No Rest for the Wicked?: Exploring Sleep in Nineteenth-Century Gothic Literature

Manal Siddiqui

School of European Culture and Languages, University of Kent

2016

Abstract: Sleep has long been overlooked in critical literature. It is often viewed as a state of passivity and so, an invalid area of research. However, this thesis argues that the depiction of sleep and sleepers in nineteenth-century gothic literature is reflective of historically-specific anxieties regarding sexuality and gender roles, such as those related to the New Woman, prostitution, and homosexuality. Similarly, concerns regarding urbanisation and scientific progress, particularly in relation to the latter's perceived displacement of religion, are shown to be apparent in the enactment of sleep in gothic narratives.

Theories of sleep and dreaming are examined from a number of perspectives, illustrating the uncertainty which categorises the state. Ahistorical 'social facts' about sleep (predominantly founded in the relatively recent sociological interest in the subject) are shown to be related to nineteenth-century ideas of the state, and how best to enact it. Sleepers in the gothic are considered in terms of their physical appearance, where they sleep, and who they sleep with, and each aspect is shown to embody nineteenth-century attitudes regarding morality and sexuality. Portrayals of sleepers are further analysed in relation to their role in the narratives, and shown to be distinctly gendered, thus offering further understanding of gender roles (and responsibilities) in the gothic. Far from being innocent in their passivity, sleepers are shown to contravene a multitude of social and moral laws without waking, and thus, to contribute to the gothic genre's reputation as a transgressive literature.

Word Count: 89,200   **Pages:** 254

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Abstract

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Introduction

This thesis analyses the representation of sleep in a selection of nineteenth-century English and French gothic texts, including: Theophile Gautier's *La Morte Amoureuse* (1836) and 'Arria Marcella' (1852); Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu's *Carmilla* (1872); Vernon Lee's 'Amour Dure' (1890); Grant Allen's 'Kalee's Shrine' (1886) and 'Pallinghurst Barrow' (1892); Arthur Machen's *The Great God Pan* (1890) and 'The Novel of the White Powder' (1895), and Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897). While much has been written about the gothic genre, sleep remains curiously under-researched. Yet the literary representation of sleep is highly significant, as it can reveal important insights into anxieties about matters of sexuality, religion, and mortality – all highly public matters in England and France in the nineteenth century. In this study, concerns regarding prostitution, homosexuality, shifting gender roles, and changing attitudes towards religion, as well as concurrent fears relating to medicine and death, are examined and shown to be valuable aspects to consider when analysing the sleepers of gothic literature.

In the narratives studied, which are so active in their exploration of supernatural or preternatural events and often end in violent climactic scenes, sleep seems to be a state of passivity which only serves to punctuate the drama; an inconvenient but necessary reprieve often skimmed over in both the text and the critical analysis which follows. Slumber occupies a unique position in human understanding due to its universality and its constancy in time, and perhaps because of this, its depiction in gothic narratives has been dismissed as an inherent part of human existence, and overlooked in favour of other aspects. However, this thesis argues that sleep, far from being a state of inaction, can be instrumental in offering a deeper understanding of the texts being studied. This is made possible through the consideration of a number of aspects. First, the differing depictions of sleep and sleepers between and within texts are considered as a significant and valuable point of analysis.

Protagonists and antagonists, men and women, even servants and masters, sleep differently from one another, and these variations are seen to be representative of wider social realities. Furthermore, even beyond the consideration of sleepers, this study aims to show that choice of sleep partners, the space which sleepers occupy, the time which they choose to sleep, and their dreams and nightmares, are significant aspects of a gothic narrative, and therefore offer a new means of understanding them.

Gothic literature of the nineteenth century lends itself well to this examination of sleep for a number of reasons. In terms of content, gothic tropes dictate that attacks faced by victims of gothic monsters almost invariably take place at night, whilst people are (or should) be sleeping. Furthermore, the gothic often incorporates psychological disturbances in the form of dreams and nightmares, again illustrating a logical connection between the study of sleep and gothic texts. It seems that, superficially at least, there is an obvious link present between slumber and gothic narratives.[1] However, there has been little sustained consideration of sleep as a narrative device in gothic literature. Whilst it has not been totally overlooked by critics, and admittedly there are some sleep episodes which have been considered often, such as Lucy Westenra's sleep-walking or Jonathan Harker's attempted seduction in the Count's castle in *Dracula*, this discussion is usually incidental, mentioned in the course of examining other matters, particularly matters of sexuality.[2] Other related analysis tends towards considering the most 'active' part of sleep – dreaming – and eliciting psychoanalytical interpretations of these dreams, predominantly

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[1] This is apparent in critical works which categorise gothic as an example of 'nightmare literature', using the terminology associated with sleep as a means of communicating the gothic's power of the reader e.g. Robert Mighall's *A Geography of Victorian Gothic: Mapping History's Nightmares* (2003), or else referring to gothic authors' own experiences of nightmares as inspiration (e.g. Davison 1997; Luckhurst 2006)

[2] See, for example, Carol Senf's *The Vampire in Nineteenth Century English Literature* (1988) or Kathleen Spencer's 'Purity and Danger: *Dracula*, and the late Victorian Degeneracy Crisis' (1992) which examine these episodes as reflections of unfulfilled sexual desires.

based on theories of wish fulfilment and repressed desire (e.g. Doody 1977; Davison 2009; Billone 2016). In the critical discourse on the gothic, there does exist an acknowledgement of, and an engagement with, ideas related to sleep, but largely, the current discussion of sleep in gothic literature can be seen as somewhat nonspecific, limited and repetitive. Whilst the study of dreams and nightmares is by no means invaluable, these dreams have yet to be analysed as a product of the sleep which precedes them. This thesis aims to address this lacuna by paying close attention to the representation of sleep and all that it signifies.

The following discussion of sleep in gothic literature draws on multiple critical approaches, but predominantly socio-historical readings are important here. Despite appearances to the contrary, sleep and its related behaviours are a distinctly social undertaking; it is enacted in and sanctioned by the society in which one resides. In the nineteenth century, moral discourse dictated rules for an appropriate performance of sleep both implicitly and explicitly, through discussion of appropriate behaviour and dress, protocol, and advisory explanations on retiring and waking. These recommendations were often linked to a-historic elements of sleep, and shaped by an understanding of the unchangeable nature of sleep. This thesis combines an investigation of universal sociological observations of sleep with an analysis of the historically and culturally specific socio-historic attitudes towards the phenomenon, and how these are reflected in the literary texts. The literary texts studied in this thesis simultaneously mirror and also shape wider social discourses, or else subvert or problematize these. Literature is credited with having a 'pivotal role' in 'expressing, shaping, inciting, and perpetuating modes of sexual desire' (Schaffner 2012: 259), and this will be shown to true for the gothic texts which are analysed in this thesis. Close attention will be paid to the aesthetic qualities of these texts as well as to the socio-historical realities that shape them.

However, the importance of psychoanalytical readings must not be completely disregarded. David Carveth offers the valid observation that

[j]ust as psychoanalysis shows how psychological factors influence

the course of history and society, sociological analysis reveals that psychoanalysis, like other sciences, far from being a pure embodiment of disinterested reason is itself, to a considerable degree, a social product. (2013: 253)

So, this study of sleep in gothic literature must also take into consideration an examination of the unconscious, particularly in relation to dreamt and sleeping activity, such as sleep-talking and sleep-walking. Psychoanalytical theories are a valued means of identifying and understanding the manifestation of repressed desires, and arguably nowhere is this more pertinent than in a sleeper who behaves unlike their waking self. This study aims to identify the sleeping body as not simply a physical entity, but as a symbolic means of interpreting the text, with an understanding that the repressed desires which are attributed to sleepers and dreamers are borne in the society in which they sleep. Psychoanalytical interpretations will therefore be combined with an analysis of the cultural and historical factors that shape the symbolic representations of sleep. By examining the social enactment of sleep in gothic literature, this thesis not only attempts to complement existing psychoanalytic readings of the genre, but also offers a new vantage point from which to consider the narratives.

In this study, sleep is not to be seen as a binary state. As an activity it is categorised by its contradictions, and this fact remains in its representation in literature. First is its unique position as a biological requirement. All humans need (and so, have experience of) sleep, making it a shared experience – but simultaneously it is an individual experience. One may choose to sleep with a partner or in a group, but ultimately, one is unable to share in the sleep of others. In this way, it can be considered to be simultaneously social and anti-social. Second, sleep is something which can be experienced as part of a spectrum: one can be asleep or half asleep; one may be in deep sleep and dreaming, or exhausted and hallucinating; one may be asleep, and yet talking and walking as though awake. Furthermore, there are distinctions in the type of sleep being

undertaken; hypnotism, mesmerism, and other trance states, as well as an external interference in promoting or discouraging sleep, are all points on the spectrum between waking and sleeping. In this way, sleep is a state in which body and mind sometimes seem to work against one another, and even cause confusion between reality and imagination. In these incongruities, the act of sleep parallels a key characterisation of the gothic, that it is a literature predominantly concerned with testing and breaching social laws.

This introduction will consider the categorisation of gothic as a genre which violates boundaries, leading to an examination of the psychoanalytical and socio-historic critical literature which assisted in the gothic gaining this reputation. Subsequently, the literature being examined will be contextualised, by situating it in a time and place where concerns about matters of sex and death were increasingly publicised, in relation to moral, nationalistic, and religious concerns. Fears of illicit sexuality and the shifting role of religion and gender roles will be shown to be reflected in the sleep and the sleepers of gothic literature. Finally, an overview of the thesis will be provided, with chapter summaries detailing the main areas of investigation.

Critical Approaches to Gothic Literature

The characterisation of the gothic as transgressive is popular in recent criticism; Gerry Turcotte charges it as a literature which 'explores borderland positions, […] and speaks the supposedly unspeakable remarkably well' (2009: 185). Similarly, Fred Botting argues that the gothic rejects realism to indulge in 'flights of imagination', exploring 'supernatural possibility, mystery […] and monstrosity', disturbing the very fabric of reality and knowledge of one's world (2013: 2). In fact, in the canonical gothic texts of the nineteenth century, the disruption is so complete as to extend into every facet of life; biological, mental, and spiritual. In many cases, these boundary disruptions are extreme and worn on the surface; the dead are undead, humans turn to animals (or worse), concepts of time and ageing become irrelevant, and so, the natural world becomes distinctly

supernatural. But there are also subtler breaches beneath the fantastical climactic scenes, as respectable individuals reveal distinctly unrespectable predilections, sexes and gender roles shift and break down, and national boundaries are invaded by the foreign and unfamiliar. Abjection, as defined by Julia Kristeva in *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection* (1982), becomes a central experience in the gothic, disrupting the limits of good taste, of human comfort, and of the very systems which are relied upon to provide order; the self is threatened, but the horror is difficult to verbalise. Similarly, the genre's incorporation of contemporary anxieties challenges social norms and culturally defined moral codes. The gothic is comprehensive in its endeavour; it challenges not only physical, psychological, and social boundaries, but the very notion of personhood and identity.

Contemporary criticism has examined this seemingly innate feature of the genre consistently over the decades, albeit from differing perspectives. Arguably, the most prevalent of these has been the psychoanalytic approach. Michelle Massé suggests that '[t]he connection between literature and psychoanalysis is as old as psychoanalysis itself', arguing that the fictional reality of a text appeals to the 'fears and desires' of both reader and author (1999: 229). When it comes to nineteenth-century gothic literature, Massé's statement rings even more true, by virtue of the fact that the term 'psychoanalysis' was first used in a decade which saw the publication of some seminal, gothic texts, such as Robert Louis Stevenson's *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886) and Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Grey* (1890), and *Dracula*. In this sense, psychoanalysis and (gothic) literature are literally as old as one another. In all of these novels, psychological questions of identity and sexuality inform both the reader's and critic's interpretation, and so, lend themselves to psychoanalytic analysis. However, one of the most important texts when considering the relationship between psychoanalysis and *fin-de-siècle* gothic is *Dracula,* published near the close of the century. It was not the first vampire novel, nor the first nineteenth-century gothic novel, but it is still arguably the best known of the vampire genre, and influential in its

depiction of the eponymous blood-sucking predator. William Hughes and Andrew Smith outline past psychoanalytical engagements with *Dracula*, many of which are based on the 'explicitly oral' nature of the content, and identify it as '*the* Freudian text *par excellence*' (1998: 3-4, emphasis in text). They emphasise the value of such analysis, suggesting that the interplay between the content of the text and the history of Stoker (as both patient and author) has offered, and continues to offer, original means of understanding the narrative.

Whilst it is important to note that psychoanalytic theory does not solely consist of Freudian analysis, with post-Freudian critics adding much to the critical cannon, such interpretation is significant. In relation to *Dracula,* it is widely agreed that Ernest Jones's *On the Nightmare* (1931) is the first text to connect vampires with Freudian ideas of sexuality and repression, a theme which was then been elaborated upon in 1959 by Maurice Richardson in his critical study 'The Psychoanalysis of Count Dracula' (Twitchell 1981; Hughes and Smith 1998; Hutchings 2003; Hughes 2008). Richardson uses Freud's *Totem and Taboo* (1913) as a central framework, to examine the Oedipal theory of development as it appears in *Dracula*. He explores the symbolic sexuality evident in the text, equivocating blood with semen, and the destruction of the Count by the 'band of brothers' as a displacement of a father by his sons. Such distinctly Freudian observations stand true for many other gothic narratives. Marie Bonaparte's *Life and Works of Edgar Allan Poe* (1933) provides a comprehensive, psychoanalytic interpretation of Poe's fiction and poetry, attempting to analyse his writing in relation to his biography (and vice versa). Bonaparte examines the symbols in Poe's narratives as a reflection of Poe's own sexual neuroses, and employs a number of Freudian concepts in her analysis, with her work still being widely referred to today (Peeples 2007).

The texts mentioned above, as well many others, have also been surveyed for symbols to analyse, not least the texts which form the corpus of this study. *The Great God Pan, Carmilla,* 'The Novel of the White Powder' and 'Amour Dure' have been subjected to psychoanalytic

analyses, with a focus on unconscious portrayals of sexuality and repression. *La Morte Amoureuse* is similarly examined for traces of Freudian concepts, linked to supressed necrophiliac desire, and 'Arria Marcella' is reminiscent of William Jensen's *Gradiva* (1902), which Freud himself wrote about in his essay *Dreams and Delusions in Jensen's Gradiva* (1907), studying and diagnosing the protagonist as though he were a patient. The final two texts considered in this study 'Pallinghurst Barrow' and the little-known 'Kalee's Shrine' – have not been subject to as extensive investigation as those mentioned previously, however, the latter has briefly been considered in relation to psychoanalytical analysis.[3]

Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1899) and *The Uncanny* (1919) have been particularly significant in forging this relationship between the gothic and psychoanalysis. Rosemary Jackson examines the latter text in relation to gothic literature, and identifies the genre as one which 'deals so repeatedly with unconscious material' that the value of psychoanalytic readings is indispensable (1981: 61). She explicates the importance of *The Uncanny* as a 'clear theoretical introduction to psychoanalytic readings of fantastic literature' singling out gothic texts from the nineteenth century, where 'the uncanny is at its most explicit' (64). Jackson first defines the uncanny – *das Unheimliche* – in terms of affect; it is an induced feeling of alienation and discomfort, in which one feels out of place in the world. Then, Jackson focuses on the function of the uncanny: to 'dis-cover, reveal, expose areas normally kept out of sight' (65). With this definition, she illustrates the strong link between the uncanny and the gothic as a form of exposing discomforting truths which are repressed or disguised. Again, the transgressive nature of gothic becomes a threat, in Jackson's claim that 'ghost tales […] disrupt the defining line which separates 'real' life from the 'unreality' of death, subverting those discrete units by which unitary meaning or 'reality' is constituted' (69). However, Jackson states that the aim of gothic fiction is not to follow through with a breaking of boundaries, but simply a way to 're-confirm institutional order

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[3] See, for example, Becky Di Biasio (2008) 'The British and Irish Ghost Story and Tale of the Supernatural: 1880- 1945'.

by supplying vicarious fulfilment of desire and neutralising an urge toward transgression' (72). In this assessment, Jackson reinforces the dream-like nature of the gothic; just as one's nightmare may dissipate upon waking, the gothic reader ends the narrative with an understanding that the status quo remains.

In contrast to Jackson, Massé's 'Psychoanalysis and the Gothic' (1999) begins by focusing on the relationship between *The Interpretation of Dreams* and the gothic. Massé outlines the concurrent trajectory of psychoanalytic thought and literary criticism in three parts – elements, structures and themes, and systems – making a clear distinction between earlier and later scopes of analysis. In the first of these stages, she identifies Freud's central thesis to be the dream as a form of wish-fulfilment, which 'struggle[s] its way to indirect expression' if unrealised, and suggests that this theory is well suited to gothic fiction, which she categorises as a 'literary celebration of the dream state' (232). Thus, she argues that critics attempt to attach meaning to the latent content of dreams, believing this to being the key to understanding. However, Massé suggests that this ultimately results in the creation of 'lexicons of gothic motifs' in which symbols are ascribed a universal meaning and formulaically reapplied, whilst the manifest content falls to the way-side (234). She illustrates this by referring to Bonaparte's work on Poe, using it as an example of when psychoanalytical readings of the gothic become reductive, and the insight of this approach as a means of uncovering new meaning in texts, begins to falter. Ironically, Massé's criticism of Bonaparte can be viewed as quite reductive. Whilst the latter's more tenuous connections may continue to be 'ridiculed' for their tenuousness, she has also contributed some readings which are so pertinent that the have 'since become part of standard readings' (Peeples 2007: 37- 38). Thus, it seems that even Massé's 'elements' stage of psychoanalytical literary criticism continues to provide a valuable perspective.

Massé goes on to refer to the second stage, in which the focus is widened from patient/protagonist to the entirety of the text. Such analysis results in both character and text resisting neat categorisation, so a simple

application of symbols is no longer seen to suffice. Diagnosis shifts from ascribing all-encompassing labels, and instead behaviour is seen to be a response to specific situations. Contextualisation becomes the key to understanding, and even the critic/analyst's own history is considered in relation to their conclusions. Finally, in the last stage, Massé describes attempts to incorporate other disciplines into psychoanalytical thought, aiming to connect varying systems such as 'time, place and synchronic structure' (238). Analysis ceases to be solely psychoanalytical and there are attempts to engage with alternate modes of understanding. In this stage, there is an acknowledgement of 'larger social structures' and an attempt to de-segregate psychoanalytic inquiry from other disciplines (238). It is this stage which is most relevant to the study of gothic literature in sleep, due to its acknowledgment of the influence of socio-historic factors on psychoanalytic readings of a text.

Massé's final stage acknowledges, and challenges, key concerns regarding psychoanalytic literary analysis. Criticism of the approach is generally founded on two, interconnected parts. The first suggests that it focuses so much on the erotic, and the second that this makes it reductive; it generates new and more tenuous theories, but neglects other aspects. William Hughes' claim that psychoanalytical theory is wholly preoccupied with sexuality (2008: 4) certainly seems to have consensus amongst those critics who view it as a reductive mode of analysis. This is well illustrated by the analysis of *Dracula,* which has had numerous Freudian concepts applied to it, and has been 'poked and prodded for every conceivable sexual interpretation' (Miller 2005: 166). There are also suggestions that eroticised readings of such texts as *Dracula* are simply a means of asserting superiority over nineteenth-century readers; that psychoanalytic criticism approaches the text from a self-defined place of enlightenment and liberalism, in opposition to a (presumed) understanding of Victorian repression (Glover 1996; Mighall 1998; Hutchings 2003; Miller 2006). In this way, the critics' own structures are imposed on the text, leaving little room for other interpretations.

Whilst these criticisms have been more pronounced in recent years, Hughes suggests that the mode is not apt to disappear from literary analysis in the near future. He credits the longevity of psychoanalytical approaches in literature to its notoriety, suggesting that it persists predominantly due to its

> contentious theoretical claim to a unique insight, its allegation of repressed truth, or its assertion of an atemporal connection that may parallel the desires of the text with those of the reader. (2008: 45)

Hughes emphasises the importance of considering other theoretical assessments, particularly cultural readings of gothic texts, such as those which engage with nineteenth-century medical writing. Similarly, Peter Hutchings argues that psychoanalysis is still a valuable means of interpretation, 'despite its contentiousness and the problems it raises', but not a *sole* means of interpretation, and that the 'mutabilities of history' are an important aspect (2003: 18). An example of this is seen in Robert Mighall's discussion of the enforced sexualisation of the vampire. Mighall derides the psychoanalytic approach as 'radically misguided' in its attempts to focus on the latent whilst ignoring the manifest (2012: 267), and argues that critics 'fail to address some important historical questions' (1998: 63). In opposition, he offers an interpretation of *Dracula* which is grounded in the sexological discourse of its time. In doing so, he returns the vampire to its tautology, as a source of terror not for its hidden sexuality, but because it is an overtly supernatural, undead being.

Historicist approaches have attempted to examine social and cultural factors, which critics credit with shaping the creation and reception of the genre. Returning to the transgressive nature of the genre, socio-historic readings consider the breaching of boundaries in relation to externalities. Tzvetan Todorov (1973), Fred Botting (1997), and Maggie Kilgour (1998) have examined the myriad ways in which the gothic flouts the laws of the society in which it is written, and the extent to which these laws are broken has been contested repeatedly. Todorov claims that the

inclusion of the supernatural in nineteenth-century tales of the fantastic is a means for the gothic author to reject social expectations and constraints without facing censure of their peers and the reading public, as the morally questionable actions of the characters were 'more readily accepted by any censor if they were attributed to the devil' (1973: 159). Later critics, however, argue that the genre only transgresses in such a way as to ultimately uphold the social laws which it violates, by punishing the transgressors in violent, and sometimes dehumanising, ways. Similarly, Botting suggests that the gothic uses a 'cautionary strategy […] presenting [social or moral transgression] in its darkest and most threatening form' as 'sensational examples of what happens when the rules of social behaviour are neglected' (2005: 5). In this way, he argues, the ultimate goal of gothic literature is to warn against transgressive behaviour, and thus uphold social laws. Kilgour concedes that 'to many early concerned critics, gothic novels were the unlicensed indulgence of an amoral imagination that was a socially subversive force' but she adopts a middle-ground, suggesting that the gothic seems 'ambivalent and unsure about its own aims and implications' (1998: 7).

It appears, then, that the genre can be viewed as a symbol of the authors' (ambivalent) flouting of societal conventions, and so the contradictory nature of the gothic can best be summed up as both confusing and confused (Howells 2013: 6). What is key in this debate, however, is that whilst the moral function of the gothic cannot be agreed upon, none of the above authors reject the label of 'transgressive'. Instead, they emphasise that this characteristic is not mere narrative device nor coincidence, but integral to the nature of the genre. This transgression is evident in two ways; by virtue of gothic literature's popularity, and by its content – both manifest and latent. First, simply by being published and widely read in the nineteenth century, an era synonymous with the industrial revolution, urbanisation, and great advances in science, the gothic genre is seen to be a rejection of intellectual enlightenment, and the changes which it bought. In its popularity it reveals a lasting predilection for the irrational and unenlightened, as the sensationalism contained within is

founded in history (Smith 2013: 2). Kilgour explicates the clear link between the gothic as a genre, and much earlier – pre-modern – traditions. She argues that the literature emerged from such diverse sources such as 'British folklore, ballads, romance, Elizabethan and Jacobean tragedy […] Renaissance ideas of melancholy, [and] the graveyard poets' (1998: 4). This connection between historical ideas and the genre is somewhat transgressive in itself, in that it gives readers an opportunity to indulge, rather than suppress, any flighty tendencies, thereby firmly establishing the gothic as a throw-back in history and in civilisation.

The history of the gothic genre, and thus its connection with the past, is a starting-point for how it transgresses social systems and exploits the fears of its readers, but it is far from definitive, and the content must also be considered. Gothic literature also includes diverse allusions to historically and socially specific anxieties, such as those related to sex, degeneration and death, as a means of exploring taboos and thus, capitalising on the fears of its readers. Nineteenth-century gothic literature forges a link between those contemporary anxieties and monstrous exaggerations of their consequences, reminding the readers of their vulnerability, if not to vampires and demons, then certainly to what they represented: illicit sexuality, atavism, foreign desires, and foreign bodies. This is seen in a number of gothic texts. Attackers in *La Morte Amoureuse*, *Carmilla,* and *Dracula* are literally ancient beings in the form of vampires. In 'Arria Marcella', 'Amour Dure', and 'Pallinghurst Barrow' the protagonists are seemingly transported backward in time, at great risk to themselves from pre-historic and pre-Christian threats. And in other texts too, the threat is from a being which has no place in a rapidly modernising metropolis, such as in 'The Novel of the White Powder' and *The Great God Pan*, or 'Kalee's Shrine' in which ancient evil is embodied in modern form.

The gothic of the nineteenth century has most often been characterised by the symbolism it contains. However, the genre's place in history and its cultural context must also be considered. The social landscape of the nineteenth-century gothic becomes a key feature of the narrative. In doing so, there is an attempt to approach the narratives with

Massé's final stage in mind. As Smith (2000) suggests, the gothic is justifiably linked to Freudian psychoanalysis but it is also historically important (2); for this reason alone, multiple perspectives must be considered. Thus, whilst this study both engages with, and incorporates, psychoanalytic interpretations of gothic texts, it also considers socio-historic readings, and aims to offer a wider interpretation of the narratives.

Contextualising Sleep in Gothic Literature

Nineteenth-century gothic fiction does not simply consist of tales of the supernatural, but skilfully encompasses two famed nineteenth-century preoccupations; sex and death. Within these narratives, the fear of degeneration is ever present, either through a threat of bodily harm, or of pollution in the guise of illicit sexuality. The origins of both these obsessions can be found in the specific historical and social environment in which the nineteenth-century gothic was written. Substantial debate at the time, in a wide range of areas such as religion and spirituality, morality, scientific discovery, and sexuality, called into question many people's understanding of their place in Europe's newly industrialised societies, as well as their roles and responsibilities. The medical community contributed directly to this, with the perceived negative impact of urbanisation being documented by renown figures doctors such as Ambroise Tardieu and Jean-Martin Charcot, equating such living conditions with ill health (Cavallari 2005). Whilst these concerns developed gradually over time, rapid industrialisation can arguably be considered the starting point for those fears relating to sexual behaviour, for with it came a disarrangement of every-day life for many inhabitants (Salmi 2013). The shifting roles of men and women were exacerbated by the influx of the working class into cities, and a subsequent, and uncontrollable, destabilisation of social laws. Furthermore, the sudden increase in population density brought with it the threat of crime, prostitution, and sexual disease, exposing the upper- and

middle-classes to levels of poverty more severe than they would have witnessed in previous decades.[4]

Across newly developing cities in Western Europe, attitudes towards prostitutes varied, even in polite society. Whilst predominantly considered to be a negative aspect of city life and a social nuisance, they were alternately viewed with disdain by moralisers, with pity by philanthropists, and as a necessary evil by pragmatists. There were a number of treatises written at the time, detailing the poor living conditions and desperate lives of prostitutes, ostensibly offered as an attempt to understand the motivation behind such work in a bid to cleanse the streets, and thereby improve public hygiene (Bell 1994: 42). Alexandre-Jean-Baptiste Parent-Duchatelet's *On Prostitution in the City of Paris* (1835) was one such text, aiming to categorise the prostitutes of the capital city by investigating their family history, police, and medical records. The editor of the second edition espouses the text's value to 'the legislator, the magistrate, the medical practitioner, and the philanthropist' (1840: 2), giving some indication of the self-perceived importance to this work. Comprehensive summaries and positive reviews of the text appeared in such esteemed publications as the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal* (1837) and *The Lancet* (1836-1837), both shortly after the French publication, and it is credited with having a wide-ranging influence, and inspiring similar texts, in both France and Britain (Walkowitz 1980; Harsin 1985; Corbin 1996). Thus, Parent-Duchatelet's *On Prostitution* can be viewed as an important text, which provides a distillation of the attitudes prevalent at the time.

Ostensibly intended as a scientific survey of the background and working lives of prostitutes, there are a number of judgements made throughout – both explicitly and implicitly. Parent-Duchatelet claims that he

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[4] The relative ease with which such vices as prostitution, and narcotics could be accessed has been noted as having a significant effect on society by nineteenth-century and present day critics. Examined through Tom Crook's discussion regarding private space in the Chapter One: Theoretical Perspectives, these social problems necessitated discussion and legislation to minimize their allegedly polluting effects on society.

is bound by a national and moral duty to investigate and categorise prostitutes, and they are referred to in his second edition as a 'degraded but important class- important from the influence which it may exercise upon the rest of society' (1840: 2). In this one sentence, multiple, important meanings can be extrapolated. In referring to prostitutes as 'degraded', Parent-Duchatelet simply adopts a critical tone which is to be expected; however, his reference to prostitutes in relation to the 'rest of society' crucially places these women (for it was females to whom he was referring) *in* society, rather than out of it. The recognition of their effects on other social classes and systems, further acknowledges that prostitutes are not simply an isolated, unpalatable aspect of urban living, but both connected and influential. The author acknowledges that many prostitutes came from dysfunctional families or had been abandoned by their lovers, and in this sense, there seems to be an apparent understanding of the dire straits which they found themselves in.

However, as Shannon Bell points out, *On Prostitution* is far from a sympathetic portrayal of working women, who are categorised as filthy, coarse, lazy, and grasping (1994: 48). The survey itself is referred to as 'a revolting task' which requires the stalwart will of its author (Parent-Duchatelet 1840: 2), and prostitution is seen to be caused predominantly by the women lacking work ethic or having a vain desire to purchase fine dresses. Furthermore, despite the author's claims that the prostitute is no different from other women in terms of physicality, he contradicts this with his description of disease-prone prostitutes as suffering from frequent vaginal abscesses (Bell 1994: 48). He also criticises the prostitute's hygiene, appearance, and manner, and by doing so 'sets her even further apart from the virtuous woman' (Bell 1994: 49). Parent-Duchatelet ends by speaking of prostitution as an inevitability in an industrialised society, as impossible to abolish (1840: 72). Having both acknowledged the influential position of the prostitute in society, and having pathologised her, the author emphasises the existence of a foreign and diseased other in the urban scene.

These contradictory categorisations were not limited to France, and were mirrored in England by William Acton, whose *Prostitution Considered in Its Moral, Social, and Sanitary Aspects* (1857) is said to be influenced by *On Prostitution*. In both texts, the attempt to de-mystify and (to some extent) de-stigmatise the prostitute body soon gives way to judgement; she is again seen as a diseased, morally frail, and impure. Furthermore, the prostitute is seen to occupy a fluid position in society in which the assumption that 'once a harlot, always a harlot' is proven wrong (Bell 1994: 54). This underpins the notion of danger associated with the prostitute. Their ability to transition to and from being a prostitute, as well as the impossibility of abolishing prostitution, resulted in a question of how to contain the vice so that it would not impinge on the purity of others (Corbin 1996), and in both Britain and France, medicalisation seemed preferable to criminalisation for legislators. This lead to prostitutes and suspected prostitutes being subjected to mandatory, and often violent medical exams, and being institutionalised if found to be infected with venereal disease.[5]

Whilst the prostitute was the subject of moral discourse, philanthropic efforts, punitive legislation, and medical examination, their clients remained seemingly uninteresting to wider society. For example, Parent-Duchatelet only briefly refers to the crucial part that men play in the demand for prostitutes in his assessment that it is a simple inevitability of the close proximity of men and women in society (Corbin 1996: 4). Thus, the men who frequent prostitutes are simply seen to be fulfilling their part in this system, and are only discussed in terms of their occupation, as a means of further categorising prostitutes (1840: 32). In contrast, in the summary and review of Patent-Duchatelet's work in the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal,* the authors were highly complimentary of *On Prostitution*, but nonetheless suggested that 'both reason and religious considerations are sufficiently strong to prevent such an excess of demoralisation and depravity' (1837: 200). In this sense, English attitudes towards clients of

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[5] A number of texts provide comprehensive discussion of this; see Alain Corbin's *Women for Hire: Prostitution and Sexuality in France* (1996) or Judith Walkowitz's *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State* (1982) for more.

prostitutes were simultaneously more judgemental and more repressed; accepting sex work as a part of modern life was dismissed, but there was a refusal to acknowledge that it existed to fulfil a demand. Despite these differing attitudes – one pragmatist, and one idealist – in both England and in France references to clientele were anonymous and distanced from the act of prostitution. However, others did attempt to highlight the role of men, referring directly to the perceived conflict between the desired ideals of womanhood and an attraction to the 'animality' of prostitution (Corbin 1996: xiv). The French dramatist, Ernest Legouve condemned the dynamic of prostitute and client as 'masculine sovereignty in its vilest form', and blamed the 'impunity' afforded to men for a number of societal ills, including prostitution (quoted in Moses 1984: 137). And Linda Dryden suggests that, in England

> middle-class ideals of male behaviour towards women were undermined by the activities in the real world […] revelation of corruption and on the part of 'respectable' gentlemen […] shook English moral complacency to its foundations. (2003: 64)

It is perhaps the attempts to distance prostitution from men's' desires in England, which led to a stronger response from reformers and arguably catalysed the desire for change.

The heavy-handed treatment of prostitutes, and the relative blamelessness of their clients, led to women adding their voices to debates which had previously been the domain of men. In England, Josephine Butler is perhaps the best-known in this regard, credited with the eventual abolition of the Contagious Diseases Act, and attempting to influence similar legislation in continental Europe (Corbin 1996). This was heralded as a victory for both human and women's rights, but this act was not the only piece of legislation which persecuted sex-workers whilst leaving the men who visited them free from blame, and contributing to the spread of venereal disease. Jane Jordan and Ingrid Sharp (2003) argue that Members of both the House of Lords and the House of Commons were

unmoved by the mistreatment of prostitutes, citing a Select Committee's rejection of a bill to raise the age of consent from 12 to 14 'on the ground that their sons would be placed at a great disadvantage' (4). This implicit acceptance that the fates of prostitutes - even child prostitutes - were of less importance than the pleasures of the men who used them was indicative of a wider legislative complicity in the spread of social diseases, and made clear an inherent duplicity in patriarchal society. This hypocrisy of men who moved freely in society, even acting as its legislators, was a key point of entry for those women (and men) who wished for reform.

Whilst philanthropic work was not unheard of for middle-class women, who were often encouraged to practice their feminine virtue of charity, the causes undertaken in urban spaces in the nineteenth century were distinct in that women were not only concerned with improving the lives of those inferior to them, but for themselves too. They were contesting their rights and place in society and, for the first time, vociferously arguing that those men who created and upheld the laws governing sexuality and morality were not best equipped to do so. Judith Walkowitz argues that these middle-class reformers used the subject of prostitution as a platform from which to 'speak out against men's double lives, their sexual diseases, and their complicity in a system of vices' (1980: 6). However, in order to be successful in this endeavour, the frailty and innocence that was still valued in women had to be discarded for the traditionally masculine traits of pragmatism and autonomy leading to some confusion regarding feminine identity. Furthermore, the knowledge that activists required in order to contribute to such matters was of prostitution, venereal disease, and other sexually-charged topics, which were considered distasteful subjects for women to speak of in public, even leading one MP to declare that he looked upon women activists as 'worse than the prostitutes' (Jordan and Sharp 2003: 10). Such was the marked tension in society, as the position men occupied began to be openly challenged, and traditional gender roles and expectations began to witness substantial changes.

The questioning of traditional roles was a starting point for the New Woman. In both Britain and France, these highly educated and

independent women frequently found it difficult to reconcile their beliefs in equality with married life, and so often rejected it and motherhood, breaking with many centuries of traditional expectations (Roberts 2002; Finney 1991). Many New Women with devoted their lives to political causes, displaying a tenacity in their interactions in the public sphere as had never been seen. This led to harsh remonstrations from many, including arguments that the New Woman was 'a threat to the human race, probably an infanticidal mother, and at the very least, sexually abnormal' (Ledger 1997: 10). Max Nordau's *Degeneration* (1892), which was published toward the close of a century which had seen great shifts in gender roles as outlined above, used similar hyperbole in associating 'the dusk of nations' with, among other things, this manifestation of woman who was not a woman: amaternal, self-sufficient to the point that it was unbecoming, and, for the more sensational, a woman who was in control of her sexuality (1893: 412-413). This perceived threat to the status quo, to the hypocrisy which allowed legislators to simultaneously condemn and make use of the so-called 'evils' in society, gave rise to a convincing gothic antagonist, and explains one of those tropes so frequently associated with nineteenth-century gothic literature – the predatory woman. This is evident in the figure of the vampire Lucy Westenra in *Dracula*, Carmilla in the eponymous novella, Helen Vaughan in *The Great God Pan* and many others in which 'good' men and women are threatened by the spectre of change in the form of a hyper-sexualised woman. Just as such women were contrasted with ideals of femininity in reality, these predatory women in the gothic are often juxtaposed with more desirable and traditional manifestations of womanhood, such as Stoker's Mina Harker and Le Fanu's Laura. In addition to the threat of the New Woman, the concerns regarding the hypocrisy of those men who were complicit in destabilising society is also reflected in gothic texts.

However, the New Woman was not solely responsible for social anxieties regarding loss of gender identity, and other concerns also reared their heads at the end of the century. In both England and France, homosexuality was closely linked to a fear of a loss of national identity and

the dissolution of the family. Elaine Showalter identifies both of these issues as being of great interest to scientists and legislators alike, again due to an overarching fear of degeneration (1990: 190). This intolerance was predominantly founded on distaste for that which was considered different; Florence Tamagne points out the irony of homosexuality being referred to as 'the German vice' in France, and 'the French vice' in Germany, which indicated a clear distaste for both neighbouring country, and the orientation (2004: 42). In France particularly, concerns about homosexuality were particularly tied into patriotic ideals, because it jarred with the perceived importance of reproduction as a means of replenishing a declining population (Clark 2008; Schaffner 2012). That the threat of degeneration came from the upper classes only added to the violent opposition that homosexuals, and homosexuality, faced. Discussion of this is often centred on the trials of Oscar Wilde due to the fame of the principal players: Wilde was a well-known celebrity thought to have corrupted the son of an equally well-known peer. However, this trial came at the end of a sustained persecution of homosexuals for many centuries, and at the end of the nineteenth century it was 'punished on a scale never before witnessed in English law', with many thousands of men publicly shamed and imprisoned (Cocks 2003: 16).

From a medical perspective, the feminised or homosexual man was introduced as a being who was 'inverted' and required treatment; from a legal perspective, he was a being who deserved punishment for a crime. In both cases, such behaviour was considered to be an undesirable and damaging condition which needed to be controlled. Whilst in England, homosexuality was illegal, in France, attitudes toward homosexuality were somewhat ambivalent. On the one hand, homosexuality and sodomy had been both decriminalised in 1791, following a 'secularisation' of laws (Merrick and Ragan 1996: 82). This, coupled with the fact that many homosexuals left England for France as a means of escaping persecution, led many to believe that homosexuals did not face many problems in France (Tamagne 2004; Jackson 2009). However, this was far from true, and in fact this mistaken belief contributed to a stalling in the movement for

rights for homosexuals by those who 'could not see that homosexuals faced any significant problems in France', the effects of which were still felt in the late twentieth century (Jackson 2009: 18). Whilst the legal stance of homosexuality had changed, attitudes took much longer to follow suit, and homosexuals were persecuted through a number of channels. Legally, they were considered to be closely affiliated to criminals, and subject to surveillance, harassment and arrest by police, followed by swift judicial proceedings by the court which often resulted in fines and a prison term (Peniston 2011). Socially, attitudes towards homosexuals were similarly punitive, and homosexuals were met with moral disapproval and 'the object of scorn and derision' (Crompton 2006: 528). In Paris, there were sustained complaints regarding homosexuals gathering in certain areas, claiming that they were discouraging 'respectable people' from visiting shops by flaunting their 'disgusting tastes', and this was reflected in the press (Sibalis 2013: 121- 122). Despite the difference in legality, and the perceived liberalism of France in comparison to England, homosexuals in the nineteenth century were subject to censure in both countries, predominantly for the same beliefs regarding the immorality and unnaturalness of the act.

The persecution of men for homosexual acts is distinct from the blame attributed to women for heterosexual acts (i.e. prostitution), not only in the sexual orientation of its participants, but also with regard to the consequences. Tamagne cautiously suggests that 'there was a high degree of tolerance [for homosexuality] amid the working classes, particularly if it was being paid for', leaving the lower classes relatively unscathed (2006: 263). However, for the middle- and upper-class men paying for these encounters, the possibility of censure and legal action from their peers – and so the risk – was far greater. In stark contrast to the institutionalised punishment of working-class girls for soliciting heterosexual men (and the lack of blame allocated to men consorting with female prostitutes), blackmail and scandal were two repercussions which victimised solely upper and middle-class (homosexual) men. The threat of public scandal in particular was a powerful weapon, used by and on men

of the same class as a means of warning others, and to 're-establish the boundaries of public and private' (Cocks 2003: 116; Cohen 1996: 4). Furthermore, the same men were also victimised by the working class boys and men who solicited their custom only to threaten bribery and robbery (Sibalis 2013).[6] In this sense, homosexual men were deprived of their social standing through the fear of discovery, both by their peers and those socially subservient to them, and so they became symbolic of the problematic mutability of class barriers.

The severity with which the crime of homosexuality was punished necessitated a double life for the homosexual man, and so, in order to maintain a veneer of respectability, the places which they frequented, and the people with whom they met, would be drastically different depending on whether it was night or day. In the upper classes, public figures, family men, and well-respected members of society, men were forced to use the cover of night to explore their (illicit) sexuality – a point which became publicised after the many trials at the time. This became incorporated into nineteenth-century gothic literature, with some texts exploring the figure of ostensibly homosexual men, such as *The Picture of Dorian Grey,* and being criticised for their homosexual agenda, and others, such as *Strange Case of Jekyll and Hyde* now being considered an indication of '*fin-de-siècle* homosexual panic' (Showalter 1990: 192).

As a defence against these numerous, and simultaneous, perceived threats to manhood, the figure of the Muscular Christian emerged. In this idealised man, there was a combined embodiment of Godliness and physical health, and a firm control of one's environment (Hall 1994: 7). Thus, a Muscular Christian stood in opposition of those fears of degeneration, effeminacy, and threats of usurpation of their rightful role as society's leaders. As bachelors, sports, or other physical activities, were considered to be an important part of these men's spiritual and moral health, as such activity was considered to be a defence against illicit acts

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[6] Oscar Wilde was victim of such a threat by several working-class youths with whom, it was alleged, he had had affairs (Foldy 1997).

of sexual desire in general, and homosexuality and masturbation in particular (Watson, Weir and Friend 2005: 7). Upon marriage however, sexual desire was treated as a natural urge, and encouraged, on the basis that the marital union was founded on traditional gender roles, in which men retained a strongly masculine identity, and women, a strongly feminine one (Hall 1994: 93). This, very specific, idea of appropriate masculine sexuality is seen again in sexological accounts which stated that 'men had to be active and aggressive enough to be genitally functional in heterosexual coitus but not so much that their desire tipped over into excessive […] behaviour', but also not so passive that they were 'linked to homosexuality or eviration' (Cryle and Downing 2009: 4). In these attempts to regulate threats of degeneracy, it becomes apparent that this nineteenth-century mode of defence was, in itself, anxiety-inducing. On the one hand, representations of these ideals are present in the gothic, for example in the men in *Dracula* whose 'band of brothers' mentality is reminiscent of the Muscular Christians' attitude towards team sport, as they join together to suppress a 'degenerate' such as the Count. Van Helsing, Seward, and Morris consistently embody strong masculine traits both in their fight against the vampire, and in their personal lives, suggesting themselves to be upstanding, virile, and moral men. This tangible heterosexuality is seen again in the figure of the heroic Dr Tennant in 'Kalee's Shrine', who again is pro-active, respectable, and in control. Conversely, the possible difficulties of living up to such an example are also apparent in the emotional outbursts and near mis-steps by Van Helsing, Jonathan Harker, and Arthur Godalming, whose weaknesses sometimes jeopardise their and other's lives. Even those men who attempt to ascribe to expectations of gender, sometimes find themselves falling short, and thus, the gothic deftly illustrates the complexity of the attaining an idealised role.

Fears of urbanisation, the masculine woman, and the feminised man, and the subsequent response in the form of the Muscular Christian, were a reflection of an overall concern regarding the degeneration of a society and its boundaries, and the gothic literature of the time was effective in exploiting this. Amongst these anxieties regarding the changing

roles of men and women, there is a common fear regarding the destabilisation of the status quo, and an attempt to control the situation through a combination of legislation, and condemnation of those who shirk their social responsibilities. However, such activities as prostitution and illicit sexuality (both from the point of view of men and women) were difficult to govern, as they were conducted in secret and at night. This then becomes a significant point of entry for gothic literature, from which to engage with these highly visible, and yet secretive, anxieties that came to characterise the nineteenth century. Having always relied on the inherent vulnerability of humans during the night and darkness in order to incite terror in its readers, the gothic of the nineteenth century began to consider the night in relation to degenerate (and degenerative) activities, in contrast with the passivity of sleep. However, these fears of sexuality, and their associations with degeneracy, are not the sole points of concern for readers of the gothic, and death too was a popular point of discussion.

Often considered a 'Victorian obsession', James Curl argues that nineteenth-century interest in death was in fact shaped by 'graveyard poets' of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, whose 'gothic tendencies' evoked images of death, decay and despair (2004: 1). Moreover, it was not a strictly 'Victorian' obsession; Thomas Kselman (2014) refers to the 'Catholic cult of the dead' in nineteenth-century France, and its influence on contemporary society. In both societies, meditations and discussions on death were not limited to Romantic portrayals of it in poetry and literature, but discussed and planned for as a matter of course. The desire to arrange for one's own death was inherently associated with sincere spiritual aspirations, particularly the belief that to enter heaven, one should die what was termed a Good Death. Whilst the definition of this changed over time, from the mid-1400s onwards, the central belief that there was such a thing as a Good Death endured, equally predominant among Catholics and Protestants, and was subject to continuous discussion for many centuries.

The publication of two texts known as the *Ars Moriendi* – 'The Art of Dying' - in the fifteenth century is the earliest of what came to be a popular subject for religious authors. Penned by a Dominican friar, they were

disseminated widely throughout Europe, and were the archetypal reference in defining a 'Good' Catholic death. Shortly after its publication, the Protestant ideal death was adapted from the original text, with changes made following the Reformation (Houlbrooke 2000). Following this period, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries witnessed a sudden popularisation of the Evangelical movement in England, which in turn familiarised the public with the concept of a desirable passing - even amongst non-Evangelicals (Bebbington 1989: 105). Curl suggests that, having long been a concern of the upper classes, the mid-Victorian period saw an increase of lower and working class families subscribing to ideas of a Good Death and attempting to recreate the deathbed scenes and funereal riches of their superiors (Curl 2004: 20-21).

The nineteenth-century idea of a Good Death has been typified perhaps most coherently by Pat Jalland in *Death in the Victorian Family* (1996). She provides a comprehensive list of the essential characteristics of an Evangelical Good Death:

> [Death] should take place at home, with the dying person making explicit farewells to each family member. There should be time, and *physical and mental capacity for the completion of temporal and spiritual business*, where the latter signified final Communion or informal family devotions. The dying person *should be conscious and lucid until the end*, resigned to God's will, able to beg forgiveness for past sins and to prove his or her worthiness for salvation. Pain and suffering should be borne with fortitude, and even welcomed as a final test of fitness for heaven and willingness to pay for past sins. (1996: 26, my italics)

The explicit instructions that the dying person should remain awake, and with their faculties intact, is particularly significant as it meant that to die peacefully in one's sleep in the first half of the nineteenth century was to risk damnation. Conversely, to stay awake, enabling one to repent and pray was seen to give some hope to the family, and to the dying themselves.

This belief was derived from the general agreement by most Christians that to suffer in one's own passing, and to bear it with fortitude was a sign of God's love, as it was considered to be a reflection of Christ's suffering on the cross, or a means of atoning for one's sins before dying. Originally found in Jeremy Taylor's instructional book *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying* (1651) in which the Anglican Bishop argues that 'sickness […] is that agony in which men are tried for a crown' (Jalland 1996: 18). Similarly, in Catholic France, it was often the case that 'a violent death was considered to be sufficient for martyrdom' (Ford 2005: 105).

This attitude persisted well into the nineteenth century, and for that time, painful deaths were not considered to be a marker of any wrong-doing. However, there were exceptions to this. Depending on the moral character of the person dying, pain at the point of death could be seen as a positive experience as above, but also as a punishment for unrepentant sinners. Jalland suggests that the literary manifestations of such attitudes were clear in Victorian melodramatic novels, in which the heroes would die with nobility and virtue, and the sinners would die writhing in agony. Whilst admittedly a stereotyped and exaggerated representation of Victorian attitudes at the time, when compared to the Evangelical tracts the difference was only 'a matter of degree' and 'some features of the Evangelical Good Death were primarily literary myths which were rarely, if ever, realised in the historical evidence' (Jalland 1996: 36).

It was not simply the concern of being unable to repent which made dying in one's sleep something to avoid. Arising in the first half of the nineteenth-century, a fear of being buried alive emerged and spread across Europe (Engmann 2014: 36), and the similarity in physical appearance of a sleeper to one who has died is integral to this. This fear developed into what became a widespread hysteria throughout the country, and even spread to the United States (Mangham 2013). Concurrent as these fears were with the late-nineteenth-century obsession with death, tabloids embraced the idea, and publicised *alleged* cases of such happenings as fact, further agitating their readers. By the end of the century, belief in this phenomenon was so widespread that Victorians created a society entitled

The Society for the Prevention of Premature Burial, which presented a petition to the government outlining the many checks that should ideally be carried out before interring a corpse in its final resting place (Green 2008: 208). Whilst this fear was not specific to the nineteenth century - with the earliest reports dating back to the seventeenth century (ibid) - there were a number of reasons specific to the later century which revived the belief that vivisepulture was, in fact, a legitimate concern. One of the main precursors to this fear was a widespread and deep-seated distrust in physicians.[7] Whilst there was an alleged effort made to dissipate these worries, it has been noted that doctors were often 'ill-prepared' and 'often too busy' to offer accurate diagnoses, even in distinguishing between the living and the dead (Behlmer 2003: 224). Thus patients' fears that they would be pronounced dead whilst they were still alive were considered to be well-founded.

Another reason for this sudden concern was related to the rise in spiritualism amongst the middle and upper classes. These beliefs raised questions about the soul, when it left the body, and where it went, and were founded on a wide range of Eastern ideas about connections between the body, mind and soul, and theories regarding trance states and astral projection. Thus, a re-emergence and reworking of previous ideas regarding the differences between life, sleep and death gained popularity through new-found beliefs in spiritualism and mesmerism. George Behlmer argues that in the seventeenth century, the 'near-death' trance of deeply religious men and women was celebrated as a sign of their Christian faith, and considered to be a phenomenon only experienced by a chosen few, and gives the example of such '[p]ious men, women, and children [who] might lapse into multiple-day comas so deathlike that their funerals were ordered' (Behlmer 2003: 208). These spiritualists, however, always managed to escape burial because they returned to full consciousness just at the crucial moment, ready to regale their audience with visions of the heavens that they had seen. However, by the nineteenth century,

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[7] See Chapter Six: Manipulating Sleep.

(particularly the summer of 1895, which Behlmer identifies as a period in which the British tabloids published a slew of premature burial allegations), beliefs surrounding such near-death states experienced a reversal, and they became something to fear. The panic related to such a fate was not improved by the death of a spiritualist who was known for entering states of hysterical catalepsy. W. I. Bishop entered his state of immovable trance in New York whilst reading a mind in a club, only to be autopsied a mere four hours later – a fact which resulted in many people questioning whether or not he actually had been dead when his brain was dissected by medical examiners (Behlmer 2003: 217).

This fear subsequently became a common anxiety in spiritualist circles and advocates of the movement began expressing a concern that they or their loved ones would suffer the same fate. For example, Isabel Burton, wife of the explorer Richard Burton, and a staunch believer in Eastern mysticism, mesmerism and spiritualism, refused to believe that her husband was dead when doctors pronounced him so, and insisted that he was in a coma. Lady Burton also spoke of her own fears that she was at risk of being buried alive, due to the fact that she would often lie in a trance. So real was her fear, that she requested that a needle be passed through her heart before burial so – if she was not already dead – she would be by the time she was buried (Kennedy 2005: 252). Lady Burton was not the only individual to take such precautions; one of the most famous examples of such caveats is the oft-quoted will of Frances Cobbe who specified that her neck and windpipe be completely severed before she was interred in a coffin, to remove all doubt (Behlmer 2003; Jalland 1996; Lederer 1997).

One final contributor to this panic were the many novels and magazines, titillating readers with stories of this particular fate – including one book by a German physician, Franz Hartmann, whose work *Buried Alive* (1895) contained no less than 108 stories about vivisepulture. That it was written by one of those individuals who might be responsible for interring people in their graves prematurely, presumably did not help to allay fears. Other authors too, examined this subject, and Joseph Taylor's *The Dangers of Premature Interment* (1816), and Edgar Allan Poe's 'The

Fall of the House of Usher' (1839) and 'The Premature Burial' (1844), are just a few examples of how the genre fuelled fears of the reading public. Add to these fictional tales, the purported factual, scientific and instructional books by respected authors, such as William Tebb and Edward Vollum's *Premature Burial and How It May Be Prevented* (1896), or even travel literature reporting on savage tribes and their particular brands of vivisepulture, and it is clearer to discern the reasons for this panic becoming so prevalent amongst so many strata of society.

With such diverse and morbid fears present as a matter of course in nineteenth-century society, themes of sex and death were highly visible in life, and in the fiction of the time. Parallels can certainly be drawn between nineteenth-century moral discourse and gothic literature. However, whilst the latter can be considered representative of the society in which it is written, it is ultimately a fictionalised account, artfully shaped by an individual. On the one hand, an understanding of reigning attitudes and beliefs (seem to) become apparent through the analysis of socio-historic realities.[8] However, the literature does not simply reflect concerns, but also challenges, subverts, or even mocks them. Furthermore, these responses are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and multiple readings can be ascribed to a text. Thus, fictional narratives cannot be held as a simple reflection of the social norms of a particular culture or period in time, but as a guide to understanding significant issues, and the varied responses to them.

This can be seen in the narratives and is analysed in this thesis. In both 'Arria Marcella' and *La Morte Amoureuse*, discussion of anticlericalism is evident, as well as the sympathetic portrayal of a highly sexualised woman in the latter. Both texts can be read as the successful destruction

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[8] For example, as seen in the gothic genre through the gradual changes in the stock features over the centuries, which are widely understood to reflect anxieties specific to the different periods. Eighteenth-century manifestations of the gothic are predominantly focused on distant places and associated with foreign traditions, reflecting political tensions on the continent, the locations of gothic narratives in the nineteenth century become more familiar, hinting at the fear of danger on the home front (Hughes 2012).

of immoral and sinful beings, resulting in a return to the status quo – but they can also be considered a critique of dogmatic responses to illicit sexuality or secularism. Similarly, the depiction of Lucy and the vampire women in *Dracula* has been examined as the encroaching danger of New Women, but it also serves to highlight the hypocrisy of the men who are attracted to them. And 'Kalee's Shrine' exploits gothic tropes of peril arriving from foreign shores, only to then satirise the suspicious attitudes of a closed upper-class society, and even gothic genre itself, by dismissing the supernatural elements in favour of a more prosaic romantic ending. These multiple critical responses to gothic texts only serve to highlight the gothic's status as a genre which blurs lines between reality and fiction, between breaking social laws and upholding them. This thesis aims to explicate the special connection between sleep and literature by examining the social attitudes towards sleep in the nineteenth century, and examining how these may have found expression in the symbolism of gothic texts.

Examining Sleep in the Gothic

The inclusion of the sleeping form in was well established in gothic art by the end of the nineteenth century. One of the most famous examples of this meeting of the gothic and sleep is Henry Fuseli's painting 'The Nightmare' (1790), in which a female figure cowers under the literal representation of a nightmare; a powerful horse that looms over her swooning form, as an incubus sits on her chest.[9] However, the figure of the sleeper has existed in art and literature for many years, and its connection to gothic themes - even if not explicit - is consistent. This is partially by virtue of sleep's physical associations with death, as seen in the narratives of ancient Greece and Rome, in which the gods of sleep and night time (Hypnos and Nyx) are brothers of the god of death (Thanatos). Perhaps the most relevant inclusion of the sleeper in history and art is in the Romantic poetry which preceded, and influenced, the nineteenth-century

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[9] See; Fig 1 in Appendix.

gothic. In their poetry, John Keats and Percy Bysshe Shelley describe sleeping bodies and the space they occupy, arguably with darkness underlying the description. Consider 'The Eve of St Agnes' (1820) in which Keats narrates an effective rape of Madeline by Porphyro; so blinded is Madeline by sleep and superstition, and Porphyro by her beauty, that she welcomes him into her bed in the belief that it is a dream. Her horror upon waking is reminiscent of later gothic realisations of the reality of a night-time attack, a trope which is often found in the nineteenth-century gothic. This conflation of the night with attack - particularly sexual attack - follows a long tradition of such fears, and takes its place in the gothic with ease.

In establishing the historical and social context of gothic literature, the intersections between it and sleep become clear, particularly in relation to discussions regarding sexuality and mortality outlined above. However, other connotations exist too; both in terms of the reality of sleep and in relation to the categorisation of the gothic. First, the fact that sleep primarily takes place at night immediately places it in close proximity to the monsters of the gothic which often emerge in darkness. This association of night-time, sleep, and fear is so transparent as perhaps thought to be unimportant, when so many other narrative devices are skilfully used. However, it is pertinent to note that this device is effective in manipulating anxieties because readers identify with it - perhaps *more so* than any other, since everyone sleeps, and regularly. Whilst the moral aspect of gothic literature warns against breaking social laws by describing what happens to those who do, the adeptness in linking fear, night-time, and sleep forces the reader into a corner. Simply put, the reader could attempt to observe the implied moral message of the narrative, even believe in it, but they cannot avoid sleep, and thus the fears that might otherwise dissipate are anchored in a behaviour which the reader has little control over.

Secondly, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, it seems to be widely accepted that the gothic genre is transgressive. Whether in order to disrupt the status quo, or to uphold it, texts such as those discussed in this study, test the boundaries of knowledge and understanding, of comfort, and of the society in which they were written. Similarly, the concept of sleep occupies

an uncertain place in our understanding. Sleeping and waking are not binary acts and there exist a number of states between the two: people can be asleep or half-asleep; they can have sleep induced on them by chemical or psychical means, or have their sleep withheld in the same way; they can be put in a trance through mesmerism or hypnotism, and relinquish control of both their body and mind to another. In the gothic, these in-between stages become a grounds for conflict as they occupy a transient position in human consciousness; questions arise as to who is sleeping and who is not, and the answer is not always forthcoming. So, in order to study sleep in gothic literature, it is necessary to include all those states above and more.

This study will show that the enactment of sleep not only allows for an insight into unconscious desires and repressed sexuality, but also that the sleeper's place in the narrative, and his or her treatment by others is determined by conscious and unconscious responses to sleep, based on social and moral expectations. Sexual anxieties related to illicit desire and a social fear of the unknown. Homosexuality and sexually free women, as well as emerging questions about man's place in the world were related to religion's shifting role as it was (seemingly) usurped by scientific advances. This thesis demonstrates that representations of sleep and its associated states in literature address these issues, and did so in a way which reflected the differing attitudes toward the above concerns in England and France. In the chapters to follow, the representation of sleep in gothic literature is considered with regards to sociological ideas regarding sleep, coupled with an examination of nineteenth-century anxieties, and their psychological manifestations. However, whilst fear experienced by (mortal) sleepers is common in the gothic, sleep is not solely manifested as a passive activity during which one is under attack from a supernatural force. Instead, the portrayals of the sleeper, and of sleep itself, vary greatly in these narratives, with differing - and sometimes conflicting - representations being present in a single text. In the nineteenth-century gothic narratives to be studied, the helplessness, and so, the implicit innocence of the sleeper, is often subverted. Immobile, sleeping bodies are

shown to exert a power over those around them, or else sleep is seen to be used as a tool which can be manipulated for personal gain. Because of this, the characterisation of the sleeper is complex; they are not simply considered to be blameless victims but are subject to the same fluidity as other states in the gothic. Just as the difference between reality and fiction is difficult to gauge for the characters of the gothic, so too is the difference between innocent sleeper and powerful attacker for the readers.

In the gothic narratives to be studied, there is a clear link in terms of the night-time and vulnerability. However, with sleep being such a ubiquitous phenomenon, this is not unexpected, and instead, other features become relevant. In the first place, a number of these texts include, or allude to, the nineteenth-century gothic villain *du jour*: the vampire. In these beings' vastly different sleep patterns, propensity for night-time attacks, and their ability to mesmerise their victims into a near-dream state, the vampire is clearly a 'creature of the night'. The human necessity to sleep is complicated by the presence of such nocturnal predators, and the reaction of potential victims to such a being in their midst is horror and fear. In such narratives as *Dracula*, *Carmilla, La Morte Amoureuse*, the explicitly defined figure of the vampire is a looming threat to sleep. But in other narratives too, a vampiric threat is present, in the form of monstrous, and highly sexualised, predators who seek to drain their victims in alternative ways. Overwhelmingly female, these vampiric beings exert various controls over their victims: not by attacking in their sleep, but by manipulating it, and, like other 'traditional' vampires, questing for blood - or other bodily fluids. In 'Kalee's Shrine' such a figure is present in the eponymous goddess who not only requires a blood sacrifice from her victims, but also the ability to control their sleep. Similarly, in 'Amour Dure', the Countess Medea demands for blood to be spilled in her name, both in order to bolster her political power, and as a display of her sexual prowess. Finally, in other texts such as 'Arria Marcella' and *The Great God Pan*, the women are not explicitly vampires, but in the same way as the others, attempt to drain their victims. In the former narrative, this manifests itself as an attempted seduction, with Arria attempting to engage in necrophiliac

sex with her admirer. In the latter case, the vampiric drain comes from (implied) orgies which result in the mysterious, nocturnal, deaths of Helen Vaughan's victims.

The threat that these creatures pose at the human's most vulnerable time is seen to give them an advantage over mortals. However, these creatures are not the omnipotent beings that they first appear to be, and their victims are not so powerless. To begin with, many vampires also require sleep, and so are vulnerable to the same threat of attack as humans. In many cases, the only physical defence that vampires have in their sleep is the location of their grave which can prove difficult to find; however, once found, all that remains is to stake their immobile bodies. Because of this, there are few occasions where vampires need to be dominated physically. These are far different challenges than having to physically struggle with the creature itself - scenarios in which humans may well fall short - but they prove vastly challenging for the protagonists of the gothic. In the run-up to this, there are often personal or intellectual obstacles which need to be overcome in order to defeat the vampire: to identify the creature as a threat; to overcome attachments to it; or to discover its whereabouts. Furthermore, the vampire hunter needs to overcome their own disgust, hesitation, or attraction to the sleeping creature in order to kill it, something which does not always come easy. In this sense, many of those men and women who are being victimised by a vampire become complicit in their attacks, through their own inability to destroy their attackers.

As in the texts outlined above, in 'Pallinghurst Barrow' and 'The Novel of the White Powder', the study of the night and sleep is loosely linked to the same atavism which is seen to characterise the vampire. Just as Helen Vaughan degenerates to primordial slime in *The Great God Pan*, the devolution of Francis Leicester in 'The Novel of the White Powder' is indicative of the importance of the modern civilising process. However, this acceptance of modernity and progress is also fraught, and distinctions between acceptable and unacceptable progress arise. In all gothic narratives to be studied, the threat to one's person (and one's sleep) does

not come solely from supernatural forces. Instead, the dangers of manipulating and attempting to control such things which belong to the realm of nature become evident, as mortals interfere with each other's sleep. Again, the culpability is shown to be as much the sleeper's as the person exerting control over them, and questions arise as to in which circumstances it might be appropriate to interfere with slumber.

The beginning of this study, 'Chapter One: Theoretical Perspectives', outlines theories founded in sociology in order to establish a framework from which to consider the subject. This comprises a two-pronged approach: first, historical perspectives towards, and understandings of, the sleep state are viewed in relation to how they led to twentieth-century observations and beliefs regarding sleep, and placed it as a matter of sociological interest. These ideas are often - but not solely - based on observations of the sleep state as in nature, and therefore considered to represent the 'inherent' traits of sleep. Alongside this, there is an overview of discourses regarding beliefs about sleep in the nineteenth century, considering attitudes toward such things as sleep space and the development of understandings of dreams and nightmares. As with the gothic literature to be studied, these ideas which have led to the present-day understanding of sleep, have been influenced - and in many ways still incorporate - theories founded in centuries previous. Similarly, attitudes toward sleep and dreams in the nineteenth century are shown to have been long-lasting, with origins in early-modern history, and shaped by such things as folk-lore and superstition. In this way both the study of sleep and the study of the gothic are characterised by ideas which have lasted through history, and complement one another in the persistence of their findings.

In 'Chapter Two: Physical Appearance', the face and figure of the sleeper is subjected to scrutiny, as a physical entity to be observed, analysed, and ascribed definable characteristics. The form of the sleeper is presented as a mirror of the true self, either indicating inner peace and beauty as in the case of Lucy Westenra, or contorted with evil, thereby hinting at the iniquity which lies beneath, as seen in Count Dracula.

However, there are also instances of both these characterisations simultaneously. Some sleepers are entrancingly beautiful on the surface, but a trap for unsuspecting victims, luring them to corruption. Most often seen in the descriptions of female vampires, the sleeping figure can be viewed as a point of confusion for men who are exposed to their sleeping forms. Furthermore, the similarity of a sleeper to one who is recently deceased (and conversely, of a corpse, to one who is simply sleeping) is a further point of uncertainty. Through this fact, philosophical questions regarding the proximity of sleep to death are given free rein in the gothic as boundaries between the two states are blurred. Furthermore, sexual desire becomes doubly illicit as dead 'sleepers' attract others to them. Thus, both the face and body are commonly viewed through a lens of morality in nineteenth-century gothic literature, and as a figure to be looked upon with caution. Finally, in describing sleepers, there is also the significance of those whose sleeping bodies are not included in the texts. The vast majority of sleepers portrayed in gothic texts are female, with men very rarely being subjected to the same appraisals of their passive forms, and thus questions arise regarding the relationship between genders, and reasons as to why men and women are characterised so differently.

That the sleeping figure is vulnerable, as well as powerful, leads to the question of how it is to be protected, and so the discussion of the physicality of the sleeper extends far beyond appearance. Consequently, the space that one occupies is also extremely significant. The question of bed-mates is an important one, leading to substantial consideration being given to where one chooses to take rest, and with whom. Furthermore, with the acceptance of the inherent vulnerability of a sleeping body, there is a concern as to how it can be safeguarded in special cases, such as illness or attack. Thus in 'Chapter Three: Protecting Sleepers', the discussion of responsibilities towards the sleeper arises. In the definition of two specific roles - those who sleep with another person, and those who stay awake and watch over them - a number of implications become apparent regarding the interactionality of the relationships. Such relationships are founded in trust of one another, but also illustrate a dichotomous pairing in

which the sleeper is relegated to a more subservient than their partner, and often retains that role for the remainder of the narrative. The position of watcher, in particular, comes with substantial control over the sleeper, and thus trust is a crucial element of this relationship. Once again, discrepancies arise with men seldom being seen to require either means of protection, whilst women are seen to be subject to both repeatedly, even without their acquiescence.

Closely related to these means of protecting a sleeper, are the obligations which the sleeper has towards those around them. 'Chapter Four: Obligation and Culpability' begins with the importance of sleeping successfully from the point of view of the sleeper, predominantly characterised by a fulfilment of waking responsibilities. However, this can be compromised in a number of ways, as dreams, nightmares, or otherwise altered states of consciousness, interfere with characters' ability to gain rest, and thus to enact their social roles in their waking hours. This failure is also possible through the rejection of sleeping at night, for reasons which are seldom justified. The ensuing mental fatigue and distortion of reality can lead to a disconnection between reality and imagination, which in turn results in an inability to perceive the world accurately. The subsequent effects of such disruption leads to a 'dream-like' reality where protagonists may not be aware of what they are doing, or the consequences of their actions. This then leads to a question of culpability, as characters may be seen to be using their time of rest, whether to indulge in illicit behaviour (be it in a dreamed existence, or by choosing to stay awake), with negative effects on their social duties. In this chapter, the obligations of sleepers are examined, for at night, just as during the day, and whether asleep or awake, there are expectations to be met, and if these are eschewed, the possibility of social discordance becomes very real.

The inherent association of night-time with sleep and physical vulnerability provides an opportunity for slumber to be utilised as a means of victimising its characters. Thus, the physical space and time that the sleeping body occupies becomes contested by those who wish to cause harm, and those who wish to protect. In 'Chapter Five: Space and Time' it

becomes apparent that specific ideas regarding where and when one should take rest are closely related to ideas of social and sexual freedom, under the guise of protection, and furthermore, an extension of sleepers' responsibilities. The spaces in which characters are expected to take rest are distinctly gendered, with contrasting expectations for, men and women, their behaviour at night, the spaces which they are permitted to occupy, and those which are forbidden to them. Once again, the vulnerability of the sleeping body is considered to be dangerously exposed by sleeping 'improperly', this time with regard to social expectations regarding movement. Furthermore, if sleeping together and at the same time, is a matter of trust as suggested, then conversely to choose to do differently - particularly as an individual - could be an indication of rebellion. Observing the sleep patterns of gothic characters is telling in that the rejection of traditional sleep patterns and spaces is best seen in the villains of the narratives. Thus, for another character to do the same, or similar, could be considered an indication of weakness, even evil. The sleep patterns of protagonists and antagonists are not mutually exclusive and they are often seen to have an effect on one another. For example, when under attack, a victim may suffer from bad dreams, or have intruders enter into sleep space as seen in *Carmilla* and *Dracula*. It could also force would-be sleepers into having to venture into unknown territory during the night, a time when they should be safely encased in their homes and one's bed, such as in the case of the 'band of brothers' who venture into a graveyard to kill the vampiric Lucy. In this way, just as disruption to sleep is common in gothic narratives, the return to 'normal' sleep could be considered an indication of success in the fight against evil.

Finally, the concept of sleep as a force is considered in 'Chapter Six: Manipulating Sleep'. Sleep can have a powerful effect on living creatures, and can overcome them against their will, so the risk of falling asleep at an inopportune time can be seen to range from inconvenient to life-threatening. The most natural defence mechanism of humans during sleep is the ability to maintain a connection with the waking world, to wake up at the sign of struggle or disturbance, so the thought of being denied this

ability through extreme tiredness taps into a primal fear of lack of control. However, this is seen to be much more sinister when the force of sleep is controlled by a third party. Whilst most people might awaken from sleep when confronted by noise or movement, deeper states of unconsciousness such as trance would be impervious to such disturbance. Thus, the link between sleep and death becomes less a poetic observation and much more an insidious possibility. Whilst antagonists in the gothic are seen to exploit the ability to manipulate sleep, the discussion in this chapter is primarily considered in relation to contemporary anxieties regarding science and medicine. Just as fears of vivisepulture were founded in a widespread distrust of the medical community, allowing a doctor to take control of one's sleep in any way, such as through the use of narcotics, often ends badly for gothic sleepers. The same applies to the use of techniques such as mesmerism and hypnotism.

The manipulation and transgressions of boundaries in the gothic are reflected in the sleep of its characters. In the confusion between waking and sleeping, sleep is contested and utilised by the characters to achieve their own ends, whether good or evil, thereby ascribing unsettling connotations to this ostensibly restful state. Furthermore, the universality of sleep as a shared experience provides a means of taboo-breaking on a grand scale. The same can be said for associations of night-time, death with fear, leading as they do to a sense of relatability between readers and characters. In the nineteenth century, changes in social attitudes and practices, and advances in science and technology, led to new ways to exploit sleep, and to terrorise readers, with fears extending beyond the threat of violence to the body. However, sleep in the gothic is not only a means of exploring human fears (as it had been for centuries previous), but of testing attitudes toward personal and private conduct and complicity, blurring the lines between victim and predator, and exemplifying the complicated task which moralisers and legislators faced in attempting to police the private sphere. Thus, the discussion of sleep in the gothic embodies of a number of moral issues, which form the crux of the anxieties that the literature is based on.

Chapter One
Theoretical Perspectives

Sleep is perhaps the most common of all possible experiences. It is universal and ancient, an unavoidable part of daily life, and common amongst all living creatures. However, despite the fact that the experience of sleep is so widely shared, contemporary understanding of it is still relatively limited and 'the exact functions of sleep are still being determined and debated in the scientific community' (Coveney 2014: 123). It is perhaps because of this combination of universality and unknowability that the study of sleep has been limited in its diversity. The vast majority of research focuses on the tangible biological processes which take place during sleep, investigating neurology, respiration, or eye movement for example. Similarly, medical research has investigated the causes of, and sought to find cures for, a number of sleep disorders such as insomnia, somnambulism, sleep talking, or sleep apnea. Dreaming has also been subject to scientific investigation, particularly in relation to categorising the stages of sleep and examining dreams in terms of the physical reactions they provoke. Until recently, the main aim of sleep research has predominantly been to observe the physical processes taking place, in an attempt to establish how much sleep is required, and to ensure that disruption to sleep is avoided. These topics and similar concerns have been studied thoroughly and remain an oft-revisited area of scientific research. On the other hand, when it comes to examining sleep from a *non-biological* perspective, the discussion has been far less lively. Attempts to investigate the sociology of sleep are a much more recent phenomenon, and arguably slow to gain academic interest. Nevertheless, whilst initially limited in its approach, particularly when attempting to look at sleep as social performance in modern Western culture and its subsequent effect

on art and literature, the study of sleep has garnered attention in the last two decades (e.g. Hislop and Arber 2003; Williams 2005; Meadows 2005).

Whilst academic interest has been slow to develop, historical texts do provide a number of possible starting points for sociological research into the subject. With some flexibility of definition, it can be argued that sociologically-relevant reflections on sleep have long been a part of Western cultural history. The sleep temples of the ancient Greeks and Egyptians, for example, are a very apt illustration of the formalised attitudes that civilisations have held with regard to sleep, and Plato and Aristotle are credited with being two of the first who attempted to elucidate the significance of sleeping from a metaphysical as well as medical point of view. This is a subject which has been consistently visited over many centuries and by many civilisations, but there has been an undeniable bias towards the medical and biological aspects of sleep. Whilst many pre-twentieth century texts often incorporated a strand of, what can retrospectively be viewed as, sociological interest (as seen in 'Chapter One: Introduction') there were limited investigations into the subject of sleep as a whole, barring two texts; Thomas Cogan's *The Haven of Health* (1584), which focused on offering a scientific examination of sleep, and a more relevant and compelling text published by a Scottish doctor; Robert Macnish, *The Philosophy of Sleep* (1827). In the latter case, and subsequent texts published in the twentieth and twenty first centuries, there is a common goal in elucidating on the topic, beginning with establishing definitions, but going on to examine and reflect contemporary beliefs. Thus, it can be argued that sleep has been of sociological concern for sometime, albeit incidentally rather than intentionally.

Defining Sleep

Whilst research into sleep has *primarily* focused on the physical, the definition is *solely* so: it is biological in nature, and comprised of describing the appearance of sleep along with a list of symptoms, and physiological explanations of why it happens. In defining sleep, the aim is to answer two questions; what sleep looks like, and why we sleep. There seems to be a

general, and enduring, consensus among sleep researchers in answering the first question, and it is often focused entirely on the physical characteristics of sleep. It is defined as period of rest entered into on a regular basis, during which eyes are closed, the body reclines, overt physical activity and response to external stimuli is diminished, and mental functions are partially suspended (Meddis 1975; Allam and Guilleminault 2011; Chokroverty 2013). Whilst researchers may add caveats to the above definition, as more is discovered through sleep study, definitions have remained similar for some time, and are invariably based on physicality (whether external, bodily activity, or internal, neural activity). Thus, attempts to provide a definition for the state of sleep have been, and continue to be, shaped by physiological and empirical evidence.

Sleep is also defined by why it happens, specifically the causes and functions of it. As above, research has predominantly been based on attempting a biological explanation for why sleep exists as part of human activity. Michael Aldrich categorises some of the earliest of these theories, dividing them into vascular, chemical, and neural theories of sleep (1999: 4), with each not only seeking to find the cause of sleep, but to explain what function it may have. In terms of vascular theory, sleep is explained as being caused by a contraction of blood vessels or change of blood flow from the brain to the limbs or vice versa, with sleep being the catalyst for reversal. The chemical theory suggests that it is the result of digestion, which sleep aids, or due to a build-up of toxic substances, which sleep disperses. Finally, the neural theory argues that sleep aides brain function, or is caused by a decrease in electrical interaction between neurones or, more simply, a lack of stimulation (Aldrich 1999: 4-6).

There are two features common to these differing explanations. First, researchers agree that, from a biological or medical standpoint, the real reason for sleep is, currently at least, unknowable. In recent years, neural theories have been the most prominent, with suggestions of sleep as a means of memory consolidation (Sarode et al. 2013), 'detoxifying' the brain (Xie 2013), or mood regulation (Babson and Feldner 2015: xiii) having gained credence amongst theorists. However, answers remain far from

definitive, and despite recent interest in the field, even the idea that sleep benefits cognitive function is debated (Ellenbogen 2005: 25). Currently, '[s]leep is the only widespread behaviour whose function we do not know' (Daan 2011: 1). It seems that general assertions that 'sleep is restorative in some way' (Aldrich 1999: 21) and 'essential for […] health and wellbeing' (Coveney 2014: 123) are the only points agreed upon by researchers.

The second point of similarity between these explanations, is that in all of them there is a clear attempt to provide a definition of sleep through investigation of what happens if one does not sleep. The results of sleep deprivation are unequivocally negative. Aside from general feelings of tiredness and an inability to function 'normally', studies have shown that sleep deprivation can increase likelihood of physical ailments such as obesity and cancer (Coveney 2014). Sustained lack of sleep also negatively affects cognitive function such as learning capabilities and general cognitive performance (Curcio et al. 2006), working memory (Chee and Choo 2004), and is also linked to an increased risk of false memories (Frenda et al. 2014). The most common result of long periods of sleep deprivation are either an eventual involuntary submission to the desire to sleep, or if this is prevented, death (Aldrich 1999). Defining sleep by examining the effects of its absence is certainly one means of identifying possible reasons for why living creatures require sleep, but the inability of modern science to provide a single decisive reason for sleep, in the same way that it has for other physiological necessities (such as eating or breathing) gives some idea as to why this subject has been revisited repeatedly by scientists. [10]

Whilst the possible biological causes of sleep are interesting, and beliefs surrounding them are extremely relevant when considering nineteenth-century attitudes, what is equally striking is the sheer longevity

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[10] As Aldrich argues,

> [t]o say the function of sleep is to prevent sleepiness is akin to saying that the function of eating is to prevent hunger; however, although it is evident that food supplies the energy essential to run the biochemical processes of life, a similar unitary concept for sleep need is lacking. (1999:20)

of the theories postulated. For example, the chemical theory of sleep, which originated from Aristotle c.350 BC, is an idea which was revived nearly 2000 years later in England by Cogan in *The Haven of Health*, and persisted well into the nineteenth century with a number of scientists attempting to identify the sleep-causing 'toxin' (Kirsch 2011: 941). And in France, at the beginning of the twentieth century, Henri Piéron's experiments on dogs, in which he induced sleep in a well-rested animal by injecting it with the brain fluid of a sleep-deprived animal, contributed to the contemporary understanding of sleep as being due to a build-up of chemicals (Siegal 2002). Indeed, Aldrich states that all three theories of sleep, were considered valid in the nineteenth century, and since then only the vascular theory, which attributes sleep to changes in blood temperature and pressure, has been decisively rejected. In other words, in the nineteenth century, explanations of why we sleep were far from conclusive, and were founded on some very ancient theories. Many of these originated in Ancient Greek and Roman writings, perhaps due to the substantial impact of Hellenistic traditions on Victorian attitude[11]. However, even beyond any Classical influence on contemporary thought, the revival and

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[11] The study of Victorian attitudes to sleep would be incomplete without some mention of Classical mythology and philosophy, because of the influence it had over so many aspects of everyday life in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Ancient Greek and Roman history were taught as a model for life, and it was alluded to in formal and professional discourse, as well as being scattered in everyday language. Robin Gilmour observes that

> In England, a classical education was the sign of a gentleman […] a handy quote, a reference to the Roman senate, a command of the classical historians, a deferential nod to Homer or Cicero [were] the small change of Establishment discourse. (1993: 42)

Reverence of these ancient cultures also extended to literature and poetry; particularly to the great Romantics to whom 'Greece was the cradle of liberty and rebellion' (43). This was due, in part, to Hellenism's eventual ability to thwart Victorian censors, allowing it to become an 'outlet for the expression of ambiguous sexual feelings' (44) – retrospectively placing it alongside the Gothic as a genre which managed to be both widely accepted, and somewhat transgressive, simultaneously.

re-visitation of some key ideas over many centuries simply serve to emphasise how persistent and deeply rooted scientific ideas on the subject are.

The Sociology of Sleep

Perhaps due to the biological nature of the definition of sleep, it has rarely been afforded the same level of academic sociological interest as other physiological needs (Aubert and White 1959a; Taylor 1993; Meadows 2005; Williams 2005), a fact which has only recently begun to change. There is a significant disparity in the texts to be examined, predominantly based on when they were written. Texts from more recent years are in some ways more *specific* than their predecessors (in that they attempt to assess aspects of sleep, as a separate subject, in a precise, academic way), and in other ways more *general* (in their attempt to find a non-culturally specific understanding of it). These texts are also explicitly academic, with a clear attempt to apply contemporary sociological theory to sleep. On the other hand, texts from the nineteenth century are in many ways only *incidentally* sociological, and approach sleep from a multitude of perspectives. Until the twentieth century, the sociology of sleep was often a happy coincidence in wider investigations, such as attempts to explain sleep from a physiological standpoint, or in an effort to police etiquette and morality. Thus, whilst recent texts have attempted to specifically consider sleep from a sociological perspective, a broad base needs to be maintained in the study of earlier texts, with a consideration of medical, social, and moral discourse. However, it should be said that texts from both eras are relevant to this study, as the shared goal seems to be to find some reconciliation between sleep, a distinctly individualistic and even anti-social activity, and wider society.

In terms of academic writing on the subject, there is a further distinction in the scope of research, again broadly based on the time of publication. Academic discourse on the sociology of sleep arguably originates in the mid-twentieth century; writers between 1950 and 1980 were among the first to attempt an examination of the social aspects of

sleep, and the sleeper's place in society. The works of Vilhelm Aubert and Harrison White, Talcott Parsons, and Barry Schwartz identify sleep as a social practice, and attempt to illustrate that it is not simply a biological process but 'an important social event' (Aubert and White 1959a: 46). Introductory observations in the research of Aubert and White (1959a, 1959b) and Schwartz (1970) refer to sleep as having a primal and inherent function in life. They examine reasons for, what the authors argue, is a widespread social protocol; for example, why it is that communities sleep at the same time, or which roles and responsibilities are afforded to the sleeper and the awake, and how these vary during different parts of the day. These ideas are still valued among researchers today, and have been re-visited in recent decades, as scholars such as Brian Taylor, Steve Kroll-Smith, Robert Meadows, and Simon Williams, among many others, examine the sleeper's place in society, reiterating the necessity for a sociology of sleep.

However, there is a disparity in the level of focus afforded to different themes, and whilst some have been discussed often, others have not. Williams succinctly sums up a key issue in the sociological study of sleep, namely that most of it is 'about all the things surrounding sleep or sleeping rather than *sleep itself*' (2014: 310, emphasis in text). Whilst the areas being investigated are indeed important in this relatively new discipline – areas such as 'sleep to work transition times, texting in the bedroom, mattress changing time […] sleep deprivation and sleep loss' (ibid) – they are distinct from much of Williams' own work, and that of his predecessors in the mid-twentieth century, in which observations are made about sleep, and not associated topics. The themes which have been rarely considered can broadly be referred to as 'inherent truths' of sleep, encompassing universal and factual elements of sleep, and the logical conclusions which stem from them. This includes the following: that every person requires sleep, and experiences dreams; that sleep is a state of vulnerability and thus trust is a pre-requisite for sharing sleep space; and that sleep requires a level of cooperation. Without these elements being taken into consideration, 'successful' sleep is difficult at best and impossible at worst,

with the potential for harm to mental and physical health. Why these ideas do not appear explicitly in many texts, despite the fact that the discourse on sleep spans thousands of years, is not clear, but it could be that the more obvious or unchangeable the subject matter, the less it is considered to be a pertinent subject of discussion. Thus, literature from the mid-twentieth century is not only considered to be ground-breaking because it remains a starting point for the sociological study of sleep, but because it offers a perspective which has been relied on heavily, but rarely been revisited or contested - an attempt to discuss the concept of sleep itself.

It is in this, earlier, literature for example, in which some interesting (non-biological) suggestions as to why we sleep are posited. In 'Notes on the Sociology of Sleep' (1970), Barry Schwartz builds on an argument, made almost in passing by the sociologist Talcott Parsons in *The Social System* (1951), that sleep is a form of tension relief (1991: 267). Schwartz instead refers to it as '*the* fundamental tension relief phenomenon' and a 'periodic remission' from social responsibility (1970: 486, emphasis in text). Thus, sleep is defined as a repeated, voluntary and socially-sanctioned surrender of duties that would otherwise be expected of an individual. During this time of surrender, the individual is considered to be exempt from external demands, and any stresses which may accompany them (Schwartz: 1970: 485). The value of sleep is further described in terms of its solitary nature, as Schwartz suggests that

> if it were not forced upon us by nature, we would be obliged to find some functional equivalent for it, for social coexistence would cease to be gratifying - or even bearable - if men could not regularly renounce their consciousness of it. (486)

Schwartz concludes his argument by clarifying that sleep does not only provide freedom from social interaction, but also from one's own society (ibid). In Schwartz's definition, sleep is considered a means by which to intermittently escape other people, as well as one's own consciousness.

More recently, other researchers have added to the discussion of sleep as serving a social function. In her article 'Managing Sleep and Wakefulness in a 24-hour World', Catherine Coveney (2014) emphasises the 'social costs and consequences of poor sleep' (123). Her interviews with shift workers and students are predominantly focused on the physiological effects of sleep deprivation, but with a clear link to the subsequent *social* effects that these may have. Coveney points out that many participants believe lack of sleep to have a negative impact on their ability to maintain positive interpersonal relationships, even 'transforming their personality' so that they felt unlike their 'normal' selves (127). Ultimately, this deprivation not only affects work performance, but can 'disrupt family life' and 'put a strain' on social relationships (133). Similarly, Nancy Hamilton et al. conclude in their article, 'Sleep and Psychological Well-being' (2006), that healthy sleep can be linked to successful interpersonal relationships, including 'the desire to remain socially connected to the community, family, […] or any other culturally sanctioned aspiration' (159), whilst disordered sleep leads to the opposite - again reinforcing the connection between sleep and being a successful member of society. Finally, Steve Kroll-Smith argues in his work 'Popular Media and Excessive Daytime Sleepiness' (2003) that an inability to stay awake during the day is so sociologically significant that it can be 'characterised as morally inappropriate, signalling the need for […] intervention' (638). This concern of sleep deprivation among sociologists is highly significant, considering the medicalization of sleep and sleepers in tandem with nineteenth-century concerns with enacting the social in a 'proper' way.

In all of the above works, as with the biological explanations mentioned earlier, it could be argued that the function of sleep is being considered in reverse, with the (social) importance of sleep being defined by its connection with the physiological effects of sleep deprivation. Even Schwartz's observations, which focus on the individual desire for sleep rather than the wider social repercussions, are examined in relation to not sleeping. This certainly adds weight to William's afore-mentioned observation that there still exists a lack of discussion about '*sleep itself*'

(2014: 310, emphasis in text). However, whilst it may be true that defining sleep through its absence is problematic, there is still value in the study of the subject as a sociological phenomenon, with recognition of its social implications, rather than simply reiterating the detrimental effects of sleep deprivation on individual physical health, as has been the case for a number of years. As well as offering an alternative definition of the topic, these studies have proven useful in verbalising the nature of sleep and putting into words the implicit truths which had otherwise been overlooked. This is not to say that the authors neglect some of the more common themes which arise in the discussion of this subject, but that they incorporate the more common ideas into discussion of the social inevitabilities of sleep, and it is this which distinguishes them from their peers. These 'truths' can broadly be approached as a loose progression, beginning with the equalising nature and implicit vulnerability of sleep, which leads to a level of trust being required of those who are present when we sleep, and ending with how this affords significance to the sleep space.

To begin with, there is the observation that sleep is an equaliser, for two reasons: first, because it is a physiological requirement, so no human can outlast it indefinitely. Aubert and White (1959a) and Williams and Crossley (2008) remark on the democratic nature of sleep, and the latter go so far as to remind the reader of sleep's power, remarking that sleep can sometimes overcome us 'against our explicit intentions' (2008: 2). Regardless of one's station in life, sleep is experienced by all because it is 'impersonal and organic' (Williams and Crossley 2008: 3) - no person can indefinitely resist sleep without the help of stimulants, and once a person has succumbed to it their worldly situation has little bearing on them. It could be argued that many differences exist in the experience of sleep depending on class - where one sleeps, with whom, in what level of comfort, even for how long - and these differences were a cause for concern in the newly urbanised towns of the nineteenth century [12].

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[12] Catherine Coveney (2014) provides a useful summary of research on how experiences of sleep differ, based on factors such as gender, age, socioeconomic status, occupation, and substance use (124).

However, the key point being made is that there is a human necessity for sleep; it is a shared desire, with equalising effects of tiredness and even ill-health, if it is not met, and equally, the potential for restoration if it is. Thus the second reason that sleep is considered an equaliser is because once asleep, all sleepers share an experience that is chiefly the same. There is a limited variation in the posture which is assumed, the sleeper dreams (whether they remember it or not), and the sleeper is truly alone, disconnected from any of their worldly, waking connections.[13]

Whilst the mind is disconnected, and mostly unaware of events occurring around the sleeper, the body remains in the waking world and so the question of vulnerability comes to the forefront; 'Sleep is […] an insecure and exposed state' (Aubert and White 1959b: 9). However, as much as people make preparations to protect themselves before going to sleep, once asleep they have little control over what happens to them; in order to defend oneself, waking up is necessary.[14] This then necessitates a level of trust which is required from both co-sleepers (those who sleep together) and watchers (those who are present, but awake when others sleep). This high level of trust can be justified for practical reasons alone. Indeed, it leads to an identification of rights and responsibilities ascribed to sleepers and those who are in their proximity. These rights exist in order to protect the physiological need to sleep as well as the body of the sleeper, but they are accompanied with certain caveats. For example, the sleeper cannot expect undue deference; time and location need to be considered.

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[13] The equalising aspect of sleep is acknowledged in discourse numerous times throughout history and in a number of disciplines; the same observation made by Sir Philip Sidney in his poem 'Come Sleep, O Sleep' defining sleep as an 'indifferent judge between the high and low' (1582) is an idea which persists in medical writing, almost two hundred years later. In a review of Macnish's work in the Edinburgh Literary Journal in 1830, the authors identify sleep as 'the fell avenger of man's fall, - for equalising all the human race, it reduces to a similar state of helplessness the high and low, the rich and poor' (238).

[14] These observations can be closely linked to the sleepers of the gothic, as they face real peril due to their sleep patterns. In Dracula, Carmilla, and in the vampire tales of Gautier, by sleeping at different times, both protagonist and antagonist are essentially taking turns in being potential victims and predators.

In order to be permitted to sleep, it must be at a time where sleep is common, and in a sanctioned place. Williams and Crossley's observation that, for a sleeper to be successful, 'sleep requires the cooperation of others' (2008: 4) rings true simply because if those around the sleeper do not respect their right to sleep, disturbance could lead to a lack of fulfilment of this physiological need. The authors go on to suggest that one way to prevent disturbance could be to '[lock] ourselves in our houses and only [allow] into the house those who we trust to respect our sleep rights' (5). This leads to a second, more symbolic reason for why a level of trust is required; these watchers and co-sleepers are not only permitted entry into one's home but are among a limited number of people who are able to occupy the space in which one sleeps, a space which has been widely accepted as being (sociologically) sacred for a significant portion of the modern era, and remains so today: the bedroom.

This bedroom could be anything from the sleeping space in a home, to a cell in a prison, barracks in military bases, or dormitories at a school. Aubert and White (1959b) and Schwartz (1970) suggest that in the traditional sense of a space in one's home it is closely linked to the discussion of vulnerability and trust, but also holds its own significance. The idea that the location in which one sleeps is his or her residence is common in Western society and closely related to ideas of family, as it provides a 'common sleeping ground for its members' (Aubert and White 1959b: 1). More than that, however, it is key in the formation of the sleeper's identity: 'a person belongs where he sleeps' and to reject this by sleeping elsewhere is a 'denial of intimacy' (Schwartz 1970: 493). In relation to marital relationships, Schwartz goes on to argue that to simply engage in extramarital relationships outside of the home is far less detrimental to a person's 'status and identity' than to choose to sleep outside the home which 'undermines that status and identity embodied in the common residence of a married couple' (1970: 494). The bedroom then, is seen to be significant not only in relation to sleep, but also with regard to social ideas of the family unit.

The room in which one sleeps has connotations of belonging and residency, but perhaps it is more clearly linked to sex; in Western culture, sex and sleep largely take place in the same space, and the two are inextricably linked. However, in the second part of their study of sleep, Aubert and White argue that whilst it cannot be denied that privacy is often a prerequisite for sexual intercourse and that this privacy *can* be linked with the literal cover that the night provides, it is not simply the coincidental availability of private space that has formed 'the fairly universal association between sex, the bed, sleep, and night-time' (1959b: 53). Instead they suggest that night-time provides a socially sanctioned cover under which to perform sex without drawing attention to it, thereby retaining the modesty - or indeed, the shame and secrecy - which accompanies the act itself. It is the night's 'predictable patterns of contact and isolation' (1959b: 54) which links it to sex, and the temporary release of responsibility afforded to sleepers results in social acceptance that, for the time during which they are in bed, they will not be disturbed. Aubert and White argue that, in contrast to other physiological requirements, sex is too private an act in our culture to be explicitly allocated time. However, by linking it with sleep, it becomes protected and indirectly legitimised. Williams (2005) reiterates the idea of sleep as a means of 'doing intimacy' (90), drawing parallels between sex, sleep, and the implied closeness of those who share the two. However, he extends Aubert and White's linking sleep and sex in his assessment of both acts as

> pleasurable 'releases', involving a relinquishing of rational control, a loss of self (containment), and an immersion in the more carnal or sensual aspects of our embodiment. (91)

In this way he not only clarifies the (continuing) significance of 'going to bed' or 'sleeping' with another person as a euphemism for sex, but emphasises that 'sleep harbours its own transgressive qualities' (ibid). The vulnerability of sleep is (partially) a fear of sexual exposure, and thus the sociology of sleep can also be considered to be a sociology of sex.

Historicising Sleep

The sociological theories regarding sleep discussed above are based on the universality of sleep, focusing on those aspects which are inherent to the state. Thus, these ideas could, in theory, be applicable to analysis of sleep at any point in history - and indeed afore mentioned ideas regarding trust, vulnerability, the sleepers place in society, and others would be as relevant in the nineteenth century as they are today. However, sleep also interacts with historically specific ideas regarding such things as why, when and how to sleep, or who to sleep with. Hence, it is not enough to simply consider the inherent truths of sleep, but to examine how they were understood in the nineteenth century. The historical ideas to be discussed span many centuries, and aim to provide a clear view of the development of nineteenth-century attitudes to sleep and beliefs regarding it, as communicated through the literature of the time, as well as contemporary secondary literature. In a way it is fitting that the time span being considered is so extensive, for two reasons: firstly, having begun with the 'inherent' qualities of sleep, there has been a discussion of qualities which have *always* been true - since humankind has slept, these aspects have been, and are, relevant, and this immediately relates the discussion to an ancient time in history. Secondly, and specifically with regard to nineteenth-century ideas regarding sleep, these will be shown to be based on strongly established and culturally diverse traditions and beliefs, all finding their origins in early modern, even ancient, history.

The primary literature available on the explicit topic of sleep is limited. However, Macnish's *The Philosophy of Sleep* is a comprehensive study on the subject, with sections devoted to a vast array of topics relating to sleeping, dreaming, nightmares, day-dreams, reverie, and a number of sleep disorders such as somnambulism. Beginning with a brief description of what sleep is, which is predominantly founded in scientific ideas regarding physiology, Macnish's text goes on to discuss an eclectic array of subjects in such chapters as 'Night-mare', 'Day-mare', 'Abstractions' and 'Spectral Illusions'. He also draws upon a variety of sources in explaining slumber, ranging from his scientist peers such as Marie Francois Bichat, to

Shakespeare and the bible and a number of anecdotes - not only exemplifying the pervasiveness of sleep, but the nineteenth-century attitude to such studies, which were seldom limited to scientific fact alone. Furthermore, in his discussion he indulges such ideas as the 'Prophetic Power of Dreams', a concept which he acknowledges is 'advocated even by persons of good sense and education' (1845: 129). Whilst Macnish is critical of such beliefs, arguing that 'no man of sane mind will believe they occur', he goes on to clarify that 'the Sacred Writings testify that miracles were common in former times' but 'we must suppose that God suspended [them]' (130), hinting at the possibility for tension between science and religion which later came to be realised. Furthermore, despite the mild scepticism with which Macnish treats the above chapters, his inclusion of them suggests that they were commonly accepted in the society for which he was writing.

By broadening the base of research - and what constitutes writings on the sociology of sleep - a clearer picture begins to emerge regarding attitudes to sleep in the nineteenth century, and how they were founded. Consider the following definition of sleep by Macnish: 'Sleep is the intermediate state between wakefulness and death' (1845: 2). This comment would resonate with Macnish's readers, who would likely have been familiar with the representation of sleep and death in Greek mythology as twin brothers, or more recent allusions to the pairing in Romantic poetry and literature - yet Robert Macnish was an eminent surgeon (as his authorial credit makes clear), and the preface of the second edition asserts that there has been 'a great accession made to the number of facts' (v), going on to clarify that he is a man of science above all else (viii). It seems that in the nineteenth century, spiritual or otherwise non-scientific ideas of sleep were so long-standing that they became incorporated into scientific discourse. Whilst the attempts of scientists, both presently and in the nineteenth century, has predominantly been to provide a physiological definition of sleep, in the nineteenth century, the subject of sleep seems to naturally lend itself to metaphorical, literary, or otherwise folkloric allusions.

As is already evident from Macnish's comprehensive text on sleep, there was often an attempt to discuss the biological or medical in relation to other aspects of life such as the spiritual or the moral. This included texts written by medical professionals, which often presented a distinctly un-scientific approach to such human activities as sleeping, with the language used being much more prone to hyperbole, heresy, anecdotal evidence and emotional manipulation than might be expected from a medical author.[15] In defence of this idea, a famous French doctor, Pierre Cabanis stated that nineteenth-century doctors sought to be the 'guardian of morality as well as of public health' (quoted in Downing 2009: 122). Furthermore, whilst many texts purport to have some medical basis, this is not necessarily verified in any way. There were minimal restraints on what could be published and by whom, which led to the dissemination of countless publications filled with advice from a variety of 'experts', on how best to fulfil the social and biological functions of one's life. The immense popularity of some of these texts suggests a welcoming attitude to governance in one's public and private lives.

As already shown in the introductory chapter such texts are useful for providing insight into the prevailing attitudes at the time, regarding a number of areas which are related to sleep. However, this is complemented by more recent historical research, in which such things as sleep patterns and spaces are investigated with regard to wider discussions regarding sexuality, safety, and morality. Robert Ekirch (2001, 2005) is perhaps the most cited author in this regard. He indicates that to sleep through the night is a relatively late development in human history, with segmented sleep previously being common in societies worldwide. Often retiring early, there would be a few hours of sleep before people would wake up for a few hours, and then go to sleep again for an approximately equal number of hours.

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[15] A particularly good example of this is provided in Alan Hunt's article on the masturbation panic of the nineteenth century. He quotes an important figure in Victorian medicine, the doctor Sir James Paget, who contributed to the medical discussion of masturbation as an: 'uncleanliness, a filthiness forbidden by God, an unmanliness despised by men' (1998: 578). The quote can be found in Paget's *Clinical Lectures and Essays* (1875: 285).

Between first and second sleeps, people would read, pray, write, converse, engage in sexual activity – often while still in their beds – whilst others still would re-join the waking (and social) world much more fully – getting dressed and paying calls on neighbours. Craig Koslofsky (2011) builds on Ekirch's research, examining how it came to be that segmented sleep gave way to single sessions. Street-lighting and urbanisation are cited as two main reasons for the phasing out of segmented sleep, as night-time came to be seen as a time for utility - thus, people would retire later and sleep in one session, waking up earlier. In this way the links between such things as technological advances and social attitudes toward the night-time and sleep become clear. Furthermore, with sleeping in a single session becoming the norm by the nineteenth century, it could be argued that the segmented or broken sleep common in gothic narratives, as the protagonists' anxieties leave them tossing and turning into the night, weakening them so they require rest during the day, is a regression to less civilised times and possibly, a sign that something is wrong.

Other key changes were seen in the shifting role of the bedroom. It ceased to be a place for entertaining and socialising, as it had been in the early modern period, when the bed was considered a status symbol to be shown off (Horne 2006: 227), and instead, privacy in the domestic sphere began to be valued. In the nineteenth century, the bedroom was considered a sanctuary - not only for sleep but also for prayer and self-reflection (Tosh 1999: 38). Tom Crook goes further in attributing importance to this area of the home, arguing that the Victorian bedroom assumed a responsibility 'for the moral, mental and physical regeneration of the family' (2008: 21), thereby ascribing multiple important functions to a single, intimate, space. Perhaps jarring with this idea then, were its obvious connotations for another purpose, with the marital bedchamber being the place of conception for large Victorian families. 'In the Victorian home, swarming with children, sex was a secret' (Houghton 2014: 353) and thus established the bedroom as a crucial but somewhat loaded area. Furthermore, the bed itself was seen as an increasingly important space.

Michael Wheeler explains how this persisted in the nineteenth century, arguing that

> the bed in which a woman died, might well have been that in which she was conceived and given birth to her children […] this same bed might even have been a family heirloom in which she herself had been conceived and born (1994: 36).

The bedroom then, was understood to be a room in which outward propriety was abandoned, whether between husband and wife, or between lovers. The significance of the sexual act both in and out of marriage was already highly contested, as public laws sought to control this private matter; clear from concerns regarding venereal disease, prostitution and other sexual matters. Whilst this may seem far removed from the bedrooms of readers of the gothic - predominantly upper and middle-class women[16] - the sexual threat was in fact tangible enough to cause some concern. As outlined in the previous chapter, the double lives and occasional hypocrisy of respectable men came to be a popular point of discussion and it is this which forges a connection between the threat of disease and illicit sex to the respectable middle class home. Nineteenth-century attempts to police public and private (in)decency included a concern with sleep space, and was borne of the anxiety to ensure that people retained a sense of self-control in their private lives. Whilst admittedly legal discourse did not extend itself into the bedrooms of heterosexual men or married couples, moral discourse was vital in providing strict guidance on how to conduct oneself in the privacy of one's home.

Tracts and manuals explicitly discussing sexuality and bedroom habits were often geared towards providing advice on sexual and moral matters, particularly for the young or newly married, to allow for a smooth

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[16] See Bette Roberts (1980) *The Gothic Romance: Its Appeal to Women Writers and Readers in Late Eighteenth-Century England* and Martyn Lyons (2003) 'New Readers in the Nineteenth Century' in *A History of Reading in the West*.

transition from a presumably chaste life to one in which sexual relationships were sanctioned and even encouraged. Conversely, there were also tracts which were solely intended to be read as a strict warning of the dangers of illicit sexuality such as prostitution, homosexuality, and extramarital sexual relations, in a bid to prevent behaviour which was seen to be damaging. This was particularly relevant to readers who were able to supervise the habits of, or felt that they had a responsibility to protect, others - be they family, servant, student, or even prisoner. Whilst supervision was relatively easy during waking hours, this was not enough, for the greatest threat in relation to sexuality often came at night. Thus, one of the earliest examples of a formalised investigation into sleep as a phenomenon can be found in Victorian pamphlets which are concerned with both the medical and moral implications of sleep, and attempt to provide guidelines for how, when, where, and why sleepers should approach it. These texts were written with the intention of protecting homes and institutions, and the sleepers within them, from fears which were arguably shaped by an innate knowledge of the 'truths' of sleep.

Crook's (2008) examination of sleep space in Victorian England is also pertinent in explaining interactions between social attitudes and sleep. He identifies a connection between urbanisation - again, the root of so many Victorian anxieties - and the subsequent and rapidly growing population of cities, combined with an increasing awareness of the space that people occupied. The many accounts of gross over-crowding in urban slums, with multiple families occupying a small space, and using it for a number of purposes (not only sleep, but socialising, cooking, eating, and expelling waste), led to a great concern regarding the conditions that were being bred in great British cities – not just concerning matters of health and hygiene, but particularly of sexual health and moral hygiene. As vast numbers of people moved into smaller spaces, and with men, women, and children freely intermingling at all times of the day and night, one matter which was under severe scrutiny was the space that was being occupied at night; who was sleeping, where, and with whom. Crook identifies two particular anxieties that were raised in this regard. The first concern was

related to the fact that multiple families were sharing the same space, allowing for members of the opposite sex to share extremely close quarters – and thereby permitting illicit sexual relations. The second was even more pernicious; with men and women sharing rooms and even beds with their siblings and children, there was a growing concern that incest would become tempting, easy, and commonplace (20). Thus, sleep and illicit sexuality became intertwined, and were approached as a matter of concern which was very clearly in the public domain.

At the same time, in other areas of society, a connection was being drawn between sleep health, and illicit behaviour; now in relation to crime and punishment. Nineteenth-century prison reform witnessed a major change in how prisoners were kept by the state, with an overhaul of their sleeping arrangements. Originally crowded spaces where prisoners would sleep alongside one another and mix freely, prisons now allocated a cell for each inmate to sleep in alone. This was partially to keep their physical bodies safe from 'fevers' arising from the congested and unhygienic conditions (Crook 2008: 18), but also to prevent the spread of evil influence from hardened criminals to the younger and more 'reformable' inmates (ibid), and even to encourage self-examination, and perhaps rehabilitation. Furthermore, by separating the inmates, the guards – the prison's guardians of moral and physical health – were able to maintain a watchful gaze and track the behaviour of the prisoners, exerting control over individuals when necessary, and bringing order to a once comparably chaotic penal system (19). Interestingly, Crook parallels this transformation of the prison system to two other institutions, hospitals and army barracks, which emphasises the fundamental belief at the core of these reformations; whether enlisted, imprisoned, or hospitalised, policing sleeping bodies was an important aspect of ensuring their health, and this is certainly an attitude which was adopted in many aspects of life.

Historical studies of morality provide a clear link between attitudes regarding sleep and the society in which they were formed. Fears of transgression were tied to the threat of urbanisation and external polluting forces, but also to the very natural and human quality of sleep. By

attempting to protectively sequester the sleeping body, and to demarcate 'proper' sleep space and partners, a new anxiety was borne – which in turn, led to further attempts to police this nightly activity. These concerns were predominantly concerned with the physical associations and consequences of sleep; the associated actions which took place under the cover of night when people were *supposed* to be asleep, such as the transmission of illicit information or unsanctioned liaisons.

The Sociology of Dreams

Closely related to concept of sleep is that of dreams, and as with the study of sleep, there are some areas which have been covered better than others. Whilst the majority of research on sleep has been focused on physiological aspects, dream research has been far more varied, particularly in relation to dream interpretation. In ancient Egypt and ancient Greece, dreams were prescribed and analysed, as a means of healing, with a number of texts written regarding the process (Kirsch, 2011; Ruiz 2001). The analysis or prescription of dreams as a curative has been present in civilisations for thousands of years - not as folklore, nor as simply a study of the physical processes around dreams, but as an attempt to categorise, document, and analyse the phenomenon. One of the most enduring concerns of dream research has been the origin of dreams. Historically, supernatural or spiritual explanations view them as holding deeper meaning, as a means of communication with spirits, or a premonition, for example. The uncanny feeling which sometimes accompanies a dream was, and remains, a tempting reason to ascribe supernatural functions to it, as seen in the discussion of witchcraft and nightmares later in this chapter. However, psychological explanations, in which dreams are seen to originate from the sleepers' memories and anxieties have been equally long-lasting; in ancient Greece, Aristotle treatise 'On Dreams' was among the first to reject the view that dreams came from Gods, and instead suggested they were a product of one's own experiences. And comparatively recently, Freud's theories of dreams and dreaming have had a tremendous impact on the field, as dream analysis

has seen a popularity concurrent with the legitimisation of psychoanalysis. Through these sustained beliefs, the interpretation of dreams has become enmeshed in public consciousness, as a means of self exploration.

In many ways then, the study of dreams is much older than the study of sleep, having been subject to conscious thought for many centuries, with much writing devoted to hypothesising the origin of dreams and attempting to interpret them. Whilst the discussion of sleep has overwhelmingly been focused on biological aspects, the study of dreams has been far less so and has been considered in terms of psychology, anthropology, and spirituality - areas which (superficially at least) are much easier to link to the study of sociology. With this in mind, it would seem that sociological interest dreams would be forthcoming, and long have been a part of academic discourse. However, this is not the case and the sociology of dreams has been even slower to develop; in fact, even more so than the study of sleep, the study of dreams has been all but ignored in sociological thought. Whilst it still remains a matter of interest in the disciplines mentioned above, the discussion of dreams as a *sociological* construct in modern Western thought is limited; unusually so, considering the apparent 'restiveness on the part of sociologists to claim […] those elements of social life that were formerly set in the domains of psychology or anthropology' (Fine and Leighton 1993: 95). In fact, the argument that dreams are considered 'socially useless' (Aubert and White 1959a: 50) and that sociology is 'interested only in man awake, the sleeper may as well be dead' (Bastide 1966: 199) certainly seems to stand true.

With that in mind, there has been some attempt to approach a formalised, academic sociology of dreams since the latter half of the twentieth century. Aubert and White, Roger Bastide, Gary Fine and Laura Leighton, and Simon Williams have been among those who suggest the same point, crucial for the development of this area of study; that dreams 'draw on previously experienced interaction' and are seen to emerge from the external, despite the fact that 'their creation is internal' (Fine and Leighton 1993: 96). With this common foundation, sociological arguments develop in differing directions, and with alternate (though rarely outright

contradictory) theories and frameworks being offered. Within these texts, there is often a similar division of ideas; first, there is the attempt to provide a pure sociology of dreams: to observe from an acultural perspective, or to provide generalised (and generalizable) observations. However, this is often complemented, supported, and even shaped, by perspectives from other disciplines. For example, Aubert and White (1959a) and Bastide (1966) both lean heavily on anthropological observations, whilst Fine and Leighton (1993) incorporate psychoanalytical, and biological ideas. Aubert and White also incorporate a brief reference to philosophical ideas, and Williams considers all of the above in varying degrees. It seems that, even more so than the sociology of sleep, the sociology of dreams is split between 'inherent truths', and culturally and historically specific beliefs. This incorporation of other disciplines has, in recent years, been somewhat reciprocal with psychological and anthropological texts beginning to acknowledge and incorporate sociological ideas. For example, Carey Morewedge and Michael Norton's article 'When Dreaming is Believing: The Motivated Interpretation of Dreams' (2009) is primarily focused on the *psychological* effects of dreams, and how they influence real-world choices in lay individuals, but crucially, the research is founded on the presumption that dreams are *socially* important.

In the discussion of dreams as social performance there is often an attempt to limit generalisations to 'Western' society. The primary reason for this seems to be the understanding that the relationship a society has with dreaming is a reflection of its social interactions at large, and crucially, is shaped by the culture in which it resides; thus, anthropological arguments are difficult to escape. Much sociological discourse on the subject of dreams illustrates this connection by comparing Western society to others; predominantly 'non-literate' (Aubert and White 1959a: 48) or 'primitive' (Bastide 1966: 200) cultures. It is only by illustrating the myriad ways in which non-Western cultures incorporate and utilise dream beliefs and interpretation, that authors reach their conclusion that, in contemporary Western thought, dreaming is considered to be an invalid state of existence (Aubert and White 1959a), and that dream interpretation on a social scale

(rather than a personal one, as in the case of psychoanalysis) is considered to be the recourse of the mentally ill (Bastide 1966). This idea seems widely accepted, even in more recent sociological texts; Williams refers to dreaming as 'unsocialized' events (2002: 182).

However, it is at this juncture that the symbiotic relationship between sociology of dreams and other disciplines becomes pertinent. Whilst a society-wide, formalised, and structured attitude to dreaming is indeed non-existent in Western society, Morewedge and Norton point out that more generally, the idea that dreams are meaningful in some way is still very popular, and in fact, that dream content is considered by laypeople to be *more* meaningful than their waking thoughts (2009: 249). Furthermore, they argue that, across modern cultures, the idea of dreams as containing 'hidden truths' is the most popular framework for interaction with one's dreams (253), suggesting that participants endorse a Freudian theory of dreams (even without explicit knowledge of it). The authors also propose that dreams which correspond to people's 'beliefs and desires' are seen to hold a greater meaning than those which do not, and the interpretations of such dreams are shown to have a significant impact on dreamers' waking lives (249). It seems then that, despite a lack of sociological engagement with dreams and dreaming, there is still a wider acceptance of the importance of dreams, and their impact on daily life.

Other authors have also investigated how dreams are utilised in Western society. Barbara Vann and Neil Alperstein (2000) examine the phenomenon of communicating one's dreams as a means of social interaction and find that this is an act which is dictated by cultural expectations of acceptable topics of discussion; whilst certain tribal societies will share dreams amongst wide social groups, both formally and informally, Western society does not consider sharing dreams as 'ordinary public communication' and it only takes place between intimates (112). The reasons for sharing dreams also vary; Vann and Alperstein suggest that the act can be viewed as entertainment, a demonstration of social connectedness (through referring to shared cultural icons), or as a means of sculpting social identity (113). In the latter case, this means that dream

content which is contrary to cultural norms, or which dreamers feel is embarrassing, is withheld from others in order to uphold societal understandings of acceptable behaviour. Jan Hovden's cross-cultural study of dream sharing and interpretation - 'Return of the Repressed: The Social Structure of Dreams' (2012) - suggests a similar culturally-dictated self-censorship, in which the sharing of dreams is reflective of the society in which the dreamer resides; for example, the number of participants who admitted to having dreams involving nudity and sex, was significantly lower in conservative societies than in more liberal societies. Whilst it should be said that these studies are somewhat limited in their scope, and by the authors' own admissions, 'modest' (Hovden 2012: 144), the implications are significant. These are among the first academic studies to promote long-accepted ideas of dreams and dreaming as being culturally important, despite a continued lack of a formal framework in Western society.

Fine and Leighton (1993) and Vann and Alpenstein (2000) not only consider the engagement of dreamers with their own dreams, but the narrative structure and practices which follow. Vann and Alpenstien state that dreams are only shared with 'intimates', and that sharers view their dreams as an offering to others, intended to 'bring individuals closer together' (117). They also suggest that safety is an important concern amongst dream sharers because 'the individual risks exposing the most personal and vulnerable sides of himself or herself' (113). This point is shared with Fine and Leighton, who argue that dreams are shared with the understanding that they will be 'sympathetically interpreted' and not reflect negatively on the dreamer (1993: 99). The understanding that dream sharing is a state of vulnerability is reminiscent of concerns regarding sleep and *its* associated vulnerability. In allowing others to share either dreams or sleep, one opens his or herself up to risk of bodily harm, or damage to reputation. Moreover, there is an overlap in this vulnerability; the sleeping and waking worlds are united by a sleeping body, and dreams are sometimes communicated by that body. Sleeping bodies can talk and walk, and experience physical reactions to their dreams; for example, sexual

arousal. This further places both acts in the physical world, and places the individual in an exposed state.

The personal threats which face the sleeper or dreamer seem to be at odds with the public belief that dreams are an invalid state of existence in the West (Aubert and White 1959a; Williams 2002). The idea that 'the one who sleeps does not sin' (1959a: 49) is widely accepted Western society[17] and when asleep, one's dreamt actions are supposedly viewed as unreal and therefore exempt from (formal) judgment or punishment. However, whilst Aubert and White acknowledge a lack of culpability for dreamed actions, they argue that this is heavily determined by culture (1959a: 48), and punitive measures against crimes committed in sleep *are* a possibility. The authors cite only 'non-literate cultures' (ibid) as examples of this, but it is also something which can be seen in Western history; in the treatment of suspected witches in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, or the censure of those who had wet dreams in the nineteenth century, or even today, when feelings of guilt or shame may linger after waking, all are negative consequences of dreams. Thus, the idea of the lack of culpability in sleep is a point of contention, for dreamers were (and still are) expected to conform to certain standards depending on the century in which they sleep, or who they share their sleep with.

Historicising Dreams and Nightmares

Closely related to the subject of sleep is that of dreams, and so, nightmares. Having been attributed to a number of causes over the years, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century attitudes are particularly intriguing

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[17] In this way, beliefs about dreaming echo ideas first seen in Plato's Republic (c380 B.C.), in which the social is hinted at through the lens of morality. Plato describes sleep as a time when the ability to behave as a logical and intelligent being is severely compromised for all, opening the path for baser instincts to come through. Not only Plato's allusion to the compromising of moral values, but his emphasis on the egalitarian nature of this rule. He states that 'there is a dangerous, wild, and lawless kind of desire in everyone, even the few of us who appear moderate' (Grube 1974: 220-221). Plato does not pass judgement on this fact; it is simply an inevitability.

when considering nineteenth-century understandings of mental activity during sleep, and how this then came to be reflected in the gothic literature of the time. The study of nightmares provides a connection between the physical vulnerabilities of a body in sleep with its mental vulnerabilities, both of which were of concern from the early modern period until present day. Early modern explanations were often centred on the perceived threats of that time. Alongside all other conceivable threats that the sleeping body might face, witches, demons and evil spirits were thought to be most active during the night, causing harm to both body and mind. On the surface, the association between medieval beliefs about witchcraft and the gothic is clear; a superficial connection based on the supernatural subject matter is easily made. However, there is a stronger link in that these early ideas did not disappear over the centuries, but persisted in some form, and were revived in gothic texts - adjusted to fit a new era, but with some startling similarities.

With regard to the nineteenth-century preoccupation with protecting the sleeper and their space from pollution, it is significant to note that the attacks which were feared were often of a sexual nature, and a link between sex and the nightmare has been present throughout history; going so far back as the seventh century where Ancient Greek medical writing identified that 'lustful violence' was reported as a threat by those complaining of nightmares (Davies 2003: 190). Much later, a rise in the study of demonology and a widespread belief in supernatural threats readdressed this issue of perceived actual or threatened sexual violence, and many of the historical records available are writings of cases against accused witches in which such fears were documented. These attacks were not carried out by witches (usually women) but by demons in their control, which leads to what is arguably the most important idea amongst demonologists during the sixteenth century, that of Incubi and Succubi.

These demons (male and female respectively) were considered responsible for many of the assaults of a sexual nature, taking place only at night and in the victim's bed. Victims of such attacks complained of feelings of heaviness, choking and fear, as well as a sensation of extreme

coldness, particularly when referring to contact with the genitalia of the attacking demon. Incubi attacks far outnumbered those of succubi with many more women asserting that they had been raped by demons than men. Rossell Robbins even describes several cases in which nuns alleged that they were subject to sexual attacks as they slept (quoted in Davies 2003: 190). Male demons would enter their prey's bedroom and either coerce women into sex by disguising themselves as a person who the victim knew, or else raped their victims in their true form. It was believed that could become pregnant from these encounters and the resulting child was considered to be fathered by a human man from whom the incubus had in a previous attack, stolen sperm. Incidents of a sexual nature involving demons in female form, were also reported, but far less commonly than those involving former male demons and female victims.

This may be related to the differing sexual expectations of men and women. Whilst women were expected to maintain a sense of chastity, men did not have as much to explain, or as many excuses to make, for their sexual behaviour. Furthermore, if men were suspected of having had illicit sexual relations, they were considered to be unable to resist the licentiousness of a sexually predatory female, so blame often fell on women. Women, on the other hand, were expected to provide explanations for any unusual behaviour or evidence of illicit sexuality on their part (unexpected pregnancy for example) and historians argue that this is one of a number of reasons which explains the large number of cases of demons-as-men attacking women. Furthermore, if a woman was victim to rape, it would have been difficult for a her to admit to being attacked by a neighbour, since women were often the ones to suffer in some way if they attempted to bring charges against a rapist and conviction rates were exceedingly low.[18] The stigma attached to rape by a demon was far less

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[18] Many texts on rape and rape legislation in Medieval England detail the issues encountered by women as victims of rape. Such repercussions were tied to societal values placed on women's chastity; the accepted belief that the natural nature of woman was wanton, manipulative, and sinful, whilst the natural role of man was virile and forceful; and social ideas questioning a woman's ability to prosecute a man, among others. See Brown

severe than that of rape by a man and may have been reported as such. This idea was not overlooked completely at the time; an influential sceptic in England in the sixteenth century, Reginald Scot, wrote *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584) in a bid to counteract the widespread belief in witchcraft by providing explanations for reported incidents. He argued that beliefs of sexual violence by demons were either evidence of mental disturbance in the victim or the 'lecheries of idle priests and bawdie monkes' (Scot 1972: 48). His ideas are comparable to modern day explanations of such cases, such as those investigated by psychoanalytic and psychiatric clinical experimentation (Davies 2003: 192-193).

These attacks almost always took place at night in the victim's own bed chamber, and usually interrupted their sleep. Furthermore, Jeffery Russell points out that, of the eight beliefs about witches which were widely held, two specified the link between night time and witchcraft; 'the ride by night' and the 'secret nocturnal meeting' (1985: 55). These beliefs stemmed from Norse legends that specified that sorcery was performed at night while men slept, by female sorceresses. Russell details other beliefs about witches, including orgies, human sacrifice, cannibalism, and the pact with the devil, again all of which were nocturnal activities (ibid). Thus, it could be argued that sleeping was seen to expose people to the evil of demons and witches, and this could result in physical or mental injury - contrasting strongly with the natural role that sleep plays as a restorative function.

In terms of non-sexual threats, there were many reports of another type of nocturnal assault also linking sleep and the supernatural, which involved victims being rendered unable to move by supernatural forces – a state now referred to as Sleep Paralysis. Whilst this has been identified as a medical disorder (though only in the last fifty years), the phenomenon has been present in history for many centuries and is documented as far back as 400 AD, when Saxon manuscripts spoke of similar attacks and of

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(2009), Jones (2006), Saunders (2001) for further explanations regarding women's possible motivations for attributing sexual encounters or assault to supernatural beings.

ways to prevent them (Davies 2003). In ancient periods, across Europe particularly, these attacks were identified as the work of *mara*, 'a supernatural being […] who lay on people's chests at night, thereby suffocating them' (Davies 2003: 83). In pre-modern times, folklore surrounding this condition was based on ideas of this creature, described as an old woman or 'hag' who would sit on her victims' chests and send bad dreams to them. To suffer in this way was referred to as being 'hag-ridden' and was considered the result of an exclusively supernatural being, rather than a human witch. However, by the sixteenth century, this figure of the *mara* was incorporated into contemporary beliefs and superstitions regarding witchcraft, and Davies points out that 'even in regions where a belief in the *mara* continued, it was [now] closely linked with the living human witch' (2003: 184). That the same symptoms were attributed to different causes, dependent on the time and place in which they were experienced, illustrates both the flexibility with which people viewed their attackers, and the longevity of the overarching idea.

During sleep paralysis, victims were woken up to find a creature laying on top of them, preventing movement, speech, or breathing. Contrary to the modern understanding of word nightmares, which have been recognised as events experienced when one is in deep sleep, the nightmare of the early modern period was experienced whilst in bed but awake, with the victim sometimes even being woken up in order for the attack to begin. This resulted in victims who could not move or speak, but could see and hear, and even provide a positive identification of their assailant as they often did during witch trials. As with Incubus and Succubus attacks, there was sometimes sexual contact, but often cases were of paralysis alone. Conversely, attacks of a sexual nature often (though not always) had no mention of sleep paralysis.[19] Attacks often followed a pattern with victims complaining of a stifling sensation, a feeling that their chest was being pressed down upon and an inability to move or

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[19] Davies suggests that this is not conclusive evidence that sexual attacks and sleep paralysis incidents were unlinked, as it is possible that once a sexual aspect of the attack emerged, courts were more focused on that than any other accompanying symptoms.

make sounds. Additionally, there were similarities in terms of the events preceding some of the sleep paralysis incidents. Often, the victim and accused had had a disagreement, the victims were always forcibly woken up before the attack commenced, and cats being seen running away from scenes of sleep paralysis once the victim had recovered.

Despite similarities in reports of being 'hag-ridden', there exist some differences in the means of protecting oneself from an attack. For example, in cases reported in Catholic France, the symbol of the cross is often crucial in ending the sleep paralysis – the victim alleging that they made the sign of the crucifix with their tongue (as they were otherwise unable to move) and thus managing to end their nightmare. In Protestant England, however, where crucifixes, genuflexion and other such iconography and rituals were not common, there have been no cases which speak of using Christian symbolism to end sleep paralysis. Thus it can be seen that nightmares were very much defined by the social system they were a part of, and with a number of attributions. Furthermore, whilst the causes of a nightmare did see some changes from the pre-modern to the early modern period, these were not completely new ideas, but a development of long-lasting beliefs, which persisted into the nineteenth century.

Referring again to Macnish's *Philosophy of Sleep*, there are separate chapters, devoted in their entireties to the varying experiences of the mind during, and proximate to, sleep, one of which is of 'Night-mares'. Despite the fact that this text came much later than the above beliefs regarding *mara*, witches, and nightmares, and many years after people had rejected the existence of witches, the language used, and the description provided, is familiar. In the opening of the chapter, Macnish states that: 'Night-mares may be defined a painful dream, accompanied with difficult respiratory action, and a torpor in powers of volition' (1847: 156), indicating that symptoms of such attacks had remained the same. Furthermore, he interchanges the word 'night-mare' with 'incubus', again linking nineteenth-century nightmares to sixteenth-century supernatural attacks. In his descriptions, Macnish favours hyperbole, offering many possible scenarios that can unfold in a nightmare, much like a gothic author, all with recurring

themes of suffocation and paralysis. He describes some possible nightmares that one may have, including, the following:

> [The sufferer] may have the idea of a monstrous hag squatted upon his breast – mute, motionless, and malignant; an incarnation of the Evil Spirit – whose intolerable weight crashes the breath out of his body, and whose fixed, deadly incessant stare petrifies him with horror and makes his very existence insufferable. (159)

The explicit comparison of a nineteenth-century nightmare to a sixteenth-century victim of witchcraft is no coincidence, and again reinforces the idea that beliefs about sleep and its associated states were founded in earlier superstitions. Macnish also refers to nightmares as taking place when '[t]he reflecting organs are generally more or less awake; and, in this respect, night-mare differs from simple dreaming, where they are mostly quiescent' (156). Again, this is an idea persisting from previous centuries. Owen Davies makes a valid argument that some characteristics which were almost always present in historical reports of sleep paralysis were influenced by prevalent beliefs at the time. For example, whilst in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such feelings as being crushed, unable to breathe, or aware of an unnatural physical presence, were common, they were not universal, nor did they remain the same over time. As ideas regarding the origins of nightmares changed, so did reported experiences – but not completely. For example, when Macnish refers to the experience of a nightmare as 'a spell […] laid upon the faculties which freezes them into inaction; and the wretched victim feels as if pent alive in his coffin, or over-powered by resistless and immitigable pressure' (157) there is a clear linking of sixteenth-century ideas of breathlessness with nineteenth-century fears of vivisepulture. For Macnish to incorporate such ancient beliefs of the *mara* with nineteenth century 'Night-mare' illustrates that beliefs regarding sleep were shaped by long-standing ideas founded in superstition and the supernatural.

In terms of the sexual fears which were present in the medieval discussion of *mara* and witchcraft, Victorian attitudes retained some similarities. A major concern addressed in the nineteenth century is that of involuntary sexual arousal and nocturnal emissions during sleep. Often discussed alongside masturbation, this was a great taboo, and lambasted in the most brutal terms, as something to be avoided at all cost - but more importantly, as something which *could* be avoided. There was a culture of shame and ignominy surrounding the idea of arousal outside of marriage, and more so if no partner was involved, even if it was not intentional[20]. If young, to experience such things was seen to be a failure on the parts of parents and guardians at home or in school but also for the boy himself - with fire and brimstone sermons often being preached at schools condemning this occurrence. For adult men, the blame rested solely on their own shoulders; spermatorrhea and nocturnal emissions were considered to be indicative of a lack of self-control, and often the side-effect of having been a chronic masturbator at one point (Mason 2008). With much of the literature on the topic describing the battle between one's own attempts to be pure against one's sexual desire as a war, nocturnal emissions were seen as an 'ultimate test of character' (Rosenman 2003: 24). A failure to triumph over one's baser urges was widely condemned, leaving 'sufferers' with a deep sense of anxiety, feeling inadequate for marriage or work, and even suffering a loss of identity as they feared themselves to be lacking in masculinity.

The similarity of nineteenth-century concerns about illicit sexuality to sixteenth-century concerns of witchcraft are based on several points. Firstly, in terms of physicality; just as succubi were believed to drain seminal fluid from men, leaving them weak and emasculated, so too was the consequence of nightly emissions. Secondly, in terms of precautionary measures; just as one could take precautions against the attacks of a witch, but were powerless once they had begun, spermatorrhea is involuntary, and whilst victims could follow advice on diet and exercise in a bid to

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[20] See Chapter Five: Space and Time

prevent it they had little control once it had begun. Spencer further links nineteenth-century beliefs to sixteenth-century witchcraft, by considering the Victorian pressure to conform and arguing that '[t]hough […] Victorians did not explicitly attribute evil to witches, they manifested the same fears of pollution from outsiders […] as more traditional witchcraft societies' (1992: 207). The use of the term 'pollution' to refer to the Victorian fear of strangers and foreigners, and the practice of masturbation and nocturnal emission is fortuitous, but more crucial is the association of both these as negative external influences. In the nineteenth-century there was a common fear of adolescent boys being exposed to a negative sexual influence by 'outsiders' and learning to masturbate[21], an act which was seen to result in spermatorrhea, and this links closely to the idea of witches - outsiders themselves - and their role in sexual attacks on men. Thus not only were attitudes toward nightmares founded hundreds of years previous, they were adapted to fit in with contemporary concerns, resulting in an amalgamation of primal fears against the supernatural with modern fears regarding morality and civilisation.

Conclusion

Following the many attempts at identifying the definitive characteristics of sleep over the centuries, it can be argued that 'truths' about the state has led to the formation of ideas which have been difficult to shift. The nineteenth century is an important time in the history of sleep, because it was at this juncture that investigations into sleep began to develop into what we would recognise today as 'scientific'. This advance in medical and scientific study came at a crucial point in the history of Europe, when society was witness to rapid changes in living and sleeping habits. But in this 'prehistoric stage' in sleep research (Dement 1998: 52), empirical data was lacking and there was often an attempt within scientific writing to present ideas which were both unscientific and non-falsifiable, but still widely accepted. These essentially provided a reassurance that age-old or

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[21] See Chapter Five: Space and Time

widely-accepted ideas of sleep were correct. Thus, the observations of, or relating to, sleep at this time are inextricably links to understandings and expectations of society, and a reflection of the concerns which predominate discussions of morality. Similarly, the discussion of dreams is parallel with ancient supernatural fears, forming the basis of many modern anxieties regarding sleep, concerning vulnerability and even purity. In an era when centuries-old beliefs regarding private matters such as masturbation, sex, and death were still strongly ascribed to, the discourse on both sleep and dreams had little recourse but to associate itself with the status quo.

There is a great contrast between nineteenth-century ideas of sleep with later sociological writings, not only in the differing levels of engagement with the topic, but in the aspects focused on. In the earlier texts, the content is of an advisory nature, whilst in the latter years the focus has shifted to offering observations on how sleep is enacted in Western cultures. However, these topics are not mutually exclusive and 'doing' sleep is very much the focus of both eras. Furthermore, the 'truths' of sleep apply just as well to earlier years as they do today; for example, sleep remains a state of vulnerability and trust is a necessary pre-requisite when sharing rooms and a bed. Attitudes toward dreams are also markedly similar and there still persist some notions of the supernatural significance of dreams. Another overlap, is that in both eras, there is the desire to make sense of an omnipresent phenomenon, often by attempting to link the sleeping world to the waking world. As varied as the methods and beliefs have been over the many centuries of sleep research and discourse, by examining sleep - whether by interpreting dreams or by attempting to establish causal theories of sleep or monitoring physiological aspects of sleep - there is a common determination to find logic in the act, and an attempt to provide authoritative and definitive explanations of it. This desire has a reciprocal relationship with the theoretical literature of the time – whatever time – and the latter not only contributes towards providing a complete picture of sociological perspectives toward sleep, but also illustrates contemporary concerns and attitudes towards it.

Whilst academically, sleep was long considered a period of non-existence, unworthy of (sociological) investigation, in nineteenth-century texts, it seems to have a much more visible role. Periods of rest are key points in which the implicit vulnerabilities of sleep are illustrated, and the inclusion of dreams in such texts as *Dracula*, *Carmilla*, and *La Morte Amoureuse* is crucial to the narrative. That the night-time is a time for action is somewhat unusual for the characters in the texts, who find themselves working against socially ascertained times for sleeping and waking, but for readers of the gothic, this is fairly standard fare. However, it is interesting to note that in almost all of the academic, sociological texts mentioned here, there is some recourse to the use of literature as a means of illustrating the importance and attitudes toward sleep; for example, William's *Sleep and Society* (2005) opens with multiple literary quotes and references, including sixteenth-century poet Sir Phillip Sidney, Miguel de Cervantes*,* William Shakespeare and many others. Scientific texts too, such as Aldrich's *Sleep Medicine* (1999) begin with allusions to Homer*.* It seems that, even in an attempt to study sleep academically, it is difficult to escape poetic and literary allusion; the study of sleep has been varied for that reason, and thus interconnects with numerous aspects of the social, reflecting and being reflected in the literature of the time.

Chapter Two

Physical Appearance

As is evident from a number of theories regarding sleep, the relationship between sleep and death is perhaps one of the most common associations of this restful state. This is predicated on a number of apparent similarities; a lack of movement and mental awareness, as well as, perhaps, the mystery surrounding the two states. The predominant reason for the linking of these states, however, is the physical appearance of both the sleeper and the dead; the supine posture, the (often) rested face, and the lack of interaction with those around them are some clear physical attributes which can account for the historical connection of sleep and death. However, death is not the only association one can draw from observing sleep, and sleepers in literature have evoked connotations far beyond their resemblance to the deceased. From descriptions of sleepers, their faces and their bodies, sleep has come to be seen as an indication of deeper truths such as a sleeper's mental state, their physical health, and even their moral standing.

Physical descriptions of sleepers in the gothic often focus on appearance, and the face of the sleeper can be seen to denote moral character. In retrospect, this is very pertinent in light of the relatively recent discussions by Max Nordau and Cesare Lombroso, who re-popularised the practice of defining and identifying criminality through physiognomy. The belief that a person's character could be analysed through their countenance was nothing new in Western Europe; in England, theories by Johann Lavater had been widely available and subscribed to in the eighteenth-century (Graham 1961) and the French reception was much the same (Pearl 2010). Lavater's theories were well-known to gothic authors; John Graham suggests that prominent gothic authors such as Ann Radcliffe, Mary Shelley, and Matthew Lewis, as well as others in the late

eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, had contact with Lavater's work, and looked upon it favourably. The connection between the gothic and this branch of criminal anthropology is further re-iterated with claims that 'from the Gothic vogue of the 1790s through to the Victorian social novel, writers insistently depicted their characters through physiognomical eyes' (Porter, quoted in Marshall 2011: 73). That the re-emergence of such ideas would be incorporated into the gothic of the nineteenth century is highly likely and has been identified and examined by a number of critics (Mighall 1999; Punter and Byron 2004; Marshall 2011; Karschay 2015), so when Karschay refers to it as a 'consistent concern' of the genre he is not far wrong (2015: 245). In gothic literature of the nineteenth century, the authors' preoccupation with these theories are present through a wealth of examples.

Whilst the face could be used to denote purity of character, the body - particularly of sleeping women - is indicative of another aspect of personality: sexuality. In the gothic, women are often described in terms of figure, distinct from facial features, and particularly in relation to their sexual attractiveness. Lombroso's work can again be considered to be the basis for this, interested as he was in defining criminal body types as well as facial types, and particularly his discussion of prostitutes, whom he credited with an 'unbridled and masculine sex drive' (Knepper and Ystehede 2013: 189). This voracious appetite (and its associated moral failings) was closely correlated with an above average weight, even obesity amongst sex-workers, and was not only a reflection of the prostitute's monstrous character, but a direct indication of her atavism (Silver 2002: 122). Parent-Duchatelet's study of prostitutes confirmed their 'plumpness' and attributed to a life of indolence and gluttony, which involved sleeping late, and consuming food at all times (1840: 37). It can be inferred that the over-weight prostitute was seen as overtly rejecting the ideal image of slenderness and delicacy which was indicative of a pure, well-bred, and feminine woman, and this in itself could be a reason to push her further out of society and into the realm of criminality. One of the most commonly cited examples of this can be seen in *Dracula*, where the vampire Lucy's

'voluptuous' body (and appetite) is only evident when she is sleeping, and under the power of the vampire - and it is referred to frequently (Silver 2002: 123-125).

Waking women were already a threat to man's resolve, as seen with the response to increasing prostitution in urban areas, and this is reflected in literature; for example, through Jonathan Harker's experience in Dracula's castle. Jonathan's desire to let the three vampire women kiss him, despite knowing that it is wrong, is an indication of his weakness in the face of predatory women. However, representations of sexuality are also present in other cases and in other gothic texts, in which the slumbering female form is seen to indicate sexual availability or temptation; sometimes an even more powerful desire than a waking woman. By juxtaposing sleep with connotations of sexuality, and attributing it directly to a body which is vulnerable and unresisting, male desire seems to be aroused more keenly. The sleeping form seems to reconcile the difference between aggressively sexual women and their virginal counterparts; a sleeping woman is (physically) sexually available but simultaneously retains modesty by not actively pursuing a relationship. In this way, the male admirer and female sleeper are both able to retain a gender-appropriate roles as masculine instigator and passive recipient. Thus, perhaps because of the implied heightened culpability of the male admirer in such a situation, the sleeping female form is equal parts in need of protection and conversely, powerful.

The body and posture of the sleeper can also be used to gain further knowledge, just as the posture of the deceased may provide some indication of how they died. To observe someone lying curled in the foetal position could suggest a feeling of vulnerability on the part of the sleeper, lying with limbs flung out may suggest that the sleeper was unprepared for their unconscious state, perhaps attacked or drugged, or else is in troubled, restless sleep, and to lie on one's back well-arranged could be an indication that the body is serenely resting, or ironically, that it has been laid out after death in preparation for the grave. Thus there also seems to be a modicum of truth-telling in the pose of the sleeper, and the dead, and it proves useful

in a number of ways - though not always to the benefit of the sleeper. This is very evident in the gothic, particularly vampire literature of the nineteenth century. In many of the texts discussed, the sleeper - be they human or vampire - reflects a sense of their true character in their sleep. Lucy and Mina's frail purity is evident as they slumber; Lucy is 'so sweet as she sleeps' but also 'looks paler than is her wont' (DR 118) and Mina's sleeping visage is described as the 'spring after the blasts of March' (DR 369). In contrast, the Count's evilness is evident in his; his 'deep burning eyes seemed set amongst swollen flesh' and he lies 'like a filthy leech' with a 'mocking smile on the bloated face' (DR 67). However as with any preconception, this is also shown to be over-extended or subverted in the gothic. Seemingly innocent bodies are later shown to have evil within them as in *La Morte Amoureuse*, or else, innocent sleepers are suspected, if their sleeping visage is misread or misunderstood, as in 'Kalee's Shrine'. Laurence Talairach-Vielmas points out that

sensation novels feature blue-eyed and light-haired female protagonists as some of the most dangerous sensational female villainesses and show their readers how women may use beauty as a mask thereby revising stereotypical representations of feminine evil

and defining the portrayal of Victorian women as 'simultaneously angel and demon, beauty and beast' (2007: 7). In which ever way gothic authors choose to physically present their sleepers, and how ever others in the narrative perceive them, the fact remains that the sleeping face and body holds some significance.

In nineteenth-century literature, this examination of sleep from a physical perspective - that is, focused on the body - is common, though the extent and nature of descriptions vary greatly depending on the person being described. This is not simply due to superficial differences in appearance, but to the sleeper's role in the narrative, the implied position in the society of their peers, and even their morality. The bodies of sleeping men, or even resting men, are only rarely described, with male protagonists

not being subject to lengthy examination as the female characters are. Instead, much of the male experience of sleep comes in the form of dreams - arguably the most active part of sleep. In contrast the body of sleeping male antagonists is far more likely to be described and in greater detail, as seen in Harker's detailed depiction of Dracula mentioned earlier. This suggests an attempt to maintain a sense of masculine vitality in the main characters, so that rather than appearing as objects of inaction or vulnerability, they are seen as more virile beings, able to defeat the enemy - who is both othered and emasculated by illustrations of his passivity - and restore order. In great contrast, the bodies of sleeping women are overwhelmingly present in the gothic, and subject to lengthy accounts from which a variety of conclusions are drawn - often dependent on whether these women are, at a basic level, on the side of good or evil.

However, it must be clarified that this dichotomy is simplistic. The treatment of 'good' women is not consistent, nor is it solely based on physical appearance: instead it can be assessed by placing these women's physicality *alongside* their waking actions, their beliefs, and their unconscious desires, in order to understand their respective fates. There are a number of these women, who shape narratives through these criteria. However, Lucy Westenra, the first female victim of the Count in *Dracula,* is viewed with greatest interest in many critical interpretations of the text, particularly in the belief that she is seen to embody a fear specific to the nineteenth-century: that of the New Woman. Thus, the character of Lucy is the main basis for comparison, for the simple fact that she is the only character across the texts who is fully transformed from a sweet young girl into an evil vampire, thereby placing her morally equidistant between angelic representations of womanhood (as seen in Mina Harker); women at risk of falling (Olga Trevelyan in 'Kalee's Shrine'); and those succumbed many years ago (the three vampire-women of *Dracula*, and Clarimonde in *La Morte Amoureuse*).

Within the narrative of *Dracula*, the flighty Lucy is portrayed in obvious juxtaposition with Mina Harker, who many critics have made synonymous with representing maternal instinct and duty. In direct

opposition to Mina's apparent obedience to social expectations, Lucy's night-time behaviour, such as her sleepwalking, or allowing the Count entry through her window, is seen to be indicative of her latent desires for (sexual) freedom, and of the independent and carnally voracious New Woman she represents as a vampire (Roth 1982; Senf 1988; Showalter 1998). Much of this analysis is founded on her appearance, especially her physical change from an innocent young woman to a vampish predator. Early implications of Lucy Westenra's innocent beauty transform into increasingly explicit judgements of her form through the eyes of the men who describe her. As Lucy unknowingly falls victim to Dracula's repeated attacks, she is described with sexualised terminology, inherently linking her appearance to her humanity, her morality, and her health; her eyes become 'dull and hard' and her voice 'soft and voluptuous' as she asks for Arthur to kiss her, just before her death (DR 194). And after her death, she is simply described as a cruel, voluptuous, wanton 'thing' to be destroyed (DR 252-253). This remains the pattern for other texts in which young women occupy the roles of vampires or their victims, and there is a repeated assessment of purity of an individual through their appearance - both within the narratives as well as the critical literature which follows. This mode of evaluation is seen replicated in *La Morte Amoureuse*, as physical attractiveness is considered an important marker for Clarimonde's immorality. And Olga Trevelyan in 'Kalee's Shrine' too is judged on her sleeping appearance - this time othered and viewed with suspicion for inability to close her eyes, and then for her connections with an ancient vampiric goddess. The common factor in all these cases is the necessity of male observation to diagnose and to cure, responding to a force which they are unsure of, but which they are aware is polluting these young women nonetheless.

Lucy Westenra is presented as one of the more well-rounded characters in the novel, and the reader is offered a number of insights into her personality and background, as well as a comprehensive description of her physical appearance. In a text where many of the descriptions of female characters are given over to their sexual attractiveness, Lucy's

initial introduction to the narrative is similarly framed by her desirability, as exemplified by her receiving 'THREE proposals in one day!' (DR 73) – 'real' proposals she clarifies, which suggest several less 'real' proposals preceding them (Gordon 1997: 101). This cements her role in the text as a middle-class socialite who is well-versed in the courtship rituals that occupy the wealthy. Whilst her appearance is often focused on as a key defining trait, there are a number of other aspects which set her apart from other women in the text, and the traditional role which readers would have been familiar with. She is first introduced to the narrative through her letters, and it is evident from her writing that she is a high-spirited young woman, and would like to think of herself as different from her peers; head-strong - 'a tough nut to crack' (DR 72), uninterested in dress, and enjoying shocking, and being shocked, by the use of American slang.

However, despite this apparent desire for independence, made so much of by critics, Lucy's letters betray a yearning to occupy a traditional, wifely. Her correspondence predominantly consists of stories regarding suitors and marriage, doting on Arthur Holmwood after their engagement, as well as showing deep sympathy for the suitors that she rejects. She eventually makes a choice of husband based on love, but it is also a choice of a 'historically-embedded, entitled' son of a Lord, over the 'earned money' of Quincey Morris (Gordon 1997: 101) - a rule which can also be extended to include Dr Seward. In doing so, Lucy indicates her desire for a place as part of a traditional family with an inherited title, whilst simultaneously rejecting modern methods of wealth accumulation. She is ready to 'settle down soon' and shows an earnest concern in fulfilling her obligations as a wife to Arthur; almost instructing Mina that 'a woman ought to tell her husband everything' (DR 73) and even speaking of moderating her behaviour to keep Arthur happy, by not speaking slang as she does not know if he would approve (DR 75). Certainly from the early scenes in Whitby, Lucy's desire to be a wife seems to be most important to her.

Many of the above descriptions and observations are ripe for comparison to another young, newly-engaged beauty in the figure of Olga Trevelyan. There are some disparities in their manner, as Olga is described

as 'timid' and 'earnest', far less coquettish than Lucy, but they also share the same sympathies; showing a propensity for emotion and even hysteria, and both are portrayed as tender-hearted young girls through their upset at the mistreatment of animals or the idea of hurting another person, even accidentally. A key similarity between the two is their appearance - Olga is described as 'a beautiful girl, lithe and stately […] most divinely dark, with large soft eyes, and a lavish wealth of silky-black hair' (KS 8) very much like Lucy's own fair-skinned, dark-haired countenance. Much is made of Olga's beauty and bearing by those around her, with admirers to be found in her friends, her hostess, and her fellow guests. From her introduction to the narrative, she is predominantly viewed from the male point of view; particularly from one suitor, who declares that 'with a woman like that […] a man might do some good in the world in his generation' (KS 11). Olga, like Lucy, is sought after by multiple men and thus immediately portrayed in relation to her matrimonial worth. She becomes engaged to a young doctor, Alan Tennant, who shows his love for her by inserting himself into her life - taking on the role of protector just as Arthur Holmwood does for Lucy. Even prior to their engagement, Olga shows a desire to occupy a traditional role, by at once deferring to her not-yet-fiancé's wishes, beginning with his forceful proposal, in which he orders 'Olga, you will not refuse me! You will take me! You will take me!' (KS 34). Olga, for her part, is well-suited to this dynamic, responding to Tennant's proposal with a tremulous and formal 'yes' before running up to her room in a show of virginal bashfulness. This meekness is seen again in her reticence to take part in a mesmerism display, because 'she didn't know whether Alan would approve of it' (KS 38), echoing Lucy's own concern of whether she should speak slang. In this way both women are initially portrayed in their 'rightful' roles, aiming to fulfil their gender ascribed social functions as dutiful wives.

In the authors' characterisation of these women, there remains one key difference between the portrayals of Olga Trevelyan and Lucy Westenra, which is a lack of the former's voice in the narrative. Whilst 'Kalee's Shrine' is presented from a number of points of view through an omniscient narrator, *Dracula's* epistolary format allows for Lucy's own voice

to be heard, albeit decreasingly, as the story progresses. However, rather than eliciting any sympathetic response - as a first-person narrative should do, especially one by a young woman who suffers terribly before dying - Lucy's letters have been the subject of much discussion with regard to her illicit desires. Her correspondence to Mina is considered to be an indication of her sexual appetite and a foreshadowing of her wantonness as a vampire - with the oft-cited line of her wish to 'marry three men, or as many as want her, and save all this trouble' (DR 76) being held up as an example. Many critics use this single line as primary evidence for unrestrained sexual appetite: it is an 'unacceptable transgressive sexual fantasy' and 'a wish to receive the bodily fluids of all men who are interested in her' (Barkhoff 2008: 128); that it proves Lucy is sexually charged long before her transformation into a vampire (Gelder 1994: 77); and is an indication of her 'latent promiscuity' (Smith 2004: 145). However, whilst the significance of this line cannot be ignored - the mirroring of Lucy's three husbands with Jonathan's three brides in Dracula's castle is too similar to be a coincidence - in critical thought there seems to be a wilful rejection of any other explanation for Lucy to speak this way. Whilst this is not to say that Lucy's sexual maturation is not evidenced in the text (and there are indeed many convincing claims regarding Lucy's unconscious desires and their connection to her vampirism and death) it can be argued that, based on other aspects of Lucy's character and output, these letters could in fact be telling of her *im*maturity and sexual innocence, rather than hinting at such innate and unnatural desires.

To begin with, in making this wish, Lucy shows herself to be more petulant than lustful, as she is in much of her writing, simply wanting to make life easy for herself. From her self-portrayal, through letters and diary entries, Lucy behaves much like a child who is not fully aware of social propriety in matters of marriage, and is as yet uncertain of how to conduct herself. On the one hand, she crows over her three proposals, whilst also displaying a startling lack of self-awareness in declaring 'some girls are so vain!' (DR 73). On the other, Lucy issues disclaimers that she 'should tear up the letter' in which she makes her boastful remarks out of a sense of

propriety (DR 72). Her unguarded approach to sharing with Mina Harker, entrusting the latter with a frank discussion of her life and conquests, is also evident of one who has not yet learnt decorum in such matters. Whilst at nineteen Lucy is not too young to be thinking of marriage, in many ways she approaches it from the point of view of a child - and thus, is a good example of an innocent Victorian bride - rather than a man-hungry woman. In its discussion of suitors, Lucy's writing also portrays her as one who is easily amused or impressed, as she is by Quincey Morris's slang or Dr Seward's position of authority, again reiterating her lack of worldly experience.

This gaucheness is well-illustrated by her rather tactless introduction of Dr Seward to Mina, as 'a man who would just do for you, if you were not already engaged to Jonathan' (DR 71) - suggesting a short-sightedness in those matters which do not personally concern her. Furthermore, her remark about Dr Seward is a trivialisation of Mina and Jonathan's engagement - a point which Lucy should be aware of due to her own deep feelings for Arthur. By making this comment Lucy suggests an inability to empathise, again a mark of immaturity. Ironically, considering Seward's education and serious disposition it is not impossible to conceive of his and Mina's suitability, but Lucy seems oblivious to this aspect at first, and instead focuses on Seward's appearance, wealth, and occupation rather than his personality; he is 'handsome and well-off, and of good birth' (DR 71). Furthermore, when she does find cause to mention Seward's work it is brushed over, and her eventual discussion of his personality is unrelated to her matchmaking - unimportant in that context. This is not to say that Lucy is superficial in matters of love - her own love for Arthur Holmwood seems genuine, - but she shows a disconnection between what she considers to be the 'proper' qualities that others might look for in a suitor, and her own emotional attachments. Lucy is at the cusp of understanding the requirements of a successful courtship and marriage, and she attempts to parrot this to Mina - but ultimately, naive emotions drive her behaviour. Thus, Lucy's letters can be seen as an indication of

her gaucheness, rather than predatory behaviour, evident despite her abortive attempts to present herself as an equal to Mina's sedate maturity.

Lucy's (mis)treatment in critical literature also often hinges on the fact that she is constantly compared to the pure and angelic Mina Harker. However, whilst the difference in the two women is obvious, with Mina's demeanour much more comparable to the gentle figure of Olga Trevelyan in many ways, it is sometimes over-extended; Mina is not simply a taciturn foil to Lucy's superficial girlish prattling and they are in fact similar in many ways. Mina's letter opens with a complaint of her 'trying' job as a school mistress, and wishing to escape it in order to be with Lucy so that they may 'talk freely and build [their] castles in the air' (DR 70), hinting at a romanticism not unlike Lucy's. Despite the widely accepted idea that Mina's role is solely a carer or mother-figure in the narrative, her own letters are just as self-involved as Lucy's, predominantly discussing her future plans with Jonathan and only asking about Arthur Holmwood in a post-script. Lucy for her part writes back a letter twice as long, discussing her suitors, mirroring the same prioritising of self-interest.[22] Mina's diary also suggests some romantic longing on Mina's part, and insinuates a resentment of Lucy's care-free excitement at preparing for her wedding and life with Arthur. In her writing, Mina points out that she is doing much the same as Lucy, except that Jonathan and herself will 'start life in a very simple way […] and shall have to try to make both ends meet' (DR 91) - following immediately with a clarification - apropos of nothing - that Arthur Holmwood is the son of a Lord Godalming. Without denying Mina's selflessness, and mothering capabilities, which are discussed below, it could be argued that these women are more similar than first impressions convey, even that Lucy is an example of what Mina might have been, had circumstance not placed her on a different path. Similarly, Mina in her role as a mother is what Lucy strives to become - 'I must imitate Mina' (DR 133) - although she falls short of this aim.

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[22] Intriguingly, Mina's 'sweet letter' full of 'sympathy' for Lucy's frank admission of love, for which she is thanked by Lucy repeatedly, is not included in the text - shielding the reader from Mina's interests in such matters (DR 72-73).

Part of the reason for this failure is Lucy's emotional sensitivity which again puts her in contrast with Mina; she is unable to maintain a stiff resolve in the face of adversity as Mina does. Her prattling excitement at her upcoming nuptials eclipse any awareness of Mina's concern for Jonathan, from whom she has not heard in many days. Mina demonstrates her comparative maturity by hiding any negative thoughts or feelings from Lucy, just as a mother may protect a child from hurt or worry, and instead confides them in her diary. However, Lucy selfishly and childishly shows an inability to do the same, noticeably becoming withdrawn when she misses Arthur, upset by the mistreatment of an animal, or conversely, 'in gay spirits […] owing to some dear cows' (DR 110). Similarly, when she begins to become restless and feel unwell, she is unable to hide her illness and fear from Mina or her own mother - or indeed the men who care for her. In an attempt to fulfil her upcoming role as a wife and carer, to 'imitate Mina' Lucy does *attempt* to hide her illness by not telling Mina why she is restless, but this withholding of information is not enough to keep the others from the truth, as her appearance betrays her. Despite some apparent efforts to exercise freedom through sleep-walking [23], Lucy's delicate constitution, and eventual illness, which - unbeknownst to her friends, is caused by visits to and from the Count - result in her being almost bedridden for much of the narrative. Because of this, Lucy is often described in states of unconsciousness; beginning with her sleeping as Mina concernedly observes her (DR 108), sleepwalking, her illness, and finally ending in her death.

However, this does not mean that Lucy is only described in terms of passivity. Even if the 'real' Lucy is unconscious, the vampiric Lucy is more active than any other woman in the text, rivalling even the three vampiresses in the castle with her appetite - even without leaving her bed on some occasions. Due to this sudden energy, Lucy is famously subject to a number of contrasting descriptions, beginning with overwhelming praise for her beauty, and slowly degenerating into her finally being

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[23] See Chapter Five: Space and Time.

referred to as a 'thing' by Seward just before her death (DR 253). At her introduction, Lucy is initially mentioned in passing as looking 'sweeter and lovelier than ever' (DR 80) and again, 'sweetly pretty' (DR 82) with a comment on her healthy colouring by Mina, but readers do not get any real sense of her features when she is being described her in sleep. However, prior to Lucy's most adventurous and fateful sleepwalking episode, Mina progresses from simply relaying Lucy's sweetness - a virginal and innocent attribute, more suited to a child than an engaged woman - to giving a more romantic description of her. Mina speculates about the effect that Lucy's beauty might have on Arthur Holmwood, wondering 'if [he] fell in love with her seeing her only in the drawing room, I wonder what he would say if he saw her now' (DR 111) implying that Lucy's beauty is most potent when she sleeps. Furthermore, Mina seems to be insinuating that Lucy's sleeping form would instigate stronger feelings - perhaps of lust - on the part of her fiancé. This idea is reinforced by her immediately following with an unimpressed pronouncement that '[s]ome of the "New Woman" writers will someday start an idea that men and women should be allowed to see each other asleep before proposing or accepting' (ibid). In light of Mina's previous allusion to the attractiveness of a sleeping woman, to 'see each other asleep before proposing' seems to be a veiled allusion to pre-marital sex, and by juxtaposing these ideas, Mina condemns them both. However, in doing so, she also pre-emptively condemns her friend, whose sleep-walk across the town, in which the risk of her being 'seen' is imminent, is followed by an illness in which many men 'see her sleep'. In this way the sleeping Lucy is simultaneously portrayed as at risk of immoral advances, but also a risk to men in whom she may inspire immorality. This dual - and contradictory - role seems fitting for a girl who threatens boundaries of sleeping and waking through her somnambulism.

Olga Trevelyan too is subject to some interest in relation to her sleeping appearance - seen to be alternately sinister and sympathetic depending on the person who looks at her. Upon their first meeting, Dr Tennant is immediately entranced by Olga's eyes which hold '[s]omething strange' (KS 8), the cause of which he soon attributes to her unusual

condition of being incapable of closing her eyes when she sleeps. He is able to witness this first hand when he gains access to her sleeping form, through virtue of his label of 'a medical man', running to her bedside after he sees her having a hysterical fit on her balcony. It is here that he is able to witness the 'vacant stare' of her sleeping face. Olga's eyes are 'not fixed on anything near or earthly, but gazing intent, with rigid pupils, as on some terrible object at an infinite distance', a sight which both 'alarm[s] and appall[s] him' (KS 17). However, Alan Tennant is very much in love with Olga, so this uncanny look inspires compassion in him, albeit mingled with some professional curiosity as to the nature of her deformity. His distress at seeing his loved one ill takes priority for him, and he assists in reviving the young woman. In contrast to this (mostly) loving response, Sir Donald Mackinnon and his mesmerist friend Mr Keen are both shocked and disconcerted by Olga's inability to close her eyes; the former mutters to himself as he formulates a plot to reveal Olga as the evil that he believes her to be, whilst Keen's reaction only serves to publicly other Olga by magnifying her unusual behaviour to the present crowd. Again, the sleeping female form is subject to scrutiny by those who are witness to it, seen to mirror the morality of the sleeper, and is thus viewed as dangerously enticing, or simply dangerous.

Lucy's sleeping form is seen to betray the evil that she has become, and so she is punished, but in 'Kalee's Shrine' Olga is spared that fate. Instead, Olga's sleeping visage is, ostensibly, a red herring: Mackinnon's curiosity and persecution of the young girl, assisted by Keen's mesmerism, is revealed by her fiancé to have put a strain on her mind, leading to the murder of her friend - another false alarm, for Norah Bickersteth lives and happily goes on to marry Dr Tennant's wealthy older brother. However, despite this 'happy ending' and the attempted subversion of superstitious gothic tropes, 'Kalee's Shrine' still attributes some importance to the appearance of a sleeper. Norah's appearance of violent death leads to the climax of the narrative, when Olga finds her 'lying, stretched upon the bed, with head thrown back […] motionless and still as a marble statue' (KS 47). Her friend's eyes mimic Olga's own sleeping expression, standing 'wide

open, fixed in a deathly stare on the blank ceiling' and the cause of death appears to be evident by 'a dark blue line' around her neck (ibid). The sight of this 'corpse' shocks Olga senseless, for without further examination of the body, Olga is presumed guilty by all present, including herself. It is only upon Dr Tennant's return that Mackinnon and Keen's incompetence is revealed as the medical man rushes to Norah's side and manages to revive her.

The appearance of Norah's prone body and wide-eyed stare is essential to the narrative, as it is through this circus of mis-understanding and assumption that Mackinnon and Keen's folly is proven. Furthermore, Tennant still sees fit to 'correct' Olga's sleeping appearance, performing a small operation on her (without her consent) to enable her to close her eyes as she sleeps - suggesting that whilst such a disorder should not condemn her to a hangman's noose, it is a disorder nonetheless and must be rectified. Following his procedure, Olga's face takes on a look of tranquillity, and her sleeping appearance is akin to 'some Italian picture of a beautiful saint, painted in the days when saintliness was still no rare attribute' (KS 72). Finally, as the mesmerist undoes his passes and fully releases Olga from the trance, a 'peaceful look' comes over her face - signalling that 'Olga Trevelyan had ceased for ever to be a votary of Kalee' (ibid). Despite the overarching moral of the tale seeming to insinuate that (sleepers') appearances can be misleading, the end still returns to the idea that a peaceful sleep is indicative of a peaceful soul.

Descriptions of Mina when she is sleeping differ from those of the other women in several ways; to begin with, she is seldom considered in terms of her figure or her attractiveness, as Olga, Lucy, and the vampire women are. Mina is portrayed as a 'sweet-faced, dainty looking girl' (DR 262), 'bright and happy looking' (DR 404), and her appearance is inextricably linked to her personality with 'her radiant beauty' being a credit to her 'youth and animation' (DR 367) and not her sexual desirability. Furthermore, where others are depicted a number of times both sleeping and awake and both in times of health and in sickness, Mina is only subject to such considerations of her sleeping form *after* her attack by the Count,

which comes relatively late in the narrative. This suggests that, once Mina is connected to Dracula through his forced blood transfusion, she is at risk of being pushed out of humanity and losing the modesty with which she has been credited in previous descriptions. It seems that to describe her whilst she is sleeping ceases to be as intimate a detail as it may have been when she was healthy and fully herself.

As a victim of attack, Mina partially ceases to be a mother-figure and instead becomes a patient, as Lucy did; the descriptions of her come from the doctors Seward and Van Helsing, and then her husband and this in itself legitimises any inclusion of them in the narrative.[24] Mina however, is destined to survive the narrative, never being completely transformed, and thus even after her attack she is perceived and treated differently than Lucy - firstly the men assure that she will be 'in full confidence; that nothing of any sort should be kept from her' (DR 345), a contrast from the preoccupation of keeping Lucy in ignorance, which categorises the latter's illness. This is seen immediately following Mina's brutal victimisation by the Count: Van Helsing's first act after the men have chased Dracula out of the Harkers' chamber is to draw a blanket over Mina's nightgown-clad body. This is a physical act to comfort her, but also one which is symbolic of her implicit modesty, a suggestion that she will continue to be treated with respect (in stark contrast to Lucy who is observed in her bedroom, waking and asleep by multiple people), and perhaps an indication that extensive physical descriptions of a sleeping Mina will not be forthcoming.

The power of a sleeping woman is, unexpectedly, seen again in illness. The visage of an invalid, especially when unconscious, betrays their physical weakness, and communicates their desire to be cared for, relegating them to a passivity which is watched over and controlled by others. When seen in a man, illness serves to weaken them socially as well as physically, as evident in Jonathan Harker, who presents a pathetic image in the nursing home. However, in a woman, there are positive

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[24] Whilst Lucy is also observed by the same medical professionals, there is a marked difference between Seward as a respectable doctor and as a spurned suitor, and this is clear in his narration as will be discussed in a following chapter.

connotations to their indisposition. In visible illness, a woman takes on a traditional role of inactivity to those men who treat her, thereby allowing them to reassert their superior capabilities. Olga and Lucy demonstrate this through their sleeping forms which betray their failing health. Olga is no longer seen to be beautiful but 'white, cold, and very pallid', 'motionless as a corpse' (KS 16, 17), and on sight the frantic Dr Tennant is moved to try to cure her immediately. This is reminiscent of Lucy Westenra's illness, in which her once sweet face soon turns to a source of shock for her friends; Mina Harker becomes worried about Lucy who is 'sadly pale and wan looking' (DR 121) and even Lucy herself is shocked at how 'ghastly pale' she looks (DR 134). However, it is Arthur Holmwood who calls in help from Dr Seward, so 'grieved' is he by her appearance, driven by his love for her to try and save her. Lucy's bloodless visage is an unwelcome sight to the others but it is also a visible sign that she is in need of assistance, which she gets in droves from Arthur Holmwood, Dr Seward, Quincey Morris and then Van Helsing - all deeply concerned and eager to protect her as she fades and weakens before them - just as Dr Tennant is for Olga Trevelyan. As unwell and unconscious women, Olga and Lucy provide an opportunity for the men around them to fulfil their masculine function of protection, and thus their illness can be seen as a sacrificial act. The men are left with a choice to protect these women or else to take advantage of them, which in turn categorises them as either moral or immoral. For Arthur Holmwood and Dr Tennant, Lucy and Olga's illnesses work in their favour, whilst Dracula and Mr Keen are exposed as callous opportunists.

The revelatory nature of illness also extends to recovery. When Lucy regains a little colour, the men are satisfied but her robustness soon begins to repel them, and by the time she needs to be destroyed, there is no affection left for her from either Seward or Arthur. Seward is the first to vocalise this dichotomy, describing Lucy in her waking and sleeping states, and noting that 'whilst asleep she looked stronger, although more haggard' but when she is awake a 'softness' returns to her eyes and she looked 'her own self, although a dying one' (DR 185). The reader is aware, or at least may suspect, that in sleep, Lucy is closest to being a vampire but within

the narrative this is unknown; it is simply the bloom of strength which makes Lucy's sleeping form appear unfamiliar and worrying. That any evidence of good health might be linked to evil, and her illness may be linked to goodness and purity is again a reminder of the roles which Lucy's friends and lovers are most comfortable with for her. In contrast, Olga - who lacks Lucy's spirited and sometimes transgressive energy - has no such restrictions and her frailty in sleep simply serves as a sign that she is unwell. And in Mina too the sleeping face is seen to reflect her well-being and strength.

From the point of her attack, Mina is afforded much more attention with regards to her sleep, as her connection with Dracula becomes a key point to propel the narrative forward. Her husband Jonathan's descriptions of Mina are the most tender, and contrast with his earlier writing in which he seldom dwells on her appearance. She slumbers like 'a little child' (DR 373, 388) and displays a softness in her sleep as she does when awake - unlike Lucy, for whom sleep exposes an unbecoming harshness. Jonathan unintentionally reiterates the idea that truth is evident in the face of a sleeper when he sees a 'repose' come over her face and rejects the idea that it is just a trick of the light as he previously thought, crediting it with having 'a deeper meaning' (DR 369). Similarly, Van Helsing attributes significance to Mina's appearance in sleep and is suspicious when she looks 'more heathy and more redder than before' [*sic*] (DR 433) in her sleep, not only reinforcing the view that a visage can betray truths which even the sleeper is unaware of, but also that robustness is not a welcome sight in a sleeping woman. However, these descriptions are rare in the narrative and observed only by one other person at a time, again preserving Mina's privacy. Instead, there is a much more sustained interest in how she feels and what she does; even her sleep is described as 'happy' (DR 387), and her emotions are conveyed in a detail which is matched by the men's own passionate descriptions of their own and other's reactions. This is fitting for a woman who is praised for having 'a man's brain […] and a woman's heart' (DR 281) thereby valuing her thoughts and feelings above her appearance.

Lucy's appearance in her semi-conscious state as a budding vampire, and then in death as a complete vampire, with a body count of young children in her wake, has been discussed in terms of its overt sexuality; it is not considered to be a transformation of her from pure to impure, but a *realisation* of her already present (albeit latent) desires - again attributed to her conscious and waking 'heresy' of wanting to marry three men (DR 76). Whilst several critics (Ledger 1997, Gordon 1997) supplement this idea by providing further evidence in the form of Lucy's desire to leave her room - discussed more fully in the 'Chapter 4: Space and Time' - this single line is often provided as a sole rationale for why she is chosen by Dracula in the first place, concerning itself with implied, unconscious desires and allusions to Lucy as a symbolic New Woman, and thus blaming her victimhood on herself. Combined with a discussion of sleep space, this theory is in good stead. However, there is also the possibility that another key aspect of Lucy's personality is being overlooked here: her growth from an idle young socialite to an aspiring contemporary of Mina, with whom she would like to be 'old married women', putting vanity behind her (DR 73).

Throughout the early part of the narrative, Lucy is treated by the others like, and plays the part of, a child - her purity is often remarked upon and this is distinct from descriptions of other women in the text[25]. The exhilaration of three men proposing to her is a possible catalyst for her maturation, and she is suddenly engrossed in plans for her future and playing house with her husband, a contrast from her earlier childish preoccupations. In terms of appearance, there is also a marked change: Lucy begins by looking 'sweet' and 'lovely' in her introduction to the narrative, and when she falls ill she is described as pale and vulnerable - obvious in her need to be cared for. From this she transforms to 'haggard' as she sleeps - not often used to describe the young - and then finally 'more

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[25] Mina is also referred to as pure, but this is in more spiritual terms; as a married woman and soon-to-be mother, Mina is an 'angel', whereas Lucy's purity is referred to in terms of her innocence. Thus when Lucy loses her innocence by becoming a vampire, her purity is lost.

radiantly beautiful than ever' with lips 'redder than before' (DR 240). On the surface this could appear to be a sign that Lucy has achieved a Good Death - to die looking beautiful was a sign of reward - however, Lucy's beauty is too life-like, and too oppressive for the men who open her coffin; her rude colouring is an affront to the natural order that should follow in terms of bodily decay. On the one hand this can be seen as a sign of her devolution to 'the thing', a heartless and lustful predator, but it can also be read as a sign of Lucy's evolution into adulthood. Suddenly self-assuredly beautiful and made-up with red lips, Lucy is portrayed as a new woman in the literal sense, as she casts off the innocence of girlhood and 'prettiness', to a more mature, 'voluptuous' allure which would have come to her as part of her induction into married - and conjugal - life. The men's apparent fear, and thus their violent rejection, of Lucy's metamorphosis is not simply based on the brazenness of her desires but the suddenness at which she matures, contradicting the ideal of a virginal, naive bride which was aspired to, and instead mimicking the prostitutes that men may have visited before their interest in matrimony, thereby subverting the very institution of marriage - all without opening her eyes.

Lucy's maturity is signalled in many ways; from her reference to Arthur as her husband and her frank invitation to consummate a marriage that never took place (DR 253), to her sudden self-assurance, and even her bastardised role as a mother figure to the children whom she attacks as the 'bloofer lady'. Amongst all of the movement and action in this scene, Arthur's wince at the careless way that Lucy discards the child is noticed and noted, and so too perhaps his realisation at the narrow escape he has made from an unsuitable mate. However, nowhere are Lucy's changes more evident than in her physicality, which is suddenly more focused on her body rather than her face, and referred to as 'voluptuous' more than once. Seward, who shows some resentment in his rejection from Lucy earlier in the narrative, is very aware of her sudden blossoming (or withering) into the vampire and it is only a 'remnant' of affection that he has to discard before he is able to destroy a woman that he once loved, for not living up to his ideal. Arthur too is suddenly given strength by this

realisation, and as her 'husband' is tasked with restoring Lucy as 'a holy, not an unholy, memory' (DR 258) for all three of the men who once wished to marry her. Arthur is successful and the vernacular of 'sweetness and purity' returns to their perceptions of her. If Lucy's desire for wantonness was present in her unconscious long before the Count's attacks, then this act would not have fully freed her, nor made her pure. However, Van Helsing, Arthur, Dr Seward and Quincey Morris are successful because their joint efforts were not to remove a latent sexuality from Lucy, but to return Lucy to the girl-child that they were comfortable with.

As the only women in the text who fully realise their vampirism - and so their sexual capability - a comparison can also be drawn between Lucy and the vampires who find Jonathan in the Count's castle, particularly as there is an undeniable symmetry in Jonathan being attacked by three vampires and Lucy being proposed to by three suitors. The descriptions of the vampiric Lucy and these female vampires are very similar, with a constant reference to their cruel features and voluptuous bodies - again implying an ability to assess one's character from their physical forms. During Jonathan's attack, these women are active and their beauty is described in their movement and energy - laughing, and being coquettish with one another and with Jonathan. However, Van Helsing also provides a description of their passive forms when he goes to destroy their bodies as they 'sleep' in their graves - and it is here that their beauty and evil are clearly linked. He admits that even with 'all [his] purpose and motive for hate' he is 'moved' by their overt sexuality, and in this he sees how these women have escaped being defeated for so many years: at the crucial moment, their 'beauty and fascination' would 'hypnotise' any man who attempted to stake them, leaving him unable to carry out his duty until the sun has set, when the women would awaken from their slumber and be fully able to exercise their influence over the men (DR 439). As with Lucy, the slumbering forms of the three women are at once powerless and powerful, and Van Helsing is affected by their beauty, in spite of his advanced years, his hatred of the creatures, and a lifetime of experience of vampires and their guises. Despite his understanding that he must work

quickly, Van Helsing nonetheless takes sufficient time to destroy the final vampire woman, that he is able to note that she is 'so fair to look on, so radiantly beautiful, so exquisitely voluptuous' that it makes his 'head whirl with new emotion' (DR 440) emphasising the extent of the women's power over him.

It is through this encounter that Van Helsing provides an insight into how these women are perceived by their alleged victims, which he uses as a defence for his own momentary lack of resolve. First he blames the sight of the sleeping woman whose beauty is enough to 'paralyse' his thinking and 'clog' his soul (DR 439), and then also his lack of natural sleep - which he differentiates from the facsimile of slumber that he sees before him. Finally, he excuses those who succumb to such an onslaught, explaining that 'the beautiful eyes of the fair woman open, and look love, and the voluptuous mouth present to a kiss – and *man is weak* […]' (DR 439, my emphasis). The fact that 'man is weak' is held as a certainty in these cases and echoed throughout the narratives. Van Helsing himself nearly succumbs, until he is called back from the brink by the memory of the angelic Mina. Recalling the pain that has been caused to her spurs him beyond the point reached by men in the past, who did not have an 'angel' to lead them back to the right path. When Van Helsing finally returns from the trying task of destroying the female vampires, he finds relief in Mina's appearance; she is 'thin and pale and weak; but her eyes [are] pure' and he is 'glad to see her paleness and her illness' as it contrasts greatly with the 'fresh horror of that ruddy vampire sleep' (DR 441). Again, frailty is valued above health, and held up as a symbol of meek purity. The guilt ascribed to sleeping women is clear from this scene; more so because, where Jonathan was a passive observer to his active, would-be attackers, Van Helsing is tempted by their immobile forms. In spite of this the language of blame is equally strong in both meetings, and thus it is emphasised that such women are the primary reason for a man's downfall.

The implied sexual power of an unconscious woman becomes even more problematic when she is not sleeping, but dead. In *Dracula*, the vampire women are not alive in the strictest sense of the world, and

Jonathan Harker's attraction to them is taboo for more reasons than those mentioned earlier in the chapter. Van Helsing's experience of these same women is even more concerning; whilst they are awake and active in Harker's presence, they are still and lying in coffins when Van Helsing finds them. By admitting his attraction to them, Van Helsing is admitting to a necrophiliac desire even more pronounced than Jonathan's. However, nowhere is this taboo explored more explicitly than in *La Morte Amoureuse*. Romuald, like Van Helsing, is aroused by the sight of a beautiful corpse, so much so that he dismisses a lifetime of religious service upon viewing it. Having been called to read her last rites, instead Father Romuald visually devours Clarimonde's near-naked form, clad as she is in only linen, 'so fine that the lovely body beneath was quite unconcealed' (LMA 33), lustfully taking advantage of the dead woman's body. Just as Jonathan Harker and Van Helsing describe the female vampires of *Dracula* in terms of their overwhelming beauty, the priest's description of Clarimonde is sexually loaded, and the language used is painstakingly detailed. He speaks of following the 'beautiful contours, as sinuous as the curves of a swan's neck' of her body, gazing at her 'gorgeous corpse' and trying to convince himself of a reason to expose the naked, dead body (LMA 33).

Here too, Van Helsing's assessment that 'man is weak' is applied. Clarimonde's immobile, dead form, is presented as so overwhelmingly attractive that Romuald is almost portrayed as a victim to it. As he builds the courage to do such an unholy thing, it is with the thought that he has 'gone quite mad, grieving and exciting [him]self like this' (ibid), pre-empting his violation of Clarimonde's privacy with an excuse for his behaviour. He blames the body lying before him for being 'voluptuous' and credits it with having a 'disturbing effect' on him, again empowering it whilst side-stepping his own culpability. However, the dynamic between the corpse and the living priest is clear – just as it is when Van Helsing finds the graves of the vampire women, or when Lucy's crypt is forced open in *Dracula*. Rebecca May suggests that a dead woman's body is 'not just inert flesh and tissue but […] malleable, feminine, pleasure providing and privilege affirming', and that it 'embodies an ideal of receptivity' (2009: 167). The receptivity of

these bodies certainly seems to be exemplified in *Dracula*, where the men first take pleasure in the women's beauty and then penetrate them with wooden stakes. However, the 'pleasure providing and privilege affirming' aspect of a woman's body is seen most clearly in *La Morte Amoureuse,* when Romuald, unable to control his desire, strips the cloth from Clarimonde's corpse.

The effect of this action, is undeniably reminiscent of sexual arousal; 'the blood pounded in [his] arteries with such force that [he] felt it hiss within [his] temples, and the sweat streamed down [his] forehead' (LMA 34). The ensuing description of Clarimonde's form is powerfully sexual; before him she lies 'lovely as ever' with her 'long, unloosened hair' sliding over 'the nakedness of her shoulders' (LMA 34). Clarimonde is described through her sexuality but, unlike the above descriptions of vampire women in *Dracula*, by a man who loves her. Where the emotions of the 'band of brothers' in *Dracula* are in intermingling of desire and disgust, Romuald is more wholly enchanted. Even when he credits the corpse with an 'inexpressible power of seduction', thereby attempting to remove himself from blame, the priest spares Clarimonde any base comparisons to beasts and demons as in Van Helsing and Jonathan Harker's depictions of their female vampires. Instead, Romuald desecrates his own morality, by blasphemously intermingling religious terminology with allusions to his sexual attraction. To her lover, Clarimonde has hands 'more pure than consecrated hosts […] laced together in an attitude of devout repose and implicit prayer', balancing the 'exquisite roundness and ivory polish of her naked arms which otherwise, even in death, might have seemed somehow too intensely inviting' (LMA 34). In the case of the priest and his vampire the language of blame is far subtler than seen in *Dracula,* but even in the enactment of male dominance, the attempts of men to blame a sleeping woman's form for their own immoral urges remains consistent.

For Van Helsing and Jonathan just as for Romuald, it is the women who tempt the men to do wrong, even if they are simply lying asleep or dead before them - and not the men's own desires which compromise them. This contradicts a number of assumptions which are made of sleep

- perhaps beginning with Aubert and White's assertion that 'the one who sleeps does not sin' (49), as these women are sinning enough to warrant punishment. The guilt ascribed to the sleepers in this case, undermines the inherent and natural vulnerability that should be associated with sleep and creates an imbalance of power. By subverting the natural order and associations of sleep, the sense of security that characters and readers might have been able to rely on is discarded and this contributes to the overall feeling of uneasiness that characterises the gothic. Furthermore, any women who are capable of erecting such a defence as sexual temptation even as they sleep, are differentiated from those who cannot - the innocent or sweet-looking, as Mina and Lucy before her transformation. The otherness and inhumanity of evil women, as well as their lack of femininity, is confirmed in their ability to exert control over men with such little effort on their part, a skill that evades the 'good' women of the narratives even when they are awake.

The portrayals of sleeping women seen above come from a number of sources, but descriptions of sleeping men in these gothic narratives are distinctly limited, despite there being multiple narrative voices - both male and female - and despite the oft-changing sleeping arrangements. Mina's diary and correspondence make up a large proportion of the narrative, and she is witness to several others as they sleep. Besides sharing a room with Lucy, Mina and Van Helsing travel and camp together, and she also shares a bedroom with Jonathan from the point of their marriage - however she does not linger on their sleeping forms as the men do on Lucy's or the vampire women's. Aside from Mina's records, there are those kept by the men - John Seward, Van Helsing, and Jonathan keep detailed journals, and Quincey Morris and Arthur Holmwood write letters - and these men are often interrupted in their sleep throughout the narrative by their friends - for example when Van Helsing wakes up Seward by walking into his room (DR 304). However, they are seldom described as they sleep, and instead the focus is on their waking moments and thoughts, or else their experiences as they fall asleep. In fact, of the 'band of brothers' only Jonathan is described in this passive state - first when he is recovering in the convent

following his stay at Dracula's castle, and again when he is a silent witness to Mina's attack.[26] This is similar across other gothic narratives; in *La Morte Amoureuse*, Romuald, as the first person narrator, is unable to describe his own sleeping body, and so escapes any descriptions of it. The same is seen in other texts, such as Arthur Machen's 'The Novel of the White Powder' and Grant Allen's 'Pallinghurst Barrow' and others where there is no occasion for the sleeping forms of the male protagonist to be described. Of all the male characters who sleep as part of these gothic narratives, and whose sleep propels the action forward (just as women's sleep does), there is surprisingly limited availability of descriptions of their sleeping forms. It is clear that men are intended to be viewed as active beings, and to devote any significant time in describing them as they lie passively would undo this aim. This remains true with only one brief exception: Dracula.

The Count is described only three times - the first two as he is discovered by Jonathan in the castle and then again very briefly before his death - but this suffices to outdo any description of the other men in these texts. Just as the women above, he is seen to betray his immorality in his appearance; his eyes are 'stony' and 'full of hate' (DR 63) and set in 'swollen flesh' (DR 67). He appears to be cruelly amused at Jonathan's search for the keys to escape the castle and, like the vampire women, is able to use his disturbing appearance to his advantage, turning his head so the 'basilisk horror' of his eyes prevents Jonathan from destroying him (DR 68). The sleeping vampire women remain passive upon discovery - albeit relatively well-protected by their sexual desirability - but the Count is able to employ an active defence; his eyes convey a sense of his feeling and indicate a knowledge of the world around his sleeping body, first mocking Jonathan's frantic attempts to search him, and again, indicating his 'triumph' as the sun sets over the final battle between the 'Crew of Light' and the gypsies who protect him. What is more, Dracula's ability to turn his head towards Jonathan even in sleep reinforces the idea that this is not a man being dealt with, nor sleep as we know it, but a bastardisation of both.

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[26] See Chapter Four: Obligation and Culpability.

Dracula escapes the passive connotations of sleep that the women are bound to, by demonstrating his ability to control his environment even as he is consigned to a sleep-state.

Ultimately, the physical appearance of the sleeper, and the choice to include - or avoid - it in a narrative, is used to supplement the reader's understanding of the character in question, particularly with regard to their morality. Moreover, it is a reflection of the social concerns at the time of publication. The lack of descriptions of sleeping men and the conversely generous descriptions of sleeping women betray the authors and their society as having rigid expectations for both genders. Furthermore, observations of sleeping bodies and faces provide a nuanced portrayal of the anxieties faced by both sleeper and those watching them, and assist in creating a balanced profile as to how they are perceived by their peers. The people (often men) who describe these bodies (often women) both sleeping and awake, implicitly label them in different ways, by choosing to focus on some aspects and not others. The emphasis of the beauty of some (Lucy and Clarimonde for example) and on the character or the suffering of others (Mina, Olga) helps to shape, and is shaped by, the relationship that the narrator has with these women. This affords these observers a power over how these women are perceived by others in the narrative, and also by the reader. But even further, it allows the reader to form a better understanding of these men who are narrating; Van Helsing, Dr Seward and Romuald are all implicated in their descriptions of these women, so focused are they on the sexualisation of what are essentially corpses, and for a modern audience this can call into question their motives and choices, whilst also reflecting the values of the time. Finally, the overtly sexual descriptions of Lucy, Clarimonde, and the three vampire women do not only betray a sense of the sleeper's character, reinforcing a link between the women and their immorality and sexual availability, but can also - as in the case of Lucy - provide an understanding of them beyond what they choose to share during their waking hours, beyond even what they and their loved ones know to be true. The physiognomical theories which were popular at the time these gothic texts were being conceived

and written did not make any special distinction between a waking and sleeping study, but the gothic does; enforcing a distinction between the face that one may willingly present to the world when in control (that is, awake) and the face that is unwillingly presented to the world when asleep. The inner workings of the mind and the character are evident on the visage and body of those who sleep in the gothic and all that remains is for someone to read them.

Chapter Three

Protecting Sleepers

As is inherent in the very nature of the act, and has been emphasised in critical thought, sleep is a state in which the sleeper is vulnerable to harm because the body is unable to physically defend itself unless it regains consciousness. If one considers the practice of a sleeper keeping a weapon close by, typically under a pillow or by a bed, there is an assumption that he or she may become accustomed to regaining alertness relatively quickly if startled awake; as Dr Seward and Quincey Morris do when they guard the Harkers' room, sleeping on a mattress outside. However, this naturally differs from person to person, and is highly dependent on the individual and the situation. Whilst some may be woken by a slight noise, others may need something much louder, and if sleepers are extremely tired or unwell, they may need more time to fully regain their senses before they can act in any meaningful way. Thus, in times of strife, when one is under sustained physical attack (in a war for example), or when one is sleeping in a space which is unfamiliar or has the potential to be unsafe, or even when one experiences mental or physical strain – nightmares or illness – people may choose to sleep together, or else sleep and wake in shifts in order to better protect one another's sleeping forms.

It is through this necessity in the gothic that readers are afforded insight into the events taking place, whilst also being privy to the relating emotions recorded in letters, diaries, and other (unspecified) accounts. Williams and Crossley's brief discussion of the possible recourse for protecting oneself from being harmed when sleeping is founded on ideas of physical barriers; 'locking ourselves in our houses and only allowing into the house those whom we trust to respect our "sleep rights"' (2008: 5). This becomes a requirement in the gothic, where much of the threat comes at night. The front-line for this was the bedroom, in which the sleeper was

most likely to be found, and thus, the space which required protection. The demarcation of the sleep-space as one which became sanctified in the nineteenth century has been considered previously in this thesis, and the importance of preventing (sexual) pollution is discussed in subsequent chapters. However, this chapter aims to examine the role of those allowed to enter the sleep-space of a vulnerable individual, and their role in using this access as a means of protection.

To willingly fall asleep whilst others around you remain awake can be interpreted as an indication of trust, for there is an implicit understanding that the watcher will in fact be vigilant and take necessary action should the sleeper come into trouble during their repose. This can be envisioned in a number of ways. For example, in times of sickness, vigils may be held around the bed of a sleeping person both by anxious loved ones and by doctors, as the patient is monitored for signs of changing health. So, too, in cases where their physical safety is threatened; the watcher may be entrusted to protect the sleeper by fending off attackers, or else wake them up and make them aware of the danger. And finally, this can extend to mental threats; despite the widely-suggested idea that a person in the throes of a nightmare or sleep-walking should not be woken, the fact remains that a watcher can assist in such cases, either by soothing them or else waking them up before they come to harm. In an arrangement such as this, there is a clear demonstration of closeness embedded in the very act of willingly sleeping with someone else present – trust that the other person shall not harm the sleeper, will in fact protect them from others' harmful intentions. Conversely, by choosing to watch over someone as they sleep indicates an obligation on the part of the former, be it borne out of love or duty. To stay awake in the presence of another is a responsibility which must not be shirked in order to uphold this trust.

Closely related to the idea of watchers and sleepers is that of co-sleeping. In modern day, this is used to describe the act of a parent sleeping with a child in order to best attend to their needs, but the principle is the same regardless of age or relationship. Earlier discussions have already shown that to sleep with another person or other people – whether

once, or repeatedly – is a socially significant act. Sleeping in the same bed or bedroom often begins at a young age as parents may choose to sleep nearer their new-born children in order to better care for them. When these children are moved into their own space, they may still seek to sleep with their parents as a means of feeling emotionally or physically protected, particularly in times of stress, and the act can be loaded with nostalgic meaning. As these fears fall away, often as children age, they may sleep in the same room as siblings and friends, perhaps through necessity in the case of the former, and as a means of social bonding in the case of the latter. And finally, as adults, one may choose to sleep in the same bed with sexual partners, whether casual or committed. Needless to say, this trust is not always best placed; however, the fact remains that if one chooses to share their bed or their bedroom with another, they are likely making certain assumptions about their companions; that they can be trusted, that they will not harm the sleeper.

Due to the relatively new status of the bedroom as a private space, in the nineteenth century home, entry into another person's sleep-space was restricted. However, in certain cases, welcoming another into one's bedroom was accepted, and even encouraged. The most obvious of these exceptions is the shared bedchambers of husbands and wives, a legally and morally sanctified union, as well as doctors and religious men in times of illness or death. However, the practice of women sharing bedrooms and beds with other women was also common, albeit regulated. Sharon Marcus points out that sharing a bed or a bedroom with governess, tutors, or servants was cautioned against, for fear that it might lead to 'mischief' (2007: 18), suggesting that a shared gender was not sufficient to permit this activity, and other things such as class and the relationship between the two sleepers had to be considered also.[27] If the women were both of

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[27] Servants sharing beds with the children in their care was also warned against as being against legal and religious laws. Initially due to concern that the child may be suffocated, this rule was later appropriated by those seeking to prevent sexual knowledge being transferred from the working classes to the children of the middle and upper classes (Counter, 2013). See Chapter Five: Space and Time.

the same class, however, and if they maintained a close friendship, sharing sleep-space, even after marriage, was permitted, and not considered at all unusual (Oulton, 2016). Examples of women involved in such friendships in the long term, even inviting a dearest friend to move into the marital home, and to share a bed with the lady of the house were highly tolerated, as in the case of Helen Codrington and her long-time friend and sleep partner Emily Faithfull (Vinicus 2004; Marcus 2007; Oulton 2016). That these relationships were sanctioned in the same societies in which homosexual men were subject to violent persecution seems unusual, but Martha Vinicus offers a possible explanation that legislators were 'baffled by the unexpected possibility that women together in bed might mean more than a warm friendship' (2004: 58). Furthermore, the relationships between these women were often seen to be supporting a successful (heterosexual) marriage (Marcus 2007), thereby being an enactment of friendship and trust.

This trust extends to other aspects of sleep too, and the harms posed are not always so explicitly related to fear and protection as above. In order that sleep is successful for both parties sharing a room, a bond must be entered into, ascribing each person with distinct rights and responsibilities. Simon Williams built on Parson's (1951) consideration of how to protect sleep and the sleeper, listing some rules which are relevant to this study: that the sleeper has a right to freedom from disturbance, the sleeper is afforded a socially-sanctioned suspension of the duties which would ordinarily be expected of them in their waking life, and finally, an understanding that falling asleep will not negate any progress made in waking life, and that the sleeper will maintain their status overnight (2002: 182). Williams intends these rules to be generally applicable to sleepers in society, but in fact they predominantly relate to the relationships between co-sleepers, and not those between sleepers and watchers. Whilst the latter is often present to ensure a good night's sleep, and therefore is, by definition, looking out for the well-being of the sleeper, a co-sleeper is not and therefore may be more at risk of causing harm to the sleeper. Thus

these rules protect the sleeper, allowing them to engage in socially-sanctioned rest, presumably for the better fulfilment of their waking roles.

Like many sociological reflections on sleep, Williams' rules may seem obvious and thus go unnoticed in daily life. Upon reflection they are more likely to be considered simple common sense; showing consideration to others sleeping within one's sleep space or home is not unusual, but it cannot be argued that they have developed over time in order to ensure the protection of a human necessity, and thus of the social interactions which follow. The ubiquitous - albeit unconscious - understanding of these rules in Western Europe is surprising, considering perceptions of the bedroom and sleeping habits have changed only relatively recently (Elias 1978; Ekirch 2005; Koslofsky 2011), and it seems that Williams is elucidating on truths which have long been understood but have gone unspoken. There is some benefit to considering these ideas more explicitly because sleep forms a significant part of the discussion for the characters in the gothic, mainly as this is when they are under the greatest threat. Lucy, Jonathan, Mina are all attacked after they have retired for the evening, Romuald is a victim of Clarimonde in his dreams, and Laura is attacked by Carmilla in her bed. The threats that these men and women try to protect themselves (and one another) against are looming monstrous creatures and it is no surprise that this is what draws their attention. However, their vulnerability also comes from the side of good in the form of those they sleep with or are cared for by - an aspect which many of these victims either overlook or choose to ignore. In the texts being studied, the consequences of not being protected as one sleeps are known to be harmful to the characters and often serves to affect them in a serious way, and this is true whether they are under an explicit physical threat or because of something subtler, such as the inability to take rest.

In these texts many of the primary characters are from the middle-classes, and thus would be expected to conform to guidelines regarding the private nature of sleep. Even without explicit knowledge of the formal guidelines which were suggested, the implicit understanding that sleep is a private matter would be sufficient for characters of such class and

upbringing to shy away from sleeping openly and together. However, this would have an undesired effect on the narrative for to remove sleep and sleepers from the observation of the narrator would change the face of gothic, minimising the threats that are predominantly present at night, and drawing a veil over what is arguably the most crucial time and space in the narratives. Instead, authors employ two main devices in order to allow access to these private spaces and moments, particularly through the manipulation of character roles. Deeply interconnected and, at many times, present simultaneously, these devices can be categorised in two ways: the first, pathologisation and the second, infantilisation. In the first of these, the sleeper assumes (or is forced into) the role of patient, and the watchers and co-sleepers take on the role of carer. In the second, the sleeper is viewed as a child who needs mothering, thereby diminishing the sexualisation of the sleeping form. Much like the other-ing of the sleeper, which allows for descriptions of Dracula as one of the few males of the narratives who is seen to sleep, these shifts in role are key in (respectfully) breaching the privacy of the sleepers and allowing access to them. In this way, narrators are first-hand witnesses to some of the horrors which haunt the sleepers, and by being afforded this view, the emotional closeness - or disparity - between the characters can be made clear.

Infantilisation is closely linked to pathologisation because children and patients share certain needs, and so, similar expectations of their carers. Both are expected to take frequent rest and sleep and are under supervision whilst they are in bed, and in both child and patient there is a sense of helplessness which requires other, stronger, characters to provide support. This support is extended from sleeping with someone if one person stays awake – rejecting their own natural desire to sleep – in order to watch over an un-well person. It also shares the same sacrificial element, echoing the mother giving up her rights and requirement for sleep, for the love and care of a baby. The relationships of doctor and patient, and mother and child (though not always literal) are seen multiple times in these narratives, especially as the vampires' effects begin to become apparent. They run parallel to more dramatic occurrences in the narrative, linking

illness and feebleness with the shadow of the vampire and emphasising the importance of the creature being stopped, simply by juxtaposing visions of attacks with illustrations of the consequences. In *Dracula,* Jonathan is the first to be taken ill, followed by Lucy and then Mina. The eponymous vampire in *Carmilla* infects Laura and, before her Bertha, and both show their illness by taking to their beds. And finally, in *La Morte Amoureuse,* Romuald is taken ill and confined to his bed (in more ways than one) after meeting Clarimonde. In the majority of these cases, the illness of the patient is similar to a regression to childhood, and a mother-nurse, or father-doctor figure is needed to return them to their original selves.

The doctor-patient relationships are primarily between watchers and sleepers, allowing relative strangers to enter bedrooms and remain, observing their occupant as he or she lies prone on the bed. However, the more intimate relationship is arguably that between co-sleepers, who betray a greater familiarity. As mentioned above, sleeping together can be a source of protection and comfort, and in gothic texts this is predominantly explored from the perspective of parent and child, or else two children; it is rarely considered from the point of, for example, husband and wife. As will be shown, even literal husband and wife pairings such as Jonathan and Mina resort to such roles when attempting to comfort one another. Overall, however, this is best seen in relationships between women, and in *Dracula* Lucy provides the clearest example of this by seeking the company of others as she sleeps from the outset. In her first letter to Mina, in which she is heart-sick for Arthur who has yet to propose, she writes of missing 'sitting by the fire undressing' with Mina, illustrating the intimacy that they share by implying that they would be sharing a bedroom (DR 72), something which does indeed happen when Mina later comes to visit Lucy in Whitby. The childish tone of Lucy's letters (discussed in the previous chapter) is actualised by Lucy's infantile behaviour when she is sharing a room with her friend; she goes to 'snuggle' in bed with Mina, and they comfort each other much like children (DR 116). This bedtime regression is seen again in Lucy when she is unhappy and 'full of vague fear' (DR 134) - in Mina's absence she desires to sleep in her mother's bed, seeking the comfort of

being close to someone who can provide emotional support simply by being present. Lucy's fears of sleeping may be more pronounced since Dracula begins to visit her, but the normalcy of sharing a bed with Mina, and then asking to sleep with her mother, suggests that Lucy is not best suited to spending time alone - and perhaps further explains her excitement in the face of multiple proposals; each one representing another person willing to provide comfort to her while she sleeps. She makes this clear when she writes to Mina that 'women are such cowards that we think a man will save us from fears, and we marry him' (DR 74). It seems that Lucy 'fears' are what she faces sleeping alone, and thus marriage is indeed a means to allay her anxieties.

Lucy's sometimes *jejune* behaviour is not without cause or consequence and she is not only portrayed in a childish light by others in their letters and diary entries, but also treated as one. This is evident in the effort expended to protect her from information, such as that of Mina's worries about Jonathan or, more significantly, her mother's illness. The former could be excused as the behaviour of a polite guest not wishing to be a burden to their hostess, but the latter is more indicative of many people in Lucy's life assuming that she is incapable of responding maturely to unhappy news. The sheer number of people who are privy to this information, and the fact that they are comparative strangers to the dying woman and her daughter, simply serves to emphasise her mother's, and the others', perception of Lucy. Mina is close to the family, having known Lucy for many years by the time Mrs. Westenra dies, but others who are trusted with this confidence include Dr Seward, Van Helsing, and Arthur Holmwood. Trust only exists here between the men and the mothers (though Mina is only a symbolic mother at this stage) and in this way, they all seek to protect Lucy, the 'dear child', from harmful knowledge, just as they would if she were literally a child. This treatment of Lucy is seen again in the care that is entrusted in those around her; Mina is asked to sleep in Lucy's room to keep careful watch over her tendency to sleep-walk. This again diminishes Lucy's autonomy as she cannot even be trusted to sleep as she should. And again, when Lucy is ill, the men take turns to stand

guard over her, keeping close watch as she sleeps to ensure that no harm has come to her. By not trusting Lucy to speak up should she take a turn for the worst, her watchers rely on signs to guide them in the right direction, again, echoing the way in which a very young child would be looked after in a nursery.

This method of monitoring Lucy is successful. It is only through virtue of sharing a room with Mina that Lucy is able to be rescued after her most extreme episode of sleep-walking in which she walks through the town, clad only in a nightdress, to the site of a suicide. Throughout Lucy's instances of somnambulism, Mina covertly locks their bedroom door and leads her back to bed, reaffirming boundaries that Lucy the child is unable to understand and thus respect. This lack of comprehension in Lucy is seen even more emphatically in the fact that Mina chases her across the town in the dead of night, to bring her back, physically removing Lucy from the public space that she has no social right to and replacing her into the private space in which she belongs. Thus, by sharing a room and sleeping with her, Mina not only prolongs Lucy's life but is able to protect her chastity. Without Mina to locate and bring her home, Lucy would have likely been found dead, or at the very least in a public space in the clothing which should be reserved for private, and thus subject to public judgement and disapproval. By controlling and reiterating boundaries, Mina adopts the role of a mother teaching a young child how to sleep in preparation for adult life and Lucy is willingly placed in the role of said child.

The origin of this behaviour on Lucy's part may be due to her mother as they both seem to view sleeping together as a legitimate form of showing care and being cared for. This is first seen when Lucy requests it of her mother, and then again when Mrs. Westenra comes in to her daughter's room and lies in her bed, as a means of allaying her maternal 'unease' about Lucy, thereby looking after both her own interests as well as those of her daughter. Despite her intentions, and her literal role as a mother, Mrs. Westenra, like Mina (Lucy's other 'mother') regresses once she is in bed with Lucy. Initially reluctant - her mother does not take off her dressing gown, intending to 'only stay a while and then go back to her own bed' (DR

173) - the women lie with their arms around one another, but when Mrs. Westenra is attempting to comfort her daughter, a 'flapping' at the window panics her so much that the roles are immediately reversed. As her mother 'cries out' and is 'frightened' by the noise, Lucy attempts to 'pacify her' much as one would a child (DR 173). At the entrance of the wolf, the mother panics far more than Lucy herself, and flails her arms attempting to get away - causing injury to her daughter in the process. This spectacular failure on the part of her mother to care for Lucy not only foreshadows the latter's eventual death in the presence of so many carers, but also reiterates the importance of vetting those who are invited to share a bed; Mrs. Westenra is described as being 'very weak psychologically' (Spencer 1992: 315), and Lucy, who has already suggested that she can be deficient in choosing who she invites into her personal space, bears the consequences of this.

This naivety of Lucy's simply serves to highlight her heartfelt desire for companionship at night-time and is linked to a number of factors. First, it can be seen as a reflection of her sexuality: so often is she characterised as latently promiscuous, that it would not be surprising that she wishes for company in her bed. Secondly, as demonstrated above, it is a symptom of her immaturity, exaggerated by the fears which begin to plague her following Dracula's arrival in Whitby, and aligning with previous arguments regarding Lucy's immature character. But it can also incorporate a third aspect; her yearning to carve out a place for herself in society. Kathleen Spencer categorises Lucy as a 'marginal figure [whose] social connections are alarmingly tenuous' (1992: 315) and it is this which she seeks to rectify. Already suggested in her choice of Arthur Holmwood as a husband (whose aristocratic lineage and social standing is well established), for Lucy sharing a bed can be read as an expression of her desire to forge meaningful relationships to compensate for her own deficiency in this area. Much sincerer than day-time socialising, these moments do not just provide physical comfort to Lucy but an emotional closeness that only being in the same bed, and sleeping together, could achieve.

Her relationship with Mina is an example of this; both in bed, and out of it, their relationship is essentially that of siblings, with Mina taking the role of big sister. Considering the smallness of Lucy's family, with a dead father and an unwell mother who is not likely to survive long, it is not unthinkable that Lucy is seeking to expand her family by as many means as possible; through marriage, but also by cementing relationships with others. In bed, this is made possible as the barriers of social propriety are broken and self-restraint can give way to a more honest conversation. For example, it is only when they are sharing a bed that Mina openly discusses her worries regarding Jonathan - in previous and subsequent diary entries it is clear that Lucy is unaware of Mina's troubled thoughts of her missing fiancé, and it is also evident that this is by design on Mina's part. Ever the protective older-sister figure, it seems that she is shielding her young friend from such disquiet, but this is forgotten when she is in bed with Lucy, which is unusual for the stoic Mina. By climbing into her bed and confiding in the latter, and by subsequently being offered the role of Mina's confidante, Lucy is strengthening their relationship and building up her social standing, thereby indicating the power that a co-sleeper has over another in terms of gaining trust and chipping away at boundaries.

The revelation of secrets and secret thoughts during bed-time and sleep is something which arises a number of times in the narrative; in a letter to Mina, Lucy prefaces her confession of being in love with an appeal to the longstanding closeness of their relationship, illustrating it by reminding Mina that they have 'slept together and eaten together, and laughed and cried together', immediately following it with 'I need not tell you this is a secret' (DR 72). Between close friends of the same gender, sleeping together is a bond of trust often based on a nostalgic sense of belonging, something which is seen again in Quincey Morris's letter to Arthur, reminding the latter of their closeness by referring to nights spent by 'camp-fire in the prairies' (DR 79). The above example in how bonding is crucial to women, particularly through sleep, is mimicked in the male narrative too but with its own distinctions. Whilst both incorporate a shared nocturnal experience as an invocation of friendship, it seems that men

bond less through sleeping together, and more by staying awake together. Referring again to Quincey Morris's reminisces, men's nights are seemingly as active as their days. Morris's reference to telling 'yarns' is followed by descriptions of other, exceedingly (almost comically) masculine shared experiences: Arthur, John Seward, and Morris have dressed one another's wounds in French Polynesia and raised their glasses to one another in South America, exaggerating their activeness. When Lucy accepts Arthur's proposal, the men take him out to 'drink a health with all our hearts to the happiest man in the world' (DR 79) evidently intending to drink to excess. Men, it seems have no need for the deep emotional connection that women seek out in one another's beds and in sharing sleep in a private space and instead opt for lively bonding when awake and in public.

This element of bonding which unites the mortal men and women in *Dracula* and *Carmilla,* is almost, but not completely, lost to their vampire counterparts. Vampires are shown to be solitary creatures for the most part: rather than lovers they have victims, and instead of willing friends they have to mesmerise people to do their bidding, but their interactions are not completely without a sense of camaraderie, aping the attitudes of their living counterparts. The three vampire women who attack Jonathan are evidence of this; they are in mid-conversation when Jonathan is first aware of their presence and seem to share a close relationship. They whisper and laugh 'a silvery, musical laugh' (DR 51) amongst themselves, and their coquettish behaviour whilst trying to decide who should first feed on Jonathan is an impure mimicry of the conversations and confidences that Mina and Lucy later share - again the majority of discussion is focused on their 'suitor', albeit far more sexual than Lucy and Mina's letters. They also display a sense of unity against the Count, whom they mock openly, laughing together as a show of support for their sister's impertinent comment. Furthermore, much like Mina and Lucy's activities in Whitby, taking long walks together, these vampire women also seem to move as a group, dematerialising together once the Count throws them a child to devour, and again running away together when Jonathan catches them

outside his room on his final night at the castle. Finally, they evidently feed together, as can be seen by their gathering around the child Dracula brings them, or in 'licking their lips' (DR 66) as the Count promises them his guest, suggesting that he will be shared amongst them. In as far as Lucy's belief that sleeping, eating, laughing, and crying together are a symbol of closeness, the vampires are only missing one aspect; sleeping.

Whilst these women do share a proximity in the location of their graves, at a great distance from the Count, this does not match up to Mina or Mrs. Westenra climbing into bed and holding their daughter (symbolic in the case of the first, literal in the second). This is an unavoidable characteristic of the vampire kind which serves to differentiate them from natural, human relationships; they are physically unable to watch over each other as they sleep, to protect one another from harm, or to demonstrate the trust that their would-be killers are able to, and this serves to further dehumanise them. In many ways, by not sleeping together, but still finding a way to share a bond, the vampires are placed closer to the men in *Dracula* than the women. Their bonding too takes place outside of their private space and is far more active in nature; they laugh and eat together, but they do not sleep together. Furthermore, the sexual appetites of the female vampires certainly suggest a masculine aggression which would not be seen in a respectable woman and is in fact reminiscent of the men who pursue Lucy. Much has been said of Lucy's desire to marry three men, but there is little focus on the three men who openly share their desire for the same woman. The composure of the two rejected suitors who professed to be so in love with Lucy, and the ease with which Holmwood asks Seward to care for Lucy following her rebuff of the latter, are framed as indicators of the men's respect and platonic love for Lucy. However, the sportsmanship on display also begs the question of whether Lucy was simply a prize to them, 'the best worth winning' (DR 79). In a similar way, the vampires discuss their desire for Jonathan exhibiting a correspondingly well-meaning and non-possessive attitude; they have no malice or jealousy, and are in fact prepared to share Jonathan, just as the men share their time with Lucy. All of the above places these creatures closer to the

men of the narrative rather than the women. Ultimately, however, the living men and women of *Dracula* are at an advantage, as they still have the choice of being able to sleep together and thus demonstrate their trust in one another - something which is lost to the vampire women.

The latter do however manage to contribute to the relationship between sleeper and watcher, by having a lasting effect on Jonathan Harker, the second patient-cum-child of the text. Jonathan and Lucy's illnesses run concurrently in *Dracula*, with both assuming the role of patient following stressful encounters with the vampires. However, they have very different outcomes; Lucy suffers many horrors as she is slowly transformed, despite being under the watchful eyes of three men, two of whom are doctors. Jonathan, on the other hand, recovers (albeit not fully) under the care of Mina and the nuns who take him in. His illness is also significant because it is one of the rare times in *Dracula* that men are observed to be weak, passive, and sleeping, particularly by a woman. Both he and Lucy are arguably victims of a sexual threat, the latter from Dracula, and the former from the vampire women. However, the (symbolic) consequences which face them differ greatly; for Lucy the emphasis is in maintaining her purity and chastity, whilst for Jonathan the greatest threat is in a more general way, to his reputation as a gentleman and his manhood.

To begin with, Jonathan Harker is established as a representative of the respectable classes; he is a professional and well-educated man, hardworking, and travelling for business. He writes dutifully, both to his fiancée and in his diary, giving him opportunity to clarify to the reader that he has an active mind and a rational nature, demonstrating his character in a number of ways, for example by not wishing to explore the castle until he has permission from his host, and engaging in polite conversation with the Count, despite his discomfort. However, he is subsequently portrayed in a very different light during his meeting with the female vampires, suggesting a sexual awareness and appetite which jars with his earlier demeanour. Jonathan admits to being tempted with a 'wicked, burning, desire' (DR 51) for these animalistic creatures and, despite escaping this

encounter (relatively) unscathed, this seems to be the sole reason for the weakness which characterises him for the rest of the narrative. It seems that the fact that he admits in his diary that he was partially willing to be a victim compromises his masculinity irreversibly, and following his departure from Transylvania he is found by his fiancée, who is saddened to see him 'oh, so thin and pale and weak-looking' and must nurse him back to health (DR 127). Spencer suggests that Jonathan's encounter with the vampires is punished by 'the brain fever which sends him to his wedding an invalid' (1992: 216). In the nineteenth century, 'a healthy body meant a sound mind, but equally a fit mind ensured a sound body' (Garton 2002: 56), and thus Jonathan is relegated to his bed for much of the remainder of the narrative, unable to fulfil his duties and role as husband or man.

From the point at which Mina joins him in Hungary, Jonathan's voice in the narrative is distinctly quietened; he sleeps most of the time, and she seems to spend her days watching over him and writing, waiting for him to wake up. Mina in fact takes on dual roles; the first is one which is familiar to her – that of a mother, which is in keeping with nineteenth-century ideas of the purity and chasteness of wives and mothers (Spencer 1992: 216). However, she is also suddenly much more in control than previously seen in the females of the narrative. She travels alone to see Jonathan in Hungary, assuming independence as the decision-maker of their relationship. Their marriage is hastened upon her insistence, and she arranges for the ceremony. The subtle resoluteness that Mina demonstrates is an example of her 'man's brain' which Van Helsing praises, and this reversal of roles implies that Jonathan is occupying the more passive, female space which has been left vacant. Upon their return to England, Jonathan remains weak and is prone to falling asleep, such as after his 'nervous fit' (DR 207), eventually waking up in a far better state of mind, again drawing similarities between him and a child, this time sleeping off a tantrum. Mina's treatment of him at such times is a combination of how one might placate a patient, a troubled child, or a hysterical woman; providing quiet and steadfast support, very similar to Seward, Van Helsing, and Holmwood's treatment of Lucy. This usurping of his role, and the

imbalance it creates, is violently emphasised when Jonathan, having been first emasculated by his wife's self-sufficiency, is then effectively cuckolded by Dracula in an attack in the marital bed - Jonathan it seems, is not substantial enough a man to prevent this from happening.

Jonathan's failure is more pronounced not only because he fails as Mina's husband, but because he is present during her ordeal - even awake to some extent - but unable to watch over her, something which the other men are able to do for women comparatively successfully. Seward and Van Helsing demonstrate this during Lucy's illness by watching her as she sleeps, in the belief that this will increase their capacity to care for her, an extension of the passive care that Mina provides as a co-sleeper. They are in fact, not wrong; by staying awake and active they are able to help Lucy in situations that the sleeping Mina would be, and has been, slow to react in, such as her sleep-walking episode. To be a watcher is to increase the care being shown towards a sleeper, suggesting that a situation has become more serious. As Lucy's fear of sleep increases, the men wish to be available to Lucy at the first sign of distress; Dr Seward comforts her by promising to wake her if he sees 'any evidence of bad dreams' (DR 153), which would be unfeasible if he was to rest too. Lucy, for her part, responds to this protection by putting an almost unquestioning trust in the men who surround her, and even a veritable stranger such as Van Helsing is welcomed into her boudoir to observe and protect her. Unlike Jonathan, who is not even a successful co-sleeper, these men as active watchers are successful in fending off Dracula for some time, with Lucy only being attacked when they leave her side.

This masculine intervention is seen and accepted by all as necessary to protect the women, sometimes in spite of them. Lucy is responsible for disrupting his sleep, as well as that of many of her friends and carers – a fact that she is marginally aware of when she forbids Dr Seward from sitting up with her for a third consecutive night as he looks 'worn out' (DR 153). He himself admits that he is 'pretty tired […] beginning to feel that numbness which marks cerebral exhaustion', indicating just how much this disturbance is weighing on him (ibid), and ultimately leads him

into shirking his duty. On Lucy's part this could be read as an attempt to mother Seward, in a feeble imitation of Mina's nurturing behaviour towards Lucy herself and the men around her, but by this point in the narrative it has already been shown that Lucy is not of that ilk; her character is not that of a mother but a child, and not a giver but a taker. Thus, the following morning, when Seward awakens from his deep sleep, he and Van Helsing find her 'in a swoon' and 'more horribly white and wan looking than ever'. In their absence, Dracula has visited and drained her, leaving her to resemble a 'corpse after prolonged illness' (DR 155-156) and Seward has to repay for his inadvertent abandonment of her with his blood, as a second transfusion is the only recourse.

Seward is not the only one to suffer from the strain of Lucy's care. Of the number of watchers she is allotted, all of them suffer from tiredness of watching over her. Mina becomes tired from her nights of being woken up by Lucy, and her carers Dr Seward and Van Helsing both fall asleep as they attempt to watch over her, night after night. In this disruption to sleep, Lucy echoes the behaviour of supernatural beings disrupting their victim's sleep, especially with regard to Mina, who she draws out into a public space during her sleep-walking across the town, potentially compromising her as yet untarnished reputation. In this activity during an ostensible time of rest, Lucy aligns herself with those creatures and degenerates who are most active at night, but the demands she makes on other's time also serve to further implicate her as a child, whose self-centred demands are unaware of the needs of others. When she does attempt to show some consideration, such as when she sends her carer away, Lucy not only provides credence to the view that she is unconsciously drawn to Dracula, but also shows a clear lack of conscious understanding of what is best for herself, again infantilising her whilst emphasising the importance of the male role in protection. This incapability of women to look after themselves is shown again when Mrs. Westenra interferes with the arrangements that Van Helsing has made to protect Lucy; he surrounds her with garlic flowers in order to repel the vampire but she removes them in a bid to be helpful, and ultimately causes a deterioration in her daughter's condition. In both

these cases, Lucy is used as a sacrificial reminder that to remain safe is to remain under the watchful gaze of men.

This behaviour and practices of those caring for Lucy are also reminiscent of death in that they echo the deathbed confessions, repentances and rites of those about to pass away. The ceremony surrounding Lucy in the days leading up to her death is intended to protect her but also seems to foreshadow her demise; the men take it in turns to watch over her as she sleeps, recalling the of loved ones sitting up with the bodies of the deceased before their burial, and the flowers which Van Helsing places around her bed, and bedroom, are soon replaced by funeral wreaths. Eventually, Van Helsing's practices evolve into actually preparing for her death; his brushing of her hair (while she is still alive) so that she may look serene as she says goodbye to Arthur, is later to be repeated by the women who prepare the corpse for burial. As an eventual – albeit temporary – member of the undead, Lucy seems to be prepared for death long before her fate is sealed. She perpetually hovers between being alive and dead, and asleep and awake, pure and impure, and these limbo-states are reinforced by the ambiguous space which she physically occupies; her bed is both her sickbed and space for recovery, and her deathbed. The men surrounding her at the time of her death are unintentionally aping the holy men who should rightly have been with her, and so they perpetuate the illusion of her Good Death. However, this is a sham, as only Van Helsing knows, and simply further disguises the reality of her Bad Death.

The vulnerability that vampire's prey fear at night is comparable to the fear of a Bad Death that was the obsession of earlier Victorians, and the gothic novel takes this fear and exaggerates it. Lucy's dying in her sleep illustrates two main concerns of the Bad Death. First it is what seals her fate as a vampire: having only been bitten whilst in a trance-like state, Dracula's powers only extend over the sleeping Lucy, seen in the change in her appearance and demeanour as she wakes and sleeps. Van Helsing is aware of this, clarifying that 'it will be much different, mark me, whether she dies conscious or in her sleep' (DR 193). The nineteenth-century perception of a Bad Death was centred on the fear of one passing in their

sleep, as it would prevent them from being able to repent their sins, and Lucy's death amplifies this anxiety; not only is she unable to repent before death, but she is unable to die as she should. By passing in her sleep, Lucy seals her fate to walk the Earth doing evil, rather than entering heaven for good. In addition to this, the existence of the vampire echoes another fear, one distinctly more sensational than the spiritual concerns of a Bad Death. The 'living dead' vampires are a reminder of the fears of vivisepulture which were prevalent at the time; the idea of being buried alive is envisioned in vampires, who are willingly buried in their tombs but walk the night; dead, but arguably still alive in some sense. Original fears of vivisepulture were founded on the breaching of the boundaries between life and death, and vampires are an embodiment of this. Finally, the fear of 'Bad Death' extends to the others, who are concerned not so much for their physical safety as their souls. Whilst Lucy is unaware of the danger she is courting, the rest of the group gain knowledge of the monster they are dealing with, and thus have a clearer idea of the consequences. A Bad Death in the vampiric sense is much more tangible than the abstract idea of hell which nineteenth-century Christians were aware of. To fall victim to a vampire would result in the immortal soul being damned to remain forever on Earth – very far removed from the 'Good Death' idea that to die was to be rewarded with meeting one's God.

The men who provide this protection are chosen very carefully, preserving respectable social boundaries. Dr Seward and Dr Van Helsing are afforded this access to Lucy due to their professional status, which seemingly negates the previous romantic intentions that Seward had for her. However, neither Quincey Morris nor Arthur are left alone to watch over Lucy. The exclusion of the former is understandable, as Morris is a relatively marginal member of the group (his own voice is never heard in the narrative) and furthermore he is characterised as an adventurer. Morris proposes to Lucy much more aggressively than the other men, 'pouring out a perfect torrent of love making' and even persuading her to kiss him by assuring her that she is allowed to since she is not yet engaged to 'that other good fellow' (DR 76-77). As brief a romantic history as this might be,

it can be considered a contributing factor as to why he and Lucy are never left alone during her illness. Arthur Holmwood on the other hand is well-known to Lucy and a much more prominent member of the group but he is also never left alone with her whilst she is confined to her bed - his visits are instead controlled and chaperoned by Dr Seward and Van Helsing. This does not cast aspersions on Arthur's character so much as it reiterates an unconscious awareness of the danger that a sleeping woman can pose to a man. Just as Van Helsing is struck by the vampire women's beauty, Lucy's weak and prone body is credited to have sexual power, particularly over Arthur who is already attracted to her, a fact which is later made explicit by her attempted seduction of him. To succumb to this attraction, particularly before their marriage, would be fatal to Arthur's moral standing, but his love for Lucy makes him weak. Because of this he too must be policed by those around him and therefore protected - twice - from Lucy's advances.

Despite this supervision of Arthur, the control that men exchange and exert is rarely extended to others of their own gender. Aside from the notable exception of Renfield (see below), in *Dracula,* as in many of the other gothic texts being studied, men are never seen to have watchers or co-sleepers as women do. Instead they are left to sleep independently and alone, in charge of when they lay their heads down (and with whom). In view of this lack of protection in numbers and sleeping alone when a vampire is in the vicinity, it would be expected that men are under greater attack than women. However, the opposite is true; in a narrative such as Dracula, with a main cast of characters consisting of only two women and four men, *both* women are attacked multiple times in their bedrooms - in some cases with a co-sleeper present - resulting in one death. This is not to say that men are not under danger: Jonathan faces a near-attack in Dracula's castle, just as Arthur is almost tempted by Lucy in her room and her crypt, and Quincy Morris dies in the final battle with the Count and his gypsies. However, the threats that men face originate from the outside world, and rarely breach the walls of their home. The representative refuge of their homes and their bedrooms - in which these men never question

their safety - is reminiscent of the ideal home in the nineteenth century, where men could retreat from the stresses and temptations of urban life, and of Muscular Christian ideals of masculine control over one's surroundings. Whilst considered a domain of women, men were very much in control of both the public and private spheres, and thus could afford to act in accordance with the knowledge that in their homes, they were safe. Whilst Lucy and Mina are protected and watched over by multiple men, the possibility that Seward, Van Helsing or Arthur Holmwood might be attacked does not seem to cross their minds.

The only exception to this is Renfield, Dr Seward's patient who is mesmerised, controlled, and eventually killed by the Count. Whilst this could go some way in redressing the balance, indicating that men too are in danger of being attacked in their beds[28], Renfield's characterisation in the text as one of Seward's mental asylum inmates prevents this from happening. Just as women are infantilised, medicalised, and thus controlled, so is Renfield, having to promise to behave himself to escape punishment, and being drugged and trussed up against his will. The patronising tone which both Seward and his staff affect towards this patient, coupled with their regular checks on him even as he sleeps, recall the care of a difficult child (coupled with, of course, criminal insanity). Renfield is not only treated as a child but as a lesser human - after his attack, the doctors 'abruptly forsake him, in clear violation of their Hippocratic oath' (Valente 2002: 123), his death being of little consequence to them. In the death of this man in his bed, the status of men is not lessened to that of women, and instead the status of women decreases to match that of an insane, highly pathologised, and helpless man. In this way, Renfield serves to exemplify that type of impotent and ineffectual individual who might require a watcher or a co-sleeper; namely, women.

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[28] Strictly speaking this is not Renfield's bed in his home as he is after all an inmate at the asylum. However, the permanence of his stay, coupled with the suggestion that his mental illness is so severe that he would never have returned home had he lived is sufficient for this brief analysis.

In contrast to the men above, women are kept under constant supervision - as a matter of course, as well as in times of increased threat. In *Dracula,* Lucy is afforded little independence in deciding her own care - with her fiancé arranging for Dr Seward to look after her, and then being subject to constant observation, even being drugged to induce sleep, until her death. Lucy is the most extreme example of this but it is seen in other cases too. In other texts too, women are shown to be in need of protection through observation: in *Carmilla,* Laura is only protected from Carmilla's attack when her father notices her illness, and arranges for her governess to watch over her. From both the reader and characters' perspectives, Laura is considered to be in danger until the men around her become involved. She is visited by a (male) doctor who only discusses his diagnosis with her father, while she and her nurse are sent to another part of the room, and stand 'burning with curiosity' (CRM 288), not even privy to the knowledge of her own body. Under Dr Spielberg's instruction, her father lower's Laura's dress so that the men can see what is beneath - a mark which Laura herself is unable to view. The two men discuss Laura's condition without ever including her in the details, simply giving instructions to her nurse to keep her under strict watch. Laura, for her part, does not push for details and obediently lets the men around her take ownership of her body, examining and diagnosing her without including her. Again, later in the narrative, she allows a priest to perform 'certain solemn rights' so as to ensure her safety as she sleeps, again something which is arranged for by her father and which she does not understand (CRM 315). Just as Lucy is kept ignorant of her own illness (as well as her mother's), Laura is kept in the dark about why she is ill, and both simply put their trust in the men who surround them, not only emphasising their weakness, but the men's strength.

In *Carmilla,* the main means of protection against the vampire is again seen in having another person watch over the victim. Bertha is placed under the protection of a watcher as soon as her uncle understands that she is vulnerable when she sleeps, and he hides himself in her bedroom. However, she is already in such a weak state that a single, swiftly

interrupted visit by Millarca in the form of a cat is all it takes for her to succumb. There is a difference of priority in these two cases; for Lucy, the men are visible defences against the threat she faces, more concerned with keeping her safe than catching the cause of her illness than Bertha's uncle who uses his niece as bait. However, there is a shared belief that watching over a sleeping woman is the best way to protect them. Additionally, in both cases, the forces which ultimately save both women – Lucy from a life of vampirism, if not the attack itself, and Laura from death and then perhaps the same – are masculine. Even Mina, arguably the most capable of these women, is only saved from Dracula's attack when the entire contingent of men breaks into her bedroom, without even waiting to hear a call for help. In the case of all four female victims across the two narratives (Laura and Bertha in *Carmilla* and Lucy and Mina in *Dracula*) men find it necessary to enter the bedroom in order to protect the women within. Lucy in particular is watched over by several men as she sleeps and remains safe – it is only when these men are absent that the worst does happen.

It is interesting to note, that femininity is not sufficient to be afforded rights as a sleeper, nor care from a watcher. In *Dracula*, Lucy and her mother are not the only two women in the house who are victim to the Count's attacks, but they are the only two who are frantically cared for. The four maids who are resident in the Westenra's home are mysteriously drugged the same night that Lucy is attacked by a wolf, and are found unconscious by Seward and Van Helsing. The men note their state, but move past quickly, with an idea of attending to them 'later' and instead opting to continue the search for Lucy (DR 177). Whilst this is not unexpected considering Seward's personal feelings for her, it is an un-Hippocratic act for both doctors to desert these women. Furthermore, upon finding Lucy to be weak but still alive, Seward 'flies' downstairs to retrieve some brandy, taking enough time to note that the effects of the narcotics may be wearing off on the four servant-girls, but he '[does] not stay to make sure' (DR 178), again prioritising Lucy's well-being over theirs. Thus far, both Van Helsing and Seward are single-minded in their rescue of the

helpless Lucy but simultaneously unconcerned by the sight of the working-class female figures who have also been attacked. This undemocratic attitude is re-iterated powerfully when Seward, under instructions from Van Helsing, eventually returns to the servant-girls but only to 'flick them in the face with a wet towel, and flick them hard', to rouse them so that they may continue their duties; to 'get heat and fire and a warm bath' for their mistress (DR 178). Despite sobbing in fright and sadness for the death of Mrs Westenra, Seward is 'stern with them' and '[will] not let them talk' so that they may not be distracted from their duties (ibid). Only one of the servants is excused from her duties, and that is simply because she is only a 'young girl' who the drug has affected more strongly, and not by any show of kindness on the doctors' parts.

That this is simply in Seward or Van Helsing's nature is unlikely, considering the care and love that they show for Lucy, Mina, and even the other men. Instead, it suggests a dehumanisation of the working classes, who are treated as automatons who exist to carry out a function for their superiors - and whose sleep and well-being is far less important. Thus, their portrayal (and implied morality) in the text is markedly different from Lucy's. When Lucy goes on her sleep-walk through the town, Mina supposes that she would cover herself in a dressing gown if she went outside of her bedroom, and get fully dressed if she left the house, with the suggestion that to expose oneself in one's night-clothes is a morally questionable act[29]. In contrast, Seward rouses the maids and sets them to work 'half-clad as they were' with no such concern for modesty – a liberation from social rules, but also a suggestion that these women are beneath such protocol. Similarly, when Seward is not able to revive the youngest maid, he simply places her on a sofa, rather than returning her to her bedroom, again sending the message that, whilst viewing a sleeping body is an intimate act amongst the more refined, it is not so important for the lower classes.

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[29] See Chapter Five: Space and Time.

This attitude toward servants is more muted in other texts, but still visible. In *Carmilla,* Laura's father instructs her governess that she may not leave Laura's side, out-sourcing the care of his daughter, and the care of her sleep, to a servant, at the risk of the latter's own rest. And earlier, when she recounts her dream as a child, she indicates an ownership of her nurse's sleep, waking up 'vexed and insulted' upon discovering that she has been 'neglected' and indicates this by preparing to throw a temper tantrum (CRM 246). This latter case is far less explicit than that in *Dracula*, which clearly differentiates between sleep worthy of protection, and sleep which is not. However, it again points at the lack of democratisation in sleep when faced with a markedly class-based society such as those in the texts.

From the discussion of caring for a sleeping body, it appears that (in some cases) sleep is a passive act, but the associated roles and responsibilities are remarkably active. There is an innate belief that a sleeper must be protected, and this is enacted in the unconscious attribution of roles to those around them. If a sleeper is emotionally unstable or upset, sharing a bed or a bedroom with them can be a welcome expression of love and trust and a source of comfort. Particularly limited to friendships of the same gender, co-sleeping is a valuable opportunity for bonding. This closeness is valued by both sexes, however it is performed in starkly different ways; co-sleeping is very much a feminine act in the gothic, and men instead prefer to remain awake with one another, further supporting arguments from the previous chapter regarding the necessity of men being viewed as active beings. Furthermore, whilst sleep with another person has many sexual connotations – and these are indeed alluded to in the gothic – it is seen most frequently among pairs of the same sex. Loaded with nostalgic rather than a sexual meaning, so similar is it to the behaviour of children, both the sleeper (and the co-sleeper) are infantilised in their participation in this act, providing further explanation of why it is so often seen between women and not men. However, when a situation becomes more serious, and unhappiness is transformed into physical illness or threat, the role of the sleeper changes, as do the duties of those striving to protect them. In these cases, sleeping with someone is not sufficient and

instead they must be watched over as they rest, and this is where the male participation is most active.

In the tales considered, it becomes clear that to have a man (or a number of men) watching over a woman's sleeping form is considered necessary in order to prevent harm from coming to them. It is only when these watchers shirk their duties (such as in the case of Bertha's uncle) or leave prematurely (as in the case of Seward) that the sleeper's condition can be seen to worsen very quickly, almost as a punishment for the neglect of responsibilities. Putting aside the failures of Seward and Bertha's uncle, which are attributable to the non-fulfilment of duty, rather than an indication that watching over a sleeper is ineffective, amongst those who try to fight off the threat of vampires, the belief in watching over others as a valuable means of protection is constant throughout. Conversely, men are not seen to require the same protection, neither fearing nor facing the same dangers that threaten women in their bedrooms. It is through these distinct, and interactional roles, that a clear pattern emerges of men's active engagement with women's passive forms being considered crucial to protecting individual bodies and thus wider society.

Chapter Four

Obligation and Culpability

It is clear from its very nature that sleep is not simply an act which living creatures choose to indulge in from time to time, but also a force which exerts a control over them. As a necessary part of life there is a physical and mental toll on those who attempt to fight sleep for too long, and it is accepted that without sleep a person's capabilities are dulled - even overcome completely: the eyelids droop, conversation becomes confused, and limbs feel heavy and, regardless of how much one may try to resist, it becomes inevitable that he or she *will* succumb to slumber eventually[30]. The idea of sleep as a force has been briefly considered in relation to sociology[31]. Simon Williams suggests that 'the fact that we have to sleep sooner or later, may "drop off" without realising it and may fight variously against tiredness and/or insomnia […] highlights the impersonal and organic backdrop to (inter)subjective life' (2008: 3). He goes on to compare sleep to illness, citing its similarity in our shared dependence on an 'organic foundation that runs far deeper than itself and is […] beyond and beneath

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[30] There are exceptions to this, first based on the person who is resisting and second, on the situation. In the former case, it is not unexpected that a busy doctor or a soldier at war may be more accustomed to staying awake out of necessity and subsist on segmented sleep. In contrast, one who is unwell - a patient or an elderly person, or one with a weak constitution - may be far less capable of resisting the urge to sleep and require much more rest than others. Secondly, situations as those seen in experiments in sleep deprivation or when it is used as a means of torture show a remarkable capability of humans to stay awake beyond what would be considered achievable - with often very dangerous consequences for the individual (Rejali 2007). However, these persons and situations are exceptional and artificial respectively, and it can generally be agreed that for an average person regular and good quality sleep is necessary - and eventually becomes difficult to resist.

[31] See Chapter One: Theoretical Perspectives.

its own control' (ibid). He goes on to cite Drew Leder (1999) who argues that our rightful social experiences are disturbed if we are forced to 'struggle with a body that is either shutting down before we want it to or not shutting down when we want it to' (Williams 2008: 3) - thereby emphasising both the importance of sleep, and our inability to control it, in relation to wider lives. In this way the sociological recognition of sleep as an arbitrary force is made abundantly clear, and even definitive.

Aubert and White similarly acknowledge the fact that 'an individual may fall asleep as an automatic reaction to great exhaustion' but in contrast to Williams' focus on disruption, they suggest that, predominantly, sleep is the 'result of activities bearing many symptoms of role playing' (1959a: 47), minimising the (uncommon) cases in which a person may collapse from extreme tiredness, and viewing the matter in terms of more every-day circumstances, in which one retires to bed with the expectation that sleep will come. All authors agree that as humans, there is an attempt to enact a sense of control over this force through certain practices: 'dressing a certain way, modifying light and sound conditions, assuming one of a limited number of postures, closing one's eyes even in darkness' (Aubert and White 1959a: 58), and there is an aim to 'deploy rituals in an effort to hasten its arrival or otherwise control it' (Williams 2008: 4). By going through these motions there is a pretence at controlling that force which is going to overcome one regardless, a force which is 'beyond our control', thereby 'making [sleep] a personal act and not simply a third-person physical act, akin to breathing or digestion' (ibid). In this way the view of sleep as a recuperative non-activity gives way to more contentious representations, in which it is partly courted and partly battled on a wide scale.

In previous chapters it has been shown that the sleeper has some importance bestowed on them by society, as those around the sleeper are obliged to carry out duties, preserving the latter's safety and ensuring that nothing disturbs them. However, sleepers also have some obligations to those around them. Simon Williams' earlier argument for sleeping responsibly is reiterated here, this time from the perspective of the sleeper.

Williams succinctly connects the necessity of sleep to social output when he suggests that

> management of our waking life presupposes, in some part, the successful management of our sleeping life. We have an 'early night' in anticipation of a 'big day', knowing that we will be incapable of our best performance and may not even be able to sustain our usual 'self' in the absence of sleep. (2008: 3)

Once again the question of sleeping responsibly arises; however, in this case it is not in relation to those who surround, watch, and protect the sleeping body, but the sleeper themselves. Williams lists two obligations of the sleeper; that they must retire in a private place and follow the correct routine, and that they must sleep at an appropriate time thereby ensuring that others are not inconvenienced (2002: 182). However, two further caveats can also be added here. The first, specific to the relationship between sleepers and those who care for them, is that the former should not ask for more than the latter is able to provide - whether in time, care, or in disruption to their own sleep schedule. Again, the importance of sleep for all people is emphasised here. During the night a patient may require their doctor, or a child their parent, and these carers may be able to exercise some control over their own desire for rest for the benefit of others, but it remains that repeated demands on another's time, especially this crucial sleep-time, can have a negative effect on all involved. Thus, the sleeper is expected to show an awareness of this by tempering their requests so as to reciprocate the protection that is offered to them and, simultaneously, accede to the human need for sleep. Second, the sleeper is seen to have obligation to their waking lives. To eschew sleep, or to sleep unsuccessfully, can be seen as a rejection of societal expectations as daily duties suffer through tiredness or disinterest. Again, this responsibility is predicated on the idea that sleep, far from being a passive state, must be enacted successfully. By pathologising those who are unable to sleep, or

treating and attempting to cure them[32], there is an implication that well-ordered sleep is as relevant to collective well-being as it is to individual health.

The overwhelming force that sleep exerts is a constant danger in gothic literature, where sleeping improperly can lead to dangerous consequences. In these narratives the danger that threatens the protagonists varies greatly in the form it takes: it can be categorised as a supernatural being such as a vampire, or manifest itself in the threat of degeneracy or temptation, and even one's own thoughts or sleeping actions, but the common fact remains that it is most active at night. Thus, an inability to remain awake and alert can have fatal consequences for any who are at threat of such attacks. However, to remain awake when one should be sleeping is also problematic; associations of night-time with evil and degeneracy are far-reaching in the gothic, seen to represent 'hidden, forbidden, and repressed knowledge' (Bronfen 2008: 181). Consequently, those who wake while others rest, if not taking on roles of carers, are often viewed with suspicion. This results in a catch-22 for the men and women in the gothic, who do not wish to align themselves with evil, but wish to remain safe. The previously discussed ascribing of roles to watchers and co-sleepers has already illustrated one possible means of solving this problem, but when such protection cannot be found, the safety of sleepers can be compromised.

In *Dracula,* Jonathan Harker is the first, (and, arguably, the most significant) victim of this dilemma. Whilst others have felt themselves protected by virtue of sleeping in groups, albeit in varying degrees of success, Jonathan is the only character who is truly without a defence when he is a guest of the Count. On his first night at the castle he sleeps well and wakes up rested, but as events at the castle begin to arouse his suspicion and worry, Jonathan's sleep suffers. By the second night, the Count has already had a profound effect on Harker's sleep by keeping him awake 'chatting and asking questions on every conceivable subject, hour

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[32] See Chapter Six: Manipulating Sleep.

after hour' (DR 36). Despite not being too sleepy to indulge his host, Harker feels 'a chill [...] at the coming of dawn', a small yet foreboding indication that rejecting sleep has sinister connotations. It is following this night that Harker begins to feel that there is something very 'strange' about the castle, an 'uneasy' feeling which he blames on his 'strange night-existence' affecting him - again reiterating the peril of not sleeping through the night (DR 37). His sleep becomes troubled, and then even more so when he is first made aware of two disturbing facts: first, the Count's reflection is not visible in mirrors and second, the castle is a 'veritable prison' and Harker, the prisoner (DR 38). From the first night that Jonathan is unable to sleep, events pick up speed at a remarkable pace, eventually leading to the most dangerous of his experiences at the castle, in which he encounters three female vampires.

Now sleep becomes his downfall: he describes 'obstinacy' as a companion of sleep, as it is partially his tiredness which encourages him to lie in a chamber other than his own, and partly a desire to rebel against the Count (DR 50). In a modified pre-sleep ritual, Jonathan willingly courts this 'obstinacy' by making various arrangements for his comfort. He details his preparations, showing some desire to exert control over his sleep: 'I drew a great couch out of its place near the corner, so that as I lay, I could look at the lovely view to east and south, and unthinking of and uncaring for the dust, composed myself to sleep' (ibid). By 'composing' himself to sleep, Jonathan is admitting a wilful disregard for the Count's warning to remain in his room (DR 46), though his immediate acquiescence to his desire to sleep also suggests a genuine exhaustion is upon him, further exemplified by the disregard he shows for his environment. Furthermore, his dream-like mind-set as he speaks of possible past inhabitants, of old women who may have 'sat and sung' in the room he occupies, has a vague and incoherent quality - again suggesting fatigue. The imagined 'singing' could just as well be a lullaby encouraging Jonathan to overcome his sense of reason, to disregard his safety, and thus highlights the power that this natural force can have over a rational mind. Jonathan believes himself to have fallen asleep, and despite his own uncertainty of this, it is likely, for

he suddenly realises that there are others in his room, with no notice of how they got there. From their conversation it is apparent that these women have evidently been there for some time, for they are in the midst of a discussion. It is by choosing not to attempt any control over his sleep, that Jonathan endangers both his physical self and his moral self, but conversely, he also uses this near-attack to subvert that force which has been recently out of his control: sleep.

Jonathan's experience is fraught with both sexual tension and an undercurrent of the threat of physical violence. Having awakened from his slumber he finds three (vampire) women, discussing who may 'kiss' him first (DR 51). Arguably, an ordinary man in an ordinary situation may have chosen this point to rise and make the fact that he is awake known to the intruders. However, Jonathan's actions are unusual and immediately deceptive; he remains lying prone on his couch and secretly observes and eavesdrops on the women, all the while pretending to remain asleep so as not to disrupt their plans. His immediate attraction to the women is clear in his description of them; they are described in greater detail than he devotes to any other women of the text, not even his own fiancée, beginning with a cursory observation of their dress but swiftly being overtaken by their physical features. His desire for them is tangible in the writing, explaining why he is unwilling to interrupt them by showing himself to be awake. Instead he quietly observes them noticing their youth, and their eyes and mouths, particularly noting their 'voluptuous lips' (DR 51). The attention he gives to their eyes in particular suggests that he has taken some time to absorb their beauty, comparing them to 'the pale yellow moon' and 'sapphires', not unromantic allusions. Whilst Jonathan is made uneasy by the women he also immediately is lustful towards them, praying that they will kiss him, suggesting that his carnal desires overwhelm any feelings of fear. He soon begins to realise that his immoral desire may indeed be fulfilled, and that it is the women's intention to make an advance on him, so Jonathan continues to feign sleep, laying still and peering from beneath his eyelashes to prevent being discovered, understanding that this will encourage the women to approach him. Even as the fair vampire kneels

beside his immobile body, making physical contact with him by lowering her mouth to his throat, Jonathan persists in his deceitful act; his only thoughts are of his desire for the women and his anticipation is clear as he closes his eyes to fully appreciate the coming pleasures, only to be thwarted by a jealous Count.

The description of this near-attack is distinct from other interactions that men have with vampires in the text. It stands in stark contrast to both Arthur Holmwood and Van Helsing and their experiences of vampiric women; the same three vampires in the case of the latter, and Lucy in the case of the former. Whilst the other men are drawn to female vampires 'as if 'under a spell' (DR 254), admitting to a loss in agency in order to minimise their culpability, Jonathan does not claim to be entranced by the women and his observations seem to be remarkably clear-minded. All in all, he provides surprisingly little in the way of explanation for his behaviour or his desires, and instead admits to consciously manipulating the situation for his own ends. Jonathan's use of sleep as a tool to satisfy his sexual urges is unprecedented considering his previous and subsequent characterisations as a gentleman, but it also serves to propel the narrative; as the sole witness in Dracula's castle, Jonathan needs to be awake in order to fulfil his role as narrator. Albeit unknown to him at the time, Jonathan's pretence of sleep in order to observe the female vampires, as well as his secretive excursions around the castle, are imperative in gleaning crucial information during his visit to Transylvania. Jonathan's records of such strange and barbaric events not only sets the battle to protect England from the vampire in motion (it is after all his diary which piques Van Helsing's interest) but illustrates the extent of evil which he and his friends are fighting.

By remaining awake and acting as a spy whilst he is trapped in the castle, Jonathan is in fact benefitting the narrative at large, sacrificing his character for the greater good. This scene also has a second function, namely to (re)establish gender roles which are under threat of being upset. Despite being one of the few men in *Dracula* who is portrayed as sleeping and requiring frequent rest - aligning him with the weaker women - in this

instance Jonathan is able to reassert his masculine superiority over a foreign and female threat. In defiance of these women's role as predator, Jonathan manages to retain some control in the situation, and use his feigned sleep as a means of retaliation against these over-sexualised 'devils of the pit', asserting his masculinity by deceitfully initiating sexual contact with these women who believe themselves to be in power, but are in fact being duped.

Closely related to this is Romuald's experience in *La Morte Amoureuse,* where he also aims to mislead a female vampire by pretending to sleep. While Romuald, who already has Clarimonde as a mistress, has no need to employ farce for sexual gratification as Jonathan does, he does share with the latter the role of spy as he attempts to make sense of the occurrences around him. Despite having a loving relationship with the vampire, Romuald observes Clarimonde pouring a powder into his wine in an apparent effort to drug him and understandably suspects foul play. He discards the wine, but in order to discover the reason for her attempting to poison him, he fakes unconsciousness and observes her actions. Unlike Jonathan who is unaware of the importance of his being awake to observe his surroundings, Romuald's sole purpose in manipulating sleep is to spy on the woman he loves. Furthermore, Clarimonde's power over Romuald is based entirely on his attraction and feelings towards her, rather than any mesmerism on her part so, in order to exert control over his sleep, she is relegated to using drugs and deception as a human would, an act which she does so clumsily that Romuald is easily able to resist it. As a man who has previously used Clarimonde's death as a means of satisfying his sexual urges – that is, to engage in physical contact with her when she lies motionless – he now takes control of his sleep in order to gain knowledge. Romuald not only challenges Clarimonde's attempts to manipulate his sleep, but uses it against her, and re-establishes himself as a man who is in control of the situation and cannot be overcome by the trickery of a woman. Both Jonathan and Romuald are at risk, as are other characters in vampire texts, but in establishing themselves as men who have the power to manipulate one of the most natural and universal of human urges, and

by rejecting the desire to sleep in order to pursue truth and knowledge, the male protagonists of *Dracula* and *La Morte Amoureuse* are afforded the status of the perpetually active heroes of the story.

It is thus that taking control of sleep can be used by the sleeper themselves, as a means of fulfilling their desires. In situations such as these in the gothic, where both sleeping and not sleeping can be detrimental to one's well-being, people (specifically men) are able to take control of their predicaments by pretending to be asleep in order to achieve their own ends, thus overturning notions of sleep and its innate associations. Frequently this is done as a means to redress the balance of power, upset by a supernatural presence, as a means of regaining that which is lost. It is no surprise, then, that this method is seen to be used by men to gain knowledge, and often with powerful female figures as their duped victims. As demonstrated in Jonathan Harker and Romuald*,* this sham sleep can be used to gain knowledge, but also for more selfish reasons, and indicates a propensity for deceit. In both these cases, the men have already situated themselves in a forbidden space, both literally and figuratively: Romuald in Clarimonde's bed in his second life as an adventurer, and Jonathan in a long-forgotten room in the castle. In this way, the two men show themselves capable of breaching boundaries with little thought of consequence, and indeed, little fear. These two situations mirror one another further in the nature of the relationship with the victim-cum-predator; both Jonathan and Romuald attempt to mislead women whom they are sexually attracted to, but should, by contemporary moral and social standards, be repelled by. In this way they are far more willing 'victims' than others who encounter these vampires, at the cusp of being taken advantage of themselves without fully understanding how or why.

Jonathan and Romuald both utilise sleep as a means to satisfy their desires and curiosity, subverting the vulnerability that sleep brings by mimicking it. In this way, they are able to assert their control and retain their narrative voice even where others are not. These men, whilst morally weakened by the temptation of the female vampire, still retain a masterful control over the animalistic women who pursue them. This is certainly

important in the context of such narratives which emphasise the importance of a strong male presence in governing such things as morality and spirituality. Both Romuald and Jonathan are poor comparisons to such strong male figures as Van Helsing and Serapion, but can be thus shown to be redeemable and they achieve this in their outwitting the female vampire. Unlike male victims in other texts - such as Helen Vaughan's many casualties - Jonathan and Romuald do not allow themselves to be completely weakened and overcome by the succubi, and thus are worthy to outlive their vampire predators.

Culpability in Sleep

In exerting control over one's sleep, whether in relation to the time or place that one chooses to rest, there is an attempt to sleep successfully. In the first part of this chapter it has been seen in relation to defeating evil, but on a more day-to-day basis, such control simply allows people to practice their social (waking) roles without any hindrance. This remains the case in the gothic, where men and women can indicate their aspiration to – or rejection of – such responsibilities through their sleep. However, in these texts women's daily responsibilities, particularly those of unmarried 'ladies', are not taxing, and predominantly revolve around socialising. Mina Harker is a school-teacher, it is true, but this is side-lined as an unimportant point and she is not seen in this position after the sole mention of it in the narrative. Furthermore, her position in the 'Crew of Light' is largely based on her secretarial skills, and voluntary. Mina does attain a more significant status when she becomes connected to Dracula, but even this involves her being immobile and hypnotised, and any effect that Dracula has on Mina's waking life is unrelated to interfering with fulfilment of responsibility, because Mina is not shown to have any. Similarly, Lucy Westenra, Olga Trevelyan, Laura, and indeed any other woman featured in these texts are also seen to be passive in their daily routine: Lucy is a socialite, Olga is a guest at a house-party, and Laura seems to while away her days, only taking occasional lessons. Certainly, by living up to nineteenth-century expectations of docility, these women are not at risk of shirking too much in the way of duty

should they sleep improperly; a fact which is demonstrated in each of the respective narratives. Restless nights for Lucy, Laura, Olga, and Mina do not have an effect on their daily routines the following day, and they are able to take rest throughout the day when they need it. In this way, despite being considered to be the most in need of consistent and restful sleep, women seem to be representative of those who are most capable of relinquishing it.

On the other hand, not only are the men in these texts required to be dynamic by nature, many of them hold positions of responsibility and are required to fulfil duties which necessitate them to be well-rested and *compos mentis*. Whilst this has been discussed in previous chapters with regard to the expectations regarding the generally virile nature of men, the consequences of sleeping improperly - or indeed not sleeping at all - for selfish reasons have yet to be considered. Romuald in *La Morte Amoureuse*; Octavian in 'Arria Marcella' and, to an extent, Spiridion Trepka in Vernon Lee's 'Amour Dure' all choose to reject their daily roles in favour of their nightly ones, and all with dire consequences. Again, the associations of night-time with evil or iniquity are relevant here, as each of these men choose this time to indulge in such practices which make it difficult for them to fulfil their responsibilities. Each of these men turns his back on his waking role in favour of an obsession in the form of woman; Romuald rejects his life as a priest for the dream of *milord Romuald* and Clarimonde, Octavian eschews living women in order to realise his obsession for a long-dead one, and Trepka turns his back on his role of historian in favour of seeking forbidden knowledge of another long-dead woman, who nonetheless haunts him. The women whom they view as their respective objects of affection are characterised not only as seductive and carnal, rejecting socially accepted gender roles in order to realise immoral desires, but quite possibly, imaginary; in *La Morte Amoureuse* and 'Arria Marcella' the women may be dreamed rather than real, and in 'Amour Dure' Trepka experiences no physical encounters with the countess. In each of these narratives there is an imperfect line between sleeping and waking, consciousness and unconsciousness, which not only calls into question the

sanity of the protagonist, but makes it difficult to apportion blame for their crimes to those culprits who believe themselves to be asleep or unconscious. Because these transgressions are not seen to be carried out by a waking individual they are accompanied by caveats and justifications: Romuald's adventures take place (ambiguously) in his sleep, as do Octavian's; and Trepka's only fault is that he neglects his work in favour of investigating the dead duchess - and yet each of these men face censure. There are two means of transgression in these cases: those in which social roles are rejected in lieu of dreams, and those in which one's day-time responsibilities are side-lined in favour of illicit night-time activities. However, representations of these are not distinct from one another, and often overlap, as is to be expected in gothic literature, where boundaries are not often adhered to.

The sustained inclusion of dreams in the gothic clashes with the assumption that dreams are 'invalid in our culture' (Aubert and White 1959b: 52), and they are shown to be subject to judgement (and hence, punishment) as though they are waking actions. In part this is due to the boundary between sleeping and waking which is seldom delineated in gothic literature, and thus confuses readers' and protagonists' understanding of what is real and what is not. In life the boundaries of the two states are permeable, and there is scope for interference from one in the other: for example, noise or action around the sleeper may find its way into their dream's narrative, or alternatively, a sleeper's physical reactions to their dreams and nightmares, such as screaming or flailing may frighten or harm someone near them. Thus it can be seen that the space between sleeping and waking is one which the sleeper occupies simultaneously. It is graduated with shades of (un)consciousness, dreamlike states in which the sleeper may not know if they are sleeping, and thus their understanding of reality is questionable. However, in the gothic this dividing line is blurred further as moral actions undertaken in dreams are shown to have a significant effect on a gothic sleeper's waking life, and a physical attack in the real world can manifest itself in horrible nightmares. The problem of culpability arises when these sleepers make choices in the belief that they

are dreaming -particularly dishonourable choices - as these result in far-reaching consequences in the physical (real) world. In the gothic, such lucid dreaming can be the main premise on which the plot is founded, as in Gautier's *Contes Fantastique*, which Joseph Lowin credits as entirely being 'marked by the heroes' hesitation and doubts […] often between a judgement that one has perceived reality and a feeling that one has only dreamt it' (1980-1981: 29). This ambiguity of whether a character has transgressed, and whether it was in the physical (i.e. real) world thus becomes a common theme in gothic literature. Furthermore, this hesitation - usually in the early stages of a narrative - also calls their sanity into question, further adding to the uncertainty faced by both reader and protagonist.

The idea that one could be held responsible in their waking life for their imaginary or unconscious actions is certainly plausible when viewed in relation to the prescriptive society in which these texts were written. Furthermore, the belief that responsibility for one's actions is not simply negated by them taking place in dreams or unconsciousness is crucial in the gothic, for the simple reason that it is there is a choice being made. Thus the common premise of these tales is that choosing to behave in an immoral manner in one's dreams results in a lasting memory of that immorality in their waking life - and therefore can be seen as a corrupting force. To remove moral responsibility from those who sin in their dreamed worlds would run the risk of it being diminished in the real world, simply due to the transferrable nature of illicit knowledge and experience. In this way, one's dreamed (or imagined) life has the ability to intertwine with one's waking existence, resulting in these two boundaries becoming blurred beyond recognition. The view that these two realms are not mutually exclusive from one another, but can be placed on a continuum means that a single person - with one body, mind, and soul - is experiencing a full range of consciousness, and choosing to do wrong in one state can have effects in another. The 'dreamers' in the gothic are often judged (and found wanting) as though they are awake throughout their experiences. Thus in all of these texts it becomes apparent that one cannot dream with abandon

in gothic literature, and just as some control must be exercised by sleepers, there are also restraints placed on dreamers.

In contrast to the above lucid dreamers of the gothic, who choose to explore their desires, there are those dreamers who are not seen to be in control of their sleeping mind. Lucy Westenra and Olga Trevelyan lack agency even in their own imagination and instead follow a pre-determined path, set by their unconscious, and in both these cases their dreams are in fact enacted in the waking world. Olga's dream that she is Kalee is performed in the real world, as is Lucy's 'dreamt' experience of being under attack, which is enacted through the Count's visits to her. Such dreams have been viewed through Freudian ideas of the subconscious, linked to psychodynamic theories which make much of the characters' unconscious (but nonetheless powerful, and damning) desires manifesting themselves in their dreams[33]. This fits in well with those experiences in which the sleeper is described as being in a near-trance state, not making explicit choices but following the over-powering narrative of their dream. On the one hand these dreamers are seen to be exploring immoral desires, but on the other they seem to be unaware of such desires when they are awake, and are instead compelled by other forces (whether their own imagination, illness or mesmerism). Thus the question arises of why such dreamers, who do not *choose* to do wrong in their dreams (as seen in earlier cases of male dreamers) are still punished in the gothic.

Conversely, these dreamers' culpability lies in the very unconsciousness of their desires, which should rightly pardon them. Dreamt immoral acts have been read as a hysterical attempt to free oneself from sexual restraints that society and the (rational) mind place on the personal and the (natural) body. It is consistently apparent that in the gothic it is the responsibility of the mind to reject the base urges of the body, and to protect that body from the danger it unwittingly wishes to expose itself to. In waking life this can be exemplified by the punishment of those who

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[33] This is not unexpected, considering the afore-mentioned chronological proximity of Freud's dream-work to gothic literature.

are in breach of social roles; over-sexualised women or evil men who attempt to influence others and threaten societal rules, for example. This same principle can be applied to sleeping life so, regardless of any involuntary aspects of desire, in the gothic it becomes apparent that even in dreams it is the responsibility of the mind to control the body, and for the individual to rise above his or her (un)natural urges and retain a sense of propriety. This concept places the mind on a higher plane than the body, in keeping with the philosophical ideals of the nineteenth century, which characterised 'the superiority of reason over emotion, objectivity over subjectivity, mind over body' (Ramazanoglu and Holland 2002: 23), and thus leads to two significant conclusions. Firstly, it suggests that that the mind retains a certain moral culpability at *all* times, for which the individual can be either rewarded or punished, depending on their success. Second, that the protection of the body by the mind is not only limited to physical protection but spiritual, thereby aligning the body and the soul on an equal level, with both being subservient to the mind. Mental fortitude is shown to protect the soul from damnation, and an inability to control oneself when under the influence of sleep can thus be seen as a moral and a mental failing on the part of the sleeper.

In the gothic literature of the nineteenth century then, there is an extended concern with the concept of the subconscious and its desires, and the idea that one may, knowingly or unknowingly, wish for something unsuited to the moral code, or inconsistent with the accepted norms, of society. It is through this that the sleeping mind's activity is seen to enact a number of social concerns. In some narratives, dreams do indeed suggest a willingness for transgression that is not present in waking life, reflecting secret desires (predominantly to the detriment of the sleeper) whilst in others, descriptions of dreams in narratives are a source of confusion for both the dreamer and the reader (encouraging a dubious suspicion of the sanity of the narrator). The nature of the dreams, specifically what they are about, and how powerful an effect they have, can be used to characterise the dreamers, used as a means of assessing their mental fortitude as well as their willingness to adhere to moral rules and social duties. The problem

of culpability arises from both situations. In the first, a sleeper chooses to act immorally, but the extent of these actions is limited to their dreamt (unreal) lives. Conversely, in the second, a sleeper experiences immorality against their will, in what they believe is a dream but could in fact be reality.

In the nineteenth-century gothic, such choices of night-time immorality are seen to be crucial to the narrative - indeed, sometimes *are* the narrative. The inclusion of such 'dreams' in gothic literature can be shown to explore social anxieties of transgression of boundaries, offering an often terrifying alternative to following social rules. The threat of such a wilfully anti-social existence reflects fears of shifting boundaries, and disconcerts the reader and other characters. That an ostensible time of rest and sleep can be misused to the detriment of society subverts the natural order and role of sleep, and thus embodies fears of sleepers not fulfilling their night-time, nor their day-time, roles. This failure to dream with restraint is most evident in Gautier's protagonists, who find themselves in an uncertain state between sleeping and waking in which they are (willingly) seduced, and thus put in danger. In *La Morte Amoureuse* this supposed-dreamer is subject to censure because *he* believes himself to be awake: thus Romuald is seen to be making explicit choices to breach moral boundaries. Similarly, Octavian in 'Arria Marcella' faces (moral) danger when he rejects reality and indulges his desire for the eponymous vampire-figure as he has done for a number of such imagined beauties before her, again believing himself to be experiencing reality. Finally, in Vernon Lee's 'Amour Dure' Spiridion Trepka differs from the others in a number of ways: his fascination for Medea da Carpi is never realised, he barely sees her, and his only contact with her is through letters. Trepka is also the only one of these men who does not survive his experience, as he is found dead near a statue of his love. Thus, another shared feature in all of these narratives, is that the men are explicitly or implicitly rebuked and forced to abandon their fantasy lives, arguably (and ironically) a moral for those readers who may devote too much time to fictional pursuits.

Father Romuald in *La Morte Amoureuse*, is perhaps the best example of a sustained preoccupation with fantasy which goes on to

interfere with real life. From early in his life until the day of his ordination, Romuald is a novice in the ways of the world, having spent his entire life in the pursuit of priesthood. He claims that previous to this day, he 'had never dwelt on the matter' of women and was 'completely innocent' (LMA 16). However, at his ceremony, the sight of Clarimonde affects him deeply: he feels mesmerised by her beauty, and 'floodgates of sensation' open within him (LMA 19). From there on Romuald finds himself dissatisfied with his station and his achievements, beginning to view the priesthood that he has striven all his life for, as a burden. The powerful and lasting effect that this brief encounter has on Romuald is clear: his feelings are immediately 'rooted unshakeably' in his heart and to tear it out seems so 'obviously impossible' that he does not even attempt it (LMA 23). In a single moment Romuald's 'joy and impatience' at realising his life-work transforms into 'the full horror of his situation' (LMA 16, 23). His priesthood immediately becomes meaningless to him and he reacts violently at the belief that he is bound to his religion; 'to be a priest […] to be chaste and loveless […] to shun physical beauty and creep within the glacial shadow of a cloister' (LMA 23). Despite advice from his Abbot to be wary of the Devil's temptation, and to 'fight the good fight with the enemy' (LMA 25), Romuald's desire for Clarimonde is not muted. He contemplates running away to be with her, writing to her, and even once he has moved to a distant curacy and lived as a priest for a year, thoughts of the woman 'obsess him' (LMA 29).

Romuald's violent reaction and immediate dismissal of his religious beliefs for a woman whom he has seen only once speaks as much of mania than of love, and thus calls into question his mental state. Even before their meeting, he indicates a tendency for obsession, in his rapturous account of his life leading up to his ordination. He recalls his intense desire for priesthood, when he awaits his ordination – 'a young bridegroom never counted his remaining hours with more feverish eagerness' than Romuald – and he is unable to sleep, instead 'dreaming that [he] is celebrating Mass' (LMA 16). Upon sight of Clarimonde, his 'state of mind [is] acutely disturbed', and the object of his obsession shifts and he loses all interest

in his religious practices. He goes on to live an outwardly pious life, but the priest does not 'enjoy that happiness which the fulfilment a holy mission brings' (LMA 29). That his downfall can be attributed to a 'single occasion' of looking upon a beautiful woman is held as certainty by Romuald, who later uses it as a warning against the fairer sex but, as with those men who are seduced by vampire women, he does not look within himself for any fault, nor does he blame the religion which repressed him in the first place. Furthermore, the range of emotion he displays following his ordination is dizzying, again suggesting some mental instability. In a single night he ranges from being in love with Clarimonde to believing her to be the devil, contemplates abandoning his priesthood and running away with her, then immediately turns to prayer. Romuald's behaviour both before and after his meeting with Clarimonde is indicative of a troubled mind, as he responds hysterically and maniacally to his desires - whether these are embodied in priesthood, or in a woman.

His sanity can be further disputed by his behaviour in Clarimonde's bedroom, in which he is sexually aroused by, and attempts to make sexual contact with, a corpse. Romuald admits that his mind is not at its most rational, retreating to a fantasy in which her apparent death is simply 'a ruse she had employed to draw [him] into her castle and declare her love' and imagines himself (again) to be 'a young bridegroom' this time 'slipping into his bride's bed-chamber, averting his face out of modesty' (LMA 34). The fact that he believes he is turning his face from a sense of 'modesty' is intensely paradoxical considering the sensual nature of his desires, and thus characterises him in this moment as a man in denial, as he turns his face *away* from modesty and the truth. Romuald's wilful refusal to acknowledge wrong-doing is reminiscent of Jonathan Harker's experience of his passive acquiescence, but Romuald goes further in that, even if he does momentarily convince himself that she is still alive, his actions betray that he is conscious of attempting something morally wrong. He moves carefully, 'holding [his] breath in terror of waking her' (LMA 34), suggesting that had she simply been sleeping, he would have used this vulnerability against her in order to satisfy his urges. Furthermore, his attempts to

convince himself that Clarimonde is alive are not entirely successful, for when she awakens in his arms, the shock of it causes him to faint - for despite his fantasy, he is aware that she has come back from the dead. This leads to the first occurrence of Romuald (and not the reader) doubting his own sanity, as he wakes up in his own bed without any memory of returning.

The violent reaction which Romuald has at the sight of Clarimonde's body, and the subsequent doubt it casts on his sanity, is seen near-replicated, even magnified, in Octavian, the young student at the centre of Gautier's 'Arria Marcella'. Whilst Romuald is aroused by the sight of a woman's near-naked body (albeit dead) Octavian's passion is ignited by a 'massive hardened lump of black lava-ash' in which the young art-lover can just discern 'the line of a magnificent breast and thigh' (AM 113). Octavian is similarly excited by death, but his desire does not even necessitate a body – perhaps just as well, as it had 'crumbled into dust 2000 years ago' (AM 114). Upon seeing where the ash was found, Octavian experiences a 'profound effect' as he is 'seized with a wild retrospective passion' (AM 122), reflecting the immediate and 'wild' passion that Romuald exhibits for Clarimonde upon their meeting. The young student's sanity is further called into suspicion when he latter admits that 'reality [has] no power to seduce him' and much of his passion has been directed at 'all the great feminine archetypes celebrated in art or history, one after another' (AM 126, 127). His rhapsodies on historical figures such as Cleopatra, Helen of Troy, Jeanne of Aragon and the Venus de Milo begin as a rejection of the 'depressingly prosaic circumstances' of contemporary courtship (AM 126), but also reflect a more sinister obsession. He cries out to statues, and is driven into such an 'extraordinary state of frenzy' by the sight of a 'luxuriant head of braided hair, exhumed from an ancient tomb' that he bribes an attendant for a few strands and attempts to use them in an occult ritual to 'summon up the shape and form of the dead woman' (AM 127). Arria Marcella is indeed Octavian's object of affection but, as evidenced above, she is by no means the first. Similarly, Clarimonde is preceded as Romuald's love by his fixation on his noviciate.

Romuald and Octavian's shared lack of sexual experience and the staidness of their own lives seems to manifest itself in a personality prone to obsession. In their search for a distraction from their duties and the fulfilment of baser desires, there is 'yearn[ing] for a return to Paganism' (Knapp 1976: 61), also echoed in Spiridion Trepka. Whilst much of the focus is on a lack of sexual fulfilment in the lives of Gautier's and Lee's heroes, it can be extended to other areas too. Romuald is dismayed at the realisation that he will never have a family, whilst Spiridion and Octavian display a pathological disinterest in women and the company of others, resulting in lonely lives, marred by an inability to accept and enact their societal roles. Just as Octavian is characterised as a man who 'could not adapt to a workaday world and preferred escaping into a fabulous era' (ibid), Romuald's tale 'depicts adult responsibility […] as a force of entombment' (Raymond 2007: 259). In such isolated and unhappy individuals, the call of an alternative life and mode of living is remarkably inviting, and thus they succumb to temptation not solely due to sexual desire for the Other, but as a means of rejecting their socially ascribed roles. Romuald is a priest, Octavian's life of a tour, followed by marriage, is pre-destined by the norms of the time, and Spiridion is entrusted with a job - and whilst none of these men begin the narratives unhappy in their position in life, they soon find that their view of the world has thus far been limited.

Spiridion Trepka is an example of this, when he arrives in Italy with a view to carrying out some research as part of his role at a German university. Like Octavian, Trepka immediately shows himself to have a preoccupation with history - though arguably, being a historian, the latter's preoccupation is less fetishistic than Octavian's. However, upon arriving in the town, Trepka is shocked to see that, contrary to being surrounded by 'the Past' which he has 'longed these years and years, to come face to face with', he is instead confronted with a modern city much like his own (AD 41). Trepka's immediate and severe disappointment is clear as it becomes evident that he will not be losing himself in a reverie of long-gone Italy, and instead is surrounded by his own countrymen and familiar sights and tastes

– a 'real world' which he has no taste for. Furthermore, like Romuald and Octavian, Trepka is sexually inexperienced, admitting that he 'never could find a woman to go mad about' and instead believes himself to be 'wedded to the Past, to women like Lucrezia Borgia, Vittoria Accoramboni, or that Medea da Carpi' choosing, like Octavian, to look to history for an idealised version of a woman (AD 54). Thus, rather than being involuntary victims, these men are instigators of their seduction, because they desire it. When Trepka is reminded of a long-dead Duchess, the beautiful Medea da Carpi - a woman famed for her machinations, scandal and murders - he is relieved to have found some romance in his environment and its history, and pursues his obsession relentlessly. Similarly, Elena Anastasaki points out that Romuald 'brings [Clarimonde] back to life by the force of his desire' and 'Octavian summons Arria Marcella through the power of his feelings' (2006/2007: 35, 36). In this way, all three of the men are shown to be in need of some reprieve from their unfulfilled lives and so they are shown to have an implicit desire for their seduction, and the subsequent danger, which they experience.

The extent of each is different for the men in these tales. Romuald's life is literally doubled, as he begins to receive nightly visitations from Clarimonde; Octavian only has a single night with Arria Marcella; and Trepka never meets Medea. Thus, the latter narrative can be seen as an extension of the former, since these stories are 'seemingly identical' (di Liberti 2009: 89) and a more gradual development of the same plot. During Clarimonde's first visit, Romuald does not give much thought to how she has gained access to his bedroom because he explicitly characterises it as a dream, looking back upon it the next day as a 'singular fantasy […] the result of an over-heated imagination' (LMA 41). The encounter is charged with sexual energy and emotion, and he immediately forgets the 'counsels of Abbot Serapion' and his 'position as a priest' and allows Clarimonde to seduce him; admitting that he 'collapse[s] without resistance at the first onslaught' but, re-establishing that he believes it to be 'a visionary state' and thus, unreal (LMA 40). Repeating his earlier inconsistency, upon waking he prays to God, whom he denounced the previous night, by

claiming to love Clarimonde 'much more than him', to now spare him from such dreams. However, he returns to his slumber, only to find that Clarimonde has returned as promised and continues to do so for many nights hence.

As these visits continue, the reality of his two lives begins to confuse him. Though Romuald states unequivocally that he does not believe himself to be insane, and thus supernaturally believes that he is both men simultaneously, he does come to show some favour for his life as a lover. He begins to believe that sleep will 'take [him] off to the presbytery' rather than vice versa (LMA 47), and, as *milord* Romuald, he speaks of his arrogance and dissipation with great pride, bragging of consorting with 'the sons of ruined families, women of the theatre, shrewd knaves, parasites, hectoring swashbucklers' (LMA 45). He also begins to distance himself from his priesthood, speaking of the 'cursed nightmare that return[s] every evening' in the belief that he is a village curate (LMA 45) and instead begins to rely on being 'soothed by the familiarity of being constantly with Clarimonde' (ibid). This rejection of his old self is reminiscent of the antipathy that Trepka shows for his countrymen, which similarly suggests a desire for a loss of identity, as he wishes himself to find a 'grand passion' (AD 55). Similarly, Octavian is quick to cease viewing Pompeii as a dreamed or hallucinated vision, and becomes accustomed to it - reasoning that 'since some mysterious power had granted that he should live for several hours in a vanished age, he would not waste time in seeking a solution to an incomprehensible problem' (AM 133). Rather than puzzling over the detail of whether he is in a dream or else insane, Octavian indulges himself in his situation, and nearly immediately thinks of Arria Marcella, overjoyed at the realisation that she must now be living. Both men reject notions of rationality and choose to enact the new life that they have suddenly found themselves in. However, by perceiving and interacting with this fantasy world as real, the moral decisions that both men make become increasingly significant.

Romuald is shown to transgress far worse than Octavian, partially due to the difference in the amount of time they spend in their relative

fantasies, but also due to their roles. Whilst Romuald is a priest who has given himself over to Christ, Octavian is a young man on a tour with his two friends, both of whom are consummate in the art of love-making to young women, and talk about it often. As befitting young men in the nineteenth century, they are sowing their seeds before they settle down, seducing whomever they can, either for sport or for lust. In this sense, it seems far more acceptable for Octavian to do the same. Furthermore, Arria Marcella is the instigator in the naive Octavian's seduction; it is she who sends for him to visit her in her bedroom, greeting him posed in an 'intensely lascivious attitude' with her breasts 'half-revealed', leaving Octavian 'bemused with passion (AM 142, 143). In contrast, Romuald is not pursued by Clarimonde, but goes to her of his own volition, again, making him more culpable. Finally, Arria Marcella is a far less sympathetic figure; she is characterised as less loving and more predatory than Clarimonde, who professes to have loved Romuald a 'long, long time' (LMA 134). Octavian's first sight of Arria describes her as cruel looking: 'her face flawlessly white and ablaze with a pair of deep brooding eyes heavy with some indefinable expression of sensual gloom and dormant passion' and her mouth is 'curled at the corner with a hint of mockery' (AM 139). Thus, Octavian can be dismissed as a young man led astray, whilst Romuald is shown to have chosen to be seduced.

When Arria's father bursts into the room he further condemns her of 'philandering' and many previous 'sinful seductions' of 'poor fools' (AM 146). But rather than similarly chastising and insulting the young man as he does his daughter, Arrius calls on his sense of reason. In a bid to cause Octavian to reconsider his actions, he cries: 'Young man, you are a Christian: deny this creature, this ghastly chrysalis!' and warns that if Octavian 'could see her as she really is, she would seem more revolting […] than the mummies of Empouse and Phorkyas' (AM 146). Octavian is not blamed for being found in a compromising position in the bedroom of Arria Marcella, and instead, she is exposed as heartless and wanton in a bid to repel her lover. By virtue of Octavian's inexperience, and by clarifying that he is but one of many lovers, the brunt of the blame goes to Arria.

Thus, Octavian's experience of Arria Marcella is arguably far less transgressive than Romuald's relationship with Clarimonde is.

Unlike Octavian's fleeting near-love-affair, the priest takes part in blasphemy and debauchery on a large scale in his second life, despite believing it to be reality and so, within his control. In this way Romuald is making immoral choices rather than simply allowing a fantasy to sweep him along, and if they are choices then they are at risk of harming him. The realisation of this is not lost on Romuald and as a priest, he suffers guilt and laments his situation, even 'mortifying his flesh […] in penance for the excesses of the previous day' (LMA 45). His guilt grows so much that even as *milord* he occasionally recalls the Abbot's warning and feels uneasy. Furthermore, despite later claiming that his 'visions were beyond [his] control' and he 'did not actively participate in any of them' (LMA 48), Romuald's illicit experiences remain with him in his waking life, and thus have an effect on his spirituality and his morality regardless. He begins to shirk his duties as a priest out of guilt, no longer able to 'dare to touch the body of Christ with hands so impure and a mind defiled by such debauches – whether real or imaginary' (LMA 48-49). In this way, the threat which Clarimonde presents to the priest is not solely sexual, but a social one, in that Romuald's duties are neglected for selfish desires.

Romuald is not the only one who conceives himself as guilty and Father Serapion chastises him severely, condemning him as having lost both his soul and his body and blaming him for his state: 'miserable young man, into what trap you have cast yourself!' (LMA 47). This trap is indeed severe, as Romuald's initial arrogance falls away to over-whelming regret, and his 'scruples as a priest torment [him] more than ever' (LMA 48). He begins to find that his penances are not enough to allay him, nor to subdue his sexual desire, and becomes exhausted with his two lives, now beginning to view his life with Clarimonde as 'treacherous shores' (LMA 49). Eventually, Romuald begins trying to resist sleep - and thus his second life. However, when he inevitably fails, this leads to Father Serapion 'treat[ing him] to the most vehement admonishments, and severely reproach[ing him] for [his] slackness and lack of zeal' (LMA 49). Serapion

seems to equally pity and blame Romuald throughout his ordeal, and his attempts at correcting Romuald's misdeeds are indicative of his belief that the latter's behaviour in sleep is as dangerous and damaging to his moral fibre as anything he could do whilst awake. With his caustic assessments of Romuald and his situation, he further demonstrates that it is Romuald's responsibility to resist lust and desire - even if it means resisting a natural and required part of human life. Finally, in a bid to end his relationship with Clarimonde, Serapion forces Romuald from his bed and coerces him into watching as Clarimonde's body is exhumed and destroyed, thereby releasing Romuald from his fantasy.

In these examples of a private night-time existence in the gothic, the question of mental stability extends from dreams to other areas. There is a divide in critical literature in explaining these tales. In the first, such 'dreams' are straightforwardly viewed from the point of view of Todorov's fantastic, which permits these events to be real in as much as they are supernatural occurrences experienced by the protagonists (di Liberti 2009; Faxneld 2012; Lowin 1980/1981). This is contrasted with a more complex argument framed by those who view the figures of Arria Marcella and Clarimonde as figments of the protagonists' imagination, in response to their unfulfilled lives (Raymond 2007/2008; Knapp 1976). Psychological analysis, particularly Freudian, comes to the forefront here as the id of Arria and Clarimonde are crushed by the super-egos of Arrius and Serapion. However, other explanations are also possible - particularly in light of nineteenth-century concerns of illicit sexuality, and particularly self-pollution.

Suggestions of this are most explicit in Octavian, particularly in the behaviour he displays towards inanimate objects. His love for these historical women is already established as physical, as he cries that he wishes to be 'crushed' against the Venus di Milo's breasts (AM 127), and ends his adventure with Arria by clutching the cast of her body (AM 149). When Octavian's friend looks at him with an 'inquiring glance' upon seeing him inspecting Arria Marcella's remains in the museum, it causes the latter to 'blush' as he hurries them away indicating his embarrassment, and

suggesting that his friends are well-aware of his predilection for such object d'art - a suggestion which is proven to be true when these friends correctly guess that 'the lava cast discovered at the house of Arrius Diomedes had set Octavian off' (AM 127). These conspiratorial looks and evident amusement at their friend suggests that, far from being literally in love, Octavian is sexually aroused by such historical artefacts; the passion with which he reacts to a new object is reminiscent of '[a fetishist's] worship… reverence for relics, holy objects' (von Krafft-Ebing 1894: 153). Indeed, accounts of his behaviour preceding the narrative are reminiscent of a man who is a slave to his unusual desire. He pays handsomely for some 'clandestinely obtained' scrap of hair (AM 127) and rejects living women, who are unable to sexually fulfil him, in lieu of historical beauties. In this way, Octavian embodies one of the longest-standing fears of masturbation that '[m]en will not want to marry [..] when by this means they appease their lustful appetites' (Benedicti, quoted in Hurteau 1993: 11). Whilst Octavian does indeed go on to marry, his wife feels as though he is in love with another woman, again suggesting the behaviour of a consummate fetishist who is unable to climax without the object of his obsession. In this, as in his disinterest in women both before and after his visit to Pompeii, Octavian fulfils von Krafft-Ebing's assessment that 'it often happens that the [fetishist] diminishes his excitability to normal stimuli by his perversion' (1894: 156-157)[34].

Similarly, Romuald's fantasy of Clarimonde can be explored as a metaphor for his chronic self-pollution. To begin with, he leads a lonely life, 'innocent' in sexual matters, until he is powerfully aroused by the sight of an attractive woman. Following this he undergoes a powerful transformation, as his emotions overwhelm him for the first time,

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[34] Wilhelm Jensen's (1902) *Gradiva,* a similar story in which a young man becomes enamoured with a woman in a Roman bas-relief is relevant here, as is Freud's subsequent analysis of the text (See Lively, G. (2011) 'Delusion and Dream in Theophile Gautier's Arria Marcella: Souvenir de Pompeii'). However, where Hanold in *Gradiva* becomes obsessed with discovering whether the object of his love is real, Octavian is less concerned with reality.

suggesting a delayed puberty: '[his] youth, so long repressed, suddenly burst[s] forth' as he experiences arousal and climax for the first time (LMA 23), after which he becomes melancholy, as befitting his experience of *le petit mort.* The imagined object of his arousal might indeed be a real woman or women: the woman he sees in the church, and the corpse he visits. However, following this, any satisfaction which he gains from her would not necessitate her presence. Indeed, before he begins to receive visitations from Clarimonde, the simple memory of her remains strong enough to 'obsess him', and 'no matter how great [his] efforts to drive them off, [he does] not always succeed', with her name rising to his lips in an 'involuntary refrain' (LMA 29). As a Catholic priest, this is problematic as the church strongly warned against such behaviour, and discovery of such activity would lead to severe censure, an emotional response which is seen in Serapion.

The Abbot's remonstrations with Romuald are wholly unsympathetic from the first, and he seems to be wary of this changed man he sees before him. Visiting him during an illness, Serapion treats his ward with suspicion rather than compassion, beginning by inquiring about Romuald's health in 'hypocritical tones' and following this asks him a series of questions about how he passes his time and if he has any friends (LMA 37). During this interview, Romuald feels 'embarrassed and guilty' as Serapion's eyes penetrate his soul 'like a leaden plummet' (LMA 36-37), acting in opposition of the warning that 'the boy who could look his parents squarely in the eye had nothing to hide' (Hunt 1998: 597). In both the descriptions of Romuald's experiences, and Serapion's reactions, the priest's transgressions are seen to be of a secretive, shameful nature, indulged in at night - an act which Romuald enjoys at the time, but regrets immediately after, echoing his dual attitudes of being 'perfectly happy' in his dreams and penitent upon waking (LMA 45). Mason argues that supposed effects of the sin of masturbation in the nineteenth century

> are best illustrated by the figure of speech 'a shadow of his former self' […] The term, essentially, pertains to a loss of substance. The

individual still lives, but what remains is a vague or flawed imitation of the person he or she once was'. (2003: 18)

something which Romuald experiences through his literal loss of identity, as he oscillates between priest and lover.

The two older Christian men in Gautier's narratives do not concern themselves with whether Romuald and Octavian are 'really' experiencing these dreams, or any other, transgressions - instead their fault lies in their desires. Similarly, Bettina Knapp disregards the question of whether Octavian's (and by extension, Romuald's or Spiridion's) 'vision is termed a hallucination or a somnambulistic escapade' and instead emphasises that the importance is in recognising that 'the experience was of a psychological nature' (Knapp 176: 66). In the case of examining these men's culpability, whether they are dreaming or not is irrelevant. It is not whether these sins take part in reality or in one's mind that condemns the actors, but whether they take place at all, in any realm of consciousness. In the gothic there is a recurrence of the idea that dreamt transgressions are as deserving of punishment as those committed when one is awake, and this is built on the belief that even natural and necessary aspects of human existence, such as sleep, should be controlled – that they *can* be controlled. Andrew Smith sums up the attitude of Samuel Smiles, a prominent writer on morality in the nineteenth century, as 'the virtuous body […] is never a private body […] the gentleman must never be off-script even during unwitnessed moments' (2004: 20). It is with this reasoning that Romuald and Octavian's sleeping transgression are justified as being subject to censure, for even in sleep and dreams they are expected to behave appropriately. The excesses seen in Gautier's 'Arria Marcella' and *La Morte Amoureuse* come from sleeping improperly, and in 'Amour Dure' they arise from a rejection of duty, but all of these accounts can be read as reflective of a wider attitude encouraging - perhaps too strongly - restraint and judiciousness with regard to one's daily life, extended in all aspects.

The role of the women in these texts is often seen to be similar, that of a *femme fatale* and vampire, but these are not literal characterisations.

Clarimonde is the only literal vampire in these texts, and arguably this is not her defining characteristic[35], and though there are suggestions that Arria Marcella too is a vampire (Liveley 2011:108; Pal-Lapinsky 2005: 3) - often due to being seen drinking a 'dark red wine, like coagulated blood' - there is nothing to suggest that it is not simply wine (di Liberti 2009: 89). Instead, the vampiric trait which unites these women is the sapping of energy of a man who is already weakened by his circumstance. Sympathetic portrayals of Clarimonde notwithstanding, the female antagonists in these texts all threaten the status quo by insinuating the possibility of a life outside of social - even chronological - restraints. However, they do this at the cost of the restful sleep of their willing 'victims', and it is for this reason that - even in the eyes of their lovers - they must be defeated. Claire Raymond suggests that Romuald 'ultimately sacrifices [Clarimonde] for the prosaic wish to sleep at night' (2006/2007: 260). Consequently, the fears of sleeping irresponsibly or improperly are apparent in the gothic, as these vampire-laden dreams can be seen to represent disruption to the slumber, and thus a threat of failed social fulfilment, of the dreamers.

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[35] Julia di Liberti rightly states that *La Morte Amoureuse* is 'less about a vampire than it is about a *vampire in love*' (2009: 75).

Chapter Five
Space and Time

In the preceding discussion of roles and responsibilities, it has been shown that sleeping with another person, or watching over them as they sleep, is considered to be a voluntary and beneficial action. The support provided to sleepers is centred on physical proximity which subsequently provides emotional and practical support. More often than not, this means sharing a bed with them, or else sitting nearby as they sleep, and therefore necessitates entry into the bedroom – a space which Norbert Elias refers to as 'one of the most private and intimate areas' of a home (1978: 163). In contrast to preceding centuries, when sleeping was far less private a matter (and beds and bedrooms were freely shared with entire families, guests, and servants), in the nineteenth century increasing associations of sleep with 'shame and embarrassment' resulted in the development of separate spaces for the sleeping and the awake, and ultimately established the bedroom as a socially significant space (Williams 2002: 180). The centrality of the bedroom as part of daily life in the nineteenth century certainly positions this sleep-space as a more active area than would be immediately evident. However, it can also be viewed as a sanctuary, not freely accessible without just cause. The demands which sleep makes on the people it is shared with requires careful consideration of who they are and thus entry into a person's sleep-space holds multiple connotations: of sexual relationship and closeness, but also of trustworthiness. This can be considered the main pre-requisite of sharing one's bedroom with another; that no harm will come to the sleeper from their guest, nor will they be disturbed, and that their privacy will be respected.

This development of the sleep-space as a separate and intimate retreat was in part due to the increasing awareness and perceived necessity for clearly defined public and private spaces in general. For the

newly emergent middle classes, mid-century urbanisation and industrialisation lead to a sudden awareness of the social ills which were becoming increasingly visible in towns and cities. Prostitution, alcoholism, and drug abuse projected an inhospitable image of the outside world and in response, the home became a sanctified space, both for the women who spent most of their day managing it (and who were discouraged from leaving its safety) and for the men who left to work every day. Barring necessity, women were expected to spend much of their time in the home and it was where they often studied, socialised, and raised their families; at the same time men were increasingly finding it necessary to leave their homes and were daily being engulfed in the crowded and chaotic streets of cities. Remaining in the home was certainly nothing new to women, but in the mid-nineteenth century, a new attitude emerged which changed the face of gender relations. Ellen Jordan concisely sums this up, arguing that in previous years, women's movement outside the home had been restricted, as they were considered to be inferior in a number of ways. Having sprung from Eve - the quintessential temptress - they were thought to be in need of strict control by their families, as well as society at large, in order to preserve their morality (1999: 49). However, this notion lost popularity amongst middle-class women, and so a new explanation was sought for why their place should be limited to the home, ultimately resulting in the idea of the 'angel in the house'. In this way, women were petitioned to stay at home not because they could not be trusted, but in order to remain pure and uphold society's moral laws.

This term was first used in a poem by Coventry Patmore in 1854 but was popularised rapidly through a number of treatises. Many who used it suggested that, contrary to being men's inferiors, women were spiritually and morally superior to them, and thus able to withstand the pressures of the rapidly changing landscape: 'in the narrowest sense the angel was the one near to God, the pious one who kept the family on the Christian path. In secular terms the angel provided the home environment that promoted her husband's and children's well-being in the world; she also provided a haven from its worst pressures' (Peterson 1984: 677). This idea was

common on both sides of the channel in the nineteenth century. Robert Tombs suggests that in France, the family unit was the most important institution in society and dependent on the mother. Whilst paternal control of the household was unequivocal, a guiding, maternal, influence was seen as necessary in the maintenance of the home and the family within it. In both England and France, the home was the woman's domain and she was expected, to some extent, to remove herself from the 'distractions of the outside world' in order to tend to it, and so, 'find fulfilment' (Tombs 1996: 218). Jordan expands on the religious aspect, asserting that women were responsible for 'exercising a Christian influence over their husbands and children, and through them influencing the life of a nation' (1999: 49). Thus in the face of what seemed to be an increasingly hostile world, 'Victorian men expected their homes to stand for a moral vision of life which would affect their own sensibilities for the better […] the custodians of the moral flame were the women of the home' (Tosh 2007: 55). Despite some differences, all definitions of this concept managed to distance middle-class women from notions of moral weakness, and instead promoted their moral strength, without changing the physical space that they occupied: the home. Tosh specifically identifies women - particularly mothers - as being held as a saviour to men, helping to end the 'lax morals' which sons had learnt from their fathers, and connecting 'sexuality in their sons' minds with altruism, sacredness, and motherhood itself' (2007: 155). Perhaps most blunt, however, is Kathleen Spencer's assessment, which suggests that women were simply expected to 'save Man from his own baser instincts' (1992: 205).

The importance of moral guidance in the home is predicated on the view of the nineteenth-century, middle-class home as a microcosm of wider society with an influence reaching far beyond its walls. In a similar way the bedroom, as the most private room in the house, can be seen as an extension of this, not least because of the connotations that it held (and indeed continues to hold) with regard to sexuality, intimacy and personal development. Within those walls, a person or persons could examine their thoughts and, without distraction, learn more about themselves and their

partners. Sexual partners, particularly newly married women, would experience sensations and emotions that had hereto been unknown to them and transform their understanding of the body. It is primarily because of this last point, and the associated reticence to acknowledge matters of a sexual nature, that the bedroom was considered a restricted area of the home and privacy amongst occupants was strongly encouraged. In the nineteenth century this was not only relevant to adults, and children were a matter of concern; a number of sources indicate that children were allocated individual rooms as early in life as possible, with a particular focus on separating genders, in order to prevent any sort of imposition on privacy, or moral pollution that sharing a space with someone could bring (Stearns 2003; Stearns, Rowland and Giarnella 1996). In this way, the bedroom became inherently linked to carnal knowledge, a space which necessitated privacy to prevent the sharing or exploration of illicit sexuality.

Paradoxically, this notion of privacy was also problematic, with seclusion also being viewed as a matter of concern, particularly among children. Illicit activity, such as unsanctioned sexual trysts or masturbation are acts which are likely to be discussed and shared by peers but they are also more likely to be carried out under the cover of night, and in private. The relationship between this 'solitary vice' and sleep is clear; like sleep, it is an activity closely personal and anti-social. It often took place in bed, under the covers, and it was, like sleep, difficult to control for those who sought to police it, and those who performed it. There was a sudden rise in discourse regarding masturbation, beginning in the early eighteenth century and persisting until the early twentieth century. This concern arguably stemmed from two eighteenth-century texts, the anonymously written but immensely popular *Onania; or The Heinous Sin of Self-Pollution* (1710) and Samuel-Auguste Tissot's *Onania; or a Treatise upon the Disorder Produced by Masturbation* (1758) which Alan Hunt suggests were 'the persistent points of reference for a prolonged and mounting intensity against masturbation' (1998: 575-576).

Masturbation was cited as being harmful to both men and women, and linked explicitly, even melodramatically, to illness of mind and body. In

England, the primary concern of these texts was adolescent males of the middle and upper classes (Hunt 1998), particularly those who were boarding in schools, where boys slept in dormitories and could be exposed to a vice. In France, however, female masturbation was of equal concern to legislators. Philippe Brenot refers to the denouncement of such activity in girls by doctors who were 'guided by a repressive morality' lead the 'witch-hunt' against the practice. He argues that such treatises were related to fears of a 'phallic woman', whose genitals could develop to the size of a penis, through stimulation (2007: 213). In this sense, the anxieties regarding masturbation could be linked to the fear of the New Woman, in the sense that both were based on a concern of illicit sexuality coupled with a rejection of gender roles. With medical texts detailing the extraordinarily destructive effects of masturbation on the person, and the common reminder that masturbating even a few times would lead to permanent defects, the desire to simply curtail it was not enough, and prevention was sought as the only possible cure.

One of the key means of protection was to prevent external contagions from 'infecting' pure young children, with knowledge of this vice, and the main space where this was a threat was, ironically, the home (Hunt 1998; Counter 2013). Hunt argues that, in England, servants who 'did not share the respectable sexual ideology of the middle classes' (Hunt 1998: 591) had free access to children, thereby endangering them. Similarly, Andrew Coulter emphasises the role which French servants were alleged to play in the corruption of children, by a variety of methods, either by inducting the child with illicit knowledge, by demonstrating the act physically, or else by allowing children to witness 'private conduct' (2013: 410). Middle-class manuals, whilst of differing persuasions - Catholic in France, Protestant in England – both spoke of the moral duty which masters had to their servants, but also acknowledged that 'some domestics are so incorrigible that no master on earth could make them what they ought to be' (Counter 2013: 413). In this way, the servant classes were scapegoated for a perceived societal ill, similar to the treatment and discourse on prostitution discussed earlier.

However, there was still some responsibility ascribed to the upper-classes. The first of which was to teach young men and women to be capable of self-governance. Increasing efforts in the 'abolishment of male sexual license, to 'raise' men to the sexual purity that was deemed to characterise women' (Hunt 1998: 581) led to men beginning to take responsibility for their own sexuality. In England, this was primarily due to the intervention of social reformers who sought to police them, which in turn led to a distinctly male anxiety regarding sex and its expression (Rosenman 2003: 13). In France too, men were gradually acknowledged to play a part in the practice of illicit sexuality. Just as there were calls for the recognition in the involvement of men creating a demand for prostitution, they were warned against setting a poor example for servants through illicit sexual relationships – whether with their own servants, or with those outside the family home. The idea that servants were a reflection of their masters was accepted, to an extent, and mothers particularly were charged with policing servants' behaviour so that their children's morality would not be compromised (Counter 2013). Thus, a woman's role in the home was to be a moral guide for both child and servant (thereby infantilising servants), but also to subject both to constant surveillance, and to root out any immorality in the family home. However, this was not always as simple as manuals suggested, so the fact remained that a supposedly respectable home could, in theory, become a breeding ground for severe corruption. Furthermore, the space in which this polluting influence could be found was simply a precursor to the place it could be practiced – the bed. This, then, disrupted associated connotations of rest, restoration, and safety of the home, bedchamber, and bed, and children and their moral well-being came to be connected with sleep and its associated habits.

This contradiction in valuing seclusion in the bedroom, whilst at the same time fearing it, illustrates that privacy in the bedroom is an extremely nuanced affair, and not easily policed. Thus, there arises an understanding that, whilst privacy is necessary, societally prescribed moral guardians reserve the right to access these private spaces, in an effort to maintain their purity. This could include parents (or schoolmasters, if boarding) for

children; superiors and officers in the army or prison for adults; and doctors and priests in times of illness or death. It has already been shown that one method of gaining access to sleeping forms is through pathologising or infantilising the sleeper, and similarly, the safeguarding of chastity is another case which necessitates entry to the bedroom. Lucy Westenra is a succinct example of all three of these methods being used in order to have near-unrestricted access to her bedroom without breaching social rules - something which instead falls under the purview of the vampire. Conversely, Laura of Carmilla exemplifies the dangers of allowing an un-vetted personage into one's private sphere. The sleep space requires strict regulation, and by examining scenes in which characters sleep in detail it becomes apparent that the bedroom (or wherever one chose to take rest) is a contested space with some clearly definable rules.

As with other areas considered, there are a number of gender differences evident in the inclusion of men and women sleepers in the texts being studied, with each gender being held to account, and thus forgiven or punished, in   disparate ways. The idea of the 'angel in the house', and its related concerns, go some way in explaining this difference; the moral responsibility and associated passivity ascribed to the women and the masculine ideal expected of the men is ultimately what decides the fates of the men and women in Dracula, Carmilla, and *La Morte Amoureuse*. Thus, when considering the experiences of Lucy, Jonathan, Carmilla, and Romuald, it is clear that men who actively pursue immoral behaviour are not held to account as strictly as the women who do the same, arguably because their moral failings are not considered to be their own. The men are allowed flexibility in certain areas which women are not; to 'sleep' outside their allocated spaces, choosing more freely whom they may sleep with, and even expressing illicit, unconscious desires as they sleep with a comparatively muted response. Women, on the other hand, are subject to more severe scrutiny, held up to a higher standard. Carmilla's conscious rejection of socially-acceptable womanhood and Lucy's unconscious rejection of it condemns them to much greater horrors and eventual death, because their moral failings are considered to have great implications. The

unrealistic expectations to which they are being held are neutralised by the embodiment of the 'angel in the house' in Mina. When Van Helsing praises her as 'fashioned by [God's] own hand to show us men and other women that there is a heaven where we can enter, and that its light can be here on earth' (DR 226), he demonstrates that such a woman can exist, and this makes other women's failures all the more pronounced. Finally, a key - and contradictory - point in this discussion is that, despite the categorising of women as best placed to govern morality, men are still very much autonomous beings who manage to retain control over themselves and others whilst at the same time benefitting from the aforementioned view of women.

The male roles in the narratives, even as sleepers, encapsulate some interesting contemporary ideas regarding successful manhood and how it is, in many ways, in stark contrast to ideal womanhood. In order that men may succeed against evil, they must fulfil certain expectations of masculinity; respectability, self-control, and a strong sense of right and wrong is of tantamount importance, but they must also be physically sound in order to protect the weak as they should. The men in these texts are men of action, and the most explicit of them is Romuald. The priest at the centre of *La Morte Amoureuse* begins the narrative as a devout young novice, but following a single, brief meeting with the vampire Clarimonde he is transformed into an intensely hot-blooded man with an ability to love 'passionately and distractedly, with a love so fierce' that he is 'amazed it didn't burst [his] heart' (LMA 16). After his confirmation to the priesthood, the capacity for Romuald's passion is fully revealed by a blinding clarity which illustrates of his newly invigorated masculinity. He feels 'life rising like a lake within [him]' and his 'blood beat[s] hard along his arteries' (LMA 23). Overcome at the unfairness of his situation, he rages in his cell, biting his fingers and tearing at his bed 'like some tiger that has been starving for days on end' (LMA 25). This comparison to a beast emphasises Romuald's animalistic lust for Clarimonde and the effect it has had on his previously passive life. Even Romuald's sleep is a testament to his masculinity, for when the priest goes to bed it is simply an opportunity for him to live a

second life, even more adventurous and physically active than his first. As milord Romuald, he lives extravagantly and debauchedly; he gambles, drinks, and blasphemes, but above all, he is Clarimonde's 'acknowledged lover' (LMA 41). Despite his life of excess, Romuald wants for no other woman throughout his relationship with her; Clarimonde is the equivalent of twenty mistresses and she is able 'to excite [him] even when [he is] satiated', as 'a true chameleon' she is able to contort herself into whatever Romuald desires (LMA 45). Whilst this enraptured description from the priest illustrates Clarimonde's voracious and near-unnatural appetites, it also draws attention to Romuald's ability to satisfy them, and this further serves to reinforce his masculinity, exemplifying his inextinguishable energy within the bedroom.

Considering that Romuald's alternative personality is only freed at night-time and in his dreams, the bedroom is a crucial space in this narrative. It is in fact, the starting point for Romuald's downfall; first, when he expresses his anger in his own cell, and then when he is finally brought to Clarimonde's side, in her bedchamber. She is purportedly dead, and he is only permitted to enter her room in his capacity as a member of the clergy, in order to pray over her corpse. The priest manages this for a brief time, 'not daring to lift [his] eyes to the bed' (LMA 32) and instead praying a fervent thanks to God for killing Clarimonde so that she may not tempt him, thereby firmly placing the woman, even dead, in a position of responsibility for his attraction, whilst simultaneously distancing himself from the ability to control his thoughts, and reiterating the moral responsibility that women were burdened with. Romuald's initial piety comes from his instinctive response to death, having read death rites to many old parishioners, and for some time he is able to pray for her. However, his experience of Clarimonde's body and the room in which she lies jar with what he has previously understood about attending to the dead or the dying, beginning with his realisation that the space which they are sharing does not befit the reason that he is there. Clarimonde's bedroom is 'not at all like the sickroom in which someone has just died' and instead of the stifled atmosphere which he is used to in such visits, 'the languorous

fume of oriental essence, and who knows what amorous feminine odours'
fill the room, leading him to muse that the candlelight casts a romantic glow
over the proceedings, more suitable for 'love-making rather than the yellow
reflections of a vigil candle' (LMA 32).

Had the room more resembled that of a patient, Romuald might
have retained his priestly role – but instead the setting acts as a catalyst in
freeing him from the duties which originally brought him there. He examines
the room at liberty, noting the rich and sumptuous decor which surrounds
him; his 'impulse of piety' fades, and it is this which ultimately leads him to
kiss Clarimonde's 'gorgeous corpse' (LMA 32, 33). With this kiss,
Clarimonde awakens and wraps her arms around him, professing her love,
and declaring their engagement, and Romuald falls into a swoon. The
setting that Romuald finds himself in contributes to his fate in a very
significant way; the unfamiliarity of the atmosphere combined with his
sudden, unsupervised, proximity to the woman he lusts after are significant
in penetrating his already faltering moral resolve and thus instigate his
transformation from priest to dandy. However, despite essentially being a
victim of a vampire, Romuald maintains his masculinity by taking physical
control of the situation. Unlike female victims of the vampire, who invite the
vampire into their personal space and succumb to their advances,
Romuald is not pursued *by* Clarimonde but enters *her* room, initiating
sexual contact in an aggressive way.

Romuald's lustful behaviour and his palpable desire for Clarimonde
are very similar to the awakening of male desire seen in Jonathan Harker's
experience as a guest in Dracula's castle. Like Romuald, Jonathan's near-
fatal encounter with the female vampire(s) is preceded with an upset to his
ordered life; just as Romuald reacts in anger and fear at his ordination,
filled with regret that he may never know love nor have a family, Harker's
experiences in Dracula's castle unsettle him, and cause him to behave in
an uncharacteristically bold manner. Whilst he is initially reluctant to
explore the castle without his host's permission, the realisation that his
situation is not as he thought makes him impudent and bold, eventually
leading to his exposure to the three women, and ultimately his illness. Like

Romuald, this incident arises out of Harker venturing into an unknown space, beginning by dutifully writing his diary, but then taking advantage of his sudden freedom. Harker acts in schoolboy defiance of the Count's warning that he should avoid sleeping in any place in the castle but his own room for 'it is old and has many memories, and there are bad dreams for those who sleep unwisely' (DR 46), something he takes 'pleasure in disobeying' (DR 50). Finding a deserted room and choosing to make himself comfortable in it, Harker awakens to find himself in the presence of three attractive women, who are coyly debating who should be the first to kiss him. Even as one of them crouches over Jonathan and places her mouth on his neck, he chooses not to move - furtively resisting taking a better look at his companions for fear that they will become aware that he is awake and stop.

Jonathan's desire overwhelms his ability to act morally and once again the reason for this is centred on the sexual attractiveness of the women rather than any shortcoming on the part of the men. On the one hand, Jonathan is a passive recipient of other's advances rather than the instigator as Romuald is, so it could be argued that he is comparatively innocent. His stillness could also be explained by simple fear preventing him moving - for he is at this point in his stay aware he might be in danger. However, his journal entry brushes over the 'deadly fear' that he feels, and instead focuses on his intense attraction to the women. Despite being much more passive than Romuald, much of the emotion that Jonathan feels towards the women is the same, and he is able to exercise some choice by pretending to be asleep and waiting 'in an agony of delightful anticipation' and 'languorous ecstasy' for the women to seduce him (DR 51, 52). Both men are aware that their feelings are a betrayal to themselves and others; just as Romuald thanks God for killing Clarimonde (so little does he trust himself), Jonathan admits that Mina would be unhappy to read of his 'wicked burning desire' - and yet he clarifies that 'it is the truth' (DR 51). Jonathan's later attempts to negate his desire for the women by scoffing at their womanhood and referring to them as devils is an attempt to reassert his morality, but it does not succeed in over-writing his tangible

yearning for them and his willingness to let them touch him, which is markedly similar to Romuald's own lust.

Harker is remarkably clear in the description of his feelings and motivations when he chooses to lay still and wait for the blonde vampire to kiss him. This is very unlike the Jonathan Harker who has been described to date. It becomes clear that when he is outside of his chambers, outside of his comfort-zone, his judgement is clouded; frantic, lustful, hysterical at times, he is almost unrecognisable from earlier portrayals, and this suggests, that had he given more thought to where he slept, he may never have experienced such horrors - not only of attack, but of the realisation that he is a more sexual being than previously conceived. His willingness to be a victim of the vampires clearly stems from a heterosexual male desire, something which, as a betrothed man, he is only able to see is wrong after the fact. Harker consciously chooses to occupy a forbidden space and this seems to cause a change in him and his sense of propriety. Even at the time of attack, Jonathan's desire for the vampires is mingled with distaste for the 'thrilling and repulsive' fair vampire but this does not dampen his lust. In fact, it does not truly affect him until he has returned to his room; only then does he pray to God for his sanity and come to the realisation that those women – those 'devils of the pit' (DR 69) – to whom he would have willingly succumbed and betrayed Mina for, were intending to attack him, and at this realisation he prays for God's mercy. Once they return to their bedrooms, Jonathan and Romuald also return to their old lives, and their memories of their attempted sexual transgressions fade somewhat. For Jonathan certainly, the bedchamber is a safe-guard against external temptations - later mirrored by his homecoming and nursing to health by the 'angel' Mina.

On the surface, Jonathan's inconsequential brush with the vampires, which he leaves unscathed, is much similar to that of Arthur Holmwood's. Neither man is touched by the vampire because both are rescued by men. Furthermore, both indicate a desire for the impure; Holmwood is a near-victim of the transformed fiancée when he is drawn to her in life and death, immediately attempting to embrace her when she calls

to him and even kissing her lifeless hand and face. He is unable to break his gaze over her, and his desire to go to Lucy when she is in her vampiric state suggests a weakness similar to Jonathan's. Finally, like Jonathan, who is prone to nervous fits following his return from Transylvania, Arthur is shown to be weaker than the other men. He suffers his loss far less stoically than Seward and Morris, yielding to his emotions with abandon, and in this way links attraction to the vampire with a lack of mental fortitude. Finally, both men are rescued from fully succumbing to the female vampire by the virtue of older, more experienced men; as previously discussed, Arthur is not permitted to visit Lucy without a chaperone when she is confined to her bed, and through this he not only preserves Lucy's chastity but is prevented from going to her by Van Helsing. Similarly, the Count stands between Jonathan and his attackers, returning him to his rightful chamber unharmed. However, despite these many similarities in temperament and weakness, Jonathan's near attack is treated with far greater censure than Arthur's. Arthur regains his standing among the men relatively quickly, by being the one to stake Lucy, and return her to a pure state. Jonathan, on the other hand, suffers a protracted illness and is relatively passive throughout the majority of the narrative.

One of the key differences between Arthur and Jonathan is that their relationship to their respective seducers is very different; Arthur is Lucy's fiancé, a woman whom he has honourably pursued and is betrothed to, and it is strongly implied that it is his genuine love for her, coupled with her power as a vampire which weakens and draws him. Harker on the other hand has a purely sexual attraction to three strange women – women who are 'ladies by their dress and manner' but also 'voluptuous' and 'repulsive' (DR 51, 52). Furthermore, Jonathan is engaged to be married, and does indeed proceed in his wedding to Mina on his return. His momentary rejection of what he knows to be immoral takes a toll on him, and upon their reunion Mina is shocked at his lack of strength and resolution, mourning that 'the quiet dignity' has left his face (DR 127). This dignity has indeed vanished; Jonathan's 'languorous ecstasy' at the prospect of betraying Mina with three beautiful women is confessed in his own writing (DR 52),

distancing him from the man he once was. Jonathan's life is spared but he is left a shell of a man, who desperately needs his 'angel in the house' to return him to his old self.

Marriage is considered a sanctuary for the men in the text, thus as an unmarried man, Jonathan is vulnerable to those sexual desires which condemn him. Spencer explains that:

> he is engaged to Mina, but they are not yet married, so that his sexual fantasies are inflamed but not yet lawfully satisfied. Further, he is far from home and isolated from other living human beings. For the Victorians, solitude greatly increased sexual danger […] the solitude of anonymity left one free to indulge in the kinds of sexual experiences one would, as member of a family, have been ashamed to admit desiring. (1992: 215)

The vampire women that Jonathan is attracted to are far from the ideal wife that he should be seeking, and his desire for them is not to realise a sanctified union but purely carnal; they are representative of the prostitutes whom unmarried men (like Jonathan Harker) frequented (Tosh 2007: 130). Thus, Jonathan needs Mina in order to control his illicit desire, and once they are married he becomes impervious to such threat. This is illustrated in the differing treatment of Mina, who is bitten by Dracula in full view of the men, and Lucy, who is attacked surreptitiously and never in full view of the others. Despite the fact that the latter is an unconfirmed victim of the vampire, it is Lucy who is kept away from Arthur, and prevented from infecting him by physical force by Van Helsing who drags him away. On the other hand, and somewhat puzzlingly, Mina is permitted to continue sleeping with her husband after she has been attacked, and whilst it is true that the other men are stationed outside their door, this is seen to be for the Harkers' protection from the Count, and not as a way to protect Jonathan from Mina. It is evident that the real danger of Lucy's threat to Arthur is of a sexual nature, something which is not relevant to the Harkers, who the bond of marriage will keep safe. If, for the modern man, the

temptations of the outside world can be staved off by a loving wife, who is apparently impervious to such pollution, then Mina is no threat to Jonathan in the eyes of the others. However, though it is true that *men* are bettered by making beneficial unions, the trust in marriage and the purity it affords *women* is much less pronounced and in many ways naïve, both within the text, and in the society it was written for.

Men were in fact the far greater threat to their wives and families, equally culpable in spreading infection through sex as the prostitutes whom they persecuted. Married, middle-class men were accused of putting their families at risk by bringing venereal diseases into their marriage and their homes, which had been contracted from prostitutes (Smith 2004: 99), and women, vulnerable to these diseases, could only rely on their husband's honesty and fidelity to protect themselves and their families. It is somewhat ironic then that, with the concern surrounding sleeping women as possibly detrimental forces in the narratives, it is in fact Jonathan Harker who causes his wife harm by inadvertently 'sleeping with' other women - thereby exposing Mina to their disease. Indeed, Jonathan hints at a compulsion for such behaviour when, following Mina's attack, he suggests that he would be at risk of doing this again. He promises that she 'shall not go into that unknown and terrible land [i.e. vampirism] alone […]', suggesting that his love for Mina would make him a willing victim: 'it is thus that in old times one vampire meant many […] holiest love was the recruiting sergeant for their ghastly ranks' (DR 354), but simultaneously admits to a lack of responsibility towards his or others' sexual health.

Mina, perhaps by virtue of her 'man's brain', insinuates that she is aware of Jonathan's weakness, not only in how she identifies his loss of 'dignity', but in her 'thrill' at the (mistaken) knowledge that Jonathan is not ill because of 'some other woman' (DR 128). This satisfaction suggests that, despite her earlier dismissal of the idea that she would be jealous of Jonathan, there was some doubt in her mind. As a good wife, she suppresses this knowledge; tying a 'white ribbon' around his diary, suggesting that her innocence will protect both of them, and their relationship, from the damaging reality. When Mina does find cause to read

his diary, she does not acknowledge the discovery that Jonathan's illness *is* because of another woman - three others in fact - and instead puts her energies into caring for him, and in proactively destroying the evil that has entered their marriage through her husband. Furthermore, Mina seems to feel some culpability in her own attack crying that she is 'Unclean, unclean!' and immediately says with regard to her husband: 'I must touch him or kiss him no more!' (DR 339). She admits that she did not want to, nor attempt to, stop Dracula when he approached her, suggesting that she allowed this 'seduction' to take place (Spencer 1992: 217). Despite her husband's complicity in this attack by Dracula, Mina fully submits to her role as moral guardian, and thus exonerates her husband from bringing this chain of events to fruition.

Jonathan's return to the ideal of masculinity, and to Mina, is complicated by his complicity in his attack; first in his attempted betrayal of the 'angel' Mina, and then in his involvement in bringing Dracula, a morally polluting force, to his home shores and, in fact to his wife. In this way Jonathan has transgressed far more than Arthur and thus his path to redemption is much more fraught. Jonathan's punishment reaches its zenith when Dracula attacks Mina in their marital bed. The attack is intensely violent, with Mina being forcibly contorted by the Count and the scene is both powerful and horrifying for those who witness it, but the impotent Jonathan is unable to react, and instead requires no less than four other men to break into the marital bedroom and take over his duty. Having repelled Dracula, Arthur and Morris give chase and Seward and Van Helsing assess the situation and impart their understanding. Throughout this, however, Jonathan is confused and in shock, and thus only able to provide some small comfort to Mina. This is the most emasculated that he is seen in the narrative, in clear juxtaposition to the honourable and brave men that he should stand with, and this attack is intensely damaging to Jonathan's reputation. However, it does also benefit him in the long-term; it is only after this attack that Mina, who has been suffering strange dreams and feeling the strain of her responsibility to Jonathan, finally loses her resolve, relinquishes herself to the more

feminine side of her nature, beginning to display some of the hysteric reactions first seen in Lucy and her mother; crying out, fainting, and seeking her husband's comfort. This attack is indeed an indictment of Jonathan's previous indiscretion but it also seems to be the catalyst needed for him to reprise his rightful place in their marriage. As Mina becomes weaker, he is given the opportunity to publicly redeem himself and show himself worthy of his wife, first by taking control in their relationship and then by being one of the men to physically defeat Dracula, staking him in a violent and decisive way. It is no coincidence that the Harkers' son's birthday is on the same day that Quincey Morris is killed in battle; significantly (and unstated) this is also on the anniversary of Jonathan's re-acceptance into manhood.

Unlike Jonathan, Romuald is not endowed with a wife to mind his virtue; as a priest, his saviour comes in the form of an alternate moral guardian, Father Serapion, yet another masculine figure of protection in these narratives. The Abbot in *La Morte Amoureuse* occupies a similar role to Van Helsing in *Dracula* - both provide fatherly advice or censure as necessary in order to protect young men such as Arthur Holmwood and Romuald who have 'one foot poised on the edge of the Abyss' and warning them not to 'plunge over' (LMA 38). These men are vital in the safeguarding of young men from sexual excess, and part of this is dependent on their establishing - or attempting to establish - strict physical boundaries. Whilst Romuald does continue to falter for some time, pursuing Clarimonde from his own bed, eventually it is reinstated for him as a place of rest with the help of Father Serapion. Serapion is neither as jovial nor as sympathetic as Van Helsing, but both share an understanding of the threats that female vampires pose to men - ostensibly a threat to their lives, but also to their honour. Van Helsing and Serapion are well placed to provide this guidance; the former is an embodiment of Muscular Christianity, tirelessly fighting against the evil of the vampire and teaching and guiding the others in their mission, and the latter a spiritual leader who is also well-versed in the ways of the world.

In *Dracula*, some of the most vital scenes take place in sleeping chambers and it is clear that these hold some significance – as much when their occupants are in them as when they are not. The most frequently visited of these is Lucy's bedroom, the space in which much of the turmoil before her death takes place. While she does remain confined to her bedroom and bed for some time, in a number of ways Lucy also contests the role of the bedchamber as a socially apportioned space in which to rest and recuperate. First, as a somnambulist, Lucy is unable to remain in it for the duration of the night, attempting to leave it frequently. Secondly, as Dracula's visits to Lucy become more regular, she experiences a fear of sleep and of sleeping alone, again challenging the natural role that sleep and the sanctuary of the bedroom should represent; the 'boon we all crave' becomes for Lucy 'a presage of horror' (DR 152). Within the group, she is the first fatal victim of the vampire, thus Lucy Westenra is crucial to gleaning the modus operandi of the vampire with the majority of ideas regarding the connection between sleep and death and their relation to vampirism coming from her experiences. In has been argued that Lucy is predestined to suffer at the hands of the vampire for a number of reasons, primarily the 'imperfect control' which she has over her sexuality (Olkowski 1994; Spencer 1992: 209), and the affliction of sleepwalking from which she suffers (Spencer 1992; Valente 2002). Whilst the first has been examined thoroughly already, it could be posited that it is the latter which physically removes her from the bedchamber, and - combined with a third: Lucy's proximity to a Romantic heroine - eventually dooms her.

Lucy's connection to those themes found in Romantic poetry is not difficult to establish. Her courtships and the lead-up to her engagement are certainly dramatic as she is wooed by three suitors, sworn eternal friendships by the men she rejects, and is at liberty to accept the one she loves. Her life is guarded and fought for by all those men and more, and when she tragically dies, it is in the presence of the grief stricken men who loved her. In many ways, the latter part of Lucy's life is the stuff of 'graveyard poets' who shared a romanticised obsession with death, intensely emotional and ever sacrificing pale, and weak heroines, much

like Lucy. Most telling, is Lucy's attraction to the grave of a suicide overlooking the sea. Her experience of Dracula, coupled with her attraction to the gravesite, both when she is awake and when she manages to escape the house sleepwalking, is crucial in explicating the relationship between sleep and death in the gothic. It is, in fact, a combination of her somnambulism and her fascination with the grave of the suicide, which first expose her to the dangers of the Count. While both Mina and Lucy are initially seen to enjoy the vantage point that this gravesite gives them, Mina loses interest when she hears the circumstances of the death it represents: a suicide by a young man, who despised his mother so much that he 'blew nigh the top of his head off with a musket' just to prevent her claiming insurance upon his death (DR 85). As a symbolic mother, Mina shuns such associations. Lucy, on the other hand, continues to visit the grave frequently, even taking Arthur there with her. In this way, Lucy not only aligns herself with 'Bad Death' but also in the revengeful rejection of the mother that it represents. Elisabeth Bronfen suggests that '[t]hough Mina started the habit of visiting the churchyard, she initially resists the call of death. Sleepwalking Lucy in turn immediately responds to the desire or call of the Other' (1992: 316). For Bronfen, Lucy 'enacts that a desire for death is located in her unconscious' (ibid) - a desire which is not the Christian aspiration to return to God, but a reflection of her inability to conform.

In her sleep, Lucy repeatedly attempts to remove herself from where she should be, finally achieving her aim on the night of her sleep-walk through town. She is drawn beyond the boundaries of her bedroom, and her home - and so, to Dracula - and this is where Mina finds her. The chase across town is fraught with risk not only from a supernatural source, but from a social one. The impact of Mina and Lucy being seen partially-dressed and outside of their home at such a time would be detrimental to both their reputations, a fact which Mina is highly conscious of - so much so that she initially assumes that if Lucy has not dressed in her day clothes she will not have left the house because, so ingrained is propriety in Mina, that she applies rules of socially accepted behaviour to Lucy and expects her to be following them in her sleep. For many, Lucy's sleepwalking can

be read as a result of the strain of her dual roles – those of a sexually desirable woman capable of great passion, and as a respectable woman who is outwardly happy to be destined to a life of social respectability with Spencer suggesting that sleep-walking is 'a habit traditionally associated with sexual looseness' (1992: 316) and that Lucy's death is symbolic of her inability to commit to one man.

Mina Harker certainly seems to ascribe some immorality to the act: whilst Lucy's sleep-walking causes both Mina and Mrs Westenra to worry about her, Lucy's mother seems more concerned with Lucy's physical safety for 'she has an idea that sleepwalkers always go out on roofs of houses or along cliffs' (DR 91) - a fear that Mina notes with an almost mocking tone, indicating its melodrama. Mina, on the other hand, seems more concerned with Lucy's moral protection; she immediately follows her description of Lucy's habit of sleep-walking with a mention that 'Lucy is to be married in the autumn' (DR 91). The juxtaposition of these two ideas, with no paragraphing or transition, suggests a link between them - that Lucy may have an improper penchant for unsanctioned movement, and that it clashes with her married future. Indeed, as Mina later comes to be seen as the moral guardian of the troupe who aim to defeat the Count, at this early stage in the narrative she is foreshadowing this role by predicting, and ultimately protecting, Lucy from her somnambulism. However, leaving her allocated space is just the first of many ways in which Lucy is thwarting boundaries of propriety in her sleep, and she is in fact characterised as a woman who is unable to conform to a number of social laws - not simply those which attempted to police sexual behaviour.

Lucy's sleep-walking, much like her protracted illness which requires constant care, or her lack of tact and infantile self-obsession in discussing her future with Arthur, are indicative of a character flaw far more insidious than a desire for promiscuity - and thus much more difficult to rectify. It is true that in sleep-walking Lucy is endangering Mina's reputation, but she is also disrupting Mina's sleep, something which she does many times and to many people around her. Those around her become exhausted by caring for her; Dr Seward is 'worn out' and 'dog-

tired' (DR 153, 154) and Mina is woken up multiple times in the night, but Lucy continues to occupy the role of a time-consuming patient until her death. She demonstrates that, as her neediness eclipses others' well-being, she is not only unable to conform to sexual boundaries, but to the wider role that would be expected of her. Much like Gautier's Clarimonde and Arria Marcella, Lucy is a drain on the energy of those around her. Neither mother nor moral guardian, Lucy is in many ways a vampire far preceding Dracula's visits - not in literal sense, but in the metaphorical as she consistently attempts to leach the vitality and morality of those around her. Thus Lucy fails to demonstrate her potential as 'angel in the house', and it is this which leads to her dismissal from the narrative.

In another gothic portrayal of a somnambulist, Olga Trevelyan in 'Kalee's Shrine' shares many similarities with Lucy, if not in their waking behaviour then certainly when they are sleeping. Olga is shown to sleep-walk only twice within the narrative, but with great impact on those around her, and in a stark contrast to her waking behaviour. Where Lucy is seen to be realising the full extent of her waking desires in sleep, coquettish in life as she is 'voluptuous' in death, the sleep-walking Olga seems to be directly opposed to her waking self. Her first instance of sleep-walking follows a display of 'genuine distress' during a lively party, at not having thought of the fishermen who are suffering in the storm. She leaves the guests in order to 'look out […] upon the poor people' as penance for her enjoyment at such a time (KS 13). In this way, Olga Trevelyan shows herself to be far more compassionate - 'sentimental', as Mrs Tristram describes it - than others around her. Where her hostess flippantly comments that fishermen are 'accustomed to drowning all their lives', Olga falls asleep as she attempts to watch over the sailors, embodying a sympathetic and sensitive woman (KS 17). However, when she emerges from her bedroom, her behaviour is in opposition to her waking self. She looks over the scene with 'calm eyes' and laughs 'like a maniac at the horrible catastrophe […] with inextinguishable merriment, as though the sight of the drowning woman were […] the most amusing and delightful episode in all creation' (KS 15), far removed from the girl she was before

her sleep. It is her second episode of sleep-walking which removes her further though, when she attempts to strangle her sleeping friend. Again her sleeping desires are shown to be greatly disparate with her waking personality, in which she professes to 'hate bloodshed—even an animal's' (KS 28). Through sleep-walking, Olga shares several similarities with Lucy, both in her 'call to death' as she is drawn to the drowning woman, and in transgressing social boundaries. Where Lucy displays an unfeminine carnal lust in her sleep, Olga manifests an unfeminine blood-lust, and so both are rebuked.

Olga's sleep-walking is originally viewed by those around her in much the same way as Lucy's, with a mixture of concern for her physical safety and for her social reputation. It is revealed to her admirer (and ultimately, her saviour) Dr Alan Tennant, as he watches a ship in distress from the shore, when he sees her standing on a balcony above, apparently watching a woman who is drowning in the violent sea, and laughing maniacally at the ensuing tragedy. Tennant is first stunned that the woman he loves can display such callousness, but almost immediately realises that she is, in fact, a somnambulist, and this behaviour is not a conscious choice. Whilst he does consider Olga's behaviour to be a 'weird sight' and a 'deadly mystery', thereby magnifying the unusualness of her behaviour, Tennant also indicates concern for Olga's well-being. He shows concern for her health, worrying that '[s]he shouldn't expose herself at night like that, even in August! The cold will hurt her: it will chill her blood' (KS 17). However, this concern over her physical health is secondary, much as Mina de-prioritises Mrs Westenra's fears of Lucy injuring herself. Tennant's first reaction is to look over the assembled crowd 'nervously' trying to assess if any of those gathered had 'observed or overheard' her (KS 17). The young doctor is relieved when he ascertains (wrongly) that '[n]o eye or ear on earth save his own had noted in any way that appalling interlude of unconscious laughter. No living soul but himself knew anything about it' (ibid). In this immediate response, Tennant shows concern for Olga Trevelyan's reputation with much the same matrimonial concern that Mina

does - having realised that he loves her deeply, Tennant is 'horror-struck' that she might be exposed as being unworthy of him.

Tennant's worry is realised in the form of Sir Douglas Mackinnon, a superstitious Anglo-Indian who observes the scene unnoticed and makes his own judgements regarding Olga's somnambulism. Having been in India in the same era as the Trevelyan family, he recalls a number of events tying Olga Trevelyan's childhood in India to the 'abominable Thuggee', particularly the death of her infant brother who was discovered with a 'dark blue line traced right around his throat, and his eyes and tongue protrud[ing] horribly, for all the world as if he'd been suffocated' (KS 41) - a common method of murder amongst Thugs. Knowing what he does about Olga's childhood, Mackinnon suspects that Olga was 'dedicated to Kalee' in her infancy (ibid) and thus he views her sleep-walking as a mark against her, for 'Kalee's emissaries go forth unconscious in their deep sleep' (KS 41). In a clumsy attempt to warn Tennant of the perceived threat Mackinnon characterises Olga as a 'wild young lassie', acceding that she is a 'pretty girl' but that 'the fellow who marries her wouldn't find her out all at once: but he'd soon discover what was the matter after it was too late' (KS 26).

Mackinnon's warnings are founded in superstition but in many ways echo concerns of the spread of venereal disease - an assessment that is made easy by Olga Trevelyan's many differences from her peers. She is attractive but foreign, with a demeanour and appearance distinctly unlike from those around her, and perhaps most significantly, she has a chequered past. At the knowledge of the young couple's engagement, he proclaims forebodingly that:

[y]oung bodies won't be warned […] The girl's a good lass, and a pretty lass, and a clever lass, and she means no evil: but there's a Thing within her, driving her on, that'll lead her into trouble when she least expects it. (KS 35)

With this vernacular of bodily secrets and the idea of an unknown threat brewing in Olga, Mackinnon alludes to congenital venereal disease, suggesting that Olga's past has somehow damned her, even if she herself is unaware. That Olga 'means no evil' but will lead her husband into trouble is a fear that is seen previously in Lucy's own desire for Arthur. Furthermore, it sheds new light on Lucy's sleep-walking being an inherited trait from her father, a man who would 'get up in the night and dress himself and go out, if he were not stopped' (DR 91). This desire to leave the home, particularly at night, is reminiscent of the many gentlemen who would take leave of their homes and marriage to patronise prostitutes (Sclater 2002; Tosh 2007) and thus suggest that her father suffered from some of the same 'sexual looseness' which he passed down to his daughter.

Through this somnambulism, combined with her illness, Lucy's disruption to others' sleep mirrors the behaviour of vampires throughout the text. In *Dracula* the reference to sleep and sleeping patterns are present from an early stage in the novel and the perceived benefits, and associated threats, of that state are also present from the first. All characters at multiple points during the narrative speak positively of restful sleep, or equate sleeping badly with a negative experience which often affects them adversely the following day. The vampire's detrimental effect on sleep is seen again in Le Fanu's tale. Vampires' sleep patterns are not through choice, but the result of their undead state; as supernatural beings they are generally (although there are some exceptions) excluded from the human patterns of sleeping and waking. As victims of their own enforced sleeping pattern the undead are unable to experience daylight and a daytime existence as is normal, even expected, of humans, but despite this powerlessness they manage, to some extent, to maintain control over their victims' sleep. However, when a vampire is released amidst humans, one of the first effects this has is on humans is on their sleeping patterns, disrupting their rest and exaggerating the natural vulnerability of the state, and this is seen very clearly in the vampire texts to be studied. And when the antagonists of such texts do sleep, they do not always utilise a socially sanctioned sleep space and this can be read as an explicit rejection of

social norms and prescriptive attitudes; the undead sleep in coffins, or crypts, and always alone, leaving them almost as vulnerable as the living whom they seek to attack.

From Carmilla's first night in Laura's home, she has an impact on the sleeping patterns of the inhabitants within, who must stay awake as they wait for a doctor to assess her. In particular, Laura neglects sleep and her own bedroom due to the desire to meet with Carmilla in her chamber, drawn by her beauty and a 'longing to see and talk to her' (CRM 258). Immediately, then, Carmilla's arrival has an effect on Laura's sleep: 'the doctor did not arrive till nearly one o'clock; but I could no more have gone to my bed and slept than I could have overtaken, on foot, [Carmilla's mother's] carriage' (CRM 258). Furthermore, as Laura becomes more intimate with Carmilla, her attitude towards sleep begins to change. Initially, Laura describes herself as a child who is unafraid of the night:

one of those happy children who are studiously kept in ignorance of ghost stories, of fairy tales, and of all such lore as makes us cover up our heads when the door creaks suddenly or the flicker of an expiring candle makes the shadow of a bed-post dance upon the wall. (CRM 246)

However, upon Carmilla's arrival, this changes, and like Lucy Westenra, Laura begins to fear sleep, to experience nightmares, and the quality of her rest is affected. In particular, she sees a cat entering her room and approaching her bed, and then disappearing unexpectedly, terrifying her so much that she does indeed 'cover up her head' and lies in bed 'more dead than alive' until the safety of daybreak (CRM 278).

The incident is a foreshadowing of the trauma to come for Laura – as Carmilla's stay progresses, Laura is seen to become lethargic and to suffer from nightmares. Terrified, Laura confides in Carmilla who claims to have experienced the same but credits touching a charm bought from a gypsy with making the evil figure disappear and so protecting her from 'something frightful' (CRM 280). At Carmilla's insistence, Laura retrieves

her own charm and begins to sleep with it – finding that whilst it helps her to fall into a 'delightfully deep and dreamless' sleep, the following days she is 'weighed upon' by a sense of 'languor' (CRM 281). Eventually, Laura begins to experience a sense of intense melancholy, and even goes so far as to believe she is dying, a belief which is 'not unwelcome', displaying the very desire for death which Lucy experiences in *Dracula*. By effectively drugging Laura, not only does Carmilla disturb Laura's ability to sleep well, and naturally, but she is able to manipulate it and Laura herself - causing her to doubt her beliefs (or lack thereof, in the case of ghosts), diminishing her self-confidence, her energy, and her zest for life and living. Carmilla's literal vampirism is just a small part of how she affects the life - and sleep - of those around her, and her attack is much more well-rounded, not only draining their blood, but an exaggerated version of Lucy's draining of energy.

The disruption and manipulation of sleep by vampires in both stories is reminiscent of the role which witches and incubi played in earlier centuries. The Count and Carmilla, like the witches and demons before them, are supernatural beings found in rural areas, which attack their victims at night, modernising the myth of the incubi. Dracula is able to control animals - his 'children of the night' - occupying a similar position to familiars in the case of witches, and Carmilla is able to transform into a cat-like creature, linking the early animalistic threats to sleep to the *fin-de-siècle* threats of the Vampire. The sexual undertones of both vampires' attacks are evident, just as those of incubi were, by the fact that for the most part both predators attack their victims in bed. The attack itself is reminiscent of sexual contact, as has been demonstrated by the analysis of the three female vampires, requiring as it does, the extremely close proximity of the attacker as well as the fact that it necessitates mouth to skin contact and an exchange of fluids. Even when Dracula is saving Harker's life for himself, he further clarifies the sexual nature of his attack by looking at Harker 'attentively' and saying softly that he 'too can love' (DR 53), indicating some possible homosexual leanings in vampires. The 'sucking' act of the incubus (or witches' familiar's attack) is also very similar

to the vampire – where the former was charged with sucking their victims' life breath, the Count sucks his victims' life blood.

Sleep is of utmost importance throughout *Dracula;* even at the later stages of the quest to rid themselves of the vampire, rest is valued highly amongst the group. Despite the risks that sleep exposes mortals to, there is an implicit understanding of the importance of not being tired when confronting a creature like the Count who is most powerful at night. Conversely, it is because of the human need for sleep and rest that many of the attacks are able to take place. So, as potential victims of Dracula, once aware of the Count's powers, the group must re-consider their sleep-patterns to evade his threats. The difficulty arises from adjusting one's practices to fit those of the vampire; that is, in order that the slayers may live long enough to defeat the vampire, they must reject society's prescriptions of what is acceptable in terms of sleeping habits, and adopt a nocturnal lifestyle for their own protection. As seen earlier, in *Dracula* and *Carmilla* this is achieved through having watchers, who stay asleep in order to protect those who require sleep.

Those who intend to thwart the vampire are overwhelmingly male, and thus tales involve the very clear power struggle between their male guardians and their attackers. This is seen in Lucy and Mina, in battles for their lives, their purity, but also for territory. These women are either attacked in their bedrooms, or drawn out of them, with Dracula embodying the threat of displacement. Thus, the men respond in kind, and the heterosexual invasion of Mina's bedchamber (in which Dracula is found to be effectively cuckolding Jonathan Harker) is a very male response to a very masculine attack. The violence of the scenes in which Mina and Lucy are attacked (and protected) is an unsubtly aggressive battle for territory. In contrast, Carmilla manages to emasculate the men in Laura's life by taking control of her remarkably openly. Whilst Dracula uses his powers of mesmerism and physical strength to gain access to Mina and Lucy, with an extreme show of force in both cases, Carmilla has no need for such brute strength or rushed and violent attentions. She is instead able to enjoy Laura at her leisure, often taking her hand in broad daylight, looking deep

into her face with 'languid and burning eyes', 'breathing so fast that her dress rose and fell with the tumultuous respiration' (CRM 264). The Sapphic intentions of Le Fanu's vampire are doubly transgressive as they are not only strongly linked to sexual desire, but occur between two members of the same sex. Whilst in *Dracula* the undertones of homosexuality in Jonathan and the Count's encounter are brief, Carmilla has no such need to be subtle, and she often speaks of how beautiful she finds Laura, her language almost bordering on sexual advances. Therefore, while the bedchamber at night is, for the male Dracula, the space where he exercises his strength, control and his sexuality, as well as feeds on his female prey, for Carmilla the bedroom is predominantly a place to seduce and feed. Thus, in the highly sexualised and transgressive tale of a female vampire's pursuit of a female victim, the bedroom and sleep itself are not symbolically representative of rape and control as they are when a male vampire is in pursuit of a female victim, but instead suggest a far more subtle threat.

Laura is initially drawn to Carmilla because 'she [is] so beautiful, and so indescribably engaging' but grows uncomfortable with her 'hateful and yet over-powering' ardour - too innocent to understand what Carmilla's passionate overtures can mean. However, she soon succumbs in her sleep to the 'agreeable' and 'pleasant' sensations of Carmilla's attack, which is not violent but sexually charged; 'a hand drawn softly across [her] cheek and neck' or 'warm lips [kissing her], longer and longer, and more lovingly as they reached [her] throat' (CRM 281-282). The vampire uses her powers over Laura's sleep to inflict the ancient assault of a succubus on its victim, bringing Laura to climax even as she half-sleeps, and thus Carmilla can be seen to embody the fears of nineteenth-century parents and guardians of a corrupt party, one whom they have allowed into their home and near their child, as Laura's father has, imparting illicit and explicit sexual knowledge in the privacy of the bedroom and under the cover of night. Tellingly, the symptoms which Laura displays are concurrent with those warnings of female masturbation: she feels herself a 'changed girl' and starts to look 'pale' with 'dilated and darkened' eyes and 'languor' which is visible in her

face (CRM 282), reminiscent of the 'highly visible signifiers of the condition [of female masturbation] in the Victorian period' of 'pallor, languor and sunken eyes' (Mason 2008: 5). Carmilla's interference with Laura's sleep is not simply a case of drugging her to make her insensible to the world but one in which Laura is able to experience and remember pleasurable physical sensations. Instead she uses her access to Laura to introduce new sensations, suggesting that for Carmilla, this relationship is more than that of victim and predator. Her nightly visits to Laura's bedroom become a time to share Laura's bed, engaging in an intimacy that she wishes Laura to be a part of *as well as* a time to feed.

Laura and Carmilla's relationship is further complicated when it seems evident that the vampire does not want Laura to die; in fact, the latter believes three weeks into her illness that it 'could not be that terrible complaint which the peasants called the oupire […] they were seldom ill for much more than three days, when death put an end to their miseries' (CRM 282-283). It becomes apparent that not only does Carmilla wish Laura to experience her sexual advances, but to join her in vampirism as a companion, providing credence to her passionate declarations of love. In this way, as well as confusing notions of sleeping and waking, Carmilla blurs the boundaries between lover and predator. She rejects the modus operandi of the archetypal male vampire, Dracula, who only shows a brief glimmer of love for Jonathan Harker, and treats his female victims as chattels and embodiments of his own prowess, declaring: 'your girls that you all love are mine […] my creatures to do my bidding' (DR 365). Carmilla and Clarimonde are united in their contrast to the Count as they show affection for their victims-cum-lovers, and repay them with carnal pleasure as they sleep. The relative complicity and naivety of Laura and Romuald prevent these female vampires from having to hide their desires from their victims, and instead the relationship moves into a more public space.

Sexual threats were already considered difficult to police, and a greater concern is the fact that a female pursuing a member of the same sex does not require the breaching of physical and social boundaries that a male pursuing a female would. This is reflected in the scope of

movements of the vampires; in contrast to Dracula, who is unable to venture out in daylight, Carmilla is free to move about as she pleases. While she does choose to sleep until late most days, her comparative social freedom with Laura is reflected in the freedom of movement that she enjoys despite her undead state. Conversely, the social restraints that would be imposed on Dracula as a male - even if he were not supernatural - are reflected in the fact that he may only emerge at dusk and must flee to the darkness of his coffin at day-break, whereas Carmilla is able to openly experience both days and nights in the company of her intended victim. Finally, Carmilla, as a guest of Laura's male guardian, is encouraged to stay at their castle principally as a companion for Laura. They are not only encouraged, but expected to spend much of their days in each other's company, and because they are young girls of the same age, there is nothing to suspect when they choose to spend enormous amounts of time together from their first meeting. As such, both are allowed free access to the other's bedrooms – as Laura demonstrates by visiting Carmilla very late on the first night of her stay. For reasons of propriety and social boundaries, this would not be the case if one of the two was of the opposite gender – as in *Dracula*, and his pursuit of the victims Lucy and Mina.

In the gothic, as it did in life, the bedroom transforms into a contested space. On the surface it is still a retreat and a place of recuperation: for example, in *Dracula,* it is Jonathan's only refuge in the Count's castle, and Lucy's illness confines her in the comforting space of her own room. Similarly, in *La Morte Amoureuse,* the bedroom is a space in which to reflect, and grow – spiritually in this case of a monk who is often to be found in his chambers. When the protagonists of the gothic are unwell, or wish to contemplate some matter, or simply rest, the bedroom is their retreat. However, the positive connotations of the bedroom are eclipsed in the gothic by the worries they reflect; the threat from someone intending to harm them - living or dead - is far greater when one is sleeping in one's bed, than it is in any other place, subverting the very purpose of that space. The vulnerable sleeping body is cocooned in an easily identifiable and thus, accessible, area and is at its most relaxed and defenceless, making it a

victim. Even worse, if the bed is rejected all together, by those characters who are unable or unwilling - consciously or subconsciously - to sleep in a socially sanctioned space, there is often greater suffering at the hands of their enemies - be they supernatural creatures or fellow man; somnambulists, and insomniacs are at risk simply by attempting to carve their own way in a highly restrictive world. This could be due to illicit night-time wandering, associated as it was with an unwholesome underbelly of society, but it could also be by rejecting the sleep-time rituals which would have been followed by their peers.

Chapter Six

Manipulating Sleep

This discussion of sleep - and particularly getting enough sleep - has become a key area of interest because of its effects and implications on the individual and their health. This is particularly evident in the way in which the medical community, who have been shown to have dominated discussion of sleep since it was recognised as a valid area of study, have engaged with the topic. Beginning with historic attempts at explaining sleep, the discourse has evolved into the identification and medicalisation of a number of differing sleep patterns - that is, sleep disorders. These are categorised into four types; first, those who are unable to initiate sleep or remain asleep, such as insomniacs, a disorder which is perhaps the best known due to its apparent prevalence in modern societies; secondly, there are those who sleep to excess, such as those suffering from narcolepsy, depression, or lethargy; third are those sleepers whose sleep cycles defy the single-session sleep which has become normal[36]; finally there are parasomniacs - those sleepers who experience such things as night terrors, sleep-walking, and sleep apnea (Sateia and Buysse 2010: 102). Despite these sometimes contradictory symptoms which are included under the umbrella term of 'disordered sleep', there is an attempt to first separate those who are unable to partake in 'normal' sleep, and then to cure them and return them to society. In this there is an implication that sleep must be carried out correctly; it should not be indulged in too much as in the case of lethargic or narcoleptic patients, nor too little as in the case of insomniacs, as both of these types of imbalance are considered detrimental to well-being. The physical effects of such disorders are

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[36] See: Ekirch (2001) for a detailed explanation of the segmented sleep which was common before the advent of the single sleep session.

compounded by their interaction with the psychological; insomniacs particularly are at risk of such things as failing memory, decreased concentration, inability to interact and even vivid hallucinations (Goswami, Pandi-Perumal, Thorpy 2010: 317; Sateia and Buysse 2010: 105). From a medical point of view, concerned as it is with human health and well-being, disrupted or disordered sleep has been a matter of concern for some time, primarily due to its contraindications for health.

However, the implications of sleep disorders on those other than the patient are only alluded to in a limited way and their social effects have been all but ignored by the medical community. This is not unusual in itself – for doctors to be concerned primarily with the health of a patient is to be expected – but due to lack of research into sleep from other disciplines, there exists a gap in how such disorders may impact not only the individual, but the collective. Furthermore, there seems to be a disconnect between the social function of treatment of such disorders as listed above. Treatment is prescribed for the patient's health it is true, but it is also in order to return that patient to their role as a member of society. This is best illustrated by the example of disrupted sleep patterns, in which a sufferer is unable to sleep in one constant block during the night, and instead engages in segmented sleep. This in itself is not damaging to the individual, as long as they partake in a recommended number of hours necessary. However, it is their rejection of social expectations to sleep at night when others sleep, and to wake during the day and fulfil their roles which results in this being considered 'disordered' sleep. The same could be said of hypersomniacs; whilst again these must be considered legitimate medical concerns, there is also an implication that to reject the duties and obligations which make demands on one during the day in order to sleep, is a condition to be cured. Sleeping in such ways is thus implicated as a socially unacceptable act and medical diagnoses and treatment are essentially a means of restoring order to such cases.

In order to function as a successful social being, a certain level of control must be practiced in relation to sleep - and if one feels unable to do this it is accepted that one requires treatment and a cure. Again, the desire

to control sleep becomes evident in this treatment, albeit now in an unnatural way, as drugs are the most common and effective means of rectifying such disorders. One may self-medicate; caffeine to stave off sleep, alcohol to induce it, but in a more formalised setting, a patient is prescribed drugs in order to aid slumber, thereby charging others with their sleeping body and indeed, their sleep itself. Trust, so necessary in the relationship between watchers, co-sleepers, and sleepers, is seen once again as a pre-requisite of the interaction between an external agent and the would-be sleeper. Because of this, allowing another to control one's sleep is limited to close friends or figures of authority; parents, doctors, and priests. Assistance from these figures is either requested by the sleeper, such as in the case of Mina Harker, who speaks up about her troubled sleep, or imposed on the sleeper, as in the case of Olga Trevelyan in 'Kalee's Shrine' who is unknowingly administered a sedative. In both these cases, and others, the person administering the sleep aid accepts responsibility for the sleeper and is therefore liable for any irregularities which come from this unnatural sleep. However, this (often) medical response to abnormal sleep becomes subverted and problematic in the gothic, which often indicates – either implicitly or explicitly – that modern science must not impinge on natural laws.

The texts being studied were written and published at a time when concern regarding medicine and science in general was increasing, due in part to the previously mentioned unethical methods which physicians-in-training used to advance their knowledge. This readiness to dissect corpses, and the suggestion that doctors were neither knowledgeable enough nor compassionate, was one reason for the mistrust in medicine, and this was furthered by the gothic powers of enforced institutionalisation and treatment that doctors held over vulnerable members of society – predominantly women. However, in a more general way, the scientific community's advances were also seen to 'disturb notions of the human' and caused people to question their position in a world which had previously been explained through religion, resulting in some suspicion being directed towards those scientists who attempted a purely rationalist

explanation of life (Punter and Byron 2003: 21). This resulted in some hostility between traditional and modern scientists, but this is not to say that spiritual notions were completely abandoned in the nineteenth-century. Instead they were viewed from a new perspective, with science and spirituality being combined in a number of ways and with varying degrees of popularity.

The most relevant of these in relation to the study of sleep is the notion of mesmerism, a practice which regained popularity at the end of the nineteenth century, having been first discovered and popularised in the late eighteenth century by the Austrian physician Franz Mesmer. Intended as a curative for ailing patients, Mesmer believed that by using magnets (or later, his hands) he could make 'passes' over a subject's body and control an invisible fluid within to address both physical and nervous complaints. A medical doctor by profession, he strongly believed that his theories were grounded in scientific theory, initially connecting them to discoveries in the field of electricity by Benjamin Franklin and Luigi Galvani, and sought approval from the medical community throughout his career (Hort 1993). So strong was his belief that mesmerism constituted a science that he claimed only physicians should be allowed to practice it, and repeatedly engaged in experiments to gain professional respect; however, the practice itself had supernatural elements. The convulsions sometimes experienced by his patients, as well as the trance states they succumbed to were highly unorthodox, and the cult-like following and reputation for curing the incurable in itself lent itself to an aura of mystery. Moreover, Mesmer himself added a sense of drama and mystique to the process later in his career as his practices became more fashionable, using 'dark rooms and soft music' and appearing at his 'magnetic séance wearing a purple silk coat' (van Schlun 2007: 35) in order to create a dramatic and occultist atmosphere and instilling a possibility for the interaction between modern science and spiritualism.

Over the following years, various disciples of Mesmer demonstrated his theories, modifying both their practice and their purpose.[37] Whilst the nineteenth-century understanding of mesmerism remained based on scientific theories of 'atmospheric ether' and 'electricity', it also underwent a transformation into a practice closely related with the occult, as mesmerists and their subjects began to offer the services of mediums and clairvoyants, and demonstrated feats of extra-sensory perception. This resulted in mesmerism being divided into two types: 'physical-scientific' and 'spiritual-mystic' (van Schlun 2007: 8). Whilst Mesmer would use his hands in a bid to cure others, by the late nineteenth century the mesmerist's control over another person was used to demonstrate supernatural ability such as 'seeing through solid objects, or divining the future' or contacting the deceased (9) and it was the latter which led to a wide-spread popularity of holding séances and other such activities in the nineteenth century. The practice was discovered and popularised by Mesmer who was himself a medical doctor, and then re-introduced and made fashionable in France and England by two more physicians; Du Potet, a French doctor who travelled to England attempting to demonstrate it, and John Elliotson, a doctor at the University College Hospital in London, who saw these demonstrations and himself began to practice it. Thus, to the layman at least, the practice of mesmerism was seen to connect the rational and the spiritual worlds, an idea which persisted despite the medical community's collective rancour at both the practice and the men who promoted it (Hort 1993; van Schlun 2007). In this way, associations between science and the occult began to solidify in nineteenth-century Western Europe and persisted throughout the *fin-de-siècle*, becoming evident in the literature of the time.

In response to these beliefs, controlled experiments were attempted to discredit mesmerism as a theory. However, one of the most substantial

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[37] See Betsy van Schlun (2007) *Science and the Imagination: Mesmerism, Medicine, and the Mind in Nineteenth-Century English and American Literature* for a more detailed account of how ideas of mesmerism persisted and spread around Europe, eventually transforming into modern-day associations of trance states and sséance.

developments against the practice was investigated by the Scottish surgeon James Braid. Whilst he was himself interested in mesmerism, he sought to explain the supernatural aspects of it with more rational explanations. Where mesmerists suggested that their powers over a person were innate, and that the latter could be controlled through sheer will, Braid argued that the trance state was simply a response of the nerves to intense concentration, thereby firmly placing the practice within the realms of medical knowledge (van Schlun 2007; Grimes 2011). Braid - like mesmerists who came before him - was able to induce a trance state, 'a kind of nervous (i.e. pertaining to the nerves) sleep' (van Schlun 2007: 59) in his patients. Braid however, unlike mesmerists, suggested that the trance was brought about by focusing on an object intensely, entirely dependent on the physiological and mental response of the hypnotised, rather than any power of the hypnotist. Despite this key difference, Braid the hypnotist, like his predecessor Elliotson the mesmerist, believed that this state soothed the patient, and therefore could expedite recovery (van Schlun 2007). Thus, despite the somewhat contentious nature of the relationship between mesmerists and hypnotists, the belief that controlling and manipulating a patient's sleep could be beneficial remained consistent, and indeed aligned with medical attitudes, and it is this aspect which is relevant to the study of sleep in the gothic. Whilst the two practices were intended to be distinctive, Grimes' argument that 'the discourse of hypnotism at the *fin-de-siècle* was actually a blend of ideas about mesmerism's supernatural powers and hypnotism's practical purpose in the field of psychology' (2011: 63) suggests that the two practices were more similar than their founders would have admitted.

The common ideas regarding sleep contained within mesmerism and medicine which tied the two disciplines together were reiterated by the fact that many people came to associate the medical profession with such unorthodoxy, particularly because of the overlapping roles of the individuals who practiced it. Both mesmerists and medical practitioners were overwhelmingly men; medicine was a 'definitively male, white, middle-class profession' (Smith 2004: 9), just as mesmerists were

predominantly males (DeLong 2012; Winter 1998). Furthermore, just as doctors by their very nature are called to the sides of those who were weak and ailing (not to mention their power over vulnerable women, hysterics, prostitutes, and deviants), the most common subjects for mesmeric entrancements in the nineteenth century were believed to be similarly deficient in autonomy and mental fortitude; 'women and girls […] members of the working class, the Irish, and hospital charity patients' (DeLong 2012: 57). This established a clear gender and class power dichotomy before the spectacle had even begun. The power which was exercised over another person by a mesmerist, and the physical contact required, is markedly similar to the authority and the physical relationship which a doctor may have with a patient, and just as the latter relationship requires a relinquishment of control on the part of the patient, the interaction between a subject and their mesmerist was founded on a willingness of the former to be controlled by the latter with volunteers. This came either from subjects having existing relationships with the mesmerist (usually servants), or else advocates offering themselves for the act, already wanting to believe in its power. In this way the patients or subjects (often both in cases where a mesmerist might be sought out to cure persistent diseases) began on an uneven footing and were vulnerable to manipulation.

Conversely, there also remained a chance for a re-appropriation of authority, and the same mesmerist-subject relationship could be exploited by the subject. Alison Winter argues that the subject was able to overturn the power dynamic by acting against the wishes of her mesmeriser 'undermining his authority, or by usurping his position by diagnosing herself and/or other patients' and thereby 'offered a voice to the normally voiceless' (DeLong 2012: 57).[38] In this way, class and gender boundaries could be threatened if female subjects showed themselves to be unwilling

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[38] There are a number of examples of this but the most famous might be Elliotson's own celebrated protégés - the O'Key sisters - who often behaved in contradiction to his instructions on stage, and became as celebrated as their mesmerist (Winter 1998). Amy Lehman details some of Elizabeth O'Key's improprieties whilst mesmerised in her book *Victorian Women and the Theatre of Trance* (2009).

to adhere to social rules or to respect authority whilst mesmerised. Furthermore, as the subject was mesmerised at the time, she could be considered blameless in such cases and the only way to punish a subject would be to prove that the mesmerism was false. For the thwarted mesmerist this would be self-defeating, but many critics who were indignant at the autonomy that inferior subjects could display on stage tried to do just that, by inflicting cruel and painful 'experiments' on the mesmerised woman – including electric shocks, physically assaulting the subject, pouring corrosives on her skin and feeding her toxic substances (Winter 1998; Roberts 2002). The mesmerised woman's body became a battleground for those who sought to uphold moral and social conventions in the face of this new outlet for women who were offered an alternative to their lives, albeit supposedly without any real autonomy.

The authority exerted over both patient and subject by doctors and mesmerists is founded on similar ideas. In medical science, as in mesmerist displays, there persists the idea that sleep can be used as a means of control, and that it can be utilised as a method of helping or harming another person; the common idea being that sleep is a force which can be harnessed. Certainly in the former case this is nothing new; the use of drugs which interact with a person's sleep has been common for centuries, with doctors in ancient Greece and Egypt using derivatives of opium to induce sleep in insomniacs and ancient Chinese medicine using plant-derived ephedra and ginseng to reduce fatigue (Pollack, Thorpy, and Yager 2011: xx). Similarly trance states have been witnessed throughout history and cultures as a means of communication and divination, as seen in the discussion of witches and witchcraft in the Middle Ages, and had been consistently associated with hysteria in the form of catalepsy; a commonly known diagnosis in the nineteenth century (O'Brien 2009). However, contemporary anxieties regarding medical advances coupled with the appropriation of sleep states as a means of supernatural investigation allow for the practice of mesmerism and medicine to be intertwined and exploited in gothic literature; Shelley's *Frankenstein* and Stevenson's *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* are two of the

better known gothic texts which explore the fraught relationship between scientists and the public at large but by no means the only ones: Arthur Machen, Grant Allen, and Sheridan Le Fanu investigate the negative associations of medicine and the failure of science in protecting one from supernatural forces in a number of ways.

With regard to sleep in particular, both in the case of mesmerism and medicine, the gothic is able to induce fear in the reader by illustrating reduced agency; in such literature, the sleeper is not always voluntarily put to sleep but can be drugged or entranced against their will (or their better judgement) and it is this which compromises their safety - both physical and spiritual. This is seen most commonly in vampire literature where the antagonist has powers of mesmerism over their victim as the Count has over Lucy, and the female vampires do over a number of other characters in *Dracula*. In other texts, this power is not always so explicit - the beguilement that Clarimonde has over Romuald in *La Morte Amoureuse* is not mesmerism in the literal sense but uses many of the associated vulnerabilities in the relationship between the mesmerist and the mesmerised, preying on his weakness; in this case, his weakness for her beauty and sexuality. Similarly, in *Carmilla,* Laura is lulled into security through her existing friendship with the vampire, and then by the use of a charm, rather than by an overt mesmerist display. And in *The Great God Pan* there are two who occupy the role of doctor-cum-mesmerist; the fanatical Dr Raymond who operates on his servant girl Mary, and her daughter Helen Vaughan, whose influence is not directly attributed to any enchantment but a compulsion which she is able to extend over her friends and lovers. In all of these cases, the vampire figure is able to exercise varying levels of control over their victims' sleep – either entirely subduing them or else influencing them enough to do her bidding. Again, there is a distinction in the powers and vulnerabilities of the genders; whilst women can be entirely overcome by a male mesmerist as in the case of the Count, men instead experience a mesmerist seduction by female predators as in the cases of Jonathan Harker, Romuald, and Helen Vaughan's victims. In most of the cases the victims profess that they are entranced against their

will, but there is arguably a willingness being shown in their victimhood, and often, a pre-existing relationship, similar to mesmerists and their subjects. Furthermore, the power dynamic between the vampire and their victim is similar to that between the mesmerist and their subject; either with clear domination of the strong over the weak (as in Dr Raymond and Mary), or in a subversion where an inferior – be it a woman or a foreigner or both – rules over a superior – a man – as in the case of Helen Vaughan and her many victims.

If sleep is a force which people attempt to control, attempting to define when and where they shall take rest, who with, and for how long, then the possibility arises in others also being able to do so. Most commonly this is seen in children, who tend to be prescribed their sleep patterns by parents who believe they know best for them. However, this is not the only occasion where such control is viewed, and in the gothic, a number of occasions arise where an external agent is given authority over another's sleep (and thus control over their health, safety and overall wellbeing) or else takes it by force. This is usually enacted in one of three ways: in the first, a benevolent authority figure attempts to rectify an imbalance in a person who is unable to take rest as they should, prescribing sleeping aids or employing hypnosis to successfully calm them and aid recovery and allowing them to rest. In the gothic, this is seen most commonly in the figure of medical doctors who employ the use of drugs as a means of assisting sleep. It should be noted that this is distinct from situations in which sleep is encouraged by a carer, as in the case of a mother putting a child to bed, because by using drugs to induce sleep, a doctor is not simply *recommending* rest but *enforcing* it; the patient has no recourse but to sleep as they succumb to a drug, as it is entirely beyond their control. In the second enactment of this dominance over another person's slumber, and at the opposite end of the spectrum, the helpful doctor is replaced by a predatory figure, who drugs or mesmerises others against their will in order to fulfil their own immoral desires, embodied in the many different antagonists of the gothic - seen in vampires, demons and evil scientists. These two positions are not mutually exclusive however,

and there exists a third and final situation; that in which the figure of the doctor *attempts* to aid one who is suffering, only to cause them more suffering. They do this without intending to cause direct harm (as in the second type) but without being successful as in the first. Despite the above distinctions, these situations are similar in that they are founded on the sleep of an individual being controlled by an external party, therefore removing the agency of that individual. In all these cases there is an implicit understanding that to govern the sleep of an individual is to ascribe power to the agent and it is dependent on the latter if that power will be used for good or bad. Noticeably in the gothic, only in the first case of a successful medical interaction with the individual's sleep are the effects beneficial, whereas in the second and third (far more common examples) the effects are often overwhelmingly negative, particularly for the sleeper.

To begin with the figure of the medical doctor, William Hughes succinctly sums up the portrayal of this contentious figure in the nineteenth-century gothic, defining him (and it is always a male) as one who 'accelerates rather than curing disease', arguing that 'if a doctor is theoretically inclined, he is also apparently, egotistical; if altruistic, he may as equally be incompetent' (2012: 200). Thus, the doctor is either portrayed as one who is ill-equipped to deal with the unique cases presented to them in the gothic due to an over-reliance on modern rationality, in lieu of traditional knowledge, or else as the instigator of such cases; experimenting beyond their bounds and endangering the lives, sanity, souls, and the moral well-being of both themselves and their subjects. Much has been said of this latter-type, the 'Faustian scientist' in the gothic, defined by their fanatical desire to breach natural boundaries (Botting 2005; Holland 2012; Mandal 2015; MacArthur 2015), and whilst the frequent inclusion of this trope in analysis is not unwarranted, it does disregard those scientists and doctors who are crucial in defeating the evil which stalks the pages of the nineteenth-century gothic, of which there are several. Dr Van Helsing and Dr Seward are the most proactive in this battle – albeit in varying degrees of success – using ancient knowledge to defeat the Count whilst also using their skills as men of medicine to protect and

treat their friends and patients as best they can. Dr Alan Tennant in 'Kalee's Shrine' also exemplifies those doctors who help rather than harm, as one whose understanding of modern medicine as well as mesmerism are all that stand between his fiancée and a murder arrest. And, as seen in the previous chapters, Laura's unnamed doctor in *Carmilla* is instrumental in saving her life, as is Bertha's (also unnamed) doctor in the same text, who is described as 'a good, pious as well as learned man' (CRM 309), by attempting to warn their guardians of the dangers they face. In the final example, this protection is accomplished by instructing that the victim is watched over as she sleeps. However, in other texts, it is realised by taking control of the patient-victims' sleep.

Of the two doctors in *Dracula,* Dr Van Helsing is the only one who manages to do this without causing harm to his patient. His use of narcotics to enable blood transfusions prolong Lucy's life for far longer than the Count's visits would have allowed, and he is cautious in his use of these new techniques, separating him from the arrogantly modern doctors seen in other texts. Van Helsing is introduced to the reader as 'seemingly an arbitrary man […] a philosopher, and a metaphysician, and one of the most advanced scientists of his day' but possessed with an 'absolutely open mind' (DR 137), and it is this final point which is revealed to be Van Helsing's greatest strength. Unlike the evil doctors of the gothic, Van Helsing is not fanatical nor mono-maniacal but from the outset is shown to be a doctor who understands the importance of maintaining links with the past and exercising a healthy wariness of modern techniques. In his administration of narcotics, Van Helsing exercises some caution not to use them excessively – only dispensing them when Lucy is to have a blood transfusion – and monitors his patient carefully until she is fully recovered from the effects of every sedative administered. Where other doctors may be *laissez-faire* in their treatment of patients, trusting too deeply in themselves and their methods, Van Helsing's use of modern science is moderated by his vast knowledge and respect for traditional ideas; he is aware that Lucy is vulnerable when she sleeps, and only interferes with her slumber when absolutely necessary. Despite being an 'advanced scientist',

Van Helsing does not reject his knowledge of the past nor his understanding of the supernatural in lieu of new discoveries, but instead makes use of both all the while showing adherence to natural boundaries. It is because of this that he is the first to recognise the symptoms of Lucy's illness as being the result of the ancient vampire, and is able to use advanced techniques to prolong her life, moderating his efforts with an understanding that science will not be all that is required to save her.

Van Helsing's control of another's sleep is manifested again in his hypnosis of Mina, demonstrating an alternative to the drugs which are freely administered by Seward to induce sleep. He utilises Mina's consciousness by supernatural means to gain knowledge of the Count and his movements, eventually leading the group to him. Whereas the vampire controls his victims against their will, Van Helsing demonstrates the opposite by hypnotising Mina at her own request and using her 'man's brain' to further their cause. Again, Van Helsing's openness to alternate ideas, as well as his understanding of modern techniques (of which hypnosis was one) is used to the group's advantage. It should be noted that the process which Van Helsing uses is more accurately identified as that of a mesmerist rather than a hypnotist. He does not concentrate Mina's attention on an object, but has her close her eyes and makes 'passes in front of her, from over the top of her head downward, with each hand in turn' (DR 371), similar to the passes that a mesmerist would make over his subject to induce trance. The 'beads of perspiration' (ibid) on Van Helsing's brow show this to be taxing for him, and suggest that the effect of hypnosis does not originate from Mina's neurological processes (as a scientific hypnotist in the nineteenth century would argue) but from Van Helsing's own abilities. His power is reiterated in later sessions too, when Jonathan observes that Mina 'yields at once' to Van Helsing, and he 'seems to have a power over these particular moments to simply will, and her thoughts obey him' (DR 396). Furthermore, the nature of the trance is distinctly related to spiritualist ideas of astral projection; Mina is able to locate her consciousness in the Count's body, feeling what he feels and reporting back to the others, thereby aligning this practice more closely with the type

of mesmerism founded in the supernatural, rather than any hypnosis which is founded in the psychological. This alignment of spiritual and scientific knowledge again works in favour for the vampire hunters and emphasises the importance of showing due respect for both traditional and non-traditional methods.

The above distinction between mesmerism and hypnosis is important as it magnifies the dismissal of Mina's efforts to contribute positively to the cause of the group's progress. On the one hand, it appears that Mina exercises some autonomy in this act; it is after all her own idea to be hypnotised. Furthermore, her husband is side-lined in this endeavour, she sends Jonathan to fetch Van Helsing without discussion or explanation, and when the latter arrives a partnership is formed between them and outside of Mina's marriage, apparently reiterating her status as an individual in this occasion. However, by clarifying that this is a case of mesmerism rather than hypnotism, Mina's contributions are in fact shown to be minimal and entirely dependent on Van Helsing's guidance. Rather than offering information that exists within her own mind, Mina Harker is presented as a subject who, performing on her mesmerist's command, simply communicates information from an external source, leaving the men to decipher its meaning. In her first trance, Mina is unable to deduce where she is - relying on Van Helsing's prompt of '[t]hen you are on a ship?' (DR 372) before she can provide any useful information. To the casual observer Mina is ostensibly raised to the role of an oracle, but ultimately she is useless without a man to guide her. Furthermore, Mina is somewhat dehumanised in her new role as a mesmerist's subject; she becomes public property, and contrary to the privacy which is the right of a sleeping women, is put on display for the other men, who all enter her bedroom and shut the door behind them, creating an intimate space in which she performs for them. In this way she is no longer a woman but, as a victim of the vampire, a patient and then a performer, pathologised and othered in order to further the men's knowledge. Even when she awakens from her trance, Mina is unable to use her experience and 'eager to know what she had told' (DR 373); she has to rely on the men present for the information

that she herself conveyed to them. In this way, Mina is totally dependent on those present, emphasising that any knowledge she has chanced upon is not her own but the property of the men around her. Mina's sleep-state is shown to have an important function, but it is ultimately meaningless unless it is open to masculine control in the form of Van Helsing's unique understanding of scientific and supernatural, old and new, knowledge. Van Helsing's control of Mina's sleep is not only an example of his power over her and her own deficiency in contributing to the quest, but a key demonstration of how important such control can be - and the benefits of entrusting the right person with it.

Contrasted with Van Helsing's beneficial command over his patients' sleep is Dr Seward's less than perfect control of the same. In the use of drugs as sleep aids, Dr Seward is by far the most liberal across all narratives, administering sedatives to both Mina and Renfield, as well as self-medicating when he is unable to sleep. In all these cases, Seward treats this as a perfunctory act with no serious consequence, and it becomes known to the other characters that he can be approached for a sedative should they require it. In particular, Seward's self-administration of drugs is interesting in its revelation of an evidently ambivalent relationship with narcotics. One night, in 'low spirits' and finding it difficult to stop thinking about Lucy after she has rejected his proposal, Seward exclaims into his phonograph 'if I don't sleep *at once*, chloral, the modern Morpheus - $C_2HCl_3O.H_2O$!' (DR 125, my italics) suggesting a dependence on the drug; he is prepared to ingest it at the first sign of insomnia, a strong recourse for a medical man who would be aware that such a drug is highly addictive and could easily cause an accidental and fatal overdose. While it could be argued that Seward, as a doctor, would be more than capable of measuring the correct dosage - and indeed he clarifies that he 'must not let this *grow* into a habit' (DR125), suggesting that it has not already done so – this is not sufficient explanation for his willingness to use it. Furthermore, his reasoning that he will not use it after all because he has 'thought of Lucy' and 'will not dishonour her by mixing the two' (DR 125) clarifies that Seward is well-aware the substance that he is so quick to turn

to is not a harmless medicine but a strong narcotic with associations of iniquity.[39] Seward's melancholy state when he considers taking it, which betrays an apparent reliance on the substance, calls into question his mind-set and capabilities as a doctor, particularly considering that he is not only charged with administering drugs to the patients in the mental facility, but his friends. His reliance on the drug to sleep, and his lack of concern regarding this addiction immediately implicate him as a man who does not respect natural boundaries of sleep.

Due to the context and associations of this sleep aid which Seward prescribes himself and others, combined with a number of failures on his part to protect his charges, the doctor can not solely be considered a benevolent or helpful figure as Van Helsing is in the text. Instead, his few well-meaning but immensely damaging missteps along the way are indicative of two main points being made about science in general and sleep in particular. Seward's willingness to take charge of other's sleep when he has shown himself to be incapable of being responsible for his own suggest either an arrogant self-belief, or a sense of apathy - both of which work against him and in many ways endanger the lives of the others. When he is considering taking the drug, it is only by chance that he decides against it, and this proves to be lucky as this is the same night when Renfield escapes and Seward has to give chase to him. Had Seward been sleeping as he had intended, particularly a drug-induced sleep which would

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[39] Chloral hydrate was commonly used as a sleep aid in the nineteenth century, but its ill-effects were well known by the time of writing; a number of public figures had succumbed to its ill-effects such as Friedrich Nietzsche and Dante Gabriel Rossetti who both struggled with addiction for many years (Miller 2002). Additionally, the prominent English scientist John Tyndall died in 1893 when he was mistakenly given a fatal dose of chloral by his wife (DeYoung 2011). Certainly by the *fin-de-siècle,* the dangers of chloral addiction had begun to be well publicised, beginning with the publication of 'The Confessions of an English Chloral-Eater' in a newspaper 1875, in which a doctor detailed his and his friends' addiction to the substance (Zieger 2008). The negative associations of the drug continue with its reason for use; while chloral was a treatment for insomnia it was also known as a substance most often taken by women as a subtle treatment for anxiety and psychosis, who were unwilling to seek professional help (Miller 2002; Marini and Stebnicki 2012).

make it difficult for him to be roused, Renfield would likely have caused harm to any strangers he came across, being 'too dangerous a person to be roaming about' (DR 125). And later, as discussed in previous chapters, he chooses to sleep at an inopportune time when he should be watching Lucy, leaving her alone despite his warning from Van Helsing that 'she is [his] charge' and he must not leave her (DR 152). Just two days later, however, Seward does just that, and wakes up to find her 'lying in a swoon' having been attacked as he sleeps in the next room (DR 155). When Seward's 'knees tremble' on sight of Lucy it is not simply his shock at her appearance but a sudden nervousness at having been discovered to have failed his duty in such a monumental way. These two incidents should be sufficient in instilling the importance of being awake at such crucial times in Seward, two clear cases where sleep must not be interfered with or entered illicitly. However, even as the battle with the vampire becomes more serious, Seward readily gives Mina a narcotic, and in this way is complicit in the Count's attack on her; she may have been able to sound an alarm had she been sleeping naturally, but Seward provides her a drug and therefore handicaps her. In this way, Seward presents himself partially as a proto-typical gothic doctor, whose belief in science and medicine eclipses the needs of his environment and works to his detriment when fighting with an atavistic evil such as the Count whilst also portraying him as a man whose addiction to a chemical substance has rendered him apathetic. In both cases, modern science and its perils can be identified as the root cause. Whether due to arrogance or ineptitude, Seward simply does not learn from his mistakes, and is a key example of the failure of modernity, as well as the importance of letting such natural aspects as sleep being allowed to run their course.

Van Helsing's and Seward's masculine control, in varying degrees of success, are only seen in Mina once she is bitten by a vampire and thus weakened. However, Lucy's treatment is far more consistent. From the outset, it is clear that Lucy Westenra's fate is in the hands of men for most of her life, particularly with regards to her sleep: Lucy's somnambulism – that which others her from her fellow mortals and aligns her with vampires

– is a legacy from her father; the Count is able to exert a hold over her when she is asleep or in trance, compromising her morality as well as her health as he removes her from the safety of her bedroom time and time again; and even the positive male forces in her life, such as Van Helsing, Seward and Holmwood, are all complicit in drugging her, imposing sleep on her for her own good when they see fit, and eventually staking her undead body and putting her to sleep forcefully and permanently.

This masculine control is also evident in 'Kalee's Shrine', this time over the figure of society beauty, and fellow sleepwalker, Olga Trevelyan. Olga is a visitor at a house-party of Mrs Tristram, where she is courted by one doctor as she is treated by a second for disorders of sleep and an associated hysteria. She is also subject to a near-forced mesmerism leading to her suspicion of – and near arrest for – murder by Sir Donald Mackinnon, a superstitious old general who suspects Olga of being a votary of the evil goddess Kalee. Throughout the narrative, Olga Trevelyan shows a lack of autonomy in the face of masculine assertion, similar to Lucy Westenra's lack of will, and relies on the men around her to move her life forward, only suggesting her capability for independence when she is sleeping. Each of the men who take charge of Lucy and Olga vary greatly in their motivations but they are all embodied indications of a wider belief that women are unable to govern themselves, even in matters such as sleeping, and this belief is shown to be justified by the women's propensity to transgress social and moral laws as they slumber.

Dr Tennant's rapid diagnosis that Olga is a somnambulist is based on his love for her but nonetheless is correct, thereby demonstrating his keen sense of perception. His understanding of the situation echoes Van Helsing's ability to read and react to events nearly instantaneously, and thus reinstates some trust in the medical profession, but more importantly it justifies his subsequent protectiveness and control over Olga and her well-being. He is the first to tend to her when she becomes ill from her friend's attempt to wake her from a nightmare, and this is the point where she is relegated to the position of a woman who is incapable of looking after herself. Dr Tennant works unobtrusively to control Olga, rushing to be

at her side when she is ill, but his gentle manner in his dealings does not sufficiently conceal the fact that he has a firm grasp on her sleep from the beginning of their relationship. Following their engagement, this is increased and he attempts to control her even when he is absent, giving strict instructions that she is not to be mesmerised for '[s]he isn't strong, and she's had a great deal of nervous excitement to upset her lately, and she should be kept from anything that will excite her in any way' (KS 36), and expecting them to be followed without any consultation with Olga herself. Tennant is clearly identified as not being the attending physician throughout the text, but his access to her is aided by his status as a medical doctor. Furthermore, his assumption that she is his to protect is justified by his love for her, eventually being formally sanctioned in their engagement. By accepting his proposal, Olga immediately and willingly relinquishes what little control she has to him showing her to be one who is easily manipulated.

This suggestion of Olga's lack of will does not go unnoticed in the narrative; her sleep-walking and subsequent shock from being awoken, is explained by her doctor – the second one of the text – Hazleby, who dismissively refers to her as 'a poor, nervous, weak-minded creature' (KS 19). It is thus she is portrayed for the majority of the narrative, fainting on sight of the dead woman who has washed ashore and suffering shock after shock from a series of unfortunate incidents, which leave her emotional and prone to hysterical outbursts. The abrupt treatment of Olga and her condition by Hazleby is juxtaposed with Dr Tennant's loving protection and understanding of her illness, not only emphasising the differing portrayals of medical men in terms of personality but in their practices. Dr Hazleby internally mocks Mrs Tristram's request to medicate Olga following her unsuccessful mesmerism, contemptuously thinking:

Ladies […] regard medical science as a form of magic, and drugs as a sort of charm or fetish. Their universal remedy for all the ills that female flesh is heir to, from paralysis or heart disease down to fainting

or hysteria, is to 'give her something'. What, is immaterial […] a drug, a drug, in the name of all that's merciful. (KS 43)

His scornful dismissal of such an attitude is founded in his view of women's lack of scientific understanding (having already dismissed Olga for the same deficiency) rather than any professional objection to administering a sedative to Olga – and yet he immediately accedes and drugs the patient, exposing himself as being just as deficient as the women he has derided. This is done without his patient's knowledge, as the doctor slips his narcotic into a glass of wine and deceives her into drinking it – a narcotic which is coincidentally the same substance used to subdue her in her childhood dedication to Kalee. In this way Dr Hazleby ably demonstrates his similarity to other egoistic doctors, who rush to treat their patient and interfere with their sleep without ample thought given to the consequences. In this case, these consequences are dire, as Olga awakens from her drugged haze to find that she has apparently murdered her friend in her sleep, as fated by her mesmerism.

The final man who can be charged with this interference, again to Olga's detriment, is the mesmerist Mr. Keen, who is described as a sinister man with 'eyes that seem totally devoid of all life and meaning' (KS 37). The mesmerist insists on demonstrating on Olga despite her unwillingness, the primary reason being that he overheard a sceptical remark that she makes during his display. In this way, Olga's mesmerism – which results in so much trauma – can be seen to originate in the petty and retributory act of a man with wounded pride. It is clear from his manner towards Olga Trevelyan that to have insulted him in front of an audience is a matter worthy of punishment, and he 'sternly, in a tone of command' instructs her to take a seat in the middle of the room. Olga, feeling pressured into taking part in this spectacle despite her deep discomfort 'reluctantly, but obedient like a child' obeys him (ibid). Once again, Olga is shown to be lacking in agency; as 'the man's strong will seem[s] absolutely indisputable' and she is unable to 'make the necessary effort of will to disobey it' (ibid). Mr Keen exemplifies those men who have power over the vulnerable but misuse it;

his egoism and cruelty towards the young woman are elicited from a sense of outrage that he, 'the great mesmerist' has been doubted, and so uses his abilities to reassert his superiority. It is this act, combined with her drugging by Dr Hazleby, which lead to Olga's final sleep-walking episode, in which she dreams that she must strangle her friend and attempts to do so.

Alan Tennant, returning to find his fiancée is suspected of murder, sums up the incident by accusing Mr Keen and Mackinnon of bringing these events to fruition, each in turn responsible for interfering with Olga – when by rights, only Tennant should be able to do so. He accuses the mesmerist of practising irresponsibly, putting her in a trance 'without one moment's inquiry into her character or constitution or previous state of health' and accusingly states that this is 'nothing short of wickedness' and only done 'for a moment's applause at an evening party' (KS 66). Mackinnon is similarly chastised, this time for being 'so full of [his] foolish supernatural explanation' that he is responsible for 'the commission of an atrocious murder, borrowed from the rites of a half-civilised race, with every circumstance of horror and stealth and blood-thirstiness' (ibid). Throughout his accusations, Alan Tennant repeatedly condemns Olga as being weak of mind and frail of will, using these points as a means of defending her from the charge of murder. Just as seen in the treatment and portrayal of Lucy Westenra, the weakness of a woman is used to indicate her innocence, just as strength of body and mind is repeatedly shown to be detrimental. Furthermore, in emphasising Olga's helplessness, Tennant is also justifying his own dominance of her – even as he criticises others for attempting to do the same. Keen and Mackinnon are shown to be archaic in their understanding of such spiritual matters, and ill-equipped to deal with the enactment of disordered sleep, much like Hazleby before them. It is only by allowing Olga to out-sleep her mesmerism and the narcotic, that Tennant ensures her safety from future nightmares and sleep-walking events. Thus, in Olga Trevelyan's experience the importance of natural sleep, safe from intrusion and interference, and indeed from one's own

sleep-disorders, is shown to be the final remedy that is required in order to redress imbalances in the sleeping and waking worlds.

The misplaced medical assistance seen in 'Kalee's Shrine' and *Dracula* is also present in a number of other narratives, even when the figure of the doctor is not always so prominent as seen in the above texts. The perils of resorting to narcotics as a means of interfering with sleep (whether by intention or by coincidence) is present too in 'Pallinghurst Barrow' (1892), in which a young man of nervous disposition is prescribed a sedative as a pain-killer, but finds that it disrupts his sleep far more than his own troubles have done thus far, just as Seward sees happen with both Lucy and Mina, who become indisposed by drugs that he has prescribed. Rudolph Reeves is a guest at the house-party of a Mrs Bouverie-Barton who is described as 'intensely modern' and 'a famous Woman's Rights woman' (PB 151). Reeves, being a journalist and 'a man of science' but with a 'poet's soul' has been sent to the country by a doctor after a nervous breakdown, and is unsure of what to make of both his peers, observing them from a distance and managing to displease his hostess by talking to her 'frail and pretty […] fairy-like' daughter of superstitious matters, something that the former seems to hold in disdain, as befitting a modern woman. Reeves however has occasion to rely on his fellow guests when he feels the onset of a painful headache and fears that it will disturb his sleep, pulling aside a Dr Porter and begging for some respite. As is common in such nineteenth-century cases in which a gothic doctor is appealed to by a patient for relief, Porter with 'brisk medical confidence' promises him relief and in a short time is present in Reeves' room with a small bottle of green liquid, which he carefully prepares for his patient (PB 160). Despite pointing out that the liquid should provide a cure in 'less than half an hour' and that it should only be used 'with caution' and carefully measured, Dr Porter leaves the bottle with Reeves thereby allowing for the possibility of misuse. The medicine which Porter administers[40] does not

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[40] It should be pointed out that this is simultaneously referred to as *Cannabis Indica* and *Soma* - the first of which was indeed used in British medicine throughout the nineteenth century but the second of which is an as yet unidentified plant used in ancient India as a

work as promised and Reeves generously pours himself a second dose, without taking care of the dosage. While Reeves' headache does not disappear, he does find himself in a strange mood which causes him to leave the house and investigate a blue light over the country-side, encouraged by his hostess's daughter. It is this last action which exposes Reeves to danger, as he finds himself surrounded by 'savages' who are also 'spirits' - 'the two most terrible and dreadful foes of civilised experience' (PB 163). With great effort Reeves manages to escape the throng, who wish to sacrifice him to their king, and is found the next morning weak and 'mumbling incoherently' and has to be put to bed to recover.

Whilst this haunting is a yearly occurrence in Pallinghurst Barrow, it seems unlikely that Reeves would have experienced it had he not been drugged by soma. After the second dose, the young man finds himself in a 'semi-mesmeric state of self-induced hypnotism when a command, of whatever sort or by whomever given, seems to compel obedience' (PB 161-162). The drug gives him 'false courage' and it is this which encourages him to go and investigate the ostensibly supernatural happenings taking place. On his journey to the Barrow, Reeves finds himself disoriented, and again when he is attempting to flee from the crowds of ghostly savages, he is too weak to run for the Soma has depleted his strength. All in all, Reeves' experience suggests the effects of a strong hallucination, brought about by a hastily administered drug. Dr Parsons only shows mild contrition at having given his patient a strong drug without monitoring its effects, and in this way demonstrates his lack of competence in such serious matters. He is casual in admitting his mistake when he puts Reeves back to bed, saying he 'oughtn't have exhibited Cannabis in his excited condition' or at least 'have watched its effect more closely' (PB 169). Like Seward, Parsons is irresponsible in his use of drugs indicating a modern haste when using a 'fine old crusted remedy of [their] ancestor' (PB 160), an example of an imperfect combination of old and new knowledge. However, Reeves is also somewhat to blame. Unlike Mina who resists the

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means of divine communication. In this case it can be assumed that Allen is referring to a fictional drug.

use of narcotics for some time, or others who are unknowingly drugged, he immediately pleads with the doctor for some drug, fearful of the effect that his headache will have on his sleep. Whilst this shows the desperation that one may feel at the fear of insomnia, it also illustrates the importance of respecting the natural boundaries of sleep.

Arthur Machen's *The Novel of the White Powder* is another example in which a doctor flouts his limits with grave consequences for his patient, an over-zealous student who begins to suffer from his hours spent studying. Francis Leicester returns from university with a single-minded aim to become an accomplished lawyer. His life outside of academia falls to the way-side and his health deteriorates, with his sleep in particular being disturbed by 'fearful dreams' and beginning to look 'miserably wrinkled and despondent' (WP 67-68). Upon relentless petitioning from his sister, Helen, Leicester calls in a Dr Haberden who cheerfully prescribes 'an innocent looking white powder' which he promises will do 'great things' (WP 68). The doctor is not wrong; and Leicester shows a marked improvement - even leaving the house willingly and returning home in the early hours, committed to exploring 'the pleasures of his own country' (WP 69). Leicester's antics of the night are described in a limited way; all that is known is that he has 'felt what it is to be young and a man' and he is keen to continue this experience (WP 69).

Eventually, the frequency of Leicester's nightly trips begins to concern his sister and the gradual, but shocking change in his appearance from one who is 'handsomer than most' to one who is unrecognisable brings her to tears (WP 67). Helen returns to the doctor who has prescribed her brother this mood-altering substance only for him to dismiss her fears and send her away with vague assurances, leaving her 'all confusion, terror and sorrow' (WP 71). As her brother gets worse she again goes to Dr Haberden, looking for answers and it is only when he finds that Francis Leicester is continuing the regimen of the white powder, despite his improvements in mood, that his professional curiosity is piqued. He interrogates the chemist who supplied the prescription and takes away a sample, suspecting that 'something wrong' has happened to the drug. After

his analysis the doctor returns of his own accord and requests to see his patient, expecting that they have 'made a good deal of fuss over nothing' but leaving with his opinion transformed, 'an unutterable horror shining in his eyes' and babbling of his encounter with 'that man' (WP 74). Dr Haberden's professional demeanour is shaken, so much so that, despite his complicity in the apparent detriment to Francis Leicester's condition, he detaches himself from his patient, decisively stating that he 'can do nothing in this house' (WP 74). The sudden departure of the physician who both Francis and Helen have relied upon to guide them leaves the situation to deteriorate, and whilst Dr Haberden does return one final time at the end of the narrative, the shock of the visit is such that he sells his practice and departs for the New World never to return. His only helpful act is to leave the young Miss Leicester with a manuscript explaining what he has found; that the drug he prescribed had undergone some 'process' which has transferred it from an 'uncommon salt' to a '*Vinum Sabbath*' - a substance used by devils to embody their most iniquitous desires, and it is this which Francis Leicester had been ingesting, slowly transforming into an embodiment of his own sins.

The position of Dr Haberden in this narrative, as well his treatment of his patient, shares some similarities with Dr Seward and Dr Parsons who also show themselves to be somewhat apathetic in their medical practices. Haberden is quick to prescribe a drug for an unspecified malady just as Seward is wont to dispense narcotics, and both react with guilt and fear at the discovery of their mistakes. However, where Seward attempts to rectify his errors Haberden is quick to wash his hands of them, much like Parsons. At least in Parson's favour it can be said that his patient is relatively safe. Leicester, on the other hand, is beyond help by the time Haberden speaks to him. Whilst it may be true that there is nothing more that Dr Haberden can do, selling his practice and moving abroad insinuates no small feelings of culpability on his part, perhaps even suggesting the possibility of a legal recourse against him. Francis Leicester's experience is an unprecedented accident – as Haberden says, due to 'chance and coincidence' and 'a process so complicated and so delicate' that it could not be reproduced

(WP 81) – but the powder that Haberden is so quick to prescribe is an 'uncommon salt' which has not been used for some time.

In his role as a doctor, more caution could have been exercised in recommending this weird powder, which is notably different from narcotics in the other texts. Whereas in *Dracula* and 'Pallinghurst Barrow' the substances are or seem to be sedatives, which assist in inducing sleep, this white powder has more of a stimulatory effect negating the need for rest. Immediately after he begins taking the medicine, Leicester's mood becomes elevated and his once sombre demeanour gives way to more light-hearted antics, promising his sister an impromptu trip to Paris and chattering to her in a distinctly energetic way before departing for a walk. Despite being out for most of the night, the narrator finds her brother in a 'merry mood' the next day and he continues to revel until 'the cold hours of the morning', without sharing his adventures with his sister. He also begins to lose his appetite, his appearance is altered and soon his desire to leave his home nightly is replaced with a self-enforced seclusion, as he locks himself in his room and refuses to leave it. In this way Francis Leicester exhibits all the signs of an addict who is no longer able to maintain a hedonistic lifestyle, and Dr Haberden becomes more culpable in the neglect of his patient. Once again, a fear of disordered sleep is so potent as to require immediate diagnosis and prescription with a disturbing outcome.

The majority of doctors in the gothic texts studied here are shown to follow William Hughes' aforementioned pattern of being either egoists or incompetent, though arguably this has been shown to be simultaneously possible. In any occasion where sleep is interacted with by a medical doctor - be it in treating sleep disorders, or in inducing sleep in a patient for their own benefit - a risk is undertaken, and the many misdiagnoses seen above are indicative of the dangers of behaving over-confidently. Of the doctors observed, Van Helsing's defining divergence from other medical practitioners of the gothic is the value which he places in traditionalist or ancient ideas, whilst still utilising modern discoveries. Furthermore, his quickness to use this knowledge of the supernatural is balanced by

ensuring that it is only as a *response* to events that have already begun to transpire. Where other doctors are responsible for the unfortunate happenings as they endanger their patients by relying on solely rationalist ideas or else (as will be shown) misuse supernatural knowledge, Van Helsing employs mysticism and spirituality to stem the tide of evil, combining his scientific and supernatural understanding with a healthy dose of religious sanction, as he calls upon a higher power to assist in their fight. In this way, Van Helsing is not simply a doctor but also part priest and part father-figure; he shows respect for the forces that he uses, be they related to religion, the supernatural, or sleep itself and is careful not to transgress natural boundaries.

The final interaction to be discussed is that of an antagonist forcefully gaining control over another by some method of manipulating their sleep. This is seen most commonly in the vampire who is able to exert control over the minds and bodies of his or her victims. Dracula does this with a number of humans and animals in the text using brute force over his victims to physically as well as mentally compel them to carry out his wishes. In contrast, other vampire-figures demonstrate a gentler approach; Carmilla entrances Laura through her friendship and some confusing romantic overtures; Clarimonde uses her beauty and seemingly genuine love of him to influence Romuald to renegade on his vows to the church; and Helen Vaughan is able to influence her lovers with her wicked talk. In all cases, however, there is a common goal of manipulating their victims' desires through near-sleep states to achieve their own ends. This is seen also in the non-vampire figure of Dr Raymond in *The Great God Pan*; while his patient-cum-victim Mary is perfectly willing to take part in his demented experiment, there is a clear indication that she, as an orphaned servant girl and possibly Raymond's lover - has no real choice in the matter. Whilst other doctors such as Seward and Haberden are approached by patients for help, in other cases the doctor clearly disregards the well-being of his patients for scientific gain, and is primarily able to do this by controlling their sleep.

To begin with the only human antagonist to be discussed, Dr Raymond is unique in that he is left nearly unscathed by his outlandish experiments and instead it is wider society which suffers for his crimes. Dr Raymond is a scientist who combines his understanding of modern science with atavistic supernatural knowledge, in a bid to extend his knowledge of 'transcendental medicine', to 'lift the veil' and see what no other being has seen (GGP 183). His egoism is evident in his boastful manner, and the derisive way he speaks to Clarke, his friend who is present to witness the experiment, dismissing the latter as 'timid' whilst speaking highly of his own accomplishments, which he credits to be decades ahead of his peers (GGP 184). In his ground-breaking experiments, he intends to drug and operate on a young servant girl, an orphan he rescued from poverty, manipulating her brain cells in order to see Pan, the god of mischief and panic.

From the moment Clarke enters the laboratory, in the dead of night, he is aware of a heavy atmosphere - the room is dark, made so by the 'heavy shade' of the lamp. The moon shines in from a glass dome, casting a 'sad grey light' on the doctor's clandestine activity, and emphasising that the two men should by rights be asleep. As Dr Raymond makes some last preparations, Clarke does indeed fall asleep - due to a noxious odour which pervades the laboratory, a smell which Clarke is unable to identify and yet is deeply affected by. Interestingly, Raymond remains unaffected by this chemical, and continues his work for some time, until Clarke is started awake. Clarke is not the subject of Raymond's study, nor does he have anything to fear from his friend, but he is still unwittingly drugged by these experiments being conducted and this is indicative of their unnatural nature. When Mary enters the room, she is similarly subdued, with use of the 'green phial' whose smell puts her in deep sedation but unlike Clarke who has the leisure of drifting off slowly, Mary shows signs of distress; her face grows' whiter than her dress' and she 'struggles faintly' before falling asleep (GGP 189). That she finally falls unconscious with a 'feeling of submission' with her arms crossed like 'a little child about to say her prayers' is telling of the vulnerability of her sleeping form and emphasises the evil of Dr Raymond for using her in such a way (ibid), and he is

representative of the idea that a 'nineteenth-century scientist is a megalomaniac who masters and controls the world. The world is personified as a woman whom the scientist penetrates' (Daffron 1967: 81). Enforcing sleep is simply the starting point for a great crime against man's laws - and Raymond literally penetrates Mary with a scalpel, leading to her eventual mental breakdown and the creation of Helen Vaughan - and Raymond stands as an example of the caution that should be exercised in all such medical endeavours.

Dr Raymond is a rarity in the texts being studied in that he is a mortal man who has terrorised a young girl, rather than a supernatural being. In other narratives, the overarching figure, the creature which disrupts the sleep of its victims, is the vampire. Carmilla has already been shown to disrupt the sleep routines of Laura's households but she also manipulates them for her own ends. Upon their first meeting, a bond is formed as they recognise each other from their dreams as children, when Laura was visited in her room by the vision of a beautiful stranger, now known to be Carmilla. She speaks of waking up in bed as a child, and seeing a 'pretty face' belonging to a young woman watching over her. Instead of being scared, Laura is lulled into sleep again by the mysterious stranger, who 'lay down beside on the bed' (CRM 246). The comfort that Laura feels in this presence causes her to fall asleep again but she is immediately then woken up 'by a sensation as if two needles ran into my breast very deep at the same moment' (ibid); Laura screams and the stranger disappears, not to be seen again until they meet twelve years later. This interaction between Laura and Carmilla, and its relationship to sleep predicts the template for their relationship in later years; unlike the male vampire who is shown to be horrifying and violent in encounters with his victims, Carmilla entrances Laura with beauty and affection. Just as she does many years later, Carmilla lulls Laura into a false sense of security - in this case literally, by getting in bed with her and soothing her until she is disarmed and can be fed on. The sexual nature of Carmilla's relationship with Laura is also predicted here; Carmilla has her hands placed under the blanket of Laura's bed, and caresses her suggesting sexual contact which is echoed years

later. Laura is enamoured with her companion, but as they spend more time together Carmilla's ardour begins to embarrass her and they clash on the subject of religion. Soon after Laura begins to experience nightmares of being attacked. It is evident that Carmilla is attempting to feed on Laura just as she did when Laura was young, however this proves more difficult and thus Carmilla resorts to using a charm to influence Laura's sleep. In achieving this Carmilla shows herself to be remarkably cunning, inventing a story of being protected by the charm from a marauder so that Laura will keep it close by. Indeed, as Laura begins to sleep with it, her slumber is 'delightfully deep and dreamless' and the only complaint that she has is that she wakens with a luxurious 'sense of lassitude' and 'melancholy' (CRM 280). Despite this, Laura is unwilling to give up her token and soon her countenance suffers, as does her mood and she begins to find herself taking ill without knowing why.

Whether at the hands of a doctor or a supernatural being, sleep is enforced upon the patient-victim in a myriad of ways and for a number of reasons, varying from a benevolent attempt to protect or treat someone, as in the case of a doctor who may exercise this power by administering sleeping aids so that their patient may rest and recover, to more sinister cases such as those of a vampire, who use mesmerism to force the victim to carry out acts which they would be unwilling to do in their waking life. At the most basic level, however, these varying scenarios share a common aim, namely the fulfilment of the executor's desires through interfering with another's sleep and this is made easier when the victims' own desperation to have their sleep manipulated is manifested. In many ways, Carmilla's interference with Laura's sleep is a unique blend of the two, in that it is not as unwelcome as in other cases where antagonists are exceptionally forceful in gaining control of others. Much like the plea for assistance from Rudolph Reeves to Doctor Parsons in 'Pallinghurst Barrow' Laura seeks out a remedy for her disturbed sleep which Carmilla is only too willing to provide, and Laura is similarly eager to use. In persisting on sleeping with the pendant which is so effective but leaves her looking 'ill' Laura displays

a fear of poor sleep - just as that seen in Francis Leicester and Rudolph Reeves, who only seek help at the realisation that their slumber will suffer.

The anxiety that the above characters display with regard to nightmare and insomnia are a key vulnerability for any external force to exploit, as sleepers desperately employ drugs and superstition to salvage them from inconsistent rest, all the while unwittingly endangering themselves. By adopting unnatural methods of falling asleep they are subsequently unable to wake up when they should - disrupting the usual dynamic of the sleeping and waking worlds. Interfering with the natural rhythm of their bodies and simultaneously ignoring the innate defence mechanisms that present themselves in insomnia and unhappy dreams, is tantamount to these characters encroaching natural boundaries. On a smaller but still significant scale, this echoes the transgressions of more overtly evil-minded scientists, who attempt to extend their influence over realms which should be out of their reach. Any doctors - whether well-meaning or otherwise - who enable this breach by providing drugs are rarely seen to do so for the benefit of their patient, and reactionary responses involving the use of modern medicine to quash an ancient evil such as a vampire, spirits of savages, and indeed the inherent capacity of evil present in man, is met with swift retribution in the form of a worsened condition or death of the patient. The overarching message of such narratives is to be wary of such ideas that disregard traditional knowledge (a common moral in gothic texts) but also to respect natural boundaries such as those governing human sleep.

Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to demonstrate the social importance of sleep and how it relates to nineteenth-century gothic literature. In the study of this subject, it becomes apparent that sleep and its associated states are closely linked to the society in which one sleeps, and are reflected in the literature of that society. By approaching this subject from the point of view of two of the great nineteenth-century obsessions – sex and death – the discussion of sleep is presented in relation to two immensely important social events, and thus unveils a sociology of sleep specific to the nineteenth century, and to the gothic literature it inspired. Furthermore, as with other social acts, sleep is subject to a number of rules, rituals, and expectations. Thus, just as both sex and death were arguably subject to numerous legislative and moral discourses in the nineteenth century, sleepers too were liable to such control. By making choices to adhere to, or reject, these rules, sleepers are seen to be making a statement regarding their acceptance of public control in their private life. In these gothic texts, there lie the same transgressions and subversions which the genre enacts with other social systems, exploiting weakness and anxieties in readers through contemporary references.

This power which the gothic exercises through its discussion and manipulation of sleep is partially related to the universality of the occurrence: everyone sleeps and often at similar times, and this is a uniting realisation - but even more so, it is to do with frequency and visibility. Sleep is, more often than not, a nightly occurrence which keeps it at the relative forefront of our consciousness. Unlike other physiological acts and requirements, sleep is an experience that is entered into openly: to admit to sleep is not seen as shameful, whereas other such physical experiences as sex and producing waste have been, and are still, considered to be shameful to the agent. However, sleep also requires a sequestering of the body of one who undertakes it, and often occurs in private. Whilst the act might seem individualistic, in actual fact, it occupies a significant place in

society and one's relationships. There is great importance attached to sleeping as it is considered a necessity, therefore it must be respected by those around the sleeper, and society as a whole. Acknowledgment of this fact is implicit in the interactions between the sleeper and other facets of society, which have an interactional relationship, mutually benefitting (or harming) one another. If this relationship is successful, it can result in well-rested citizens performing their social roles readily. Should it be disrupted however, both the individual and wider society suffer: the first through mental and physical exhaustion, and the latter by being populated with those unwilling or unable to fulfil their social function. Thus sleep is not a solitary act, nor is it an 'annihilation of experience' as it has been considered in history (Kroker 2007: 4).

It has been seen that the implied intimacy of sleepers and their companions can be explored through the lens of sexuality, incorporating some key ideas regarding libidinous impulses and how they were to be realised. Bodily desires - already a point of contention in the nineteenth century - are now portrayed as means of bodily betrayal, as overwhelming urges encourage men and women to act against the bounds of propriety. These sexual threats are presented as external embodiments, in highly sexualised antagonists, but undeniably arise within the characters themselves. This then leads to a dual fear: that of being molested in sleep, but also of molesting another. In this perversion of vulnerability, gothic sleepers and those around them mirror the duality and hypocrisy of such fears in nineteenth-century society; just as (supposedly) upstanding citizens were complicit in the degeneration of nineteenth-century society, so too are gothic characters in their own moral decline. This sexual iniquity becomes more transgressive when it is directed toward beings who are dead, but appear alive. The carnival of death and mourning - so culturally intertwined with nineteenth-century systems and attitudes - is thus presented in extremis. By succumbing, or wishing to succumb, to such dead lovers as Arria Marcella and Clarimonde, gothic men and women bastardise those traditions which were intended to convey respect and affection for deceased loved ones. Similarly, the terror that is present in

such texts as *Dracula* and *Carmilla* is not a response to the fear of dying so much as it is of not dying, as the gothic subverts traditionally human - even innate - attitudes toward survival, and threatens its victims with the inability to die. In such a way, it accesses primal fears, whilst also using the spirituality of the reader and Evangelical beliefs prevalent in society to suggest a horrifying alternative to the idea of a return to God after passing. The real-life gothic which was present in fears regarding vivisepulture are also referenced here, as claustrophobic ideas present themselves not only in the literal visions of vampires in their graves, but in which a soul is never released from its mortal body and trapped on earth after death.

These fears, combined with the inherent vulnerability of slumber, lead to concerns for the safety of the sleeper in gothic literature, and it is through this fear that social roles of sleepers and their associates become visible. However, none of these are explicated nor explained. Instead, the protective postures that so many men in these gothic tales adopt in aid of women is instinctive, and a reflection of the collective understanding that exists in matters of sleep. Standing guard over a vulnerable sleeper in the gothic is understood - and proven - to be a surprisingly effective remedy against such supernatural evil as Carmilla or the Count, even though it is arguably somewhat illogical considering the alleged supernatural strength and powers of such creatures. Furthermore, sleeping with another person is also considered to be a reasonable defence, with simple ideas of 'safety in numbers' often proving to be sufficient to repel predators. However, the emotional and physical implications of both such relationships suggest that such an interaction is not fitting to be enacted between the Muscular Christian men in such texts, as relationships such as these are distinctly sentimental. Thus, whilst men often take on the roles of watcher, keeping vigil at a sleeper's bedside, co-sleeping is only seen amongst close female friends and married couples in the texts, and only explicitly discussed in cases of the former. In both these cases, the sleeping body is seen to have a right to be protected, and trusted and loved ones are quick to take on such responsibility. To allow another, or others, to remain in the vicinity as one falls asleep, trust that they will not be harmed or taken advantage of is

demonstrated by the sleeper, thus the relationship between a sleeper and their co-sleeper or watcher is an important one in these narratives. Not only does it provide a means of defence against atavistic forces or unknown maladies, but it is a valuable demonstration of positive social relationships, in tales which are usually concerned with negative ones.

In many ways, the relationship of a sleeping body with another person is more intimate than those between waking individuals as a mutual trust and emotional closeness become apparent through such interactions. During sleep, the body is unguarded in more ways than one: physical harm from an external force is a possibility, but more likely threats come from one's own sleeping body due to a lack of control. Whilst in waking life, self-control can be (and is) exerted over one's own actions, in sleep there is a loss of conscious mental function, and therefore, a lack of control over one's own (visible) body in the waking world. In this way, the sleeper is more exposed than if they were awake: embarrassing bodily functions such as snoring or passing wind might occur, reactions to sexual dreams might be enacted through the physical body (and therefore become apparent to those around the sleeper), and even secrets might be revealed through sleep-talking. In such occurrences, which compromise the sleeper as they rest, and could have a lasting effect on the same individual when they awaken, understanding and empathy are required in order to protect their social reputation.

Mina and Lucy in *Dracula* are the best examples of this, as Mina chivalrously spares Lucy the shame that her sleeping body has exposed her to a number of times, such as her sleep-walking episode which they 'never refer to' (DR 117), but which nonetheless hints at a mental instability and some level of social - though not necessarily sexual - impropriety. This is seen again in 'Kalee's Shrine' as Olga is also spared the knowledge of her transgressive sleep-talking, in which she admits to seeing Dr Tennant in a 'maiden dream' (and thus betraying her feelings for him) expressly due to the fact that 'it might make her feel awkward' (KS 18). And later, despite her attempts to murder her friend, both victim and would-be murderer are 'spared till long afterward all knowledge of the awful drama in which they

had unconsciously played the part of chief actors' (KS 73). In both these cases, the sensitivity that co-sleepers and watchers extend toward their wards is indicative that protection of a sleeper is not necessarily enacted to prevent physical harm, but also emotional and moral harm. Furthermore, there is an acknowledgement that a visible sleeping body is not necessarily a peaceful one, an implicit contrast to numerous descriptions of serenely beautiful sleeping woman which are present in the gothic.

In opposition to descriptions mentioned above, in which friends take rest with, or doctors watch over vulnerable people, and discuss it openly, the privacy which is extended over co-sleeping married couples is telling. It becomes apparent that the nineteenth-century obsession for (controlling) sex extends to such activities as a husband and wife sharing a bed, and the 'transgressive' literature of the gothic is unwilling to breach that privacy - despite offering much more explicit depictions of non-marital spaces, such as Clarimonde and Raymond's shared bedchamber in *La Morte Amoureuse*, and Arria's boudoir in 'Arria Marcella'. Even Jonathan Harker, who has previously been seen in an explicit and morally compromising position in *Dracula,* has a veil drawn over his and Mina's private space. Such modesty serves to uphold social connotations of sex with the sleeping body and the sleeping space, but for modern readers, the glaring omissions simply magnify the implication of the private acts which take place behind the bedroom door. Social propriety, which governed nineteenth-century households, is present in the gothic, and whilst many other laws are broken, one which remains intact is the view of a wife as an angelic being, rather than a human with desires.

One of the most important conclusions arrived at through these previous chapters is the link between sleepers and their social functions and expectations, particularly with regards to gender. Written in a century which saw substantial upheaval in terms of masculine and feminine identities, particularly regarding the rapid superiority of the independent woman, and visibility of the feminised man. Sleep in the gothic becomes a reflection of those anxieties, as monstrous versions of those real-life threats are found in the gothic, represented through supernatural beings,

equating moral decline with death and eternal damnation. Certainly considering the discussion of the importance of self-control, and conformity to traditional social norms, at the forefront of many criticisms of the gothic, it might be expected that any of those who were seen to be breaking with their traditional roles were punished. However, allusions to such beings in the gothic tales studied are inconsistent, instead providing nuanced portrayals of expectations for each gender, as well as varying the punishments for their wrongs in a number of ways. The behaviours and consequences of illicit actions vary greatly depending on who the transgressors are, and similarly, how they are breaking with social laws. Whilst antagonists tend to suffer the same fates as one another, an often violent return to the dust whence they came, mortal men and women are treated rather differently as victims, even when compared to other members of their sex. Such discrepancies in the climaxes of these narratives are to be expected, as they are written by different authors from both British and French backgrounds, at different times in the nineteenth century, and aiming for different narrative effects. However, the formulaic nature of the gothic is one of those things understood by many, encompassing so many tropes and traditions as to be considered almost predictable. Thus, the variations in punishment and outcome should not be viewed as mere narrative individuality, but assessed for their reasoning which is arguably based in the social roles crafting such fiction.

Amongst the male protagonists who are attacked in *Dracula, La Morte Amoureuse*, 'Arria Marcella' and 'Amour Dure', all are united in their relative complicity. However, Jonathan faces far more severe repercussions than other victims of beautiful seductresses, such as Romuald and Octavian who are simply left with memories of their adventures. And Spiridion Trepka, whose only fault is to become obsessed with a historical figure and to vandalise a statue is struck dead by an unknown hand, found stabbed, and the only one of the male protagonists considered who does not survive his encounter. In these cases, the nature of the crimes must be considered; the transgressions which Jonathan, Romuald and Octavian are guilty of are sexual. As young, unmarried men,

isolated from the company of others, their attraction to their respective seductresses is not unsurprising. Considering the relative ease with which men consorted with prostitutes, these men are not startling aberrations amongst their gender. Whilst all three need to repent (in the form of marriage, or a return to religion), their experiences are more comparable to a simple indiscretion than a moral crime. On the other hand, Spiridion Trepka gives himself over to his desire for Medea, realising it by carrying out her final command. In this way, he is guilty of criminality – a much more pressing concern for men than sexual decorum.

In contrast to these men, all of whom are somewhat to blame for their own attacks, Lucy is comparatively innocent. Not only is her sleepwalking an unconscious activity but her acquiescence to the Count's advances is out of her control. Following this initial attack, every interaction Lucy has with the Count, and every indication she gives of welcoming his attack, are again unconscious acts - even the resistance that she displays towards the healing flowers and talismans that Van Helsing surrounds her with is only evident in sleep. Furthermore, she does not seem particularly committed to these unconscious acts of rebellion; when she is in the midst of her sleepwalking, Mina notes her immediate docility 'when her will is thwarted in any way' (DR 108). Mina too becomes subject to the same attacks by the same vampire. She is unknowingly violated a number of times as she sleeps next to her husband, culminating in a dramatic final attack witnessed by many people. She is visibly impure, marked with a scar on her forehead and 'unclean' even to herself (DR 353). However, despite these similarities, Mina survives this attack and Lucy faces death for her actions. Whilst this can be read as an indictment of her unconscious, threatening desires, it can be further considered a reflection of the ideas regarding the role that women played in moral guardianship, with Lucy being shown to be lacking in the desired traits. But further, it can be considered in relation to marital status; Mina is attacked after her marriage to Jonathan but Lucy becomes Dracula's victim before marriage; tantamount to her being seduced and sexually tainted before her wedding night. Peter Cryle states that the 'moral imprint of [a loss of virginity] is such

that, for better or for worse, the woman's sexual life is likely to be forever governed by the memory of her wedding night' (2009: 48). That Lucy's 'first time' is with *Dracula,* leaves little recourse but for her to be redeemed through death, for she is precluded from entering a marriage with Arthur after such defilement. Thus, Lucy faces a (non)virgin sacrifice, and a return to purity through death. From these comparisons it becomes evident that, even when the parallels between characters are extremely similar, their fates are very different. By and large, amongst the main characters, the number and frequency of attacks on women is much higher than for men, but the death rate is relatively equal. Whilst gender is an important factor in relation to overall well-being in a narrative, it is not the only one – and simplistic assumptions that men simply 'get away' with unconsciously attracting their predators, but women do not, are challenged. Instead a number of other factors need to be considered, with social class and marital status becoming relevant.

In considering the sleeping form of villains and supernatural beings in the gothic, there are a number of similarities with human sleepers. In all cases studies, theories of physiognomy and phrenology become relevant, with a sleeper's morality being visible upon sight. The sight of such creatures can be both horrifying and arousing, but in either way a powerful influence is exerted over those who look upon them, and may even wish to kill them.[41] This is the vampires' only defence as they – unlike humans – are unable to regain consciousness before dawn. It becomes apparent that in order to defeat a vampire it is necessary to overcome such entrancement, by virtue of the fact that there is ultimately nothing that these creatures can do should their sleeping bodies be found by their slayers. Furthermore, the sleep of the vampire is shown to be distinct from humans in a number of ways: they sleep alone and during the day, therefore rejecting both the social interactions which come with human sleep, and the social systems that are in place to ensure a unified experience.

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[41] See Chapter Two: Physical Appearances.

This thesis has attempted to examine key ideas which link sleep, society, and the gothic in a number of well-known, and lesser-known texts. However, sleep - being a universal necessity - is reflected in literature in droves. Furthermore, in gothic literature, vast swathes of action are set at, and centred around, the night-time. This results in a potential corpus that is almost overwhelming, with an extensive number of perspectives available for consideration, from which only a few have been chosen. With this in mind, suggestions for further opportunities for research are presented in the knowledge that they are by no means an exhaustive list, but nonetheless valuable areas of investigation.

In the consideration of altered states of consciousness - those experiences between sleeping and waking - discussion has been limited to (lucid) dreams and a consideration of mesmerism and hypnotism in those gothic novels where sleep is already a prominent theme, and they are seen to be an interaction between the two states. In *Dracula* Lucy Westenra slips in and out of the trance state the count has inflicted on her as she falls asleep and wakes up, and even during her sleep is seen to exhibit signs of a change within her mental (and therefore, physical) state (DR 192, 195). When Mina is hypnotised by Professor Van Helsing, the practice takes place in her bedroom in the early hours (or else in her sleep space during their travels to Varna, preceded and followed immediately with her natural sleep (DR 370-371, 396). And in 'Kalee's Shrine' too, Olga's adventure in being mesmerised becomes confused with her slumber as she believes herself to have been released from the mesmerist's powers only for them to arise once she lets her guard down, and falls asleep under the influence of a drug (KS 45). These texts place sleep and mesmerism on a spectrum, and in close proximity to one another, linked by timing and place.

However, mesmerism was arguably also a force unto itself, distinct from sleep and, socially speaking, enacted in very different ways. To begin with, mesmerism in the nineteenth century took place under the guise of spiritualism or medicine, so, unlike sleep, it was performed between, and in front of, participants whose trust of one another was founded in professional reputation rather than intimacy. Thus, in this attitude that it

was a service, or an exploration, it transformed into a show, a public spectacle rather than a private act. Furthermore, those concerns regarding sleeping in public were not applicable, as the control which comes from being awake was not lost (as it is when one falls asleep) but seen to be transferred to the mesmerist, and so there was someone present who was still 'in charge', so to speak. For these reasons, it was considered far less improper to be mesmerised in public, despite the many physical similarities it might share with sleep. In the gothic, the extension of such control over another's consciousness is seen to be a risky venture; the participant is not lying unconscious as they do when they are asleep, and could instead be taking actions and to the detriment of their social role. Whilst it could be argued that a sleep-walker might also act unconsciously, they are still considered to be fulfilling their own desires, whilst in the case of mesmerism, a body is being used to fulfil *another's* desires. Relinquishing one's body to another person certainly has connotations of sexual domination and acquiescence, in believers it drew suspicion to those men who mainly relied on mesmerising young women, and in sceptics the practice came under scrutiny, as it suggested that the subject is not willing or not able to be in control of themselves.[42]

In the study of sleep in gothic literature the discussion of mesmerism is of paramount importance. The social roles which are enacted in the practice closely reflect contemporary anxieties of sexual threat and the nature of individuality. In the discussion of gender, too, the mesmerism was often undertaken by men over women and this is seen to be the case in the gothic - as seen in 'Kalee's Shrine', but also in other gothic tales: Svengali exerts his control over the heroine in George du Maurier's *Trilby*

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[42] A number of authors have examined this concept. Among them, Alison Winter claims that 'mesmerism threatened more than a figurative seduction' citing the case of a young French girl, the daughter of a wealthy banker in which a mesmerist 'stole her honour' (1998: 101). Thomas Wakley, the skeptical doctor who reported the case in England, argued that far from being attacked, the girl (like many others) used 'the contemporary parlance for seduction, to place themselves in the real power of an unscrupulous lover' (ibid).

(1895) and John Jasper attempts to seduce Rosa Bud in Charles Dickens' *The Mystery of Edwin Drood.* However, in the gothic, such roles were subject to subversion, thus Miss Penclosa, a middle-aged female mesmerist, adopts the role of seducer in Arthur Conan Doyle's 'The Parasite' (1894), in chase of a man much younger than herself. And in other texts, mesmerism is not so much performed as it is utilised, by those with criminal intentions, as in Richard Marsh's 'The Beetle'. In all these texts, mesmerism is presented in relation to consciousness and culpability, closely linking it to the study of dreams in the gothic. By combining the near-occult practices of the real world with gothic fears of mis-stepping one's mark, gothic literature examining mesmerism is one more way of examining sleep.

In the majority of the literature studied, there is a tendency for the reactions toward female antagonists to be graphically violent. In all the vampire (and vampiric) tales looked at, with the exception of the Count's death in *Dracula,* the predominance of fatal violence from both the sides of good and of evil comes from men, toward women. In others, such as *The Great God Pan*, where men are mortally affected by supernatural forces, they are not so much fleshed out characters as they are bodies in the background, used to illustrate another's powers; as in the case of Helen Vaughan. In fact, only in 'The Novel of the White Powder' is a man seen to die for his excesses. This is not representative of gothic literature as a whole, but certainly of those narratives which indicate a preoccupation with the threat of the New Woman, who is presented in monstrous form, and then defeated - always by a man, reiterating gender boundaries and rules.

In the discussion of sleep, this leaves some space for those tales in which men are both the primary transgressors, and suffer for it. Two important nineteenth-century gothic texts to consider, particularly in the context of slumber and night -time would be Robert Stevenson's *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886) and Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Grey* (1890). In both these tales, the homosocial setting - in which women are relegated to the roles of servants and minor players - lends itself to an examination of those men who, thus far, have been rarely seen

to sleep in the gothic. In these texts, the majority of the night-time action which occurs around the men is not centred on their sleeping bodies, but their unsuitably active figures. The figure of the *flâneur,* seen in the character of Villiers in *The Great God Pan* as a man who has 'always been fond of diving into Queer Street for [his] amusement' (GGP 87) is presented as a point of suspicion in Stevenson's and Wilde's tales, as the men emerge at night whilst others sleep in order to indulge in secret, and immoral, vices. In both those texts, these vices are rarely made explicit, which only makes them more titillating to the reader. In rejecting natural and social orders of sleeping at night, and being productive in the day, Dorian Grey and Dr Jekyll, and indeed their associates, become the very sham of masculinity which incited worry in nineteenth-century society.

One final limitation to the study already undertaken is related to the role of class in these narratives. The majority of the primary characters in all of the texts studied (bar one; *La Morte Amoureuse)* are from the comfortable middle or upper-classes. This is evident in their professional and social lives, and their daily (and nightly) pursuits. The men are predominantly doctors and lawyers, or else simply dandies, whilst the women are often 'young ladies' waiting to be married. Even the priest, Romuald, is able to explore a richer side of himself in the form of the *milord* in his dreams. In this representation of a homogeneously classed society, the voices of the vastly more populous lower classes are nearly muted. There are the minor exceptions of the servants in *Dracula* discussed in 'Chapter Three: Protecting Sleepers' - whose sleep and welfare is placed far below that of Lucy Westenra's - and echoed in *Carmilla* and 'Kalee's Shrine' own hierarchies of rest and sleep, but they have little in the way of visibility compared to other sleepers. In these texts, there is limited scope to examine the durability of Aubert and White's claims regarding the 'democratic nature of sleep' (1959: 47). However, it is not an entirely futile pursuit. Based on the gothic tales studied here – and supported by texts on household management from the nineteenth century, and critical texts from the present day – it seems remarkably obvious that a class system is enacted even as sleeping bodies take rest, at the same times and in close

physical proximity. There is a world of difference in the daily responsibilities of domestic staff, which keep them constantly busy, and their employers, who are able to find the time to take trips, attend house-parties, and rid the world of evil. This disparity extends to the rights and responsibilities afforded to sleepers, and only serve to exaggerate an ironic diminishment of sleep rights as one progresses down the social ladder.

Any indication of the class-conflict that urbanisation led to is implicit rather than explicit in these gothic texts. Through references to such things as venereal disease, and 'Queer Street', the working class is hinted at, but rarely considered in any way other than occupying 'the dark waters of the life of London' (GGP 87) and being a polluting influence (Hurley 1996: 161). In the case of household servants - who are arguably less involved in the action of gothic tales than the nameless, vice-pedalling masses on the streets - there are fewer opportunities to explore those fears of pollution, as discussed in 'Chapter 4: Space and Time', which come simultaneously from inside and outside the home (Lynch 2004: 70). Whilst some conclusions are drawn from Carmilla's access to Laura, and the possibly sexual consequences of it, most of the characters in the gothic only share their space with those whom they trust; enacting responsible sleep and therefore bypassing the possibility of sexual pollution. Those who do not, such as Romuald, Jonathan, and Octavian, do so out of choice, rather than in error, and thus do not represent those innocent victims who might be exposed to illicit knowledge in the bedroom. Such a relationship, combined with disruption to sleep, does exist in other tales: for example, Henry James' *The Turn of the Screw* (1898) is famed for its gothic depiction of corrupted innocents, just as Elizabeth Gaskell's *The Old Nurse's Story* (1852) and *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* are two examples of those rare gothic texts which offered the perspective of the working class. Something which, in the latter case was tantamount to 'assigning deadly narrative agency to a butler-servant, with all its implications for cultural, social, and psychic violence' (Fernandez 2010: 107). Certainly, much of the concerns related to immoral behaviour in the nineteenth century, particularly sexual behaviour, were seen to stem from the working classes,

believed to be due to a combination of innate degeneracy, coupled with lack of education, and exacerbated by extreme poverty. In those texts in which a servant's perspective is provided, there would be great scope for examination of how different experiences of sleep actually were.

The relationship between sleep and the gothic is simply an extension of the primal fear of the night-time, and in the texts considered, it becomes clear that in this connection the genre has found a timeless avenue for transgression in sleep. Through the discussion of sleep, concerns regarding personal and sexual hygiene, man's understanding of reality and consciousness, and even scientific advances are examined. Whilst contemporary concerns are presented in a number of ways, sleep is one area in which all of these can be combined, resulting in a nightmare reality for both the character within the text, and the reader. Drawing on the use of dreams the gothic has been seen to creep past the censors of the time - one example of the transgression that it is so famous for - but in using sleep it also embodies that ambivalence that is referred to by Howells.[43] The transgressions that are visited on, or carried out by, the sleepers are not conscious decisions - not even 'real' in some cases - but nonetheless have an impact on their lives and their social standing, even as they sleep unaware. The attribution of blame to a vulnerable sleeping body in gothic literature is one of the key representations of the nineteenth-century, in which control and self-regulation were seen to be necessary to leading a moral life, but which simultaneously suggest that aiming to live an unnaturally moderated existence can simply fan the flames of illicit desire. In this way, the gothic is shown to maintain its reputation for transgression even in sleep.

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[43] See: Introduction.

Appendix

Fig. 1

Henry Fuseli (1790) *The Nightmare*

(Source http://www.tate.org.uk/node/236930/infocus/nightmare.htm)

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