

many instances of blatant discrimination [...] mid-nineteenth century contemporary views were by no means universally condemnatory; even the most emphatic assertions of Hibernian inferiority are qualified'.[62] Be that as it may, scholars on the whole are slow to suggest that the traits and features that were perceived to adhere to the Irish as a specifically ethnic or national grouping did not play some role at least in the reception they encountered in late-Victorian Britain. For example, the historian M.A.G. Ó Tuathaigh points to the merging of perceived national stereotypes with generally held views on the poor when he offers us a snapshot of how the pauper Irish were commonly regarded in his essay, 'The Irish in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Problems of Integration' when he writes: 'Their living conditions were generally the very worst which the Victorian slum could offer [...] appalling over-crowding, little or no sanitation, open sewers and cesspools, unhealthy diet, squalor; a high quota of underemployed casual labourers; and a high incidence of casual violence (very often provoked by drink).'[63] And in terms of contemporary sources, as early as the 1830s Dickens writes of an Irishman who 'comes home every other night and attacks everybody', while Henry Mayhew's contemporary observations of the Irish slums, whilst not in themselves specifically anti-Irish, trade on certain widely-held characteristics such as intense religious devotion and drunkenness.[64] The popularly-held image of the inebriated, boisterous, and often violent Irishman was therefore deeply ingrained in the British public consciousness by the end of the nineteenth century, and as we shall soon see it also attached itself to the less visible, assimilated or invisible Irish in the city like Stoker. Indeed, this popular stereotyping on his own account is what Valente sees as the central anxiety of *The Primrose Path* with Jerry O'Sullivan playing the expected role of the Irish faultlessly. For while it is true that certain aspects of the Irish national character as it was created and perceived were deemed desirable, and more than

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[62] Jacqueline Turton, 'Mayhew's Irish: The Irish Poor in mid-nineteenth-century London', in *The Irish in the Victorian City*, ed. by Swift and Gilley, p. 144.

[63] M.A.G. Ó Tuathaigh, 'The Irish in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Problems of Integration', in *The Irish in the Victorian City*, ed. by Swift and Gilley, p. 16.

[64] Charles Dickens, *Sketches by Boz*, ed. by Dennis Walder (London: Penguin, 1995), p. 91. See also Chapter Five of Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, ed. by Victor Neuberg (London: New York: Penguin Books, 1985), for detailed accounts of Irish street sellers and their lifestyles. The section entitled 'Of the Religion of the Street Irish' is especially steeped in widely-held views of Irish Catholicism, such as deference to priests, laxity of worship practices etc.

this, complementary to its British counterpart, this strand of thought where it exists in our period is still rooted in the acceptance of certain racial characteristics pertaining to the Irish as a people and to Ireland as a nation. After all, in relation to *The Primrose Path*, 'everyone's initial assumption that O'Sullivan, being Irish, must like his grog, coupled with the ethnically tinged antagonism that his pubmates come to bear him, contributes measurably to his downfall' in this text.[65] And while, it is certainly the case that the rhetoric of a feminine, emotional and artistic Erin needing the guidance of a masculine, sensible and knowing John Bull was a popular one with those imperialists arguing that Ireland had no capacity for self-governance and must therefore remain a colonised territory of the British Empire, it is also for the most part associated with the first half of the nineteenth century.[66] Less of this level of tolerance is to be found in our period when the situation incorporates the Irish living in Britain in such numbers or when the domestic situation in Ireland is actively and uniformly engaged in often violent resistance to British rule, as it was from about the 1860s onward. On the whole, the attitudes toward the Irish in the late-Victorian British media are anything but conciliatory. The pervading response, helped no doubt by the agrarian agitations of the Land War and even more pertinently, the spate of Fenian attacks within the United Kingdom in the 1870s and 80s, was one of hostility, and it must be said, of fear.

L.P. Curtis' book, *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature*, is a prolonged meditation on the construction of the Irish national character in nineteenth-century visual culture, and in it Curtis contributes to the argument that perceptions of Irishness in Victorian Britain were allied with a sense of threat and danger.[67] However, while Curtis's study is a good introduction to the subject of the Irish as they were depicted in some sectors of the Victorian popular press, it has been argued that it is somewhat selective in its survey of images and that some of its claims are too one-dimensional in their assertions. Foster, for example, contends that '*Punch* gives a more varied representation of it than might be expected. In its early years, it could be anti-

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[65] Valente, p. 34.

[66] C.L. Innes, *Women and Nation in Irish Literature and Society, 1880-1935* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993).

[67] L.P. Curtis, *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1971).

Irish; but no more obsessively than it was anti-medical students, or anti-politicians, or anti-income tax. Nor were its representations of the Irish very pronouncedly different in physiognomy from the representations of English plebeians.'[68] For my part, I feel that the images chosen by Curtis are selected with good reason, that even if his claims are not as nuanced as perhaps they might be, they nevertheless point to a highly significant and predominantly negative construction of the Irish national character, something that is unquestionably associated with ideas of race. In fact, I feel that many of the images that Curtis' study deals with have much more to communicate to us regarding British attitudes towards Irishness, and Anglo-Irishness, as a whole. The first image that I argue has much left to say is called 'Two Forces' (Fig. 3.1), and featured in the 29 October 1881 edition of *Punch* magazine. It was drawn by Sir John Tenniel, the chief cartoonist at the publication, and depicts the confrontation between sisters Britannia and Hibernia on the right and an Irish Fenian insurgent on the left. Britannia here stands strong and powerful. Dressed in classical military garb she wears a helmet and brandishes the sword of the law in one hand, implying that she has the might of justice on her side. Trodden under her sandaled foot lies a piece of paper with the words 'Land League' inscribed upon it, leaving the viewer in no doubt as to how she feels about the contemporary Irish land agitation movement. Britannia is portrayed as comforting and protecting a visibly upset and cowering Hibernia from the Irishman who, in his turn, is crudely brandishing a stone and wears a hat with the word 'anarchy' emblazoned across it. Looking more closely at the image, Britannia stands as a commanding female figure drawn in the manner of classical goddesses like Athena and Artemis. Her physical features are symmetrical and perfectly proportioned. Her stature is imposing and upright. She is shown as the most civilised and urbane character in the cartoon, wielding the tools of a cultured and wealthy society. Hibernia on the other hand, while still drawn in the classical style, is depicted as the weaker, younger sister, physically inferior to her more robust relative and emotionally overcome by the threat posed by the Irish anarchist. She stands barefoot, and her long free flowing hair and simple dress serve to underpin her image as a somewhat primitive, young, feminine presence

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[68] Foster, *Paddy & Mr Punch*, p. 174.

in need of both rescue and cultivation. Both portrayals of Britannia and Hibernia continue in the well-established tradition of representing the nation of Ireland as young, vulnerable and incapable of the adequate governance of its own affairs, in need of Britain's steadying influence in order to flourish and prosper, and indeed, to save it from its own citizens. But it is the depiction of the native Irishman that is here most interesting. With his 'simous [sic] nose, long projecting upper lip, shallow lower jaw, and fang-like teeth', he evokes a brutality and primitivism that owes much to Victorian notions of racial inferiority.[69] His shabby and torn dress, crude boots and primitive choice of weapon communicate poverty and backwardness. In short, he is Othered, and in comparison to Britannia's sophisticated and expertly-crafted sword the Irishman clutches a mound of primitively shaped rocks, one of which he is brandishing threateningly at the classical figure, all the while emphasising a violent and devolved figure who, like the popular perceptions of the pauper Irish immigrant, sets himself against all that is sophisticated, urban and British.

This characterisation is even more pronounced in the next image. Entitled 'Time's Waxworks' (Fig. 3.2), it again appeared in *Punch* on 31 December 1881 and features Mr Punch and a bearded Father Time walking through a museum of waxworks depicting 'annual imperial problems'. A stereotypical imagining of a tribal African stands on a platform entitled 1880 and by his side, on a platform that reads 1881 for the current year, the brutal and ape-like Irishman stands with some dynamite under one arm and weapons such as a pistol and a knife tucked into his belt. Again, the shabby clothing, the threatening and bestial physiognomy, the allusion to violence so commonly associated with the Irish immigrant community, are evident, but here these are transformed into an organised attack on British society through acts of terrorism. He occupies a substantial amount of the foreground, with the 'primitive' African native, complete with weapons of a shield and spear, relegated to second place. However, despite the Fenian's more sophisticated weaponry, the physical similarities between him and the African 'Other' position the simianized Irishman within the same discourse surrounding racial inferiority, primitivism, violence and threat, all the while referencing the construction of a national character that was equally

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[69] Curtis, p. 42.

TWO FORCES.

Fig. 3.1 Tenniel, 'Two Forces', *Punch*, 29th October, 1881.

Fig. 3.2 Tenniel, 'Time's Waxworks', *Punch*, 31st December, 1881

applied to the Irish immigrant community in Britain as well as the Irish living within Ireland itself.

Thus far, it has been solely the Fenian/native/pauper Irishman that has come in for criticism from the late-Victorian British cartoonists and it is in this threatening image, owing much to popular perceptions of the impoverished, Catholic and antagonistically nationalist Irishman, that the very notions of Irishness from a British perspective seem to be constructed as violent and bestial in our period.However, the next two cartoons tell a different story and offer up some intriguing complications to the construction of what hitherto has been a relatively straightforward set of targets and their attributed national characteristics, and especially the impact of these characteristics on perceptions of professional or assimilated (Anglo-) Irish like Stoker. Both *The Irish Frankenstein* (1882) (Fig. 3.3), and *A House of Apollo-ticians-As Seen by Themselves,* (1893) (Fig. 3.4), represent an important departure in negative representations of the Irish in the British Victorian cartoon because they do not limit their satirical focus to the most visible and widely-known images of the Irishman as Fenian terrorist or degenerate pauper. Instead, they contest the somewhat narrow stereotypical representations that have hitherto been discussed by offering a different aspect of Irishness, and indeed, Anglo-Irishness than that which the viewer has thus far been privy to. *The Irish Frankenstein* was published in *Punch* on 20 May 1882. Heavily influenced by the murder of Lord Henry Cavendish in the Phoenix Park in Dublin just a few weeks earlier, this cartoon shows a creeping and cloaked Irish assassin clutching a knife that is dripping with blood. As in previous examples, the Irishman here is depicted with distinctly ape-like features such as a heavy jaw and protruding teeth as he stalks across the front of the image. In the background, cowering in the dark is presumably Cavendish, well-dressed, civilised and holding his hands out in defence against some unknown threat skulking in the dark. On the face of it, then, this image seems to evoke the by-now familiar association of bestial Irishness and threat. However, the reason the Phoenix Park murders and this cartoon are so important and so different to what has gone before, even if that is not immediately apparent, is that Cavendish's killing was widely considered to have been influenced, if not orchestrated, by Irish M.P. Charles Stewart Parnell, a very

different type of Irishman to the one that has already been repeatedly encountered.

An Anglo-Irish landowning Protestant, Parnell was educated, sophisticated and accomplished. An instrumental Land Leaguer in the popular struggle for reform to tenancy laws and later in the campaign for Home Rule, Parnell was an immensely popular and charismatic figure in Ireland itself and a vocal and influential member of the Irish faction in the parliament at Westminster. And like such figures as Butt, Shaw, Yeats, Wilde and of course, Stoker, Parnell's story subverts all previously held economic, religious and social assumption s about the Irish character as constructed in the British media. As an 'assimilated' or professional Irishman he moved in the same circles as the leading lights of the British political arena and was popularly termed 'the uncrowned king of Ireland' at home. He was accused, however, by his detractors of stirring up violence against Crown Forces in Ireland, of instigating atrocities rather than acting himself, and as such was even more dangerous. The insidious nature of his perceived influence was a threat of a very different kind to the openly hostile Irish anarchist ape, but no less dangerous for that. It is such a threat that manifests itself in this particular cartoon and that will have profound implications for Anglo-Irish immigrant constructions of selfhood. Cavendish does indeed seem to be looking at an unseen danger off camera as it were, to Parnell and his supporters, who if granted their requests, would have a devolved government in Dublin and would effectively dissolve the Union of 1801. Threat in this image is therefore not just focused on the obvious and frightening murderous Irishman as but also on the unseen but powerful force propelling him to action, the brains behind the operation, the creator behind the monster. For, our familiar Fenian stands over a death warrant signed by 'Captain Moonlight, the legendary leader and organizer of Irish agrarian crime', suggesting that his actions are not wholly of his own design.[70] Furthermore, he wears a mask that hides his true identity. To this end, the implied Other, the Irish Frankenstein, in the cartoon is Parnell and the Irish political unit at Westminster. The simianized Frankenstein's monster that trades on popularly-held views of the indigenous Irish national character is here merely a diversion from the underlying real source

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[70] Ibid, p. 43.

THE IRISH FRANKENSTEIN.

"The baneful and blood-stained Monster * * * yet was it not my Master to the very extent that it was my Creature ? * * * Had I not breathed into it my own spirit ?" * * * (Extract from the Works of C. S. P-RN-LL, M.P.

Fig. 3.3 Tenniel, 'The Irish Frankenstein', *Punch*, 20th May, 1882.

of danger, that of Dr Frankenstein himself. These negative constructions of the Irish in the Victorian press therefore have deeply important implications for this social group, as they perpetuate and expand the narrow version of Irishness and the Irish national character that we have seen to be so pervasive in late-nineteenth-century Britain.

The final cartoon to be discussed in this regard exemplifies this even further. Entitled *A House of Apollo-ticians –As Seen by Themselves*, it dates from 1893 and is a satirical image that came about as a response to a controversial cartoon of the Irish MP John G. Swift MacNeill that depicted him in an ape-like manner. MacNeill and his fellow Irish members were so outraged by the image that they confronted the cartoonist responsible, Harry Furniss, in the lobby of the House of Commons. Furniss, none too impressed with the hostile manner in which he was treated went on to ironically draw the image before us with the Irish Home Rulers as having 'the most sublime and beautiful faces', upright posture and classical features'.[71] The cartoonist, by way of contrast, is shown as a crouching monkey-like creature with a pen and sketchpad observing the proceedings. Here the artist infers that everything in this image is the opposite to how it is in real life – that the Irish MPs have a skewed and unrealistic sense of themselves and the world and that it is really they and not the caricaturist who is ape-like, and by implication, bestial and degenerate. Just in case this point was lost on any of *Punch*'s readers the following verse accompanied the cartoon:

> O, Mr. Mac Neill was quite happy until a
> Draughtsman in *Punch* made him like a gorilla-
> At the Zoo the gorilla quite happy did feel
> Till the draughtsman in *Punch* made him like the Mac Neill.[72]

The real significance of this cartoon lies in the fact that it extends the already well established practice of simianizing the Irish peasant and the Irish terrorist to the Irish middle-classes living and working in London. As these images demonstrate, these covert (often Anglo-) Irishmen found themselves targeted by certain sectors of the media in much the same way as their lower-class compatriots, even though the image of Irishness that they represented was far

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[71] Ibid, p. 56.
[72] Ibid.

removed from the usual attributes of poverty, drunkenness and primitivism. What these characteristics are replaced by is duplicity – a sense that the assimilated
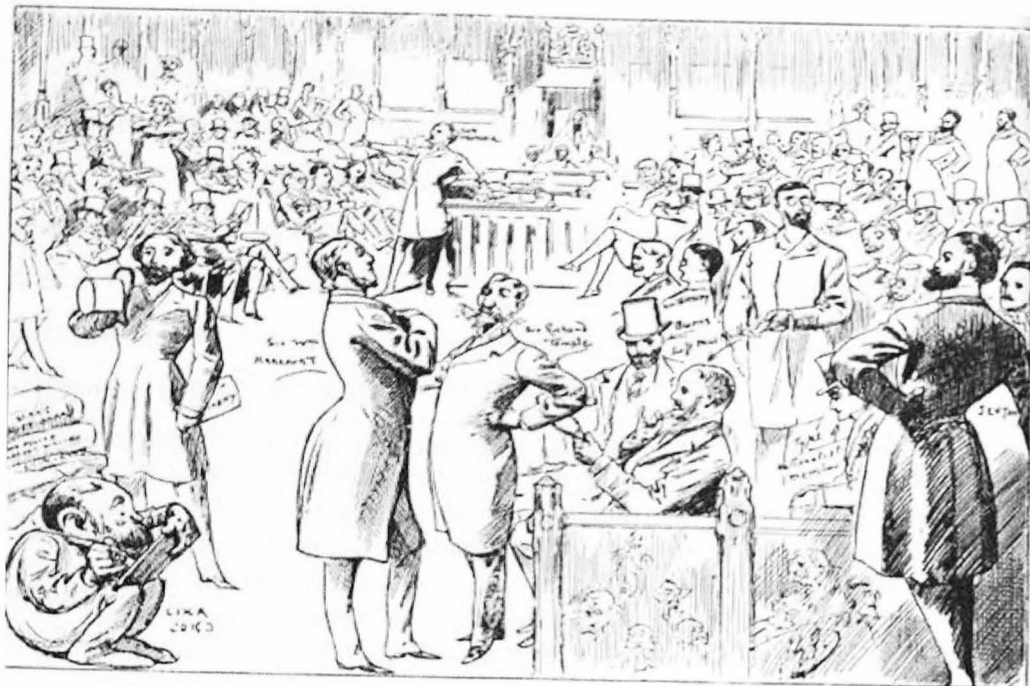

Fig. 3.4 Furniss, 'A House of Apollo-ticians – As Seen By Themselves', *Punch*, 23rd September, 1893

Irishman could manifest an invisible threat, one that was far less easy to identify than the crude menace exuded by 'Paddy'. For, despite contesting the stereotypical construction of Irishness in many ways, the cartoons discussed here that depict the nineteenth-century assimilated Irish ultimately fall back on the established charges of danger, violence and threat, albeit executed in a slightly different way.

The duality of this aspect of the (Anglo-) Irish national character, like the duality of London itself, was no less dangerous for that and it is this that Valente argues Stoker is particularly interested in, and anxious about in *The Primrose Path*. In regard to this novel, Valente believes that Stoker's anxiety around the inclusion of himself and his class within the popularly constructed images of Irishness in the metropolis, images that we have just encountered here, is so great that he actively attempts to destabilise such constructions. He writes that 'Stoker deploys stock racial images, properties, and associations in his Irish fiction, not with an eye to endorsing then, as many critics have inferred, but to shifting their

point of reference from the ontology of the groups thus classified to the cultural psychology of racial classification itself. The authority of this classificatory sensibility [...] is accordingly unsettled if not debunked.'[73] Jerry O'Sullivan is indeed ostensibly the confirmation of an established poor Irish stereotype, he is indeed violent and a drunk and he ultimately murders his wife. However, Valente argues that the warning figure of Parnell in the novel 'proves irrefutably correct about the danger Jerry faces, but for substantially the wrong reason. His protégé does not fall prey to his supposedly Irish proclivity for drunken excess except insofar as it is activated by conditions resulting, at least in part, from the supposition itself.'[74] Or, to put this another way:

> the fact that Jerry must emigrate to London before contracting his moral pathology, and only does so under the influence of English expectations to this effect, suggests that there is an element of self-fulfilling prophecy in the Anglo-Irishman's sermon and the racial typology upon which it draws. The supposedly innate infirmity of the Irish Celt is represented here as a consequence not only of environment but also of an alien environment, and not only of an alien environment but also of an alien environment informed, or deformed, in advance by the imperialist stereotype of Irish infirmity.[75]

Stoker's active attempt here to rehabilitate the (Anglo-) Irish national character is crucial. We have already seen this kind of literary device at work in *The Snake's Pass*. Not only does it evoke a repeated theme in Stoker's writing, then, and speak to a profound and sustained interest of Stoker's as writer in (Anglo-) Irish national identity, it also situates engagement with national identity within the metropolis and as such actively foreshadows *Dracula*. Valente finishes his discussion of *The Primrose Path* by writing that

> Stoker manages to transform his misgivings about labouring under ethnic preconceptions into a critical interrogation of the racial sensibilities of his social environs. He would come to execute this maneuver [sic] far more adroitly in *Dracula*, due in part to his intervening first-hand experience of being Irish in London, in part to his greater familiarity with the emergent racial sciences, and in part to his growth as a literary craftsman. *The Primrose Path* does, however, offer a working sense of his method under development.[76]

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[73] Valente, p. 35.
[74] Ibid, p. 37.
[75] Ibid, p. 36.
[76] Valente, p. 35.

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For Stoker as an Anglo-Irish writer, such literary evocations of Irish/Anglo-Irish national condition in literary form therefore speak to a core and abiding engagement with ideas of self and particular an Anglo-Irish selfhood and its relationship to established discourse of racial threat within late-Victorian London. And as Valente says, by the time Stoker came to write such interests into the imaginative autobiography of *Dracula*, he had 'first hand experience' of the city and of being Anglo-Irish in the metropolis. *The Primrose Path* can therefore be seen as an early rendering of Stoker's deep interest in the intersection of constructions of national identity (the poor Irish immigrant but one who could easily subsume the assimilated Irish émigré in its negative and racialised construction), the city and the fictional rendering of these experiences. It can be seen to inaugurate these more developed concerns that are fundamental to *Dracula* as imaginative autobiography. To this end, Andrew Maunder argues that 'Perhaps the most important prototype which Stoker created in this story is that of the evildoer, a mixture of human and supernatural, living and dead.'[77] The hybridity of Grinnells certainly anticipates the indeterminacy of *Dracula*, and Dracula himself is constructed out of the nationally-related duality of Stoker's Anglo-Irish experiences in the city and out of the particular metropolitan perceptions of his (Anglo-) Irish national identity. In that text instead of the stereotypical Catholic economic migrant who succumbs to alcohol addiction and violence within the urban setting, we have a covert vampire that nevertheless draws on some of the same character traits. During his period of stay at Castle Dracula, Harker frequently describes the animal-like tendencies of his host:

> There was something so panther-like in the movement – something so unhuman, that it seemed to sober us all from the shock of his coming. [...] As the Count saw us, a horrible sort of snarl passed over his face, showing the eye-teeth long and pointed; but the evil smile as quickly passed into a cold stare of lion-like disdain. (p. 284).

In Stoker's vampire counterpart, we find, then, the influence of metropolitan constructions of (Anglo-) Irishness as bestial and threatening:

> At first I could not believe my eyes. I thought it was some trick of the moonlight, some weird effect of shadow; but I kept looking, and it could be no delusion. I saw the fingers and toes grasp the corners of the stones, worn clear of the mortar by the stress of years, and by thus using every

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[77] Murray, p. 68.

projection and inequality move downwards with considerable speed, just as a lizard moves along a wall. (p. 35)

Born out of Stoker's experiences as writer in late-Victorian London, then, in *Dracula*, Anglo-Irishness therefore becomes monstrous and the shape-shifting vampire with dual identity and unstable sense of (national) selfhood duly becomes a monster and an inherently racialised one at that: 'His waxen hue became greenish-yellow by the contrast of his burning eyes, and the red scar on the forehead showed on the pallid skin like a palpitating wound.' (p. 284) Stoker as Anglo-Irishman is thereby rendered Un-dead, an Old One, a vampire. But Stoker did not invent this creature on which he projects his own sense of national selfhood in the city. He merely saw it as the most suitable vehicle through which to explore his own sense of national identity as Anglo-Irish writer in London. Why was the vampire as literary trope then chosen by Stoker? What could it offer the author in his writing of his imaginative autobiography? To answer such questions, it is to this figure of the vampire and moreover the literary vampire as established and evolved in nineteenth-century literature that this thesis now turns.

'We of Dracula Blood': The Evolution of the Victorian Literary Vampire

> The vampire live on, and cannot die by mere passing of the time; he can flourish when he can fatten on the blood of the living. Even more, we have seen amongst us that he can grow ever younger; that his vital faculties grow strenuous, and seem as though they refresh themselves when his special pabulum is plenty. [...] He throws no shadow; he make in the mirror no reflect [...] He has the strength of many in his hand [...] He can transform himself to wolf, as we gather from the ship arrival in Whitby, when he tear open the dog. He can be as bat, [...] He can come in mist which he create [...] He come on moonlight rays as elemental dust [...] He can, when once he find his way, come out from anything or into anything [...] He can see in the dark.[1]

The vampire that Van Helsing carefully describes here in *Dracula* is one with clearly defined traits. Immortal, he is immune to the usual effects of age and time. To survive, he feeds on 'the blood of the living' and can even 'grow ever younger' because of this macabre diet. As already noted in previous chapters, he possesses numerous unusual abilities such as the capacity to transform himself into a wolf, a bat, mist and even dust in moonlit rays. He 'throws no shadow' and, as Harker can attest, he casts no reflection: '"the man was close to me, and I could see him over my shoulder. But there was no reflection of him in the mirror! The whole room behind me was displayed; but there was no sign of a man in it, except myself."' (p. 27). We are also told here that Stoker's vampire Count 'has the strength of many in his hand' and, appropriately enough for a creature of the night, that he can see in the dark.

Although just the beginning of what this literary vampire can do, Van Helsing's list of Dracula's varied character traits is highly significant. For in its fight against the Count and his fellow vampires, the 'Crew of Light', as Christopher Craft originally termed the band of vampire hunters, habitually uses known or recorded information of its enemy's strengths and limitations as a key weapon.[2] To this end, knowledge about this literary vampire and indeed, the state of vampirism in general, is meticulously collected, communicated and

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[1] Bram Stoker, *Dracula*, ed. by Roger Luckhurst (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 223.

[2] Christopher Craft, '"Kiss Me With Those Red Lips": Gender and Inversion in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*', in *Dracula: Bram Stoker*, ed. by Glennis Byron (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), p. 116.

catalogued by Harker himself and later by Mina, Seward and Van Helsing. Harker's own diary, after all, is one of the most important resources in the fight against the Count for in it the reader finds a sustained analysis of Dracula, his character, interests and actions all based on the young solicitor's observations and discreet enquiries: "'In the meantime I must find out all I can about Count Dracula, as it may help me to understand. To-night he may talk of himself, if I turn the conversation that way. I must be very careful, however, not to awake his suspicion.'" (pp. 29-30).

The picture that emerges of Stoker's vampire from this surveillance is, of course, extensive, and in it, the Count's much-remarked upon fluidity itself becomes one of his defining features. Harker notes how he simultaneously plays the role of coach-man, host and maid servant, for example, because of his singular condition that could realistically admit no actual servants in the castle. He also details the manner in which his host blurs the lines between human and animal through his power over the wolves and the lizard-like fashion in which he departs his home to hunt at night. Again, this very indeterminacy is itself one of the most identifiable attributes of Stoker's Un-dead aristocrat. However, it is important to note that the literary vampire did not always enjoy such a well-defined or documented existence as he has here. In fact, early representations of vampirism were, on the whole, very different to the comprehensive picture that Stoker's paints of Dracula and his progeny throughout his novel. If we turn, for example, to the *Oxford English Dictionary*'s first recorded use of the word vampire in text, dating from 1734, we find an entry that presents us with a very different image:

> These Vampyres are supposed to be the Bodies of deceased Persons, animated by evil Spirits, which come out of the Graves, in the Night-time, suck the Blood of many of the Living, and thereby destroy them.[3]

This vampire, or rather vampires, in stark contrast to the detailed complexity of Stoker's construction are described simply as dead bodies, possessed by a demon for the purposes of sucking, 'the blood of many of the living', with their sole *raison d'être* in this mid-eighteenth century perception to

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[3] *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, accessed November 19, 2010, http://www.oed.com.chain.kent.ac.uk/view/Entry/221303?rskey=OH8FrG&result=3&isAdvanced=true#eid15838244.

perpetrate 'evil', to 'destroy' human society through their unnatural appetites. But beyond an explicit alliance between the vampire and danger, this entry actually tells us very little about the subject it purports to describe. It makes no mention of what a vampire might look like, for example, how it might live, or how exactly it might go about this draining of its victim's essential lifeblood. Nor does it attempt to account for motivation, for the reasons such a nocturnal predator might behave the way that it does. Decidedly equivocal on almost all aspects of the vampire as a social or textual composition, it speaks not of what a vampire is but only of what it is assumed or, 'supposed to be'. The above classification is only partially successful in its aims, then, if those aims are to explain and elucidate the vampire as an entity for it fails to offer a satisfactory explanation for what a vampire really is. Instead in its inability to clearly define its subject, it gestures towards the same ambiguity we noted in *Dracula*. An enduring vagueness surrounds the vampire as imagined, then, and with it a recognition that despite its omnipresence even now in contemporary popular culture, in the most fundamental and important of ways, continues to evade our firm and binding grasp.

Lamia, Nosferatu, Oupire, the Un-dead: throughout its long and varied history the vampire has been known by many names. A fictional motif, a being of legend and superstition and a fundamentally recognisable trope of the contemporary horror genre, the vampire is created by our hands; it first emerges as a product of human imaginative projection in the pre-literate realms of European folklore and has been a recurring presence in our cultural landscape ever since. Like all monsters, from Grendel, to Frankenstein's creature, to Moby Dick, to Dracula, the vampire is a product of the fears inherent within society. And of particular relevance for this thesis' investigations, Rosemary Jackson explains that the vampire serves as a displaced demon employed to say, 'all that is not said, all that is unsayable, through realistic forms', in the manner of Maturin's Melmoth or Le Fanu's Silas, for example, or even Stoker's Black Murdock or Grinnell.[4] However, this particular creation stands apart from its more singular counterparts in literature in general and in Anglo-Irish Gothic in

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[4] Rosemary Jackson quoted in *Blood Read: The Vampire as Metaphor in Contemporary Culture*, ed. by Joan Gordon and Veronica Hollinger (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), p. 2.

particular, in the manner in which it has so consistently featured in society's collective consciousness for hundreds of years now, reappearing time and again in the mass media, in the spheres of literature, and later in film and television, to express the darker or inexpressible elements of our human condition. What does a vampire signify? Why it has so persistently featured in humanity's troubled visions of itself throughout history? And, most importantly, what does the vampire offer a displaced Anglo-Irish writer like Stoker expressing in literary form the complexity of his national positioning as immigrant in late-nineteenth-century London?

As discussed in the Introduction, Stoker's *Dracula* serves as the archetypal example of the vampire in literature, the most potent and enduring representation of the literary Un-dead ever created, and with good reason. As we can see in the opening quotation and throughout *Dracula* as a whole, Stoker's treatment of his textual vampire is one that is detailed and engaging. The Count bears little or no resemblance to the eighteenth-century definition of a creature so primitive and physical it essentially functions as an animated set of teeth, with no motivating or driving force beyond its own physical hunger. By contrast, Dracula is eloquent, cunning, and highly sophisticated in his ambitions, as Mina learns to her cost:

> And so you, like the others, would play your brains against mine. You would help these men to hunt me and frustrate me in my designs! You know now, and they know in part already, and will know in full before long, what it is to cross my path. They should have kept their energies for use closer to home. Whilst they played wits against me – against me who commanded nations, and intrigued for them, and fought for them hundreds of years before they were born – I was countermining them. And you, their 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. (p. 267).

The Count's interest in Mina as food is only secondary to his desire to punish her for her part in the plot against him. His intellect, his ambition, even his desire here for revenge, far outweighs the simplicity of his eighteenth-century antecedent, defined purely in terms of satisfying a physical hunger. In fact, in creating the story of an aristocratic vampire with such ambitious, intelligent, and therefore dangerous, designs on the British capital, Stoker writes a creature so

powerfully complex in its construction that its legacy is to be felt well into the twenty-first century.

In *Dracula*, then, Stoker did not just write a vampire. Instead he wrote vampires. The potency of this vampire Count is such that he actively gave rise to the hordes of the Un-dead that continue to positively proliferate in contemporary culture. More importantly however, Stoker wrote *Anglo-Irish* vampires. For as already noted, despite the lapse of almost a century and a half between the OED definition and Stoker's *Dracula*, the Anglo-Irish author's vampire is still characterised by an inherent indeterminacy, an indeterminacy that is all the more complex given its almost contradictory status as one of the features by which this creature is ultimately defined. But in adopting and adapting a figure that had hitherto been figured as remarkably vague, as marked by mystery, then, Stoker takes the inherent indeterminacy of the textual vampire as initially conceived and moulds it to his own nationally motivated ends. We have already made much of Dracula's ability to shape-shift, to present as different things at different points in the narrative and how this is itself a manifestation of Stoker's hybrid national identity as Anglo-Irish writer in London. In constructing his literary Un-dead as intrinsically unstable, Stoker therefore actively uses this hybridity, this very lack of stable designation as a defining characteristic of a type or a race, and in doing so, gestures towards questions of national place and positioning. In *Dracula*, Stoker shows us not only a more developed central vampiric villain than had ever been seen before but he also demonstrates how vampires are created and create new vampires. He delineates their strengths and weaknesses not only as individuals but crucially, just like the Anglo-Irish writer, as individuals in relation to a collective. In this way, he is writing his own experiences of national selfhood, experiences that we have already established are situated at the boundary between personal and communal experience. In this manner, the Anglo-Irish writer in life who was personally, culturally and aesthetically engaged with his own national construction in latter-day Victorian London, becomes the vampire in text and through the vehicle of the literary vampire, *Dracula* becomes an imaginative autobiography.

Thus far, this thesis has been insistent on the importance of contexts for our reading of *Dracula* as imaginative autobiography. As the fictional representation of Stoker's own experiences of complicated national selfhood in

the *fin-de-siècle* metropolis, *Dracula* carries the weight of national identity formation for the Ascendancy within Ireland over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the influence of Anglo-Irish writing in general and Anglo-Irish Gothic in particular, and the impact of the late-Victorian British capital on Stoker's literary endeavours there. Continuing in this vein, it also draws on an established tradition of vampires in literature dating from the early nineteenth century onward. For it is important to note that by the time Stoker comes to write his masterpiece in the closing years of the nineteenth century, the vampire was a popular literary trope, a recognisable literary figure having featured in a number of poems, plays and works of prose throughout the course of the 1800s. Moreover, true to their eighteenth-century origins, the various manifestations of these nineteenth-century literary vampires, from Byron's unnamed Un-dead in his 1813 poem 'The Giaour' to Polidori's Lord Ruthven, from James Malcolm Rymer's Varney to Rudyard Kipling's supernatural seductress in 'The Vampire', are abidingly ambiguous and changeable in their constructions. If anything, they enhance the existing mutability of their 1734 antecedent and as such, develop into the ideal vehicles by which to explore Stoker's own experiences as Anglo-Irishman and Anglo-Irish émigré in fiction. These literary vampires as they evolved over the course of the nineteenth century all pose as inherently suitable models for this writing the national self for the Anglo-Irish author because of their one constant characteristic – their fluctuating selves, their *lack* of a stable identity. *Dracula* is not just part of a tradition of Anglo-Irish identity writing. Nor is it solely part of a tradition of Anglo-Irish Gothic or Anglo-Irish diaspora fiction. In addition to its other key influences, it draws on a progression of nineteenth-century texts that use the literary vampire in all its mutating forms to comment on a diverse set of social, cultural and sexual themes. The way in which the vampire makes the transition from its obscure folkloric roots to become a familiar Victorian presence, a presence that Stoker consciously adopts and later adapts to his own individual and autobiographical purposes in the 1890s, is a core focus of this chapter because of the influence of the various vampires in text on *Dracula*.

The first section of this chapter, then, concentrates on the growth and development of the vampire's life in literature throughout the 1800s. With a focus on such texts as Byron's *The Giaour* (1813), John Polidori's *The Vampyre*

(1819), James Malcolm Rymer's *Varney the Vampire or The Feast of Blood* (1847) and Rudyard Kiping's poem 'The Vampire'(1897), it seeks to chronicle the literary Un-dead as it grows and develops throughout the nineteenth century, thereby giving a definite shape to the vehicle that Stoker comes to use so productively at the turn of the century.[5] To this end, this thesis ultimately argues that *Dracula* is the textual expression of the complexities of the authorial national self and that it is the referentiality between the eponymous vampire and Stoker himself in terms of (national) identity that makes the text an imaginative autobiography. But Stoker was not the first Anglo-Irish author to make use of the vampire motif. Sheridan Le Fanu's novella featuring a female vampire, 'Carmilla' (1872), predates *Dracula* by almost three decades. In this first major intersection of the Anglo-Irish condition and the literary vampire, then, through an examination of Le Fanu's text alongside the Sir John Tenniel cartoon 'The Irish Vampire', the second section of this chapter moves to examine both the reasons why a conflicted sense of national identity and textual vampirism might so profitably coalesce in the later Victorian period. When viewed from the nationally-specific position of the Anglo-Irish writer, the reasons behind the initial adoption of the textual vampire as an abiding motif, and, moreover, the *changes* made to a developing tradition of literary representation of the vampire in literature are highly significant for our reading of Stoker and his own progression of the genre into the highly developed and central character of the Count. For ultimately it is the changes Stoker makes to the vampire myth as developed, the way he takes the genre and consolidates it in a single text, that proves another key aspect of a reading of *Dracula* as imaginative autobiography.

I

Christopher Frayling may argue that vampires, 'are as old as the world', but it is over the course of the nineteenth century that they become truly present in the popular consciousness through their recurring appearance in literary texts, creating a pattern of recurring characteristics that would be consolidated into a tradition in the latter half of the nineteenth century with the involvement of the

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[5] Byron, 'The Giaour' in *Three Vampire Tales: Bram Stoker,* Dracula, *Sheridan Le Fanu, 'Carmilla', and John Polidori,* The Vampyre, ed. by Anne Williams (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2003), p. 17.

Anglo-Irish writer.[6] Byron's *The Giaour*, published in 1813, is the first literary text in English in which the term vampire is explicitly used, in an aside that stands apart from the main action of the poem that is nevertheless illuminating in the image it conveys:

> But first, on earth as Vampire sent,
> Thy corse shall from its tomb be rent;
> Then ghastly haunt thy native place,
> And suck the blood of all thy race,
> There from thy daughter, sister, wife,
> At midnight drain the stream of life;
> Yet loathe the banquet which perforce
> Must feed thy livid living corse;
> Thy victims ere they yet expire
> Shall know the daemon as their sire
> As cursing thee, thou cursing them,
> Thy flowers are withered on the stem[7]

As in the 1734 definition that precedes it, the perception of the vampire presented here is that of a mere reanimated corpse that, 'from its tomb be rent', returns to a state of life to, 'suck the blood of all thy race'. Its victims are those that were known to the creature during its human life, in this case its immediate family, emphasising the regionalised nature of the vampire threat, a concept that draws heavily on its folkloric roots.[8] What starts to set it apart from these pre-literate constructions, and indeed from the definition we find in the *OED*, however, is that in the narrative persona's emphasis on the explicit targeting of female family members by the vampire – daughters, sisters, and perhaps most importantly, wives, the poem implicitly imagines the vampiric figure as male, as an erstwhile father, brother or husband perhaps, thereby imbuing it with an unprecedented gendered identity and the beginning of a defined selfhood in the process. There is no evidence to suggest that the vampire of folkloric belief differentiated between male or female victims or was motivated by any more developed desire than a wish to feed. However, while there is equally no suggestion of an explicitly

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[6] Christopher Frayling, *Vampyres: Lord Byron to Count Dracula* (London: Faber and Faber, 1992), p. 4.
[7] Williams, p. 5.
[8] For a detailed account of the vampire's emergence from folklore see Montague Summers seminal 1929 work, *The Vampire in Lore and Legend* (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 2001), as well as Summers, *The History of Witchcraft and Demonology* (London: Trench, Trubner and co. 1926) and Paul Barber, *Vampires, Burial and Death: Folklore and Reality* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988) amongst others.

sexualised element to this predation, the inclusion of wife as victim here gestures towards the sexually-coded nature of the Dracula's predation on Mina and Lucy, for example, and adds another dimension to the primitive threat it had hitherto signified.

Byron's particular construction of the textual vampire therefore transforms the existing literary Un-dead from a regionalised and specific danger to allow for a greater scope of significance and meaning. Created as a foil to the Byronic hero's exploits, this textual vampire also explicitly engenders the possibility that the very state of vampirism is transferable, more than a random fluke of existence, it is a condition of being that can be inherited or passed on. The reader is told that the vampire's victims, 'ere they expire', will know the vampire or demon as he is here referred to, as 'their sire', that they too will inevitably become vampires. Again, anticipating the reproductive qualities of Dracula, vampires are made as well as born in the Byronic imagination; their impact on the living is insidious and one that spreads, one that has the capacity to infect and change, as the Count does with Lucy, rather than just kill. But, for all this, the textual vampire is also presented as a sympathetic figure. It may feed by draining the, 'stream of life', from its erstwhile nearest and dearest but it does so with regret and 'loathes' the banquet which perforce must feed [his] livid living corse', exhibiting an emotional engagement with his surroundings that is wholly absent from earlier incarnations. Crucial to our later discussions of *Dracula*, Byron's vampire inaugurates a literary tradition in which the literary vampire is undeniably invested in the idea of place and what it signifies and in his need to haunt his native space, in his targeting of former family members as victims and in his subsequent revulsion and guilt at his own murderous intentions, this vampiric figure is positively rooted in the social structures of communities. And while his desire to feed on the lifeblood of the human sphere is necessarily a key characteristic of any textual Un-dead, it is important to note that this vampire's actions in this regard are not those of a wholly removed outsider. In fact, in his positioning and in his choice of victims, the Byronic vampire is far more socially integrated than may at first appear. This sense of belonging, then, of being at ease within a particular social environment is a key aspect of the literary vampire as it will come to be written thereafter.

The assertion that the vampire is inextricably bound up with the social, cultural, historical and even biographical environment out of which it emerges, as 'an analogy to explain human interactions' is one that is almost unilaterally accepted across scholarship.[9] In this manner, the vampire is therefore often used to 'express various human relationships', and in the case of an artistic medium like the literary text, often 'the relationships that the artist himself had with family, with friends, with lovers, and even with art itself'.[10] After all, if the vampire is both initially and continuously created by human society, it is to be expected that as a construct it is necessarily invested in the self-same tradition that begets and perpetuates it. And while it is often the case that vampires may at first appear marginal, 'feeding on human history from some limbo of their own', as Auerbach here counters, 'for me, they have always been central', residing at the very core of the specific set of social, cultural, political, and most importantly, national factors that bring them to bear in the first place.[11] The vampire may, therefore, be seen to be communally integrated in the sense that it is clearly the product of and response to a set of socially relevant factors. It is a product of its place and its period, a fundamental element to any later reading of *Dracula* as the fictional rendering of conflicted Anglo-Irish selfhood. But if the vampire is social, then by its very nature it is also socially transgressive, preying on the very structures that it itself was once a part of. Anne Williams emphasises the anarchic element of the vampire myth as constructed when she explores how this creature 'embodies the violation of other cultural categories, such as assumptions about gender, sexual taboos and [...] capitalistic imperatives', serving as a form of displacement, as a sufficiently removed space to explore problematic societal, and in the opinion of this critic, creative, issues in a safely distanced way.[12] The literary vampire offers a means here by which to distort shared cultural, political and personal anxieties through art, to interrogate them in a removed and thereby secure manner. And so Brian Aldiss argues that the vampire, as 'one of the most prolific figures in popular culture, is never simply a vampire, the roles played out by this figure shift as our desires and anxieties adapt to particular cultural/political moments', while Christopher Baldick, in a text that takes the

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[9] Twitchell, p. 4.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Auerbach, p. 1.
[12] Williams, p. 3.

link between monstrosity and the French Revolution as the starting point of its own investigations, emphasises the profoundly social nature of a myth and the monster it generates.[13] Baldick writes that, 'from the perception of [...] a gulf between nature and culture the fear that human society may itself be producing monsters emerges'.[14] As perfect examples of these monsters that Baldick charges society with producing, vampires are therefore, 'congenial predators', a strange fusion of social investment on the one hand, and the desire for social destruction on the other.[15] Possessing the capacity to be valued friends and intimates as well as threatening forces, especially at the beginning of their literary careers, they make for deeply engaging subjects in narrative precisely because they are so socially entrenched. It is the vampire's existence and action at the very heart of human experience which accounts for its charm, appeal and enduring place in the popular imagination as well as in the collective nightmare.

There is, in Byron's poem, a burgeoning sense of selfhood for the literary vampire. Despite the brevity of its appearance therein, the bestowal of gender, beginnings of an emotional character, identification with a place and a people that conspire to give this supernatural entity the beginnings of a shape and substance in the text that would progress and expand in later texts as the century wore on. But crucially, in the rendering of a vampire that is here both villain and victim, there is also internalised duality and contradiction that challenges such constructions of selfhood from their inception. A stable sense of identity is a problematic concept in that this vampire, peripheral to the main thrust of the text in which he appears. And as previously stated, it is the ambiguity attached to the developing identity of the vampire in literature that later proves such an important influence on *Dracula*. To this end, Auerbach is quick to assert that for her, the core and abiding value of the textual vampire lies precisely in its ability to shape shift, to present as different things to different people and cultures at different points in history. She even goes so far as to suggest that 'there is no such creature as 'The Vampire'; there are only vampires', and that while 'to the jaded eye, all vampires seem alike [...] they are wonderful in their versatility.

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[13] Brian Aldiss, 'Vampires – The Ancient Fear' in *Blood Read: The Vampire as Metaphor in Contemporary Culture*, ed. by Joan Gordon and Veronica Hollinger (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), pp. ix-xiii.
[14] Chris Baldick, *In Frankenstein's Shadow: Myth, Monstrosity and Nineteenth-Century Writing* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 16.
[15] Auerbach, p. 7.

Some come to life in the moonlight, others are killed in the sun; some pierce with their eyes, others with their fangs; some are reactionary, others are rebels'.[16] James Craig Holte, for his part, maintains that 'throughout their long history, vampires have been able to transform themselves to satisfy their own needs as well as the needs of readers and viewers', while Ken Gelder goes even further by arguing that the vampire is somehow ' *both* "genuine" and introduced, pure and corrupted, nationally identified and alien'.[17] For Gelder it seems, the vampire, essentially signifies inherent contradiction, a paradox, embodying such binary opposed qualities as innateness and novelty with ease, and possessed of the ability to present as at once fluid and fixed, named and nameless, expressible and indescribable, a trait that is also emphasised by Leonard G. Heldreth and Mary Pharr in their introduction to their study, *The Blood is the Life: Vampires in Literature*, where they characterise the vampire as a 'contemporary heroic antagonist, a term that functions as, 'an oxymoron implying someone both admirable and subversive'.[18] In its duality, Byron's textual vampire as constructed similarly hovers between states, between a villain that preys on his kin and community, and a victim of a curse that it is forced to perpetuate.

In *The Giaour*, Byron inaugurates what prove to be key preoccupations surrounding the vampire in literature as it progressed throughout the nineteenth-century text. Byron's vampire is born out of his immediate physical and cultural surroundings. In this sense, he is socially integrated – even after death he is tied to the community that he was part of in life. He is also an unstable characterisation, ephemeral in his construction and comprised of a dual identity. However, Byron's vampire is also relegated here to a mere side note to the main preoccupations of the poem proper. Having not quite made the leap into the literary mainstream, this vampire still hovers on the periphery of literary endeavour, something that is very different to the situation by the time Stoker comes to write *Dracula*. Indeed, in the intervening years the vampire becomes

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[16] Nina Auerbach, *Our Vampires Ourselves* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 5-6.
[17] See *The Fantastic Vampire; Studies in the Children of the Night: Selected Essays from the Eighteenth International Conference on the Fantastic in the Arts*, ed. by James Craig Holte (London: Greenwood Press, 2002), p. xi, and Ken Gelder, *Reading the Vampire* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 40-41. My emphasis.
[18] *The Blood Is the Life: Vampires in Literature*, ed. by Leonard G. Heldreth and Mary Pharr (Wisconsin: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1999), p. 1.

more and more central to the texts it appears in. To this end, we turn now to the next major manifestation of the vampire in the nineteenth-century text, and one in which the vampire enjoys a much greater prominence.

The influence of Byron is still to be found in John Polidori's *The Vampyre* for it was during Byron's tour of Europe in the summer of 1816, and in the company of Percy and Mary Shelley, that the young Italian doctor, serving as Byron's physician, went on to write a short story in which the literary vampire becomes the explicit and central focus of the narrative in which it appears for the first time. In *The Vampyre*, his Un-dead protagonist Lord Ruthven is a fundamental player in the action of the narrative, and it is his relationship with the main character Aubrey that creates and drives the plot of this unusual piece. Despite such marked developments in the fortunes of the literary vampire, however, the text is primarily viewed in scholarship for what it might be able to tell us about Polidori's apparently fractious relationship with his aristocratic employer and, as such, is rarely discussed on its own merits or its own terms. There are even those who suggest that the published text is an act of plagiarism, that Byron himself is responsible for the authorship of the essence of the story, and that this is something that Polidori capitalised on upon his return to England.[19] Lord Ruthven himself, vampire that he is, is more often than not viewed simply as a Byron substitute, rather than as a textual creation worthy of analysis in his own right, for in all the attempts made by scholars to either denounce or defend Polidori of intellectual theft, or to use the text as a springboard to gain some previously undisclosed insights into the Byron biography, the story as the first sustained engagement in literature with the construct of the vampire, has for the most part, been roundly neglected. Even Auerbach's analysis of the text, investigating the development of the vampiric myth in literature as she is, is primarily interested in the way this particular textual vampire fits into the model of what is known of the Byron/Polidori relationship. Writing that the novella is 'steeped in Byron and Byronism', she contends that, 'Byron and Polidori suffused each other's vampire tales as indelibly as they had each other's identities on their unhappy journey.'[20] But while Auerbach's oft-repeated assertion that vampires are trusted friends,

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[19] Auerbach, p. 16.
[20] Ibid.

confidants and companions, and should be investigated as such, is of course fascinating it is only half the story here. The broader brush strokes of the growth and development of the vampire myth, and the place of this strand of narrative within a larger Romantic and Victorian tradition are often skimmed over in favour of biographical detail that, when isolated from all other contexts, has a tendency to relegate this text to a mere footnote in Byronic studies, useful only in what it can tell us about Byron during his continental exile after the break-up of his marriage and ensuing personal scandal.

The pairing between the vampire and a real-life inspiration that scholars often insist on here is of course intensely interesting for a work that itself insists on the referentiality between Dracula and Stoker. In fact, in this sense Polidori's vampire tale sets another kind of precedent – that of apparently writing a self, in this case that of Byron, through a textual vampire. But like Stoker's vampiric counterpart, Polidori's Lord Ruthven needs to be also considered against the backdrop of a literary context and in this sense is more than solely a Byronic anti-hero or a *homme fatale*. In his characterisation, Ruthven embodies many of the characteristics of the literary vampire previously noted; he is predatory, often sexually so, and his victims are often young women, building on the convention established by Byron in his own work a few years previously. He drinks from Aubrey's younger sister after marrying her: 'The guardians hastened to protect Miss Aubrey; but when they arrived it was too late. Lord Ruthven had disappeared, and Aubrey's sister had glutted the thirst of a VAMPYRE!' (p. 85), and also attacks and kills the Greek peasant girl Ianthe. Of course, he is also indirectly responsible for the spilling of Aubrey's own blood when he suffers a burst blood vessel in his agitation to prevent his sister's demise, 'Aubrey's weakness increased; the effusion of blood produced symptoms of the near approach of death' (p. 85). However, in a destabilising move typical of a vampire narrative, it quickly becomes apparent that Ruthven gleans as much apparent sustenance in this narrative from his non-explicit yet threatening encounters with various elements of society as he does from actively spilling the bodily fluids of his victims. Cutting an enigmatic figure in the elite social circles of Britain and Europe, he is a mysterious and brooding aristocrat and, 'in spite of the deadly hue of his face' (p. 69), is welcomed into the homes of the upper-classes desperate for novelty and fashionable company: 'his peculiarities caused him to

be invited to every house; all wished to see him' (p. 69). Such an existence, tied as it is to the vampire's social integrated status, is perpetuated by the esteem with which he is regarded and this favour is precisely what allows him unimpeded access to other forms of provision in the text. Ruthven uses sex and money just as much as he uses blood for the purposes of restoration. Described as being of 'dreadfully vicious' character, he delights in the seduction and ruination of the daughters of wealthy families, and, like Dracula, the calculated enjoyment he gleans from cheating young men out of fortunes at the gambling tables provide him with a pleasure and motivation that have little to do with physical nutrition, although they imbue him with a form of vitality all the same. More a form of parasitic energy theft, a social leaching of life energy, the younger, more innocent and naïve his victim, the greater the gain in both physical and emotional rewards:

> his contempt for the adulteress had not originated in hatred of her character; but that he had required to enhance his gratification that his victim, the partner of his guilt, should be hurled from the pinnacle of unsullied virtue, down to the lowest abyss of infamy and degradation (p. 72).

Ruthven may express his dark appetites in more diverse ways than found in *The Giaour*, for example, but he also encapsulates the other dominant characteristics of the vampire already identified. Duality, for its part, in this text is particularly complex. For this vampire, like his fellow Un-dead in the other texts hitherto discussed, unites seemingly opposed entities within his own fractured character, a trait that makes him intensely difficult to define in terms of any stable sense of identity. In some respects, Ruthven represents our most detailed example of an overtly supernatural creature yet. His miraculous return from the 'dead' by the restorative powers of moonlight after being shot, is a particularly illuminating example of his supernatural status, but one that is all the while undermined by his pedestrian, and at times, positively mundane appearances at other points in the narrative. And of course, the close and conflicted relationship that exists between Ruthven and Aubrey serves to heighten the extended nature of Ruthven's easy assumption of a place within normative society, and it is this assimilation, this 'passing' as it were, that ultimately contrives to make him less overtly supernatural, less obviously

removed and Othered. After all, in the same way that he needs the emotional/sexual/social pay-off as well as blood from his victims, Ruthven needs Aubrey's initial friendship and company, and later his compliance, more than he seems to need to feed. Like Dracula's decision to vamp Mina, the choice of Aubrey's sister as victim would appear to be far more to do with her status as Aubrey's sibling than her status as food source. The effort that goes into cultivating a relationship with this particular young woman, the fact that he marries her before he kills her, and then drains her dry in a parody of consummation speaks to a desire for impact, for presence, that could never have been gleaned from a meaningless interaction with a stranger. In a sense, then, it is Ruthven's capacity for assimilation that makes him all the more dangerous, and all the more real, defined as much by his interaction with and impact on the other players in the text as he is destabilised by his unstable vampiric state. Identity, as always, is a key preoccupation here. And it is to prove even more crucial in the next major manifestation of the nineteenth-century literary vampire, James Malcolm Rymer's penny dreadful *Varney the Vampire or The Feast of Blood*. [21]

Rymer's serialised Victorian publication, sometimes attributed to Thomas Prest, marks a significant point in the vampire's literary evolution in the nineteenth century. The sheer size and scope of this text, the prominent titular position of the vampire motif in such a popular form of literature as the penny dreadful are testament to the fact that by the 1840s, the textual vampire had become a sufficiently recognisable concept so as to generate interest and appeal in a saturated marketplace where competition for the reader's attention through ever more salacious and controversial storylines was particularly fierce. The highlighting of the vampire as the chief selling point in the title of this highly successful text, therefore, speaks of its ability to keep a discerning readership sufficiently engaged over the period of a long-running serialisation. Comprised of three volumes and over two hundred and twenty individual chapters, and with a run of over two years, nevertheless it is *Varney's* content more than its size or scope, however, that marks this text out as worthy of commentary in our discussion of the evolving face of the literary vampire in our period.

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[21] James Malcolm Rymer, *Varney the Vampire or The Feast of Blood*, http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/toc/modeng/public/PreVarn.html.

On the face of it, the opening chapter of *Varney* seems to provide us with our fullest example yet of what a vampire is. Many of the stock elements of Gothic fiction are present in the introductory sequence in which a vampiric Varney breaks into the bedroom of the virginal Flora Bannerworth and attacks her in her sleep. It is this section of the narrative that gives us our most detailed account yet of the intricacies of a vampire attack and, in keeping with the genre in which he is writing, Rymer does his utmost here to lay out the particulars in thrilling and shocking detail. The vampire, for his part, is described as a 'tall, gaunt figure', and shortly after follows a detailed and in many ways unprecedented physical description in literature of what a vampire as a recognisable type might actually look like:

> It is perfectly white – perfectly bloodless. The eyes look like polished tin; the lips are drawn back, and the principal feature next to those dreadful eyes is the teeth – the fearful looking teeth – projecting like those of some wild animal, hideously, glaringly white, and fang-like. (Vol. 1, Ch. 1)

The vampire is rendered here as obviously Other, with little of the familiar characteristics that mark the other characters in the narrative as human. Interestingly, this is the first reference in the vampire genre to explicitly refer to fangs, the tools with which it attacks its victims, and the physical features that most obviously might signify the realities of its inner nature. As the chapter progresses and the vampire is thwarted in its attack by Flora's male protectors, more details of the threat posed to the human characters follow. This vampire is endowed with superhuman strength and speed. He appears to be impenetrable to bullets and although he makes his escape by jumping from Flora's window directly into the garden below, he disappears uninjured by the fall. And later in the text the reader finds that, like Ruthven, Varney is rejuvenated by lunar rays.

Ostensibly then, Varney appears to finally provide us with a concrete list of vampire traits; for one thing he appears obviously and incontrovertibly supernatural. And yet, for all its detailed exposition, this first chapter of the text is actually somewhat of an oddity in the narrative as a whole. It builds up the reader's expectations only to subvert them entirely for the next time the reader meets Varney he appears as entirely normal, almost mundane, and wholly set apart from the creature that attacked Flora the night before. As the neighbour of the Bannerworths he sends them consolatory notes when he hears of the attacks

on the daughter of the house and when he next appears it is in a situation so domestic, so ordinary in its execution, that readers find any lately-gleaned assumptions to be entirely undermined. Throughout the text, Varney flits between the role of terrifying supernatural monster and middle-class gentleman neighbour, whose driving desire seems to be the simple acquiring of property in that archetypal Victorian gesture of self-improvement and social advancement. For all the obvious signifiers of difference attached to the vampire, then, it remains that these are matched at every turn by labels of similarity and commonality. For all the detail of the opening section, Varney's vampiric nature is every bit as intangible and problematic as Ruthven's. Like his literary predecessors, he is characterised by duality, an internal double that encompasses apparently mutually exclusive ways of being within the one body. He, as much as the other examples hitherto looked at, is figured as still vague and indefinable, still mysterious, still unknowable. Indeed, the reader, along with the other characters of the text, is never quite sure what represents Varney's true and abiding self, or if, indeed, he even has one. Between his episodes of vampirism he appears as completely normal and human. In fact, as Milly Williamson argues, the vampire state in this narrative seems to exist more as a disease, a passing episode of infection rather than a consolidated state of being, with 'the vampire and the socialised characters become increasingly difficult to distinguish', as '"infection" gives way to "friendship"'.[22] Despite initial appearances that seem to suggest incontrovertible otherness, then, Varney's identity as vampire in this text is as far from straightforward or definitive as any of his literary predecessors already encountered, a trend that is further perpetuated in Rudyard Kipling's turn-of-the-century poem 'The Vampire'.

Written in 1897 in response to the painting by Philip Burne-Jones, of the same name and exhibited in the same year (Fig. 4. 1), the text depicts an overtly threatening and sexually predatory woman looming over a man as he sleeps.[23] In a complete reversal of received nineteenth-century gender ideals, the man's nightshirt is open to reveal his bare chest and throat and it is on this that the female vampire, like Varney before her, and Dracula after her, gazes in

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[22] Milly Williamson, *The Lure of the Vampire: Gender, Fiction and Fandom from Bram Stoker to Buffy* (Brighton: Wallflower Press, 2005), p. 21.

[23] Rudyard Kipling, 'The Vampire', in Bram Stoker, *Dracula*, ed. by John Paul Riquelme (Boston: Bedford, 2002), p. 397.

Fig. 4.1 Burne-Jones, 'The Vampire' (1897).

expectation of a presumably sexual as well as dietary sustenance. Like Varney too, the vampire's menacing nature is here manifested in physical appearance by her loose, flowing hair and her state of undress that presents her with bare arms and neck, her lips subtly parted in a victorious smile over her white bared teeth. In the eponymous 'vampire' of the title, many of the traits hitherto observed and explored in the vampire in nineteenth-century literature are found to be here again present, encountering once more the sheer force of the ambiguity that surrounds the textual vampiric character. For, in a by now familiar rendering, in terms of establishing a fixed sense of self she too is a shape-shifter, moving from one set of labels to another. Never told her name, she is known to the reader only as 'the woman' (l. 4), 'the lady' (l. 15), and even more obliquely as, 'rag and a bone and a hank of hair' (l. 3). Like Ruthven and Varney, she is socially integrated into the world in which she is situated. Within the sphere of the poem, she is closely linked to the male character through a sexual bond, but the reader is told by the speaker that for all of her assimilation, she lacks a certain knowledge and understanding: 'It's coming to know that she never knew why/ (Seeing at last she could never know why)/ And never could understand' (ll. 32-33). It is this fundamental 'lack' in her character that retains her status as Other in the text and marks her as a paradox and contradiction. As is the case with her antecedents, she too represents duality, inside and outside of society, integrated but at the same time aloof, obviously intimate and yet, for all that irrevocably detached. Furthermore, lines like, 'So some of him lived but the most of him died' (l. 27), strongly evoke the parasitic energy transfer that has so characterised the vampire from its earliest textual incarnations but especially as it has developed throughout the 1800s. Again the vampire here feeds on her victim, if not exactly through blood, then through other manifestations of vitality and life-energy. Here it is the overtly sexualised element of their partnership that initially sustains her, providing her with a willing victim, and moreover, one who is to a certain extent complicit in the fate that befalls him. His choice is frequently bemoaned by the speaker and it is his submission that yields other forms of vitality to his vampire lover, like physical wealth or the 'goods he spent' (l. 12), and even his future emotional potential: 'Oh the toil we lost and the spoil we lost/ And the excellent things we planned' (ll. 18-19). The vampire's partner/victim

ends the poem, 'stripped to his foolish hide' (l. 23) while her characterisation as the woman that never knew why and 'never could understand' (l. 33) is reinforced to comprise our final impression of the poem.

The vampire in the nineteenth-century text is therefore a highly unusual beast. From Byron's curse and Polidori's Ruthven to Rymer's Varney and Kipling's unnamed vamp, the literary vampire that spans the Romantic and later the Victorian literary tradition is often so diverse and manifests in such a variety of styles, genders and literary forms that it would seem any attempt to characterise this creature is an impossible task. And yet, it remains that there are some fixed points of contact in the textual vampire's catalogue. As already noted, the most obvious and abiding trait of the vampire is ironically the very ambiguity that makes it so difficult to categorise, to name in the first place; despite the variety of forms, situations and settings in which it appears, then, the vampire always manifests in a blurred and indistinct form that, paradoxically, is in itself a key defining characteristic. Consistently a shape-shifter, as a textual construction the vampire forever exists in a state of flux between stable identities, encompassing often paradoxical character traits within the one persona. All of these vampires are, in a sense, doubles of themselves. Their inherent duality and lack of a stable identity designation itself becomes a defining character trait. All textual vampires seek social integration, they always desire to develop roots into the civilization on which they prey, whether this comprises the familial ties they held in life, or the friendships and close personal relationships that they actively cultivate in their Un-dead state. The vampire's threat is enhanced manifold by the ease with which it penetrates to the core of our carefully constructed social units. All the vampires hitherto encountered have displayed this disturbing propensity to 'pass'. And closely tied in to the fragmented and multifarious condition of the vampire's (lack of) identity, to its ability to mutate to present as different and diverse forms of being, the positioning of the vampire within our carefully-constructed social units is what provides it with a compensatory sense of self. As such, these assimilative properties can be regarded as a hallmark of the vampire tradition in literature. All vampires also always feed. From their earliest incarnations in text, they exist as parasites, draining the internalised essence of their victims, an essence that, as previous examples illustrate, can take the more familiar form of blood, but can also be generated by social or sexual

encounters, and even, in the case of Varney's desires on the Bannerworth family home, by monetary transactions. Perhaps, in a need to compensate for the instability of their own identities, they all actively seek to appropriate aspects of another's sense of selfhood, be this emotional, financial, or in the case of blood as one of the most basic and innate signifiers of identity, physical expressions of an individual self. 'These Vampyres' may 'suck the Blood of many of the Living' but they do this with a view to actively imbibing an identity for their own lack of stable sense of self is, ironically, one of the constants in the literary vampire's condition.

All of these traits are highly significant and key to our developing an understanding of the emergence, the popularity and the continuity of the textual vampire in the Romantic and Victorian periods, and all of these traits are there to be seen in *Dracula*. We have noted on numerous occasions throughout this work the many ways in which Stoker's vampire Count is fragmented, how he is inherently composed of nationally-related duality and contradiction, and how he is ultimately lacking at his core a stable and abiding sense of self. In addition, the Count feeds not only to survive, to regenerate, but also to claim ownership of individuals. His fury at the female vampires' designs on Harker in his castle, his enraged proclamation that '"This man belongs to me!"'(p. 39), is born out of far more complex desires than a simple wish for physical sustenance. Like Ruthven, Varney and Kipling's unnamed seductress, the Count seeks social integration. In fact, he seeks social dominance. The Anglo-Irish vampire that Stoker imagines into reality is therefore clearly born out of the literary vampire as it has progressed throughout the nineteenth-century text, something that we will see in even greater detail in the next section. However, there is yet another trait that will perhaps have an even greater impact on the criteria of assessment in this sphere and this relates to the fate of the vampires already analysed.

While it is true that the Romantic and Victorian vampires may not always be represented in texts in the period as obviously or consistently supernatural, that their easy positioning as Other is constantly undermined by an ability to integrate themselves within our worlds, to come to closely resemble our own inner natures, the fact remains that the literary vampire as constructed has consistently won out over its human adversaries. One of the most notable features of the nineteenth-century vampire as examined is its inherent lack of

vulnerability to external attack and demise. Too intangible to die, most just simply walk right off the page. Byron's unnamed vampire that we began our discussions with here exists in a self-contained section peripheral to the main narrative of the poem in which he appears; he has no existence outside of this and so even though the main body of the text is concluded with Leila's death and the Byronic hero's seclusion to a monastic life, the curse that conjures the vampire is a part of the poem that has no real beginning and as such, no ending either. The Byronic vampire therefore lives on, apart from the limitations or boundaries of the core story. The same can be said for Kipling's un-named female vampire, for, in much the same way, she is so intangibly constructed, rendered as so ephemeral and is so minimally drawn she almost doesn't exist. By this logic, it is therefore not possible for her to *not* exist either; she is too elusive to be confined to or killed off by the structures of Kipling's short but surprisingly rich poem. Polidori's Ruthven may be more central to the action of his text, in that his fate is intimately tied up with the main plot, but he doesn't die either. He simply leaves the story, walking from the pages of the text and leaving a trail of death and destruction in his wake. Ruthven emerges victorious from his dealings with Aubrey and his family. Rymer's Varney does eventually die but it is by his own hand. Despite the best efforts of those that pursue him, it is Varney himself and not his human adversaries/ friends who puts an end to his unnatural life, throwing himself into the bowels of the volcano Vesuvius. And while, unlike his fellow textual Un-dead in the period, Varney does indeed get a finite ending, it is an ending on his own terms. In a very important sense therefore, Varney is still the master of his own existence; no human character decides if he lives or dies. And moreover, the apparent invincibility of the literary vampire is important to note because, combined with an inherent indeterminacy, a need for social interaction and assimilation, and a recurring propensity for internalised contradiction, it is one of the consistent and notable traits found in relation to a textual construct of the vampire in nineteenth-century literature, but it is also one that changes dramatically once Anglo-Irish involvement through Le Fanu and Stoker comes into play.

  The literary vampire as it develops and matures through the Romantic and Victorian text presents as an elusive entity, an enigma, but one that commonly originates in the voids found within ourselves. Try as one might to pin

it down, in the most important of ways its core identity is constantly in flux, it embodies internalised contradictions with ease. It should come as no surprise, then, that it is the literary vampire that Anglo-Irish émigré Stoker chooses as the vehicle through which to write the core realities of his own experiences of selfhood and belonging. The parallels between the shape-shifting, intangible and Un-dead Other as established in the Victorian text are particularly appropriate to reflect the instability of Stoker's own position in relation to constructions of the self in text, to the creation of an imaginative autobiography. And while shape-shifting and inner duality may commonly comprise the most abiding traits of the literary vampire of nineteenth-century Britain, this chapter ultimately argues that it is Irish, or more specifically, Anglo-Irish involvement in the shaping of this literary character that offers us a new way of reading both the vampire and the Anglo-Irish writer in the latter half of the nineteenth century. When viewed in an Anglo-Irish context, vampiric mutation, instability, integration and hybridity as shown here become central and, more than that, necessary components of analysis, and far from presenting an obstacle to investigation and understanding, it is the vampire's very indeterminacy that provide us with the key to unlocking both the potential significance of the vampire as construct and the conflicted cultural and national condition of a specific set of writers that employ such a trope in their fiction to such great effect in our period. For both the Victorian Anglo-Irish writer and the nineteenth-century vampiric construction, then, the very mutability and lack of a fixed and tangible identity are what commonly form the crux of both senses of (national) self. It is the interplay between the Anglo-Irish condition and the vampire in narrative that proves to be such a fascinating, productive and hitherto unexplored avenue of analysis, and it is this interchange that comprises the chief focus of our investigations from here on in.

II

The grounds for making a special case for Anglo-Irish involvement in, and influence on, the evolving history of the literary vampire in the nineteenth century is the main focus of this chapter, deeply invested as such an engagement is in the investigations of this thesis as a whole – in Stoker's creation of Anglo-

Irish imaginative autobiography in *Dracula*. It is through the fusion of constructions of (Anglo-) Irish national identity and of the textual Un-dead that the reader witnesses sustained interaction on the part of the Anglo-Irish writer with the vampire in text and moreover, some marked changes in this nationally-specific evocation of the vampire motif in print. Indeed, such changes to the textual progression of the literary vampire at the hands of the Anglo-Irish writer in the latter half of the nineteenth century are undeniably born out of the specificity of the Anglo-Irish cultural condition in the mid to late Victorian period. These Anglo-Irish vampires therefore become a distinctive literary evocation of the realities of the national identity question for the beleaguered community in this period, both inside and outside of Ireland as we shall see. Merged in a symbiotic relationship, the expression of one proves equally illuminating of the other. The special relationship that exists, therefore, between the Anglo-Irish writer and the literary vampire stands aside from and outside any broader sympathy the vampire has in portraying the idiosyncrasies of generalised Victorian fears and anxieties; there is a marked and specific affinity between the intangible position of the Anglo-Irish identity question and that of the vampire as it had developed over the course of nineteenth-century literature. Essentially, it is a core sense of the commonality of experience that makes the vampire an eminently appropriate vehicle for Victorian Anglo-Irish expressions of national being; an initial sense of similarity between the characteristics of art and the realities of life that allowed Anglo-Irish writers like Stoker, to adopt and apply the literary vampire as a profound form of national self-expression and in the act of doing so, to actively and consciously shape it into something even more like himself, something that could elucidate the precariousness of his national position and the elusiveness of his national and literary senses of self. In short, this section examines the contention that the vampire comes to function in these texts *as* Anglo-Irishman, and, more than that, as a metaphorical Anglo-Irish writer, to serve as the most appropriate literary construct available to express the realities of the Anglo-Irish situation, to write the national self and to provide a crucial literary forerunner for the imaginative autobiography of Stoker's *Dracula*. But, as stated at the outset of this section, even before Stoker's notable involvement in the genre, the Anglo-Irish writer and the literary vampire proved a productive combination. For it is in Sheridan Le Fanu's 'Carmilla' that the

reader witnesses a notable coalescence of Anglo-Irishness and vampirism for the first time. Indeed, as David Glover argues,

> perhaps the most commonly cited Irish influence on Stoker's work is that of [...] Le Fanu, whose vampire story 'Carmilla' was an important precursor of *Dracula*, and whose influence is openly acknowleged in his short story 'Dracula's Guest'. In fact, traces of Le Fanu's distinctive Anglo-Irish Gothic mode are evident throughout Stoker's writing [24]

With this in mind, 'Carmilla', poses a key text for our analysis here.

What was it that first drew the Ascendancy writer to the vampire trope as it had developed through Romantic and Victorian writings? This section seeks to build on the survey of the nineteenth-century vampire in text just completed to provide an answer to such an enquiry. It is also fundamentally concerned with the changes and modifications the Anglo-Irish writer makes to the textual evocation of the literary vampire as it had become established, and to what end, examining how through its appearance in Anglo-Irish literary endeavours the vampire develops in even more dramatic ways than it had done previously, a process that is initiated by the use of the vampire as metaphor for Anglo-Irish national insecurity and anxiety both within and beyond the contexts of Anglo-Ireland in the nineteenth century. And of course, while it is Stoker's *Dracula*, that represents the richest and most developed source to yield to this particular line of analysis, while this is the central idea driving this thesis as a whole and as such, is analysed in great detail in the final two chapters that follow, it is nevertheless imperative to any thorough examination of the complex link between Anglo-Irish text and the literary vampire that it is noted that the connection between the two does not begin with Stoker's novel, but rather that it is initially and importantly forged a few decades earlier with the work of Le Fanu's and his short story 'Carmilla'.

'Carmilla' was published in 1872 as part of a larger collection of supernatural stories entitled *In A Glass Darkly*. One of the most substantial of the works assembled there, of all the tales in this strange and diverse anthology it has, alongside 'Green Tea', perhaps received the most scholarly attention, attention that for the most part stems from the often overtly sexualised relationship

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[24] David Glover, *Vampires, Mummies and Liberals: Bram Stoker and the Politics of Popular Fiction* (Durham: Duke, 1996), p. 29.

between the vampire Carmilla and her female victim Laura.[25] Pre-dating Kipling's rendering by over twenty years, critics here have pointed out that in a relatively unusual move, the supernatural entity at the heart of the narrative is a young, sexually predatory female and she is treated of in a detailed and sustained manner. In fact, despite itself drawing on S.T. Coleridge's Gothic fragment *Christabel* (1816) which features female proto-vampire Geraldine at its core, Carmilla stands at the beginning of a progression of female vampires proper, or vamps, a progression that extends well into the twentieth century and beyond.[26] Lucy Westenra and the brides of Dracula are her obvious daughters but there are others that Carol Margaret Davison, amongst others, are keen to show.[27] And yet, if the lens shifts slightly, Carmilla can be said to stand to inaugurate another tradition of literary vampires – she is also the first Anglo-Irish vampire of note in prose, and as Martin Willis explains in his essay, 'Le Fanu's "Carmilla"; Ireland and Diseased Vision', Le Fanu's text is now positioned as firmly within the realm of Irish studies as it is in the spheres of Gothic and slightly more specialised, vampiric literature, as areas of analysis.[28]

In W.J. McCormack's ground-breaking biography, *Sheridan Le Fanu and Victorian Ireland*, the author seeks to relocate Le Fanu's writing within the particular contexts of the difficulties faced by the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy class within a nineteenth-century Irish environment.[29] Extraordinarily innovative in many ways, not least for expanding on the implications of Elizabeth Bowen's argument that the reality of the Anglo-Irish situation is omnipresent, albeit in covert and displaced ways in all of the writings produced by this class, McCormack's study does much to open up Le Fanu's work to productive historicist readings, as discussed in our analysis of Le Fanu's *Uncle Silas* in

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[25] For more on what Robert F. Geary calls the text's 'sinister lesbian erotocism', see his essay, '"Carmilla" and the Gothic Legacy: Victorian Transformations of Supernatural Horror', in *The Blood Is the Life: Vampires in Literature*, ed. by Heldreth and Pharr, pp. 19-31.
[26] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Christabel*, in *Romanticism: An Anthology*, 3rd edn, ed. by Duncan Wu (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), pp. 639-55.
[27] See *Bram Stoker's Dracula: Sucking Through the Century, 1897-1997*, ed. by Carol Margaret Davison (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1997), for a detailed discussion of twentieth-century film and the legacy these vampires owe to their literary predecessors.
[28] Martin Willis, 'Le Fanu's "Carmilla", Ireland and Diseased Vision', in *Literature and Science: Essays and Studies 2008*, ed. by Sharon Ruston (Cambridge: Brewer, 2008), pp. 111-130.
[29] W.J. McCormack, *Sheridan Le Fanu and Victorian Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980).

Chapter Two.[30] What McCormack has to say about 'Carmilla' specifically, however, is surprisingly very little, the vast majority of his analysis is reserved for *Uncle Silas* and Le Fanu's earlier work. However, McCormack is by no means alone in his approach to what he feels to be the inherent historicism of Anglo-Irish literature. As already seen, critics like Declan Kiberd, Jarlath Killeen, Richard Haslam and Marjorie Howes have all followed suit in uncovering the nationally and culturally specific elements of Anglo-Irish writings, while scholars such as Willis and Robert Tracy have worked to tease out the Irish elements of Le Fanu's 'Carmilla' in particular.[31]

Willis, himself drawing on Matthew Gibson's work, argues that the setting of the story 'might well be read as a transposed Ireland; its own politics of Protestant and Catholic conflict and colonial intervention similar to Ireland's political and religious history'.[32] In this reading, the isolated and predominantly rural landscape of Styria in which Laura and her family are transplanted settlers should therefore be read as a substitute for domestic Ireland in everything but name because of the dynamic between the Catholic peasantry, Protestant landowners, deliberate and sustained emphasis on castles in the narrative that function as a thinly disguised Ascendancy Big House and a threatening female figure, designated by Christopher Frayling as the femme fatale form of vampire, an archetypal Celtic trope.[33] Tracy, for his part, supports such an assertion by contending that, 'Le Fanu's chief interests were Ireland and the supernatural, interests which often coalesced' in his literary output and he also points to Le Fanu's childhood exposure to native Irish myths and legends, and his later political apathy in relation to the Irish nationalist movement.[34] Furthermore, Tracy sees this position as feeding directly into the writing of the strange and multi-layered story that would become 'Carmilla', a text that, as argued here, is a melting pot of 'personal confessions and expressions of political and social

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[30] See Chapter Two 'Stoker's Literary Inheritance: An Anglo-Irish Gothic', p. 99, for a discussion of Elizabeth Bowen's remarks in regard to Le Fanu's novel *Uncle Silas*.
[31] See Robert Tracy's Introduction to Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu, *In A Glass Darkly*, ed. by Robert Tracy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).
[32] Willis, p.112. See also Matthew Gibson, *Dracula and the Eastern Question: British and French Vampire Narratives of the Nineteenth-Century Near East* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).
[33] Ibid.
[34] Tracy, *In A Glass Darkly*, p. xix.

anxieties'.[35] The issue here is not, then, that the Irish or Anglo-Irish elements of 'Carmilla' have been missed or misinterpreted; various critics such as Margot Gayle Backus and Raymond T. McNally have shown then that 'Carmilla' may validly be read as a story about Ireland and Irish matters, and more specifically and perhaps pertinently, about the vagaries of *Anglo*-Ireland and *Anglo*-Irish concerns.[36] What is missing from such a line of analysis, however, what has not been explored to its fullest extent by these critics working within Irish studies, is the position Carmilla herself as a vampire occupies in relation to these historical and social readings, for it is the construction of the vampire herself that may truly be said to possess Irish, or perhaps more accurately, Anglo-Irish connotations if we care to look.

Both Tracy and Willis maintain that Carmilla as character stands as a metaphor for the resurgent native Catholic population and the threat that it accordingly represents to Anglo-Irish interests in the mid to late 1800s. The reasons they each advance for this reading are certainly persuasive and convincing in their manner. Tracy points to the similarities between the dispossessed Catholic gentry forced from their lands during the seventeenth-century plantations and Le Fanu's construction of Carmilla, of the impact of the past on her present actions. At the story's conclusion, Carmilla is shown to us as an impossibly ancient being, a member of a long-supplanted aristocracy that literally haunts the houses of the new landlords of their estates. As a member of the now extinct Karnstein family, Carmilla spends her time ingratiating herself with the families of the new caretakers of her lands perhaps in an attempt to reclaim the social position that is now lost to her. The reader encounters this firstly with the General's daughter whom Carmilla seduces/kills outside of our narrative proper, and latterly of course with Laura when she and her mother orchestrate her stay at their family schloss on the pretence of recovering from an injury. Through this lens of analysis it is not difficult to position Carmilla as the deposed Catholic aristocracy, cut loose from her original territories and Laura and her family as the newly instated Protestant Ascendancy class. As Tracy here

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[35] Ibid.
[36] See Margot Gayle Backus, *The Gothic Family Romance: Heterosexuality, Child Sacrifice and the Anglo-Irish Colonial Order* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), p. 133 and Raymond T. McNally, 'Bram Stoker and Irish Gothic' in *The Fantastic Vampire: Studies in the Children of the Night: Selected Essays from the Eighteenth International Conference on the Fantastic in the Arts*, edited by James Craig Holte (London: Greenwood, 2002), p. 15.

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argues, 'Carmilla is a native of the terrain she haunts. She is one of the ancient lords of the land, whose descendants, reduced to peasant/tenant status, often haunted the Anglo-Irish estates confiscated from their ancestors.'[37] Moreover, the pointed references to Laura's English name and her father's repeated insistence at speaking English, reciting the works of Shakespeare and clinging to English customs of propriety and conduct, all mark her in her turn as Anglo-Irish colonist and recall the manner in which the Ascendancy sought to differentiate themselves culturally and ideologically as well as physically from the local populace upon their arrival in seventeenth-century Ireland.[38] As Backus notes, 'Laura's situation, in its geographic isolation, the constriction of her family unit, and its cultural insularity, represents a reduction *ad absurdum* of the Anglo-Irish settler colonial family.'[39]

Such interpretations are further reinforced by the fact that the difficult and intangible position of the displaced Catholic gentry can be read into the complex positioning of this literary vampire in relation to identity. Carmilla, after all, variously appears in the narrative as a dream presence, as the subject of an ancient painting, as an injured young woman, as a giant, cat-like creature, and as an undisclosed black mass. Indeed, as a vehicle, the fluctuating vampire motif is ideally suited to illustrating the complexities of the native Catholic Irish position as discussed here. Neither dead nor alive and an active shape-shifter, a figure that consistently seeks active integration into the social structures of Laura's family, Carmilla's elusive nature recalls a Catholic class that ceased to be able to express its identity in Ascendancy Ireland. Ostensibly, then, the evidence for the case for Carmilla representing the native and threatening population and Laura and her father the newly-positioned Protestant ruling class who are under attack from a supernatural source is certainly compelling. However, the distinction between Laura as Anglo-Irish landowner and Carmilla as native Irish threat is by no means as easy to segregate and define in such absolute terms as the above analysis might imply. For if Willis again argues that, 'Carmilla's hidden identity, her association with superstition and myth, and her representation as infectious

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[37] Ibid, p. xxvii.
[38] See Chapter One, 'Writing the Nation: The Anglo-Irish Ascendancy and the Question of National Identity' for a discussion of the fluctuating national identities of the Anglo-Irish class over the course of the eighteenth century in Ireland.
[39] Backus, p. 128.

disease all conform to, and in some respects exceed, what Le Fanu would clearly have recognised as a common pattern denotative of Irishness', then his reading fails to acknowledge that another kind of Irish identity, and Anglo-Irish identity, might be at play here instead.[40]

The doubled relationship between Laura and Carmilla is a highly complex and mutually dependent one and any lasting distinctions between the two characters are extremely difficult to arrive at. Like the mutually sustaining dynamic between Geraldine and Christabel in Coleridge's poem, or Ruthven and Aubrey, Carmilla and Laura are companions, friends, perhaps even lovers, even if these relationships are defined retrospectively in unhealthy and ultimately negative terms. For a time, Laura enthusiastically desires Carmilla's friendship to combat her enforced solitude in an isolated rural residence with only her detached father and servants for company. Viewed in this light, Carmilla's position as vampire becomes harder to define unequivocally as opposed native Irish threat. For it is the closeness of Laura and Carmilla, their shared ancestry and the mirroring of their personal circumstances, the way they apparently visit each other's dreams and the mutually sustaining if ultimately undesirable bond that they forge, that means that rather than placing them as opposites, the characters' inherent similarities complicate a reading of what the vampire might represent in the narrative.

In many ways, therefore, the vampire is better suited to describing the Anglo-Irish position in this story. Rather than viewing Carmilla and Laura as opposed positions, as displaced Catholic on the one side and land-owning Protestant on the other, the relationship between the two women instead speaks to commonality, to a kind of shared and collective identity. Like Laura, Carmilla is aristocratic. Both women are descended from the Karnstein line. Therefore, instead of simply accepting that, 'Carmilla's invisible differences more overtly parallel those that divide the Irish from the Anglo-Irish', the narrative encourages us to entertain that the two women are not as opposed as they might first appear.[41] Carmilla and Laura are doubles of each other, Carmilla is also a double of the General's daughter because Laura is, and to a lesser extent Laura doubles Carmilla's other victims in her intended fate. Furthermore, the story itself is a

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[40] Tracy, *In A Glass Darkly*, p. xxvii.
[41] Backus, p. 130.

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double; it invites varied and often combined interpretations from within the realms of Gothic criticism, vampire studies, Irish studies and psychoanalysis. Carmilla as a character and 'Carmilla' as a text both reject straightforward designations and labels. The character and the form both undermine attempts at meaning which may seem to undermine my attempts to describe an Anglo-Irish intention but that is exactly the point. In a text that eschews easy classification, an Anglo-Irish reading of the vampire is the only one that can ultimately make sense. The inherent insecurity of the Anglo-Irish position on their fluctuating identity means that paradoxically, the impossibility of designation in this text, be it in character or form, becomes the dominant criterion for assigning an Anglo-Irish self to the vampire at all. It may seem a paradox to suggest that on the one hand, the vampire in this story represents Anglo-Irish rather than Irish communities; that it is Carmilla herself who primarily mirrors the Anglo-Irish writer, rather than Laura and her father, while on the other suggesting that doubling implicitly rejects any classification but it is precisely because the doubling device so complicates usual clearly-defined categorisations that it actually reinforces an Anglo-Irish reading of the vampire motif. As Laura herself notes, upon seeing Carmilla for the first time, she recognises her: 'I saw the very face which had visited me in my childhood' (p. 100) But what is even more illuminating is Carmilla's response: 'She confessed that she had experienced a similar shock on seeing me, and precisely the same antipathy that had mingled with my admiration of her. We now laughed together over our momentary horrors.' (p. 102). The instability of Carmilla's characterisation as Other, coupled with the ease with which she infiltrates the social structures of Laura's world, and indeed, her similarity to Laura herself, combine to ensure that in many important ways, the two young women here figure as the opposed sides of the same person, contrasting and yet complementary, and at the core, one in the same. For while Carmilla ostensibly feeds from Laura, Laura also gains a friend and confidant in her interaction with Carmilla: 'For my part, I was delighted. I was longing to see and talk to her; and only waiting till the doctor should give me leave. You, who live in towns, can have no idea how great an event the introduction of a new friend is, in such a solitude as surrounded us.' (p. 99). Moreover, although Carmilla is eventually exposed as a danger and threat to be destroyed, Laura misses her after she goes and actively tries to recreate

Carmilla's presence in her life imaginatively: 'to this hour the image of Carmilla returns to memory with ambiguous alternations – sometimes the playful, languid, beautiful girl; sometimes the writhing fiend I saw in the ruined church; and often from a reverie I have started, fancying I heard the light step of Carmilla at the drawing room door.' (p. 148) And of course, in the very act of telling her story, of giving Carmilla a life after her second and apparently ultimate death in literature, Laura undermines the finality of the ending of the narrative, something that speaks volumes of Laura's own need for Carmilla in her life, or rather, the aspect of herself that Carmilla, as textual vampire, helps to bring into being.

What are the reasons by which it can be stated that the literary vampire represents the Anglo-Irish class and more specifically the Anglo-Irish writer then? The first and most persuasive factor in this reading is the previously mentioned undefined identity of the vampire in literature. As is evident in all of our previous examples, the vampire is caught between the states of life and death, between friend and foe, between supernatural Other and familiar figure. The vampire is both rooted in society and its structures and forever excluded from them, and as such is perfectly constructed to represent the confusion and complexity of the Anglo-Irish condition in nineteenth-century Ireland. If the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy struggled profoundly with questions of national definition – neither Irish nor English at this stage but neither, the complexity of the vampire as it is written throughout the Romantic and Victorian periods make it a particularly apt vehicle for the expression of a profound uncertainty of position, both physically and ideologically speaking, that affects the Anglo-Irish as a class in our period. Indeed, an examination of the cartoon 'The Irish Vampire' (Fig 4.2) as an example of Victorian visual culture proves to be particularly illustrative of such a suitability. This illustration by Sir John Tenniel appeared in *Punch* on October 24 1885, and represents the Anglo-Irish M.P. Charles Stewart Parnell in the form of a giant vampire bat hovering menacingly over the sleeping figure of an unsuspecting Hibernia. What is presented here, by virtue of Parnell's status as member of the Protestant Ascendancy, is not so much an Irish as an explicitly Anglo-Irish vampire, and true to form, one whose hovering between national affiliations here is Gothicized, encapsulating the complexity of the Anglo-Irish position in relation to both Irish and English identification in a remarkably effective manner. Tying in with the concerns raised in the first and especially

third chapters, that the Anglo-Irish were perceived as English in Ireland and Irish in England, thus destabilising any sense of national identity they might want to claim, the Anglo-Irish vampire is here presented as a threatening but insidious figure that evokes the very best of Anglo-Irish Gothic, attacking Hibernia while she is sleeping, she is wholly unaware of its presence or danger it implies.

All of the traits that characterise the vampire in nineteenth-century literature take on a special significance when viewed in an Anglo-Irish context. In the fluidity of the vampire's construction in the nineteenth-century text we find the ideal vehicle for the articulation of the complexities of the Anglo-Irish identity question as it exhibits in the period, for a true writing of the self. In the vampire's desire for social integration too, there are the symptoms of the Anglo-Irish failure to satisfactorily resolve this sense of conflicted selfhood, for the vampire's integration is ultimately necessary precisely because it does *not* belong, because it has no designated place of its own to occupy. The phenomenon of internalised duality that is such an abiding feature of the nineteenth-century vampire narrative, can, when regarded within the context of Anglo Ireland, be used to further represent in a textual manner the sheer displacement of the Anglo-Irish condition. The vampire is a double of itself, turned inward to fracture the self into its composite parts. It encompasses oppositional tendencies within the one body and thus cannot sit easily within any one designation, thus confusing stable characterisation. The vampire rejects being classed as anything which is the very reason why it is so suited to representing the complex and contradictory identity concerns of the Anglo-Irish class as a whole and the Anglo-Irish writer in particular. Passing as Other, the vampire finds itself adopting the habits and eventually the lives of others through close intimate relationships. And of course, as is the case with Ruthven and Aubrey, Carmilla and Laura, the closest and most intimate connection a textual vampire has is to its victim through the act of feeding. For the first time explicitly drawn in *Varney*, the vampire bites the neck of Flora Bannerworth and absorbs her interiority and her essence through her very blood into its own being.

Fig. 4.2 Tenniel, 'The Irish Vampire', *Punch*, 24th October, 1884.

Blood as food is a key component of many of the vampire narratives already examined, but blood is also one of the most potent expressions available of national identity, of race and place, often symbolising family, heritage and tradition, all of the things that proved so contentious in the Victorian Anglo-Irish situation. The blood may be the life, but it can also constitute the very core of self, the essence of being and 'Carmilla' is a story in which the imagery of blood abounds. On the discovery of the vampire's grave, Laura notes that Carmilla's 'leaden coffin', floats with blood, 'in which to a depth of seven inches, the body lay immersed' (p. 145). When Carmilla is finally destroyed by the combined efforts of the General and Laura's father, 'a torrent of blood flowed from the severed neck' (p. 145). The ultimate destruction of the vampire comes about by the spilling of its blood, a blood that is not intrinsic to the vampire but gleaned from external sources, in an act that takes on a highly charged significance in Victorian Anglo-Ireland, where questions of bloodlines, of national identity, race and ethnicity as prescribed by religious belief form the key to power, patronage and a sense of belonging on the one hand, and persecution and social exclusion on the other.

The features that make the vampire narrative so attractive to the Anglo-Irish writer, so suitable a vehicle for the exploration and interrogation of the complexities of the Anglo-Irish identity question as it presented itself in Ireland in the second half of the nineteenth century, are therefore here apparent. But the Anglo-Irish writer did not simply adopt the vampire motif, he changed it and it is through his involvement that a literary tradition almost a century in the making finally consolidated into a tradition:

> This story of a mysterious guest who preys on the unsuspecting daughter of an English civil servant, now widowed and retired in Austria, might appear but a simple continuation of the providential exempla and short Gothic tales, with only a difference of heightened suspense and improved narrative techniques in fitting plot and character to length. But these differences, however important, are themselves grounded in more subtle transformations.[42]

Unlike its mainstream British counterparts, for example, the Anglo-Irish vampire as created by Le Fanu is always a supernatural creature, and possessed of specific

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[42] Robert F. Geary, '"Carmilla" and the Gothic Legacy: Victorian Transformations of Supernatural Horror', in *The Blood Is the Life: Vampires in Literature*, ed. by Heldreth and Pharr, pp. 19-31 (25).

character traits in this regard; it is forced to behave in a certain way and to act within the brief of its supernatural being. Despite her need to successfully integrate into the routines of Laura's family, Carmilla cannot disguise that she is often languid and weak. Her behaviour is often noticeably eccentric; she cannot suffer religious observance without discomfort and unease, and her response to the insulations made by the peddler in the castle courtyard betrays her origins in another time and space. Later, when the true extent of her vampirism is revealed, the reader is told that aside from the fact that she must feed from the blood of the living to sustain her own 'life', she is also under an irrevocable obligation to return to her burial place at least once a day to rejuvenate herself, and she is even compulsively bound within the restrictions of her own name or variations thereof, presenting as Mircalla and Millarca at various other points in the narrative. As distinct from Polidori or Rymer's creations, the Anglo-Irish vampire's supernatural state is a constant, not a passing condition that the vampire can slip in and out of as suits it. For where our previous examples fluctuated between supernatural and mundane manifestations, where Ruthven was every bit as dangerous as a debauched playboy, and Varney's amnesia regarding his nocturnal activities allows us to more readily separate the components of man and monster, in creatures like Carmilla, the vampire state is omnipresent and played out against the backdrop of a series of rules that cannot be broken. And where there are vampires, now distinct and recognisable entities with an attendant mythology that sets out the possibilities and limitations of the Un-dead condition, now there are vampire experts, drafted into the narrative to tell us all about these proclivities. Hinted at in *Varney*, the expert here assumes a dominant and central role in explaining what a vampire is, what it means, and what it can and cannot do.

There is a conscious effort on the part of the Anglo-Irish writer, therefore, to explain his vampire, to classify its powers and its limitations, to give it something resembling a fixed and stable sense of self, even while accommodating the inherent instability of the vampire as a construct, an instability of identity onto which he maps his own insecurities regarding national and cultural affiliation. Conversely, however, this process also means that the Anglo-Irish literary vampire is ultimately more restricted, more constrained, and ultimately more vulnerable than its mainstream counterparts. In 'Carmilla', there

is a prolonged staking scene – the reader finally given explicit detail on how one might go about killing a vampire:

> The body, therefore, in accordance with the ancient practice, was raised, and a sharp stake driven through the heart of the vampire, who uttered a piercing shriek at the moment, in all respects 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 in a pile of wood, and reduced to ashes, which were thrown upon the river and borne away. (p. 145)

From a nationally-specific perspective, the destruction of Carmilla by the other characters of the story, speaks far more to Ascendancy fears of their own demise, than it does about reasserting a form of dominance over the local Catholic populace. But there is some hope for Le Fanu's class in the re-emergence of Carmilla through literature, through an inscription of the essence of her being in the literary text, through a writing of the self. And although Carmilla is truly dead at the close of the narrative, Laura still hears and listens out 'the light step for Carmilla at the drawing room door' (p. 148). In this, significantly different way to her mainstream literary counterparts, Carmilla almost evades death. This is after all, a story within a story, written down by Laura and catalogued by a Dr Hesselius for the sake of posterity. Does the Anglo-Irish vampire hold out some hope for the Anglo-Irish class then, that despite their failing and disappearing sway of influence in later Victorian Ireland, there may yet be some continuation to their existence? Robert F. Geary, in his essay, '"Carmilla" and the Gothic Legacy: Victorian Transformations of Supernatural Horror', argues that Carmilla is 'the first really successful vampire story [...] for it stands as a paradigm of the transformation of the incoherent numinous elements of the faded Gothic into the enduring form of the modern supernatural horror story'.[43] Does the partial preservation of Carmilla through a self-conscious literary form speak of optimism for the fates of the Ascendancy class within a pastoral Styria or a colonial Ireland? This may indeed be the case for Sheridan Le Fanu in the 1870s but the fate of the Anglo-Irish, and that of their vampires, changes dramatically in their next major incarnation; in the metropolitan invasion narrative that is Stoker's *Dracula*.

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[43] Ibid, p. 19.

In noting a quality later adopted and exploited to its fullest potential when harnessed by Le Fanu in 'Carmilla', a text that emphatically evokes the realities of the domestic Anglo-Irish situation as perceived by one of its internal participants, this chapter flags up the close relationship between vampirism and a sense of Anglo-Irish identity. Indeed, as our analysis of Le Fanu, and also Tenniel's cartoon has shown, cultural representations of vampirism and the Anglo-Irish condition coalesce in extraordinarily complementary and productive ways in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The vampire, by sheer virtue of its undefined state, proves itself the ideal vehicle for articulating the complexities and concerns of the Anglican community in Victorian Ireland, but more than that, the inbuilt indeterminacy of the vampire, its capacity for social integration and its ability to feed on both the life blood but also the core identity of its victim, all combine to create a creature as preoccupied with the complexities of national selfhood as the Anglo-Irish writer himself. For the attempt by the Anglo-Irish writer to imbue his literary vampire with a more rounded and, in a sense, real textual existence than it had hitherto enjoyed, itself speaks volumes about Anglo-Irish preoccupations with creating a fixed sense of self, or perhaps more pertinently, the intense difficulties that lie therein. As Anglo-Irish vampires like Carmilla and take the unprecedented move towards resembling a stable state of being in print, then, complete with identifiable characteristics and abilities but also with fixed limitations, they further encapsulate the involved set of questions surrounding Anglo-Irish identity in our period. The literary vampire when therefore employed by the Anglo-Irish writer, deftly embodies the conflicted sense of national identity so central to the Ascendancy condition, and moreover, the efforts of the Anglo-Irish writer to reconstruct the indeterminate vampire as a solid whole is especially illuminating of Ascendancy anxieties on the subject of national, and thereby social and personal affiliation.

We have already seen how David Glover writes of the key influence of 'Carmilla' and its construction of the vampire on *Dracula*. In any event, this influence is easy to discern. The highly sexualised portrayal of especially the female vampire is a direct literary allusion to Le Fanu's construction of Carmilla. So too is the aristocratic nature of the Anglo-Irish Un-dead – Carmilla is a Countess, Dracula a Count – and the isolated and feudal setting in which the vampire makes its home. Indeed, we also know from Stoker's working notes that

he intended to position Castle Dracula within Styria, just as 'Carmilla' is, but changed his setting to Transylvania somewhere during the writing process.[44] Stoker's Dracula, like Carmilla, is a shape-shifter, frequently employing the guise of a large animal, or elemental forces, to pursue its aims. As in 'Carmilla', there is a prolonged staking scene in *Dracula*, with detailed information on how one actually about killing a vampire. Van Helsing, like the General is a vampire expert. Indeed, in a particularly Anglo-Irish legacy, vampirism in *Dracula*, like 'Carmilla' is subject to strict rules. To quote Van Helsing again:

> He can do all these things, yet he is not free. Nay, he is even more prisoner than the slave of the galley, the madman in his cell. He cannot go where he lists; he who is not of nature yet has to obey some of nature's laws – why we know not. He may not enter anywhere at the first, unless there be someone of the household who bid him to come, though afterwards he can come as he please. His power ceases, as does that of all evil things, by the coming of the day. [...] there are things which so afflict him that he has no power, as the garlic that we know of, and as for things sacred, as this symbol, my crucifix, that was amongst us even now as we resolve, to them he is nothing [...] The branch of the wild rose on his coffin keep him so he move not from it; a sacred bullet fired into the coffin kill him so that he be true dead; and as for the stake through him, we know already of its peace; or the cut-off head that giveth rest.'" (pp. 223/224)

Stoker's 'extending the "rules" of the vampire genre' here is a direct result of the Le Fanu's nationally-motivated involvement in the genre of vampire literature, it builds on the work done by Le Fanu in inscribing Anglo-Irish national identity anxieties through the limitations and restrictions imposed on his literary vampire. In this sense, 'Carmilla' stands as perhaps the most important influence on the manner in which the Anglo-Irish Dracula comes to the page, for Stoker not only carries on but actively progresses Le Fanu's construction of literary vampirism in this way. Indeed, as concrete evidence of his claims, Glover also cites 'Carmilla's influence on Stoker's short story 'Dracula's Guest', published by the widowed Florence Stoker in 1914 but as Stoker's working notes for *Dracula* tell us, originally intended as part of that novel.[45] Indeed, in terms of discerning the weight of Le Fanu's inscription of the Anglo-Irish condition on the textual

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[44] Miller and Eighteen-Bisang note, 'Exactly when Transylvania trumped Styria as the vampire's homeland remains a mystery, but there is no doubt that this decision was made *after* 14/3/90.' Bram Stoker, *Bram Stoker's Notes for* Dracula: *A Facsimile Edition*, ann. and transcr. by Robert Eighteen-Bisang and Elizabeth Miller (Jefferson: MacFarland & Company, 2008), p. 29.
[45] Bram Stoker, 'Dracula's Guest' in Williams, pp. 57-66.

vampire, and moreover, its, I would argue, profound influence on Stoker and his Dracula, this brief tale's significance far far outweighs its length.

'Dracula's Guest' takes place somewhere along Jonathan Harker's journey from England to Castle Dracula. Stopping over at a hotel near Munich it concerns Harker wandering alone on Walpurgis Night, 'when according to the belief of millions of people, the devil was abroad' (p. 62). Seeking shelter from a terrible storm, the young solicitor stumbles upon a deserted village where stories had been told about men and women, freed from the grave and, 'found rosy with life and their mouths red with blood' (p. 59) centuries before. Lost and at the mercy of the elements, Harker seeks refuge in a tomb of a suicide where written on the door is the inscription 'the dead travel fast' (p. 62) that will later be found in Dracula. Terrified by a vision of the occupant of the tomb, the Countess Dolingen of Gratz, and dragged by some unknown force into the crypt of the dead woman, Harker is saved from freezing to death only by a giant wolf lying across his body to keep him warm. The wolf, of course, is Dracula himself, who has also sent on a note admonishing the hotelkeeper to keep Harker safe: '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. I answer your zeal with my fortune – Dracula.' (p. 66).

Le Fanu's 'Carmilla' is clearly written into what may once have been one of the early chapters of *Dracula*. Its setting, emphasis on folklore and superstitious peasantry, depopulated and ruined village associated with an aristocratic female vampire threat and the image of the female vampire writhing in her tomb all clearly acknowledge the debt Stoker owes to Le Fanu's Anglo-Irish focused novella, and in particular the final agonies of the eponymous vampire: 'Just then there came another blinding flash, which seemed to strike the iron stake that surmounted the tomb and to pour through to the earth, blasting and crumbling the marble, as in a burst of flame. The dead woman rose for a moment of agony, while she was lapped in the flame, and her bitter scream of pain was drowned in the thundercrash' (p. 63). In fact, 'Dracula's Guest' indisputably demonstrates the importance of this other context for Stoker, this peculiarly Anglo-Irish tradition of writing the vampire, of using the literary trope as it had progressed throughout the mainstream nineteenth-century text to actively address the complexity of Anglo-Irish national affiliations in textual

form. In its appetite for blood and therefore (national) identity, in its fluidity, capacity for assimilation and social integration, in its desire to feed for reasons beyond that of simple physical sustenance, the literary vampire proved itself to be an incredibly useful vehicle for the Anglo-Irish writer to express the concerns of his caste, both within Ireland and beyond, surrounding matters of national identity. In 'Dracula's Guest' Stoker has shown himself to be textually indebted to Le Fanu's specifically Anglo-Irish engagement with the vampire in print. However, Stoker's vampire goes beyond what Le Fanu strove to achieve in 'Carmilla' in that *Dracula* is not just an evocation of Anglo-Irish concerns surrounding national identity on a collective level but the fictional manifestation of Stoker as an individual as well as a member of a class, an Anglo-Irish writer living and working in the metropolis. The vampire parallels Stoker's personal life as lived, it evokes the national self in the way in which this impacts on the individual and it is to this individual, to Stoker, his own sense of (national) self, and how this is perceived by those around him that comprises the focus of our next chapter.

The Anglo-Irish Insider: Bram Stoker and the Politics of Passing

'For he dare not be his true self, awake and visible, lest he be discovered.'[1]

The last chapter articulated the involvement and impact of the Anglo-Irish writer in the evolution of the vampire in nineteenth-century literature and the importance of such foundations on the nationally-focused reading this work proposes of Stoker's *Dracula* as imaginative autobiography. For in building on the Anglo-Irish vampire as created by Le Fanu, Stoker's *Dracula* is concerned not just with writing the conflicted Anglo-Irish national self on a general or communal level, but also with writing himself and the specificity of his own personally lived experience as Anglo-Irishman and Anglo-Irish writer in turn-of-the-century London. We know from the analysis of earlier chapters that Stoker's special situation in the British capital physically removed him from whatever sense of home, material or ideological, that he had thus far experienced, and yet his newly-established place in London society also brought into sharper focus the question of who he was in terms of his own national construction, who he was in turn perceived to be in this regard, and how he ultimately perceived himself. G.J. Watson says of the Irish migrant writer that 'the unifying theme is each writer's attempt to grapple with, or define, the nature or meaning of Irish identity, and the resultant effects on the content and form of their art. Subsidiary themes, closely connected, recur [...] the recurring tension between the writer's desire to identify with his community and his feelings of marginality.'[2] Watson is not talking about Stoker here but the important thing is he could be. Stoker's reality as an Anglo-Irish immigrant in London therefore allowed him the most pointed insight yet into the inherent alienation of his class, both inside and outside of Ireland itself, and of the fraught complexities of his own national identity. For as Watson again argues, 'assertions of nationalism as born out of a lack rather than an affirmation: 'always lurking somewhere near the surface is a painful sense of insecurity deriving ultimately from the sense of a lost identity, a broken tradition, and the

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[1] Bram Stoker, *Dracula*, ed. by Roger Luckhurst (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 320.
[2] G.J. Watson, *Irish Identity and the Literary Revival: Synge, Yeats, Joyce and O'Casey* (London: Croom Helm, 1979), pp. 13-14.

knowledge that an alien identity has been, however reluctantly, more than half embraced.'[3] In *Dracula*, Stoker, 'uniquely and rather oddly placed as an outsider who found himself at the heart of the patriotic British establishment', creates a literary work that profoundly manifests these concerns, a work of imaginative autobiography.[4] Necessarily enabled, if not actively compelled by the sustained referentiality between author and character that does not exist in 'Carmilla', to go beyond what Le Fanu could convey, to progress but also to transcend the new tradition of literary vampirism begun in Le Fanu's Anglo-Irish vampire narrative, there is in Stoker's desire to construct a veritable mythology around his Dracula, to designate the Count's powers and weaknesses as that of a broader race or generic type of vampire, in short, to provide him with a sense of belonging even as he eschews all attempts at categorisation, the most developed and personal example yet of the engagement of the Anglo-Irish writer with issues of national belonging, and, more importantly, of national belonging in print. The culmination, therefore, of the investigations of the previous four chapters, it is the notion of Stoker's own sense of national self, how it is created, controlled and, most especially, how it is authentically conveyed through the written word that we must now explore.

We have noted on repeated occasions the manner in which Stoker's most famous novel is a textual representation of the real-life exercises of national self-formation, *Dracula* functions as a true writing of the national self, a genuine example of imaginative autobiography, in that it actively conveys the inner realities of Anglo-Irish identity concerns for its author in a sustained and fulfilling way through the activities of its vampire protagonist. Both interlopers with the ability to 'pass' as insiders, and both possessing an inner nature arguably profoundly threatening to contemporary metropolitan concerns, Stoker and his vampire parallel each other on fundamental levels that directly channel such issues as separation, innermost perceptions of national identity and the anxieties and problems that these meditations may engender. The national self in relation to Stoker is therefore what this chapter is all about. In later sections we will turn to address such key issues as external perceptions of Stoker's national identity

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[3] Ibid, p. 20.
[4] Barbara Belford, *Bram Stoker: A Biography of the Author of Dracula* (London: Orion Books, 1997), p. 5 and Andrew Maunder, *Bram Stoker* (Tavistock: Northcote, 2006), p. 47.

and Stoker's own engagement with the theme of national identity construction especially in his non-fiction. But as a text, *Dracula*'s national positioning and how this has been perceived is as equally fraught with complexity as that of its author and its protagonist and in a chapter that now seeks to explore national identity construction for Stoker for the way that these may be seen to impact on his vampiric alter ego, this is a key point that must first be addressed. In a chapter that is ultimately all about constructions of national selfhood for Stoker, we must first turn now to the many national selves of *Dracula*.

To elaborate on some of the assertions made in the Introduction, *Dracula* is viewed by many scholars as a text that perfectly encapsulates the zeitgeist of late-nineteenth century life. As such, its identity has accordingly been bound up in its ability to articulate such diverse contemporary themes as the threat of female sexuality and the spectre of the New Woman, the fear of male sexuality and the danger of homosexual relations, the risk of invasion and reverse colonisation, of degeneration, disease, feudalism, modernity, Marxism, and even Judaism.[5] As already noted, the question of what *Dracula* is really *about* and where it should be placed, presupposing of course, that there is just one answer available to such an inquiry, has troubled and tantalised critics in equal measure for years, with the discourses of psychoanalysis, formalism, feminism, post-colonialism and queer theory all playing their own part in attempts to penetrate to the essence of the novel, whatever that might be seen to be. Moreover, it is out of such an environment of inquiry that a strand of criticism especially important for the purposes of this chapter, and indeed, for the investigations of this thesis as a whole, has come to the fore in the last twenty years or so. It is one that seeks to particularly privilege what it sees as the nationally-specific contexts of Stoker's

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[5] For an example of gender/sexuality-bases studies of the novel see Kathleen L. Spencer, 'Purity and Danger: *Dracula*, the Urban Gothic, and the Late-Victorian Degeneracy Crisis', *ELH*, 59:1 (1992), 197-225, or Bram Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-De-Siècle Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 333-51. For an example of an analysis of the novel through the lens of Queer Theory see Talia Schaffer, '"A Wilde Desire Took Me": The Homoerotic History of *Dracula'* in Bram Stoker, *Dracula*, ed. by Nina Auerbach and David J. Skal (New York: Norton, 1997), pp. 381-425. For a Marxist interpretation of *Dracula* see Franco Moretti, 'The Dialectic of Fear' in *Signs Taken for Wonders: Essays on the Sociology of Literary Forms* (London: Verso, 1983), pp. 83-108, or Robert A. Smart, 'Blood and Money in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*: The Struggle Against Monopoly' in *Money, Lure, Lore and Literature*, ed. by John Louis Digaetani (Westport: Greenwood, 1994), pp. 253-60. For examples of psychoanalytic approaches see *Bram Stoker: History, Psychoanalysis and the Gothic*, ed. by William Hughes and Andrew Smith (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), and sections of Phyllis A. Roth, *Bram Stoker* (Boston: Twayne, 1982).

text, with scholars such as Seamus Deane, David Glover, Michael Valdez Moses, Joseph Valente and Peter Haining and Peter Tremayne, amongst others, arguing that *Dracula* can productively be read from within the sphere of an Irish, or indeed Anglo-Irish, literary context. Using a broad framework of postcolonial and historicist methodologies as their keystone, these scholars therefore contend that the text is as much about Ireland, Irish issues and Irishness as it is about anything else.[6] In many ways building on established lines of enquiry, but also representing a more focused line of analysis than many of the approaches to the novel hitherto employed, the 'Irish School' of criticism, then, by which I mean, those critics who look to place or indeed, replace, Stoker's work within the contexts and concerns of a literary tradition produced by (Anglo-) Irish writers or one that deals explicitly or implicitly with Irish concerns, concerned itself with offering new and illuminating ways of exploring and understanding Stoker's text through the guiding prism of Irish Studies. Through its work, attempts have been made to reclaim Bram Stoker as an overtly Irish writer dealing with overtly Irish subject matter, and the question of how *Dracula* may be read as a specifically Irish text, with a specifically Irish national identity, is one of central focus.

I

Cannon Schmitt was one of the first critics to explicitly address the presence of what he sought to position as particularly Irish elements of *Dracula* in his 1994 essay, 'Mother Dracula: Orientalism, Degeneration, and Anglo-Irish National Subjectivity at the *Fin-de-Siècle*'.[7] In this work he flags up a number of crucial points for a nation-specific reading of the novel, rooting his assertions in the text's perceived anxieties surrounding the intermixing of racial identities and

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[6] For examples of historicist takes on the novel see Daniel Pick, '"Terrors of the Night": Dracula and "Degeneration" in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Critical Quarterly*, 30 (1988), 71-87, or David Glover, *Vampires, Mummies and Liberals: Bram Stoker and the Politics of Popular Fiction* (London: Duke University Press, 1996). For those that also draw from post-colonial or racial frameworks, see Stephen D. Arata, 'The Occidental Tourist: Dracula and the Anxiety of Reverse Colonisation', *Victorian Studies*, 33 (1990), 621-45, Chris Morash, '"Ever Under Some Unnatural Condition": Bram Stoker and the Colonial Fantastic,' in *Literature and the Supernatural*, ed. by Brian Cosgrove (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 1995), pp. 95-119, *Empire and the Gothic*, ed. by Andrew Smith and William Hughes (London: Palgrave, 2002) and H.L. Malchow, *Gothic Images of Race in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).

[7] Cannon Schmitt, 'Mother Dracula: Orientalism, Degeneration, and Anglo-Irish National Subjectivity at the Fin-de-Siècle', *Bucknell Review*, 38: 1 (1994), 25-43.

its relation to Irish and British nationalist discourses at the turn of the century. To this end, Schmitt alludes to Stoker's own status as 'creole', as racially crossbreed Anglo-Irish, as well as to the Count's attack on Mina and the subsequent mixing of her blood with her vampire assailant's to promote his line of analysis, tying the intermixing of the bodily fluids through the vampiric encounter to what he terms the Anglo-Irish fear of 'absorption' or negation by the native or indigenous Irish. For Schmitt, however, the perceived necessity in some quarters of a sharing of blood for the continuation and rejuvenation of the English race in our period is also present : 'The resulting hybrid, as perhaps the Anglo-Irish hybrid himself, is not a contaminated being so much as a being strengthened and revivified.'[8] Schmitt's thesis therefore argues that the novel actively advocates the cultural, social, racial and also national hybridity, that despite the fact that the borders that exist between past and present, East and West, Irish and English, are ostensibly restored at the close of the text, Stoker's text ultimately endorses a mixed identity that works for the good of the (English rather than Irish) 'nation', and beyond the narrow constraints of racial/national identity as viewed in a traditional and boundaried sense.

An innovative piece of scholarship in many ways, Schmitt's essay raises some intriguing and highly influential concepts for an Irish-centric reading of *Dracula*, not least the notion of the hybrid Anglo-Irish author, and moreover, the impact that such a status might have on the novel created. For Schmitt, Stoker's productively conflicted Anglo-Irish identity is evoked through the human characters such as Mina, Quincy Morris, and even Van Helsing, and the ultimate example of this beneficial racial mixing, necessary for the health of the national body, is realised in Mina and Jonathan's son Quincy, a child with numerous ideological and even perhaps biological fathers, who transcends the bounds of any one nationality or familial grouping. By means of contrast, the vampire, on the other hand, is figured here as comprised of a single and stagnant racial identity, one that is tied to the past and that represents arrested if not actively atavistic tendencies. With the defeat of Dracula, then, it is the birth of Quincy Harker as hybrid that represents the future, an idealised imaginative projection of the complexities of Stoker's own class and with it a transcending of traditional

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[8] Ibid, p. 39.

and, for Schmitt at least, restrictive Irish/English divisions that are emphatically rooted in the human and not the vampire state. In a similar vein, Kellie Donovan Wixson, in 'Dracula: An Anglo-Irish Gothic Novel', takes the by now familiar approach of exploring Stoker's, 'bifurcated identity' as an Anglo-Irishman and sees this manifesting itself in various ways in the novel, finding the evidence for Stoker's hybrid national, racial and cultural senses of self personified in the character of Jonathan Harker.[9] According to Wixson, Harker's experiences at Castle Dracula, in the part of the novel that she feels is most significant to an Irish reading of the text, are incompletely documented thereby encoding a sense of the internalised duality so inherent in the Anglo-Irish condition. In much the same way, Harker's reaction to the vampire women who try to seduce/eat him is as much one of desire as it is of fear and also inherently unstable. By contrast and with echoes of Schmitt, Wixson believes Dracula to represent absolute certainty in his homeland. He is, she argues, figured as the master of all he surveys, representing a fixed and stable identity in a Transylvania where nothing else is as it seems, and as such, does not possess the necessary ambiguity of the core and abiding Anglo-Irish condition.[10]

Schmitt and Wixson's articles place authorial and therefore national identification squarely on the side of the human characters in Stoker's text. However, the direction of analysis changes somewhat in Chris Morash's 1995 essay, '"Ever under some unnatural condition": Bram Stoker and the Colonial Fantastic', for while there is here again a prolonged engagement with the hybrid status of Stoker's own national identity, there is also the acknowledgement of an affinity between the author and the vampire he creates for the first time. Stoker's position, according to Morash, as 'a member of the Irish intelligentsia who had worked for the British imperial administration', allows for 'the paradoxical coexistence of atavism and modernity in the same figure', a contradictory state of selfhood that is also found in the text's construction of the vampire Count.[11] For Morash, it is the vampire's rather than the human's identity that is here

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[9] Kellie Donovan Wixson, 'Dracula: An Anglo-Irish Gothic Novel', in Dracula: The Shade and The Shadow, ed. by Elizabeth Miller (Westcliff-on-Sea: Desert Island Books, 1998), pp. 247-56.
[10] In closing off the vampire to the possibility of channelling the fundamental ambiguity of the Anglo-Irish condition, however, Wixson fails, I think, to appreciate the sheer mutability of the vampire as constructed by Stoker in this part of the narrative, playing the role of coach-driver and servant as well as lord of the castle with ease.
[11] Morash, p. 108.

constantly in flux, an idea that David Glover takes and expands to greater length a year later in *Vampires, Mummies and Liberals: Bram Stoker and the Politics of Popular Fiction*, when he argues that Stoker's relationship to his home country as Anglo-Irishman is an extremely complex one and that the Irish and English loyalties on either side of the hyphen frequently pull him in opposing directions.[12] It is this familiarly conflicted sense of self, then, already so explored in this work, that allows the vampire that Stoker creates, as a creature with a 'multiplicity of forms', to be read by Glover as the embodiment of Anglo-Irish concerns and that imbues *Dracula* as a whole with an Anglo-Irish national identity.[13]

Continuing on this track, some critics like Seamus Deane have taken such assertions of commonality to mean that Dracula himself may be straightforwardly equated with a very specific example of Ascendancy society: that of the Anglo-Irish landowner. Deane argues that, '*Dracula* is the story of an absentee landlord who is dependent in his London residence on the maintenance of a supply of soil' from his native land, in the same way as characters like Sir Kit Rackrent might depend on the revenue of their Irish properties to fund their lifestyles of leisure in Britain.[14] In a similar vein, Raymond T. McNally's chapter, 'Bram Stoker and Irish Gothic', also exploits the perceived connection between the vampire and the Anglo-Irish, particularly the Anglo-Irish landlord.[15] Like Deane, McNally sees Dracula as 'taking the life blood from living human beings, as do the living vampires of Ireland, the landowning, declining class in the people's imagination'.[16] He even goes so far as to suggest that in writing *Dracula*, 'Stoker was warning that some day the Irish would band together and destroy the alien vampiric aristocracy in Ireland'.[17] Such an interpretation gains in credibility by taking into account, as Michael Valdez Moses does, that Land Leaguer Michael Davitt referred to these same landlords as, 'cormorant vampires',

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[12] Glover, p. 13.
[13] Ibid, p. 41.
[14] Seamus Deane, *Strange Country: Modernity and Nationhood in Irish Writing since 1790* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 89.
[15] Raymond T. McNally, 'Bram Stoker and Irish Gothic', in *The Fantastic Vampire: Studies in the Children of the Night*, ed. by James Craig Holte (London: Greenwood, 2002), pp. 11-21.
[16] Ibid, p. 20.
[17] Ibid.

draining the life from their tenants through rackrenting and evictions.[18] And yet, in his article, Moses sees another, more particular source for Stoker's vampire Count. With the aforementioned hybridity and ambiguity of Stoker's vampire as his key, he argues that Dracula himself is in fact a removed and re-imagined evocation of M.P., Land Leaguer, Home Ruler, and 'uncrowned king of Ireland', Charles Stewart Parnell; in other words, 'the charismatic appeal and metamorphic appeal of Parnell's persona, taken to a higher power'.[19] This is a view largely supported by Bruce Stewart in his 1998 essay, 'Bram Stoker's Dracula: Possessed by the Spirit of the Nation?', when he emphatically refutes Deane's opposing argument, instead stating that:

> not alone is Count Dracula unlikely to have been intended by his creator as a portrait of the bloodsucking colonist of popular Irish historical memory, it is more probable that Stoker meant his vampiric tendencies to represent the kind of atavistic violence commonly attributed to Land League activists, and – by implication – to Charles Stewart Parnell.[20]

And so, on it goes. As stated at the very outset of this thesis' discussions on the topic, it should be apparent to the attentive reader that interpretations of Dracula and particularly Dracula's national positioning from within the Irish School of Stoker criticism are as widely diverse in analysis and conclusion as those without. To this end, Raphael Ingelbein's 2003 work, 'Gothic Genealogies: Dracula, Bowen's Court, and Anglo-Irish Psychology', sums up the sheer variety of the Irish School to date, noting that any hopes that firm insights may be finally gained from the long overdue historicist placing of Dracula within its Irish context were soon dispelled, as the 'ideological controversies inherent in Irish studies were quickly imported into the novel's interpretation'.[21] In fact, Ingelbien's essay itself merely contributes to the interpretative multiplicity at large here, taking the line that as, 'an elusive, fascinating cipher, Dracula then becomes a mere body onto which various anxieties can be projected', and countering that it is therefore psychology, particularly a study into the

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[18] Michael Valdez Moses, 'Dracula, Parnell and the Troubled Dreams of Nationhood', *Journal X*, 2: 1, (1997), 66-112 (p. 79).
[19] Ibid, p. 69.
[20] Bruce Stewart, 'Bram Stoker's Dracula: Possessed by the Spirit of the Nation?' in *That Other World: The Supernatural and the Fantastic in Irish Literature and its Contexts*, ed. by Bruce Stewart, 2 vols (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1998), II, pp. 65-66.
[21] Raphael Ingelbien, 'Gothic Genealogies: *Dracula*, Bowen's Court, and Anglo-Irish Psychology', *ELH*, 70 (2003), 1089-1105 (p. 1089).

psychological reasons behind the Count's 'personal effects, gestures, and words', that holds the key to conclusive interpretation of an Irish *Dracula* for 'a proper understanding of that Gothic vein, and of its links to Ascendancy psychology, as well as an awareness of its presence in Stoker's novel, are essential to the placing of *Dracula* in the mined context of Irish history'.[22] For all this, Ingelbien does ultimately concur with many of his critical predecessors that Stoker's vampire exhibits the characteristics of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy, however, writing that, 'Stoker gave Count Dracula enough of a psychology to paint him as an Anglo-Irish aristocrat pining for the heyday of the Ascendancy and expressing its values, moods and isolation' through his actions.[23]

As stated in the Introduction, there would seem to be, then, far less coherence or agreement in findings then the label of 'School' might here seem to suggest. Particularly on the key question of what, or indeed who, Dracula himself signifies from a national perspective, there is considerable divergence of opinion and none of the interpretations advanced here are wholly without their problems, especially when considered in relation to the nature of the Stoker/Dracula affinity that I figure as so central to my own argument. Taking Deane's advocacy of Dracula as Anglo-Irish landowner and Stewart's rebuff of this, both made on the grounds of Stoker's own indeterminate identity, as examples, it soon becomes apparent that neither writer in their arguments fully appreciates the complexity inherent in the national affiliations of the authorial character. Stewart's assertion that Stoker would have viewed the Anglo-Irish landlords as an alien and hostile class, and that his vampire as threat is somehow constructed to channel this, fails to appreciate Stoker's own status as Anglo-Irishman, albeit a member of the middle and not landed class, which we explored in such lengths in Chapter One. Anglican in an Ireland where religion was the main defining feature of ethnicity, and Protestantism the route to patronage and progress, a graduate of Trinity College and the latest in a line of civil servants in his family, ideologically, if not necessarily materially, Stoker is a part of the Victorian Anglo-Irish elite. But equally, Deane's equation of what he feels to be the author/vampire pairing, and thereby the novel's sympathies with the Anglo-Irish landowning elite, is not without its own problems. For while we have argued

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[22] Ibid, p. 1091 and p. 1102.
[23] Ibid, p. 1102.

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here that Stoker felt a core cultural affinity with the ruling members of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy, Chapters One and Two have also stressed that this commonality within Ireland, foundational as it is to any later discussion of Stoker's national self, does not tell the whole story for this particular Anglo-Irish migrant writer.

This persistent problem, then, of where to position Dracula and therefore *Dracula*, what exactly the vampire and the text's relationship is to the author from a national perspective is useful in that it highlights some mutual concerns common to almost all working within the intersecting spheres of Irish studies and the novel. For, for all the internal differences, and these are many, there are also shared threads within the Irish School of criticism, notable recurring themes present in much of the analysis already here introduced, especially when considering how to position the novel within an Irish, or indeed, Anglo-Irish context. As also flagged up in the Introduction, the various approaches thus far have all largely subscribed to the view that the politics, social conditions and cultural environment of late nineteenth-century Ireland is deemed in some way to impinge on the text, with the Land War in particular treated of as a probable underlying inspiration for Stoker's novel and its construction of the aristocratic vampire. Dracula himself, then, is frequently taken to represent some various aspects of nineteenth-century domestic Irish culture; most often he is identified by critics as symbolic of the Ascendancy landlords but he is also prone to being perceived as a metaphor for Land Leaguers like Parnell on the grounds of his shape-shifting and indeterminate identity. Finally, most critics of the Irish School, as indeed most critics who look at *Dracula* in general, position the vampire as Other in the text, as the threat against which the forces of good define themselves and as such, one that must ultimately be vanquished. The vast majority of readings, despite any arguments involving the Stoker/Dracula pairing, thereby situate the authorial and consequently the reader's sympathies with Harker and company, who ultimately triumph in the text, in the process placing Stoker and the vampire he creates on opposite sides of the text, further complicating any clear positioning of the text's own national affiliations.

Joseph Valente, author of *Dracula's Crypt: Bram Stoker, Irishness and the Question of Blood*, is of all the critics working within the bounds of Irish scholarship on *Dracula*, the one that comes closest to my own interpretation of

the novel and its related national contexts.[24] His own view of the Irish School looking as it is for an 'Irish Dracula', is that it is a model too dependent on its British historicist counterpart; that it fails to bring anything truly innovative or insightful to the table. Furthermore, Valente asserts, as Ingelbien does, that for an ostensibly coherent branch of analysis, its findings are often confused, disconnected and 'of uncertain consequences'.[25] Nevertheless, Valente's own work does offer some intriguing arguments into the novel's national placing. At the heart of his argument is what he terms 'the metrocolonial conditions of production', that inform the genesis of the text at both national and individual level; that Ireland's own conflicted and problematic status in the nineteenth-century sphere, caught between the poles of the colonised and the colonisers, creates a nationally-specific condition of hybridity, the results of which are there to be seen in *Dracula*.[26] In other words, Ireland's own dual status in the Victorian period as a country 'at once a prized if troublesome colonial possession and a despised but active constituent of the greatest metropole on earth', informs the Irish people's position as 'at once agents and objects, participant-victims as it were, of Britain's far-flung imperial mission', rendering them a 'metrocolonial people', inherently hybridised, like the country in which they live.[27] Approaching from this angle, Valente's view of Ireland and the Irish comes close to my own reading of the Anglo-Irish national condition of Stoker, although for his part, Valente often makes no distinction between the Protestant settler class and the native and the indigenous population in his analysis. Moreover, within the context of nineteenth-century Ireland, Valente sees Stoker as an exceptional example of metrocolonial identity in action because of his own unusual background of Anglo-Irish father and a mother who was of Celtic and not planter origin, as a highly specialised and distinctive case. Stoker is accordingly figured not as Anglo-Irish, as a member of a class, then, but as 'interethnic Anglo-Celt and hence a member of a conquering and a conquered race, a ruling and subject people, an imperial and occupied nation'.[28] It is this 'metrocolonial condition, of which Stoker's subject position is an extreme and therefore exemplary case [...]

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[24] Joseph Valente, *Dracula's Crypt: Bram Stoker, Irishness and the Question of Blood* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002).
[25] Ibid, p. 2.
[26] Ibid, p. 3.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid, p. 4.

an uneasy social and psychic space between authority, agency, and legitimacy on one side, and abjection, heteronomy, and hybridity on the other', that Valente sees as manifest in *Dracula*, where 'every prominent Irish motif [...] splits internally along metrocolonial fault lines [...] and shivers into opposed yet overlapping ethnic significations, class associations, partisan connotations, and sectarian resources'.[29]

Valente's 'manifold logics' that he sees as present in the text are not an obstacle to critically deriving meaning within an Irish context, but rather, like the vampire himself and as this work has stated from the outset, part of the intrinsic meaning of the novel itself. In a by now familiar contention, an (Anglo-) Irish interpretation of the text is rendered as inseparable from Stoker's own conflicted sense of national self, an assertion that fully coincides with my own arguments regarding the text. However, in relation to the Anglo-Irish positioning of the author, Valente argues that Stoker is 'a highly improbable conduit for the cultural fantasies of the ruling groups, according to the criteria of the very identity politics that would undermine such an analysis', and that he, 'cannot be said to have met those criteria with respect to any clearly and closely demarcated social constituency of his time'.[30] Conversely, this thesis has argued at length that in considering questions of national affiliation, the individual and the community are engaged in a dialogue with each other. To divide Stoker from the class he is born into, to render him instead as a highly individualised exception is to entirely miss the complexity of specifically Anglo-Irish identity concerns in latter-day Victorian Ireland. To remove *Dracula* from the context of Anglo-Irish anxieties as a whole, particularly when I argue that it has so much to say about how this class perceived itself and its own reality at the *fin-de-siècle*, seems to me to be unwise, for to make the case for Stoker's uniqueness apart from his country and class is to eliminate him and his work from a convention of writing, a progression of work, as we have seen, which this thesis firmly situates it within. Such assertions overlook the fact that the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy as a class was equally as fragmented as the way Valente here positions Stoker, and moreover, disregard the difficulties that Valente perceives in Stoker's own self-construction in the period in fact reinforce not refute his membership of such a social

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[29] Ibid, p. 5.
[30] Ibid, p. 9.

grouping. If anything, Valente's work makes an even more compelling case for thinking about Stoker as a specifically Anglo-Irish writer and the need for his inclusion in any discussion of Anglo-Irish communal concerns in text.

As will by now be clearly apparent from the chapters leading up to this one, in opening up *Dracula* to what I believe to be the fullest and most illuminating reading the Irish School can offer, in constructing the text as an autobiographical rendering of Stoker's own conflicted national condition as Anglo-Irish writer, my own analysis focuses on the inherent similarities between Stoker, both as a member of a community and as an individual, and the vampire that he creates and reads in the novel a very specific kind of national self. The Irish School's field of scholarship was undoubtedly groundbreaking in that it proposed, in many ways, an entirely new tradition of nationally-focused analysis in relation to *Dracula*, and of course it is a tradition that my own work, and the explorations of this thesis as whole are in this sense significantly indebted to. But while the readings hitherto examined are undoubtedly productive and important, and while any interpretation of the Irish aspects of the novel that fails to address the textual symbols and parallels pointed out by these scholars would be a superficial one indeed, my own work represents a significant departure from established practice on a number of crucial levels.

As stated in the Introduction, it is my contention that an (Anglo-) Irish reading of *Dracula* does *not* need to be grounded in Ireland itself to be valid or successful. My main problem with the findings of the Irish School to date is simply that every one of the critics hitherto explored roots their analysis within a domestic Irish context. An 'Irish' reading of the text unequivocally equates to an Irish setting for these scholars; the politics and pressing social issues of Ireland in the latter-half of the Victorian period must be manifest for an Irish interpretation to be considered justifiable. And so, as already stated, the wilds of Transylvania become rural Ireland, the Romanian peasantry becomes the Catholic Irish tenantry and Castle Dracula itself assumes the often castellated structure of the Ascendancy Big House. Dracula himself becomes one of a variety of things depending on who you read, but despite fluctuating between numerous possibilities he is always ultimately tagged as a player in the internal Irish landscape of the latter 1800s, figured by many of the critics thus far discussed as an Anglo-Irish landlord, sucking the life-force (or blood) from his tenants by the

practices of rack-renting and absenteeism. There is no sense in any of the critical opinions advanced, varied though they undoubtedly are, that the automatic placing of the novel *within* late Victorian Ireland is in any way problematic or limiting. An (Anglo-) Irish reading of *Dracula* therefore equates to an Irish Dracula. And yet, as has already been established, an Anglo-Irish reading of *Dracula* does not necessarily need to be rooted in this setting for the simple reason that Stoker, unlike Maturin or Le Fanu or any other Anglo-Irish writer to whom he may be compared, did not live all of his life in Ireland alone or engage solely with the domestic Irish environment, on either a physical or an ideological level. We know that Stoker's Irish background is undoubtedly important; this work has already stressed the foundational importance of the author's formative years spent within the sphere of middle-class Ascendancy Dublin, and as such their influence on *Dracula* is unquestionably an important one. However, we also know that Stoker did not truly achieve success as a writer until after he had left Ireland for the opportunities offered by the metropolitan landscape in the late 1870s, and it is the sense of cultural hybridity, of embodying an intermixing of identities highlighted by Stoker's own experiences in London in the late nineteenth century that is such a fundamental aspect of his own writing and literary creation. With this in mind, an Anglo-Irish reading of *Dracula* therefore equates to an Anglo-Irish London Dracula.

Dracula therefore represents Stoker, and Stoker himself gives rise to *Dracula* and Dracula as constructed. The shapeless, indeterminate vampire Count that subverts markers of identity of all kinds, national, social and sexual, is in fact a profound, symbiotic and sustained literary vehicle for the textual articulation of his creator's deeply conflicted sense of national self, and it is this positive identification between the vampire and author, between Dracula and Stoker, and rooted in a British and not an Irish landscape that forms the missing link in the analysis of the Irish School. Stoker the man, Stoker the emigrant and Stoker the writer sits at the core of this research, the author himself forming the crux of any Irish, or more accurately, any Anglo-Irish reading of *Dracula* in an exercise of imaginative autobiography. Of course, as in any discussions of autobiographical texts, of the chronicling of a life through the literary form, it is the individual that comes under the closest scrutiny. This chapter therefore examines Stoker in this regard, exploring Stoker's life as presented both in his

period and ever since then by his various biographers. It also examines Stoker's own engagement with constructions of an explicitly national selfhood, through an assessment of his biographical work detailing the life and times of Henry Irving. It is therefore to Stoker that this chapter now turns, for before it can properly confront the question of an Anglo-Irish reading of *Dracula* as a writing of Stoker's own self, it must first attempt to penetrate to the heart of the elusive and enigmatic figure of Bram Stoker himself. And this, as we have already noted in the Introduction and as Stoker's many biographers will testify, is something that is rather difficult to do.

II

The Introduction and previous chapters have already sketched all that can be said with confidence about Stoker's life, for despite the availability of such fixed information as the date of his birth, his familial circumstances, his education and early career, despite the fact that the circumstances of his move to London and the fact that he worked closely with one of the most famous and recognisable figures in late Victorian society are widely known, ultimately surprisingly little can be readily discerned about the intimate realities of the man who was Bram Stoker. What is missing is detail and despite the best efforts of at least four dedicated biographers, these particulars of Stoker's life, his personal sphere, his innermost thoughts and opinions, and even the true circumstances of his death, remain contested and elusive.[31] In our own time, Stoker exists as a shade; his image is at the mercy of the narratives woven out of a few threads of fact and much necessary embellishment. The myths that have grown up around

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[31] There have been numerous biographies of Stoker over the years, each with their own take on Stoker's life-story, and starting with Harry Ludlum's *A Biography of Dracula: The Life Story of Bram Stoker* (London: Foulsham, 1962), completed with input from Stoker's son Noel. It doesn't quite function as a piece of impartial scholarship but it does have the advantage of offering personal insights and anecdotes perhaps unavailable to external researchers. It was followed by Daniel Farson's *The Man Who Wrote Dracula: A Biography of Bram Stoker* (London: Joseph, 1975), a text notable (and controversial) because of Farson's assertion that Stoker died of syphilis, a direct result of his apparent liaisons with prostitutes. Phyllis A. Roth's study, *Bram Stoker* (Boston: Twayne, 1982) followed a few years later and is heavily indebted to psychoanalysis. The most recent Stoker biographies are Barbara Belford, *Bram Stoker: A Biography of the Author of Dracula* (London: Orion, 1997), Paul Murray, *From the Shadow of Dracula: A Life of Bram Stoker* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004), and Lisa Hopkins, *Bram Stoker: A Literary Life* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

Stoker since his death are in many ways fuelled by his own sense of privacy; by his own admission he was of a highly secretive nature. He left behind very little insights into his own view of his world or the people in it, himself included, which is why the discovery of Stoker's 'lost journal' discussed in the Introduction was such a coup for Stoker studies.[32] If one travels to visit Stoker's grave at Golders Green Crematorium in north London, one simply finds an urn inscribed with his name and the dates of his birth and death, along with those of his son Noel, which were added later. There is no indication here of the man behind the name. No information is provided on Stoker's career, on his nationality or on his role as a writer. Ironically, Stoker's most ostensibly autobiographical piece of writing, *Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving*, (1906), is one that is primarily dedicated to the life of his employer and it conceals as much as it reveals, though more of this later.[33] Moreover, as discussed in the Introduction, as Stoker's vampire celebrity has moved into the very heart of our popular consciousness, Stoker himself is all but eclipsed by his own creation, and Daniel Farson is largely correct when he proclaims that, 'in acclaiming *Dracula* we have forgotten Stoker'.[34] But in order to argue that Stoker and his vampire are essentially one in the same, that it is Stoker's life in totality, his experiences and especially his move to the metropolis and subsequent life there, that irrevocably shape his literary vampire as written, it is first necessary to turn to external perceptions of the author, communicated by those who knew him and those who knew of him. In particular, references to national construction and national identification for Stoker as he lived his life in the capital in the period must be explored.

Barbara Belford characterises Stoker as 'the Anglo-Irish outsider, a dreamy romantic who attained a level of personal friendship with the English establishment but is remembered only as Henry Irving's factotum'.[35] This sentiment is evident nowhere so much as in the obituary notices that ran on the news of Stoker's death in 1912. Indeed, the first sentence of the notice in *The Times* on 22nd April of that year reads as follows: 'The death took place at 26, St.

[32] Bram Stoker, *Bram Stoker's Notes for Dracula: A Facsimile Edition*, ann. and transcr. by Robert Eighteen-Bisang and Elizabeth Miller (Jefferson: MacFarland & Company, 2008).
[33] Bram Stoker, *Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving*, 2 vols (London: Heineman, 1906).
[34] Farson, p. 172.
[35] Belford, p. xi.

George's-square, S.W., on Saturday evening, after a long illness, of Mr. Bram
Stoker, who for nearly 30 years was the intimate friend of Sir Henry Irving'.[36]
From this writer's perspective, Stoker was known primarily as a friend and
employee of Irving's, rather than as a recognisable figure in his own right, a
sentiment echoed by Stoker's own friend Hall Caine, who, 'expressed the
thoughts of many when he suggested that if Stoker were remembered at all
(which seemed unlikely) it would be solely for his intense relationship' with the
actor, 'which comprised "his whole life", rather than for any important literary
endeavours'.[37] And while the obituary goes on to detail some of Stoker's early
life and education in Dublin, as well as Stoker's fledging career as a journalist, it
is again Irving's presence that is given primary importance here:

> How long he would have been content to play these humble, though
> miscellaneous, parts is impossible to say; but in 1876 or thereabouts he
> first came into contact with Henry Irving, and two years later he had
> permanently thrown in his lot with him as his manager and confidential
> secretary, and he remained with him until the end.[38]

The vast majority of the rest of the notice paints Stoker as a 'confidential friend
and right-hand man' of Irving and a loyal friend of 'enduring spirits'.[39] Stoker's
other identities as Anglo-Irishman and writer are relegated to second place
behind his role as manager of the Lyceum and 'fidus Achates' to Irving.[40] What
reference there is to Stoker as an author is as follows:

> A fluent and flamboyant writer, with a manner and mannerisms which
> faithfully reflected the mind which moved the pen, Stoker managed to
> find time, amid much arduous and distracting work, to write a good deal.
> He was the master of a particularly lurid and creepy kind of fiction,
> represented by 'Dracula' and other novels; he had also essayed musical
> comedy, and had of late years resumed his old connexion to journalism.
> But his chief literary memorial will be his Reminiscences of Irving, a
> book which [...] cannot but remain a valuable record of the workings of
> genius as they appeared to his devoted associate and admirer.[41]

Irving then, eclipses Stoker and his individual achievements in his period. In
terms of his profession, he was regarded primarily as Irving's manager rather
than as a prolific, much less, talented writer, and even in the realm of Stoker's

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[36] *The Times*, Monday, Apr 22, 1912, p. 15.
[37] Maunder, p. 1.
[38] *The Times*, Apr 22, 1912.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.

literary output, aside from references to some 'lurid' fiction, the Anglo-Irish émigré writer is defined almost solely by his relationship to his far more famous employer, a trend that is also clearly visible in many of Stoker's other obituaries. The *New York Times* entry from 23 April 1912, for example, opens with the statement that 'Bram Stoker, author, theatrical manager, close friend and adviser of the late Sir Henry Irving, died in London last Sunday. For twenty-seven years he was business manager for the famous English actor, in charge of the Lyceum theatre during Irving's tenancy of that house.' The rest of the article echoes the pattern sketched out in *The Times* by detailing Stoker's relationship with Irving first and then later listing the texts Stoker produced as a writer. Unsurprisingly, *Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving* again here takes top billing.[42]

This association with Irving sometimes leaves Stoker's own identity, as perceived by others, coming off the worse, as is the case with the following extract, written by an unnamed American journalist during the Lyceum Company's tour of the United States in 1885:

> We are told of 'an individual who called himself Bram Stoker [...] who seems to occupy some anomalous position between secretary and valet, whose manifest duties are to see that there is mustard in the sandwiches and to take the dogs out for a run; and who unites in his own person every vulgarity of the English-speaking race'.[43]

In this construction, then, Stoker is regarded as a menial dogsbody, a member of the travelling troupe who performs the most basic and undignified tasks, in other words, not much better than a servant. The last phrase of the outburst, however, is a particularly significant one in that it specifically evokes the issue of Stoker's own national affiliations. Exactly what is meant by 'the English-speaking race' here is unclear. Is the reporter referring to what he perceives as Stoker's Englishness or could it be that the 'English-speaking race' to which he refers is in fact the (Anglo-) Irish? Of course, it could merely mean that the writer here means to allude to the entirety of the English-speaking world, but nevertheless, there is still a marked reference to the question of Stoker's nationality, externally constructed to reflect in an emphatically negative and derogatory manner on Stoker himself. It is not the first time that the question of Stoker's nationality or

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[42] 'Bram Stoker' *The New York Times*, 23rd April, 1912. See also Bram Stoker' *British Weekly* 25 April 1912, 'Bram Stoker' *Daily Telegraph* 23 April 1912 and 'Mr Bram Stoker' *Irish Times*, 23 April 1912.
[43] Quoted in Farson, p. 79.

national affiliation is raised in relation to perceptions of his character in the period. In a letter to his wife, dated 17th March, 1885, the American, Louis Frederick Austin, who worked with the Lyceum Company during their U.S. tour of the same year, had this to say about Irving's manager: 'I would rather live in a garret than fawn upon people as Stoker does for the sake of sticking my legs under the mahogany'.[44] In his assertion that Stoker, 'will go about London next season blarneying of his literary labours for Irving', the image presented of the Anglo-Irishman is one of an insincere social climber who resorts to hollow flattery in an attempt to secure his own unfounded social position.[45] It is an assessment that is to reappear in Laurence Irving's biography of his grandfather, *Henry Irving: The Actor and His World* (1951), where Stoker is negatively characterised as, 'inflated with literary and athletic pretensions', but far more importantly, as an individual who 'worshipped Irving with all the sentimental idolatry of which an Irishman is capable, revelling in the patronage which, as Irving's manager, was at his disposal, and in the opportunities which his position gave him to rub shoulders with the great'.[46] Significantly, Irving also denounces Stoker as 'well-intentioned, vain, impulsive' and crucially, 'inclined to blarneying flattery'.[47]

What is especially important in Austin and Irving's depictions of Stoker is not necessarily the damaging depictions of Stoker in and of themselves, for while these are undoubtedly interesting to any investigation of the authorial life as lived, as indeed they are to this thesis, it is rather the close relationship between such constructions to questions of Stoker's national positioning, that truly concerns us here. The phrase 'blarneying', in both instances, is indisputably an allusion to Stoker's (Anglo-) Irish background, and in both cases it is also used in an undeniably negative sense. Such references in their animosity toward their subject draw on the gamut of negative national stereotypes as encountered in Chapter Three, with the most dangerous aspect of the middle-class Anglo-Irish parvenu being precisely his ability to integrate, to infiltrate through to positions that would never have been open to his largely Catholic and

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[44] Ibid, p. 86.
[45] Ibid, p. 87.
[46] Laurence Irving, *Henry Irving: The Actor and His World* (London: Faber and Faber, 1951), p. 453.
[47] Ibid.

poverty-stricken counterparts. Both Austin and Irving explicitly discuss Stoker's incorporation into London society, and their shared view of him as a ruthless social climber, keen to get his feet under the table, as it were, speaks to fears attached to this assimilated nature of the Anglo-Irishman in the capital in the period, the same assimilation that proves so dangerous when employed by the vampire in *Dracula*. In Stoker's capacity as Lyceum manager, he cultivated the acquaintance of some of London's most influential figures, with Andrew Maunder stressing his integration into middle-class London society as 'well-known man about town, doyen of the male world of Victorian clubland'.[48] Laurence Irving is right, then, in his estimation of Stoker's ability to 'rub shoulders with the great', an ability both he and Austin explicitly link with Stoker's Irish, or as I argue, Anglo-Irish heritage.

As regarded by others, then, Stoker, when he was recognised as Other, was recognised as Irish Other. And while not all depictions of Stoker are as negative as those just examined, it must be said that opinions of Stoker that make explicit reference to his nationality in a positive manner outside of Ireland itself are far less easy to come by. Upon his death, the *Irish Times* claimed him as 'an Irishman of the best type'[49] which is unsurprising, but it is in Walt Whitman's descriptions of Stoker as 'fresh, breezy, Irish', that there manifests a different and more affirmative rendering of Stoker's national identity, equated as it is for Whitman with health and masculine vitality.[50] Finally, there are also certain discussions of Stoker's Irish identity that position it as neither a positive or negative attribute, but instead see it as an integral part of Stoker's own ambiguity. Daniel Farson recalls a conversation with a woman named Mrs Cruikshank, who knew the Stokers personally, on the question of Stoker's accent: 'When I asked [...] if he spoke with an Irish accent, she said it was mild, "except on occasions when he was having an argument with someone, and then he spoke with a very strong Irish accent".'[51] There is more than an element here of the internal double last seen in our discussions of the literary vampire, of a being who could pass as insider whilst concealing the fact that he was in fact, outsider, except for in times of stress when he revealed himself for what he really was, which is especially

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[48] Maunder, p. 12 and p. 15.
[49] Ibid, p. 15.
[50] Walt Whitman about Stoker, quoted in Belford, p. 45.
[51] Farson, p. 232.

important. The theme is continued in another Farson anecdote where he writes of hearing 'of one elderly woman who knew Florence and said that she used to be terrified when Bram wrote his horror novels because he "became" the personality he was writing about and behaved very strangely at home', an intriguing trait especially when considered alongside the fluctuating identities of *Dracula*.[52] Whether seen in positive or negative terms, then, Stoker's integrative ability so associated in these external perceptions with the question of his national identity is much commented on by his admirers and detractors alike. The latter, for their part, see this as a form of threat, distinct from the more obvious dangers posed by the Irish residuum to be sure, but a tangible threat nonetheless, and often all the more potent because of its insidious nature. And crucially linked to this ability to 'pass' is not just Stoker's status as hybrid Anglo-Irishman but also his role as a writer. With this in mind, Austin's assertion that Stoker would use his connection with Irving to boast of his 'literary endeavours', makes a greater degree of sense. For this American, the act of writing is but another, if particularly objectionable, example of Stoker's unjustly incorporated position in metropolitan society, an integration that is explicitly associated with the insidious nature of his nationality as perceived by others. It is a threat that is to be recognised and guarded against.

If Stoker is integrated into social structures of the *fin- de- siècle* metropolis, he is also very much a part of the specifically Anglo-Irish community of London, and particularly well connected to other Protestant Ascendancy writers living and working in the city. We have already mentioned the fact that Stoker knew the Wildes in Dublin. What needs to be added at this juncture is a continuation of this acquaintance in London with Wilde a regular visitor at the Lyceum. Belford, Farson and others recount an anecdote of how when Florence Stoker was making her stage debut at the Lyceum as a member of a chorus, Wilde sent his erstwhile love interest flowers through the intermediary of the Lyceum's leading lady Ellen Terry.[53] Shaw too, while working as a theatre critic, made frequent trips to the Lyceum to see Irving play, and Jack B. Yeats, brother to the poet William, painted Henry Irving's portrait. But more than this, Stoker, as well as Shaw, Yeats, and for a time Oscar, Willie and Lady Wilde, were all members of the Irish Literary Society, an association founded in London in 1892,

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[52] Ibid.
[53] Belford, p. 135.

with the explicit intent, 'To promote the study of the Irish Language and Literature, Art and Music, History and Economics, and to provide a common meeting ground for Irishmen and Irishwomen, irrespective of creed or politics.'[54] And it is Stoker's membership of such an organisation that provides us with our greatest indication yet of how he perceived of himself and his own national identity in London in our period.

Stoker it seems joined the I.L.S. at its inception, for he is listed as an 'Original Member' on the roll call of 1900, along with Charles Gavan Duffy, the M.P. T.P. O'Connor, Yeats, and the poet's great love interest, Maud Gonne. As a, 'highly popular centre of literary and social intercourse for the Irish in London', then, the I.L.S, with its meetings, lectures, society headquarters, and attendant publication, *The Irish Literary Society Gazette*, sought to encourage:

> All that is best in Irish literary, artistic and musical London may be said to be represented in the Irish Literary Society; we have amongst us poets, musicians, critics, historians, dreamers and practical men [...] On our death-roll are the names of men and women who have helped to re-create what is best in the Ireland of to-day, on our roll of the living are many who are shaping the Ireland of the future.[55]

Despite its ostensibly non-political stance, it is nevertheless implicated in the various discourses surrounding the Irish Question in late-nineteenth century Britain, most especially in its determined rehabilitation of the standing of the Irish national character. In a report on the organisation's programme of Irish history lectures, for example, reported on in the *Gazette*, we find that these were designed to combat the common supposition, 'by Englishmen, that till they brought over laws and social institutions, the Irish were sunk in barbarism'.[56] The article goes on to assert that, 'nothing is more difficult than to convince English people of the perfect and elaborate system of laws which governed the "mere Irish"'.[57] Similarly, the I.L.S.' series of talks on Irish music were deemed necessary lest, 'our English musical friends never forget that Irish missionaries

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[54] The majority of primary source material pertaining to the Irish Literary Society of London, its manifesto, members and activities, is now lost, but most of what does remain is housed at Special Collections, Boole Library, University College Cork. All subsequent references in this thesis to material pertaining to the I.L.S. or Stoker's involvement therein are to this collection. There is also some relevant material currently held at the National Library of Ireland, Dublin.
[55] *Souvenir Programme of the Coming of Age of the Irish Literary Society of London, 1892-1913* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1913).
[56] *Irish Literary Society Gazette*, Vol. 4:1 (June, 1899), p. 8.
[57] Ibid.

inaugurated plain-song at Lindisfarne, Durham, Lichfield, Malmesbury, Suffolk, Cornwall, and Glastonbury; that the Irish of the eleventh century invented the "Sonata" form'.[58] And in case the reader is left in any doubt as to the importance of such a statement, we are reminded that, 'If ever a nation should be proud of its musical history, then, indeed, Ireland's claim to pre-eminence is beyond all compare.'[59] Indeed, if there was ever any doubt as to the nationalist mission of the I.L.S. then we need only to turn to Charles Gavan Duffy's inaugural speech of 1893 and his hope to

> make of our Celtic people all they are fit to become-to increase knowledge among them, and lay its foundations deep and sure, to strengthen their convictions and enlarge their horizon; and to tend the flame of national pride, which, with sincerity of purpose and fervour of soul, constitute the motive power of our great enterprises.[60]

In terms of literary endeavours too, the I.L.S. had this to say about the writing of texts:

> For to-day our faces are turned in the only natural direction; we are looking to Ireland itself for stimulus; to Ireland's history and language; to her old association and her ancient literature. With so true a support, with a stimulus at once so natural and fresh, we may surely hope that the living impulse in Ireland to-day may yet clothe itself in forms peculiarly her own, that will renew her youth and restore her to her old place among the nations.[61]

It is against the backdrop of such rhetoric, then, that we must consider Stoker, something that previous scholarship of the author's biography has almost wholly neglected.[62] For while Stoker does not seem to have been as active a member as some of his fellow compatriots, it is true, his recurring membership of a society that sought to provide a community of Irish and Anglo-Irish writers and others living and working in London, and that defined Irish literature as literature *about*

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[58] *Irish Literary Society Gazette*, Vol. 7:1 (March, 1900), p. 6.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Quoted in '*Souvenir Programme of the Coming of Age of the Irish Literary Society of London, 1892-1913*, Special Collections, Boole Library, UCC, p. 3.
[61] *Irish Literary Society Gazette*, Vol. 10: 1 (March, 1901), p. 9.
[62] Stoker's membership of the I.L.S. is rarely mentioned by his various biographers, and if it is it is never presented as in any way noteworthy. However, while we do not have any evidence to suggest that the novelist played an active role in the society's business, *the Irish Literary Society, London: list of members, associates and honorary members 1900* (London: The Women's Printing Society, 1900), lists Stoker as an original member who renewed his subscription every year from 1892 until that date at least. Given what is known of the I.L.S.'s often overtly nationalistic agenda, Stoker's sustained membership of such an organisation must be a fundamental element in any study that seeks to explore Stoker's own sense of national self in turn-of-the-century London as this one does.

Ireland, itself tells us a great deal about this Anglo-Irish immigrant's national affiliations and the relationship these have to his sense of himself as a writer. It is in Stoker as a writer, after all, that thesis is ultimately concerned and so we now must turn to Stoker's own perceptions and constructions of himself in his own words and manifested through his writing to examine what insights we can glean from the national identity question as discussed by the writer himself and the impact any such observations might have on our reading of *Dracula* as imaginative autobiography in our next chapter.

III

This chapter has already mentioned at length the difficulty faced by many of Stoker's biographers in constructing a cohesive narrative of his life and self out of such little raw material, so few primary sources available. For while Stoker kept diaries, wrote correspondence, albeit chiefly on Lyceum business, and made working notes of his projects, most notably *Dracula*, as is to be expected given the period and context in which these were written, they ultimately offer little in the way of insight into Stoker's inner reality, his thoughts about himself, his personal life, and his view of his place in the society and culture in which he lived. [63] Readings of *Dracula* aside, then, the closest thing researchers have to traditional autobiographical information comes from asides or digressions in Stoker's non-fictional writings, most famously including the aforementioned *Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving*, where Stoker deviates from his discussions of Irving's story for a moment to supply some information about himself and his own opinions. In addition to this, there are also some lectures and non-fictional prose to draw from and it is to these that I wish to turn for a moment. For, moving to examine Stoker's introduction to the history and culture of the United States entitled *A Glimpse of America* and published in 1885 to coincide with the transatlantic Lyceum tour, interestingly enough, it is this text that give us our first reference by Stoker to questions of his own nationality, selfhood and his own view of his place amongst these textual formations.

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[63] See Eighteen-Bisang and Miller.

It is during a discussion of the differences between the United Kingdom and the United States that Stoker himself first makes explicit mention of the question of national affiliation, writing that:

> We Londoners have opportunities of witnessing, in our own daily life, the whole scheme of human existence. We have points of contact with as high a civilisation as the earth affords; and also, I fear, with here and there, as complete a system of savagery as distinguished those aborigines who won a place in history by resting on the outside of Captain Cook. [64]

The allusion here to 'we Londoners,' is one that is underlined by Stoker's later declaration that he, 'often felt chagrin at the thought that *we English* can never repay in any similar way this expression of American hospitality'.[65] Such utterances would seem to position Stoker as 'English' then, as a Londoner who felt himself at home enough in the metropolis to appreciate the internalised duality of the capital in the period, and, moreover, to offer a critique of it in comparison to the American cities he visited. But as will soon become apparent, it is not quite as simple as that.

In *Personal Reminiscences*, and amidst the often hagiographic depictions of Irving's life and career, Stoker recounts the story of how he himself cultivated a strong friendship with Alfred Lord Tennyson, then in his twilight years and ailing, visiting the poet at his home regularly to discuss poetry, politics and the act of writing. According to Stoker's narration, he was conversing with Tennyson one day when he was asked by the poet laureate, '"Are you Irish?" When I told him I was he said very sweetly: "You must forgive me. If I had known that I would not have said anything that seemed to belittle Ireland"', (Vol. 1, p. 231). Tennyson's apparent ignorance here of Stoker's own nationality would seem to fit the pattern already noted of Stoker apparently identifying as English, of keeping his national heritage secret and undisclosed, of succeeding in 'passing', of concealing his Otherness in another's eyes. And yet, for all that there is of course an element of covert self-promotion at work here that is firmly tied to issues of national representation. By including such a story in his biography of Irving, Stoker is here quietly affirming, but affirming nonetheless, the (Anglo-) Irish elements of his own national characterisation. Furthermore, by

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[64] Quoted in Farson, p. 72.
[65] Ibid, p. 76. My emphasis.

choosing such a well-respected, establishment figure to couch his story of national representation and to suggest that if he had known the reality of Stoker's own nationality he would not have spoken about the Irish situation in negative terms, Stoker is textually presenting himself as the reasonable, moderate and positively rendered Anglo-Irishman, and all the while subtly refuting the negative reputation of Ireland through his writing, a process already seen again and again in *The Snake's Pass* and *The Primrose Path*, in a concentrated act of national rehabilitation.

It is Watson that argues that at the close of the nineteenth-century that 'Irish [writers] finally took possession of the stereotype, modified the Celt into the Gael, and began that new interpretation of themselves'.[66] Such assertions are useful when discussing Stoker because this is not the only time that constructions of the Irish national character and its alliance in the popular perception with violence and negative stereotypes find their way into Stoker's non-fiction. Again in *Personal Reminiscences*, he describes how at the height of the Land War he used to often talk to Gladstone of political matters, and to this end, shortly after the publication of *The Snake's Pass*, he presented the prime minister with a copy (Vol. 2, p. 27). Gladstone later commended Stoker on the text, something that Stoker recalls with an obvious pride: 'Possibly it was that as Mr. Gladstone was then full of Irish matters my book, being of Ireland and dealing with Irish ways and specially of a case of oppression by a "gombeen" man under a loan secured as land, interested him for he had evidently read it carefully' (Vol. 2, p. 29). There is not a little self-promotion in the recounting of an anecdote that shows him to be on such intimate terms with the prime minister moreover one that shows Gladstone read and enjoyed Stoker's first novel proper. But more than this, in describing his giving Gladstone his novel, a novel rooted in 'Irish matters', Stoker is here drawing our attention to his own national identity in his writing; by textually highlighting his own claim to expertise in the area, he is here affirming his own status as Anglo-Irishman presenting his own view of the Irish situation in fiction as seen through the eyes of a self-acknowledged insider. He is here bringing together his national heritage with his role as a writer.

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[66] Watson, pp. 12-13.

Knowing that *The Snake's Pass* could count the British prime minister as part of its readership was undoubtedly gratifying for Stoker, underlining as it does one of the main reasons Stoker gives in the memoirs for moving to London; that of realising his literary ambitions in a thriving marketplace replete with many more opportunities than would have presented themselves within a domestic Irish context. Indeed, in a conversation with James Knowles, editor of *The Nineteenth Century*, Stoker was asked why a move to London was necessary, 'Could you not write, to me for instance, from Dublin?' (Vol. 1, p. 46). Stoker in response stated, 'Oh! Yes I could write well enough, but I have known that game for some time. I know the joy of the waste-paper basket and the manuscript returned unread' (Vol. 1, p. 46). The most significant aspect of the above conversation lies, however, in Stoker's counter question to Knowles, '"You are, if I mistake not, a Scotchman [...] And yet you came to London. You have not done badly either, I understand! Why did you come?"' (Vol. 1, p. 46). It is clear that Stoker sees certain parallels between his own and Knowles' statuses as Celtic outsiders possessed of the desire to live successfully in London. But more than this, the extract speaks to Stoker's desire to successfully advance his long-standing ambition to make it as a writer. The story of Stoker's 'Irish novel', as read by Gladstone, then, speaks directly to this wish, to advancement and integration into society, to an accepted and assimilated sense of selfhood, something that could be achieved through the process of textual creation.

In truth, explorations of national identity are never far from Stoker's own literary endeavours, charting as they do the core reality for the Anglo-Irish writer in the metropolis. To this end, there is a story in *Personal Reminiscences* that Stoker tells involving himself, Irving, a policeman, and the controversies surrounding Home Rule, and worth quoting at length because of the insights it offers into Stoker's creation of the Irish national character in our period and his own relationship to it as constructed. Stoker writes about how he and Irving were arguing about the merits or otherwise of the Home Rule struggle when out in London one day, a not unusual topic for discussion it would seem: 'Those were the early days in the Home Rule movement, and as I was a believer in it Irving was always chaffing me about it' (Vol. 1, p. 343). As they were conversing, Irving spied a policeman coming towards them and hailed the officer to come and tell them, as a true, 'Voice of England' what his thoughts on, 'this trouble in

Ireland' were. Stoker narrates the policeman's response as thus: "Ah, begob, it's all the fault iv the dirty Gover'mint!" He goes on:

> His brogue might have been cut with a hatchet. From his later conversation – for of course after that little utterance Irving led him on – one might have thought that the actor was an ardent and remorseless rebel. I came to the conclusion that Home Rule was of little moment to that guardian of the law; he was an out and out Fenian (Vol. 1, p. 344).

This policeman, like Stoker, has come from Ireland, an outsider in London who nevertheless has managed to 'pass' as a native to an actual insider like Irving. Indeed, in his capacity as constable he is entrusted with the very preservation of law and order in the capital, showing the extent to which he has infiltrated metropolitan structures. And yet, this particular policeman, by the sentiments he expresses, is not so much a mere supporter of the Home Rule initiative, but, as Stoker puts it, 'an out and out Fenian', a member of that class of Irish republican willing to achieve his ends through violence and terrorism against the British state that we encountered in *Punch* in Chapter Three. He, like Stoker, is an internalised double. His integration into London life is complete, no-one would suspect (until he opens his mouth that is), that this policeman is in fact Other, and moreover, an Other explicitly allied with a nationally positioned threat by the very establishment that employs him. And yet, for all their apparent similarities, in his textual reconstruction of the scenario Stoker sets himself apart from his fellow countryman, separated from him here by class, political conviction and an obvious signifier of an Irish nationality; a thick brogue that Stoker writes phonetically for this 'Voice of England', but which he does not apply to himself. In fact, he positions himself alongside Irving in regarding the policeman and his emphatic denouncement of government policy in Ireland with bemused detachment. It would seem, therefore, that Stoker ultimately reinforces negative stereotypes regarding the Irish threat for Britain, especially the evocation of Fenianism, in his portrayal of the Irish policeman in the capital.

There is much of the same narrative distancing at work in an earlier evocation of the Irish, this time within Ireland itself, in this text with Stoker's recollection of a time walking through the Phoenix Park in Dublin with Irving when they came across a wrestling match. Again, Stoker here identifies himself with his friend and against the other participants, distancing himself from his

countrymen on the basis of class, and also ethnicity: 'They did not know either of us, but they saw we were gentlemen, strangers to themselves, and with the universal courtesy of their race put us in front when the ring had been formed' (Vol. 1, p. 51). Because of his perceived distance from his subjects on economic, social, racial and probably thereby religious grounds, it is unsurprising that Stoker would therefore distance himself from this separate 'race' as he terms it. However, in almost all other respects, Stoker's depiction of these 'native' Irish plays against type. In his discussion of the fight itself, he frequently uses phrases such as, 'noble game' (Vol. 1, p. 52), and he is emphatic in his assertion that proceedings were 'unquestionably fair' (Vol. 1, p. 52). In fact, Stoker's text provides us with nothing but a positive endorsement of the entire experience:

> It was a lesson in fair play which might have shone out conspicuously in any part of the civilised world – or the uncivilised either if we do not 'count the grey barbarian lower than the Christian child'. (Vol. 1, p. 52)

In stark contrast to the enduringly negative stereotypes in our period of the violent, primitive and bestial Irish, this depiction of a boxing match involving members of the Irish peasantry is constructed as a model of decorum and civility. Stoker emphasises again and again the innate sense of justice of the Irish working-classes, of strong and noble moral conviction and of a fair and civilised nature. When Irving contributed some money to be used by the competitors as a prize for the victor, Stoker is at pains to point to the equal division of this fund amongst all of the fighters. The popular British perception of the Irish poor as degenerate; violent and morally reprehensible, engaged in terrorism and other acts of threat seen on the pages of *Punch* in previous chapters, is here rewritten by Stoker in a wholly positive light.

Like the subtle recovery of Irish national reputation in the passages involving Tennyson and Gladstone, and the more overt example of this in the anecdote just discussed, to say nothing of Stoker's first novel *The Primrose Path* discussed in Chapter Three, another important example of the rehabilitation of the Irish national character is to be found in the second volume of Stoker's memoirs of Irving, this time involving Irving and Ellen Terry, the most popular actress of her day. Prefacing the account by stating, 'I belong to a nationality to whose children "blarney" is supposed to be a heritage' (Vol. 2, p. 192), Stoker goes to recount how. during the Lyceum tour of the US in 1883, the Attorney

General of the United States, Benjamin H. Brewster was so effusive in his praise upon meeting Terry in Philadelphia, that he could be accused of precisely this. As already seen, the charge of 'blarney' in late-Victorian society was hardly a positive one, and on the face of it, the Attorney General, himself 'of an Irish family which had sent very prominent men to the Bar' (Vol. 2, p. 193), seems to be upholding negative national stereotypes of backwardness and incivility: 'Until one knew him and came under the magic of his voice, and tongue, his appearance was apt to concern one over-much. He was quaint in his dress, wearing frills on shirt-front and cuffs.' (Vol. 2, p. 193). By virtue of his ancestry, at least according to Stoker, the Attorney General described here is of Irish origin but integrated successfully into American society, to the highest echelons of the justice system in this case. Like Stoker, and the London police officer he is also houses an internal duality, with his outward appearance no indication of an inner reality. The reader is told that at first glance he appears unfashionable and 'quaint', that his peculiar dress sense may give 'concern'. Crucially however, this deceptive appearance belies a gift for oratory that turns the negative 'blarneying flattery' that Austin and Laurence Irving so derided in Stoker on its head. For in his effusive praise of Ellen Terry, a woman that British and indeed American society held in the highest regard, Stoker here transforms the negativity associated with Irish 'blarney' into an admirable and affirming character trait: 'When Ellen Terry had left the room he turned to us and said, with all the conviction which makes "blarney" so effective: "What a creature! What a Queen! She smote me with the sword of her beauty, and I arose her Knight!"' (Vol. 2, p. 193). The final thing to note here, of course, is Stoker's textual affirmation of his own national identity. In his declaration of, 'I belong to a nationality', Stoker here is proclaiming himself as (Anglo-) Irishman through the written word.

When perceived as Other, perceived as Irish in both the positive and negative characterisations of that designation, by those around him and who knew him to be so, it remains that for Stoker himself, the issue of national affiliation pervades much of his writing. In his own work, in his fiction as we have seen, and in his non-fiction, he both distances himself from the undesirable elements of the popular perceptions of the Irish race, but also often works to recover and redeem the (Anglo-) Irish national reputation in both overt and covert ways. Nationality, then, and in particular Irish or Anglo-Irish nationality is

a key textual preoccupation for Stoker throughout his oeuvre. As such, his work, both fiction and non-fiction is deeply invested in the question of national self-representation in literature, and of course, no work is as invested in this as *Dracula* and so it is to *Dracula* we now turn. Dracula as Stoker, Stoker as Dracula, true in a way that illuminates for us Stoker as an Anglo-Irish emigrant living and working in London, and the perceptions of those around him *of* him in the 1890s. 'There but not there, Stoker is now the unseen face in the mirror, the soulless invisible man, kin to the eternal outsider: the vampire.'[67] It is this textual paralleling that we must now explore.

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[67] Belford, p. x.

An Anglo-Irish Dracula

When we first meet the Count upon Harker's arrival in Castle Dracula, we are given a detailed physical description by the young solicitor of his strange new employer:

> His face was a strong – a very strong-aquiline, with high bridge of the thin nose and peculiarly arched nostrils; with lofty domed forehead and hair growing scantily round the temples, but profusely elsewhere. His eyebrows were very massive, almost meeting over the nose, and with bushy hair that seemed to curl in its own profusion. The mouth, so far as I could see under the heavy moustache, was fixed and rather cruel-looking, with peculiarly sharp white teeth; these protruded over the lips, whose remarkable ruddiness showed astonishing vitality in a man of his years. For the rest, his ears were pale and at the tops extremely pointed; the chin was broad and strong, and the cheeks firm though thin. The general effect was one of extraordinary pallor.[1]

In a by-now familiar construction, the vampire as rendered here is described in terms of contrasts, uniting in his one person both 'extraordinary pallor' and 'astonishing vitality'. For of course, it is Dracula's internalised contradiction, his fluctuating designation that moves here between youth and age, vigour and decay that creates the fluidity so suited to an expression of the Anglo-Irish national identity question. In an account steeped in the Victorian pseudo-science of physiognomy and thereby designed to alert the reader to the inherent untrustworthiness of the character it relates to, the physical characteristics of the Count as listed here allude to the association made by Cesare Lombroso amongst others between particular physical attributes and a proclivity to degeneracy or criminality.[2] Dracula's mouth is figured as 'cruel', his teeth are 'peculiarly sharp', his eyebrows are 'massive', and his ears are pointed.[3] But more than this, we find a whole host of physical characteristics here that simply do not make sense when

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[1] Bram Stoker, *Dracula*, ed. by Roger Luckhurst (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 20.

[2] See Chapter Three 'The (Anglo-) Irishman in the Metropolis', for a discussion of the various discourses of degeneration, physiognomy and miscegenation prevalent in the latter part of the nineteenth century, with an especial emphasis on the works of Cesare Lombroso and Max Nordau, and the relevance of this to the Irish and Anglo-Irish cases.

[3] See Judith Halberstam, 'Technologies of Monstrosity: Bram Stoker's *Dracula*', *Victorian Studies*, 36:3 (1993), pp. 333-52, for a discussion of the novel that uses the physical description of the Count found in the text to explore *Dracula*'s latent views on Jewishness and Jewish bodies. Monica Tomaszewska's article, 'Vampirism and the Degeneration of the Imperial Race – Stoker's Dracula as the Invasive Degenerate Other', *Journal of Dracula Studies*, 6 (2004), pp. 1-8, for an approach to the text that is similarly rooted in the Count's physical appearance.

viewed together, such as the ruddy vigour of the lips coupled with the paleness of the skin, the 'broad and strong' chin juxtaposed with the thin cheeks, the scarcity of hair on the head, but the profusion of it in other unspecified areas. For, for all the intricacy of such a finely detailed description, what is particularly striking about the above passage is in fact the lack of any concrete or reliable information it actually provides us with about Dracula himself. For all the indicators that are here presented, the inherent contradictions of youth and age and health and sickness that Stoker paradoxically unites in one body, make it impossible to form an accurate or consistent picture of the Count, despite the wealth of data provided; as Harker himself proclaims, 'What manner of man is this, or what manner of creature is it in the semblance of man?' (p. 35). Rather, the novel actively undermines the value of physical description at all by destroying the link between bodily signifiers and what they might logically or usually mean in this portrayal of Stoker's vampire double, making use of the discourse of physiognomy only to show how unworkable it ultimately is. In this most basic of ways, the multifarious and unstable nature of Stoker's own sense of national self, as Anglo-Irish emigrant writer in London is therefore mapped onto the inherent multifarious and unstable nature of this textual vampire.

This metamorphosing sense of the physical self is also apparent in another description Harker gives of the Count, after he has followed him to his chamber. The profoundly unsettling scene that confronts him there is presented as follows:

> He was either dead or asleep, I could not say which – for the eyes were open and stony, but without the glassiness of death – and the cheeks had the warmth of life through all their pallor, and the lips were as red as ever. But there was no sign of movement, no pulse, no breath, no beating of the heart. (p. 48)

Lying in his coffin and again constructed in inconsistent terms, the vampire represents impossibility, an unfeasible hybrid of binary oppositions united in one paradoxically functioning form. In a sustained act of textual transference of the uncertainty of his own national position, Stoker's description of his central character throughout the narrative is not so much misleading, then, as it is impossible. As Kathleen L. Spencer argues, 'in creating his vampire Count,

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Stoker has given to formlessness itself a form of continuing potency'.[4] David Glover, for his part, argues that 'the Count himself seems to occupy a space that is virtually beyond representation, an unmirrorable image, a force able to assume a multiplicity of forms, physiognomy's true vanishing point'.[5] It is not that the impression formed of Dracula is wrong, that it will have to be reassessed later, but rather that there is an immense problem forming any sensible impression at all, a narrative device that, as we have already seen, stems directly from the instability of the authorial national condition.

Suzanne Nalbantian, in her investigations of fictional life-writing, characterises the genre as, 'a mode of cognition and perception', a textual form that is born out of an active authorial engagement with the thematic crossovers between life as lived and art as created.[6] And, as the investigations of previous chapters will attest, in the mapping of Stoker's own conflicted sense of national selfhood, as experienced, onto his literary vampire, as textually evoked in *Dracula*, the foundations of a reading of the novel as an imaginative autobiography, as a fictional writing of the national self, are therefore established. For Dracula as textually constructed emphasises a national identity construction in literature that is forever in flux, that cannot be defined, that is always in question, and that therefore profoundly resembles the authorial situation of Stoker's own conflicted status as national Other in the *fin-de-siècle* metropolis, rendering the paralleling of selfhood between Stoker and Dracula as central to *Dracula* as a literary project. It has already been shown how both the Anglo-Irish writer and his vampiric doppelganger exist on the borders of normative society; Stoker by virtue of his national hybridity, a condition heightened and intensified by his status as emigrant, and Dracula, in his turn, by virtue of his inherently unstable Un-dead state as rendered, a condition that perpetually fluctuates between such apparently reliable categorisations as male and female, human and animal, alive and dead, Anglo and Irish. It has been shown too the points of the text that serve as anchors for such a strand of analysis; the Count's unexpected and covert appearance in the heart of London's bustling thoroughfares is one

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[4] Kathleen L. Spencer, 'Purity and Danger: Dracula, the Urban Gothic, and the Late-Victorian Degeneracy Crisis', *ELH*, 59:1 (1992), 197-225 (p. 221).

[5] David Glover, *Vampires, Mummies and Liberals: Bram Stoker and the Politics of Popular Fiction* (Durham and London: Duke, 1996), p. 74.

[6] Suzanne Nalbantian, *Aesthetic Autobiography: From Life to Art in Marcel Proust, James Joyce, Virginia Woolf and Anaïs Nin* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), p. 36.

moment that can trace its origins back to Stoker's own personal circumstances as immigrant in the turn-of-the-century capital. The vampire's proud monologue on his dynastic heritage to Harker at his castle in the Transylvanian mountains is another, and moreover, one that in its subject matter goes to the very heart of abiding Anglo-Irish national identity concerns of the latter half of the nineteenth century, as Elizabeth Grubgeld here makes plain:

> The family history thus frustrates what it sets out to attest: a correlation between its writer's life and a shared national history, a place within the social structure of the community, class status, and a hereditary nationality. If a troubled uncertainty about the future prevails in late-nineteenth- and early twentieth-century autobiography more generally, for most Anglo-Irish writers that anxiety takes the form of a conviction that one's world is about to disappear or has disappeared already.[7]

It is certainly not hard, then, to see here the equivalence between the inherent concerns of national identity positioning for Stoker as Anglo-Irish writer, 'a correlation' between this 'writer's life and a shared national history', a 'hereditary nationality', and the preoccupations of the literary vampire as described in this narrative. For, as has already been repeatedly noted, it is precisely this commonality or 'referentiality' between Stoker and his Dracula, between the author and a self-created textual version of himself, and through him his class, that allows us to think about the novel along specifically autobiographical lines. Manifesting Stoker's own integrated existence in London that was the focus of our discussions in Chapter Three, is the Count's capacity for social integration as textually rendered, his desire to assimilate into the community he threatens so that none would know him 'for a stranger' (p. 23). Indeed, in his ability to control and, more importantly, become various animals, Dracula channels the bestial discourse pertaining to the Irish immigrant. By feeding on the life energy as well as the blood of those he wishes to become/kill, Dracula evokes the threat attached of the assimilated (Anglo-) Irish immigrant like Stoker that was viewed with such suspicion by Laurence Irving in the last chapter. And if, as Laura Marcus contends, 'new developments in autobiographical writing focus on the interweaving of fact, fiction and myth, and also that of ethnic identities and identifications', then Dracula and indeed

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[7] Elizabeth Grubgeld, *Anglo-Irish Autobiography: Class, Gender and the Forms of Narrative* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2004), p. 16.

Dracula itself, present as ideal candidates for classification as an imaginative example of that mode. The novel's analogous evocation of Stoker's 'fractured sense of 'hereditary nationality' as Anglo-Irishman and as Anglo-Irish writer, and the aristocratic vampire's corresponding, yet equally problematic construction as shape-shifting and paradoxical Other, Stoker's *Dracula* therefore asserts its candidacy for inclusion within the bounds of national self-writing in the strongest of possible terms.[8]

As a character, then, Dracula is obviously the vehicle through which Stoker's preoccupation with the theme of national identity is inscribed and communicated, but it is important to note that the influence of this inscription is felt throughout the novel that bears his name, for *Dracula*, as a text, shares something of the vampiric duality that pervades its central character. So potent is the relationship between author and vampire in this regard that it impacts beyond itself and on the novel as a whole. For while the congruence between Stoker and Dracula is undoubtedly the heart of any assertion that the novel represents an autobiographical, albeit a displaced and Gothicized account of Stoker's own reality and situation as Anglo-Irish writer in the city, this thesis also ultimately contends that a truly comprehensive reading of the novel in this regard is not just confined to the core similarities between this particular writer and his vampire, that the literary evocation of Stoker's own sense of nationally conflicted selfhood is not limited to the character construction of Dracula alone but that it is *Dracula* as a whole that functions as Stoker's imaginative autobiography.

Evidence of the writing of Stoker's own national selfhood, his own experiences and his own life as lived, positively abound throughout this text, and in many cases, wholly apart from the vampire at all. For example, in a paralleling of Stoker's own dedicated research before writing *Dracula*, Harker tells us that he too, 'Having some time at [his] disposal when in London, [...] had visited the British Museum and made search among the books and maps of the library regarding Transylvania' (p. 5).[9] In terms of places mentioned in the novel, Stoker's own working notes tell us that 'before he was seduced by the charms of Whitby', a holiday destination for him and his family, he had 'assumed that his

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[8] Ibid, p. 291.
[9] For more information about Stoker's working method in writing *Dracula*, see Bram Stoker, *Bram Stoker's Notes for Dracula: A Facsimile Edition*, ann. and transcr. by Robert Eighteen-Bisang and Elizabeth Miller (Jefferson: MacFarland & Company, 2008).

vampire would enter England via Dover, which was the most common portal to London.'[10] He changed the setting after his visit there to accommodate his own fondness for the Yorkshire coast. We also find references to people known personally to Stoker scattered throughout the narrative. In a letter to Seward regarding the patient Renfield, we read a 'Report from Patrick Hennessey, M.D., M.R.C.S., L.K.Q.C.P.I., etc., etc.' (p. 145). The credentials listed here signify 'Doctor of Medicine, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, Licentiate of the King's and Queen's College of Physicians, Ireland'. 'As several editors have noted, these are the titles of Bram Stoker's eminent medical brother, Sir William Thornley Stoker'.[11] Ellen Terry makes an appearance in a newspaper report in the section of the novel relating to Lucy's targeting of children on Hampstead Heath: 'It is only in accordance with general principles of human nature that the "bloofer lady" should be the popular role at these al Fresco performances. Our correspondent naively says that even Ellen Terry could not be so winningly attractive as some of these grubby-faced little children pretend – and even imagine themselves – to be' (p. 166). And when Van Helsing tells the others that in relation to the vampire threat faced, '"I have asked my friend Arminius, of Buda-Pesth University, to make his record; and, from all the means that are, he tell me of what he has been."' (p. 224), Roger Luckhurst tells us that Arminius Valembry, 'an eminent Orientalist and linguist who was familiar with many dialects of Turkish in the Ottoman Empire and travelled widely through central Asia', 'had visited the Lyceum Theatre to see the play The Dead Hand in 1890,' and had made the author's personal acquaintance there. [12] Life as lived therefore enables art as created here in a variety of concrete and tangible ways that span out from the Stoker/Dracula pairing at their core. This work posits *Dracula* as Stoker's imaginative autobiography and *Dracula* as a textual project in its entirety accordingly proves truly illuminating in this regard. By broadening the initial starting point from the primary Stoker/Dracula pairing that forms the keystone of these explorations, then, many of the other elements of the novel, so intrinsic to many of the most important critical interpretations in *Dracula's* past

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[10] Ibid, p. 19.
[11] Luckhurst, note 145, p. 380.
[12] Ibid, note 224, p. 385.

can also be subjected to an Anglo-Irish interpretation with original, but far more importantly, nationally illuminating and constructive results.

In reading *Dracula* as a valid example of imaginative autobiography, then, as a textual form of national self-expression for Stoker, and through him, his class at the close of the nineteenth century, this chapter therefore uses the Dracula/Stoker pairing to think about how the commonality at the core of this relationship proves to be a dominant preoccupation of the novel as a whole. For in a text that creates such affinity between Stoker and Dracula on the grounds of a shared unstable identity it is only natural that the concept of identity itself, indeed of the very process of categorisation of the self in any shape or form, functions as an intensely problematic and all-encompassing trope in the text as a whole. To quote Marcus, in her positioning of the genre of autobiography itself as 'a topic, a resource and a site of struggle', it is 'the ultimate undecidability of the relationship between character as fixed and universal, and as shaped and particular [that] is a part of the general crisis around questions of character, identity, and subjectivity'.[13] Liam Harte takes this fluidity of categorisation even further by arguing that it is precisely the type of instability or conflict so central to the autobiographical form that has the capacity to present the writer with opportunity rather than obstacle, with the imaginative resources required by a literary project:

> such intimations of fracture and insufficiency can also become sources of creativity; the story of the self is narrated, despite the treacheries of language [...] the vacillating self, poised between definition and dispersal, enunciation and erasure, affirmation and dissolution. Repeatedly, we come upon acts of self-portraiture that show subjects taking a paradoxical delight in doubleness and ambivalence, even as they strive for self-completion, suggesting that the Irish autobiographical self is most itself in the very process of becoming.[14]

This is certainly true of *Dracula*, where the volatility of the Anglo-Irish national identity question is creatively mapped onto the insecurity of the treatment of the theme as a whole. Identity, then, or rather the indeterminacy of the identity question, serves here as both the chief preoccupation of *Dracula*, as *the* dominant theme that manifests in every facet of the text as constructed, as

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[13] Laura Marcus, *Auto/biographical Discourse: Criticism, Theory, Practice* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 9 and p. 25.
[14] *Modern Irish Autobiography: Self, Nation and Society*, ed. by Liam Harte (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 5.

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well as the core and abiding national condition that necessitates the creation of the novel in the first place. In this manner, the instability of identity formation functions here on a micro and a macro level, productively pervading all aspects of the narrative as constructed. It is the evocation of this core commonality between Stoker and his Dracula, then, of an especially fraught identity construction that is not restricted to singular characterisation but moves out from that to be rather deployed as an over-arching theme and pervasive narrative strategy that proves central to *Dracula* as a whole and to the investigations of this final chapter. The core anxiety surrounding identity, belonging and a sense of 'home', both literally and figuratively which permeates Stoker's other fiction and non-fiction that we have examined, sits at the very centre of what *Dracula* as a text is at its most broadly about. Indeed, according to Spencer, the novel in its entirety can be read as:

> an attempt to reduce anxiety by stabilizing certain key distinctions [...] between male and female, natural and unnatural, civilised and degenerate, human and non-human. At issue, finally, underneath all these distinctions, is the ground of individual identity, the ultimate distinction between self and other.[15]

Through the device of internalised duality, then, this anxiety surrounding the self, and how it may be constructed and deconstructed, infiltrates the wider elements of the plot, the form of the novel, and the resolution of the narrative in both overt and covert ways. In fact, all other characters are also epitomised by internalised contradiction, by the embodiment of seemingly opposed qualities within the one body that fundamentally problematises all attempts at classification, at stable identity designation, as will soon become apparent. To this end, the first and second sections here look closely at he obstacles surrounding stable characterisation in the novel, as well as issues of self-formation on a broader level, as an over-arching thematic and formal preoccupation that filters through to discussions of sexual indeterminacy, shifting morality, the opposition of heroes and villains and textual perspective. Mirroring the plotting of the novel itself, the final section of this chapter then returns again to Dracula, and to his final demise in his native place to consider what the conclusion of Stoker's novel

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[15] Spencer, p. 203.

may mean for our reading of the text as imaginative autobiography of Stoker as Anglo-Irish émigré writer in London.

I

If the inherent similarities between Stoker and his textual vampire mark the starting point of an exploration of the novel as imaginative autobiography, then it is important to note that much of the core correspondence between authorial condition and Dracula is broadened out to include the other characters in the text. The three vampire women who happen upon Jonathan in an unfamiliar part of the castle, for example, are described so problematically that the reader is initially unsure as to whether they exist at all, whether they are objectively real or instead the mere external projection of Jonathan's own repressed and unconscious sexual desires: 'In the moonlight opposite me were three young women, ladies by their dress and manner. I thought at the time I must be dreaming when I saw them, for, though the moonlight was behind them, they threw no shadow on the floor' (p. 38). As he did with the Count, Harker goes on to describe in detail the physical appearance and great beauty of these three women but, as is consistently the case with Dracula, this is all the while destabilised by:

> something about them that made me uneasy, some longing and at the same time some deadly fear [...] They whispered together, and then all three laughed-such a silvery musical laugh, but as hard as though the sound never could have come through the softness of human lips. It was like the intolerable, tingling sweetness of water glasses when played on by a cunning hand. (p. 38)

These vampire women are therefore introduced in terms no less ambiguous than is the case with their progenitor. And like their creator, they make no sense. They do not obey the laws of physical reality, existing somewhere between the states of dreaming and waking; they have the appearance of women but they are frequently compared to inanimate objects like water glasses and are portrayed in such a way as to throw any attempt at classification such as gender into immediate question: 'I am alone in the castle with those awful women. Faugh! Mina is a woman, and there is naught in common. They are devils of the Pit!' (p. 52). In their behaviour too, and in Harker's reaction to their actions, they wholly embody contradiction, inconsistency and indeterminacy:

> I was afraid to raise my eyelids, but looked out and saw perfectly under the lashes. The fair girl went on her knees and bent over me, fairly gloating. There was a deliberate voluptuousness which was both thrilling and repulsive [...] I could feel the soft, shivering touch of the lips on the supersensitive skin of my throat, and the hard dents of two sharp teeth, just touching and pausing there. I closed my eyes in a languorous ecstasy and waited – waited with beating heart. (p. 39)

In a familiar psychoanalytic trope, and one in which scholars of this approach have used as evidence of Stoker's own repressed sexual urges, the imprisoned clerk here both desires and fears the female vampires; their encounter with him always hovers somewhere between an attack and seduction, meaning that they cannot be categorised without significant difficulty. Nothing at all is known about their pasts; indeed, the reader is never even told their names. Outward beauty is no guarantee of inner beautiful natures, then, but more than this, the very concept of identity for these characters is figured as unknown. In the same way as Dracula is figured as both servant and master, host and captor, man and monster, Anglo-Irish, the women in the castle, if they can indeed be termed women at all, are both deadly and desirable, they repulse their human 'victim' as much as they excite and entice him, and in their movement between vamp and vampire, between temptress and threat of a wholly different kind, these nameless creatures ultimately fail to embody anything at all.

It is Lucy Westenra as Dracula's most noteworthy victim, of course, that serves as the most obvious example of an internalised human double in the novel. Initially introduced into the narrative with a face 'of unequalled sweetness and purity' (p. 202), her straightforward characterisation as the paradigm of Victorian femininity is undercut by covert sexual desires unrecognised and unsanctioned by the society in which she lives. In a letter to Mina, discussing her recent engagement to Arthur Holmwood after three separate marriage proposals, she declares her regret that society dictates she is only permitted to marry one of her suitors, 'Why can't they let a girl marry three men, or as many as want her, and save all this trouble? But this is heresy, and I must not say it' (p. 58). Lucy's dangerous sensuality is further alluded to when the reader learns she has been sleepwalking outside in her nightclothes, perhaps in an unconsciously transgressive desire at night to shirk the rules that bind her by day. Such nocturnal wanderings are repeatedly characterised in terms of jeopardy; Lucy's

mother, Mina tells us, 'has got an idea that sleep-walkers always go out on roofs of houses and along the edges of cliffs' (p. 70), while Mina herself, when she discovers Lucy gone, is as concerned for her moral character as she is for her physical wellbeing: 'filled with anxiety about Lucy, not only for her health, lest she suffer from the exposure, but for her reputation lest in case the story should get wind' (p. 88). With this in mind, it is highly significant that it is on one such occasion of somnambulism that Lucy first encounters the Count and begins her descent into vampirism, a degenerative process only made possible because of the Madonna/whore dichotomy at the core of her character as constructed. It is Lucy's blood combined with her illicit sexual desires that sustain the vampire on his nightly visitations to her bedroom, and when the reader later learns that the Un-dead cannot enter a house of the living unless expressly invited on the first occasion, the implication is that Lucy herself has bid him come, and come he does to suck her dry. Furthermore, the implicit sexual undertones that underline such nightly visits are further heightened when, through the vampire's attentions, Lucy does indeed get her wish for intimacy with all three of her suitors as each of the young men, along with Van Helsing, give up their blood to her in secret and sexually charged transfusions in an attempt to save her life. Indeed, the carnal implications of this exchange of bodily fluids is so overt that her fiancé Arthur must be kept unaware of the efforts of his friends for, the reader is told, 'It would at once frighten him and enjealous him, too' (p. 121).

In the internalised oppositions of her character and in her absorption of the life-force of numerous other characters, Lucy therefore exhibits many of the characteristics of the vampire state even whilst still living. Moreover, when she finally does die and rise again as the Un-dead, her sexually predatory nature is hardly a surprise: 'The sweetness was turned to adamantine, heartless cruelty, and the purity to voluptuous wantonness' (p. 196). And of course, neither too, is the overtly sexualised manner in which the members of the Crew of Light take it upon themselves to ensure her final death:

> The Thing in the coffin writhed; and a hideous, blood-curdling screech came from the opened red lips. The body shook and quivered and twisted in wild contortions; the sharp white teeth champed together til the lips were cut and the mouth was smeared with a crimson foam. But Arthur never faltered [...] his untrembling arm rose and fell, driving deeper and deeper the mercy-bearing stake, whilst the blood from the pierced heart welled and sputtered up around it. (p. 201)

In a scene much commented on by scholars of the novel because of its 'misogynistic violence', critics are keen to point out that when Dracula himself eventually meets his demise at the end of 'Jonathan's great knife' (p. 350), he is subjected to no such drawn-out and detailed death. Maud Ellmann, for her part, likens it to 'a gang rape', discussing how, 'Lucy seems to revel in this penetration, writhing and foaming in a grotesque parody of orgasm'.[16] But far from the circumstances of Lucy's staking here representing irrefutable evidence of Stoker's own sexist agenda, of an emphatic elimination of the threat of *fin-de siècle* female sexuality, Lucy's rebirth as Un-dead and the attendant circumstances of her final death may be seen as in keeping with inherently opposed tendencies that made up her human identity. In other words, Lucy's experiences as a vampire derive from that that is already present in her nature – her innate and subversive sexual desires, something that her vampirism merely highlights but does not create. In reminding us of Mina's concern for her friend, and particularly her friend's dubious morality, ever before the advent of Dracula or his attentions, Phyllis A. Roth notes that 'only when Lucy becomes a vampire is she allowed to be "voluptuous", yet she must have been so long before, judging from her effect on men and from Mina's description of her'.[17] Lucy is not here transformed into something Other than herself; her sensuality is merely magnified, not originated in her conversion into vampire, and the manner of her ultimate demise in this regard is in keeping with this construction.

Lucy is a prime example of internalised contradiction in that, like Dracula and his vampire companions, she paradoxically embodies opposed characteristics with ease. Like the Count, and indeed Stoker, her identity as presented in the novel is undermined by her tendency to subvert all usual categorisations of self in the first place. In a letter to Mina she discusses Dr Seward's 'curious habit of looking one straight in the face, as if trying to read one's thoughts' (p. 54), and believes that he will have difficulty doing this to her because she is 'a tough nut to crack' (p. 54). She then she poses the intriguing question, 'Do you ever try to read your own face? *I do*, and I can tell you it is not a bad study, and gives you more trouble than you can well fancy if you have never tried it' (p. 54). Lucy's

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[16] Bram Stoker, *Dracula*, ed. by Maud Ellmann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. xxvi.
[17] Phyllis A. Roth, 'Suddenly Sexual Women in *Dracula*', in *Dracula: The Vampire and the Critics*, ed. by Margaret L. Carter (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1988), p. 59.

preoccupation with reading herself, or more accurately, her difficulty in performing this act, her inconclusive results when she attempts to derive stable meaning from her own face in the mirror, parallel Harker's description of Dracula and the vampire sisters as detail rich but ultimately unreadable, and thereby unknowable.

Destabilising and undermining as this is of the reader's grasp of the narrative, it is only to be expected in relation to the inherently ambiguous character of the Anglo-Irish vampire, constructed as it is to reflect the ambiguities of Stoker's own national condition.[18] And yet, Mina Harker, the dutiful wife of Jonathan and the shining representative of virtue for the rest of the 'Crew of Light', is rendered as problematically as her friend if we care to look. In terms of her physical appearance and its relation to a closer sense of self, 'Madam Mina' too represents an indiscernible paradox, with the mark scorched on her forehead by Van Helsing's application of the Host after she has drunk of Dracula's blood, the only aspect of her physiognomy that the reader is privy to. According to herself, this marks Mina as unclean and unfit to remain in the company of her husband and the other men, an assertion that is granted greater force as she begins her slow transformation towards the vampire state and develops a newfound psychic link with the vampire that both fed from and fed her; a strong, almost empathic bond that the others cannot rid her of no matter what they do. Ken Gelder counters that 'she shares the most intimate moment with Dracula himself – a moment she repudiates soon afterwards in front of Van Helsing and the others, but which also allows her to feel (as no other character does) "pity" for the vampire whose blood she has tasted and who she is now helping to destroy'.[19] But physical signifiers have been seen to manifest as unreliable signposts in this narrative, and Mina's growing internal vampirism does not negate her emotional bonds with or her loyalty to her husband and his friends, and her desire to help them in any way she can as she uses her connection with the Count to locate the fleeing vampire back to the safety and obscurity of the East. Despite, or rather perhaps because of, the red mark that

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[18] See Chapter Four, '"We of Dracula Blood": The Evolution of the Victorian Literary Vampire' and especially my reading of J.S. Le Fanu's 'Carmilla' and the importance of the vampire's ambiguity to an Anglo-Irish reading of the story.

[19] Ken Gelder, *Reading the Vampire* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 79.

brands her as cursed, Mina proves herself wholly committed to its opposing cause and subverts any expectations engendered by her physical appearance.

Mina embodies a multiplicity of physical identities, then, and so too do her associates, rendering all senses of self as portrayed in Stoker's *Dracula* as unstable and indeterminate as the Anglo-Irish author himself. Like Cousin Monica/Lady Knollys in Le Fanu's *Uncle Silas*, Arthur Holmwood is also Lord Godalming, an aristocrat, in an age when both extremes of the social scale – the residuum and the nobility, are significantly allied with discourses of degeneration. Furthermore, the superficially watertight respectability of the other characters is frequently called into question. As a man of medicine, Dr Seward presides over a lunatic asylum at the unusually young age of twenty nine, but his frequent exclamations over his own fears of going mad undercut his position as that of safely distant and distinct from the inmates he governs and the sane proprietor of the establishment. His close dealings with the inmate Renfield, who also subverts any clear classification as a 'madman' with moments of important lucidity: 'Don't you know that I am sane and earnest now; that I am no lunatic in a mad fit, but a sane man fighting for his soul?' (p. 230), as well as the fact that his asylum adjoins Carfax, one of the houses that Dracula buys to store his coffins of earth in London, further undermines the veneer of respectability and sanity that Seward works so hard to project. The distance between the identities so painstakingly constructed by the human characters in the text and the vampiric Other that subverts all usual methods of classification or stable designation is not, then, as wide as it may first appear. And if through the literary evocation of the volatility of the Anglo-Irish national identity question, the characters of the novel are consistently destabilised by their incongruous constructions of selfhood on an individual level, then collectively they are also complicit in the treatment of thematic instability in the novel as a whole, as the text moves from a specific character-based hybridity to broader textual interrogations of such issues as sexuality and gender, narrative strategy and, particularly central to our concerns, the fraught matter of nationality, of racial and ethnic affiliation.

II

One of the most obvious manifestations of the Anglo-Irish vampire's hybridised nature is the Count's ability to disrupt sexual category boundaries between male and female, for while figured ostensibly as male, his ability to create new vampires (there is no evidence in the text that the female members of his species can do this) problematises easy biological definitions in that he literally gives birth, as it were, to Un-Dead life. In relation to sexual characteristics, Gelder argues that, 'the vampire crosses gender relations here, being simultaneously patriarchal (dominating, sadistic) and yet – producing the "thin open wound" – expressing the sexuality that denies phallocentric power in its mutilation, taking thereby on the role of women as conceived by the narrators'.[20] The scene in the novel when Dracula vamps Mina, with the image presented of her as a kitten forced to drink milk from a saucer, further reinforces the concept of the Count as somehow feminised, for it is the mother's milk Mina is forced to drink here that will initiate her transformation into the vampire state. Equally, however, Mina's absorption of Dracula's blood on her marriage bed, with her husband lying fixed in a stupor beside her, may also be easily interpreted in terms of an illicit heterosexual encounter, with the vampire's desires for the women of England one of the most threatening aspects of his invasion campaign: 'your girls that you love so much 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' (p. 285). And yet, Dracula's heterosexuality has been called into question by critics like Gelder, who see the Count's primary interest to lie in Jonathan Harker in distinctly homosocial if not homosexual terms. The vampire's enraged proclamation after the failed attack/seduction of Harker by the vampire women in the castle, is thus regarded in a broader context in which the vampire uses the women of middle-class England to get to the men. This is a text, 'where men can touch each other only through their women', and Dracula's desires in this regard are anything but straightforward.[21]

In terms of their gender constructions too, the human characters do not completely embody their prescribed social roles as paragons of assertive Victorian masculinity, with Harker in particular blurring the boundaries between

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[20] Ibid, p. 72.
[21] Ibid, p. 76.

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male and female spheres with his imprisonment at Castle Dracula, his passivity in the face of the female vampire's attack, his descent into nervous illness following his undisclosed escape and his subsequent hysterical relapse when he re-encounters the Count in Piccadilly all figuring him, in contrast to his wife with her 'man's brain', as undesirably feminised:

> He was very pale, and his eyes seemed bulging out as, half in terror and half in amazement, he gazed at a tall, thin man [...] The poor dear was evidently terrified at something – very greatly terrified; I do believe that if he had not had me to lean on and to support him, he would have sunk down [...] After a few minutes' staring at nothing, Jonathan's eyes closed, and he went quietly into a sleep, with his head on my shoulder. (p. 172)

Such gendered indeterminacy is matched by the blurring between hetero – and homosocial if not homosexual relations, with Glover arguing that, 'In Stoker's writing there is a persistent yet deeply troubled attempt to reimagine the terms of heterosexual subjectivity, its desires and perversions, often mixing bold ideas with a measure of ambiguity, as if it were somehow perilous to press his conclusions too far.'[22] And of course, in terms of an explicit Anglo-Irish dimension, the spectre of fellow Anglo-Irish émigré Oscar Wilde looms large over discussions of this kind, not least because as Alexandra Warwick argues, 'the recent trials [...] in 1895 had raised anxieties that homosexuality actually constituted an identity, and worse, that these unspeakables were difficult to distinguish by sight from 'normal' population'.[23] In many ways, Wilde stands as the archetypal internalised double, the covert Anglo-Irishman embroiled in a secret life in terms of nationality and of course, sexuality. To this end, Nina Auerbach and Talia Schaffer both regard the novel as directly engaging with Wilde's disgrace, with Auerbach concluding that Dracula's 'primary progenitor is not Lord Ruthven, Varney or Carmilla, but Oscar Wilde in the dock [...] As a result of the trials, affinity between men lost its fluidity. Its tainted embodiment, the homosexual, was imprisoned in a fixed nature, re-created as a man alone, like Dracula, and, like Dracula, one hunted by the "stalwart manliness" of normal citizens'.[24] Schaffer, for her part, goes so far as to argue that *Dracula* represents

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[22] Glover, pp. 2-3.
[23] Alexandra Warwick, 'Vampires and the empire: fears and fictions of the 1890s', in *Cultural Politics at the Fin de Siècle*, ed. by Sally Ledger and Scott McCracken (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 208.
[24] Nina Auerbach, *Our Vampires Ourselves* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), p. 84.

Stoker's textual and clandestine engagement with the fate of his compatriot, and his sympathy and perhaps even identification, on some level at least, with his situation, 'avoiding the crude binary options of openness and reticence, the cruel choice between writing and silence, he produced a text that spoke about Wilde in a diffused, hidden, flowing and distorted way', or, to put it slightly differently; 'Dracula reproduces Wilde in all his apparent monstrosity and evil, in order to work through this painful popular image of the homosexual and eventually transform it into a viable identity model'.[25]

Such analysis is undoubtedly valuable and productive but while Schaffer points to the hidden commonality between Stoker and Wilde on the grounds of a hidden sexual sympathy, Wilde's status as covert Anglo-Irishman, as a vehicle of a subversive threat, also speaks to Stoker's fears about perceptions of his own national, rather than specifically sexual identity especially when the close relationship between the two is considered. Wilde was eventually found out of course, not as a national Other it is true, but the main charge that was levelled at him during the trial was that he led a double life, and that the dark underbelly of his Other self found its way onto the pages of his fiction.[26] In *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, the duality, internalised contradiction and instability of Wilde's own experience was therefore seen to be mapped onto the tale of a man living a double life, of a young and beautiful aristocrat concealing an ugly and debased soul, whose flawless outward appearance masks an inner nature that is revealed only in his portrait, in an artistic rendering of the self. However, its real significance lies in the way it deals with what O'Connor terms national 'self-identity fashioning'.[27] It is Dorian's duality, his hybrid status as both man and monster, that is the best manifestation of the novel's preoccupation with national as well as sexual identity and its textual mapping of the author's own concerns.

As Wilde himself straddles the categories of insider and interloper, Anglo and Irish, famous and infamous in late-Victorian London, Wilde's protagonist walks similarly unstable lines between muse and murderer, between 'Prince

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[25] Talia Schaffer, '"A Wilde Desire Took Me": The Homoerotic History of *Dracula*', in Bram Stoker, *Dracula*, ed. by Nina Auerbach & David J. Skal (New York: Norton, 1997), p. 471.
[26] See Merlin Holland, *Irish Peacock and Scarlet Marquess: The Real Trial of Oscar Wilde* (London: Fourth Estate, 2004), and Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, ed. by Michael Gillespie (New York: Norton, 2006), for discussions of the details of Wilde's trials.
[27] O'Connor, p. 198.

Charming' (p. 159), and 'a satyr' with 'the eyes of a devil' (p. 132). The final passage of the novel in which the painting is discovered by Dorian's servants illustrates this dichotomy perfectly:

> When they entered, they found hanging upon the wall a splendid portrait of their master as they had last seen him, in all the wonder of his exquisite youth and beauty. Lying on the floor was a dead man, in evening dress, with a knife in his heart. He was withered, wrinkled, and loathsome of visage. It was not till they had examined the rings that they recognized who it was. (p. 188)

Dorian's inner duality, then, his concealed but conflicted core identity, is a theme at the very heart of the novel. And it is in this textual evocation of the Anglo-Irish condition, then, that Dorian Gray stands alongside Dracula, for 'Stoker's imaginative identification with Wilde', the manner in which he 'simultaneously explores Wilde as monster, and identifies with the real Wilde's pain', writing 'as a man victimized by Wilde's trial, and yet as a man who sympathizes with Wilde's victimization', goes to the heart of what *Dracula* as imaginative autobiography is about.[28]

The textual incongruities in the treatment of sexuality and gendered identities are also to be found in one of the most basic sets of oppositions in the narrative, that between what is 'good' and 'evil', with the line between apparent moral oppositions constructed as a fine and fluid one. Carol A. Senf makes the point that the 'good' characters in this text engage in an awful lot of subversive and at times, illegal, activity, breaking into private properties on numerous occasions, loitering in cemeteries at night, infiltrating sealed vaults and digging up corpses. They also consciously avoid encountering a policeman on Hampstead Heath after they discover one of Lucy's child victims, for fear of having to explain their own involvement in the situation, and they fail to report crimes to the police. Far from representing the ideal Victorian citizen, the protagonists of this text are in fact much closer to the vampire they seek to eradicate than it would at first appear, for:

> even if Dracula is responsible for all the Evil of which he is accused, he is tried, convicted, and sentenced by men (including two lawyers) who give him no opportunity to explain his actions and who repeatedly violate the laws which they profess to be defending: they avoid an inquest of Lucy's death, break into her tomb and desecrate her body, break into Dracula's

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[28] Schaffer, p. 472.

houses, frequently resort to bribery and coercion to avoid legal involvement, and openly admit that they are responsible for the deaths of five alleged vampires.[29]

Upon their attempt to break into one of the Count's houses in Piccadilly, Arthur argues against Harker accompanying them; '"You had better not come with us in case there should be any difficulty; for under the circumstances it wouldn't seem so bad for us to break into an empty house. But you are a solicitor, and the Incorporated Law Society might tell you that you should have known better."'(p. 277). He goes on, '"Besides, it will attract less attention if there are not too many of us. My title will make it all right with the locksmith, and with any policeman that may come along."' (p. 277). Paradoxes in terms of their personal and social morality, then, these men appear to support and uphold the dictates of the social structures such as the law, but in reality, it is their very knowledge of these structures that provides them with the very means of subverting and circumnavigating their demands. More importantly, it is of course through the eyes of this group of characters that the reader ultimately experiences the novel.

Like its eponymous hero, and indeed its nationally-conflicted author, *Dracula* encompasses a multiplicity of identities – there is no clear or unified authorial voice but a collection of divergent discourses, viewpoints and experiences that all combine to further emphasise the instability of identity as a fixed or knowable concept. To this end, Senf's assertion that: 'Dracula is never seen objectively and never permitted to speak for himself while his actions are recorded by people who have determined to destroy him, and who, moreover, repeatedly question the sanity of their quest', has important implications for how the reader positions themselves in terms of their own moral sympathies in relation to the text.[30] Removed from the narrative by time and by a number of authorial viewpoints, none of which represent Dracula himself, like Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent*, the text presented is not even the first-hand account of the events it describes, but rather an amalgamation of a number of different perceptions of events, initially transcribed by Mina and later edited into one document. The binary constructions of text are therefore rendered more and more

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[29] Carol A. Senf, *The Vampire in Nineteenth-Century English Literature* (New York: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1988), p. 425.
[30] Ibid, p. 424.

unreliable, something that becomes even more evident when the reader turns to the anonymous editorial note that opens the novel:

> How these papers have been placed in sequence will be made clear in the reading of them. All needless matters have been eliminated, so that a history almost at variance with the possibilities of latter-day belief may stand forth as simple fact. There is throughout no statement of past events wherein memory may err, for all the records chosen are exactly contemporary, given from the standpoints and within the range of knowledge of those who made them.[31]

Indeed, in constructing the Preface as he does, Stoker evokes the prominent Anglo-Irish authorial technique already encountered in texts ranging from *Rackrent*, to *Melmoth the Wanderer*, from *Uncle Silas* and 'Carmilla'.[32] Here employed to destabilise the idea that any one meaning may be derived from the inherently subjective nature of the text as presented, it disrupts the credibility of the authorial voices that impart the narrative to us, writing as they are only 'from the standpoints and within the range of knowledge of those that made them'. In light of this instability, then, the question of reader identification is rendered as intensely problematic. Troy Boone sees 'the text's relation to Harker's values [as] ironic and critical', an assertion that gains in credibility when a closer examination of the text renders the authorial sympathy with the middle-class Londoners more than a little unstable.[33]

The previous chapter noted how Joseph Valente has argued that the authorial and reader's sympathies do not reside solely and simply with the heroes of the text, and against the vampire intruder, but rather that, 'poignantly aware from his own experience that the face of the vampire is the hidden side of the human character, Stoker creates unreliable narrators to tell a tale, not of the overcoming of Evil by Good, but of the similarities between the two'.[34] Stopping to consider how the 'good' characters here are often not very good at all, how it is their failure, according to Senf, to recognise their own intrinsic similarities to the vampire threat that compels them to kill him, and that Dracula, far from presenting a contrapositional force, manifests instead as what is already present

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[31] Bram Stoker, *Dracula*, ed. by Roger Luckhurst, unnumbered page.
[32] See Chapter One 'Writing the Nation: The Anglo-Irish Ascendancy and the Question of National Identity', for a discussion of the Editor in Maria Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent*, pp. 70-73.
[33] Troy Boone, '"He is English and therefore adventurous": Politics, Decadence and *Dracula*', *Studies in the Novel*, 25:1 (1993), 76-91 (p. 79).
[34] Senf, p. 431.

in their natures; various desires for sex, money and power, cloaked in the socially acceptable avenues of professionalism and courtship, the reader finds that it is not easy here to separate the two groups into oppositions, however it may ostensibly appear.[35] Auerbach, for her part, contends that with the writing of *Dracula*, the intimacy that the literary vampire had hitherto enjoyed with human society is eradicated, that the closeness of Ruthven, Varney and Carmilla to their victims/friends is replaced by a detached desire for conquest, a firm divergence of vampire and human interests into branches of irreconcilable difference, writing that, 'before Dracula, vampires embodied forbidden ideals of intimacy; after Dracula, they moved to America and turned into rulers'.[36] However, as the primary literary vehicle for Stoker's own identity concerns, his own internalised duality as Anglo-Irish Other, and his anxiety regarding his position, his sense of place in relation to the wider collective, the Count's inherent similarity to the supposed champions of the narrative shows a move towards the imaginative integration of the literary vampire from a position of difference to similarity. *Dracula* is a novel that because of its preoccupation with a sense of self, how it is constructed, maintained and received by society at large, is firmly rooted in that same society. The Count's dearest wish may be to conquer a new territory but he wants to do this by breaking down the (sexual, social, national) barriers between himself and the other characters. It is integration and not antagonism that will ensure his survival if anything can at all, a reality that speaks directly to Stoker's own national position as a member of an endangered and embattled class.

Charles Stewart Parnell once wrote that 'Ireland is not a geographical figment, she is a nation', by which he meant that physical boundaries and borders do not in themselves create 'Ireland' but that the Irish 'nation' is something more than this, something constructed or *imagined* in a different way.[37] To this end, the manner in which the fundamentally fractured construction of a national selfhood is to imagined in *Dracula's* fluctuating characterisation, thematic inconsistencies and contradictory narrative strategies has already been discussed. This is, after all, a text in which binary oppositions are dismantled, in which the simple oppositions of good vs. evil, Us vs. Other are repeatedly pulled apart to

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[35] Ibid, pp. 428-29.
[36] Auerbach, p. 94.
[37] Quoted in Ulick O'Connor, *Celtic Dawn: A Portrait of the Irish Literary Renaissance* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1984), p. 31.

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reveal a world of complexity and sliding classifications. Upon closer inspection it becomes apparent that there is no straightforward conflict in this text; rather the novel as imaginative autobiography sets about demolishing all simple cases of opposites in a narrative action born directly out of the migrant Anglo-Irish writer's own sense of his conflicted cultural condition. As Sean Ryder contends:

> To make a life into a narrative [...] is to bring the apparently incoherent fragments of experience under the controlling structure of a story that has a beginning, a middle and an end. The anxiety produced by the sense that life may be essentially fragmentary, a disconnected flux of experience, is dissipated by the presence of a reflective autobiographical narrative voice. This voice has a comforting confidence in its ability to tell the truth and to discern the essential pattern or meaning of life.[38]

As an example of imaginative autobiography, then, Stoker's novel is deeply invested in the national identity question, and in its sustained commitment to the creative rendering of the inherent instability of identity designations it may be read as a textual attempt to engage with the nationally conflicted status of author and his class. In relation to the structures of statehood, for example, 'Stoker's text, for all its apparent "reification" of dominant political beliefs, exposes the dangers of failing to challenge their authority: his *fin-de-siècle* supernatural fiction constructs an aesthetics of instability to suggest that new *siècles* demand new and alternative visions of experience'.[39] To quote Liam Harte, the narrative mode presents itself as an ideal to process such concerns:

> the complex relationship between language and identity lies at the heart of this discursive problematic. What shadows many of the texts under discussion here is the unsettling position that the putative nation may be no more than a rhetorical fiction, as insubstantial and unstable as the (de)composing self, may in fact be no more than an effect of the process of writing.[40]

In terms of the explicit exploration of the concept of national identity in the novel, then, Van Helsing and Quincey Morris stand as quintessential foreigners and as substitute evocations of the colonial Irish situation, both may be regarded as Other if the central and stable opposition in the text is perceived to exist between England and the dangerous territories that lie beyond its borders. In keeping with

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[38] Sean Ryder, '"With a Heroic Life and a Governing Mind": Nineteenth-Century Irish Nationalist Autobiography, in *Modern Irish Autobiography: Self, Nation and Society*, ed. by Liam Harte (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 15.
[39] Boone, p. 89.
[40] Harte, *Modern Irish Autobiography*, p. 5.

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[40] Harte, *Modern Irish Autobiography*, p. 5.

by-now established patterns in the novel, both men evade easy characterisation for although allied with the middle-class Englishmen in their fight against the vampire, their actions in many ways are anything but clear-cut. Van Helsing in particular is problematic in this regard; for throughout the text he marks himself as overtly Other with his peculiar diction, his professed Catholicism and of course, his detailed, unexplained and possibly suspect knowledge of vampirism itself, 'There are such beings as vampires; some of us have evidence that they exist. Even had we not the proof of our own unhappy experience, the teachings and the records of the past give proof enough for sane peoples' (p. 220). Quincey Morris, too, has been the subject of critical debate in which some scholars, Franco Moretti included, seek to position him as in league with Dracula because of his ambiguous response to the vampire in a number of key situations.[41] And while the rendering of the American adventurer as somehow allied with the Un- dead is perhaps a stretch too far, it does remain that Stoker's characterisation of this transatlantic outsider is often vague and undefined. Of course, Morris is further allied with difficulties in designation when his is the name given to Jonathan and Mina's son, a child who unites in his one person, the varied selves of his numerous ideological, and in a sense, biological, fathers, an action that Joseph Valente attributes to the influence of Stoker's 'metrocolonial'/Anglo-Irish concerns.[42] Furthermore, in an Anglo-Irish reading of the complex identity of Mina, Valente also goes on to see her very name as rooted in Anglo-Irish history with Mina, or Wilhelmina, evoking the Dutch heritage of the Williamite Wars in Ireland. In addition to this, her birth surname of Murray 'encrypts a deeply hybrid Irish heritage – at once native and settler, Anglo and Celt, Catholic and Protestant', a deliberately ambiguous construction that speaks directly to the hybridized ethnicity of Stoker himself.[43] In terms of the representation of national or colonial territories too, many scholars of the Irish School position the East, portrayed in *Dracula* as a site of antiquity, feudalism and superstition, as a surrogate Irish territory, and in stark contrast to the modern and advanced West, where trains run on time and cutting-edge technologies form a part of everyday

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[41] Franco Moretti, 'A Capital *Dracula*', in Bram Stoker, *Dracula*, ed. by Nina Auerbach and David J. Skal, p. 435, and Joseph Valente, *Dracula's Crypt: Bram Stoker, Irishness, and the Question of Blood* (Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 2002), p. 99, for discussions of Quincy Morris' apparently suspect behaviour in the novel.
[42] Valente, p. 3.
[43] Ibid, p. 130.

life.[44] But Dracula does return to Transylvania at the end of the novel, pursued back to his native place by Harker and his friends. And if this chapter's investigations began with an assertion that the crucial pairing of Stoker/Dracula was at the very heart of this novel, that its influence positively pervades the rest of the text in terms of characterisation, plot, thematic concerns and structure, then in its final section it must return with the figure of the Anglo-Irish literary vampire as Stoker's literary counterpart to Transylvania to discuss how the central pairing of Stoker and his vampiric counterpart is present in the end of Dracula and what this might mean for the text's evocation of the Anglo-Irish national identity question.

III

Dracula ends, then, as it began in Transylvania, with Harker this time accompanied by Van Helsing, Quincy Morris and the others engaged in a race against the elements, the landscape but most importantly time, in their quest to defeat the vampire once and for all. Befitting its status as Dracula's home nation, here in Transylvania the conditions inherent in the Anglo-Irish literary vampire are exacerbated, bleeding out from their source to the other characters who find themselves placed within its landscape. This thesis began its investigations with an acknowledgement of Dracula as shape-shifter, for if internalised duality is the inherent condition, then 'passing' is the fundamental action of the Anglo-Irishman and especially the Anglo-Irish immigrant. The proliferation of this in *Dracula* serves, then, as further testament to the validity of an Anglo-Irish reading of a novel that writes the reality of Stoker's own experiences of self in fictional form for tied as it is to fluctuating depictions of Anglo-Irishness, 'passing' as other is therefore innately racialised. There is here again the fusion of passing with allusions to Anglo-Irishness. The homeland of Dracula, is the site of the Count's initial hybridity, his initial instance of passing in the novel, and when he first dresses in Harker's clothes to leave the castle to hunt:

> It was a new shock to me to find that he had on the suit of clothes which I
> had worn whilst travelling here [...] This, then, is his new scheme of evil:
> that he will allow others to see me, as they think, so that he may both leave

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[44] See Jennifer Wicke, 'Vampiric Typewriting: *Dracula* and its Media', *ELH*, 59 (1992), 469-93 for a discussion of how the novel makes use of modern technological advancement.

evidence that I have been seen in the towns or villages posting my own letters, and that any wickedness which he may do shall by the local people be attributed to me. (p. 44)

The ability, but moreover the need, to masquerade as Other, to assume the appearance/ character/life of someone or something else is therefore a fundamental aspect of the Anglo-Irish condition, of the Anglo-Irish literary vampire, and of Stoker's novel.

The text, the actions of his vampire protagonist and those of the humans who pursue but also mirror him, write a textual account of authorial experience of the instability of national identity through this passing narrative. And at this point in the novel it also spreads out from the Count to effect the other characters, engaging the humans who pursue the vampire in processes of active deception and disguise as they trace the Count East, to his houses that hold his 'native earth' in the East End, and to the real East of Transylvania. In their expedition down river to desecrate Dracula's temporary refuge in London, Morris and Arthur Holmwood travel incognito in the hope of maintaining the element of surprise. Specifically they do not travel in Arthur's, or rather Lord Godalming's own coach, for as Quincey counters, 'don't you think one of your snappy carriages with its heraldic adornments in a byeway of Walworth or Mile End would attract too much attention for our purposes?' (p. 273) And in a more pronounced and nationally explicit version of this manoeuvre while chasing the fleeing vampire along the Bistritzia River, Harker and the others fly a Romanian flag from their vessel: 'With every boat which we have now overhauled since then this trick has succeeded; we have every deference shown to us, and not once any objection to whatever we chose to ask or do' (p. 332). Any opposition they may have encountered from the locals in a land where Dracula is known as '*boyar*' (p. 23), had their true purpose be known, is negated by their outward assumption of another identity to aid them on their way. Of course, they eventually succeed in their aims. They run their vampiric adversary to ground and there they vanquish him.

It would seem that it is Dracula's ultimate demise, above all the other elements of the novel that is indicative of Stoker's own view of himself, and his tenuous position in metropolitan society, a position underlined by his vampire's eventual vulnerability. In a culmination of the progression towards definition but

also destruction that was noted in Chapter Four, we have already seen how Stoker here takes the established vampire mythology and emphatically makes it his own, in the process creating a dogma so potent and powerful that it has remained with us, by and large, ever since, with crucifixes, garlic, bats and mist as now established conventions of the vampire genre. Dracula's 'existence is hedged by absolute if arbitrary rules vampires fear to break even now'.[45] But while the Count may be the most detailed and defined example of the literary vampire to date, in many ways it is this very definition that also makes him the most susceptible to attack, a condition that speaks directly to Anglo-Irish anxieties surrounding a fractured and fragmented sense of self, and the uncertainty of its position and its continuation. To this end, the reader is reminded throughout the novel of the powers of Dracula, but, crucially, of his limitations too. This vampire, 'is of himself so strong in person as twenty men' (p. 239), 'he is of cunning more than mortal, for his cunning be the growth of ages; he still have the aids of necromancy, which is, as his etymology imply, the divination of the dead, and all the dead that he can come nigh to are for him at command' (p. 239). We have also seen, however, that Dracula is vulnerable, that he is restricted by a long list of criteria that inhibit his movements and his actions. And in a direct re-writing of the 'we of Dracula blood' of Chapter One that drove invading armies back from its borders, as Jake Brown argues, 'Harker, Van Helsing, Seward, Quincey and Godalming show steeley fortitude from start to finish, turning the tables on the invading monster by invading continental Europe to defeat Dracula on his home turf.'[46]

The strict and exacting conditions that Stoker places around his vampire and that directly lead to his destruction speak to deep-rooted concerns about a solid identity, or lack thereof. In many ways, the rules that Dracula must live by mark him definitively *as* something, as part of a race. In sharp contrast to Coleridge's proto-vampire Geraldine, and to the creations of Polidori, Byron and Rymer, Dracula, on the one hand, represents a fixed and tangible state, and moreover, a state that exhibits certain recognisable characteristics for someone like Van Helsing to acknowledge. Indeed, the very fact that Van Helsing, like the

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[45] Auerbach, p. 85.
[46] Jake Brown, 'Draculafilm: "High" and "Low" Until the End of the World' in *Bram Stoker's Dracula: Sucking Through the Century, 1897-1997*, edited by Carol Margaret Davison (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1997), p. 272.

General in Le Fanu's 'Carmilla', is a sort of vampire expert, an authority in the text is testament to the predetermined nature of Dracula's condition. Not only is there a vampire, but there are vampires; there must have been before or the Dutchman would not and could not have been so familiar with their lore. However, the self is a complicated and unstable affair, and paradoxically, the very mythology that on the one hand seems to fix the vampire as a knowable and boundaried entity, on the other hand, provides the key to taking it away. Dracula is defeated by the same set of conditions that give a shape to his shapeless existence. It is not by the strength or cunning of his adversaries that he meets his final death, but by the unfortunate coincidence of their arrival with the setting of the sun. The concluding section of the novel has such stylistic impetus because the human characters are engaged in a race with the vampire, to get to him whilst he is still imprisoned during daylight hours and before he reaches the safety of his castle and the return of his powers. They are almost too late, as Harker recounts: 'As I looked, the eyes saw the sinking sun, and the look of hate in them turned to triumph' (p. 377). In the end, however, defeated in his most vulnerable and powerless state, Dracula's ultimate death is absolute. His head is severed from his body guaranteeing that he will not 'reincarnate', and he is wholly banished from the text that bears his name.

The Count's final defeat surely poses some problems for a reading built on the inherent commonality between the vampire protagonist and the Anglo-Irish writer; ending as the novel does with the final destruction of what I argue, functions as the fictionalised version of Bram Stoker's national self. According to H.L. Malchow, rooted as his interpretation is in both sexual and racial discourses, Dracula's death, 'anticipates the mass destruction of both European Jews and sexual deviants' in the Nazi death camps of the 1940s'.[47] As tenuous as this may initially appear to be, the concept that the text predicts a racial/national destruction of some kind is nevertheless an interesting one. In this light, the final passages of the novel may be seen to look forward to early events of the twentieth century in Irish affairs, to the decline of the Protestant Ascendancy as a class in the face of a newly militant and increasingly Catholic republicanism within Ireland itself. And the fact that the novel revolves around the intense

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[47] H. L. Malchow, *Gothic Images of Race in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), p. 166.

difficulties in forming stable selves, as well as our knowledge of Stoker's intense interest in the Irish political sphere, even after he had left it, make this a legitimate possibility, especially when considered in the light of the violence and destruction of the Easter Rising, the realisation of a new and militant nationalism in Ireland, took place a mere decade and a half later.[48]

And yet, to return to the indeterminacy that opened this chapter and indeed this thesis, like many things in *Dracula*, the ending of the novel is not as definite as may at first appear, especially in relation to the fate of the eponymous Anglo-Irish vampire. The final passages of the novel tell of the humans' return to Transylvania in a cyclical revisiting of the text's initial starting point, with Mina and Jonathan's child Quincey, whose, 'bundle of names links our little band of men together' (p. 378). The child is named after his many ideological fathers, and as such he, like the defeated vampire, too is a hybrid. In many ways, then, the internal duality of Stoker's nationally-conflicted literary vampire is merely displaced onto the next generation and relocated to another territory, another nation. The Anglo-Irish internalised double is not eradicated; he is merely tempered and moulded into a shape that is more socially acceptable, and preserved for the future. In fact, the internal instability of the Anglo-Irish Un-dead is perpetuated in a new and more durable form, a conclusion that is underlined by the manner in which the text draws attention to its own duality, to the instability of its position and form, in the closing lines of the narrative:

> We were struck with the fact that, in all the mass of material of which the record is composed, there is hardly one authentic document! Nothing but a mass of type-writing [...] We could hardly ask anyone, even did we wish to, to accept these as proofs of so wild a story. (p. 378)

The duality, instability and intangibility of the Anglo-Irish author and his vampire counterpart are therefore maintained to the end, and, the reader is given to understand, will continue.

The resolution offered, then, by the ending of the text is a complex one indeed. For if the existence of Jonathan and Mina's son is indicative of a future for the Anglo-Irish writer, if, as William Hughes has it, the text is a, 'particularly Irish struggle towards modernity from a Gothic past', then *Dracula* suggests the

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[48] See Chapter Five 'The Anglo-Irish Insider: Bram Stoker and the Politics of Passing', pp. 207-09.

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future for the Protestant Ascendancy writer now lies outside of Ireland, both physically and imaginatively.[49] The vampire goes back to its native place to die but in its stead comes a new human character who is ultimately just as conflicted as its progenitor in terms of its own personal identity. However, this instability in the case of Quincey Harker is not a cause for concern, but for celebration. Mina and Jonathan are proud to hold, 'the secret belief that some of our brave friend's spirit has passed into' their son (p. 378). With *Dracula*, then, Stoker is positing the very real possibility of continuity for the hybridised character, albeit a continuity removed from the affiliations with the past, in the case of Stoker, with the domestic Irish landscape. Far from representing the end of the Anglo-Irish writer/vampire, *Dracula* as imaginative autobiography leaves the question of a continuity of existence decidedly open for if, 'self-narration is the defining act of the human subject, an act which is not only "descriptive of the self" but *"fundamental to the emergence and reality of that subject"*, then *Dracula* as text writes its own future and that of its nationally ambiguous author into a new form of existence.[50] In this way, the continuation of Dracula, and indeed, also that of his author, is ultimately guaranteed by the text's conclusion.

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[49] *Bram Stoker: History, Psychoanalysis and the Gothic*, ed. by William Hughes and Andrew Smith (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1998), p. 20.
[50] Anthony Paul Kerby, *Narrative and the Self* (Bloomington: Indiana Press, 1991), quoted in Paul Eakin, *How Our Lives Become Stories: Making Selves* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), p. 21.

Conclusion

> Mr. Bram Stoker is an Irishman through and through. A word from "the man" or a glance from his big, burly figure, not to mention impetuous manner of talking and walking, leave no doubt as to his origin.[1]

This has been a project bound up with constructions of national identity, specifically that of (Anglo-) Irishness and how it is formed and maintained. But more importantly, it has also been concerned with *conflicted* senses of national selves and how such a conflict is rendered creatively through the processes of writing. As imaginative autobiography, Bram Stoker's *Dracula* functions as a text that is conceived out of an insecure national position; that engages with a lack of stable national place by textually evoking the essence of its author's displaced social and cultural condition. For, through the complex characterisation of its eponymous vampire, *Dracula* reveals Stoker's own conflicted sense of national selfhood not merely as an individual but as a member of a conflicted class unsure of its place within a broader national context. As Paul John Eakin argues when describing the autobiographical impetus in writing: 'Theirs are situated selves, products of a particular time and place; the identity-shaping environments in these autobiographies are nested one within the other – self, family, community set in a physical and cultural geography, in an unfolding history.'[2] *Dracula* is by no means alone in its central preoccupations. Writing as he does from a position of national indeterminacy, as a displaced member of the Anglo-Irish class Stoker takes his place in a larger tradition of nineteenth-century Ascendancy literature that similarly incorporates the work of other novelists like Maria Edgeworth, Charles Robert Maturin, and Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu. But if this is a tradition that is deeply invested in the difficulties of identity designation within Ireland itself, it is also one that is even more interested in these matters outside of Ireland's borders.

The issue of Stoker's membership of the Irish Literary Society in London in the 1890s is, then, in many ways an appropriate place to conclude this work's discussions for one of the central questions of this thesis has been how does the already culturally displaced Anglo-Irish writer negotiate issues of national

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[1] Quoted in Paul Murray, *From the Shadow of Dracula: A Life of Bram Stoker* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004), p. 247.
[2] Paul John Eakin, *How Our Lives Become Stories: Making Selves* (Ithaca: Cornell, 1999), p. 85.

belonging outside of the nation itself? Assimilated into London's social structures, 'passing' as insider yet all the while remaining covertly but undeniably Other, the instability of the Anglo-Irish immigrant in the metropolitan setting had a profound impact on his literary endeavours, for, as this thesis has demonstrated, it was Stoker's life in the capital that heightened an already established sense of national hybridity and provided the dominant creative impetus behind the writing he produced there, and enabled *Dracula* alone to be termed an imaginative autobiography, born out of but different to the previous tradition of Anglo-Irish self writing. It was Stoker's life in London after all, his particular circumstances as a doubly displaced migrant writer that finds its fictional representation in Dracula's metropolitan ambitions, and in *Dracula*, that provides that novel with Marcus's key criterion of 'referentiality'. And yet, given the enormity of the metropolitan influence on Stoker and other Anglo-Irish writers like George Bernard Shaw, W.B. Yeats and Oscar Wilde, the textual productions of the Victorian Anglo-Irish diaspora and particularly their engagement with ideas of national affiliation outside of their nation of origin have been almost wholly neglected by scholarship. The Irish Literary Society itself rarely functions as more than a footnote in critical works despite serving as an important focal point for (Anglo-) Irish national affiliation in *fin-de-siècle* London and counting Yeats, Wilde and Stoker all within its ranks. In a similar vein, treatments of Anglo-Irish identity in Stoker's later fiction and non-fiction, for example, have yet to be adequately explored and yet novels such as *Lady Athlyne* (1908), *Famous Imposters* (1910) and essay collections such as *Snowbound*, (1908) which recounts the experiences of the Lyceum company on tour, are deeply invested in the mechanics of national identity construction and the instability of national identity designations, particularly within an American context.[3]

It is here that more work needs to be done. The association between self and nation is a fundamental one for the Victorian Anglo-Irish writer and must be recognised as such, but it is the relationship between the displaced Anglo-Irish writer and the nation that is left behind that is often even more productive and

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[3] Bram Stoker, *Lady Athlyne* (Chicago: Valancourt, 2007), and Bram Stoker, *Snowbound: The Records of a Theatrical Touring Party* (Westcliff-on-Sea: Desert Island Books, 1999).

engaging. It can only be by acknowledging this relationship that a true sense of these authors and their works can begin to emerge.

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