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The Vampire as Eugenic Examiner, 1880-1896

Gennie Marie Dyson

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Abstract

This thesis is concerned with the way in which the figure of the vampire is used by some authors of nineteenth century fiction to eugenically test their victims: killing and sterilizing where they find degenerate behaviours that would harm society were the victims allowed to breed. This occurred not only in texts by well-known authors such as Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's 'John Barrington Cowles', Robert Louis Stevenson's 'Olalla' and Mary Elizabeth Braddon's 'Good Lady Ducayne' but also in the fiction of less familiar authors such as Count Eric Stenbock's 'A True Story of a Vampire'. I argue that the victims that feature in these tales can all be considered a danger to society and the vampire functions to examine, judge and carry out necessary execution where needed. Close textual analysis and examination of period scientific theory and newspapers will demonstrate how some authors, through the familiar symbol of the vampire, discussed social problems and suggested cures through the use of selective breeding programmes.

Critical thought has placed the *fin de siècle* vampire in a negative role, especially in academic writing relating to *Dracula*; the vampire is seen as changing and degenerating society with their 'otherness' in a harmful way. My original contribution to knowledge is to offer a new perspective which suggests that this general perception needs to be nuanced, because I reveal how some of the vampire texts of the late nineteenth-century viewed the vampire as a more constructive symbol. While I acknowledge that vampires are seen as a destructive force in these texts, what they wreak is not destruction in a negative sense but in a positive one that will ultimately benefit society by removing potentially harmful elements.

Contents

Acknowledgements - iii

Introduction - 1

The Place, the Mysterious Stranger and the Creature: Evolution and
Degeneration - 30

Nineteenth Century Eugenics and the Vampire - 71

Masculinity at the *Fin de siècle*: the Robust Ideal Versus the Unmanly Threat -
128

The Social Purist, Contagious Diseases and the Vampire - 163

Conclusion - 237

Appendix 1, Chronology of Primary Texts - 243

Bibliography - 247

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Introduction

In this thesis I argue that within the time frame of 1880-1896 some of the vampire fiction that was published reflected eugenic theories whereby the victims are identified as being unsuitable breeding partners and the vampire becomes the eugenic saviour of society. In Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897), the vampire brings fears of contagion and transformation with his movement from the less evolved Eastern Europe to the hustle of contemporary London. The new state that Dracula threatens to degenerate the victim to is a more animalistic, bestial existence, as in the description of the vampire Lucy: '[t]he sweetness was turned to adamant, heartless cruelty, and the purity to voluptuous wantonness.'¹ In contrast, in the texts to be discussed in this thesis, there is none of this fear of transformation. Instead, these texts position the *victim*, as opposed to the vampire, as the true danger to the future of society through some aspect of personality that, in a society obsessed with the future, would be deemed harmful to that society's continuation. My examination of these texts is different from what has previously been established as the canonical vampire characters of the nineteenth-century; most academics refer only to Polidori's Lord Ruthven, James Malcolm Rymer's Varney, Le Fanu's Carmilla and Stoker's Dracula with little or no regard for the many other characters who, I argue, also made an important contribution to the way in which we should view the vampire fiction of the

¹ Bram Stoker, *Dracula*, (1897), (Ware; Wordsworth Editions Limited, 1993), p.189.

nineteenth century. Due to this focus on the four vampires identified above, generalisations have been created and held as infallible regarding the function, appearance and motivation of the figure of the vampire.

Not only will nineteenth century narratives be used to demonstrate my argument, contemporary British newspaper articles will also be used throughout to offer a local perspective of the issues raised by the study of eugenics and to demonstrate that it was not only the capital that was affected but the nation as a whole. I will also refer to texts that were originally published in France ('The Horla') and America ('The Grave of Ethelind Fionguala') as eugenics was not restricted to Britain but strong eugenics programmes were also advocated for in France through Lamarckian theories and in other countries as well; for example as Fae Brauer states, 'well before the American Breeders Association resolution in 1911 was adopted, 20,000 had been eugenically sterilized in the United States to control the "feeble-minded menace"'² and it was through these strict sterilisation policies that America established itself as a strong supporter of eugenic policies. In her essay 'Making Eugenic Bodies Delectable', Brauer focuses on the physical benefit and aspects of eugenics: that a healthy body was required as 'proof' of eugenic suitability which is also made clear through the title of her essay with the apparent necessity of making the physical body as attractive as possible in order to encourage eugenic breeding. I do not contend that physical appearance had an important part to play in the eugenic cause, not least

² Fae Brauer, 'Making Eugenic Bodies Delectable: Art, "Biopower" and "Scientia Sexualis"', printed in Fae Brauer and Anthea Callen (Eds.), *Art, Sex and Eugenics, Corpus Delecti*, (Aldershot; Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008), pp.1-34, p.3.

because it began to change the way that the human form could be gazed at,
as Brauer herself writes;

the paintings, sculptures and life drawings of the nude male, do not represent [...] a desexualised body. Instead they provided a legitimate context for representation of the delectable body and both heterosexual and homosexual voyeurism.³

This 'delectable' male body made it possible and permissible for women to gaze at the naked male form in order to determine what the physical ideal looked like in order that comparisons could be made in real life situations. As I discuss however, the reliance that Brauer places on the physical body is of little use to the vampires and victims of the texts in this thesis as the apparently delectable body can disguise mental pathologies which would lead to eugenically unsuitable people breeding. A balance of physical appearance and good mental health had to be established in order that the hidden conditions were not left unnoticed.

Introduction to eugenics

Francis Galton can be seen as the main proponent of eugenics at the end of the nineteenth century (although others then took up his cause, from Leonard Darwin to Charles Davenport, the American eugenicist⁴). Galton believed that it was possible, through careful breeding and selection of advantageous 'germ plasm'⁵ (as hereditarily passed genetic material had been termed by August Weismann), to speed up evolutionary processes to guarantee not only the survival, but also the betterment of British and American society. Galton gave the name 'eugenics' to his idea of selective human breeding, taking it from the

³ Brauer, p.26.

⁴ Brauer, p.22.

⁵ Brauer, p.19.

'Greek, *eugenes*, namely, [that which is] good in stock, hereditarily endowed with noble qualities.'⁶ It was this type of scheme that led to the idea of 'positive' eugenics – the encouragement of 'good' stock to procreate as opposed to 'negative' eugenics which advocated the forced sterilisation (if necessary) of those considered to be a threat. Eugenics came to be an important ideal for *fin de siècle* society because of the fears that were raised with degeneration and evolution theories: if man had risen from animals, surely the process could work the other way as well. H. G Wells' *The Time Machine* (1895), with the creation of the lazy and cattle-like race of Eloi, reflected the fear that in the future humanity would no longer hold the prime position in the animal kingdom. To combat this fear, eugenics would be the answer to preserve the health and future of society; it would be necessary to breed selectively the 'best' of humanity while letting those who were considered undesirable die away. As Linda Dowling has noted, New Woman fiction also advocated the eugenic cause with some New Woman texts taking up the idea of rational sexual selection as a 'solution to their quarrel with society.'⁷ This rational selection was a step forward in women's fight for equality as changes in the perception of men's ability to make the best eugenic choice came forward through the social purity campaigns and the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts.

⁶ Francis Galton, *Inquiries into Human Faculty and its Development*, (1883), (Bristol; Thommes Press, 1998), pp.24-5, note 1.

⁷ Linda Dowling, 'The Decadent and the New Woman in the 1890s', printed in Lyn Pykett (Ed.), *Reading Fin de Siècle Fictions*, (Harlow; Longman Addison Wesley Limited, 1996), pp.47-63, p.56.

I argue that eugenics came to the fore at the end of the nineteenth century because it fitted so well with the ideas of evolution, degeneration and *fin de siècle* worries for the future, thus reflecting the fears that had been created. The theory of evolution developed the idea that nature was changeable and imperfect, that through history, the animal kingdom developed new mutations to adapt best to the environment and was constantly evolving, rather than the Biblical version of creation in which everything had been created as part of God's plan. Degeneration, on the other hand, held the idea that while it was possible for society to evolve, it was more likely that society would devolve into chaos with society crumbling to a more animalistic and atavistic state.

Galton and the other nineteenth-century advocates of eugenics programmes had very strong beliefs when it came to who would constitute having the necessary genetic heritage to create a suitable future for Britain and America. In their opinion, the only true way to ensure the health of future society was to encourage the marriage of 'white European'⁸ people since not only should children only be born within the confines of matrimony but no other race was considered as advanced as this one. In Galton's *Hereditary Genius* (1892), he details the mathematical possibilities of being born 'gifted'. He also separates the different classes of men into various groups each accorded an alphabetical letter which corresponded to the probability of genius. Within this text, Galton accords a different set of measurements for white men and 'the negro'⁹ whereby

⁸ Brauer, 'Eroticizing Lamarckian Eugenics: The Body Stripped Bare during French Sexual Neoregulation', printed in Brauer and Callen, pp.97-138, p.118.

⁹ Francis Galton, *Hereditary Genius: An Inquiry into Its Laws and Consequences*, (Second Edition, 1892), (Gloucester; Peter Smith, 1972), p.394.

[i]t will be recollected that C implies a selection [amongst white Europeans] of 1 in 16, or somewhat more than the natural abilities possessed by average foremen of common juries, and that D is 1 in 64 – a degree of ability that is sure to make a man successful in life. In short, classes E and F of the negro may roughly be considered as the equivalent of our C and D – a result which again points to the conclusion, that the average intellectual standard of the negro race is some two grades below our own.¹⁰

Galton's implication that the 'negro' was naturally intellectually inferior to the white man (noting also Galton's continued use of the word 'our' in the passage, implying that his reader must necessarily be a fellow educated white man) helps to demonstrate how racism was used by eugenicists at the end of the nineteenth century to imply that the races should be kept separate in order to create the best mix of genetic material.

Not only was the white person at risk of mixing pristine genetic material with people from other races, but there was also a risk from people within 'their own ranks' since even British people were prone to 'mental issues' which could lead to an unstable genetic future. As Fae Brauer identifies, the problem cases that could be encountered by nineteenth century eugenicists included those who were affected by 'alcoholism, cretinism, dwarfism [...] nymphomania [...] criminality, suicide, poverty [...] feminism, decadent literature and Modernist art.'¹¹ This list gives an insight into what constituted that which would lead to perceived genetic insufficiencies during the *fin de siècle*: a list which encompasses the subjects of Nordau's seminal study on degeneration but also economic and social issues which had no relation to

¹⁰ Galton, (1892), p. 394.

¹¹ Brauer, 'Making Eugenic Bodies Delectable', p.14.

genetic inheritance. Darwin himself wrote of the dangers of letting the population get out of control in his *Descent of Man*, writing that

[due to the efficacy of vaccinations] the weak members of civilised societies propagate their kind. No one who has attended to the breeding of domestic animals will doubt that this must be highly injurious to the race of man. It is surprising how soon a want of care, or care wrongly directed, leads to a degeneration of a domestic race.¹²

Notions of eugenics were also brought through into the twentieth century with social writers such as Havelock Ellis arguing in 1912 that

all social hygiene, in its fullest sense, is but an increasingly complex and extended method of purification – the purification of the conditions of life by sound legislation, the purification of our own minds by better knowledge [...] the purification of the race itself by an enlightened eugenics, consciously aiding Nature in her manifest effort to embody new ideals of life.¹³

The fact that eugenics did not die out with the turn of the century assists in demonstrating how it was a popular idea, one that people continued to look to even after the 'trauma' of the *fin de siècle* had passed.

Non-Stokerian Vampire Tales

In the years leading up to the publication of *Dracula*, there were few stories that prefigured it. Instead authors both well-known (such as Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Robert Louis Stevenson and Mary Elizabeth Braddon) and less familiar (Count Eric Stenbock and Arabella Kenealy) had vampire stories published where the vampire, rather than preying on the innocent, instead chose those who would cause society potential harm through some character fault. This

¹² Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex*, (1871), (London; Penguin Books, 2004), p.159.

¹³ Havelock Ellis, *The Task of Social Hygiene*, (London; Constable & Company Ltd, 1912), p.vi.

could include (but was not limited to) those who suffered from some form of mental illness, those who displayed homosexual tendencies and those willing to risk the racial purity of the gene pool by marrying a foreigner. The vampires in these tales act as eugenic examiners revealing the degenerate taint and sterilising the victim.

Although vampire stories were published throughout the nineteenth century, not only in England but also in America and on the European continent, there was a spate of similarly themed tales printed between 1880 and 1896. The vampires in the tales examined here have the ability to detect the defects in the victims; after all, the vampires are surrounded by plenty of other potential victims in the form of the other characters within each tale, so there has to be a reason why specific choices are made. Other tales published within the same time frame dealt with similar fears of the *fin de siècle*, of a society that was in danger of degenerating (for example H. G. Wells' 1895 novel *The Time Machine*), but the vampire tales within this thesis seem to be the only kind of fiction where disease and cure appear together. In these examples the vampire fiction functions in the same way as didactic fiction where a clear idea of what behaviours were and were not acceptable are identified.

The vampires that will be discussed in this thesis hardly seem to be the supernatural creatures that the modern reader now perceives the vampire to be. In *Dracula*, Van Helsing usefully lists the 'rules' that Dracula has to live by. As he explains to the Crew of Light;

[t]his vampire which is amongst us is of himself so strong in person as twenty men [...] he have still the aids of necromancy [...] he is brute,

and more than brute [...] appear at will when, and where, and in any of the forms that are to him; he can, within his range; direct the elements: the storm, the fog, the thunder; he can command all the meaner things: the rat, and the owl, and the bat – the moth, and the fox, and the wolf; he can grow and become small; and he can at times vanish and come unknown.¹⁴

After Dracula's abilities, Van Helsing goes on to state more of Dracula's strengths, but more importantly, he now also begins to describe his weaknesses;

[h]e throws no shadow; he make in the mirror no reflect [...] He can transform himself to wolf [...] He can come in mist which he create [...] He can see in the dark [...] Ah, but hear me through. He can do all these things, yet he is not free. Nay, he is even more prisoner than the slave of the galley [...] He may not enter anywhere at first, unless there be someone of the household who bid him to come [...] His power ceases, as does that of all evil things, at the coming of the day. Only at certain times can he have limited freedom. If he be not at the place whither he is bound, he can only change himself at noon or at exact sunrise or sunset [...] It is said, too, that he can only pass running water at the slack or the flood of the tide. Then there are things which so afflict him that he has no power, as the garlic that we know of [...] my crucifix, that was amongst us even now when we resolve, to them he is nothing, but in their presence he take his place far off and silent [...] The branch of wild rose on his coffin keep him that he move not from it; a sacred bullet fired into the coffin kill him so that he be true dead; and as for the stake through him, we know already of its peace.¹⁵

The majority of what Van Helsing lists has come through to our twenty-first century notions of vampirism, especially in regards to the vampire's inability to withstand garlic, sunlight and religious symbols. In contrast, the vampires in these texts seem much closer to their human victims, less supernatural creatures; instead, they appear only to possess those powers that nature is able to bestow, such as the ability to hypnotise their victim and almost unnatural beauty. In many of the cases under examination here, it is not even

¹⁴ Stoker, p.212.

¹⁵ Stoker, pp.214-5.

stated whether these vampires are immortal or not, although in 'The Grave of Ethelind Fionguala' (1887), Ethelind, the vampire, states "now I shall live a hundred years"¹⁶ once she has fed on her victim, Ken.

Not only is the folklore of *Dracula* different, the vampire's purpose is also very different from that of some of the other vampires who occupied the literary scene of the *fin de siècle*. Dracula appears within the text as a conqueror several times in the novel; the reader is given an insight into his behaviour both past and present. When Harker goes to Dracula's castle, Dracula relates some of the battles of his past, saying "when, after the battle of Mohacs, we threw off the Hungarian yoke, we of the Dracula blood were amongst their leaders"¹⁷ showing, through his use of the word 'we', not only that he was personally present with Stoker using this word, I believe, as one of the many hints during the first part of the novel that Dracula is 'Other', but also that he expects to lead and win in his campaigns. This distinction between Dracula's motives and those of the other vampires to be discussed within this thesis reveals that Dracula's motives are selfish: rather than acting for the greater good as an agent for society, he acts for his own purposes.

While still at the castle, Dracula reinforces his plan to conquer when he says of his trip to London, "I am content if I am like the rest [...] I have been so long master that I would be master still"¹⁸ which implies that he would not incorporate himself into English culture, but would instead assimilate his

¹⁶ Julian Hawthorne, 'The Grave of Ethelind Fionguala', (1887), printed in Peter Haining (Ed.), *The Vampire Omnibus*, (London; Orion Books Ltd, 1996), pp.108-135, p.134.

¹⁷ Stoker, pp.33-34.

¹⁸ Stoker, p.26.

vampirism into English culture so that he might maintain his mastery. As soon as Dracula arrives in England, he begins to prove his ability to create new vampires by attacking Lucy, making her his first triumph of battle and then attempting to do the same with Mina while also turning her into a covert spy for him once he has forced her into drinking his blood.

From Harker's perspective, the fear that Dracula will come and spread his contagion to England is not just that he will create a new race, but also that he has time on his side, as Harker states in his diary; '[t]his was the being I was helping to transfer to London, where, perhaps for centuries to come, he might, amongst its teeming millions, satiate his lust for blood, and create a new and ever-widening circle of semi-demons.'¹⁹ The fear of Dracula being active in England in this way shows that his was not only an immediate threat to Victorian society but also for the foreseeable future: all Harker can see is the threat of his vampirism and destructive nature turning and spreading vampirism for an indefinite period of time.

If we translate the notion of vampirism into 'real world' fears, what Dracula represented to the *fin de siècle* readers was the fear that the good and powerful English stock would be weakened by allowing foreign blood to be diluted into it, damaging, rather than reinforcing it. As the *Birmingham Daily Post* stated in 1891, '[t]he urgency of keeping down native races in the foundation of new settlements, and preventing the intermixture of native with

¹⁹ Stoker, p.52.

European blood, has but recently become the subject of investigation.'²⁰ The idea of this intermixture is something that Dracula literally brings to the literary scene of the time, most notably in the scene where he forces Mina to drink his blood; the bloody streams on her face and nightgown come to symbolise not only her sexual initiation at his hands rather than her husband's but also her racially polluted state as she has now taken some of his degenerate, foreign, blood into herself.

Not all aspects of vampirism were created and made canonical knowledge by Stoker; as Dracula had the ability to create trance states in his victims, so too did some authors give the vampires that they created the knowledge of hypnotism, the ability to seemingly manipulate dreams and also use certain drugs (specifically chloroform). This meant that the vampires were able to wield strong powers, giving the appearance of supernatural power over their victims and the means to manipulate the same to suit the vampires' purpose. The three processes (identified here as alternative states of consciousness) assist the vampire with the ultimate goal of identifying and, if necessary, destroying the victims who are perceived to pose a threat to the advance of society. The notion of vampires using these processes to influence their victims may be something that is now more usually associated with representations of the medical profession such as Van Helsing in *Dracula*, as Van Helsing uses hypnotism as a tool against the vampire, but since the medical characters do not function in the same way as Van Helsing within the

²⁰ *Birmingham Daily Post*, (Birmingham, England), Friday, August 14th, 1891; Issue 10341.

texts examined in this thesis (see below for further exploration), that same knowledge and power must fall to the equivalent character: in these instances, it falls to the vampire.

The hypnotised victim is, perhaps, the most traditional instance of someone in an altered state of consciousness within vampire fiction; the victim kept compliant and silent while influenced by the vampire's gaze. It is a state that is visible throughout the vampire fiction of the nineteenth century, and a concept which continues to this day in many films where vampires appear (I refer mainly to the Hammer series of *Dracula* films featuring Christopher Lee, the first of which was released in 1958) and is also still an aspect of some modern vampire fiction (Laurell K. Hamilton's *Anita Blake* [1993-present] series for instance).

The use of hypnosis in vampire fiction can be seen to have changed only a little within the nineteenth century; hypnosis keeps the victim compliant in stories from the beginning of the century, this compliance enabling the vampire to feed without the victim raising an alarm. Towards the end of the century, within the time frame discussed in this thesis, this compliance became linked with the vampire's eugenic purpose; mesmerising the victim enabled the vampires to keep the victims close by while they perform their duty without the risk of the victim escaping. Hypnotism was presented within some *fin de siècle* vampire fiction not only through the vampire characters still using the 'traditional technique' of hypnosis with the eyes, but the 'human vampire' (those characters that are still unquestionably human but who steal

blood) characters, such as Dr Parravicini in 'Good Lady Ducayne,' varied the form of hypnotism (in 'Good Lady Ducayne' it is the use of chloroform) to achieve the same effect.

What was originally conceived of as a therapeutic technique by Mesmer, whereby the 'procedures were aimed at bringing his patients to a "crisis", without which [Mesmer] thought there would be no cure,'²¹ becomes a thing to be feared in the latter part of the nineteenth century. In 1887, *The North-Eastern Daily Gazette* printed an article denouncing hypnotism as dangerous and stating that its 'demoralising effect'²² had led a man to a life of crime. Fears were also raised that hypnosis could be utilised in order to blackmail or coerce people; as the *Western Mail* reported in an article published in 1891 in which a first-hand account is given by a 'victim' of a hypnosis club:

we discovered that we were no longer free agents, but entirely in the power of this woman, who had the ability to mould us into whatever fashion she chose [...] For rules broken punishments are inflicted. A girl of refined nature is compelled to degrade herself in the eyes of persons whose opinion she most values [...] All this, of course, is done while under the influence of hypnotism.²³

This power to so completely rule a person's life becomes a useful tool for the vampires of the *fin de siècle* because not only does it ensure the victim is unaware when they are being fed upon but it also means that the vampire can keep the victim close by while watching the behaviours that they display.

²¹ Derek Forrest, *Hypnotism A History*, (London; Penguin Books, 1999), p.xvi.

²² *The North-Eastern Daily Gazette*, (Middlesbrough, England), Tuesday, June 28th, 1887; Issue N/A.

²³ *Western Mail*, (Cardiff, Wales), Tuesday, August 18th, 1891; Issue 6941.

Elizabeth Grey's 'The Skeleton Count' (1828) features one of the earlier examples of the vampire using hypnotism to keep the victim from raising an alarm, and also acts as a guide to how ideas of mesmerism developed through the nineteenth century: Theresa, the victim, is '[s]pell-bound by the glittering eyes of the vampire, she lay without the power to scream.'²⁴ The language used in this quotation is slightly different from that which is encountered later in the century; a transition occurred whereby the 'spell' of this early example was replaced with scientific terminology as in the latter half of the century, the process and outcome would be the same if the word 'hypnotised' or 'mesmerised' were used. Using the word 'spell-bound' implies that some kind of magic is being introduced and so associates Bertha (the vampire) with magic, witchcraft and the idea of the Other (she even loses her name in the quotation, becoming instead 'the vampire') as she uses her power to render her victim powerless.

Towards the end of the century, the language of hypnosis changed to the terminology of 'mesmerism' which seems to imply a movement from hypnosis being associated with magic and the supernatural instead connecting it to scientific theory which suggests that it was becoming more understood by wider society, which we find in Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's 'John Barrington Cowles' (1884). In this tale, the vampire's ability to control the will of her victim serves a slightly different purpose; Kate, the vampire, uses the power of her will to keep Cowles (the victim) by her side in order to stop him from living out

²⁴ Elizabeth Grey, 'The Skeleton Count', (1828), printed in Haining, (1996), pp.11-36, p.26.

his life of 'degenerate' homosexuality (an argument that I make in the chapter on masculinity). This is evidenced when the main characters attend a performance of live mesmerism and a battle of wills ensues between Kate and Dr Messinger (the mesmerist) over the mind of Cowles. Robert Armitage, the narrator of the tale, describes what he witnesses;

Messinger was not a man whose head denoted any great brain-power, but his gaze was singularly intense and penetrating. Under the influence of it Cowles made one or two spasmodic motions of his hands, as if to grasp the sides of his seat, and then half rose, but only to sink down again, though with an evident effort [...] [Kate] was sitting with her eyes fixed intently upon the mesmerist, and with such an expression of concentrated power upon her features as I have never seen on any other human countenance.²⁵

The battle that Messinger and Kate have over Cowles helps to cement the idea that Cowles no longer has any free will and is kept by Kate in order to stop him from being able to act on any of his 'unnatural' impulses, as he would have been perceived to be a danger if he were allowed to procreate.

The two battling mesmerists come under close physical scrutiny by Robert as he records their battle; Messinger appears the less-powerful even from the beginning of the quotation as Robert slips into the language of those who practised the pseudo-science of craniometry and phrenology in regards to the size of Messinger's head, believing it to be too small to contain much 'brain-power.' Kate has already been described earlier in the tale physically, appearing as if she had 'unusual strength of character'²⁶ and this is combined here with her gaze which appears to be bordering on the 'other than human'

²⁵ Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, 'John Barrington Cowles, (1884), printed in John Richard Stephens (Ed.), *Vampires, Wine and Roses*, (New York; Berkley Books, 1997), pp.25-48, p.40.

²⁶ Doyle, p.27.

as it is so strong. Cowles' part within the quotation above changes from autonomous human being (or so he appears even under Kate's already established control) to rag-doll as he is subject to 'spasmodic motions' as the mesmerists alternately try to have him stand up (Messinger) and remain seated (Kate). He is literally pulled between the powers of the mesmerists as a physical representation of the mental 'pull' to which he is also subjected.

Kate "[m]esmerised the mesmeriser"²⁷ in order to demonstrate the power of her will over that of another person. By allowing Robert, the narrator of the tale, to see the great power that Kate can wield, Doyle explores the fear of some groups in the nineteenth century: that the mesmeriser could completely control the will of another person so that they became unaware of their actions. In a sexual context, the fear was that the mesmeriser could force their victim into an unwitting (and unwilling) sexual relationship. In 1886, the *Manchester Times* implored its readers to resist the urge to experiment with hypnosis, stating that people under hypnotic influence 'cannot resist any indignity, and can be made to commit any act however outrageous. Women, especially, are urged, for their own sakes, not to submit their will to this paralysing influence'²⁸ which implies that women, more than men, required protection from the evils of the mesmerists. In 'John Barrington Cowles,' this fear of the mesmerist's strength of influence translates to Kate's victims being forced into a relationship with her in order that she can then perform her duty as a eugenic vampire.

²⁷ Doyle, p.41.

²⁸ *Manchester Times*, (Manchester, England), Saturday, February 27th, 1886; Issue 1494.

This fear that a person's sexual behaviour or reluctance could be overcome by the will of the mesmeriser was one that *The Isle of Man Times and General Advertiser* raised in an article published in 1889. The writer of the article feared that due to the fact that mesmerists were free to practise their 'profession' without regulation, young women could easily be 'carried away by the utterances of the [mesmerist] lecturer, and by the astonishing, yet degrading experiments which are carried on in full view of the audience.'²⁹ The article goes on to ask the question 'where is her protection?'³⁰ as the article alleges (there are several instances where the word 'alleges' appears in order to expiate the fear of prosecution for libel) that women were in danger of becoming unconsciously influenced by the mesmerist into staying after the audience left, putting them in danger of his 'baneful influence.'³¹ The article hints around the fears of sexual abuse of mesmerised women at the hands of unscrupulous male mesmerists without actually naming these fears since it would have been too taboo a subject to write of openly, instead it was enough to hint around the subject.

Why the vampire is used as eugenic examiner

My readings posit that the vampire is the most appropriate choice of creature to determine the fate and mete out judgement and punishment to those characters who pose a threat to the safe progress and future of society. Vampires are examples of the worst types of degenerate according to the

²⁹ *The Isle of Man Times and General Advertiser*, (Douglas, England), Saturday, September 14th, 1889; Issue 1532.

³⁰ *The Isle of Man Times and General Advertiser*; Issue 1532.

³¹ *The Isle of Man Times and General Advertiser*; Issue 1532.

beliefs of *fin de siècle* eugenicists and social reformers, displaying behaviours that mark them as 'Other' such as sadism, un-maternal instincts in the female vampires and homosexual tendencies in the males. Being creatures that sit outside the 'normal' realms of society, they are able to use their 'special powers' (such as the ability to utilise hypnosis to their advantage) to gain an advantage over their victims to ultimately fulfil their purpose of removing those who would endanger society. As Leslie Ann Minot writes in her essay, 'Vamping the Children: The "Bloofer Lady", the "London Minotaur" and Child-Victimization in Late Nineteenth-Century England', on the one hand,

the Count [Dracula] seems to require some sort of internal weakness – unacknowledged desire or other duplicity – in order to gain power over his victims. On the other, his opponents seem unable to fight him except by acknowledging what there is of him within themselves.³²

The inability of the victims within the texts under discussion here to fight back (unlike those of *Dracula* who eventually triumph) implies an ignorance of the condition which has led to the vampire marking them out as degenerate.

Within the texts discussed in this thesis, the vampire plays three distinct but crucial roles within the overall theme of eugenic fiction; firstly, they are the eugenicist as they decide who is and who is not in need of their intervention; secondly, they become the State as they decree that their chosen victim needs removing or 'sterilising' and lastly, they take the role of the medical expert who performs the 'procedure' in order to be rid of the potential threat to society: much like the doctors who worked for the police when the Contagious Diseases Acts were still in force.

³² Leslie Ann Minot, 'Vamping the Children: The "Bloofer Lady", the "London Minotaur" and Child Victimization in Late Nineteenth-Century England' printed in Andrew Maunder and Grace Moore (Eds.), *Victorian Crime, Madness and Sensation*, (Aldershot; Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004), pp.207-218, p.216.

Within fiction, the figure of the vampire is undeniably a monstrous one, feeding on either the blood or psychic energy of their victims; as a creature that is not fully living, and not fully dead, the vampire is a figure to be feared. Yet, despite its inherent monstrosity, the vampire is also frighteningly close to humanity; in nineteenth century fiction, they do not appear particularly corpse-like (unlike the vampires of folklore who can appear bloated with blood or covered in the shroud in which they were buried), neither are they a 'Frankenstein' creature or bestial in form, such as Dr Moreau's Beast Men. Instead, the vampire is close enough physically to humanity to still be acknowledged as such: they can live amongst their victims, forming relationships and, unless threatened with exposure, can continue this existence for as long as they wish. In much of the fiction to be discussed, the vampire is often mistaken for a 'normal' person until hints are dropped within the narrative that they may be more (or less) than fully human. The physical appearance of the vampire allows the author to create the fear that anyone has the potential to be a vampire; with a monstrosity that lives within, it is possible for the vampire to appear normal in a way that is impossible for the other creatures listed above.

Role of the medical man / paternal figure

When we think of the figure of the medical man in vampire fiction, the name that probably comes first to mind is that of Van Helsing in *Dracula*. The medical man or paternal figure, a concept which Ken Gelder conflates, as in the quotation below, functions within the traditionally conceived vampire text

as a source of knowledge: someone who can both identify and, perhaps more crucially, destroy the vampire. As Gelder states of 'Carmilla' and *Dracula*, 'these Victorian vampire narratives spend more time diagnosing the vampire than showing it at first hand, introducing a number of 'paternal figures' – often doctors – into the story for exactly this purpose.'³³ In 'Carmilla' and *Dracula*, these paternal figures succeed in removing the threat that the vampire poses but this does not hold for other vampire texts published around the same times.

Rather than a 'Van Helsing' character coming in to save the day, within the texts under discussion in this thesis, the paternal and medical men fall into three distinct categories; there are those who are dangerous because they either do not understand the role that the vampire serves or they are the danger in the first instance, those who appear foolish because they do not understand the 'necessity' of eugenics and those who are good because they have sufficient knowledge to assist in the eugenic process. These categories serve to show that rather than the medical men in the various tales under discussion being suitable to act as the eugenic tool, in the majority of cases, they would, in fact, be more of a negative influence either through their being the danger in the first place or by not understanding the role that the vampire is serving. The danger that the medical man poses in these texts is the main reason why it becomes the duty of the vampire to fulfil the role of eugenic examiner within the texts; the doctor is unprepared to deal with situations that the vampires can. The doctors and paternal figures that appear in the texts of

³³ Ken Gelder, *Reading the Vampire*, (London; Routledge, 1996), p.49.

this thesis are unable to do good because none of them has sufficient knowledge to be able to stop the vampires: it is the vampire's mission of eugenics that is most crucial within these texts. Rather than the vampire needing a secret sharer, which William Greenslade describes as a concept whereby 'subject and "other" are brought into troubling relationship [and which] proliferated in the literature of the *[fin de siècle]*: we need only think of Holmes and Moriarty, Van Helsing and Dracula'³⁴ instead, there are very few relationships that could fall within this category: Dr Andrew and Lady Deverish in 'A Beautiful Vampire' could be classed as secret sharers as Dr Andrew has to destroy Lady Deverish due to her inability to control her feeding. This destruction is very much the exception rather than the rule within this period but within the text it is clearly necessary as Lady Deverish's appetite is completely destructive.

Paternal figures and medical men abound in *fin de siècle* fiction and many of them fall into the categories that I identified above. For instance, if we consider the actions of Dr Moreau: he dabbles with vivisection and hopes to create the perfect Beast Man, but in the end, he admits defeat, stating that, "the stubborn beast flesh grows, day by day, back again."³⁵ His experiments into what makes a man cannot just be the capacity for speech, or the ability to walk upright because at several points in the text, Prendick, the narrator, loses the ability to do either, making him appear more animal than the creatures that live under Moreau's 'Law' as he breaks two of the most crucial of the Laws that the Beast people recite along with Prendick (to walk on two

³⁴ William Greenslade, *Degeneration, Culture and the Novel 1880-1940*, (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.72.

³⁵ H. G. Wells, *The Island of Dr Moreau*, (1896), (London; Gollancz, 2009), p.104.

feet and to speak rather than make animal noises), thereby aligning Prendick with the creatures that Moreau creates. This puts Moreau into the 'dangerous' category that I identify: he has adequate knowledge up to a point, but like Frankenstein before him, his creations can never live up to his expectations of them and he eventually loses control. Of course, not all medical men are as dangerous or misguided as Moreau; Dr Galbraith in Sarah Grand's *The Heavenly Twins* (1893), appears benign in his actions as he is described as "a charming as well as remarkable man, quite young, being in fact only nine-and-twenty, but already distinguished as a medical man [...] he continues to practice [sic] for the love of science, and also from philanthropic motives."³⁶ It is Dr Galbraith's philanthropy that marks him out as a 'good' doctor: uninterested in personal glory or monetary gain, he works simply because he loves it and wants to help people. It is this last factor that is most important in identifying the nature of the doctor or paternal character in the vampire tales examined here: do they want to help others or just themselves?

The dangerous doctors within the texts under discussion in this thesis are those characters who can be classed as 'the vampire' of the story even if that vampire is a human vampire, as described above; Dr Parravicini from Mary Elizabeth Braddon's 'Good Lady Ducayne' (1896) performs blood-letting operations on the victim (Bella) while she is under the influence of chloroform (which takes the place of hypnosis in this tale – it gets the same results with the victim still being an unwilling participant in the vampire's activities). When Herbert (the good doctor of the tale) sees the puncture marks on Bella's arm,

³⁶ Sarah Grand, *The Heavenly Twins*, (1893), (Michigan; The University of Michigan Press, 1992), p.42.

he accuses her of “allow[ing] that wretched Italian quack to bleed you.”³⁷

There is a need to distinguish here between the idea of ‘quack’ medicine versus ‘real’ medicine which Herbert has studied and is qualified in since ‘quack’ medicine is what puts Bella in danger within the tale: she is away from home and is unaware of what has been happening to her (she is told instead that she has been bitten by mosquitoes). A possible definition of a quack is ‘anyone who claimed to be able to cure something without understanding the reasons why his cure worked.’³⁸ Parravicini is referred to by Herbert in the above quotation by his nationality, a statement that implies that Italian doctors are not competent when it comes to the way in which they use medicine, whereas Herbert, who studied at “Edinburgh – and in Paris”³⁹ becomes the prime example of the practitioner of medicine due to the prestige of the places where he studied and Lady Ducayne (who has asked where Herbert studied) appears to want to move from the unproven quackery of Parravicini to the empirically proven medicine of Herbert’s training. The relationship between empirical thinking at the end of the nineteenth century and the vampire fiction published at the same time is a mixed one; the differing methods of Dr Seward and Van Helsing in *Dracula* reflect this with Seward’s rigid empiricism versus Van Helsing’s flexible approach which enables him to both identify and defeat Dracula. Conversely in the vampire fiction where the vampire takes the eugenicist role, it is the responsibility of the vampire to take the empirical

³⁷ Mary Elizabeth Braddon, ‘Good Lady Ducayne’, (1896), printed in Ryan, pp.138-162, p.156.

³⁸ Robin Waterfield, *Hidden Depths: The Story of Hypnosis*, (London; Macmillan, 2004), p.182.

³⁹ Braddon, p.158.

standpoint, using knowledge to identify the degeneracy of the victim and eradicate it.

Those doctors who do not understand the principles of eugenics can be regarded as just as dangerous as the doctors from the first category here: they do not understand the notion that society needs help in order to preserve itself for future generations. Such a doctor appears in Arabella Kenealy's 'A Beautiful Vampire' (1896); Dr Andrew takes

equal pains to pull the ninth child of a navvy through a croup seizure as he would have done had it been heir to an earldom. Some people thought this mistaken kindness on the doctor's part – the navvy's ninth could well have been spared [...] Some went so far even as to assert that Andrew was flying in the face of Providence.⁴⁰

The description of the doctor treating all children as the same becomes a form of satire in this text; by contributing to a perceived problem of over-population with the working classes, Dr Andrew is helping to worsen the situation for the family and also creating an extra burden on society. Yet when compared to Lady Deverish's behaviour, the two characters combine to become diametric opposites of population control: Dr Andrew is the character who would allow the population to spiral upwards without check and Lady Deverish is the character who would destroy everybody, regardless of their eugenic suitability. The narrative phrasing that Dr Andrew was working against 'Providence' implies that there is a stronger force at work, not necessarily religious, especially since none of the vampires under study in this thesis appear to have a weakness for religious paraphernalia in the way which

⁴⁰ Arabella Kenealy, 'A Beautiful Vampire', (1896), printed in Peter Haining (Ed.), *The Vampire Hunters' Casebook*, (London; Warner Books, 1996), pp.11-32, p.12.

Dracula does, but an outside force that decrees that some people are worth saving while others would be better left to nature. The way in which 'Providence' acts through these texts is therefore through the character of the vampire.

The good doctors within the vampire texts understand the principles that were most important to eugenics; Herbert in 'Good Lady Ducayne' decides to marry Bella not because of her social station (his sister Lotta says that "you couldn't marry a girl whose mother makes mantles"⁴¹), but because of his vocation as a doctor; in 'two years' hospital practice he had seen too much of the grim realities of life to retain any prejudices about rank.⁴² It is no longer necessarily class structure that will keep society healthy but the realisation that healthy genes are the only consideration that should be important for society.

The relative worth of a class can become confused within eugenics: some believed that only the middle classes were worthy of becoming part of the breeding pool, but for some, it was the genetic heritage rather than the class it came from that was most important meaning that anyone could be either a potential danger or saviour and it was up to the vampires within the fiction here to identify who was worthy and who required sterilisation or destruction. Galton in *Hereditary Genius* stated that '[a]n old peerage is a valueless title to natural gifts, except so far as it may have been furnished up by a succession of wise inter-marriages.'⁴³ This suggests that it was possible for the upper classes to serve a useful purpose even though other social commentators of

⁴¹ Braddon, p.152.

⁴² Braddon, p.152.

⁴³ Galton, (1892), p.126.

the *fin de siècle* argued that the upper classes lived in parasitic luxury which would mean that they were not suitable for breeding with.

The chapters

The chapters in this thesis are arranged to establish the social context that enabled the eugenic vampire to exist. The chapter entitled The Place, the Mysterious Stranger and the Creature: Evolution and Degeneration will focus on the idea of the vampire within eugenic discourse as a bestial type, it argues that vampires (and in some instances, the victims) share some physical characteristics with members of the animal kingdom such as the snake, which demonstrates their link with a lower form of humanity. This chapter will also focus on the character of 'the foreigner' within the texts under discussion which links to the ideas of scientific racism within eugenic arguments. Texts which feature foreign characters demonstrate the dangers of allowing 'pure' blood to be mixed with 'native' blood, as Shaun Michelle Smith writes, '[i]n Galton's eyes, a biracial individual was a degenerate blot upon both parent groups, a biological anomaly,'⁴⁴ as an individual with racially different parents would be unable to fit in with either 'race'. This idea is played out within some of the vampire fiction of the late nineteenth century by having a character who risks racial purity die (see in particular 'The Fate of Madame Cabanel' first published in 1880, where an English woman is killed due to her association with and marriage to a Frenchman).

⁴⁴ Shawn Michelle Smith, 'The Art of Scientific Propaganda', printed in Brauer and Callen, pp.65-96, pp.70-1.

Following on from the ideas set up in the previous chapter, the chapter Nineteenth Century Eugenics and the Vampire will first introduce the main principles put forward by Galton and his contemporaries. It will then go on to explore how these foundations were used by some of the authors of vampire fiction at the time to construct worlds in which it was possible for vampires to examine, judge and execute the victims who displayed characteristics that would 'damage' the future of society, were they allowed to procreate. I will argue that there was some inherent degeneration within the victims that the vampires are able to not only recognise, but also externalise in order to draw a distinct conclusion for the reader as to what constituted eugenically appropriate behaviour.

The final two chapters focus on constructions of gender within the *fin de siècle* and how eugenic solutions depended on the need to establish the assumption of a norm within these formulations of gender. The chapter Masculinity at the *Fin de siècle*: the Robust Ideal Versus the Unmanly Threat will address notions of what it was to be a 'true man' during the final decades of the nineteenth century: what were acceptable and unacceptable behaviours for men to display at the time and also what types of sexuality were permissible. Those men who are identified as effeminate, homosexual or 'unmanly' are destroyed by the vampire in order to stop them from breeding.

The final chapter, The Social Purist, Contagious Diseases and the Vampire, will focus on the social purity campaigns of the late nineteenth century and argue that the female vampire's behaviour mirrors that of the female social

purity campaigner. Both were seen as monstrous creations but I argue in this chapter that both were also a necessary evil. In order to cure a problem, you first have to know about it, and the female vampire/ social purity campaigner does just this, educating and giving knowledge to those who were previously ignorant of sexual disease and the necessity of rational sexual choice by women, even though by doing so, these women also become taboo. These final two chapters reveal that vampire fiction could provide a moral guide, created by the authors to instruct their readers on becoming the best examples of men and women in order to guarantee the safety of the future of white, middle class, British society. The figure of the vampire and the vampire text will be shown to be useful tools of society: the vampire becoming the eugenic weapon of choice for the authors and the texts themselves a vampiric conduct book, guiding the reader to a healthy, eugenic future.

Degeneration

In this chapter it will be argued that within a social landscape that had formulated evolution and degeneration theories, eugenicists like Francis Galton used the fears that these ideas created to argue for the necessity of a selective breeding programme. I argue in this chapter that some authors who wrote vampire fiction within the *fin de siècle* used character descriptions and formed landscapes to create a sense of the degenerate, thereby demonstrating to the reader why the victims of the vampire fiction were marked out as being unsuitable breeding partners who required 'sterilising' by the vampire of each particular tale.

Theories of evolution and degeneration gave eugenics established examples of what would and would not constitute acceptable modes of behaviour.

Darwin's theory of evolution gave us the term 'natural selection' but within his *Origin of Species*, Darwin can also be seen to advocate a kind of proto-eugenic argument when he argued that

any variation, however slight, and from whatever cause proceeding, if it be in any degree profitable to an individual of *any species*, in its infinitely complex relations to other organic beings and to external nature, will tend to the preservation of that individual, and will generally be inherited by its offspring. The offspring will thus have a better chance of surviving, for, of the many individuals of *any species* which are periodically born, but a small number can survive. I have called this principle [...] Natural Selection, in order to mark its relation to man's power of selection.⁴⁵ [*Italics my own*]

⁴⁵ Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species*, (1859), (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 1998), p.52.

With the emphasis on natural selection's ability to transmit and improve future generations, the eugenic possibilities also become clear; Darwin's definition of his theory is compared to the selective breeding of animals by man in order to ensure that favourable characteristics are passed on to new generations.

Darwin's emphasis on the inheritability of characteristics of 'any species' (which would, of course, also include humanity) implies not only that humanity has also gone through a process of natural selection but also that it may be possible to go further with this if the same techniques are employed as with the selecting of racing pigeons or other domestically bred animals.

Positioned against the relative optimism of evolution, with its emphasis on moving to a 'better' stage of development, was degeneration theory which expressed a much more pessimistic view of society's future which Max Nordau argued was just as transmissible as natural selection when he wrote that degeneracy was

a morbid deviation from an original type. This deviation, even if, at the outset, it was ever so slight, contained transmissible elements of such a nature that anyone bearing in him the germs becomes more and more incapable of fulfilling his functions in the world; and mental progress, already checked in his own person, finds itself menaced also in his descendants.⁴⁶

Degeneration theory, as developed by Nordau, therefore argues that society was just as capable of regressing to a more simplistic state through the unchecked procreation of deviant and degenerate types, as it was developing under the theories put forward by evolutionists like Darwin and Lamarck. It

⁴⁶ Max Nordau, *Degeneration*, (1895), (London; University of Nebraska Press, 1993), p16.

was this fear of regression to a primitive state that allowed the eugenicists to put forward the ideas of selective breeding for humanity just as animal breeders had already been doing to cattle and horses to produce 'better' animals. As Galton argued:

as a new race can be obtained in animals and plants, and can be raised, to so great a degree of purity that it will maintain itself, with moderate care in preventing the more faulty members of the flock from breeding, so a race of gifted men might be obtained, under exactly similar conditions.⁴⁷

The necessity of 'moderate care' in the vampire fiction that I am discussing comes in the form of the figure of the vampire: utilised by the various authors to remove those of the 'flock' who would not benefit the development of society.

There are three areas that will be investigated in this chapter in order to justify the above argument that eugenics was born from the perceived necessity of 'saving' society from degeneration: characters displaying animal characteristics, degenerate locations and the notion of the foreigner. These categories have been chosen as they all contributed to the idea that the civilised world required help in order to maintain itself because there were poisonous influences that all pointed to fears of immanent destruction. The animal characteristics reveal humanity reverting back to a more bestial type and also mark the victims out as being unsuitable for breeding with. The degenerate location demonstrates how it is not only the people in the various tales but the actual landscapes that surround the characters that can become

⁴⁷ Galton, (1892), p.105.

degenerate. This assists in the revelation that certain characters already suffer an internal degeneration and this is mirrored in their surroundings: this happens through the language that the authors use to describe the various areas as the texts demonstrate, both exteriors and interiors can become tainted with degeneration. The notion of the foreigner is used to examine the fears discussed at the *fin de siècle* that society could become 'diluted' through interbreeding, as William Greenslade states;

[f]or the major race theorist of the nineteenth century, Comte de Gobineau (1816-82), such was the necessity of keeping the races apart, that miscegenation and race-mingling would inevitably lead to degeneration and the extinction of civilisation.⁴⁸

Eugenics was utilised by some nineteenth-century white people as a 'scientific' reason why they were superior to all other races, hence the necessity of keeping the different races apart: so that the perceived prestige of being white did not become lost and this was also important to contemporary ideals of imperialism and national identity. Galton himself wrote that '[t]he instincts and faculties of different men and races differ in a variety of ways almost as profoundly as those of animals in different cages in the Zoological Gardens.'⁴⁹ This links into ideas of polygenesis whereby different races of peoples were regarded as separate species and should therefore not be allowed to breed together hence in the tales examined here, the need for the vampire to maintain racial segregation in order to preserve the purity of the races. John M. Efron, the author of *Defenders of the Race: Jewish Doctors and Race Science in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* defines a race as 'a group

⁴⁸ Greenslade, p.22.

⁴⁹ Francis Galton, *Inquiries into Human Faculty and its Development*, (1883), (Bristol; Thommes Press, 1998), p.2.

of individuals that have the capacity to interbreed and produce fertile offspring'⁵⁰ and so by aligning humans as separate species rather than races, the implication of Galton's writing is that different peoples should be physically incapable of breeding together. The above areas of the animal characteristic, the degenerate landscape and the fear of the foreigner become mediums that are utilised by the authors of vampire fiction in order to create the fear of a degenerate and degenerating society which the vampire comes into in order to remove the threat and maintain societal stability.

The possibility of degeneration was something that Darwin had not seemingly taken into account when he wrote that 'all corporeal and mental endowments will tend to progress towards perfection'⁵¹ though he did concede that extinction was and had been a real possibility writing that 'it follows that as each selected and favoured form increases in number, so will the less favoured forms decrease and become rare. Rarity, as geology tells us, is the precursor to extinction.'⁵² The idea of extinction links in with ideas of eugenics because it implies that in nature it was possible for less popular forms of species to die out, so there was also the potential for less advantageous forms of humanity to also die out. Degeneration then becomes the pessimistic side to evolution with the assumption that society is, or could be, degrading to a lower state. Eugenics also comes under the same standard of nineteenth-century pessimism since its very purpose was to assume that humanity was incapable of doing what was best for its future, and so had to be led as strictly

⁵⁰ John M. Efron, *Defenders of the Race: Jewish Doctors and Race Science in Fin-de-Siècle Europe*, (London; Yale University Press, 1994), p.8.

⁵¹ Darwin, (1859), p. 395.

⁵² Darwin, (1859), p.90.

as was necessary to ensure its safety and ascension to a more evolved state of existence.

In *Degeneration*, Max Nordau likens the *fin de siècle* to 'the impotent desire of a sick man, who feels himself dying by inches.'⁵³ The metaphor that Nordau uses here to describe the *fin de siècle* describes the idea of entropy: the view that society finds itself mortally affected by the turning of the century, that a natural slowing takes place. Greg Myers states that '[a] social prophet who uses the word entropy is saying that society, or the universe, or the economy, is a closed system that is running down like the hypothetical steam engine.'⁵⁴ Entropy was a slowing down of society, an inability to push forward, as Darwin had hoped, towards perfection.

Degeneration remained a more destructive force than entropy to contemporary commentators:

it became indeed the condition of conditions, the ultimate signifier of pathology. *Dégénérescence* was thus perceived as the resolution to a felt imprecision of language and diagnosis. It served to anchor meaning, but paradoxically its own could never be fully stabilised.⁵⁵

By meaning everything and yet nothing allowed social scientists to classify what they wanted without having to give a precise diagnosis of the issue.

Degeneration stood for everything that could go wrong with the human

⁵³ Nordau, p.3.

⁵⁴ Greg Myers, 'Nineteenth-Century Popularizations of Thermodynamics and the Rhetoric of Social Prophecy' printed in Patrick Brantlinger (Ed.) *Energy and Entropy: Science and Culture in Victorian Britain*, (Bloomington; Indiana University Press, 1989), pp.307-338, p.312.

⁵⁵ Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, c.1848-c.1918*, (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1989), p.8.

condition and yet no one could say exactly what it stood for; it became a catch-all word for many different conditions. Degeneration meant that instead of entropying, society was actually going backwards: regressing to a less evolved state. Books and novels on the condition were published in the latter half of the nineteenth century with B. A. Morel first popularising the term in 1857. From its first usages to the end of the century, the study of degeneration experienced a shift over the next 40 years, as Andrew Smith explains:

[e]arly accounts of degeneration were written by specialists, while by the end of the century the debate had taken on a wider cultural dimension. From the work of Morel on cretinism in France in the 1850s, to the criminological writings of the Italian Cesare Lombroso in the 1870s, degeneration crossed national and scientific boundaries; culminating in the 1890s with Max Nordau's attack on *fin de siècle* decadence written for a general, popular audience.⁵⁶

Matching the plethora of scientific writing on degeneration came the publication of *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* by Robert Louis Stevenson in 1886, H. G. Wells' *The Time Machine* in 1895 and *The Island of Doctor Moreau* a year later. These three texts all feature degenerate characters who experience degeneracy through a medium of science; Jekyll creates his degenerate alter-ego, Mr Hyde, the Time Traveller discovers a world in which humanity has split into the nocturnal Morlocks and their cattle-like prey, the Eloi with whom the traveller stays and Prendick encounters the Beast-people that Moreau creates and which Prendick believes began as humans rather than animals who have been forced into humanoid shape.

⁵⁶ Andrew Smith, *Victorian Demons: Medicine, Masculinity and the Gothic at the fin de siècle*, (Manchester; Manchester University Press, 2004), pp.14-5.

The vampires that feature within the eugenic tales under examination here, in similar fashion to the Morlocks and Mr Hyde, are degenerate versions of humanity; they represent everything that is 'Other' and what a given society perceives as being most degenerate. The authors of these works create their vampires in this way in order to give them the ability to act as both judge and executioner; already acknowledged as the ultimate degenerate by the authors who created them they can be safely manipulated through the narrative to deal with the threat to society that the chosen victims pose.

The degenerate landscape

Some authors chose to demonstrate their fear of a degenerating society by setting their tales in a landscape which externalises the internal degeneration of the vampires and their victims. Eliza Lynn Linton's 'The Fate of Madame Cabanel' (1880) uses the imagery of a degenerate hamlet in France to add to the main theme of eugenic racism which runs throughout the tale. Madame Cabanel is a healthy English woman who marries a Frenchman, an act which necessitates her destruction rather than risk diluting her 'good' English stock with the less healthy French. Within the first paragraph of the tale, Linton sets up the idea of the French being inferior to the English through the description of the soil; Linton writes that the villagers 'toiled hard all the week on the ungrateful soil that yielded them but a bare subsistence.'⁵⁷ Linton's personification of the soil as being ungrateful suggests that the land that the French villagers live upon is not supportive of a healthy lifestyle as the

⁵⁷ Eliza Lynn Linton, 'The Fate of Madame Cabanel', (1880), printed in David J. Skal, *Vampires: Encounters with the Undead*, (New York; Black Dog and Leventhal Publishers Inc., 2001), pp.159-170, p.159.

villagers are barely 'allowed' enough food to live. Environment was of crucial importance to evolutionists and degenerationists alike, as Darwin wrote;

when in former times an immigrant settled on any one or more of the [Galapagos] islands, or when it subsequently spread from one island to another, it would undoubtedly be exposed to different conditions of life in the different islands, for it would have to compete with different sets of organisms.⁵⁸

The importance of environment in evolutionary terms consists of being able to adapt successfully to new and different conditions for existence which may include different predators, less abundant food and diverse challenges for survival. Conversely, from a degeneration point of view, as William Greenslade writes, 'urban-degeneration theory [...] fused degradation, and 'generation' into a condition which was inexorable.'⁵⁹ Urban degeneration rather than allowing creatures to adapt to an environment worked on the principle that the landscape, instead, would mirror the inherent degeneration experienced by a populace by reflecting its criminality, poverty and deviant behaviours.

This inability of the French villagers to fully subsist on the land that they work is compounded when Linton goes on to state that the 'failure of general health in undrained [sic] hamlets is not uncommon in France.'⁶⁰ The failure of their health and the unsanitary conditions in which the French villagers in the text live combine to illustrate to the reader how the village is not suitable for the safe production of children. This notion of the failure of the villagers' health reveals the idea of eugenic racism as it becomes a symbol for the unhealthy

⁵⁸ Darwin, (1859), p.324.

⁵⁹ Greenslade, p.41.

⁶⁰ Linton, p.161.

transmission of the mix of the two different gene pools: that of the strong English with the diseased and unsanitary French.

In Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's 'John Barrington Cowles' (1884), the location that the characters find themselves in mirrors the internal degeneration that they are subject to. Rather than this tale using the idea of the diseased location to reflect eugenic racism like 'The Fate of Madame Cabanel', 'John Barrington Cowles' instead reveals a very personal, individualistic degeneration which is different for each of Kate's (the vampire) victims.

Archibald Reeves is the second of Kate's victims within the text but the first that we see in a before-he-has-been-affected-by-Kate and after-state. He has his latent alcoholism brought out through his association with Kate; Robert Armitage (the narrator of the tale) sees Reeves once his degeneration has been brought out in 'one of the lowest streets in the city [...] It was very late and [Armitage] was picking [his] way among the dirty loungers who were clustering round the doors of a great gin-palace'⁶¹ which he sees Reeves come out of. Armitage is in the 'low' street for a legitimate reason (he has been attending a case in the area). Armitage contrasts Reeves' appearance when he sees him, stating that he

recognised in the degraded creature [...] Archibald Reeves, who had once been famous as one of the most dressy and particular men [...] there was no mistaking those features, which, though bloated with drink, still retained something of their former comeliness.⁶²

⁶¹ Doyle, p.30.

⁶² Doyle, pp.30-1.

Doyle contrasts the two images of Reeves in this one quotation; on the one hand is the image of him as he was, immaculate in his appearance and handsome as well, and this is set against how he appears at the present within the text as degraded and bloated which makes it clear how the degeneration that has been made explicit has marked him physically.

Armitage then adds to this description by stating that Reeves was

not only suffering from the effects of a recent debauch, but that a long course of intemperance had affected his nerves and his brain. His hand when I touched it was dry and feverish [...] He rambled in his speech, too, in a manner which suggested the delirium of disease rather than the talk of a drunkard.⁶³

This second quotation mixes the symptoms of drunkenness with that of disease so that it blurs the cause of Reeves' appearance. To begin with, the reader, due to Armitage's description, assumes that Reeves has just been drinking heavily for some time, but the addition of the dry and feverish hand and distorted speech adds the possibility that not only is he suffering from a heavy drinking session, but there is a more serious underlying cause for this appearance. Since the 'original' (smartly dressed) Reeves could have easily been drinking in more respectable areas of the city, the area where he is found is given more import by Doyle by shifting the location from a respectable area to one which links with Reeves' degenerate nature.

Kate's final victim in the text is Cowles himself. Cowles' internal degeneration means that he becomes an 'altered man [...] sometimes irritable, sometimes

⁶³ Doyle, p.31.

recklessly mirthful, but never natural.⁶⁴ This behaviour becomes reflected in the landscape of the Isle of May where Armitage takes Cowles in order to try and help him recover. The island is described alternately as 'barren and desolate'⁶⁵ but it also has 'a rugged line of jagged cliffs.'⁶⁶ The barren areas link with his irritable nature and the jagged cliffs become the externalisation of his unnatural reckless mirth and so the landscape in which he dies mirrors the dual aspects of his own now fractured personality. This juxtaposition of the landscape where they seek escape instead cements Cowles' degeneration.

Robert Louis Stevenson's 'Olalla' (1885) combines both the above discussed ideas of the landscape mirroring the internal degeneration of a character (or characters in this instance) and, as was seen in 'The Fate of Madame Cabanel', the land offering only a meagre existence, with the areas outside the *residencia* revealing the eugenic racism within the text against the Spanish. It features a nameless male narrator who has been ill in Spain and is sent out of this 'cold and poisonous city'⁶⁷ in order to recover in the country air. Instead of the lush, soothing landscape of the countryside however, the narrator is sent to 'desert mountain, in the greater part of which not even a goat could support life.'⁶⁸ This quotation helps to substantiate my claim regarding Darwin's statement above that organisms that move to different islands (or, in the case of this text, from a city to a desert region) have different struggles that they must overcome in order to maintain an existence. Clearly Olalla's family have found a way to survive despite the barren

⁶⁴ Doyle, p.45.

⁶⁵ Doyle, p.45.

⁶⁶ Doyle, p.47.

⁶⁷ Robert Louis Stevenson, 'Olalla', (1885), printed in Stephens, pp.134-173, p.134.

⁶⁸ Stevenson, p.135.

landscape that they live in, whereas the narrator, who is unused to such an area may struggle.

Once the narrator arrives at the residencia, he leads the reader on an exploration of the interior of the house, stating that the house is 'thickly laden and discoloured with dust [...] like the sleeping palace of the legend. The court, in particular, seemed the very home of slumber.'⁶⁹ The house that Olalla's family lives in appears to be a type of physiognomic mirror for the family with the dust and discolouration of the house echoing the physical sleep and degenerate behaviour that the Señora, Felipe, and Olalla display. The theme of sleep which runs throughout the text is a device which Stevenson creates in order to bind both degenerate landscape and degenerate character together; the dust which covers the house masks the true colours and structure of the house so that it becomes veiled and partially hidden. The idea of metaphorical sleep is also used by Olalla to describe the mental faculties of her ancestors as she states "[t]he breath of weariness blew on their humanity and the cords relaxed; they began to go down; their minds fell on sleep."⁷⁰ The way in which Olalla describes her ancestors mirrors the narrator's description of the house in that the 'impoverished' mental faculties of the family become hidden beneath an exterior of seeming normality as the family have no immediate serious physical signs of degeneration. The rooms within the house mirror the internal, genetic, degeneration that the individual family suffers from.

⁶⁹ Stevenson, pp.144-5.

⁷⁰ Stevenson, p.167.

Physical sleep features prominently in the text as well as the metaphorical type explored above; Felipe (Olalla's brother) is seen by the narrator to 'throw down his spade and go to sleep among the very plants he had been digging'⁷¹ and likewise, the Señora (who is the vampire of the tale) is often seen by the narrator 'lying lapped in slumber.'⁷² The way in which they are seen to sleep, both Felipe and the Señora become the physical embodiment of Olalla's statement regarding the family's mental heritage: their minds 'sleep' and so do they in a very literal fashion. The Señora and Felipe's propensity to sleep also sets them apart racially from the British values of energy and work as described in books published in the nineteenth century such as Samuel Smiles' *Self Help* (1859) which was reprinted through the late nineteenth century and which attempted to motivate the 'everyman' into trying his best to succeed by relating several inspiring stories of other self made men.

The relationship of sleep to degeneration was a common theme in *fin de siècle* fiction; H.G. Wells uses the idea of fatigue and sleep in *The Time Machine* (1895) when the Time Traveller comes in contact with the Eloi. When the Time Traveller first lands in the future and encounters the Eloi, he believed that 'the people of the year Eight Hundred and Two Thousand odd would be incredibly in front of us in knowledge, art, everything'⁷³ but instead, he finds that he has never 'met people more indolent or more easily fatigued.'⁷⁴ The juxtaposition of what the Time Traveller thinks the people of

⁷¹ Stevenson, p.142.

⁷² Stevenson, p.155.

⁷³ H. G. Wells, *The Time Machine*, (1895), (London; Orion Publishing Group, 2002), p.22.

⁷⁴ Wells, (1895), p.25.

the future will be like and the reality of when he encounters them demonstrates how far humanity has fallen from the estimations that were held at the end of the nineteenth century, that it was possible for humanity to rise much further, to the reality that, instead, humanity has fallen into 'sleep'.

Stevenson uses a narrowing of narrative focus within the text in order to reveal how pervasive degeneration is within Olalla's family; he begins with a wide sweep of the landscape, showing the reader the desert landscape that the family live within, a landscape that cannot fully support life. Stevenson then begins to narrow his focus to the dust that covers the residencia and shows how easy it was to physically veil things, a notion that is then applied to the family and their degenerate heritage through the theme of sleep. By using this narrowing of focus, Stevenson is able to demonstrate the extent to which the family has been adversely afflicted through years of mental and genetic entropy.

The degeneration which appears to infect the entirety of Stevenson's tale reveals to the reader how Olalla's family should be considered unsuitable for breeding. The narrator is also subject to degenerate personality traits, shown again through Stevenson using the theme of sleep, as the narrator says of the subject of a portrait that hangs in his room at the residencia,

I knew that to love such a woman were to sign and seal one's own sentence of degeneration, I still knew that, if she were alive, I should love her [...] She came to be the heroine of many day-dreams, in which her eyes led on to, and sufficiently rewarded, crimes.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Stevenson, p.141.

By applying this same theme of sleep to the narrator as Stevenson does to the Señora and Felipe, it acts as a signifier to the reader that just as the Señora and Felipe are identified in the text as possessing unsuitable genetic material for eugenic reproduction, so too does the narrator, therefore marking him out as an unsuitable genetic partner who should be stopped from reproducing.

Julian Hawthorne's 'The Grave of Ethelind Fionguala'; published in 1887, is another example of the landscape of a country mirroring the internal degeneration of the vampire's victim. Keningale (the victim who is referred to as Ken for the majority of the tale) travels to Ireland from America. When he arrives back from his travels, his friends find him 'no longer the careless and merry fellow he used to be; on the contrary, he appeared grave, moody, averse from general society, and habitually taciturn and undemonstrative.'⁷⁶ Ken's mood when he returns is matched by the landscape he encounters when he is Ireland. While Ken is telling his story within the main text, Ireland is described variously as a 'lonely region,'⁷⁷ 'deserted,'⁷⁸ with 'half the houses [...] in ruins or have disappeared; many of the remainder are standing empty.'⁷⁹ The types of adjectives that Hawthorne uses to describe both Ken once he has returned and the conditions of Ireland are similar: Ken becomes isolated on his return to America in a similar way to the locations of the Irish villages: his once carefree and open personality is now a ruin of its former self. The conditions that Ken encounters on his trip to Ireland suggest a

⁷⁶ Hawthorne, p.111.

⁷⁷ Hawthorne, p.118.

⁷⁸ Hawthorne, p.118.

⁷⁹ Hawthorne, p.119.

people who have suffered an entropy of the physical environment in which they lived, even with hardships such as the potato famine taken into account, the barren location that Ken stays in serves to illustrate the way in which an exterior location can be used by an author to mirror an internal issue.

As Ken follows the route that will lead to his encounter with the vampire, Ethelind, he finds 'the path was singularly difficult to find, or rather the path I was following did not seem to be the right one.'⁸⁰ The way in which Ken begins to have trouble finding his way points to the idea of an internal shift in his behaviour patterns – from the man that the narrator used to know to his 'new' self once he arrives back in America. Ken's modification in his behaviour is the result of his internal degeneration being brought to the surface through his encounter with Ethelind. At the beginning of the tale the narrator states 'had there not always been something in his nature – deep down, and held in abeyance by the activity of his animal spirits – but something strange and separate.'⁸¹ It is this strangeness that marks Ken out as eugenically unsuitable but it is only through Ethelind feeding from him that she brings out what was hidden and therefore ensures that women do not approach him as being a possible partner for procreation. It is through the mirroring effect that Hawthorne uses between Ken and the Irish landscape that the reader is given the opportunity to see the gradual change in personality as Ken moves from the landscape of New York that meant that Ken's own degeneration was still hidden to the 'isolated' vistas of Ireland where his 'something strange' was revealed.

⁸⁰ Hawthorne, p.123.

⁸¹ Hawthorne, pp.111-2.

Ethelind's feeding is also linked to Hawthorne's construction of a degenerate landscape; inside Ethelind's house, Ken comments on the coldness of the room saying it was 'cold as a tomb'⁸² but after Ethelind has fed on him, it is Ken 'who had become cold and bloodless.'⁸³ It is the cold of the room and of Ken himself that creates the final link of Ken and the landscape both being degenerate as Ken becomes the human embodiment of the cold room.

The final example is of a degenerate location which is utilised by the vampire in order to disguise the eugenic purpose that they are carrying out features in Arabella Kenealy's 'A Beautiful Vampire' (1896). Lady Deverish, the vampire, lives in a house which supposedly has "something wrong with [it]. Ventilation bad or something."⁸⁴ This theory is put forward by the old family doctor who does not realise what Lady Deverish has been doing (psychically feeding on her household: and especially focussing on her aristocratic husbands) and so assumes that the house itself is 'bad' rather than there being another cause. The supposition that it is the house that is bad rather than an inhabitant distinguishes between the two doctors in the tale. As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, Dr Byrne, the old family doctor is linked with 'old fashioned' medical knowledge whereas Dr Andrew knows what Lady Deverish is and attempts to put a stop to her, suggesting a more modern approach to medicine and knowledge of eugenics. The belief that it is the house that is causing the problems also suggests a Lamarckian perspective of health as Lamarck argued that environment, not just genes, was crucial to the

⁸² Hawthorne, p.132.

⁸³ Hawthorne, p.135.

⁸⁴ Kenealy, p.17.

perspective on health, so any unsanitary problems (like those faced by the French villagers in 'The Fate of Madame Cabanel') was supposed to contribute to problems of health. In Lamarckian eugenics, environment was just as important as genetics, as Havelock Ellis notes, the 'exclusive pre-occupation with the improvement of the environment has been termed Euthenics by Mrs Ellen H. Richards, who [... advocates] euthenics in opposition to eugenics.'⁸⁵ It was believed that only through a combination of good genetics and healthy environment that the premium conditions would be created in which to procreate. The degenerate landscape or location is used by the authors of the vampire fiction discussed here in order to comment about the importance of environment to eugenic arguments as the landscape is so frequently used in order to mirror the internal degeneration of the characters.

Fear of the foreigner

Linked to these notions of the degenerate location is the notion of the foreigner due to the associations of racial purity and eugenics which the foreign environment engendered. The idea of the foreigner became a vital part of the eugenicists' argument since it was seen to be key to keep the races 'pure' (separate). The foreigner instils an immediate sense in the reader that the character of the vampire becomes 'Other' to the perceived social norm; someone who looks 'different' to the majority of people in any given location immediately stands out. The fear that the figure of the foreigner brings to eugenic arguments is that eugenics could only work on the basis of

⁸⁵ Ellis, p.12, n.1.

keeping things separate, whether that be the mentally incompetent from the same or different races, in order to maintain purity. For the vampire fiction here that was published during the *fin de siècle*, this means that the vampire must ensure that this separation is maintained through the use of sterilisation of the victim, either through death or irrevocable change (such as that of Ken as previously discussed).

Francis Galton wrote in his *Inquiries into Human Faculty and its Development* (where Galton also first introduced his reading public to the word ‘*eugenes*, [which he defined as meaning] [...] good in stock’⁸⁶ and which he then turned into the word eugenics) that the different races of men were comparable to animals in a zoo (as quoted at the start of this chapter). Galton’s use of the zoo imagery to describe the ‘differences’ between the races engages his reader on three counts; firstly the relationship he forms between humans and animals, acknowledging our evolutionary past and our connection to the animal kingdom. Secondly, it raises the possibility that men could be classed as different species (with its association to the theory of polygenesis as opposed to monogenesis) – species that could not breed together. Finally, the nature of the cage and the notion of separation suggests that each of these species and therefore the races of men could and/should be kept literally separate in order to preserve each race, but more importantly, to keep the white race from becoming contaminated with foreign blood. This was one of the dangers faced in *Dracula* through the contamination of Mina and Lucy’s blood with Dracula’s foreign (vampire) blood.

⁸⁶ Galton, (1883), pp.24-5 note 1.

By the second page of 'The Fate of Madame Cabanel', Linton has made racial and physical comparisons between the Englishwoman and the French peasants that she has gone to live amongst:

[s]warthy, ill-nourished, low of stature and meagre in frame as they were themselves, they could not understand the plump form, tall figure and fresh complexion of the Englishwoman. Unlike their own experience, it was more likely to be evil than good.⁸⁷

This brief quotation tells the reader all that is required regarding both why Fanny is the victim of the piece and also why she is punished in the way that she is. Through the juxtaposition of the ill-looking French citizens (who seem, themselves, to harken back to some primitive ancestor with their small frames and 'swarthy' appearance) and the tall, healthy Englishwoman, the reader understands that to mix their genes would only mean a dilution of the 'good' English gene pool into the 'bad' French one. Herbert Spencer wrote of the folly of mixing the gene pools of different races in a letter to Kameko Kentaro, a Japanese Cabinet Minister, in 1892, writing that

[intermarriage between foreigners and Japanese people] should be positively forbidden. It is not at root a question of social philosophy. It is at root a question of biology. There is abundant proof, alike furnished by the inter-marriages of human races and by the inter-breeding of animals, that when the varieties mingled diverge beyond a certain slight degree, *the result is invariably a bad one* in the long run.⁸⁸ [italics in original]

Spencer then qualifies this statement by explaining further that;

[t]he physiological basis of this experience appears to be that any one variety of creature in course of many generations acquires a certain constitutional adaptation to its particular form of life, and every other

⁸⁷ Linton, p.160.

⁸⁸ D. Duncan, *Life and Letters of Herbert Spencer*, (1908), printed in J. D. Y. Peel (Ed.), *Herbert Spencer on Evolution*, (London; The University of Chicago, 1972), pp.253-257, p.256.

variety similarly acquires its own special adaptation. The consequence is that, if you mix the constitutions of two widely divergent varieties which have severally become adapted to widely divergent modes of life, you get a constitution which is adapted to the mode of neither.⁸⁹

Spencer's argument for the non-adaptability of mixed species assists in yielding an understanding of the necessity for Fanny and the French villagers to remain separate; any child that resulted from Fanny and Jules' marriage would fit in neither with the primitive French, nor with the tall and healthy (more evolved) English. Havelock Ellis also had his own theories regarding foreigners marrying. In his work, *The Task of Social Hygiene* (1912), he writes that '[p]eople do not tend to fall in love with those who are in racial respects a contrast to themselves; they do not tend to fall in love with foreigners; they do not tend to be attracted to the ugly, the diseased, the deformed.'⁹⁰ Ellis' combining of the foreigner with people who were diseased and deformed places race within the argument for the necessity of a eugenics programme during the *fin de siècle*, as Ellis clearly views race in the same way that he does genetics (specifically those genes that mean the birth of a 'deformed' or ill child), and so, Fanny's decision to marry a Frenchman implies that there is also something 'wrong' with Fanny since, according to Ellis, no one would marry outside their own racial group.

If a person is willing to risk their racial purity, in the texts under examination in this thesis, they must necessarily be punished. If there is an assumption that anything foreign was also degenerate then anything less than white

⁸⁹ D. Duncan, printed in Peel, p.257.

⁹⁰ Ellis, p.206.

Protestantism also becomes less than ideal. The vampires in the texts act as the racial boundary that marks them as the group that should most be avoided as potential breeding partners as the vampires will of necessity for the text, be on the 'wrong' side of the racial border, a fact which the reader becomes aware of through the narrative structure but this is not necessarily something that the victims of the vampires learn, hence the requirement for their destruction or sterilisation. While the victims may not learn anything within the texts, it is still possible for the reader to glean the moral of the tale and maintain the racial heritage that they possess.

Linton's tale has an unusual example of the figure of the foreigner because, within the text, there are two sets of foreigner: the narrative (British) voice sees the French as 'ill-nourished, low of stature and meagre in frame'⁹¹ and the French villagers see Fanny (the British woman in France) as a vampire due to her 'plump form, tall figure and fresh complexion.'⁹² The two sets of descriptions almost completely mirror each other in opposition; where the French are short, Fanny is tall; she has a good figure and healthy-looking skin whereas the French are under-nourished. The two types of foreignness at play within the text work in synchronicity with each other; Fanny is punished through risking her good, pure English blood and the French fear Fanny because they believe she represents a danger to their village with her own foreignness and what the French term her '*beauté du diable*.'⁹³ The French villagers' perception of Fanny which marks her as 'Other' within their community symbolically goes to also mark her as racially 'Other' and it is this

⁹¹ Linton, p.160.

⁹² Linton, p.160.

⁹³ Linton, p.160.

racial difference that becomes the reason for her destruction as because of it, the villagers believe her to be a vampire, rather than an example of a healthy English person. The lesson therefore becomes clear for this text; a person should not marry from outside the same racial background as other races would have different standards of health.

Guy de Maupassant's 'The Horla' (1886) is unusual in the instances of foreign vampirism featured in this thesis since the vampire is positioned by de Maupassant as the evolutionary superior of humanity. This gives the reader a 'first hand' experience of foreign invader and conqueror versus the native conquered. De Maupassant's text is littered with examples of the evolutionary struggle for survival as the narrator becomes more and more aware of the presence of the vampiric creature and the power that it has over him. The narrator links humanity with the animal kingdom which establishes not only the idea of the human/primate but also the idea that humanity should not be so arrogant as to assume that its dominion over all creatures. Firstly, the narrator states that '[t]he public are an imbecile herd,'⁹⁴ and then continues with

the lion has devoured the sharp-horned buffalo; man has slain the lion with the arrow, sword and powder; but the Horla will treat man, as man has treated the horse and the ox. By the mere exercise of his will-power, he will convert man into his chattel, his slave, his food.⁹⁵

By aligning humanity with a 'herd' he turns them from the head of the food chain to just another prey animal, one that is subject to the laws and

⁹⁴ Guy de Maupassant, 'The Horla', (1886), printed in A. Gladwell and J. Havoc (Eds.), *Blood and Roses: The Vampire in 19th Century Literature*, (London; Creation Press, 1992), pp.219-242, pp.226-7.

⁹⁵ de Maupassant, p.237.

difficulties of all other animals that face the struggle for existence. Using the image of the lion, buffalo and hunter-man cements the idea of the hunter/prey idea within the reader's mind but then creates the fear that man, in this text, has exchanged places with the lion and can now be viewed as the buffalo due to the presence of the Horla.

Not only is the link between humanity and prey discussed within this text, de Maupassant also discusses the idea of the fragility of the human condition by setting up comparisons with the Horla: a creature who the narrator believes can survive fire when he ponders

[w]hy should [the Horla] have been endowed with this transparent, mysterious, ethereal body, if there was any need for him to be afraid of illness, wounds, infirmities, or premature destruction? [...] After man, the Horla. After man, who may die any day, any hour, any minute, by any sort of accident, comes that Being [the Horla], who can die only at the appointed day, hour and minute.⁹⁶

Humanity in this text is no longer 'good enough'; frail and susceptible to die of diseases or accidents which shorten our existence on Earth, instead 'we' are replaceable by a foreign creature who exists without the burden of fear by 'premature destruction' who is apparently able to withstand the heat of fire and the threat of disease.

The narrator begins his contemplation of the idea of a being that would be superior to humanity by musing 'a new being? Why not? It was inevitable [...] his nature is more perfect than ours [...] his body has finer qualities and is

⁹⁶ de Maupassant, p.241.

more cunningly contrived.⁹⁷ The Horla's 'finer' body and superior abilities are comparable to what Charles Darwin wrote of in regard to the colonisation of native races by new ones when he stated that

as all the inhabitants of each country are struggling together with nicely balanced forces, extremely slight modifications in the structure or habits of one inhabitant would give it an advantage over others [...] as foreigners have thus everywhere beaten some of the natives, we may safely conclude that the natives might have been modified with advantage.⁹⁸

Darwin's view of the possibility of beneficial modification via the medium of advantageous 'foreign' genes being passed to 'native' races in order to better equip them against future invasion through what would come to be known as 'positive eugenics' (the encouragement of 'good' genetic stock breeding together), was not something that the *fin de siècle* writers studied within this thesis appeared to care for. In de Maupassant's text, this is revealed through the purely destructive nature of the vampire; the Horla does not appear to want to assist the genetic future of France by mixing with the inhabitants, instead choosing to turn humanity into his food as its natural successor.

The way in which eugenics works within 'The Horla' changes to accommodate the notion of foreign invasion. By combining the narrator's degenerative (human) flaws with the strength and apparent invincibility of the vampire, de Maupassant presents a eugenic text where humanity becomes the native population that is no longer 'good enough' to be allowed to continue and so the presence of the vampire embodies the eugenicist, deciding that humanity

⁹⁷ de Maupassant, p.238.

⁹⁸ Darwin, (1859), p.69.

as an entire population should no longer be allowed to persist as it is no longer the 'top' of the food chain. The text of 'The Horla' is full of philosophical discussions regarding the nature of the unknown, the invisible world, and nature. The first of the diary entries that makes up the text ponders on the way in which so much of what surrounds humanity was unknowable at the time of publication; the narrator writes

[h]ow profound is the mystery of the invisible [...] our eyes fail to perceive a thing because it is too small or too large, too near or too far. The dwellers in a star are as invisible to our eyes, as the bacteria in a drop of water [...] Our sense of smell is feebler than that of a hound [...] Ah! If only we were endowed with other senses, which would perform our wonders for us, how much more widely could we appreciate our surroundings.⁹⁹

From the beginning of the text, the narrator describes the flaws of humanity, making unfavourable comparisons with dogs in order to cement the argument that humans are, perhaps, not as special a species as was generally accepted. This indictment on the feebleness of humanity is followed when the narrator travels to Mont Saint-Michel and speaks to one of the monks there. The monk acts as devil's advocate, asking the narrator if

you imagine [...] that we see the hundred-thousandth part of what exists? Consider the wind, which is the greatest of the forces of nature. It knocks men down, demolishes houses, uproots trees [...] The wind whistles, groans, bellows, sometimes it even kills. Have you seen it? Will you ever see it? It exists nevertheless.¹⁰⁰

The discussions regarding the invisible begin to add up to a tangential argument within the main framework of the text: the narrator feels mentally unwell, he ponders on the nature of existence, the invisible and the limitations of humanity, the monk asks him if he thinks we understand the smallest part

⁹⁹ de Maupassant, p.220.

¹⁰⁰ de Maupassant, p.224.

of existence, and into all of this comes a creature that does appear to. The Horla is invisible, like the wind, and seemingly has the ability to understand and perceive much more of this world than the narrator. Finally, the narrator begins to understand once he has been able to read

Hermann Herestauss, Doctor of Philosophy and Theogony, [who] deals with the history and manifestations of all the invisible beings who haunt the human race or infest our dreams. He describes their origins, their domain, their powers. But not one of them resembles this incubus of mine. His writings suggest to me that ever since man has been able to think, he has had a terrifying presentiment of the coming of a new being, stronger than himself. This being is to be man's successor upon earth. The human race has felt the approach of its master and, unable to foresee his nature, has in its terror created the whole fantastic world of occult beings, vague phantoms, the offspring of man's fears.¹⁰¹

The narrator's realisation once he has read Herestauss that the Horla is man's natural successor suggests that the moral of the tale relates to the instability of superiority of western society which included not only Britain but also America and the European continent (since de Maupassant was a French writer) and that society must strive for perfection less it be overtaken by a different, more resilient creature (the Horla) or race, especially since the Horla is Brazilian in origin as evidenced by the reports of a newspaper which states that 'in the Province of San Paolo, an epidemic of insanity is raging [...]. Their tormentors are beings, who are tangible but not visible. They are, seemingly, a species of vampire.'¹⁰² The Horla's invisibility makes his racial status more complex than any of the other vampires, even those who profess a 'cosmopolitan' heritage (as below), because the usual racial signifiers of skin colour cannot be determined, therefore, the fear becomes that the Horla

¹⁰¹ de Maupassant, p.235.

¹⁰² de Maupassant, pp.236-7.

may not be white skinned and yet more suited for existence than the narrator of the text and further, Western society.

In 'John Barrington Cowles' (1884) there is the first instance, within the texts under examination here, of the idea of the cosmopolitan foreigner, in the bodies of Kate and her aunt, Mrs Merton. Speaking to Robert so that only he can hear, Mrs Merton says to him "[w]e are not natives of any place. We are cosmopolitan."¹⁰³ Mrs Merton's line highlights precisely why the idea of the cosmopolitan can be seen as the most dangerous type of foreign threat; by saying that they are not native anywhere, this means that wherever they go, they can be viewed as foreign and also means that there is no way of knowing the genetic heritage that Kate carries. If she cannot be seen as fully British, then there is no guarantee that she does not carry a genetic lineage that could contain any of the perceived 'unsuitable' (non-white) racial genes.

From Kate's perspective however, her cosmopolitanism becomes a useful tool for her to use as a eugenic punisher. Appearing foreign wherever she goes allows her to test the men that she meets to determine if any of them would be willing to risk their racial purity by seeking her as a potential mate, since as Edwin Black writes, '[r]ace mixing was considered race suicide.'¹⁰⁴ It was this threat of race suicide that the foreign vampires (and especially the cosmopolitan vampires due to the ability that they have to be foreign everywhere) help to stem within the fiction under discussion here; by stopping the victims that they settle on from fulfilling the possibility of having a child of

¹⁰³ Doyle, p.34.

¹⁰⁴ Edwin Black, *War Against the Weak: Eugenics and America's Campaign to Create a Master Race*, (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 2004), p.31.

mixed genetic heritage either through the victim's death or 'forcing' infertility on them, they also stop the potential danger that the victim poses in their willingness to risk their racial purity.

Vardalek, in Count Eric Stenbock's 'A True Story of a Vampire' (1894), is the second example of a vampire who claims a 'cosmopolitan' heritage, which, to some people was not so attractive a prospect: in 1892, the *Glasgow Herald* published the following; '[p]ride in an Imperial yet Democratic State is quite as intelligible as that sentiment which is still evoked by such names as those of Elizabeth and Pitt, and it is vastly more inspiring than a nebulous cosmopolitanism.'¹⁰⁵ In this article, cosmopolitanism represents a mixture, rather than a good, strong British ideal, as represented by the naming of a past queen and politician; if people are cosmopolitan, they come from a mixture of different 'nebulous' backgrounds rather than one singular identifiable race.

Vardalek in 'A True Story of a Vampire' freely admits to his being of mixed-race as he says to his host family "You see I am a cosmopolitan, a wanderer on the face of the earth."¹⁰⁶ His admission goes further than Kate's aunt as he also admits that he *wanders* the earth, meaning that he is able to act as eugenic examiner wherever he goes (and also aligns him with the figure of the Wandering Jew); he does not simply state that he wanders the country, or even the continent: Vardalek is truly the epitome of the eugenic vampire as his quest is world-wide, not fixed to a specific area.

¹⁰⁵*Glasgow Herald*, (Glasgow, Scotland), Tuesday, December 6th, 1892; Issue 292.

¹⁰⁶ Count Eric Stenbock, 'A True Story of a Vampire', (1894), printed in Haining, *The Vampire Omnibus*, (1996), pp.158-169, p.165.

Tanya Agathocleous identifies two separate issues of cosmopolitanism which concerned writers such as

Mill, Carlyle and Macaulay [...these worries included](1) the fear of dispersal – of the loss of national character that many associated with international trade, emigration to the colonies and immigration from them – and (2) the fear of hybridity, “vagrancy,” or border-crossing. Thus the label cosmopolitan was readily fixed to individuals or groups who appeared to challenge the social, economic, or political integrity of the nation, such as homosexuals, political radicals, artists, Jews.¹⁰⁷

It is possible to read the character of Vardalek as fitting into both the categories that are identified above: not only is he representative of immigration, but he also falls into the second category of border crosser due to his homosexuality. Vardalek’s first encounter with a member of the household is through Gabriel and Carmela’s father whom he meets at a train station ‘through the late arrival of another at [the] station [...] He had joined in conversation with my father [...] and had consequently accepted my father’s invitation to stay the night.’¹⁰⁸ Gabriel and Carmela’s father makes the unwise (from a eugenic stand point) decision to marry a woman who was of gypsy extract, leading to children who possess an ‘innate wildness’¹⁰⁹ (a situation which is discussed in further detail in the following chapter) and it is this willingness to breed with a woman of lower racial station that attracts Vardalek to the family.

¹⁰⁷ Tanya Agathocleous, *Urban Realism and the Cosmopolitan Imagination in the Nineteenth Century: Visible City, Invisible World*, (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 2011), p.34.

¹⁰⁸ Stenbock, p.163.

¹⁰⁹ Stenbock, p.162.

Animal Characteristics

One of the main ways in which the authors of the texts under examination here identify their characters as degenerate is by assigning an animal characteristic to them; identifying both vampire and victim with the animal kingdom immediately sets both apart from the 'normal' characters within the texts. This also suggests a certain bestial quality to their natures that gives the impression that they are less-than human and therefore unsuitable as procreators.

While Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's 'John Barrington Cowles' (1884) does not feature an exact likening of a character to an animal, there is an instance where Cowles, learning of Kate's 'secret', says to his friend Armitage that "[t]here is a story [...] in one of Marryat's books, about a beautiful woman who took the form of a wolf at night and devoured her own children."¹¹⁰ Cowles uses this analogy in order to give some idea of the secret that Kate has just revealed to him but which he finds himself unable to fully divulge. The idea that Barrington Cowles expresses of the transforming monstrous female mirrors Kate's behaviour and purpose within the text; though she does not literally transform, Kate psychically devours the men to whom she becomes engaged in order to purge them of their degenerative behaviours. The image of the child-devouring mother creates a strong image in the reader's mind of Kate's purpose not being a reproductive one; none of the vampires in the texts within this thesis are there to serve as procreators and so they instead become associated with destructive imagery such as that above.

¹¹⁰ Doyle, p.44.

The animal characteristics assigned to the characters of Robert Louis Stevenson's 'Olalla' (1885) reflect the main theme which runs throughout the text, that of genetic impoverishment through degenerative genes. Each member of the family is assigned some animalistic character to echo the degeneration that the narrator appears to refuse to acknowledge; this is especially the case with the character of Olalla whom the narrator wants to marry.

Felipe, who is Olalla's brother, and whom the narrator has the most contact with of the family to begin with, 'would suddenly spring into a tree with one bound, and hang and gambol there like one at home'¹¹¹ when they go out for a walk together. The way in which Felipe hangs from tree branches gives the immediate impression that he retains some apish behaviours that set him apart from 'normal' humanity and make him appear to be less evolved than the narrator who no longer feels 'at home' himself in trees. Stephen Jay Gould writes in his *The Mismeasure [sic] of Man* that '[g]erms of an ancestral past lie dormant in our heredity. In some unfortunate individuals, the past comes to life again. These people are innately driven to act as a normal ape or savage would.'¹¹² The idea of a bestial heredity is precisely what Stevenson reveals through the character of Felipe: he shares more in common with our ape ancestors than with the man who stands and watches him from the ground due to the degenerate genes which Felipe inherited.

¹¹¹ Stevenson, p.143.

¹¹² Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man; A Brilliant and Controversial Study of Intelligence Testing*, (London; Penguin Books, 1992), p.124.

The image of the ape is frequently used in conjunction with degenerate characters within *fin de siècle* fiction; in Stevenson's *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*, which was published the year after 'Olalla' in 1886, Mr Hyde is frequently associated with apishness as when his murder of Sir Danvers Carew is being described: Hyde is said to possess an 'ape-like fury'¹¹³ and later, in his own account, Jekyll states that Hyde's hand, unlike Jekyll's own, is 'lean, corded, knuckly, of a dusky pallor and thickly shaded with a swart growth of hair.'¹¹⁴ The description of Hyde's hands in comparison to Jekyll's human hands serves to differentiate between the normality of Jekyll and his degenerate (and apparently less-evolved) alter-ego. The image of humanity's earlier evolutionary counterpart also forms part of Ayesha's transformation in H. Rider Haggard's *She* (1887) when she has bathed in the strange flames for the second time and the magic of her existence leaves her; first Job marks her transformation when he says "'she's shrivelling up! She's turning into a monkey!'"¹¹⁵ then Holly's narration takes over and he notes that 'her skin changed colour, and in place of the perfect whiteness of its lustre it turned dirty brown and yellow [...] she lay still before us, near the masses of her own dark hair, no larger than a big monkey, and hideous.'¹¹⁶ Ayesha's transformation does not just transform her from the human to the animalistic, it also takes her back through the various races as her skin takes on the pigments of other races, aligning her de-evolution with common nineteenth century beliefs that different races were at a lower evolutionary point than white people. The likening of characters with apes in the vampire fiction

¹¹³ Robert Louis Stevenson, *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*, (1886), (London; Constable and Company, Ltd., 1991), p.15.

¹¹⁴ Stevenson, (1886), p.47.

¹¹⁵ H. Rider Haggard, *She*, (1887), (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 2008), p.257.

¹¹⁶ Haggard, p.257.

examined in this thesis therefore equates that character with a less-evolved stage of humanity and also marks them as unsuitable for procreation.

Later in the tale, before the narrator has seen Olalla, he is locked in his room and hears 'some living thing, some lunatic or some wild animal [...] being fully tortured'¹¹⁷ and the narrator assumes that due to the mental faculties he has already witnessed that 'the daughter of the Señora, and the sister of Felipe, should be herself insane? Or, what more likely than that these ignorant and half-witted people should seek to manage an afflicted kinswoman by violence?'¹¹⁸ These two quotations reveal two different things at play within the text; firstly the combining of lunacy with animalism and then the assumption that the narrator (and therefore the reader as well since we have no evidence to the contrary at this time in the text) makes that the noises are made by Olalla. By linking the cries that he hears to Olalla, Stevenson makes the reader view her in the same light as the rest of her family: aligning Olalla with the animalistic Felipe. The noises are in fact made by the Señora but at this point in the text, it is important that Olalla is seen as the same as the rest of her family because once we (and the narrator) are introduced to her, the contrast between her and her mother and brother is more marked since, outwardly, she appears 'normal' and not as affected by the degeneration that is so visible in Felipe and the Señora.

Olalla does still have an animal characteristic attributed to her by Stevenson which shows she truly is part of the family line; once the narrator has been

¹¹⁷ Stevenson, (1885), p.150.

¹¹⁸ Stevenson, (1885), p.150.

attacked by the Señora, Olalla cares for his wound, 'moaning and mourning over it with dove-like sounds. They were not words that came to her, they were sounds more beautiful than speech.'¹¹⁹ The narrator's opinion of the noises that Olalla makes is that they are soothing and show her affection for him. However, Gillian Beer argues that the 'loss of language is the final phase of degeneration'¹²⁰ and so, Olalla's loss of language here links her with the rest of her family and makes it clear to the reader that she would not be suitable to have a child with.

Within the evolutionary fears that 'The Horla' (1886) details, in several places, the narrator describes his relationship with the creature using analogies present in the animal kingdom by stating that 'I might perhaps manage to seize [the Horla], and dash him to bits on the ground. Dogs have been known to turn on their masters, bite them and worry them to death.'¹²¹ By giving himself the role of the dog and the Horla that of the master, the nameless narrator of the text acknowledges the superiority of the invisible creature that has begun to feed from him and hold him under the influence of its will. This notion of the trained dog can be seen later in the text when the narrator escapes momentarily from the influence of the vampiric creature, only to receive the call to 'heel' by the creature through the way in which the narrator is forced to shout "[h]ome!"¹²² to the servant who has been driving his carriage.

¹¹⁹ Stevenson, (1885), p.163.

¹²⁰ Gillian Beer, *Darwin's Plots: Evolutionary Narrative in Darwin, George Eliot and Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.111.

¹²¹ de Maupassant, p.236.

¹²² de Maupassant, p.235.

It is not enough though, for the Horla, that the narrator should follow his orders; instead, the narrator must also serve as food as he states that 'the wolf has eaten the sheep.'¹²³ In this quotation, the narrator places himself in the position of the subservient, prey animal of the sheep while the Horla embodies the hunter wolf. By attributing these specific characteristics to the narrator, victim, and the Horla, vampire, de Maupassant gives an immediate guide to the reader as to the nature of the evolutionary shift that he wishes to convey through the text: man can no longer be considered master of this world as there are other creatures that may one day come forward who will be stronger and more suited to survival. The vampire in this text therefore serves as a warning to society that it must continue to strive for supremacy lest some other race supersede it; within these texts, this is only possible through the intervention of the vampire and the eugenic function that they perform: weeding out those who would damage the possibility of (white) society evolving further.

Count Eric Stenbock's tale 'A True Story of a Vampire' also uses stylistically similar imagery as de Maupassant to describe his vampire (Vardalek) and victim (Gabriel). Within the tale, the first time that they see one another, Stenbock makes evident the nature of their soon to be relationship when he writes that 'Gabriel stood stock-still, with a startled look, like a bird fascinated by a serpent.'¹²⁴ By comparing his vampire and victim to hunter (snake) and prey (bird) animals, Stenbock immediately draws the reader's attention to the fact that Vardalek has chosen Gabriel as his prey and that there must be

¹²³ de Maupassant, p.237.

¹²⁴ Stenbock, p.164.

reasoning behind his choice of victim as Gabriel is not the only member of the household. Vardalek is personified as having something 'serpentine'¹²⁵ about his figure, the imagery evoking the idea of the snake, and most especially, of Satan in Eden tempting Eve. Stenbock creates a vampire that is the ideal temptation for his victim; both musical and degenerate, they develop a homosexual relationship as Vardalek begins to feed from him and ultimately kills Gabriel.

Throughout the tale, Stenbock illustrates to the reader why Gabriel is marked out as eugenically unsuitable as a potential mate; he has a deep affinity with the animals that live around their estate, described by the narrator, Carmela, a name which is surely a nod to Le Fanu's more well-known tale, as able to 'run faster than any deer: spring like a squirrel to the topmost branch of a tree'¹²⁶ and also in his ability to sit happily amongst 'all manner of woodland creatures [...] hedgehogs, little foxes, wild rabbits'¹²⁷ as if they were tame. The way in which Stenbock uses both the literal and a simile (he *does* run faster than a deer but he is *like* a squirrel when he jumps into trees) to describe Gabriel indicate that he retains certain animal characteristics which would mark him as being more in touch with his animalistic and bestial ancestral nature than with a progressive human way of behaving. Further to this is his ability to sit amongst animals that would otherwise, surely, have run away from him; in being able to commune happily with them, Gabriel demonstrates that he has a greater link to the animal kingdom than he does to the fellow human beings from whom he shies away.

¹²⁵ Stenbock, p.163.

¹²⁶ Stenbock, p.162.

¹²⁷ Stenbock, p.162.

Along with Gabriel's animalistic behaviours, Stenbock also makes his victim largely silent throughout the text. The single sentence of speech that Gabriel has is "[y]es, I think I could play that"¹²⁸ in response to Vardalek playing music on the piano. Though Carmela states that Gabriel speaks with Vardalek and asks after him when Vardalek is not staying with them, he is given no further direct speech. This relative silence, I believe, also adds to the impression of Gabriel's unsuitability as a potential future breeder: using Gillian Beer's assertion above that a loss of language indicated the final steps towards degeneration, Gabriel's affiliation with the animals around the estate and his lack of speech within the text, combine to indicate that he suffers from degeneration and should be eugenically 'sterilised' via the intervention of Vardalek.

Mary Elizabeth Braddon's 'Good Lady Ducayne' (1896) utilises the idea of the animal characteristic but in a different way to the previous examples already explored; rather than assigning specific animalistic qualities to the character of Lady Ducayne, Braddon instead uses various animal parts to describe the old woman;

wrapped in an *ermine* mantle; a withered, old face under a *plumed* bonnet – a face so wasted by age that it seemed only a pair of eyes and a peaked chin. The *nose was peaked*, too, but between the sharply *pointed* chin and the *great, shining eyes*, the small, aquiline nose was hardly visible [...] *Claw-like* fingers, flashing with jewels, lifted a double eyeglass to Lady Ducayne's shining black eyes¹²⁹ [italics my own]

¹²⁸ Stenbock, p.165.

¹²⁹ Braddon, (1896), pp.142-3.

The variety of animal characteristics that Lady Ducayne has appearing both feathered and furred with the bonnet that she wears and the fur she has round her shoulders combined with her beak-like nose, pointed chin and claws serves to mark Lady Ducayne as a creature less-than human: as Braddon gives the reader a sense of her features in pieces, using the concept of the blazon to disguise the whole, all the reader truly sees are the claws, beak, fur and feathers of the character. There is no sense of a real human face or body within the passage. Within this text, Lady Ducayne is one half of a vampiric duo (the other being Dr Parravicini) as she receives the blood that has been stolen from her companions. The characteristics described above also assist in demonstrating to the reader the danger that Bella, the victim, is putting herself in by allowing herself to be 'carried off' by the hawk-like Lady Ducayne to Italy.

This chapter has discussed notions of degeneration in some of the vampire fiction of the late-nineteenth century. I have demonstrated that the fear of degeneration could be seen everywhere and was not necessarily a personal, individual condition but one that could encompass whole landscapes and villages. Landscapes and the interior rooms of houses come to represent the corresponding issues within the victims that come into contact with them. By staying in the degenerate environment, they are seen as degenerate by the readers who see the issues that they suffer from. The vampires within these texts embody the most degenerate of their type; completely unredeemable they (instead) act for society, carrying out judgements and executions where necessary on the individuals that they ear-mark as possible degenerates. The

authors of these texts give their victims and vampires corresponding descriptions so that each becomes the different sides of the same coin; where the vampire is the hunter animal, the victim figuratively becomes their prey. Each victim is assigned the vampire that suits them best, the authors creating a perfect symbiosis of degenerate and degenerate destroyer.

Nineteenth Century Eugenics and the Vampire

This chapter will argue that the theory of eugenics as propounded by Francis Galton (cousin to Charles Darwin) in the latter portion of the nineteenth century was used by some authors of contemporary vampire fiction to create nightmare versions of conduct books; the vampires choose their victims purposefully in order to remove the 'dangers' the victims pose to society were they to breed and the reader is given a clear moral conclusion from the author as to why the victims were chosen. The authors of conduct books established sets of behaviours that were to be emulated or, conversely, they set up characters with undesirable behaviours that were to be punished. It was also possible for sensation fiction to work in this way, teaching readers whose behaviour should or should not be copied. Lady Audley, for instance, in the eponymous novel of 1862 by Mary Elizabeth Braddon, suffers eventual incarceration on the continent due to an avaristic nature that leads her to commit bigamy, arson and murder, as she narrates to Robert "I was told that I was pretty – beautiful – lovely – bewitching. I listened to them greedily, and began to think that in spite of the secret of my life I might be more successful than my companions in the world's great lottery."¹³⁰ The greed demonstrated in the quotation is her real undoing; had she been content with the life she had with George rather than being obsessed with material wealth and admiration, her fate would, perhaps, have been different. Judith Rowbotham writes that '[w]ould-be good girls with hopes of becoming good women were encouraged to look to fictional heroines as well as real "good women" for

¹³⁰ Mary Elizabeth Braddon, *Lady Audley's Secret*, (1862), (London; Atlantic Books, 2009), p.373.

guidance.’¹³¹ Clearly Lady Audley’s behaviour is not meant to be emulated by ‘good girls’ but the principle of creating characters that have clear moral or immoral attributes is what the authors of eugenic fiction under discussion here do, with the consequences of making a bad sexual match made clear, as in Sarah Grand’s *The Heavenly Twins* (1893) where Edith married the diseased Menteith and gave birth to a child who ‘had rapidly degenerated’¹³² and she ends the novel insane. The vampire fiction under discussion in this thesis also works along the same basic principle of eugenic fiction although in the vampire fiction, the vampires act before the bad eugenic prospects have a chance to procreate and spread their ‘disease’, also illustrating to the reader the types of behaviours that should be avoided in prospective partners.

This chapter will concentrate on notions of class where the last chapter had more of a focus on ideas of nationality, foreignness and the primitive or animal-human/vampire in order to examine the various types of victims. According to contemporary eugenic arguments it was supposed that the middle classes would save society as they had the necessary intellect and moral values to do so; as Regenia Gagnier writes, ‘[e]ugenics was the biologization [sic] of class: saving the bourgeoisie from the degenerate barbarism of the aristocracy and the primitive savagery of the urban working classes.’¹³³ It is important to understand that not every eugenicist felt that the working class would not be useful for eugenics, while Galton may have held

¹³¹ Judith Rowbotham, *Good Girls Make Good Wives: Guidance for Girls in Victorian Fiction*, (Oxford; Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1989), p.22.

¹³² Grand, p.277.

¹³³ Regenia Gagnier, ‘Women in British Aestheticism and the Decadence’, printed in Angelique Richardson and Chris Willis (Eds.), *The New Woman in Fiction and in Fact: Fin-de-siècle Feminisms*, (Basingstoke; Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp.239-249, p.247.

the belief that it would only be the middle classes who could be relied upon to provide for a stable future, some writers such as Havelock Ellis believed that other classes might be able to provide suitable genetic material, as long as a strict system of inquiry was undertaken to ensure no hidden genetic defects had been concealed by potential mates. He wrote, for example, that 'such good stocks in the lower social classes being probably the most resistant to adverse conditions'¹³⁴ suggesting that the lower classes would also make suitable partners as they had suffered more than the privileged upper classes. The selection of who would be suitable for breeding from the classes would be chosen through

a general system, whether private or public, whereby all personal facts, biological and mental, normal and morbid, are duly and systematically registered [and this] must become inevitable if we are to have a real guide as to those persons who are most fit, or unfit, to carry on the race.¹³⁵

There is therefore a need to distinguish between those lower classes who had no hope of redemption (those who had become part of the criminal classes or were alcoholic for example) to those who attempted to better themselves with respectable work (such as shall be discussed with the character of Bella in 'Good Lady Ducayne'). However, in the vampire fiction I will discuss, the middle class is the class that most often comes under threat from the vampires due to some taint that affects their suitability to breed. It will therefore be argued that although the middle class could, in some examples of nineteenth-century fiction, be relied upon to provide a suitable genetic future, they were by no means infallible and so it may seem even more crucial

¹³⁴ Ellis, pp.19-20.

¹³⁵ Ellis, p.200.

that characters from this social background were examined and proven to be suitable as possible mates.

Nineteenth-century selective breeding for humans was first written using the term eugenics by Francis Galton whose principal idea was

the practicability of supplanting inefficient human stock by better strains, and to consider whether it might not be our duty to do so by such efforts as may be reasonable, thus exerting ourselves to further the ends of evolution more rapidly and with less distress than if events were left to their own course.¹³⁶

The idea of encouraging the good stock to breed was positive eugenics; Galton's definition of this was 'watching for the indications of superior strains or races, and in so favouring them that their progeny shall outnumber and gradually replace that of the old one.'¹³⁷ Not all social scientists were as optimistic as Galton when it came to the future of society; people such as Charles Davenport (who was an American eugenicist) utilised the main principle of eugenics (to allow the 'good strains' to breed) by stopping the 'bad strains' from breeding at all (known as 'negative' eugenics), even through state-approved sterilisation policies if necessary as he believed that '[i]f the state could take a person's life [...] surely it could deny the lesser right of reproduction.'¹³⁸ It was this idea of negative eugenics that was most commonly used in the fiction at the end of the nineteenth century with authors such as Sarah Grand and Thomas Hardy (in *Jude the Obscure*) and playwrights such as Ibsen (in *A Doll's House*) discussing through their chosen media about the dangers of allowing 'uncontrolled' breeding with characters

¹³⁶ Galton, (1883), pp.1-2.

¹³⁷ Galton, (1883), p.307.

¹³⁸ Daniel J. Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity*, (Middlesex; Penguin Books Ltd., 1985), p.47.

such as Edith in *The Heavenly Twins* and Dr Rank in *A Doll's House* suffering to various degrees due to sexual immorality: had they or their parents refrained from sexual intercourse, the issues of transmitted sexual disease within the novel and play would not have arisen.

Working in America, Davenport believed in a 'selective immigration policy'¹³⁹ in order to preserve the purity of the white Protestant middle classes as that was often regarded as the only group that could be relied upon to advance society, thus creating a future that was free from the threat of degeneration: racial, religious and otherwise. The notion of negative eugenics can be traced further back than Davenport to Thomas Malthus and his work 'An Essay on the Principle of Population' (1798) and the fears that Britain would soon be unable to feed its 'surplus' population of workers. In 1839, *The Champion and Weekly Herald* published a speech which put it that '[i]f there is not sufficient in this country to keep the people, it would be wisdom to destroy those who consume all, and preserve those who produce all.'¹⁴⁰ Though this could just be regarded as politics, it serves to illustrate the perceived necessity of some kind of state-controlled reproductive arrangement.

I argue that it is this element of negative eugenics that the vampire fiction of the *fin de siècle* concentrates on: the victims of the vampires are chosen because of a flaw either in their mental or in their genetic makeup and are therefore destroyed in order to preserve the continuation of society. *Fin de siècle* society faced a great deal of turmoil and flux from many areas which

¹³⁹ Kevles, p.47.

¹⁴⁰ *The Champion and Weekly Herald*, (London, England), Sunday March 3rd, 1839; Issue 43.

had appeared stable and safe not long before; as Kelly Hurley writes '[e]very direction one turned, scientists pointed toward the possibility, even inevitability, of changes within the physical or social environment that would irrevocably reshape the human form and human culture'¹⁴¹ which brings together the ideas of evolution and environment that were discussed in the previous chapter. These ideas and the ensuing fears meant that there was a desire for structure in order for people to have a sense of control and stability in the new world that was only a few years away, as Glennis Byron writes;

[m]any forms of nineteenth-century materialist science, including Lombrosian criminal anthropology, had attempted to provide tools for identifying and categorising what was decadent, criminal, abnormal within human nature, to establish and distance what was alien and reaffirm the stability of the norm.¹⁴²

This identification and stabilisation became standard for social commentators writing at the *fin de siècle* as it allowed them to establish a sense of permanence; if it was possible to identify that which was decadent and degenerate, it would also be possible to establish those behaviours that would benefit society.

The figure of the vampire became a convenient symbol to be used by authors wishing to write eugenic fiction, not only for the obvious reason that vampires feed on humans and would therefore swiftly do away with 'problem' victims, but also because according to Ken Gelder

the vampire's function is to cross back and forth over boundaries that should otherwise be secure – the boundaries between humans and

¹⁴¹ Kelly Hurley, *The Gothic Body; Sexuality, Materialism, and Degeneration at the Fin de Siècle*, (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 2004), p.65.

¹⁴² Glennis Byron, 'Gothic in the 1890s', printed in David Punter (Ed.), *A Companion to the Gothic*, (Oxford; Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2004), pp.132-142, p.134.

animals, humans and Gods, and, as an expression of its 'polymorphous' sexuality, man and woman.¹⁴³

This crossing of boundaries in eugenic terms allowed the fictional vampires to police these same boundaries and keep watch for 'undesirable' victims who also crossed the same or similar boundaries: the homosexual, the unmasculine man, the unfeminine woman and the animal-human, thereby becoming a fictional agent for society, but one that fulfils a specific, useful purpose, as opposed to vampires such as Carmilla and Lord Ruthven whose behaviours are merely destructive. Not only was the vampire a useful figure for authors to use but the horror genre also served a purpose, as Gelder writes: 'the reader of horror fiction is obliged to consent to "normality" through the arousal of fear.'¹⁴⁴ Though the *fin de siècle* vampire fiction is more gothic than horror, the quotation still holds for both genres with the establishment of real life normality and a desire for the status quo through the creation of fictional fear. The contemporary reader is therefore persuaded to consent to whatever construction of normality is being espoused at a given time through the figure and behaviours of the vampire and victims, with the vampires in the fiction under discussion here revealing what that idea of normality was at the time such as the necessity of the evidently degenerate victim being stopped from breeding.

It was difficult to determine who, if anyone, would be good breeding material, 'but mainline advocates like [Major Leonard] Darwin [one of Charles' sons], only had to look at the successful, professional middle classes for the

¹⁴³ Gelder, p.70.

¹⁴⁴ Gelder, p.42.

answer.’¹⁴⁵ This statement from Richard Soloway of course still assumes that the middle classes were all suitable to be allowed to breed, but there was still the threat of someone being born with some type of mental deficiency (a ‘condition’ that could span many other difficulties ‘such as partial sight, deafness, dyslexia, and even left-handedness’¹⁴⁶) or other degenerate behaviours stemming from such practices as cousins marrying (which Charles Darwin himself did). All that could truly be hoped for was ‘the passing on of a healthy physique and a good brain, rather than property and land.’¹⁴⁷ To such thinkers the passing on of a good brain became more important than economic inheritance because it meant a continuation of the species in a forward facing way instead of allowing it to degenerate. These ideas of inheritance gained prominence at the end of the nineteenth century as they were taken up by some of the canonical authors of the time such as Sir Arthur Conan Doyle and Thomas Hardy. They were also treated within the works of more non-canonical authors, for instance Count Eric Stenbock, illustrating the idea of how eugenics was taken up as a suitable subject for novels and shorter works of fiction and also demonstrating the dissemination of eugenic ideas into wider society as it was used, not only into what could be thought of as traditional eugenic fiction, but also into the supernatural tales of some of the well-known authors of nineteenth century.

¹⁴⁵ Richard A. Soloway ‘From Mainline to Reform Eugenics – Leonard Darwin and C. P. Blacker’, printed in Robert A. Peel (Ed.), *Essays in the History of Eugenics*, (London; The Galton Institute, 1998), pp.52-80, p.53.

¹⁴⁶ Mathew Thomson, *The Problem of Mental Deficiency: Eugenics, Democracy and Social Policy in Britain c. 1870-1959*, (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 1998), p.8.

¹⁴⁷ Carolyn Burdett, ‘From The New Werther to Numbers and Arguments: Karl Pearson’s Eugenics’, printed in Roger Luckhurst and Josephine McDonagh (Eds.), *Transactions and Encounters: Science and Culture in the Nineteenth Century*, (Manchester; Manchester University Press, 2002), pp.204-231, p.207.

The vampires in the texts to be examined fulfil the role of judge, jury and executioner in order to save society from the perceived threat that was uncovered in the victim due to the vampire's ability to cross boundaries. In the case of 'The Grave of Ethelind Fionguala' (1887), the vampire, Ethelind, allows her victim, Ken, to leave with his life, although (as will be discussed), he is irrevocably changed by his experience. These instances of the victims being 'allowed' to live by the vampire occur when the vampire is able to effect such a change either physically or in the personality of the victim that there would be no chance that the victim would be chosen as a potential mate. I contend that in these texts the middle class came under attack because they were supposed to be the saviours of society. During the *fin de siècle*, there was a fear that the birth rate was declining amongst the middle class; as 'Karl Pearson had been among the first to draw attention to the threat which demographic trends posed, back in 1897 [...] The declining birth-rate was, without doubt, a striking demographic fact.'¹⁴⁸ It became even more crucial after this fear was articulated, that the 'right' people were the ones who reproduced and that anyone who could be perceived as a threat was removed from society, even if, in the eugenic vampire fiction considered here, this meant their death. I argue that the middle class required a more stringent form of population control than the upper and working classes as inbreeding for the upper classes, poverty and '[t]he greater death-rate of infants in the poorest classes'¹⁴⁹ assisted in keeping the levels down for these two classes. For the middle class, as shall be demonstrated, the eugenic issues that faced them are those which it would be possible to disguise as the concerns tend to be

¹⁴⁸ Greenslade, p.199.

¹⁴⁹ Darwin, (1871), pp.63-4.

internal, therefore requiring, in the texts here, the work of the vampires in order to uncover it and render judgement.

Mentally Unstable

From the examples that I will cite below, interaction with the vampires brings out the most extreme forms of mental degeneration within their victims: amplifying degeneration that is already present but hidden within; those who 'liked a drink' become degenerate alcoholics who eventually die, those who may have suffered from a mild depressive illness end up suffering from such an imbalance of mental stability that they kill themselves. This implies that rather than the vampire killing the victim through feeding, as we would expect with vampire fiction, in cases of mental imbalance, the vampires can let the affliction kill their prey: the victims are punished by themselves, by their own form of mental instability. If it can be argued that the vampire is a construct of the requirements of society, then it can also be argued that each of the victims are given the vampire that they most deserve as punishment: the mentally unstable characters are issued, by the author, the type of vampire that will most efficiently release the hidden nature of their mental illness. The vampires within the texts here become agents of internal destruction (there are many more internal issues than external) and I believe this is the reason why so many of the vampires created during the *fin de siècle* are 'psychic' vampires rather than blood drinking vampires. By removing some of the 'fixed amount of energy or "nerve force,"'¹⁵⁰ the vampires within some of the *fin de siècle* texts force the, once hidden, mental degeneration to the surface of the victim,

¹⁵⁰ Taylor, p.18.

making it impossible for the victim to hide it any more and thus revealing them to other characters and the reader as an unsuitable breeding partner.

According to Francis Galton, it was 'energy [that is] the most important quality to favour, it is, as we have seen, the basis of living action, and it is eminently transmissible by descent'¹⁵¹ and so by removing this energy, the vampire effectively sterilises the victim.

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's 'John Barrington Cowles' (1884) features three cases of mental instability: two cases of suicide and one of fatal alcoholism. William Prescott (the first of Kate's suitors that we are made aware of in the tale but not necessarily her actual first victim – as Kate is so prolific within the time frame of the text, it is possible for the reader to assume that there would have been more) kills himself by drowning, an act which is described at the inquest as 'temporary insanity.'¹⁵² This first death within the narrative helps to cement the tone for the rest of the tale setting up suspicions that Kate is not as she appears not only in Armitage, the narrator, but also in the reader: Kate becomes engaged to a man who, at first sight, is a perfectly suitable match, but before the wedding can take place, the engagement is broken and the man ends up dead via the medium of a degenerate breakdown, allowing Kate to begin the process again with her next victim.

After Prescott, Kate turns her attention to Archibald Reeves and reveals her secret to him; a key plot point is that before the wedding can take place, Kate must reveal a secret to her suitors. It is this that becomes the turning point of

¹⁵¹ Galton, (1883), p.27.

¹⁵² Doyle, p.30.

the relationship as after they learn the secret, their hidden degeneracy comes to the fore and their destruction becomes inevitable. Once he learns Kate's secret, Reeves turns to alcohol and becomes a 'degraded creature [...] who had once been famous as one of the most dressy and particular men'¹⁵³ until his death later in the story. Reeves becomes the first character within the tale that the reader sees fall from grace and die; Prescott is a side character that the reader never 'sees', we only hear of his engagement to Kate and then his subsequent death.

The reader first sees Reeves at an art exhibition which is also the setting where the reader first 'sees' Kate. Reeves is first described as 'a tall, yellow-haired young man'¹⁵⁴ and Armitage expands on this very brief description by stating only that Reeves 'was a dashing, handsome young fellow.'¹⁵⁵ These descriptions of Reeves, albeit very briefly, still manage to convey the idea that his outward appearance gives no hint of the degeneration that lurks beneath the surface and which is brought out through his turning to alcohol once his and Kate's relationship has ended. Reeves' mental degeneration appears to be mirrored in the character of Kate through the secret that she keeps until just before her wedding day; she seems to be a beautiful young woman but is, in fact, a vampire, just as Reeves appears to be a eugenically suitable potential partner but is revealed as an alcoholic. The unreliability of the physical appearance of the male victims in 'John Barrington Cowles' is also echoed by Kate as the reader learns that outward beauty does not mean that a person is beautiful on the inside. As Angelique Richardson states, there

¹⁵³ Doyle, pp.30-1.

¹⁵⁴ Doyle, p.27.

¹⁵⁵ Doyle, p.27.

were 'new aesthetic discourses in the second half of the nineteenth century, equating the ugly with disease and the beautiful with health'¹⁵⁶ but '[n]otwithstanding the potential of the body to express health and disease, exponents of eugenics could not escape the fact that appearances were unreliable.'¹⁵⁷

The physical appearance of the vampires is unusual because even though the vampires are undoubtedly attractive, as attested by the descriptions of the authors, within the texts under discussion here, it appears that the victims of the vampires are the only ones truly affected by the appeal of the vampires; in Robert Louis Stevenson's 'Olalla' (1885), the nameless narrator meets an old friend of one of the Señora's previous victims and he tells the narrator how he

took [his friend] by the arm [...] and dragged him to the gate; I conjured him, by all he loved and respected, to go forth with me; I went on my knees before him in the snow; and I could see he was moved by my entreaty. And just then she came out on the gallery, and called him by his name; and he turned, and there was she standing with a lamp in her hand and smiling on him to come back.¹⁵⁸

The emotive way in which the friend describes how he attempts to make his companion leave the Señora and his inability to leave once he sees her, help to establish the idea that it is only those who are themselves degenerate that are attracted to the vampires. Similarly it is only the degenerate men in 'John Barrington Cowles' who are attracted to Kate: the victims are attracted to the vampires' degeneration that they also have within themselves.

¹⁵⁶ Angelique Richardson, *Love and Eugenics in the Late Nineteenth Century: Rational Reproduction and the New Woman*, (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 2003), p.80.

¹⁵⁷ Richardson, p.81.

¹⁵⁸ Stevenson, (1885), p.171.

Finally, John Barrington Cowles (Kate's third and last victim in the text) is described at the start of the tale as possessing an 'ardent tropical'¹⁵⁹ disposition who 'came in time to concentrate all his affection upon [Armitage], and to confide in me in a manner which is rare among men'¹⁶⁰ and his general expression is 'as a rule, dreamy, and even languid.'¹⁶¹ The way in which Cowles is described points at the very start of the narrative to a man who, subconsciously, suffers from mental degeneration: his tropical nature even suggests that his genetic makeup harbours some un-British aspect: that he is mixed-race. The combination of Cowles' affection for Armitage combined with his dreamy expression also hints at homosexuality (which will be discussed in further detail in the next chapter). At the end of the text, Cowles becomes moody and depressed once Kate has told him her secret, which contrasts to his previous dreaminess and he ends up killing himself, although unlike William Prescott, they never find Cowles' body: the extract from a 'newspaper article' that Doyle adds at the end of the tale states that '[t]he night before last [Cowles] suddenly left his friend, Mr. Robert Armitage, and he has not since been heard of. It is almost certain that he met his death by falling over the cliffs which surround the island [of May].'¹⁶² Cowles' death cements the issues at play within the text; that though the university educated young men should be potential future mates, under the surface they reveal themselves to be the exact opposite.

¹⁵⁹ Doyle, p.26.

¹⁶⁰ Doyle, p.26.

¹⁶¹ Doyle, p.26.

¹⁶² Doyle, p.47.

The instances related in this tale bear a resemblance to Arthur Machen's *The Great God Pan* (1894) where Helen (the daughter of Pan) also reveals a secret to her suitors and 'within three weeks, three more gentlemen, one of them a nobleman, and the two others men of good position and ample means, perished miserably'¹⁶³ (by suicide). Helen's secret speeches also affect the male characters in *The Great God Pan* in the same way that Kate's do; the men begin as seemingly having everything to live for and through their interaction with the demonic character, find themselves irrevocably changed, damaged, or dead. One of the main characters of the tale, Villiers, meets an old college friend, Herbert, after years apart to find that Herbert is dressed in 'dirty, evil-looking rags'¹⁶⁴ where he had once come "into all the property at [his] [...] father's death."¹⁶⁵ The description of Herbert's rags as 'evil' helps to indicate his corruption at the hands of Helen; it seems as if not only does her influence affect the mental and physical being of Herbert but also the seemingly incorruptible fabric that he wears. Herbert's transformation comes when he marries Helen, and on their wedding night, rather than engaging in procreative sex which would either add to or diminish the state of society, instead she sits on her bed and "spoke of things which even now I would not dare whisper in blackest night."¹⁶⁶ The undisclosed speeches that Helen makes to the men she encounters reflect the same situation in 'John Barrington Cowles' where Kate relates her own unspoken secret which brings about the transformation of the men in the tale. Rebecca Stott paraphrases

¹⁶³ Arthur Machen, *The Great God Pan*, (1894), (Mineola; Dover Publications Inc., 2006), p.46.

¹⁶⁴ Machen, p.24.

¹⁶⁵ Machen, p.25.

¹⁶⁶ Machen, p.26.

Elaine Showalter discussing wedding night revelations of the female form, writing that

the emphasis is placed upon a process of *unveiling* rather than transformation, an unveiling that which enables the man who surveys to confront the full horror of the Woman, a horror that has previously been concealed from him by the “fantastic trickery of nature.”¹⁶⁷
[Italics in original]

Stott's distinction between the veiled and the transformed is crucial to the understanding of how these wedding night episodes appear to the reader. A transformation implies a movement from one state to another, but an unveiling suggests that the different state was there all along, just hidden beneath the surface. Although Kate does not reveal her secret on her wedding night and her revelation is not that of her body, nevertheless, Kate's unveiling of her true nature is still used in conjunction with the date of the wedding as an important plot device within 'John Barrington Cowles' acting as a countdown to the men's fates as Kate chooses to reveal her secret close to the date. Just like Helen (who, though not a vampire still performs unveilings in similar fashion to Kate), Kate's revelation of her secret becomes the catalyst to unveiling the male characters' degeneration, before this, they are subdued by her will; Helen's secret talks on her wedding night which lead Herbert to 'evil' clothing becomes an outward echo of Prescott, Reeves and Cowles revealing their already present but hidden mental degeneration through their deaths.

Herbert admits not only that “that woman, if I can call her woman, corrupted my soul,”¹⁶⁸ but also that '[h]e had acknowledged that he himself was not

¹⁶⁷ Rebecca Stott, *The Fabrication of the Late-Victorian Femme Fatale*, (London; Macmillan Press Ltd., 1996), p.180.

¹⁶⁸ Machen, p.26.

devoid of blame.’¹⁶⁹ This shows that he knows that he is eugenically imperfect as he voluntarily associated himself with Helen and her influence and he should have been more wary about whom he chose as a mate (although they do not actually have any children). Herbert is one of the lucky characters within this tale, although he finds himself destitute and corrupted, he does at least still have his life.

The above two texts (*The Great God Pan* and ‘John Barrington Cowles’) link in two main ways; first they both feature demonic women who reveal secrets that catalyse the transformation of seemingly respectable members of the middle or upper classes. Secondly (and more importantly) they feature male characters from similar classes (upper-middle and middle class), classes that were supposedly the eugenic key to the survival and development of society, and it is these men who are earmarked for destruction. This demonstrates that in some instances, even the supposedly most robust classes revealed that they too would make unsuitable partners for procreation, necessitating their destruction in these texts.

It is noteworthy that Kate’s chosen victims are the gentlemen that should have been considered the saviours of society in Galtonian eugenics: Cowles is foremost in his year at university so it would be expected that he would go on to become a member of the professional middle class which Charles Davenport identified as ‘good human stock.’¹⁷⁰ The destruction of Prescott, Reeves and Cowles therefore becomes more important than the destruction

¹⁶⁹ Machen, p.27.

¹⁷⁰ Kevles, p.47.

of the supposedly overly-prolific poor (according to papers such as the *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, as quoted below) since society relied on the middle classes to maintain their mental stability so that society might develop in a positive direction. The *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* reported on the 3rd

February 1881

[t]here is such a thing as overpopulation, which operates in a most prejudicial way, especially upon the labouring classes of society, and which, unless relieved by emigration or other counterbalancing agency, leads, as in the case of many districts in Ireland at the present moment, to untold misery.¹⁷¹

The quotation suggests that the working classes are 'punished' for having too many children via natural disasters such as the potato famine in Ireland which helps to demonstrate that the working classes had 'acts of God' to assist in curbing their population. The middle classes had other, vampiric, assistance in the tales under discussion here to guide their procreative desires as it was the vampire character that could identify the degenerate character that they would then exterminate.

The inability of the characters, discussed here, to maintain their mental stability demonstrates that with the increasing discreditation of physical signifiers discussed in pseudo-sciences such as phrenology and physiognomy, it was increasingly difficult to identify who 'should' make a suitable choice of partner since a pleasing exterior could disguise an internal problem, such as syphilis. In Sarah Grand's *The Heavenly Twins* (1893), Evadne's future husband, Major Colquhoun, hides his dissolute past behind

¹⁷¹ *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, (Aberdeen, Scotland), Thursday, February 3rd, 1881; Issue 8095.

his physical appearance; Grand describes 'a big blond man, with a heavy moustache, and a delicate skin that flushed easily.'¹⁷² It is only thanks to Evadne's strength of character that she escapes the same fate that befalls Edith who marries her syphilitic suitor and contracts it from him; instead, Evadne chooses to live with Colquhoun but not as 'husband and wife'. During the *fin de siècle*, the middle class's suitability for the eugenic future began to be re-evaluated as fears about venereal disease became more widely spoken about, especially with the campaigns against the Contagious Diseases Acts; as Andrew Smith writes,

[s]yphilis was a disease and a metaphor for disease at the *fin de siècle*, both a medical problem and a trope for social and cultural degeneration [...] That this anxiety was fundamentally cultural is illustrated by how, at the end of the nineteenth century, it was the behaviour of the middle-class client, rather than the working-class prostitute, which concerned the medical profession and social reformists alike.¹⁷³

This shift in blame from the working-class prostitute to the client and from using syphilis as a specific disease to a generic catch-all for social evils in the fiction of the time reveals how the Victorians viewed the moral (and sexual) well-being of their 'saviour', middle class. By using the construct of the vampire instead of the, perhaps more traditional model of the medical or scientific character (such as Van Helsing in *Dracula*), the authors demonstrate how by revealing latent mental instability, the concept of negative eugenics became more important in order that these issues were not passed on to future generations. The vampire was a suitable instrument of eugenic examination due to their inherently degenerate nature and the special abilities (such as hypnotism) that they wielded. The medical man and scientific

¹⁷² Grand, p.53.

¹⁷³ Smith, p.95.

character would have been an unsuitable choice of eugenic examiner (as previously discussed in the introduction to this thesis) due to the fact that in the majority of the texts under discussion here where a medical man appears, they are either found to be the source of the problem (Dr Parravicini in 'Good Lady Ducayne') or they do not fully understand the purpose that the vampire is fulfilling (Dr Andrew in 'A Beautiful Vampire'). The distrust of the scientific suggests that the authors did not believe that science had answers for every situation, that it may be flawed, or even dangerous.

The narrator of 'The Horla' (1886) by Guy de Maupassant also finds no comfort or correct diagnosis from the medical profession as when he suffers nightmares in which he is strangled and consults a doctor, he is diagnosed as having 'disordered nerves.'¹⁷⁴ He also states, in a move that feminises him (and will be discussed in further detail in the next chapter), that 'I am suffering from a febrile languor, which affects mind no less than body.'¹⁷⁵ The narrator's assertion that his condition affects mind and body furthers the argument that it was becoming increasingly difficult to identify who was and who was not to be considered eugenically suitable. By stating that both mind and body are affected, the narrator condemns himself as his mental instability is also played out on his body.

The narrator's nervous complaint signposts him as an inappropriate mate due to the perceived notion, at the *fin de siècle*, that mental stability was crucial in order to preserve and enhance society for the future. Within the time frame of

¹⁷⁴ de Maupassant, p.221.

¹⁷⁵ de Maupassant, p.220.

the text, the narrator suffers from two panic attacks (as we would identify them) whereby he fears the coming of sleep in the first instance, writing in his journal that he is 'possessed by an incomprehensible restlessness, just as if the dark held for me some terrible menace'¹⁷⁶ and again, just over a week later (in the time frame of the text, as it is set out in diary entries), he is out walking when he 'was suddenly afflicted with a shivering fit, which was not the result of a chill, but an inexplicable shudder of apprehension [...] The profound solitude begot in me blind, unreasoning terror.'¹⁷⁷ These panic attacks and the 'unreasoning terror' that comes with them mark the narrator out to the reader as an unsuitable mate due to his mental illness; within the context of the narrative, the reader and narrator are, as yet, unaware of the presence of the Horla, the vampiric creature that is feeding from the narrator.

By the end of the text, the narrator has decided to kill himself, with his last entry stating 'there is nothing left for me to do but to kill myself.'¹⁷⁸ The reader can only assume that this is what has happened since the text ends on this statement. The idea of the narrator killing himself is problematic however when it comes to the question of who decides if the narrator should die: on the diary entry for 13th Aug (some time before the end of the tale), the narrator states 'I have no dominion over myself; I do not even retain the power of exercising my own faculties. Someone else is in control. I merely carry out his orders.'¹⁷⁹ From this quotation it is possible to conclude that the narrator does not decide to kill himself but instead obeys instructions that were given to him

¹⁷⁶ de Maupassant, p.221.

¹⁷⁷ de Maupassant, p.222.

¹⁷⁸ de Maupassant, p.242.

¹⁷⁹ de Maupassant, p.234.

by the vampire since the narrator clearly states that he is only capable now of carrying out orders given to him by the vampire: he can no longer make conscious decisions for himself. It is this ability to be over-taken by another will that cements the reader's knowledge that the narrator is degenerate. The narrator's suicide becomes a natural conclusion for the tale as he displays symptoms of mental degeneration throughout the narrative: the panic attacks and his feelings of nervousness; the Horla's order (for the narrator to kill himself) therefore becomes the only real conclusion possible for the text. The narrator's death is the way in which the vampire is finally able to carry out their eugenic duty within the tale; by taking the narrator's will, the Horla is able to guarantee the narrator will do his bidding: take his own life.

The character of Ken in 'The Grave of Ethelind Fionguala' (1887) by Julian Hawthorne is one of the victims to survive his vampire attack as he narrates part of the tale as a story within a story. Ken survives because although his eugenic failings have been revealed through the difference in his personality (as discussed previously as the 'something strange' which has now been made clear), it shows that vampire attacks were not necessarily fatal and that it may be enough to have drawn out his internal imperfections making them obvious and therefore making it explicit that he is not suitable breeding material.

Although Ken survives, it is at the cost of his engagement to a girl he meets on his travels. In the tale, the reader is told that '[i]t was surmised that the lady had jilted him; but, on the other hand, she herself had returned home not a

great while after, and, though she had plenty of opportunities, she has never married to this day.¹⁸⁰ This plot device of spiriting the reader forward in time to a point where we are told that Ken's former fiancée has never married, rather than remaining in the 'present' of the main text, deserves note as it implies that once Ken has been with Ethelind, the degeneration that she releases not only marks him as degenerate, but also suggests that he may have passed this on to his fiancée, and so rather than infecting other people, she chooses to remain a spinster. Angelique Richardson writes that

[g]iven the unhealthy tendency of men to promiscuity and vice, and the natural instinct of women to virtue, social purists and eugenic feminists increasingly emphasized the importance of female choice of a reproductive partner, replacing male passion with rational female selection.¹⁸¹

This means that women would have to take more of an active role in deciding which partner, if any, would be suitable for them and for society; as Evadne argues in Sarah Grand's *The Heavenly Twins*, allowing a diseased man to marry a (sexually) uneducated woman is "allowing him an assured position in society, is countenancing vice, and" – she glanced round apprehensively, then added in a fearful whisper – "*helping to spread it.*"¹⁸² [Italics from original] Evadne's argument is that those men (rather than the female prostitutes) who catch and disseminate venereal diseases should be treated as social pariahs in order to stop it from spreading to innocent wives. In the context of the narrative of 'The Grave of Ethelind Fionguala', therefore, Ken has gone from appearing to be a good choice to a bad one: such a bad

¹⁸⁰ Hawthorne, p.111.

¹⁸¹ Richardson, p.49.

¹⁸² Grand, p.79.

(diseased) choice that his former fiancée has apparently decided it would be safer even for her to never marry anyone.

This decision not to marry is connected with Ken's behaviour when he returns to America: before his trip, he is described as 'lively and social in his habits, of a brilliant and versatile mind'¹⁸³ but when he returns he has become 'grave, moody, averse from general society, and habitually taciturn and undemonstrative even in the company of his most intimate friends.'¹⁸⁴ If we read the character of Ken as a user of prostitutes (which I argue for in my chapter on femininity), then his rapid change in behaviour could point, in part, to the fact that his dalliance with Ethelind in Ireland has led to the unveiling of some unpleasant (venereal) disease. The narrator also speculates on what has happened to Ken when he asks 'had there not always been something in his nature [...] and capable of developing under suitable conditions into – into what?'¹⁸⁵ This inability of the narrator to finish his sentence allows the reader to finish it for him with all manner of possibilities where the reader can put in whatever fear would mean the most to them on an unconscious level; it thus becomes a narrative tool to find out what a particular reader's response would be and therefore also partly reflects what a particular society feared the most. Judging by the late nineteenth-century fear of mental debility, a possible word that could be used to end the sentence would be 'feeble-mindedness', one of the late nineteenth century catch-all 'buzz words' for someone who had (or seemed to have) anything wrong with him or her mentally.

¹⁸³ Hawthorne, p.110.

¹⁸⁴ Hawthorne, p.111.

¹⁸⁵ Hawthorne, pp.111-2.

At the end of the nineteenth century there were fears being expressed about the burden and dangers of allowing 'feeble-minded' people to breed or marry; a search of the British Library's online archive of Nineteenth Century Newspapers for instance reveals results for at least the years 1886-1892, discussing the plight of the feeble-minded and how they could be encouraged to refrain from having children themselves and thus adding to society's burden. For example

in 1895 the Reverend Henry Osborne, in a letter to the Statistical and Social Enquiry Society of Ireland, argued that the state should institute compulsory physical examination of applicants for marriage and, in cases of physical or mental degeneracy, should have the right to forbid them.¹⁸⁶

And in 1894 *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser*, published in Dublin, ran an article that contained the following:

[h]eredity played an enormous part in the production of insanity, at least 70 per cent of the insane being due to it. An instance of the effect of heredity in developing evil qualities was afforded by the case of the Duke family, who dwelt a short distance from New York. Max Duke was a notorious drunkard, who lived some 75 years ago, and it was recorded that his posterity, amongst whom consanguineous marriages extensively prevailed, had furnished 200 thieves and murderers, 280 persons afflicted with blindness, idiotcy [sic], and consumption, and 300 children who died prematurely.¹⁸⁷

As can be seen from the above two examples, even if the numbers discussed in the second quotation are not entirely to be relied on, the reader is still able to ascertain a sense of the fears being articulated as to how quickly one family could contribute to so much social unease.

¹⁸⁶ Greta Jones, 'Theoretical Foundations of Eugenics', printed in Peel (Ed.), pp.1-19, p.15.

¹⁸⁷ *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser*, (Dublin, Ireland), Friday, June 15th, 1894; Issue N/A.

Havelock Ellis also wrote about the creation and heritability of feeble-mindedness in his work, *The Task of Social Hygiene* (1912). After defining three separate levels of feeble-mindedness (which 'may be used generally to cover all types of mental weakness'¹⁸⁸) that descended in the ability of the individual to look after themselves and possibly earn a living, he goes on to discuss the creation of the feeble-minded individual, writing that

[w]e cannot, it may be, prevent the occurrence of such persons, but we can prevent them from being the founders of families tending to resemble themselves. And in so doing, it will be agreed by most people, we shall be effecting a task of immense benefit to society and the race.¹⁸⁹

This assumption that 'most people' would praise the removal of the feeble-minded from existence is followed by an explanation of the presence of feeble-minded people in society and the reason why they apparently tend to have such large families; '[t]he feeble-minded have no forethought and no self-restraint [...] they are unable to understand adequately the motives which guide the conduct of ordinary people.'¹⁹⁰ Ellis creates a division into 'them and us' through his separating of 'ordinary' people (his readers) with those affected by mental degeneration which effectively places the reader into the position of the eugenicist; Ellis' argument that the feeble-minded have more children due to an inability to control their 'urges' implies to the reader that eventually the feeble-minded will out-strip the 'normal' members of society leading to societal collapse. The logical step needed to avoid this situation is the cessation of these undesirable people from procreating at all costs.

¹⁸⁸ Ellis, p.32, n.1.

¹⁸⁹ Ellis, p.32.

¹⁹⁰ Ellis, p.35.

At the end of the nineteenth century, Galtonian eugenics (based on the idea of hereditary endowment) was not the only theory regarding population control. Within the debates regarding nature versus nurture came Lamarckian eugenics, based on J. B. Lamarck's theory of evolution whereby 'species development [was] a gradual process of adapting to environment and the transmission of acquired characteristics to offspring'¹⁹¹ which was being propounded in France, and to some extent, England as 'Darwin himself became increasingly Lamarckian after 1870.'¹⁹² This Lamarckian view of eugenics advocated the idea that environment had an important part to play in the creation of healthy new generations so potential parents were encouraged to 'play modern sport, practise physical culture and develop their minds in preparation for the momentous act.'¹⁹³ This reliance on environment as well as good genetics may assist in explaining the high numbers of delinquents from the quotation taken from the *Freeman's Journal* above; one family, living in squalor with criminal activity going on around them, breeds succeeding generations that come from the same background and view their environment as 'normal' thereby continuing on the same path. Galton himself also investigated the factors affecting nature and nurture as he 'became the first to gather systematic data about the life-histories of twins,'¹⁹⁴ which also became a concern for the Nazis in their study and implementation of eugenic programmes.

¹⁹¹ Jenny Bourne Taylor, 'Psychology at the fin de siècle', printed in Gail Marshall (Ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Fin de Siècle*, (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp.13-30, p.15.

¹⁹² Taylor, p.15.

¹⁹³ Brauer, 'Making Eugenic Bodies Delectable', p.20.

¹⁹⁴ Richard L. Gregory (Ed.), *The Oxford Companion to the Mind*, (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 1989), p.282.

To the nineteenth-century psychiatrist, a practice which began 'in the first half of the nineteenth century when some of those kept under social control for the protection of society [...] were recognized as curable,'¹⁹⁵ feeble-mindedness along with 'idiocy and imbecility [were] terminal points on the path of degeneration, leading to a condition of sterility'¹⁹⁶ meaning that in some unspecified period of time in the future, those who were deemed eugenically unsuitable would cease to exist. In 'Ethelind', Ken's sterility is symbolised through his banjo. The main, nameless, narrator asks Ken to play some music but Ken replies that "[the banjo] will never make any more music [...] It's not broken, but it's past mending."¹⁹⁷ If we read the banjo as a phallic symbol, Ken's inability to play music due to his encounter with Ethelind becomes a case of impotence. The main issue with allowing nature to create sterility is that it would be impossible to tell in how many generations this would eventually become reality, so it is far better that the vampire acts 'in the present' of the text in order to prevent further occurrences of degenerate behaviour rather than just allow a flawed genetic line to carry on until it finally comes to a halt. As Havelock Ellis argued,

[n]ot only must an undue struggle with unfavourable conditions enfeeble the strong as well as kill the feeble; it also imposes an intolerable burden upon these enfeebled survivors. The process of destruction is not sudden, it is gradual. It is a long-drawn-out process. It involves the multiplication of the diseased, the maimed, the feeble-minded, of paupers and lunatics and criminals. Even natural selection thus includes the need for protecting the feeble, and so renders urgent the task of social reform.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵ Gregory, p.649.

¹⁹⁶ Thomson, p.20.

¹⁹⁷ Hawthorne, p.114.

¹⁹⁸ Ellis, p.14.

The problem that Ellis identifies is that allowing the feeble, criminal, or those with the misfortune of being born into poverty to breed, has a negative effect on those who are eugenically suitable since there is still the struggle for resources that must be undertaken which will also damage the suitable. The necessity of a eugenics programme that Ellis argues for takes the form of the vampire within the fiction here; by removing the unfavourable elements of society, it means that the strong do not have to struggle and can continue to enhance society.

The vampire, Ethelind, exposes the 'something' that the narrator always felt Ken harboured: this is shown through the symbol of Ken's banjo as it becomes not just a phallic symbol but indicative of Ken's whole personality shift. It is the banjo that suffers the effects of Ken's degenerate inner nature being brought out because when he arrives back in America the instrument is

a thing that might have once been a banjo, but had little resemblance to one now [...] The wood of the handle was honey-combed with the gnawings of worms, and dusty with dry-rot. The parchment head was green with mould, and hung in shrivelled tatters. The hoop, which was of solid silver, was so blackened and tarnished that it looked like dilapidated iron. The strings were gone, and most of the tuning-screws had dropped out of the decayed sockets.¹⁹⁹

The emotive and evocative language that Hawthorne uses in order to describe the rot and decay of the banjo echoes the negative shift in Ken's personality; his moodiness and unsociable behaviour is mirrored in the tarnish and mould of the banjo. The portrait in Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891) works in a slightly different way to Ken's banjo: its creation allows

¹⁹⁹ Hawthorne, p.114.

Dorian to experience every vice that he wishes as his flawless beauty is protected by the magic of his portrait; he, in fact refers to it as 'the most magical of mirrors,'²⁰⁰ allowing him to see the effects of his decadent and degenerate life style while maintaining his appearances, keeping his degeneracy hidden from those he associates with. Yet, despite this difference, the portrait is still similar to the banjo as it is an inanimate object that is given the attributes of the degenerate owner and brings those hidden aspects (which echo the fear of the hidden vice) to the literal (physical) surface. The inanimate object threatens to dehumanise the subject through the symbiotic relationship that they share: Dorian watches with interest as his own face stays supernaturally perfect even as his portrait ages and degenerates and Ken's degenerate tendencies become inscribed in the physical appearance of his banjo.

Arabella Kenealy's 'A Beautiful Vampire' (1896) features a man who, like the narrator of 'The Horla,' kills himself because of his association with the vampire (Lady Deverish). Rather than this being a consequence of learning a secret from her or because he has been ordered to by the vampire, he apparently kills himself in a last effort to mentally free himself from her. Lord Arlington belongs to the upper class and as Francis Galton was reported as stating, 'the power of a family may be culminating at the time of its ennoblement.'²⁰¹ Galton was also adamant, according to Carolyn Burdett, that 'progress and improvement lay not with a decaying landed gentry.'²⁰² This

²⁰⁰ Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, (1891), (London; Penguin Books Ltd., 1985), p.118.

²⁰¹ *Reynold's Newspaper*, (London, England), Sunday, August 31st, 1890; Issue 2090.

²⁰² Burdett, p.207.

issue of class is discussed in the text in terms of Lord Arlington's unmasculine behaviour (which I discuss in the masculinity chapter of the thesis) as he appears to have been bewitched by Lady Deverish (as I shall discuss in a moment), breaking off a previous engagement of marriage to be with her and ending his life by killing himself as this is the "one way out of [his engagement to Lady Deverish]." ²⁰³ Lord Arlington's behaviour when he shoots himself is a little unusual as rather than shooting himself there and then, he 'had bidden [Lady Deverish] a hasty goodbye, saying he was summoned to town. He took the last train up.' ²⁰⁴ The way in which he 'escapes' from Lady Deverish suggests that he fears her control of him would prevent him accomplishing his suicide (and final escape). In this aspect, Lord Arlington can be linked to the narrator of 'The Horla' as he also has to get physical distance from the vampire creature in order to think clearly. The physical distance required by the narrator of 'The Horla' and Lord Arlington in order to think demonstrates how the vampire utilises mesmeric skills in order to keep their prey close to them, thereby halting the threat that the victim posed when they possessed the free will to form a relationship by themselves; in Lord Arlington's case, his relationship with Lady Deverish begins when he leaves his former lover: as he says to Lady Deverish when he is begging for release, "let me go free. They say her heart is broken." ²⁰⁵ The language that Arlington uses suggests that Lady Deverish 'stole him' away from his previous relationship, that he had no choice in his moving from the one relationship for the other.

²⁰³ Kenealy, p.22.

²⁰⁴ Kenealy, p.22.

²⁰⁵ Kenealy, p.22.

The reason that Lady Deverish preys on aristocratic men is because they were no longer suitable for breeding; as Samuel Smiles wrote, '[m]any barons of proud names and titles have perished, like the sloth, upon their family tree, after eating all of the leaves.'²⁰⁶ At a time where self betterment and the maintenance of 'energy' was so important in order to be seen as a success, the aristocracy who did no work were now ridiculed as worthless because they had not had to strive for their wealth or rank and so the vampire (who often came from the upper echelons of society, a brief selection includes Lord Ruthven, Countess Carmilla Karnstein, Lady Deverish, Count Vardalek, Count Dracula and the Señora from 'Olalla') reveals the latent degeneracy and performs a eugenic purpose in removing these parasitic aristocrats who do not contribute to society. It is made clear within the text that Arlington's will is completely subsumed by Lady Deverish's: it is as if he is possessed and has become emasculated by her as Nurse Marian, who narrates part of the tale, states that

I was told he had thrown over a girl who he had cared for and who had cared for him for years in order to propose to Lady Deverish. He did not look capable of it. But, to all appearances, he was head over ears in love. He could not keep his eyes from her. He sat like a man bewitched, and neither ate nor rested.²⁰⁷

When Arlington begs Lady Deverish to let him go back to his previous fiancée she replies "'I will never let you go [...] And you love me too much'"²⁰⁸ to which Lord Arlington replies "'Heaven only knows if it is love [...] it seems to me like madness.'"²⁰⁹ Arlington's use of the word madness demonstrates that he appears to recognise his mental instability; he realises the 'love' that he feels

²⁰⁶ Samuel Smiles, *Self Help*, (1859), (London; John Murray, 1894), p.204.

²⁰⁷ Kenealy, p.20.

²⁰⁸ Kenealy, p.22.

²⁰⁹ Kenealy, p.22.

for Lady Deverish is not healthy or necessarily, natural. Nurse Marian's assertion that in *appearance* Lord Arlington seems in love with Lady Deverish implies that in reality, he is not in love with her, but her power over him makes it seem that way, the reality of it instead being that while he is 'in love' with her, she can keep him by her side, continuing to feed psychically from him while also maintaining her hold over his will.

There is an unusual division in this text as neither Dr Andrew (who first attempts to destroy Lady Deverish) nor Lady Deverish can be seen as wholly "good" or "evil" as Kenealy creates a kind of eugenic satire with Lady Deverish feeding from everyone that she encounters and Dr Andrew saving everyone that he can. General consensus would position the vampire as the 'evil' character (such as in *Dracula*, for instance) and place the vampire hunter (in this text, Dr Andrew) as the 'good' character; however this is not possible in this tale as Lady Deverish still does manage to perform a useful eugenic function as she assists in the destruction of the stultified aristocracy. Lady Deverish does not restrict her feeding to those who 'deserve it'; she also feeds from her household staff, the village children, her sister, brother and mother, her two previous husbands, her fiancé, Nurse Marian and even her pet dog. But as the text makes clear, as the opposite to Lady Deverish, Dr Andrew, as I have discussed in the introduction to this thesis, appears to be unable to distinguish who would be more useful to save eugenically as he helps to 'pull the ninth child of a navvy through a croup seizure as he would have done had it been heir to an earldom [...] Some went so far even to

assert that Andrew was flying in the face of Providence.'²¹⁰ This quotation forms the classic eugenic argument that the working classes were too prolific since they are unable to provide sufficiently for the children who were apparently healthy and living so it would be better that their children were left alone, even if this caused death, because it was merely nature taking its course or, as stated above, 'Providence' that the child should die. The opposing standpoints that Lady Deverish and Dr Andrew come from suggest that Kenealy gives this tale a satirical edge; by introducing one character who advocates a save-all approach (Andrew) and the problems that would arise from this (a burden upon the community through the inability of the poor to provide for themselves), setting this character against the vampire who would eat the world if given the opportunity provides the reader with an almost comic view of the eugenic argument of who is to decide who is eugenically worthy and who is not.

Max Nordau in his eponymous text on the subject of degeneration believed that

[w]hen under any kind of noxious influences an organism becomes debilitated, its successors will not resemble the healthy, normal type of the species [...] but will form a new sub-species, which, like all others possesses the capacity of transmitting to its offspring, in a continuously increasing degree, its peculiarities.²¹¹

Dr Andrew's apparent folly in caring for the navy's children, according to Nordau's beliefs, become not just a simple issue of economics whereby the children are ill-cared for, but also give rise to fears that since the navy drinks

²¹⁰ Kenealy, p. 12.

²¹¹ Nordau, p. 16.

(the noxious influence that Nordau writes of), his children will, in turn, also become degenerate. It therefore becomes the case that it is both Dr Andrew, as well as Lady Deverish, who are dangerous characters in this text because he adds to the burden of the poor and Lady Deverish also feeds from those who seem innocent within the narrative (such as the household staff and Nurse Marian). The eugenic standpoint within this text is different from all the other examples that I have identified; I believe this in part comes from the fact that this text was written by a qualified medical practitioner and because of this, Kenealy takes the stance that neither character is correct as neither appears to understand the magnitude of the decisions they have made: Lady Deverish because she would destroy everything and Dr Andrew because he would cause an unnecessary burden upon society by allowing everyone an equal future.

Sexually Inappropriate

For the late nineteenth-century sexologists, sexual inversion (homosexuality) and other 'deviant' sexual behaviours were also classified as mental illnesses that could be diagnosed and cured. The sexually inappropriate characters link to fears of homosexuality and especially the idea that it was possible to 'cure' the homosexual: Havelock Ellis and John Addington Symonds identified one such doctor in their work *Sexual Inversion* (1897) as Dr von Shrenck-Notzing. Ellis and Symonds did not condone Dr von Shrenck-Notzing's methods, writing instead that

[they] have little sympathy with those who are prepared to "cure" the invert at any price. Dr von Shrenck-Notzing, the best known and most successful of these operators, seems to me to serve rather as a warning than as an example. He undertakes even the most

pronounced cases of inversion by courses of treatment lasting more than a year, and involving, in at least one case, nearly 150 hypnotic sittings; he prescribes frequent visits to the brothel, previous to which the patient takes large doses of alcohol; by prolonged manipulations a prostitute endeavours to excite erection, a process attended with varying results [...] The treatment is, however, usually interrupted by continual back-sliding to homosexual practices, and sometimes, naturally, the cure involves a venereal disease. The patient is enabled to marry and to beget children; how the children turn out it is yet too early to say.²¹²

Ellis and Symonds' concerns regarding the children of the homosexual appear two-fold within their text; firstly, there is the fear that through visits to the prostitute, the homosexual could catch a sexually transmitted disease which could then be passed on to any children. Due to their not overtly stating this fear though, the other possibility that they hint at is whether the child of the homosexual may carry degenerate traits within them that could harm society.

The characters that display the homosexual tendencies appear, in some texts, to try and live a heteronormative life, as John Barrington Cowles does through his engagement to Kate. The vampires however seem to sense who is hiding their sexuality and destroy them; none of the homosexual characters identified in the eugenic vampire fiction survives, with two suicides and one death directly due to the vampire. The fear of homosexuality adds to my argument that to some late nineteenth-century thinkers only certain groups of society should be allowed to survive for fear of passing supposedly 'defective genes' on to a new generation, thus dooming society by causing it to degenerate.

Though no children are born to the homosexual characters in the texts in this

²¹² Havelock Ellis and John Addington Symonds, *Sexual Inversion*, (1897), extract taken from the Conclusion, printed in Chris White (Ed.), *Nineteenth-Century Writings on Homosexuality*, (London; Routledge, 1999), pp.94-103, p.103.

thesis, homosexuals in the nineteenth century, such as Oscar Wilde, did have children.

The vampire within the texts safely removes the homosexual threat, either through the creation of a destructive homosexual relationship (such as that seen between Gabriel and Vardalek), or by the creation of an ersatz heterosexual relationship (such as the one created by Kate and Cowles). In accordance with 'nineteenth-century ideas of the nervous system as a network of electrical currents distributing finite amounts of energy, Krafft-Ebing believed any interruption of the flow of energy (such as masturbation) produced erotic aberrations such as homosexuality.'²¹³ Once again, the health of the body is drawn back to the crucial idea of energy which was key to Galtonian eugenics and how it was 'spent', either through useful (procreative) pursuits, or wasteful, therefore dangerous efforts (masturbation or homosexual sex) as it was unnecessarily spending some of the body's vital energy and creating degenerate behaviours which would bring further harm to the future of society.

In 'John Barrington Cowles' (1884) we have to ask the questions – why does Kate only choose to prey on John? Why does she not also choose to destroy Robert as he and Cowles appear to be in a relationship (as I argue in the chapter on masculinity)? From my texts it appears that in order for the vampires to be able to successfully carry out their 'work', there must also be

²¹³ Richard A. Kaye, 'Sexual Identity at the Fin de Siècle', printed in Marshall, pp.53-72, p.63.

an underlying condition: for instance, in 'The Horla', the narrator also suffers from mental instability, just as John Barrington Cowles does here (as identified in the previous section on mental instability) but they both display homosexual tendencies. In 'John Barrington Cowles' it is possible that Robert is saved because he has no apparent mental instability for Kate to latch on to. If a character has an underlying condition that is separate from their homosexuality, since homosexuality was thought of as a mental condition that could be cured, in these texts it appears that the vampires can exploit this to their advantage; they can trigger the condition through their association with their chosen victim and allow nature to take its course. If there is an underlying condition, it assumes that the vampire is merely dealing with an issue that is already present. As stated before, mental instability would eventually come to cause sterility in the sufferer so in the texts under examination here, the sterility takes the form of the death of the victim.

Though Kate has to identify an underlying cause in order to act, Vardalek does not appear to need this same set of conditions as he is also homosexual. It therefore appears that if a heterosexual vampire identifies a homosexual threat, a separate issue is also required, whereas the homosexual vampire who identifies another homosexual can just use the relationship to enforce the eugenic examination and execution. In 'A True Story of a Vampire' (1894), Gabriel displays homosexual tendencies and therefore has to be physically destroyed by the vampire, Vardalek. There is a distinction to be made in the texts examined in this thesis between 'psychological' and 'physical' vampires. This difference comes about because

psychological vampires use their abilities to facilitate the demise of their victims through the victims' own actions (such as Kate bringing out the alcoholic and suicidal tendencies of Reeves and Cowles), whereas the physical vampires (such as Vardalek and Ethelind Fionguala) have to destroy or emasculate the victims themselves through a more traditional method (draining life force). Both forms of vampirism, physical and psychological, perform the same eventual act for society by removing the threat that the victims pose.

'The Horla' (1886) features an example of a homosexual character who projects his homosexual desire onto the invisible creature that is attacking him. The narrator states '[*h*is mouth was on my mouth and *he* was drinking my life from between my lips [*italics my own*].'²¹⁴ The sexuality of the narrator in 'The Horla' is set apart from the other examples of homosexuality within this thesis as in the early stages of his relationship with the Horla, he does not appear to be homosexual, unlike characters such as Cowles, who manifests his homosexual tendencies from the beginning of 'John Barrington Cowles' through his physical contact with Armitage, for instance they walk 'arm-in-arm along Princes street'²¹⁵ and Cowles avoids 'female society.'²¹⁶ The ability to immediately identify a man as homosexual became muddled, as Andrew Smith writes in his essay 'Pathologising the Gothic, The Elephant Man, the Neurotic and the Doctor:' '[f]or [Edward] Carpenter, and to a degree [Havelock] Ellis, the confusion [regarding the identification of the homosexual] arises because it is possible for a masculine man to be homosexual and for a

²¹⁴ de Maupassant, p.224.

²¹⁵ Doyle, p.28.

²¹⁶ Doyle, p.26.

feminine man to be heterosexual.²¹⁷ 'The Horla' begins with the narrator spending 'the whole morning lying on the lawn in front of [his] house'²¹⁸ and watching 'a long convoy of ships'²¹⁹ (neither effeminate nor particularly masculine behaviours) giving no hint as to his sexual preference until he chooses to identify the creature that attacks him as male (it is invisible and so could easily be identified with feminine signifiers). For the readers of 'The Horla' it is once again made clear that identification of those who would make a suitable mate and those that would not is extremely difficult, and is only possible in these texts through the actions of the vampire, identifying the potential threat and stopping it because of the style of narration which allows the reader access to the thoughts of the degenerate victim; the narrative format teaches the reader, through a didactic format, appropriate types of mental and sexual behaviour.

'A True Story of a Vampire' (1894) by Count Eric Stenbock not only has a homosexual victim (Gabriel) but also a homosexual vampire (Vardalek). He is a vampire that in certain respects mirrors Le Fanu's *Carmilla*: Vardalek seems to be slightly reluctant in his role as destroyer as he bemoans that "[Gabriel's] life is my life, and I must live, I who would rather die"²²⁰ which is similar to when *Carmilla* says "you shall die – die, sweetly die [...] I cannot help it"²²¹ to Laura, thereby also expressing a certain amount of reluctance at the prospect of causing another death due to her inability to stop herself. The sentence

²¹⁷ Andrew Smith, 'Pathologising the Gothic, The Elephant Man, the Neurotic and the Doctor', printed in *Gothic Studies* 2/3 December 2000, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp.292-304, p.299.

²¹⁸ de Maupassant, p.219.

²¹⁹ de Maupassant, p.219.

²²⁰ Stenbock, p.167.

²²¹ Joseph Sheridan le Fanu, 'Carmilla', (1872), printed in Ryan, pp.71-137, p.89.

from 'A True Story' appears to imply that Vardalek does not wish to kill but some outside force compels him to; in this tale, it seems that it is God as Vardalek asks "[w]ill God not have mercy on me?"²²² Vardalek asks 'God' for mercy, but it serves to reveal that Vardalek cannot help what he does but is instead under a stronger influence than himself and that it is this influence that compels him to kill. Indeed, by Vardalek calling on God, it appears to give the impression that eugenics was not only a scientific endeavour but also that Vardalek is performing a religious decree; that even the will of God states that there are only certain people who should be allowed to breed and so the vampire is created in order to best achieve this purpose.

Very few of the vampires under discussion in this thesis reveal their creation; Lady Deverish becomes a parasitic life-form when she is dying from consumption, Ethelind is kidnapped by a group of vampires and somehow transformed and the Horla is simply a previously undiscovered species. This gives the impression that the vampires whose creation stories we do not hear just *are* vampires (and that is what they have always been) and that is all that matters in terms of their ability to perform their specific role within the tale in which they feature. The idea that Vardalek acts against his will reveals that the vampires under discussion in this thesis cannot be perceived as inherently evil as, according to my interpretation, they act for the good of society even if that goes against their personal desires. The vampire becomes the chosen weapon of the author that is used to illustrate, in a fictional setting, the fate meted out to the victims who are revealed as being eugenically unsuitable.

²²² Stenbock, p.167.

Unhealthy Background

This section also features one of the characters from 'A True Story of a Vampire', Carmela, as this section focuses less on the victims and vampires of the tales and more on the other characters within the tales who share a familial bond either with the victim (Carmela is Gabriel's sister) or with the vampire (Olalla is the Señora's daughter, and she is also the sister of Felipe, although Olalla may not be as innocent as the narrator of that tale assumes, as I shall discuss in the final chapter). The presence of these characters develops the theory that it was increasingly women who had to make a rational choice in regards to whether they decided to procreate or not. It is this familial bond which is the key to this section; the characters of Olalla and Carmela have some taint in their family background and so, because of this, they choose never to marry in order that the taint will die with them. As William Greenslade states; '[t]he subject of heredity is inseparable from questions of gender. It was the woman (often in her role as mother) who seemed to have carried the burden of anxiety or guilt on the subject.'²²³ I would argue that it was not just in the role of mother that women bore this burden but, perhaps more importantly, in the role of potential mother-to-be as this was the time when decisions would be made regarding suitability for breeding. The ability for women to make their own choice as to their mate links to what Darwin argued in *The Descent of Man* (1871) when he wrote that

[w]hen we behold a male bird elaborately displaying his graceful plumes or splendid colours before the female, whilst other birds, not

²²³ Greenslade, p. 165.

thus decorated, make no such display, it is impossible to doubt that she admires the beauty of her male partner.²²⁴

In nature, it is the best looking males who attract a mate, the quotation makes clear that the male displays for the female, making it *her* choice whether she finds him the best choice. Animals have to rely on physical signifiers to identify the most appropriate mate, whether that is a male's bright plumage or some other physical demonstration of suitability such as nest building or fighting other males. Humans, on the other hand, have evolved past this and so must attempt to learn something of the genetic background of their prospective partner, since physical appearances can no longer be relied upon. As already discussed, even a handsome face may mask some serious form of mental degeneration, hence the examples of Olalla and Carmela as the reader learns something of the family lineage through the tales in which they appear.

This decision not to marry is made more noteworthy for the fact that both of these characters are women, as is the former fiancée of Ken in 'The Grave of Ethelind Fionguala' who as stated above, never married. The fact that it always seems to be the women who make this decision is significant because it reveals great strength of character since it was society's expectation during the *fin de siècle* that a woman would marry as soon as possible and start a family. To do otherwise meant that the woman would be regarded as somehow 'odd'. As William Greenslade writes,

[f]or some fastidious women, evidence of hereditary defect and the perceived certainty of its transmission to the child given the

²²⁴ Darwin, (1871), p.115.

inevitability of childbearing in marriage, led them to voluntary spinsterhood. The poet Charlotte Mew (1869-1928) and her sister were reported as having renounced marriage.²²⁵

The female characters, therefore, become more conscious of the danger of allowing defective genetic material to pass through them and into the next generation. As Elaine Showalter writes,

feminists used syphilis as scientific evidence that the sins of the fathers were being visited upon the children. It was well known that the worst physical as well as mental effects of syphilis were hereditary. Congenital syphilis, which the Victorians called "syphilis of the innocents," is even more devastating than the acquired form of the disease, because it has already entered the secondary phase and begun to attack the nervous system.²²⁶

This meant that it was women who were increasingly relied upon to make the rational, healthy choice for a partner as the men risked passing on any venereal disease that they may have contracted.

Robert Louis Stevenson's 'Olalla' (1885) features a prime example of the necessity of women to make the rational choice, even if that is to refrain from any hint of a sexual relationship (or the beginnings of one). Olalla wishes to abstain from any kind of relationship because, unlike the narrator, she is aware of her own generic heritage: there is evidence of this everywhere from the portraits that hang in her house to the long speech in which she details her awareness of her genetic background. Attempting to explain to the narrator why she cannot be with him she says

[h]ave your eyes ever rested on that picture that hangs by your bed?
She who sat for it died ages ago; and she did evil in her life. But look

²²⁵ Greenslade, p.164.

²²⁶ Elaine Showalter, 'Syphilis, Sexuality, and the Fiction of the *Fin de Siècle*', printed in Lyn Pykett (Ed.), *Reading Fin de Siècle Fictions*, (Harlow; Longman Addison Wesley Limited, 1996), pp.166-183, p.170.

again: there is my hand to the least line [...] Man has risen; if he sprung from the brutes, he can descend again to the same level.²²⁷

Olalla accepts her fate; she will not risk passing on flawed and degenerate genes to a new generation, signified through her drawing attention to the similarity between her hands and that of the subject in the portrait, leading to fears that the evil that the subject did in her life may be relived through her living descendent. Olalla adds to her speech, rhetorically asking “[s]hall I hand down this cursed vessel of humanity, charge it with fresh life as with fresh poison, and dash it, like a fire, in the faces of posterity? But my vow has been given; the race shall cease from off the earth.”²²⁸ The use of the word ‘poison’ becomes the key word within this quotation as Olalla clearly states the destructive problem within her family’s genetic background; the ‘poison’ is handed to each new generation, infecting and destroying as it is passed down. Her words also imply that she will stop her brother from fathering any children as she refers only directly to herself in regards to her vow but then mentions ‘the race’ which would also include her brother, Felipe as he also shares the same degenerate genes as the woman in the portrait.

Contrasted to this is the narrator’s speech in which he repeats several times that he loves Olalla, and then trying to persuade her to be with him using the religious imagery that he knows she clings to by saying “[y]ou rebel against the voice of God, which he has made so winning to convince, so imperious to command. Hear it, and how it speaks between us!”²²⁹ The differences in their two speeches are very marked; it appears a little unusual that Olalla has a

²²⁷ Stevenson, (1885), pp.166-7.

²²⁸ Stevenson, (1885), p.167.

²²⁹ Stevenson, (1885), p.166.

speech in which she quotes evolutionary beliefs (the idea that man has risen from 'brutes') and not the creationist perspective that it may be thought she would use since she is deeply religious. In the speeches that the narrator and Olalla have, the traditionally conceived notion of woman's irrationality is turned around as it is the narrator who takes the irrational position: love is not a rational emotion and has no useful place in a eugenic argument as breeding for love could lead to degenerate behaviours (such as those illustrated by Olalla using the portrait as a literal example) being spread. The narrator's repetitive and irrational pleadings for love combined with his appeals to Olalla's religious feeling come to nothing as Olalla makes rational and logical arguments as to why it would be unwise for them to have a relationship: she is unwilling to risk creating more problems for any future generations and so stands as the rational voice of women.

One of the original reviews of 'Olalla' seems to pick up on the incongruity of Olalla's speech above as *The Pall Mall Gazette* wrote; '[Olalla] has acquired a strange sort of cloistral culture; yet her words seem part of the story-teller's design rather than of her own nature.'²³⁰ The review above seems to find it odd that Olalla, who is so religious, is given speeches in which she talks about evolution since these do not seem 'true' to her character. Stevenson, however, manages to strike a balance between Olalla's religious enthusiasm and her arguments regarding heredity; at the end of the text when the narrator and Olalla part for the final time, Olalla has her hand upon a large crucifix and says "[w]e are all such as He was – the inheritors of sin; we must all bear and

²³⁰ *The Pall Mall Gazette*, (London, England), Tuesday, February 22nd, 1887; Issue 6844.

expiate a past which was not ours.”²³¹ Olalla is given these speeches in order to cement the realisation within the mind of the reader that she is willing to make the difficult decision that she will never allow her genes to be carried on to new generations, placing this above her deep religious feeling. Her seemingly contradictory views work within the frame of didactic fiction as her ability to combine religious views with her eugenic standpoint guides the reader within the confines of safe (religious) ideals to take up the rational (eugenic) choices themselves. Ten years after the time in which Stevenson was writing, the Reverend Osborne wrote of his belief that the state had a right to interfere with people’s ability to get married in the cases of physical or mental degeneracy (as quoted in full earlier in this chapter). This suggestion of the forbidding of marriage by a reverend for eugenic purposes demonstrates how science and religion were no longer regarded as mutually exclusive but could be brought together for the mutual benefit of society; a task which Stevenson demonstrated when he gave Olalla her evolutionarily religious speech.

‘A True Story of a Vampire’ has a more implicit argument in relation to the notion of an unhealthy background. Almost as a throw-away remark, Carmela refers to ‘[her and Gabriel’s] mother having been of gipsy [sic] race’²³² and then at the end of the tale, she states that ‘the whole of the Wronski property came into my sole possession’²³³ and with it she opens an animal shelter in memory of her brother (since he had a deep affinity with animals). These two remarks may appear to have little importance, but to a contemporary reader,

²³¹ Stevenson, (1885), p.173.

²³² Stenbock, p.162.

²³³ Stenbock, p.169.

they would have said much in regard to the eugenic movement. The fact that their mother was a gypsy while their father was evidently rich and well educated (as evidenced by the text when Carmela states that '[o]ur father was studious, continually occupied in reading books, chiefly on recondite subjects and in all kinds of unknown languages'²³⁴) points to the fear that went hand in hand with eugenics: racial degeneration. Through his relationship with a gypsy woman, the father has risked his own racial purity which is then mixed in his children because as Edwin Black states, '[r]ace mixing was considered race suicide.'²³⁵ In his work *Hereditary Genius*, Francis Galton stated that the reason why he believed Ancient Greece did not survive as a civilisation was because 'emigration and immigration [were] constantly going on, and where manners [were] so dissolute [...] the purity of a race would necessarily fail.'²³⁶ Through the constant inter-mixing of peoples, it was not possible to keep the race 'pure' and at a time when the British Empire was at its zenith it would have been important to the eugenicists to help the race to survive through the segregation of the various races that were visible in the major cities of Britain, as Allan Chase states:

[w]hat had been ill-mannered and even immoral and un-Christian bigotry before the coming of Galton's eugenics now became race hygiene and the preservation of "the race" against the awesome spectre of what was known in the nineteenth century as "racial degeneration."²³⁷

This idea of race preservation is mirrored through fiction such as Stenbock's tale and, more famously, through *Dracula*.

²³⁴ Stenbock, pp.160-161.

²³⁵ Black, p.31.

²³⁶ Galton, (1892), p.398.

²³⁷ Chase, p.9.

In 'A True Story of a Vampire', we have another example of a woman choosing not to marry because of a problem within her own family rather than outside of it. There is a theme of inheritance that runs through the text; first Carmela states that due to their mother being of gypsy heritage, this '[may] account for much of the innate wildness [...] in [Gabriel and her] natures,'²³⁸ then, at the end, we learn that Carmela inherited everything at her father's death. It is this idea of inheritance that is crucial to eugenics: while Carmela seems quite content to use her monetary inheritance in order to benefit animals (in memory of Gabriel), she is not happy to give her familial (genetic) inheritance away. The statement at the end of the text when Carmela uses the family name (Wronski) to describe the inheritance she has received, and the fact that she is also the only beneficiary, both point to the fact that she has never married and the Wronski line will die with her. Once again, a female character has made the rational choice which means that her tainted genetic heritage will not be passed on to future generations. She makes the best eugenic decision that she can based on her knowledge of what happened to her brother and the 'mixed' genetic background that she comes from. The presence of the vampire appears to be the catalyst for both Olalla and Carmela to make the decision not to have children; for Olalla it is the fear that she and Felipe have inherited the same evil (vampiric) genes that her ancestor possessed and for Carmela, it is the death of her brother (caused by Vardalek), closely followed by her father, that persuades her to open the animal sanctuary. In these two texts, it is not necessarily just the victims that are affected by what the vampire does, other family members, who, due to the

²³⁸ Stenbock, p. 162.

laws of inheritance, may also possess degenerate genes make the rational choice not to breed.

Inability to Choose

This section will focus on female characters that feature in texts by two female authors (both of whom were more famous for their sensation fiction than their Gothic writing): Eliza Lynn Linton and Mary Elizabeth Braddon. The female characters examined within this section are unable to make the same rational choices that were discussed above due to their situations: Fanny in Linton's 'The Fate of Madame Cabanel' marries in France and Bella in Braddon's 'Good Lady Ducayne' goes to Italy because of her job. This section hinges on the fact that the female characters are taken to foreign countries where they are unable to make choices about their lives due to economic circumstances which lead to fears of making bad eugenic choices.

Madame Cabanel, (from 'The Fate of Madame Cabanel' published in 1880 by Eliza Lynn Linton) is an English woman who goes to France and marries a Frenchman. She is ultimately punished (and dies) because of her inability to find a more suitable (English) mate and so makes do with Jules due to her economic circumstances. The choice of the word 'fate' surely indicates that the outcome of the narrative is inescapable, that it was always supposed to happen as it does. The text is full of examples of the differences between the French villagers and Fanny Cabanel (who is English): 'although [Fanny] went to mass with praiseworthy punctuality, she did not know her missal and

signed herself *a travers*.²³⁹ Fanny's mistakes during Catholic mass (which are hardly surprising since she comes from Protestant England) are combined with her personality which is

too easy-tempered and unsuspicious to notice anything [...] she did not fret but accepted the coldness and brusqueness that had crept into [Jules'] manner as good-naturedly as she accepted all things. It would have been wiser if she had cried and made a scene and come to an open fracas with Monsieur Cabanel. They would have understood each other better; and Frenchmen like the excitement of a quarrel and reconciliation.²⁴⁰

Linton's statement that had Fanny matched Jules' passion and confronted him openly about his change in emotion towards her reveals a further incompatibility between the two races; the text suggests that had Fanny matched the more fiery temperament of the French, she would have survived whereas her decision to remain calm and unquestioning dooms her. Darwin's statement that '[i]t is notorious that each species is adapted to the climate of its own home: species from an arctic or even temperate region cannot endure a tropical climate, or conversely'²⁴¹ is mirrored in this text by the differences in personality; the 'temperate' nature of Fanny contrasted with the 'tropical' emotion of Jules, are too great for them to be well-matched. The implication within the text is that Jules and Fanny should only breed with their own kind as shown through the existence of Jules and Adèle's (Jules' house keeper and mistress) illegitimate son, Adolphe.

This text can be read so that it features two different vampires. Madame Cabanel is accused by the French peasantry of being a vampire (a claim

²³⁹ Linton, p.160.

²⁴⁰ Linton, p.165.

²⁴¹ Darwin, (1859), p.115.

based on her good complexion and unfamiliarity with a full Catholic mass), but the village itself can also be read as being the actual vampire of the piece as in the text, the village is described as being a 'dead-alive [...] place'²⁴² and it is this description which I believe is the key to understanding that it is the village that is the actual vampire (as I argue in my chapter on evolution and degeneration, the village is itself a degenerate being as it allows the villagers only a subsistence living from its poor soil) as it is dead-alive exactly like a vampire: not fully dead but not alive either. The villagers' persistence in clinging to out-dated superstitions, as personified in the character of Martin, the grave-digger who 'had seen with his own eyes the White Ladies dancing in the moonlight; and the little imps, the Infins, playing their prankish gambols by the pit at the edge of the wood,'²⁴³ and the credibility that they give to his accusations leads to the village remaining in a dead (old-fashioned) state instead of progressing to nineteenth century rationalism. It is the vampiric village that punishes Fanny for her transgressions against keeping the races pure. By having the village rather than a traditional vampire attack kill Fanny, Linton appears to argue that great care should be taken when considering marriage, and if an appropriate partner cannot be located, it would be preferable to remain single, lest an inauspicious match 'damage' society. In the vampire fiction under discussion here, it is the vampire's role to act as the weapon of normative society (even if they go about doing this by using their own degenerate behaviours, as Vardalek does) and so Fanny finds herself necessarily destroyed.

²⁴² Linton, p.161.

²⁴³ Linton, p.160.

Bella, in 'Good Lady Ducayne' (1896), is unsure of her economic position in relation to a prospective marriage match as her mother 'was a lady by birth and education; but it had been her bad fortune to marry a scoundrel; for the last half-dozen years she had been that worst of widows, a wife whose husband has deserted her'²⁴⁴ making her social status hard to define as being born a lady should make her upper-class, but both Bella's mother and Bella herself now have to work for a living. It is this inability to define their social position that leads to the necessity of Bella going out to find work as a companion and because of her employment means she has no choice but to go to Italy with her employer (Lady Ducayne). Martin Danahay writes that 'the "work ethic" assumed that all people, especially men, were constrained to labor [sic] by the will of God, and that thrift and sobriety were necessary for salvation.'²⁴⁵ The work ethic is the vital key to the understanding of the place the working class held in eugenics. While some argued that poverty could lead to or was even part of degeneration, those who strove to fight against their economic position could still be considered eugenically suitable as they are taking part in the work ethic by trying to better themselves, just as Bella does in this text.

Bella's economic situation is discussed within the text between Lotta and her brother, Herbert (to whom Bella eventually gets engaged) who become friends with Bella when she is in Italy. Herbert's experience in hospitals has left him immune to the snares of wealth and poverty (as any good eugenicist would be) as he understands that health (good genes) is more beneficial in a

²⁴⁴ Braddon, (1896), p.141.

²⁴⁵ Martin A. Danahay, *Gender at Work in Victorian Culture Literature, Art and Masculinity*, (Aldershot; Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005), p.7.

marriage than wealth. When she is in Italy, Bella writes to her mother that 'I don't suppose I ever shall marry [...] No young man can afford to marry a penniless girl nowadays.'²⁴⁶ Bella's letter gives the previously conventional suggestion that the woman also had to bring some kind of income to the household in order to be considered a suitable partner which is contrary to what Herbert (her future husband) believes. When Herbert and Lotta are discussing Bella, they form two sides of the inheritance/eugenic argument as Lotta argues the (outdated) need for wealth and social position (her name becoming a play on the need for 'a lot of' wealth in a marriage) as she says that "you couldn't marry a girl whose mother makes mantles"²⁴⁷ and Herbert (who is a trained doctor) taking the new eugenic side in the text as it is stated that 'he had seen too much of the grim realities of life to retain any prejudices about rank. Cancer, phthisis, gangrene, leave a man with little respect for the humanity.'²⁴⁸ Bella's social position and background are immaterial within this text as Herbert understands how society could be 'improved' by mating with mentally and physically healthy people rather than adhering to social class norms of marrying at the same rank rather than below it. This links to the quotation I used in the introduction to this chapter that it was more important to pass on a good brain rather than monetary wealth: Herbert has seen what disease can do to anyone, regardless of social class; he is more concerned that his prospective mate is in good mental and physical health since this was all that was important in the positive continuation of the race.

²⁴⁶ Braddon, (1896), p.146.

²⁴⁷ Braddon, (1896), p.152.

²⁴⁸ Braddon, (1896), pp.152-153.

Within the text, Herbert becomes the light double to Parravicini; both doctors, Herbert uses his medical knowledge to heal whereas Parravicini uses his for nefarious purposes. He is also the 'vampire' of the tale since it is he who steals Bella's blood and transfuses it to Lady Ducayne (endangering them both as Bella could have died due to blood loss and Lady Ducayne could have died due to an air bubble). Parravicini tests Bella's resilience and health through his medical experiments in order to try to preserve the life of Lady Ducayne as he only begins to drug her and take blood once they are in Italy. By waiting until they are in the foreign country before he begins his 'punishment' of Bella, it is almost as if he is willing to see if she will change her mind and remain in the safety of England. Within the scope of this text, England is equated with health and the continent with sickness and laziness; when in England, Bella 'trudged'²⁴⁹ through most of London at the beginning of the text as she has to walk everywhere, being unable to afford public transport. Once she is in Italy, however, Bella finds she 'is not quite so strong as I was [...] I feel what the people here call 'slack'.'²⁵⁰ Herbert symbolises the safety and health of England even in the foreign country, (he has a valid reason for being abroad as he is looking after his sister who has asthma) and so is able to save Bella by 'becoming' England as once Bella has been rescued from Lady Ducayne, she is 'in his charge till they all three [Herbert, Lotta and Bella] went back to England.'²⁵¹ Herbert becomes a symbolic England as he begins to heal her and care for her before they have even left the continent, taking her away from the blood-letting danger that Parravicini posed. Bella's desire to better her family's economic position leads to her

²⁴⁹ Braddon, (1896), p.142.

²⁵⁰ Braddon, (1896), p.151.

²⁵¹ Braddon, (1896), p.161.

inability to make a choice when it comes to the place where she gains her employment: rather than stay in England she instead has to travel to Italy, where she begins to fall into 'lax' continental habits instead of working in the healthy and good England. Her desire to work is commendable; rather than allowing poverty to overcome her family and falling to the criminal (degenerate) classes she is able to retain her eugenic suitability despite her lack of wealth by striving for something better, which she eventually attains through Herbert's belief in the necessity of health and good genes rather than economic position which Lotta represents.

This chapter has demonstrated how vampire fiction was used by authors at the end of the nineteenth century to discuss the theory of eugenics and how it could be applied, albeit within the fantastic setting of vampire fiction. In this chapter, I have argued that the white middle classes that made up the eugenicists looked to others of their class and racial background to provide the best possible basis for the future of society since the aristocracy could no longer be relied upon to do this due to their parasitic lifestyle and their inability to strive for success. Likewise, the working class could not necessarily be relied upon to provide a good eugenic future, it was necessary to judge them not only against their genes but also their willingness to work, as demonstrated through the analysis of the character of Bella. I have demonstrated how women were beginning to have more responsibility in choosing their own potential mate due to their supposed higher sense of moral purpose and their ability to remain 'pure' in order to preserve the future of society, even if that meant that they never had children themselves and

allowed their family line to die with them. A woman's ability to choose also meant that they preserved their own safety and didn't risk infection from diseased men. This chapter has also revealed the problem of relying solely on the middle class since appearances are deceptive and those who may appear to be suitable choices in fact turn out to be degenerate. The vampires within the texts under discussion are used to reveal the hidden natures of their victims so that the inner degeneration (alcoholism, mental instability, venereal disease or homosexuality) is brought to the surface and made visible for any prospective partner. Since so many of the conditions discussed in this chapter are internal rather than physical disfigurements, the texts act as conduct books, identifying these hidden conditions, conditions which the reader may share. The purpose the vampire has within the text is the same as the framework of didactic fiction; the vampire punishes the victim due to a eugenic unsuitability and the purpose of didactic fiction also has a clear moral message regarding appropriate behaviours where the good are rewarded and the evil receive just punishment. The vampire fiction here demonstrates how difficult it was to find any suitable mate since so many disadvantages were hidden and so the vampire performs a useful service in that they are able to find the corrupt and degenerate and remove the danger they present either through the death of the victim or via some form of sterilisation.

Vampire tales at the *fin de siècle* were rife with male victims (and vampires) whose manhood was less than the robust ideal that was perpetuated by British society at the time. This contributed to the fears that society was undergoing a degenerative process and therefore that a selective breeding programme was necessary in order to preserve the strong masculine type. For the vampire characters, this fear does not affect them as they utilise their already degenerate position in order to attract other degenerate types. I argue, in this chapter, that the male victims were chosen by the vampires in the texts due to their failings as 'true men' (the different sections of this chapter reflect this) and, through their feeding, the vampires leave them 'impotent' or dead. By creating this state of impotence, it sterilises the man, making him unable to beget children and therefore unable to transmit his un-masculine characteristics to a new generation. This preserves the safety of society by only allowing 'good', true men (middle class, white and appropriately 'manly') to reproduce, revealing the vampires' eugenic purpose.

To begin with, a definition of what masculinity meant during the *fin de siècle* will be established in order to present a workable definition so that when the 'unmasculine' men are analysed, it is evident how they differed from what was perceived as the 'norm' of the time (1880-1896). I acknowledge that notions of masculinity at this time were not static so that even during the *fin de siècle*, issues of masculinity were rarely constant and were always developing. According to the *Belfast News-Letter* in an edition which was published in 1890, 'beauty is of little value; accompanied by manliness, integrity,

intelligence, usefulness, and fairly good temper you will have as perfect a compound as masculine human nature is capable of.'²⁵² This standard of manliness had been developed towards the middle of the nineteenth century as the beliefs of Dr Arnold (headmaster of Rugby school from 1828-1841), also 'equated manliness with intellectual energy, moral purpose and sexual purity.'²⁵³ These standards for behaviour are in marked contrast to the way in which masculinity was formulated in the early part of the century when 'men [...] were often able to express intense feelings in public – in tears, hugs and so forth.'²⁵⁴

The use of the word 'manliness' in the quotation from the *Belfast News-Letter* is key in that by using it, the author of the article assumes the reader is already familiar with what would constitute being a true man. Andrew Dowling, in his work *Manliness and the Male Novelist in Victorian Literature*, observes that '[m]asculinity was not questioned in the nineteenth century; rather, it was natural and obvious. The meaning of masculinity was self-evident and it involved emotional reserve and physical discipline.'²⁵⁵ This quotation is further proof that men knew what it should be to be a man, that it was self-evident (or at least should have been) what was required of them in order to prove themselves suitable eugenic partners, though this model began to feel pressure from more marginal groups during the *fin de siècle* such as the dandy, the aesthete and the homosexual.

²⁵² *The Belfast News-Letter*, (Belfast, Ireland), Monday May 5th, 1890; Issue 23347.

²⁵³ Michael Roper and John Tosh (Eds.), *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, (London; Routledge, 1991), pp.16-17.

²⁵⁴ John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*, (Harlow; Pearson Education Limited, 2005), p.49.

²⁵⁵ Andrew Dowling, *Manliness and the Male Novelist in Victorian Literature*, (Aldershot; Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2001), p.1.

During the 1890s, the decadent man (an umbrella term that I use to include the figures of the dandy, aesthete and homosexual, as identified above) came under social scrutiny for his perceived degenerate behaviour. This degenerate behaviour can be identified as anything that could cause society to de-evolve to a more primitive state. This decadent man could be seen wandering the city in the guise of the dandy, flâneur, or the aesthete. Ostensibly middle or upper class, the decadent man 'undermined the Victorian valorization [sic] of a robust, muscular brand of British masculinity'²⁵⁶ through his unwillingness to take part in 'the challenge of the struggle for existence.'²⁵⁷ Since the decadent man was an economically free agent, there was no requirement for him to work (an idea which Samuel Smiles put forward as crucial to a healthy existence in his classic work, *Self Help*) and therefore he was also framed as an unsuitable reproductive partner. Martin Danahay identifies the importance that those living in the late-nineteenth century placed upon work, stating that 'by the 1880s the compulsion to work was described as a moral issue and a question of masculine character.'²⁵⁸ By not adding to the economic growth of society through employment, the non-working male only consumes instead of making a useful contribution and can be identified as one of the types of unmasculine man, and therefore an unsuitable eugenic partner.

From the above examples, it is possible to construct a picture of a man that was less than masculine: someone who was outwardly emotional, physically

²⁵⁶ Sally Ledger, 'The New Woman and the crisis of Victorianism', printed in Sally Ledger and Scott McCracken (Eds.), *Cultural Politics at the Fin de Siècle*, (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp.22-44, p.22.

²⁵⁷ Greenslade, p.32.

²⁵⁸ Danahay, p.8.

weak and, to continue the assumptions of the quotations above, therefore unmanly in terms of dominant ideologies in play during the *fin de siècle*. It is these unmanly men that appear in some of the late nineteenth century examples of vampire fiction that this chapter will focus on, demonstrating how through their various weaknesses they would have been regarded as dangerous to the continuation of the race in the latter half of the century and therefore why it was necessary for the vampires to 'remove' them.

This chapter will be split into four sections in order to best illustrate the above argument that the vampire was used as a eugenic agent to remove unsuitable men by emasculating or killing them: the feminised man, the homosexual man, the weak-willed man and finally the manly man. The section on the feminised man will focus on the male characters who display some type of trait more usually associated with women than men, whether in physical appearance or psychologically. The homosexual man will examine male characters that fall victim to male vampires and it will also discuss the more 'homosocial'²⁵⁹ man – those men who shun the company of women in order to spend more time with their male companions and whose behaviour was therefore noted as suspicious. Though I acknowledge that the homosocial bonding can fit the stereotype of separate spheres, I will demonstrate how the men in texts such as 'John Barrington Cowles' went beyond normal behavioural patterns and strayed towards homosexual bonding instead. The weak-willed man focuses on men who allow their wills to be taken over by the much stronger-willed female vampire. Finally, the manly man discusses those

²⁵⁹ Dowling, p. 3.

male characters within the tales who illustrate how a 'true man' in the latter half of the century 'should' have behaved.

The Feminised Man

This section of the chapter will focus on the feminised man, the man who in a society which praised aloofness and a 'stiff upper lip' instead retained some feminine aspects (such as a feminine type of beauty) and risked being 'punished' for it by the vampires of the tales. These feminised men can be both the vampire of the tale and also the victims of the vampire. Feminine men risk being made 'impotent' on a permanent basis, unable to carry on their genetic lines because they displayed too much 'femininity': an unattractive trait due to the perceived notions of degeneration and the idea that society may begin to entropy that was bound up with this. Samuel Smiles wrote that 'a life well spent, a character uprightly sustained, is no slight legacy to leave one's children [...] for it is the most eloquent lesson of virtue and the severest reproof of vice.'²⁶⁰ Society required a particular type of person, one that upheld the Protestant work ethic, to breed and for unwanted people such as the feminised man to stay childless.

Andrew Dowling states that 'Victorian fiction is full of deviant men [...]' However, these images of deviance help maintain a disciplined ideal of manhood.'²⁶¹ The argument that Dowling expresses here also establishes why there is such a proliferation of male victims in *fin de siècle* vampire fiction. Using the example of the deviant man (in whatever form he may take), late

²⁶⁰ Smiles, p.365.

²⁶¹ Dowling, p.2.

nineteenth century authors create a version of didactic fiction where the contemporary male readers were given examples of unmanly men and then shown through the medium of the vampire revealing the hidden degenerate natures of the victims that these types of men would not make suitable partners for reproduction.

The nameless narrator of Guy de Maupassant's 'The Horla' (1886) fits several of the categories under discussion in this chapter as he can be read as also having homosexual tendencies and a weak will. It is his mental compliancy that aligns him with the female characters of this tale and reveals him to be an example of the feminised man. A demonstration of hypnosis at his female cousin's house, and her subsequently visiting the narrator in order to fulfil the hypnotic suggestion that she is under, means that the narrator comes to the realisation that 'my cousin was under the same sort of domination and possession [as himself], when she came to me to borrow five thousand francs. She was subject to an alien will, which entered into her like a second soul.'²⁶² As was discussed in the introduction to this thesis, hypnosis was perhaps the most widely used ability that the vampire of the nineteenth century possessed. For the eugenic vampire, this ability guaranteed that the chosen victim would live only within the parameters set by the vampire; just as the narrator's cousin existed believing that she required five thousand francs, the narrator has the sudden realisation that he too no longer has a will of his own. The ease with which the narrator falls under the influence of the Horla aligns him with his female cousin and by making this connection, de

²⁶² de Maupassant, p.234.

Maupassant feminises his narrator. Robin Waterfield states 'the normal inequalities of Victorian social life remained in place, largely unchallenged by mesmerism. Men were superior to women [...] this superiority is displayed by a greater strength of moral will.'²⁶³ This led to the idea that women were more easily hypnotised than men, therefore the narrator's feminisation is established and the narrator's masculinity is identified as being under crisis.

The character of Vardalek in Count Stenbock's 'A True Story of a Vampire' (1894) is the vampire of the tale and, like the narrator of 'The Horla' fits several of the categories explored in this chapter (as he is not only an example of the feminised man but also homosexual); he is described as 'rather tall with fair wavy hair, rather long, which accentuated a certain effeminacy about his smooth face'²⁶⁴ and he also has 'an elasticity of the skin, combined with a delicate complexion, rarely to be found in a man.'²⁶⁵ It is this effeminacy that Max Nordau wrote of in his work *Degeneration* in which he 'provides a way of reading *fin de siècle* decadence which is based on a model of dangerous, potentially perverse [...] male effeminacy.'²⁶⁶ The labelling of effeminacy as dangerous implies that Nordau believed that the effeminate man posed a threat to society, and yet it is this dangerous model that is used by some *fin de siècle* authors to remove other threats to the eugenic future of society. Vardalek's overt femininity which is so explicitly written across his face should have immediately warned of his deviant behaviours yet he is invited into the Wronski household where he fulfils his ultimate purpose of

²⁶³ Waterfield, p. 165.

²⁶⁴ Stenbock, p. 163.

²⁶⁵ Stenbock, p. 164.

²⁶⁶ Smith, (2004), p.3.

attracting and then killing Gabriel, son of the house, who also manifests effeminate and homosexual tendencies.

The Eloi of H. G. Wells' *The Time Machine* (1895) display an, albeit fantastic, version of what may happen in the future if feminised men are allowed to breed. The Time Traveller describes a male Eloi as 'being a very beautiful and graceful creature, but incredibly frail.'²⁶⁷ The Time Traveller has some difficulty distinguishing the men and women of the future, stating that

I felt that this close resemblance of the sexes was after all what one would expect; for the strength of a man and the softness of a woman, the institution of the family, and the differentiation of occupations are mere militant necessities of an age of physical force.²⁶⁸

The Time Traveller's assertion that the physical differences between the sexes comes through the necessity of separate spheres where men work and women are 'soft' (domestic) mirrors *fin de siècle* arguments that men needed to maintain a level of physical action in order to preserve their masculinity. The Eloi's frailty which is a feature of both the men and women reveals not only that the need for a physical struggle for existence has ended but also that through the years, feminine men have been allowed to breed so that eventually, the Eloi have come to exist. The Time Traveller then goes on to describe how he has 'happened upon humanity on the wane.'²⁶⁹ The way in which the male Eloi are presented in Wells' text helps to identify the *fin de siècle* obsession with passing on a good genetic heritage in order to preserve the best of humanity for the future. Andrew Smith states that 'degeneration occurs when subjects or societies no longer have to strive for self-

²⁶⁷ Wells, (1895), p.20.

²⁶⁸ Wells, (1895), p.26.

²⁶⁹ Wells, (1895), p.27.

development'²⁷⁰ and the situation in which the Eloi find themselves is precisely one in which that has happened; no longer needing to be masters of anything, they have instead become indolent cattle for the more active Morlocks to pick off. The feminised characters in some of the vampire tales of the end of the nineteenth century help to illustrate the masculine continuum that was in place in the latter half of the century; they are at one end of this continuum (the feminine and therefore undesirable end) so they act as a guide for the reader to gauge themselves against the various characters in order to examine their own suitability for mating.

The Homosexual Man

This section of the chapter will deal with those characters that display what appear to be homosexual tendencies. The definition and categorization of the homosexual during the 1880s added to the fears of a decline in masculinity. By trying to define the figure of the homosexual, it gave sexologists of the *fin de siècle* the ability to understand that which they did not in an attempt to make the spectre of the homosexual safe. When the fears about homosexuality began to surface, '[a]ny hint of erotic charge or emotional excess between men, such as had been commonplace in polite society a generation earlier, now aroused suspicion.'²⁷¹ It was at this same time that homosexuals were defined, catalogued and studied by sexologists such as Richard Von Krafft-Ebbing and Karl Heinrich Ulrichs as

Krafft-Ebing [...] argued that all sexual deviations were a product of heredity degeneration of the central nervous system. Ulrichs,

²⁷⁰ Smith, (2004), p.24.

²⁷¹ Tosh, pp.38-39.

however, represented as a separate species of human being, a third sex, whom he named Uranians.²⁷²

The difference in the two theories of the cause of homosexuality stems from whether it is possible to view the homosexual as inherently the same as heterosexual men and women. Ulrichs' belief that homosexuals were a separate species allowed the heterosexual reader the comfort of feeling safe and separate from the homosexual figure; as a different species, the creation of a homosexual cannot be possible through heterosexual means. By classifying homosexuals as degenerate due to heredity, Krafft-Ebing, unlike Ulrichs, defines the homosexual as a dangerous character, and one that, in the age of eugenics, should not have been 'allowed' to breed (if they did attempt to undertake a heterosexual relationship) as any children would, by inference, also suffer the same genetic degeneration that created the homosexual parent: Krafft-Ebing viewed the homosexual as a degenerate version of the heterosexual, rather than a comforting separate species. It was also when the Labouchère Amendment to the 1885 Criminal Law Amendment Act came into force, which 'seem[ed] to have been an effort to reinscribe the insistence of society on the unacceptability of these acts [...] by connecting homosexual acts with concerns of far more significance to society than bestiality.'²⁷³ Homosexuals were feared at the end of the nineteenth century because they 'struck at the roots of the family':²⁷⁴ they were degenerate, transformed into a kind of *fin de siècle* bogey-man whose 'unnatural' behaviours were all too visible and living a life that went against Biblical doctrine.

²⁷² White, p.4.

²⁷³ White, p.26.

²⁷⁴ Tosh, p.43.

In terms of homosexuality in the vampire fiction of the late nineteenth century, the examples that I have sourced tend to feature characters whose homosexual tendencies would have been more explicitly obvious to a contemporary reader due to the prescriptive strictures of male bonding: too close a relationship (such as that enacted by Robert Armitage and John Barrington Cowles - see below), for example, would have struck a late nineteenth century reader as cause for concern. The examples that will be cited and discussed below deal with aspects of the homosexual way of life and how the authors punished their characters for their choice of lifestyle. The vampires in the texts where homosexual characters appear can act as a source of homophobic control since the main purpose of the vampire is to get rid of the homosexual threat; this then illustrates to the reader that the homosexual would not make a suitable partner for procreation.

It is worth noting that the homosexual characters under examination here come from the middle and upper classes. As Andrew Smith notes when he paraphrases Max Nordau, 'it was through the middle class, specifically through their supposed diligence, level-headedness, and capacity for hard work, that society could be revitalised.'²⁷⁵ The dangers posed by the deviant middle and upper classes become concentrated when combined with the fears regarding homosexuality as these were the classes which should have provided a relatively safe genetic base for future generations.

²⁷⁵ Smith, (2004), p. 15.

'John Barrington Cowles' (1884) features an overly familiar relationship between the narrator (Robert Armitage) and the eponymous hero. Armitage narrates that 'Cowles came in time to concentrate all his affection on me, and to confide in me in a manner which is rare among men.'²⁷⁶ Armitage's admission that the relationship that he and Cowles shares is odd immediately creates suspicions in the reader as to the nature of their relationship as this assertion comes early on in the tale. Not only do they share this unusual confidence with each other which gives the appearance of a more feminine style of relationship, since if the relationship is unusual between men, it must be normal between women, but Cowles and Armitage also share a physical relationship of sorts as they walk 'arm-in-arm along Princes Street.'²⁷⁷ It is this type of behaviour which John Tosh states would have 'now aroused suspicion'²⁷⁸ among contemporary readers. Armitage and Cowles act as if they were a courting couple or female companions; they share secrets, walk arm-in-arm and Armitage also states that Cowles avoids 'female society'²⁷⁹ and it is this behaviour that is punished in the tale.

Cowles does have some slight misgivings about his relationship with Kate, openly asking Armitage if he thinks "[Kate] is the sort of girl who would take a pleasure in inflicting pain?"²⁸⁰ after they witness her whipping her dog, implying that he has some inkling as to Kate's true purpose within the text: that of punisher. Cowles also knows of Kate's previous engagements (her previous fiancés also both die) and yet he still decides that he wants to marry

²⁷⁶ Doyle, p.26.

²⁷⁷ Doyle, p.28.

²⁷⁸ Tosh, pp.38-39.

²⁷⁹ Doyle, p.26.

²⁸⁰ Doyle, p.36.

her, believing instead that “it was all a false alarm about her being engaged.”²⁸¹ Cowles’ death at the end of the text can be seen as an example of a deviant member of society being punished for their aberrant behaviour by established society: the gay man is punished by the heterosexual woman.

This example of a homosexual relationship clearly illustrates a masculine bond that goes deeper than ‘normal’ male friendship, especially through the physical act of them walking arm-in-arm, but also, it seeks to punish the wrong-doers through the medium of a ‘demonised’ heterosexual relationship (that between Cowles and Kate). Cowles is punished by becoming ensnared by a sexual predator in the form of Kate and losing his life because of it and Armitage is punished through the loss of his ‘lover’. In this respect, the punishment in this tale is also homophobic: Eve Sedgwick illustrated this when she stated that ‘homophobia [was] the main leverage for disciplining men.’²⁸² The key word in this quotation is ‘disciplining’ since in ‘John Barrington Cowles’ it is up to a woman to mete out the punishment to a homosexual; Kate becomes the weapon of society as Cowles says to Armitage “[s]he told me that she would come for me, and she keeps her word [...] She is beckoning to me. It is the signal. I must go.”²⁸³ Kate’s warning that she would ‘come’ for Cowles strongly suggests that she had some further purpose to fulfil with Cowles. The beckoning motion eventually means that Cowles runs off the edge of a cliff and falls to his death, though his body is never recovered: Kate will not allow Cowles and Armitage to continue their ‘degenerate’ lifestyle and so she destroys Cowles.

²⁸¹ Doyle, p.32.

²⁸² Dowling, p.3.

²⁸³ Doyle, p.46.

Guy de Maupassant's nameless narrator in 'The Horla' reveals his homosexual tendencies to the reader through the assumption that the creature that has been attacking him is male. The creature is invisible, and yet the narrator persists in assigning male pronouns to it, in the French original, de Maupassant writes that

*je le sens et je le sais ... et je sens aussi que quelqu'un s'approche de moi, me regarde, me palpe, monte sur mon lit, s'apenouille sur ma poitrine, me prend le cou entre ses mains et serre ... serre ... de toute sa force pour m'étrangler.*²⁸⁴

In the English translation used throughout this thesis, the above passage is written as

I feel, too, that there is someone creeping towards me – someone who looks at me, passes *his* hands over me, climbs up on to the bed, kneels on my chest, grasps my throat with both hands, and squeezes [...] with all *his* might, in an effort to strangle me.²⁸⁵ [Italics my own]

The rather masochistic description of the narrator being attacked by the Horla: the voyeuristic nature of his first being looked at and then touched by the invisible creature before the attempt at strangulation reveals a decision by the narrator to use masculine signifiers.²⁸⁶ The creature could just as easily be a female or gender-neutral creature; by giving the Horla a distinct gender rather than using 'it' to signify its presence, de Maupassant makes the creature appear less monstrous as it can be defined as some type of human rather than an unknowable mass. This identification of the Horla as a humanoid,

²⁸⁴ www.gutenberg.org/catalog/world/readfile?pageno=3&fk_files=1477962 last accessed 1/6/13

²⁸⁵ de Maupassant, p.221.

²⁸⁶ Though there is an issue of a movement from gender neutral signifiers to a gender specific translation I do believe that due to the clear ideas of doubling between the narrator and the Horla implicate the Horla as the double of the male narrator, therefore figuring the Horla as male.

while moving away from possible bestial issues instead moves the reader to a homoerotic reading of the encounter between the two characters.

The narrator continues to use male pronouns the second time he describes his being attacked during which he

felt that there was something squatting on my chest. *His* mouth was on my mouth and *he* was drinking my life from between my lips. *He* was draining my vitality like a leech. Then when *he* had had *his* fill, *he* rose and left me [...] I was too prostrate, too crushed and exhausted to move.²⁸⁷ [Italics my own]

In this quotation, the narrator refers to the Horla's gender six times, embedding the idea within the reader that there is no doubt, at least in the narrator's mind, that his assailant is masculine. This insistence on the gendering of the Horla and the narrator's 'post-coital' feelings of exhaustion point to the nineteenth century belief in 'finite amounts of energy [which] Krafft-Ebing believed any interruption of the flow of energy (such as masturbation) produced erotic aberrations such as homosexuality.'²⁸⁸ While I do not argue that the Horla's attacks are some kind of masturbatory fantasy as it is clear that there is a second person present, the removal of the narrator's 'life force' (semen?) and his exhaustion may assist in explaining why he insists on classing the Horla as male.

In 'A True Story of a Vampire' (1894), Vardalek, the vampire character, is one of the homosexual characters (the other is Gabriel, his victim): his prey is young boys. In the tale, not only does he feed directly from Gabriel (the

²⁸⁷ de Maupassant, p.224.

²⁸⁸ Richard A. Kaye, 'Sexual Identity at the fin de siècle', printed in Marshall, pp.53-72, p.63.

protagonist's brother) but when Vardalek is told the story of 'a drummer-boy who was wounded in battle'²⁸⁹ he appears to become sexually aroused by the story as

[h]is eyes opened completely again and dilated: this time with a particularly disagreeable expression, dull and dead, yet at the same time animated by some horrible excitement²⁹⁰

It is this idea of 'horrible excitement' that especially suggests arousal: for Vardalek, it is not just the fact that the drummer-boy was wounded and hence bleeding that excites him, as it may be for many other vampire characters, but the fact that it is a boy that is wounded. We know that it is the fact that it is a boy that excites him because Vardalek seems to want nothing at all to do with women: he ignores all the women in the Wronski household and only appears to speak to the men (and boys). This suggests that if the battlefield tale had been that of a wounded girl, Vardalek would only have been excited in the conventional (blood-based) vampiric sense and would not have appeared to be excited sexually. The reader can infer this since in the text, Vardalek and Carmela (the narrator) do not speak directly to each other and Vardalek does not greet her in the same way that he greets Gabriel (by feeling the pulse on his wrist). It is as if she does not exist to him, only *he* does.

Vardalek's relationship with blood is somewhat incongruous within the text; although he seems interested in the tale of the bleeding drummer-boy, he feeds psychically, draining his victims of their vitality, without the need for physical contact. When he meets Gabriel, Vardalek displays what may be

²⁸⁹ Stenbock, p.164.

²⁹⁰ Stenbock, pp.164-5.

considered 'classic' vampire behaviour when he takes Gabriel's hand and 'pressed the pulse with his forefinger.'²⁹¹ I believe this mismatch of vampiric feeding habits is used as evidence of Vardalek's degenerate behaviour as this method of greeting Gabriel, but not any of the other members of the household, immediately drawing attention to himself and establishing an initial link between him and Gabriel as after this, Gabriel runs upstairs to get 'dressed up' for their guest.

Gabriel already appears to have homosexual tendencies when Vardalek comes to their home which Vardalek then takes advantage of in order to form their destructive (for Gabriel) relationship. In the text, there are three instances which I believe reveal aspects of Gabriel's homosexuality. The first is the first meeting between Vardalek and Gabriel as once they have been introduced, 'Gabriel darted from the room and rushed upstairs [...] he came down in his velvet Sunday suit, and shoes and stockings.'²⁹² Compared to his first appearance into this scene with a squirrel in his arms, a butterfly caught in his hair and 'bare-legged',²⁹³ it appears that Gabriel wants to make a good impression on Vardalek: as if he is making himself look more attractive to his prospective suitor. He transforms himself from a wild creature to a more sophisticated prospect.

The second major example of Gabriel's already present homosexual tendencies comes when Vardalek has been playing a piece of music which

²⁹¹ Stenbock, p. 164.

²⁹² Stenbock, p. 164.

²⁹³ Stenbock, p. 164.

Gabriel imitates, saying “Yes, I think I could play that.”²⁹⁴ As well as this being the only thing that Gabriel actually says in the text (the significance of this having been discussed in the chapter on evolution and degeneration), I believe it is also a veiled admission of Gabriel's homosexuality. In Susan Navarette's *The Shape of Fear*, she states that the ‘motif of music [was] the veiled expression of sublimated – often homoerotic – desire’²⁹⁵ and so by Gabriel saying that he can play the same music as Vardalek, and then copying what he was playing, he becomes the same as Vardalek (gay, not a vampire) and his line can be read, instead, as ‘I can play that because I am homosexual like you’. This scene demonstrates the psychological aspect of Gabriel's homosexuality being admitted to in a similar way that the changing of his clothes can be seen as the physical signifier of his ‘coming out’.

Finally, when Vardalek returns from trips away the text states that ‘Gabriel would rush to meet him, and kiss him on the mouth.’²⁹⁶ This sentence is central to an understanding of the homosexuality of Gabriel in the text as it clearly states that *he* kisses Vardalek, not the other way round. As we have already seen the physical and psychological uncovering of Gabriel's homosexuality, this final example illustrates the sexual aspect of Gabriel's character and it is due to these traits that Gabriel is punished in the text through his death.

²⁹⁴ Stenbock, p.165.

²⁹⁵ Susan J. Navarette, *The Shape of Fear: Horror and the Fin de Siècle Culture of Decadence*, (Kentucky; The University Press of Kentucky, 1998), p.153.

²⁹⁶ Stenbock, pp.166-167.

Vardalek takes the part of the social avenger, removing the danger to society (Gabriel) before he has a chance to damage it with his unnatural tendencies. This is possible because Vardalek is already damned by society for being homosexual (and a vampire) so he cannot further 'damage' himself; instead he takes Gabriel's homosexuality into himself. By acting as the social avenger, Vardalek, rather than being the villain of the piece, in fact becomes the (anti-)hero: in spite of the fact that his presence is destructive (not only does he physically kill Gabriel, but due to Gabriel's death, his father also dies of a 'broken heart'), this destructiveness is only perceived as bad for this particular family.

Although the eugenicist's ultimate goal at the end of the nineteenth century was to discourage the possibility of the homosexual (degenerate) from depleting good genetic stocks for the future through breeding, the purpose of the homosexual victim being punished changes depending on whether the vampire taking the role of eugenic examiner is a male or female. William Greenslade writes that as 'the authority of norms falters [the womanly and manly 'ideals' of the time], so the regulation through categories becomes more necessary.'²⁹⁷ This desire to regulate both the amorphous idea of normality and the categorisation (and therefore the separating off) of 'abnormal' behaviours is the form chosen by Doyle in the case of 'John Barrington Cowles'. Kate becomes the tool of homophobic society, punishing and thereby 'regulating' Cowles through the medium of their twisted

²⁹⁷ Greenslade, p.3.

formulation of a heterosexual relationship in order to vilify the homosexual one that he had undertaken with Armitage.

If, however, a homosexual vampire is acting for society, as in the case of Vardalek, then 'images of male deviance [...] served both a voyeuristic and an ideological purpose in that they satisfied a cultural desire to view the deviant man while underlining the importance, and inevitability, of manly discipline.'²⁹⁸ Thus, 'A True Story of a Vampire' allows the reader a glimpse into a fictionalised homosexual relationship while still maintaining the moral of the story of homosexuality being doomed to fail as Vardalek *has* to destroy Gabriel: Paul Barber writes of the nature of the vampire that 'his acts are explained as the result of compulsion: we are told that he "must", not that he "likes to"'²⁹⁹ and this is mirrored in the text when Vardalek says to Gabriel "thy life is my life, and I must live;"³⁰⁰ Vardalek has no choice but to kill Gabriel as that is his purpose even though he seems to do so unwillingly.

The Weak-willed Man

The weak-willed man is not necessarily the victim within *fin de siècle* vampire fiction: he can also appear in the texts under discussion here as more peripheral characters, but ones that still have a part to play within the idea of eugenic fiction. Like the feminised and homosexual man, the weak-willed man has been degenerate for his entire life, but through his association with primarily mentally strong female vampires, this weakness is exacerbated and

²⁹⁸ Dowling, p.23.

²⁹⁹ Paul Barber, *Vampires, Burial and Death: Folklore and Reality*, (Binghamton; Vail-Ballou Press, 1988), p.58.

³⁰⁰ Stenbock, p.167.

facilitates his emasculation. As the *Pall Mall Gazette* warned in an 1886 edition '[w]hen women come to the front it is because men have not enough masculinity to lead'³⁰¹ and it is this threat, the combination of the weak-willed man with the strong woman that this section deals with. This idea of the strong woman was most threateningly portrayed (at the time) in the figure of the New Woman who has been described by Lyn Pykett as 'oversexed, undersexed [...] anti-maternal, or a racial supermother [sic]; she was male-identified, or man hating and/or man eating.'³⁰² At the end of the nineteenth century, it seems that even a strong-minded man may be at risk from strong women, as the *Birmingham Daily Post* warned in 1894 that '[i]f any man is foolish enough to marry such a woman, all we can say is that he merits whatever fate she may insist upon carving out for him.'³⁰³ This idea of the 'Newly' assertive woman helps to explain their presence in some of the vampire fiction that was published in the same era; by demonising this strong woman in a 'safe' way (turning her into a vampire but one that served a useful, eugenic purpose) it allowed the authors to explore the story of the weak willed man in conjunction with the figure of the vampire to demonstrate the necessity of removing the weak man from the gene pool.

'The Fate of Madame Cabanel' (1880) has the first example of a weak-willed man; although he is not the victim, Jules plays an important role within the tale as he becomes the husband of the victim (or, according to the villagers, the vampire), Fanny. His weak will is made clear within the text as it is made

³⁰¹ *The Pall Mall Gazette*, (London, England), Thursday October 28th, 1886; Issue 6745.

³⁰² Lyn Pykett, 'Forward', printed in Richardson and Willis (Eds.), p.xii

³⁰³ *Birmingham Daily Post*, (Birmingham, England), Wednesday, October 3rd, 1894; Issue 11323.

apparent that he had a sexual relationship with Adèle (his housekeeper) as she argues with Jules and accuses Fanny of “suck[ing] [Jules’] blood and our child’s.”³⁰⁴ The child that Jules and Adèle have is contrasted against the one that Fanny and Jules *could* have. The potential child would have been a mixture of English and French genes leading to a dilution of the gene pool whereas Adolphe, though illegitimate, has a pure genetic heritage. The presence of Adolphe within the text serves to demonstrate the necessity of eugenics as within the text even an illegitimate child is better than the potential threat of a genetic hybrid. Jules’ weak will is revealed in his having a sexual relationship with Adèle without being married to her and allowing Adèle’s lies about Fanny to poison his relationship with her. Eugenically he is a bad choice of mate as he allows himself to be governed, not only by his quest for sexual gratification but also through his willingness to believe the lies of his ex-lover.

‘John Barrington Cowles’ (1884) features men who appear to have their masculinity literally sucked out of them by Kate, thereby revealing their degenerate tendencies. Her first victim (as mentioned in the plot but never ‘met’ by the reader) is William Prescott, who is engaged to her but who kills himself before they are married. His death is ascribed to ‘temporary insanity’³⁰⁵ although with her second victim (Reeves), the reader is allowed more information with which to piece together what Kate is. Archibald Reeves is her second fiancé in the text (although as previously stated, probably not her second overall), a man described by the narrator as ‘a dashing handsome

³⁰⁴ Linton, p.165.

³⁰⁵ Doyle, p.30.

young fellow [who] had at one time been the ringleader in every university escapade.³⁰⁶ Once he has been engaged to Kate however, he becomes a 'degraded creature [...] who had once been famous as one of the most dressy and particular men in the whole college'³⁰⁷ who feels that Kate sits "'at the foot of the bed with her great eyes watching and watching hour after hour'"³⁰⁸ and that she "'saps all the strength and manhood out of me.'"³⁰⁹ Kate's behaviour once she begins to feed from him stops Reeves from being able to hide his decadent and degenerate tendencies as Kate appears to literally suck his masculinity away. As discussed in the first chapter Reeves' style of dress and behaviour hints at a decadent personality: his mental degeneration being mirrored in the landscape that he finds himself once his alcoholism has also become externalised. In this chapter however the focus is more on the danger posed by male associations with a strong woman (Kate) and the way in which masculinity is damaged through this relationship, as the above quotation regarding Kate 'sapping' masculinity demonstrates.

Strong women punishing their men was an issue also reported in the newspapers of the time, turning the figure of the weak man into a creature marked for vilification; the *Western Mail* in Cardiff published an article about a young bride who forced her husband to wear her corsets as a punishment. The correspondence that the newspaper received about this article is marked by one in particular, a writer who signs himself 'Petruchio' and who states that

[t]here is a little word my wife (not that she would presume to punish me) would have to spell first, that is A B L E – able. The husband! The

³⁰⁶ Doyle, p.27.

³⁰⁷ Doyle, pp.30-1.

³⁰⁸ Doyle, p.31.

³⁰⁹ Doyle, p.31.

head of the family! Allowing himself to be bullied and 'punished' like that! [...] no woman could put her husband into these [thumb screws or the rack, which would be the next steps if men were not careful] or corsets unless he suffered her to do so.³¹⁰

The way in which the wife uses an item of underwear as a form of punishment forces the male wearer into a feminine posture through his willingness to allow her to do so. In the correspondence from the *Western Mail*, 'Petruchio' assumes the stance that a woman would not have the physical power to 'punish' her husband unless he allowed her to do such a thing. Society, in some of the vampire fiction published at the same time, was at risk, less from strong-willed women as these could be turned to use as eugenically minded vampires, but more from the men in the texts who did not have the strength of character necessary to resist them and who submitted to the punishments assigned them.

By associating with Kate, Cowles' will is sublimated to hers, not only by the fact that he becomes engaged to her when he and the narrator were so 'close' (discussed in the section on the homosexual male) but also in a more literal fashion when the couple go to see a mesmerist perform on stage: Kate forces her will over Cowles' so that he does not go up on the stage but instead remains in his seat. As Armitage (the narrator) states,

Cowles made one or two spasmodic motions of his hands, as if to grasp the sides of his seat, and then half rose, but only to sink down again, though with an evident effort. I was watching the scene with intense interest, when I happened to catch a glimpse of Miss Northcott's face. She was sitting with her eyes fixed intently upon the

³¹⁰ *Western Mail*, (Cardiff, Wales), Saturday, September 1st, 1894; Issue N/A.

mesmerist, and with such an expression of concentrated power upon her features as I have never seen on any other.³¹¹

As can be seen from the above passage, it is obvious to the reader that if it was not for Kate exerting her own will, Cowles would have been unable to resist the power of the mesmerist and would have risen to his feet. The point that Cowles' will is able to be bent by both men and women demonstrates that he has an utterly weak will, at risk from anyone with the power to control the mind, although at the *fin de siècle*, it was likely to be more accepted for a man to be hypnotised by another man rather than a woman since that would hint at the more 'natural' order: the expression on Kate's face as seen by Armitage is marked as unusual for anyone, not just for a woman.

The scene with the mesmerist reveals a masculinity that was in crisis within this text as even the hypnotist himself is affected by Kate; Armitage describes him as making 'a short, gasping cry as of a man utterly worn out and prostrated by a prolonged struggle. Messinger [the mesmerist] was leaning against the table, his hand to his forehead, and the perspiration pouring down his face.'³¹² The external effects of Kate's will pushing against Messinger's make it appear as if they have been having an actual physical battle which Messinger has lost. This display of power demonstrates how even seemingly 'manly men' need to be on their guard against strong(er) willed women in order to prevent any risk of loss of masculinity.

³¹¹ Doyle, p.40.

³¹² Doyle, p.40.

The masculinity that needed regulation due to the crisis posed by the weak-willed man at the *fin de siècle* was not only discussed in the vampire fiction but also in other gothic tales of the period such as *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* which was published two years after 'John Barrington Cowles' in 1886. Jekyll narrates at one point that 'I had gone to bed Henry Jekyll, I had awakened Edward Hyde.'³¹³ I argue that Hyde's ability to transform Jekyll without his knowledge points to Jekyll also having a weak will and that Hyde's is stronger despite his being the 'evil' half of Jekyll. Jekyll's original motives for his experiments would have been a useful tool for eugenicists as he wished to split the personality

[i]n[to] separate identities [so that] life would be relieved of all that was unbearable; the unjust might go his way, delivered from the aspirations and remorse of his more upright twin; and the just could walk steadfastly and securely on his upward path, doing the good things in which he found his pleasure, and no longer exposed to disgrace and penitence by the hands of this extraneous evil.³¹⁴

The idea that the different sides of personality could be housed in physically separate and distinct entities would expurgate the necessity of testing or checking so virulently whether a person would make a suitable partner. There would be no opportunity for the outward and inward appearance to not match, shown in *Jekyll and Hyde* through the very different appearance of Hyde from Jekyll, a physiognomy that exactly mirrors the internal personality without the ability for deceit. In the vampire fiction studied here, this disparity between the inner and outer self is the main issue that the vampires expose: by bringing out the latent weaknesses of their victims they turn them into versions of Hyde, unable to disguise their eugenic unsuitability.

³¹³ Stevenson, (1886), p.47.

³¹⁴ Stevenson, (1886), p.43.

Stevenson's 'Olalla' (1885), like *Jekyll and Hyde*, also features a male narrator who appears to have a dual personality. The nameless victim, in the opening pages of the tale, seems to be a paragon of masculinity as he is a "wounded officer"³¹⁵ who has been injured fighting in Spain, demonstrating his valour and bravery. Yet a little later in the text, it is revealed that he is not as Stevenson first described him. When examining the portrait of a woman hanging in his room, he freely admits that 'her eyes led on to, and sufficiently rewarded, crimes'³¹⁶ as he daydreams about her. The key to this quotation is the fact that it is at the figure in the portrait's bidding that the nameless protagonist would commit his crimes. In *Degeneration*, Max Nordau wrote of men who follow the wishes of women that 'bestowing delights or dealing destruction [...] he trembles before this power, to which he is defencelessly exposed.'³¹⁷ Nordau's use of the word 'defencelessly' encapsulates the main problem of the weak-willed man; due to his lack of mental strength, he is unable to put up any resistance to the mentally dominant woman.

The narrator admits to the possibility of his degenerate behaviour in a conversation that he has with Felipe, the brother of Olalla. Felipe tells the narrator that it is the pious nature of his sister that helps keep him good (though Felipe is not a good example of masculinity either), and the narrator replies that "for the most of us, I am afraid, and myself among the number, are better at going down."³¹⁸ The narrator's philosophical musings reveal that

³¹⁵ Stevenson, (1885), p.135.

³¹⁶ Stevenson, (1885), p.141.

³¹⁷ Nordau, p.169.

³¹⁸ Stevenson, (1885), p.154.

he believes that the majority of people, including himself, find it easier to become degenerate by not struggling against temptations, such as that posed by the subject of the portrait in the narrator's room.

The final examples of weak-willed men to be discussed are the characters that fall under the spell of Lady Deverish in 'A Beautiful Vampire' (1896). Again, like Kate in 'John Barrington Cowles' Lady Deverish has had previous relationships and these two husbands died "“consumptive.”"³¹⁹ Of course, the real reason they died was that Lady Deverish had been feeding from them and the physical manifestation of this seems to have been mistaken for consumption (which was itself mistaken for symptoms of masturbation) by the other characters. Lady Deverish's latest fiancé, the Earl of Arlington, is described as looking 'pale and moody'³²⁰ and Diane Mason describes the supposed Victorian masturbator as having 'pallor, languor and sunken eyes.'³²¹ If Lord Arlington is read as a male masturbator, then he was also said to be at 'risk of actual sterility and impotence.'³²² One of the main ways in which the vampires can stop the eugenically unsuitable is by making them physically incapable of reproducing, in the first instance, and if necessary, taking this to the next, more extreme, step of death.

The necessity of Lady Deverish's previous husbands' deaths is due to the eugenic idea that at the end of the nineteenth century, the upper classes could no longer be relied upon to furnish society with suitable genetic stock for

³¹⁹ Kenealy, p.21.

³²⁰ Kenealy, p.21.

³²¹ Diane Mason, *The Secret Vice: Masturbation in Victorian Fiction and Medical Culture*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), p.4.

³²² Mason, p.15.

the future as they had become '[p]igeon-shooting aristocrats living in parasitic luxury.'³²³ The idea of the parasitic aristocrat who lives off the effort and 'life force' of the worker is one that is fictionalised through the character of Lady Deverish as she 'lived on the vital forces of those surrounding her.'³²⁴ Lady Deverish becomes a literal parasitic aristocrat who echoes the behaviour of the metaphorically parasitic aristocrats, such as the Earl of Arlington and her previous husbands. Daniel Pick writes that

[t]he image of the parasite and the blood-sucker informed late nineteenth-century eugenics and the biological theory of degeneration. The parasite, argued Edwin Ray Lankester [...] demonstrated the possibility of a successful evolutionary adaptation to the environment which constituted nevertheless degeneration, the return from the heterogeneous to the homogenous, the complex to the simple.³²⁵

By moving back to a more 'simple' system of existence, the parasitic life form causes entropy that could be transmitted if they were to breed and so within the framework of the narrative of 'A Beautiful Vampire,' Lady Deverish removes the parasitic aristocrats before they can begin this process of entropy.

Lady Deverish's third male victim in the text, the Earl of Arlington, sits at the table 'like a man bewitched, and neither ate nor rested,'³²⁶ he also begs Lady Deverish to "let me go."³²⁷ The way in which Lord Arlington appears bewitched, I believe, makes him a weak-willed man in much the same way

³²³ Walter E. Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870*, (London; Yale University Press, 1985), p.189.

³²⁴ Kenealy, p.27.

³²⁵ Daniel Pick, 'Terrors of the Night: *Dracula* and "Degeneration" in the Late Nineteenth Century', printed in Pykett, pp.149-165, p.159.

³²⁶ Kenealy, p.20.

³²⁷ Kenealy, p.22.

that John Barrington Cowles was; Arlington has allowed Lady Deverish to take over his will so that her parasitic behaviour can take effect, which is confirmed through the second statement when he asks her to free him and she, in turn, denies him his freedom.

I argue that although this text may not be a true example of 'New Woman' fiction, the strength of mind that Lady Deverish possesses in contrast to the weak wills of the men she chooses as her victims (and husbands) goes some way towards aligning her with the fears that the New Woman had levied against her by contemporary society. In 1894, *The Graphic* described the New Woman as a '[h]ybrid [which is] only a polite synonym for mongrel, and a mongrel is somewhat in the nature of a monstrosity.'³²⁸ The notion of the hybrid implies that the New Woman is only part woman but also part man; a disagreeable combination of the two genders which Lady Deverish with her strength of will, and her male suitors with their lack of will appears to embody.

Andrew Smith writes that

[a] change in attitude towards 'manhood' was thus, to some extent, prompted by a reassessment of traditional models of masculinity. In part this was also a consequence of the emergence of the women's movement and the appearance of the New Woman in the 1890s.³²⁹

This alteration in attitude towards masculinity implies that notions of masculinity were altered in order that it 'kept up' with the corresponding development of femininity and feminism. With New Women challenging 'their

³²⁸ *The Graphic*, (London, England), Saturday, May 19th, 1894; Issue 1277.

³²⁹ Smith, (2004), p.2.

subordinate social and political position,³³⁰ the men of the time needed to adopt a 'neo-Spartan ideal of masculinity'³³¹ in order to maintain the equilibrium between the sexes. The strong-willed female vampire in the texts under discussion here was required, by society, to remove the threat posed by the weak-willed man who was unable to live up to this stringent and über-masculinised ideal. So, just as the homosexual vampire (examined above) was used to remove the perceived threat of the homosexual victim, so the 'bad' strong woman (Kate and Lady Deverish) was used to remove the threat of the weak man leading to the idea that the authors gave their victims exactly the vampire that they deserved.

The Manly Man

In direct contrast to the degenerate men discussed above there are, as a source of opposition in the texts, the manly men: these are the men who are used to identify the dangers to other men and if possible, fight off the vampires; they are the exemplars of how a 'good' nineteenth-century man should behave and what they should look like.

The true manly man can be hard to detect in the eugenic vampire fiction of the *fin de siècle*. Archibald Reeves, for example, from 'John Barrington Cowles' (1884) appears, at the start of the text, to be the masculine ideal but is, instead, revealed to be less than perfect through his association with Kate. Reeves begins the tale being described as a 'dashing, handsome young

³³⁰ Angelique Richardson and Chris Willis, 'Introduction', printed in Richardson and Willis, pp.1-38, p.1.

³³¹ J. A. Mangan and James Walvin, 'Introduction', printed in J. A. Mangan and James Walvin (Eds.), *Manliness and Morality: Middle-class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940*, (Manchester; Manchester University Press, 1987), pp.1-6, p.3.

fellow,³³² but his physical appearance is misleading and through his involvement with Kate, he instead becomes an alcoholic whose 'long course of intemperance had affected his nerves and his brain'³³³ implying that this has been a long-standing issue for Reeves and not a new one. Through the intervention of the vampire, Reeves is revealed to be degenerate. Due to the reasoning in the nineteenth century that '[d]eformity without always signalled deformity within,'³³⁴ it became almost impossible to tell who on a psychological level would make a good partner since Reeves appears to be physically attractive but was degenerate due to his alcoholism. Eugenicists such as Francis Galton believed that this fear could be combated by using forms that could be filled out detailing complete family histories in order to act as a 'guarantee' as eugenic suitability. In fact, Galton ran a competition for which he offered 'over £500 in prizes of £7, and £5'³³⁵ for people to send in their family histories, the more detailed the history, the bigger the cash sum. In the fiction under discussion in this thesis, this task is handed to the vampires of the tales who are able to identify, externalise and neutralise any threat that their chosen victim may pose.

In Mary Elizabeth Braddon's 'Good Lady Ducayne', (1896), the young doctor, Herbert, becomes a paragon of masculinity as he has the strength of character to stand up to Lady Ducayne, one of the vampires, saying, when she offers money for him to prolong her life, that "you have had your share of

³³² Doyle, p.27.

³³³ Doyle, p.31.

³³⁴ Greenslade, p.90.

³³⁵ *The Bury and Norwich Post, and Suffolk Herald*, (Bury Saint Edmunds, England), Tuesday, July 1st, 1884; Issue 5321.

the sunshine and the pleasures of the earth.”³³⁶ He also takes care of his sister, making sure all her reading material is suitable by reading it first, to which Lotta (his sister) says that “it’s nice to know that somebody loves me, and cares about what I do.”³³⁷ Lotta’s insistence that Herbert shows he cares for her by checking what she reads also helps to reflect his own admirable masculinity as he can be entrusted with the task of ensuring she be a ‘proper’ lady. Herbert appears in the text as an example of the masculine status quo who backs up the anti-strong woman agenda; he is shown to ‘know best’, not only for the physical health of his sister but also in his ability to diagnose and save Bella through his prescription of healthy (British) exercise.

‘A Beautiful Vampire’ (1896) by Arabella Kenealy is a text that features a manly man who acts as a proto-vampire hunter: Dr Andrew begins the tale already having attempted to take the life of the vampiric Lady Deverish as he knows what she is and tries to stop her even before the tale has begun (part of the opening sentence is ‘it became known that Dr Andrew had made an attempt upon the life of Lady Deverish’³³⁸). Dr Andrew is an example of ideal late nineteenth-century manliness as he is not only healthy physically but his form of speech also helps to identify his manliness: Andrew Dowling writes that ‘nineteenth century men were defined by their stoic silence’³³⁹ and John Tosh states that ‘[m]anly speech was [...] direct, honest and succinct. Its purpose was not to please, or to shield the listeners from the disagreeable,

³³⁶ Braddon, (1896), p.159.

³³⁷ Braddon, (1896), p.146.

³³⁸ Kenealy, p.12.

³³⁹ Dowling, p.16.

but to convey meaning without equivocation.’³⁴⁰ Dr Andrew’s speech resembles this: when asked if he knows what Lady Deverish is, he simply says “‘Yes, I know’”³⁴¹ without further explanation of what it is that he knows; his outward speech echoes his inner personality through its strength of character in that he does not need to add extraneous information to what he says, just as he does not defend his actions when he attempts to strangle Lady Deverish.

These examples of manly men act as both a cure for and a warning against the weaker men. They can be both destroyers of evil (Herbert and Dr Andrew) and also appear to succumb to that same evil (though this would point to the fact that they are not true manly men). The vampire fiction under discussion in this chapter acts as a guide to masculine conduct; the ‘properly’ masculine characters are rewarded by a good life with suitable eugenic partners (such as Herbert and Bella in ‘Good Lady Ducayne’), whereas the unmanly men have their faults exposed by the vampire and are dealt with by the vampire so that they become incapable of passing on their degenerate behaviours.

This chapter has examined some of the varied types of masculinity that can be found in nineteenth-century vampire fiction after 1880. The texts reveal a view of masculinity that was often in crisis and in danger from itself and from outside influences. The chapter has demonstrated and analysed various types of masculinity from the feminised man to the manly man, who were paragons of their time with their abilities to stop vampires. Of course, at the end of the

³⁴⁰ Tosh, pp.87-88.

³⁴¹ Kenealy, p.17.

nineteenth century, perhaps the most iconic figure of the manly man is the straight talking, knife wielding Quincey Morris from *Dracula* of whom Van Helsing says he “‘is all man.’”³⁴² Quincey’s death at the end of the text may seem somewhat incongruous when it has been argued here that the paragon of manly men were given ‘good’ endings to their tales but I believe that Quincey becomes the manly martyr with his death (shown, I believe, in the figure of Mina and Harker’s son who is named after the American hero, thereby carrying his legacy forward), becoming the epitome of the manly man. Quincey makes the ultimate sacrifice in order to protect the sanctity of British genetic heritage; the death of the American character is important as it allows the British genetic line to appear strongest rather than introducing a new potential threat from across the Atlantic. It is hoped that by discussing these various types of men in the latter half of the nineteenth century an understanding has been given of the importance of the male character within the texts described and why it was also important for the vampires in the various tales to act: these vampires are not just destroyers, they are saviours of society.

³⁴² Stoker, p.291.

This chapter argues that the female vampires discussed within this thesis are created to function within a fictional setting in the same way as the real-life social purists of the time. The knowledge that the social purists had regarding taboo subjects such as sexually transmitted diseases marked them as degenerate, yet it was through this forbidden knowledge that they sought to assist society, just as the female vampires do through their eugenic campaigns. Josephine Butler, who campaigned against the Contagious Diseases Acts, fell subject to moral indignation about the subject she was campaigning against with several newspapers referring to the inappropriate subject that she was discussing in front of fellow (innocent but soon to be corrupted) women. Some newspapers of the time even reported coverage of Butler's visits for several days both before and after the talk had taken place, revealing much regarding nineteenth-century views of subjects which were deemed inappropriate for women to be aware of. *The Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle etc* reported on separate dates, three days apart, the talk that Josephine Butler had arranged to give regarding the Contagious Diseases Acts; on the 6th July in 1870, they stated that

[t]he meeting is to be composed exclusively of "women," but it has been the practice, we understand, in the other towns which Mrs Butler has honoured with a visit to admit the representatives of the Press, who are compelled to listen to a very nasty discussion of some two or three hours' duration, in the presence of several hundreds of the opposite sex.³⁴³

By putting quotation marks around the word women, this reporter appears to question whether the female attendees can fully be classed as women since

³⁴³ *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle etc.*, (Portsmouth, England), Wednesday, July 6th, 1870; Issue 3953.

even the (male) members of the press find the subject matter unappealing, thereby implying that no 'true' (wholly pure) woman would be able to stomach such a subject matter.

Three days later, on Saturday 9th July, *The Hampshire Telegraph* reported on the actual talk that Mrs Butler had given reporting that

Mrs Butler [...] is a lady of average height, somewhat thin [...] with a weak and not very agreeable voice [...] Once or twice the sisters were informed of the atrocities which the police and the surgeons have committed, or are *supposed* to have committed, which is probably the same thing.³⁴⁴

The only certainty that this article seems able to report on are the physical qualities of Mrs Butler's stature and voice, both of which are unattractive to the reporter, the vocal characteristics linking her with the female vampires to be studied through the idea of transmission of information and corruption. The validity of the content of the talk is questioned through the use of the word 'supposed' in regard to the actions that the police and surgeons were able to perform under the Contagious Diseases Acts. By calling into question the validity of the 'atrocities', the journalist writing the article also throws a doubt on the women who have accepted the truth of what Mrs Butler has told them; whether or not the actions of the police and surgeons were true or not was immaterial because they were willing to believe that everything they were told was true.

³⁴⁴ *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle etc.*, (Portsmouth, England), Saturday, July 9th, 1870; Issue 3954.

The *Isle of Wight Observer*, a week after the *Hampshire Telegraph* had published their opinions of Mrs Butler's talk, stated that innocent female minds were being corrupted by this 'nasty' subject when they wrote that:

Mrs Butler's Newport audience included a number of innocent young ladies whose minds, before she came here, were a perfect blank respecting this disgusting subject, and now they may be heard talking most glibly about indecencies, the mere mention of which a few weeks ago would have brought a blush of shame to their cheeks.³⁴⁵

The fears that this newspaper raises is not the willingness of the audience to believe what they were being told, but that the act of listening itself would lead to a corruption of their (previously) innocent minds, thus putting them on a similar footing to the prostitutes that the Acts sought to govern as they were now comfortably discussing subjects that would make a 'pure' woman blush.

The role that Butler takes within these articles reflects the role that the female vampires undertake within the fiction discussed in this thesis; firstly there is the idea that the women who attend the talks (and by extrapolation, Butler herself) are not 'true' women, just as the female vampire is figured as monstrous. Butler's disagreeable voice from the second article mirrors the unusual vocal characteristics of some of the vampire women, and creates the idea that by listening, a transmission occurs from the speaker to the listener of corrupting subject matters: in the case of Butler it is the education of 'innocent' women in sexual subjects like prostitution and sexually transmitted diseases that they could be in danger of catching. The idea that in order to be able to cure an issue, education was required was taken up by some of the authors of

³⁴⁵ *Isle of Wight Observer*, (Ryde, England), Saturday, July 16th, 1870; Issue 933.

the vampire fiction of the *fin de siècle*. The female vampires chose victims who had degenerate tendencies in order to teach the reader. The character of the vampire and the behaviours that they display in the choice of victim teaches the reader the perceived necessity of a eugenics programme in order to save the future of white, British society.

The above newspaper articles demonstrate how changing perceptions of both women and women's responsibility towards using rational choice to find a reproductive partner developed as the century progressed: in the 1870s it was expected by the majority of society that 'good' women should keep themselves ignorant of the 'evils' of sexual education of any form, yet by the end of the century and with the rise of eugenics, it was possible to see an upswing in the opinion that women were now being called upon by some authors (such as Sarah Grand) and campaigners to have access to the information that would allow them to make their own, rational, decision regarding finding a suitable mate for themselves. The ability to make this type of decision distinguishes the vampire women from the other female characters in this chapter because it puts the vampire woman in the position of the corrupted woman who has heard too much, thereby aligning vampire fiction with a conservative social position. In the texts to be discussed, rather than the vampire women choosing a suitable mate, they instead choose the unsuitable ones in order to 'sterilise' them, thus removing the perceived threat to society and also acting as an example for the reader as to the types of men that should be avoided.

One type of professional woman who occupied a liminal position as neither fully corrupted, nor fully 'pure', in the latter half of the nineteenth century was the female doctor; educated to know about usually taboo subjects for women, especially in regards to the level of sexual education that would be taught, the female doctor's position within society becomes problematic: is she to be feared and treated as a type of 'fallen' woman due to her knowledge or is she to be regarded as the herald of a new future with professions that had previously been unavailable to women beginning to open up? The author and doctor Arabella Kenealy may have been regarded in such a way. Not only was she a physician, but she also entered the debate of the 'woman question', appearing to swing from one stance to another in her view on women: in the same newspaper article from June 24th 1894, she is reported as stating

[w]omen who are mothers [...] need all the reserve of their nature for the proper fulfilment of the important function of propagation, and cannot become hard workers in any other capacity without robbing the future generation³⁴⁶

Later in that same article, she also states that '[w]omen's history [...] has been hitherto too much the expression of men's ideals: it should be the creation and expression of women's own ideal.'³⁴⁷ Although it may appear contradictory to a modern critic that the concept of womanhood and motherhood was viewed as the same in the nineteenth century, this was not the case at the time, with every young woman being a potential mother-in-waiting. The article instead shows the belief that women should remain at home, preserving their energy (which, as '[Henry] Maudsley [argued there was] a finite quantity of energy in

³⁴⁶ *Reynold's Newspaper*, (London, England), Sunday, June 24th, 1894; Issue 2289.

³⁴⁷ *Reynold's Newspaper*, Issue 2289.

the human body,³⁴⁸ which affected not only women but men as well) to be the good mothers that they were born to be, yet at the same time, they should be able to have a separate history to men which was more their own creation.

This notion went against the belief that women were unable to create anything of their own, as Alison Winter writes;

opponents of women's intellectual activity also claimed that their bodies were not strong enough to harness intellectual powers in order to generate authoritative knowledge. They could create only fancy. Worse still, intellectual women were likely to overstrain their delicate bodies, producing madness or other distempers.³⁴⁹

Kenealy appeared to be keen to demonstrate how it was possible to create a history for herself as can be seen in the reporting of various newspaper articles that she appeared in: a doctor for approximately 12 years, she announced her retirement from medicine in 1895, as the *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle etc* reported at the time, 'Dr Arabella Kenealy [...] is about to abandon medicine for literature. She has already a considerable reputation as a novelist.'³⁵⁰ Kenealy graduated 'first in order of merit over fifty candidates competing, and of whom two were women'³⁵¹ from the King and Queen's Colleges of Physicians in Ireland in 1883 yet despite this accolade, several newspapers, in reporting on her early medical career, persist in referring to her as 'Miss' rather than 'Dr' and it is not until approximately 1891 that there is any consistency in the use of her professional qualification. This determination to refer to her marital status rather than the title which she had clearly worked hard to achieve perhaps

³⁴⁸ Greenslade, pp.134-5.

³⁴⁹ Alison Winter, *Mesmerized: Powers of Mind in Victorian Britain*, (Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 1998), p.214.

³⁵⁰ *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle etc*, (Portsmouth, England), Saturday, May 11th, 1895; Issue 5931.

³⁵¹ *Reynold's Newspaper*, (London, England), Sunday, July 15th, 1883; Issue 1718.

stems from the idea that it was difficult to credit women as being able to achieve such a degree. The *Glasgow Herald* in 1888, when referring to an article that Kenealy had contributed to *The Gentleman's Magazine*, stated that '[a] lady, who signs herself "Arabella Kenealy," and to whose name are attached the imposing, if somewhat mysterious letters, "L.K.Q.C.P.I.," implying, surely, something extremely learned.'³⁵² The somewhat derisive tone of this quotation, especially in regards to the 'mysterious' letters after her name (which stand for Licentiate of the King's and Queen's College of Physicians of Ireland) point to a patriarchal style of journalism that was sceptical of the abilities of women.

Some newspaper articles printed towards the end of the nineteenth century tried to disparage the efforts of women who were arguing for emancipation or the franchise by using unflattering turns of phrase to describe them. These phrases included describing figures like the New Woman, as being 'a hybrid – or an unsuccessful attempt thereat,'³⁵³ a hybrid being 'only a polite synonym for mongrel, and a mongrel is somewhat in the nature of a monstrosity.'³⁵⁴ The evolutionary tone of this quotation with its talk of hybrids and monsters has the implication that the emancipated and New Women were not 'true' women but were indefinable as being somewhere between a New Woman and a monster. The idea of a mongrel also implies a mix of breed, something which early eugenicists feared would lead to a sharp decline in the health of society as the purity of the (British) race was put under threat.

³⁵² *Glasgow Herald*, (Glasgow, Scotland), Saturday, October 6th, 1888; Issue 240.

³⁵³ *The Graphic*, (London, England), Saturday, May 19th, 1894; Issue 1277.

³⁵⁴ *The Graphic*, Issue 1277.

Aligned to the emancipated woman was the fallen woman since both types of women had access to typically 'forbidden' knowledge: where the fallen woman's was generally sexual in nature, the emancipated woman's knowledge need not necessarily be limited to sexual topics but might also include opinions about politics, or even literature that would immediately mark her out as unusual. A newspaper article printed in 1894 said of the emancipated woman that '[o]ne cannot make her blush. It is the other way round.'³⁵⁵ In the fiction to be studied in this chapter, the fallen woman can be both vampire and victim (but is distinguished from the femme fatale, a creature who also permeated the *fin de siècle* scene, as the femme fatale actively seeks out men to destroy, whereas the fallen woman does not necessarily do this), the first being the consequence of beginning as the latter (using the example of how Lucy is treated in *Dracula*; first she is shown to be the emancipated woman, wishing she could marry as many men as she pleases, then she becomes the fallen woman through her encounter and transformation at the hands of Dracula and finally she is punished at the hands of her suitors and Van Helsing). These women, like the character of Vardalek in 'A True Story of a Vampire' (see chapter on masculinity for details), have fallen as far as is possible, therefore the only recourse left to them is to police potential degenerates.

Women, during the nineteenth century, were regarded by some scientists such as Paul Broca, and even Charles Darwin, as a species separate from

³⁵⁵ *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, (Aberdeen, Scotland), Thursday, October 4th, 1894; Issue 1015.

men; in his *Descent of Man*, Darwin wrote that 'in the formation of her skull, [the female] is said to be intermediate between the child and the man.'³⁵⁶ The inability to view women as inherently the same as men is vital in an understanding of nineteenth-century conceptions of both masculinity and femininity; due to women's supposed less evolved state, in Stephen Jay Gould's *The Mismeasure of Man*, he paraphrases Gustave Le Bon's statement that 'there was a large number of women [in Paris] whose brains are closer in size to those of gorillas than to the most developed male brains. This inferiority is so obvious that no one can contest it for a moment.'³⁵⁷ Women's alleged closer relationship with our primate ancestors means that it became natural for men to lead since they would be more capable of making difficult decisions as they were seen as more highly evolved. Herbert Spencer, like Darwin, also wrote of the limits of female involvement in life, not through the size of the skull, but through the task of bearing children: whereby '[a]ctivity at any level of intensity unconnected with this function is an unnatural source of pressure, producing a deleterious 'tax' on the female system.'³⁵⁸ The vampire women within this thesis do not bear or nurture children (with the exception of the Señora in Robert Louis Stevenson's 'Olalla', though this is used to illustrate the heritability of degenerate characteristics), instead they destroy both children (Lady Deverish in Arabella Kenealy's 'A Beautiful Vampire' whose behaviour echoes that of the vampire Lucy from *Dracula*), or destroy the possibility of children being created through the emasculation of eugenically unsuitable men.

³⁵⁶ Darwin, (1871), p.622.

³⁵⁷ Gould, p.104.

³⁵⁸ Greenslade, p.134.

The authors of the vampire fiction under examination here create female vampires that, like Josephine Butler, have too much knowledge in areas that were deemed unsuitable for a 'good' woman to know about; they are themselves tainted with this knowledge and so would have also been considered eugenically unsuitable as a choice of mate. By doing this, the vampires become the perfect creature to act as eugenic examiner; the victims are drawn to the vampires as something within them is drawn to the corresponding degeneration in the vampire women. Like the male vampires presented here, the female vampires have fallen from a state of grace and it is because of this that they are able to perform their duties; they cannot be any worse than they already are. In order to do this, it is possible for the female vampire to attempt to disguise what she is by utilising some of the aspects common to the 'good' woman (as will be discussed below) but in the end, they always become identifiable in order to show the reader their true purpose.

Throughout the nineteenth century there was a progression in the culpability of the female victim in vampire texts; as Alexandra Warwick writes in her essay 'Vampires and the empire: fears and fictions of the 1890s',

Ruthven's attack on *Ianthe* and Varney's on the sleeping Flora Bannerworth do not implicate the women at all, they are 'innocent' victims. Whereas as the century progresses, the index of guilt rises steadily on the part of the victims.³⁵⁹

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, with its concerns with eugenics and purity, there was a reason to ensure only the fit survived and were allowed to breed, hence the reason for making the victims in vampire tales

³⁵⁹ Alexandra Warwick, 'Vampires and the empire: fears and fictions of the 1890s', printed in Ledger and McCracken, pp.202-220, p.205.

flawed. In order to do this, the texts work within the dichotomy of femininity that we see persisting in the later nineteenth century: that of the good woman versus the fallen woman; although I do acknowledge that the real-life women of the period were more three-dimensional than this, it appears within the vampire fiction examined here that the women are either of one type or the other. As Glennis Byron writes of gender roles in the 1890s,

gender ideology was in fact frequently contested, particularly at the end of the century with the emergence of the 'New Woman'. The breakdown of traditional gender roles, the confusion of the masculine and the feminine, was seen as a significant indication of cultural decay and corruption, an attack on the stability of the family structure. The conventional opposition of good woman / evil woman is frequently produced by 1890s Gothic, suggesting an attempt to stabilise the notion of proper femininity by identifying the sexually aggressive female who usurps male strength as something alien and monstrous.³⁶⁰

This dichotomy of traditional female gender roles demonstrates the importance placed, at the time of the *fin de siècle*, on knowing one's place in the world in order to maintain the progression of society in a healthy direction for the future, which developments such as the emergence of the 'New Woman' threatened, according to some contemporary commentators. Vampire fiction that was published at this time thereby bolstered a model of gendered behaviour that was seen to be eroding.

Female victims of vampires are occasionally given the opportunity to atone for their eugenic mistakes (such as risking the racial purity of the gene pool and travelling to a foreign country instead of remaining at home) in order that they can become suitable wives and mothers. In order to be viewed as suitable,

³⁶⁰ Byron, printed in Punter, p.139.

the good wife was expected to 'guide and uplift [their] more worldly and intelligent mate.'³⁶¹ It was thought that this guidance would ensure the moral well-being of the household and enable the woman 'to become as professional in [the domestic] sphere as a man in his; to cultivate her feminine talents in the emotional realm so as to maximize their usefulness within the domestic orbit.'³⁶² The notion of separate spheres for men and women was seen as a natural divide in the abilities of the two sexes; Havelock Ellis wrote that '[w]omen can never be like men, any more than men can be like women. It is their unlikeness which renders them indispensable to each other.'³⁶³ This dissimilarity was used by patriarchal society as a reason why separate spheres were necessary: men and women were too different in too many ways for them to have an equal share in life. This argument also worked the other way as well as an indicator of the stringent rules regulating notions of masculinity; if a man indicates interest in what was considered 'womanly' pursuits, he faced castigation as an effeminate.

Women were required to maintain a morally and spiritually superior life in order that they could keep their less-moral mates on the right path, since it was assumed that men would be more likely to require this type of assistance. Such thinking is revealed in some of the newspaper articles of the time, especially those relating to the debates concerning the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts: Sir Henry Storks is reported as saying that 'it was necessary men were from time to time to have the opportunity of indulging

³⁶¹ Houghton, p.349.

³⁶² Rowbotham, p.21.

³⁶³ Ellis, p.86.

their basest inclinations'³⁶⁴ meaning that sex, although a 'base' inclination, was a necessity to men and one that could clearly not be found within the constraints of 'normal' marriage relations.

It should also be noted that within the texts under discussion in this thesis, it is only the female characters that are given the opportunity to learn from any mistakes that they make and still be able to become good wives and mothers; none of the male victims is given this ability: they either die for their mistakes or are made impotent. Society was generally not as forgiving of its fallen women, often seeing them as irrevocably tainted after only one slip. Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *Aurora Floyd* (serialised 1862-3) gives an example of the treatment 'impure' women could expect to receive; when Aurora travels to London alone to visit her cousin Lucy, Talbot Bulstrode (Lucy's husband), demands that Aurora first explain to him her reasons for doing so, lest Aurora 'pollute' Lucy with her bad behaviour. The narrative states that:

[Aurora] was a guilty woman, then; a guilty creature, whom it would be [Talbot's] painful duty to cast out of that pure household. She was a poor, lost, polluted wretch, who must not be admitted into the holy atmosphere of a Christian gentleman's home.³⁶⁵

Through the quotation, Aurora transforms in Talbot's eyes from a woman to a creature, no longer pure enough to be named along with other members of her sex. Not only this, she can no longer be admitted into a Christian household, further transforming her into an almost Satanic creature who is unable to enter the sanctified atmosphere of Talbot's home. Luckily, in this

³⁶⁴ *The Hampshire Advertiser*, (Southampton, England), Wednesday, May 11th, 1870; Issue 2495.

³⁶⁵ Mary Elizabeth Braddon, *Aurora Floyd*, (1862-3), (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 2008), p.351.

instance, Talbot forgives Aurora's youthful indiscretion and allows her to remain. Not all fallen fictional women were as lucky as Aurora, as the tale of Lady Isabel Carlyle in Ellen Wood's *East Lynne* (1861) demonstrates; after becoming pregnant following an affair, she not only suffers the loss of her legitimate children (she has to leave the house of her husband) but also the death of her illegitimate infant in an accident. She dies, heartbroken, after disguising herself so that she can become governess at her old home, living in the same house as her husband and his new wife.

The paradox of vampire fiction is that while the female victims have the ability to atone for their indiscretions, the male characters do not. I argue that this is because increasingly it was up to the women to make the rational choice of breeding partner. Charles Darwin in his *Descent of Man* explored the idea of sexual selection, writing that 'it is the males that fight together and sedulously display their charms before the females'³⁶⁶ meaning that it was already understood that in the animal kingdom, it was often the female who had the choice of which male she wanted to mate with, the choice based either on fighting skills or by displays of plumage and song. It became the case that in the fiction of the late nineteenth century, female characters were given the option to choose their mate, and combined with their perceived inherent purity, they are allowed to learn and move safely forward with their lives. It can be argued that the second chance that some female characters are given hinges on the men in their life; Bella in 'Good Lady Ducayne' is given to the eugenically aware and healthy doctor, Herbert, by the vampire (eugenic

³⁶⁶ Darwin, (1871), p.256.

examiner) who blesses their union with a cheque (prize for eugenic suitability) for a thousand pounds. Likewise, Aurora is also saved by the goodness of her husband, John, who is able to see her youthful indiscretion for just that and so can forgive her. Lady Carlyle, on the other hand, has no such masculine influence in her life and so she is unable to have a second chance. A good balance of genetics was required in order to get the best eugenic mix: eugenics could not work if either partner had any kind of defect. In 'Good Lady Ducayne', Bella is willing to work in order to improve her situation and Herbert (who is one of the few examples of a manly man that appears in this thesis) sees Bella as a good genetic choice as he is able to over-look her poor background and instead sees her healthy potential.

Often in the vampire fiction under discussion here, the author hints at a sexual knowledge in the female vampires that further places them within the idea of the fallen woman. This can either take the form of an implication of being sexually active outside of marriage or an awareness of sex that would have been considered inappropriate for a woman (for instance the argument that the *Isle of Wight Observer* put forward regarding the corruption of the innocent female mind in regards to hearing about the Contagious Diseases Acts as quoted previously). During the *fin de siècle*, and persisting from an earlier time, there was still a 'sexual double standard, which demanded female chastity (a "moral" standard) while promoting the tradition of male sexual activity prior to marriage as necessary to men's health (a "scientific"

standard).³⁶⁷ This sexuality is utilised by the authors in order to help demonstrate how the female vampires can be seen as unsuitable for breeding with as they are already sexually active outside the sanctity of marriage and it would have only been appropriate for 'pure' (married) women to breed. The fallen (vampire) woman is able to utilise her position because she is able to perform her unique task (that of the eugenic examiner) without jeopardising her reputation; she is already considered to be 'damaged goods': she is an instance of the degenerate woman attracting, and ultimately destroying, the degenerate man.

Kate's (in 'John Barrington Cowles') sexuality is displayed when she is described as "sitting down yonder at the foot of the bed with her great eyes watching and watching hour after hour[.] I tell you it saps all the strength and manhood out of me. That's what makes me drink."³⁶⁸ The way in which she is described as sitting at the foot of the bed of Archibald Reeves (one of her former lovers) suggests that symbolically she is a succubus; she 'saps' not only manhood but also strength from her victim without seeming to feed in the conventional vampiric sense of biting and drinking blood. Her overt sexuality is revealed not only through the symbolic image of a demon associated with feeding sexually, but also through her physical presence in a man's bedroom. The virtuous, single female would not have entered a man's bedroom when he was asleep for fear of the scandal associated with such an act; as Mina writes in her journal in *Dracula* (1897), '[s]ome of the "New Women" writers will some day start an idea that men and women should be allowed to see

³⁶⁷ Deborah Anna Logan, *Fallenness in Victorian Women's Writing: Marry, Stitch, Die, or Do Worse*, (Missouri; University of Missouri Press, 1998), p.18.

³⁶⁸ Doyle, p.31.

each other asleep before proposing or accepting.³⁶⁹ The implication of Mina's comment is that it would have been shocking for contemporary readers that a man and woman should be able to see each other in the private environment of the bedroom before marriage had taken place as this implied the possibility of a sexual encounter, just as Dracula forces Mina to drink his blood, an act which James Twitchell reads as having 'hints of fellatio',³⁷⁰ and which Gelder views as Mina's 'defloration by Dracula'³⁷¹ when she is in hers and Harker's bed. In David Punter's *A Companion to the Gothic*, Glennis Byron (as quoted at the start of this chapter) identifies the sexually aggressive female as a monstrous creation, so the good woman can be more easily identified and the female who displayed the monstrous tendencies would also be obvious to the reader. Therefore, in this instance, Kate is not only performing her eugenic duty (by destroying eugenically unsuitable men) but also acting as the dark reflection of the good woman by being the monstrous/sexual female who destroys men in their bedroom rather than acting as spiritual saviour in the public areas of the house.

When John Barrington Cowles, Kate's final fiancé within the text, comes back from a late night meeting with her, Kate reveals her 'secret' to him and he says of her to Armitage (the narrator) "I pictured you an angel and I find you a —."³⁷² The hanging sentence here allows the reader to finish it instead and this is used in combination with the point that Armitage raises that Kate has a

³⁶⁹ Stoker, p.85.

³⁷⁰ James B. Twitchell, *The Living Dead: A Study of the Vampire in Romantic Literature*, (Durham; Duke University Press, 1997), p.138.

³⁷¹ Gelder, p.70.

³⁷² Doyle, p.44.

secret to reveal before she can marry: perhaps that she is already sexually active and this is what puts the men off, not only this but in eugenic terms, it is the moment within the text the men realise what Kate is, her purpose and also for them to realise why they have been chosen. It seems to be important that Kate reveals her identity to her victims in order that her true nature is understood by both the male victims and the reader: she admits the fact of her sexual knowledge and, in doing so, identifies herself to the reader as a eugenic vampire.

The way in which Kate looks and is looked at during the art exhibition at the start of the narrative immediately marks her out as immodest in her behaviour. As Cowles and Armitage first see Kate, it appears as if the characters are more interested in looking at each other rather than at what is on display. First Kate switches her attention from the pictures, 'taking a deliberate survey of the company, without paying the least heed to the fact that a dozen pairs of eyes [...] were bent curiously upon her.'³⁷³ Openly regarding the other people (and drawing attention to herself by allowing others to look at her) 'with as little self-consciousness as if she were looking at the canvas creatures behind her'³⁷⁴ shows that she does not behave like a good woman as she appears brazen in her examination of the people around her and instead stares at people as if they were also pictures. Judith Walkowitz writes that the subject of the female gaze, and where it was appropriate for a woman to look, was discussed in magazines during the *fin de siècle* as

³⁷³ Doyle, p.28.

³⁷⁴ Doyle, p.28.

[t]he *Girls' Own Paper* advised its correspondents to ... "avoid strolls where you are annoyed, always look straight before you, or on the opposite side when passing any man. Never look at them when near enough to be stared at."³⁷⁵

The direct gaze of the female implied an immodesty of character, as it revealed a similar desire to be looked at by passing men who might then mistake such direct gaze as a proposition. Fae Brauer writes, through 'Freud's theory of scopophilia and Jacques Lacan's theory of the gaze [...] gazing [becomes] [...] a source of erotic pleasure,'³⁷⁶ so Kate looking at the people that surround her, and the people looking at her, suggests that she experiences this sense of erotic pleasure, rather than aligning her with the 'good' girl who looks straight forward. This problematises the notion of the 'exhibition' as Kate becomes a social voyeur but also an object of gaze rather than an art lover.

The other indication that Kate is not what she appears to be is the fact that within this text, we see her hunting for her victims at the exhibition. She is there with her fiancé Archibald Reeves, yet still maintains her role as a eugenic examiner who does a swift job of choosing her victims who are examples of unmasculine males: becoming intimate with them and ultimately destroying them. The way in which she examines the crowds and reacts to Cowles shows her choosing her victim and next relationship (the one is the same as the other; Kate only has relationships with men who will ultimately become her victims), moving quickly from one (Reeves) to the next (Cowles).

³⁷⁵ Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late Victorian London*, (London; Virago Press, 1992), p.51.

³⁷⁶ Brauer, 'Making Eugenic Bodies Delectable', printed in Brauer and Callen, p.27.

Armitage, the narrator, states that he 'saw her gaze become fixed, and, as it were, intense'³⁷⁷ and this is then mirrored by Cowles when he sees Kate;

John Barrington Cowles was standing before a picture – one, I think, by Noel Paton – I know that the subject was a noble and ethereal one. His profile was turned towards us, and never have I seen him to such an advantage. I have said that he was a strikingly handsome man, but at that moment he looked magnificent. It was evident that he had momentarily forgotten his surroundings, and that his whole soul was in sympathy with the picture before him. His eyes sparkled, and a dusky pink shone through his clear olive cheeks. [Kate] continued to watch him fixedly, with a look of interest upon her face, until [Cowles] came out of his reverie with a start, and turned abruptly round, so that his gaze met hers. She glanced away at once, but his eyes remained fixed upon her for some moments. The picture was forgotten already, and his soul had come down to earth once more.³⁷⁸

Cowles' intense gazing at the picture suggests such an intense aestheticism especially in conjunction with the slight flush that he gets on his face while he is looking at the picture that he becomes a paragon of the decadent male. He does not get the same look of excitement on his face when he turns and sees Kate. The watcher and the watched shifts in the quotation as Armitage has the vantage point to see when Kate fixes her sights on Cowles and stares at him until he turns and sees her, Doyle's choice of the words 'start' and 'abruptly' suggesting that Kate commanded his gaze even when his back was to her as Cowles appeared to be so intent on looking at the picture that his reaction to her looking at him implies he was telepathically pulled from one view (the picture) to another (Kate). She then feigns coyness; her looking away already appears uncharacteristic when she has been staring at the patrons of the exhibition so brazenly. It is then Cowles' turn to gaze at Kate and Doyle chooses to state that looking at Kate brings him to earth; she does

³⁷⁷ Doyle, p.28.

³⁷⁸ Doyle, p.28.

not belong in the heavenly realm that the pictures transported him to. Like the Señora of 'Olalla', Kate is aligned with earth and its pleasures (or pains); she is not the angelic creature that Cowles comes to picture her as and Armitage seems to recognise this before Kate reveals 'her secret' to Cowles.

The sexually active woman was not the only woman who had sexual knowledge to be feared during the *fin de siècle*. The female masturbator can be seen as a figure to be feared as she possessed a sexual knowledge that was harmful; not only did masturbation allow 'women a non-reproductive outlet for their sexual impulses'³⁷⁹ but because the body was believed to hold only a finite amount of energy, masturbation wasted this precious energy that would be required during childbirth. Grace Moore states that masturbation in Joseph Howe's *Excessive Venery* (1887) 'is transformed from an unpleasant self-indulgence endangering only the perpetrator, to a broader social evil with the potential to undermine the future of the race.'³⁸⁰ The implication of this text is that during the *fin de siècle*, there was a shift in how the masturbator was viewed; no longer to be seen as someone who was harming only their own health, the masturbator now risked the health of the future of society through their wasteful habit: this turned masturbation from an individual to a eugenic issue.

A text published in 1870, *Satan in Society*, catalogued some of the 'physical symptoms' of the female masturbator as 'langour, weakness, loss of flesh, absence of colour, sad expression, panting at the least exertion and the

³⁷⁹ Mason, p.51.

³⁸⁰ Grace Moore, 'Something to Hyde: The "Strange Preference" of Henry Jekyll', printed in Maunder and Moore, pp.147-162, p.151.

appearance of incipient consumption.³⁸¹ Although these symptoms could also indicate a consumptive character, some of these physical characteristics are shared with the female vampires in the texts that I am exploring here, as will be discussed. Diane Mason states that 'the signifiers of masturbation could easily be read as those of consumption, and vice versa.'³⁸² It must therefore be important to distinguish between the female masturbator and the woman who may be consumptive or suffering from some other ailment. Using the idea that the vampire woman is 'in disguise,' using her beautiful exterior in order to conceal her real nature but ultimately allowing her true nature to be revealed through her actions towards the victims, it is necessary to read a complex set of behaviours and physical signifiers within the context of the whole narrative in order to determine if a female vampire can be linked with the figure of the female masturbator through sexual behaviour that she actively instigates and that is not for the sake of procreation since that is not the female vampire's purpose.

The Señora in Robert Louis Stevenson's 'Olalla' (1885) is the clearest example from the eugenic vampire texts of a female masturbator. Stevenson writes variously that the narrator 'never knew her to display the least spark of energy,'³⁸³ which suggests the weakness and languor described in the quotation from *Satan in Society*. The narrator also describes how he

marked her make infinitesimal changes in her posture, *savouring* and *lingering* on the bodily *pleasure* of the moment, I was driven to wonder at this depth of passive *sensuality*. She lived in her body; and

³⁸¹ Nicholas Cooke, *Satan in Society*, (1870), p.111, quotation found in Rebecca Stott, *The Fabrication of the Late-Victorian Femme Fatale*, (London; Macmillan Press Ltd., 1996), p.82.

³⁸² Mason, p.4.

³⁸³ Stevenson, (1885), p.146.

her consciousness was all sunk into and disseminated her members, where it *luxuriously dwelt*.³⁸⁴[Italics my own]

The sensuous delight, highlighted in the quotation with italics, which she has in the minute movements that she makes, reveals a delight that she takes only in her own body and which leads to the conclusion that she indulges in masturbation when combined with her lack of energy. These occurrences of the narrator describing how the Señora spends all day lying in the sunshine and hardly moving appear throughout the text and the way in which the Señora's languid appearances are repeated suggests that Stevenson feels it necessary to emphasise the extent of her condition.

Not only is the Señora a clear example of the female masturbator, but there is also a hint that she was not married when she had Felipe or Olalla, as the Doctor says to the narrator:

the girl [referring to the Señora] ran wilder than ever, until at last she married, Heaven knows whom, a muleteer some say, others a smuggler; while there are some who uphold there was no marriage at all.³⁸⁵

The combination of the Señora's alleged willingness to have sex outside of marriage along with the possibility that she masturbates (symbolised through her inactivity) indicates her unsuitability for motherhood (her sexual indiscretions are joined with her mental degeneration) through the character of Felipe, her son. The narrator describes Felipe as 'a child in intellect; his mind was like his body, active and swift, but stunted in development,'³⁸⁶ thus revealing the transmission of undesirable hereditary characteristics from one

³⁸⁴ Stevenson, (1885), p.158.

³⁸⁵ Stevenson, (1885), p.136.

³⁸⁶ Stevenson, (1885), p.138.

generation to the next; as the *Liverpool Mercury etc* wrote on the 27th December 1882, '[a] prudent person hesitates to marry [...] a member of a family in which insanity has appeared.'³⁸⁷ The Señora's sexuality and the mental degeneration that she passes on mark her out as a woman whom it is not suitable to breed with and as such, she is used - in conjunction with the portrait of the woman that hangs in the narrator's room - as a eugenic examiner. The presence in the text of the characters of Felipe and Olalla hint at what might happen if the narrator and Olalla had decided to have children: as the narrator remarks of the family;

the intelligence (that more precious heirloom) was degenerate [...] it had required the potent, plebeian crossing of a muleteer or mountain contrabandista to raise what approached hebetude in the mother into the odd activity of the son.³⁸⁸

As the narrator realises, it is only due to the genetic intervention of the muleteer that the Señora's children have escaped a little of the degenerate heritage that she passes down through her familial line. The Señora and her family, the only eugenic vampire text in which the vampire has a family that is also present within the narrative, reveals the danger of allowing eugenically unsuitable people to breed.

The difficulty of defining women as pure or sexually fallen is made physically literal in 'The Grave of Ethelind Fionguala' (1887 in America and 1888 in Britain) by Julian Hawthorne. Ethelind (the vampire) has several disguises that are set up within a short space of time within the text that make it difficult for Ken (and the reader) to fully understand who and what she is; this is first

³⁸⁷ *Liverpool Mercury etc*, (Liverpool, England), Wednesday, December 27th, 1882; Issue 10907.

³⁸⁸ Stevenson, (1885), p.147.

reflected in the many different portraits of her that Ken paints on his return to America. When he meets her (Ken's part of narrative begins after the narrator and reader has seen the portraits), she is literally obscured as 'the deep hood of her cloak so completely shadowed her face'³⁸⁹ that he cannot make out any facial features; next she tells him that she is called Elsie. I believe she is, in fact, Ethelind since Ken and 'Elsie' are standing at Ethelind's grave and 'Elsie' appears from nowhere and vanishes in similarly mysterious circumstances; there is also a ring which Ken gives to 'Elsie' as a present and which Ethelind has possession of when they meet. These disguises serve to illustrate to the reader how Ethelind is ultimately unknowable; she is not one definite aspect of a character and Ken cannot reconcile this, hence the various portraits that he paints of her, all with different expressions; she appears to be both lady and prostitute, woman and demon.

Ken asks Ethelind (who is in disguise at the time as Elsie) "where do you live, and what do you do for a living?"³⁹⁰ as he cannot identify her social status or possible profession because she is wearing a long cloak. When Elsie/Ethelind replies to Ken's questioning of her, she says "I live by myself [...] and if you'd be after knowing how, you must come and see for yourself."³⁹¹ The flirtatious language that is employed may suggest to Ken that she is a prostitute since she invites him to her house, unchaperoned, where she lives, alone. During the *fin de siècle* it became increasingly difficult to distinguish some women who earned a respectable living, from those 'unfortunates' who had turned to prostitution as there was an increasing number of women appearing on city

³⁸⁹ Hawthorne, p. 124.

³⁹⁰ Hawthorne, p. 126.

³⁹¹ Hawthorne, p. 126.

streets due to the creation of 'a new heterosocial space, [which included] the music hall (along with the theater [sic], department stores, museums, libraries, and public transport).'³⁹² As Judith Walkowitz writes, tales of false arrests for prostitution and street walking became rife as shown through the case of Elizabeth Cass:

[a]ccompanied by her stalwart and protective employer, Miss Cass [who had been wrongly arrested for street walking] protested her innocence in police court and insisted that she was on her way to purchase gloves. The magistrate, Mr Newton, dismissed the charge against her, but also noted that no respectable woman would be found walking on Regent Street at 9:00 in the evening.³⁹³

The above case demonstrates not only how easy it was for innocent women to be arrested for prostitution, but also the hypocrisy of the male establishment; although the magistrate admits that Miss Cass was falsely arrested, he does still throw doubt on her innocence as his final note demonstrates: even if her purpose was innocent, she still cannot be considered fully respectable as she was still in that area of London at night. In order for women to help themselves not be mistaken for prostitutes, they attempted to create an outward persona that would allow for no such mistakes; '[f]aded looks, painted faces, gaudy, seedy clothes supposedly marked off the streetwalkers from respectable ladies, dressed in muted colors [sic], tailor-made jackets, and waistcoats.'³⁹⁴ These physical signifiers were still, on occasion, not sufficient so respectable women still ran the risk of being caught up by the Contagious Diseases Acts which allowed the forced medical examination of any woman (not men though, as it was thought that 'such

³⁹² Walkowitz, p.45.

³⁹³ Walkowitz, pp.127-8.

³⁹⁴ Walkowitz, p.50.

sexual regulation would be humiliating for them'³⁹⁵) suspected of being a prostitute, whether they were entirely innocent or not. So Ken assumes that because she is a woman out by herself in the night, coupled with the invitation that he should come to see how she lives while she is out on her own, she is a fallen woman of whom he can take advantage. The female vampire acts in the opposite way to the Contagious Diseases Acts as while the acts sought to regulate female sexuality under the assumption that the prostitute required legislation in order to stop the transmission of sexual diseases, the female vampire instead seeks to stop the male clients who would use the prostitute through enforced sterilisation, thereby allowing the 'good' women the ability to make a rational choice of partner.

With changes in the Contagious Diseases Acts and once they had been repealed in 1886, came some transfer of blame for the spread of disease from the prostitute to the men who used them. Therefore it is possible to view 'The Grave of Ethelind Fionguala' as a moral denunciation of the utilisation of the prostitute by middle class men: that it was the use of prostitutes that spread degeneration; thus this is one of the reasons why they had to be stopped, punished by the very service they wanted to employ. The vampire here is functioning as part of the social purity mission, not only in terms of the denunciation of male users of prostitutes but also in the saving of the innocent woman; Ethelind punishes Ken for his sexual indiscretion which is then followed through with his fiancée's ability to make a rational choice not to carry on their engagement as Ken's degenerate tendencies are made

³⁹⁵ Logan, p.63.

apparent; his eugenically infectious degeneration has been physically brought to the surface, revealing him to be a bad choice of potential partner, and rather than risk transmitting this degeneration to a new generation, his fiancée instead chooses to leave him. Transferring a portion of the blame for the transmission of STDs from the prostitute to the client meant a development in the way society regarded 'syphilis of the innocents,' whereby the pure (and sexually uneducated) wives were being infected by their diseased husbands in a form which '[was] even more devastating than the acquired form of the disease, because it had already entered the secondary phase and begun to attack the nervous system.'³⁹⁶ 'The Grave of Ethelind Fionguala' therefore becomes a kind of parable of sexually transmitted diseases since Ken risks 'passing on' to his heirs his pre-existing degeneration. The female vampire becomes a more effective and localised punishment as she takes the form of a type of STD: forcing to the surface the inner degeneration of the male character but, unlike an STD such as syphilis, the 'punishment' stops with him.

The female vampires under discussion here possess a beauty that appears other-worldly which helps to attract their victims to them, the other-worldly aspect hinting towards their degenerate natures, and which helps to identify them as 'Other' to the reader. Compared to the female victims of the tales under discussion (such as Madame Cabanel who would 'have excited no special attention in England'³⁹⁷) the female vampires exhibit a beauty that while appearing other-worldly, is also grounded in earthly pleasure. Judith

³⁹⁶ Showalter, printed in Pykett, p.170.

³⁹⁷ Linton, p.161.

Rowbotham writes of physical features and the difference in women and men's reaction to them, that

authors operated on the assumption which must, quite unintentionally, have been flattering to girls looking for ways to express themselves that women were generally best equipped to act as arbiter in the relationship; to judge the quality of men and the love they offered. Men were, after all, indiscriminating about the opposite sex. Unlike women, even a good man was too easily fooled by a lovely exterior and until awakened by contradictory behaviour, would work on the assumption that face and nature matched.³⁹⁸

Rowbotham makes an important distinction between the way in which men and women were equipped to make judgements about the suitability of a member of the opposite sex. While authors assume women have the ability to distinguish who should and should not make a suitable partner because they are not immediately taken in by appearances, men do not have this ability. This means that while women were capable of making a rational choice based on internal suitability, men based all their assumptions on the physical appearance of their potential mate. Of course in the texts under discussion here, the reader is faced not with examples of good men, but with those who are not eugenically fit to have children. Despite this, Rowbotham's statement serves to illustrate how difficult it was to tell who would make a suitable partner: especially if it is only when contradictory behaviour is displayed. The ability of the vampire to bring out hidden degeneration therefore makes them the most appropriate agent for punishment.

Kate in 'John Barrington Cowles' (1884) has this type of unnatural beauty: Robert Armitage (the narrator of the tale) describes her as

³⁹⁸ Rowbotham, p.47.

the real Greek type – the forehead was broad, very low, and as white as marble, with a cloudlet of delicate locks wreathing round it, the nose was straight and clean cut, the lips, inclined to thinness, the chin and lower jaw beautifully rounded off, yet sufficiently developed to promise unusual strength of character [...] The more I looked at her the more her beauty grew upon me.³⁹⁹

The way in which her beauty seems to 'grow' as she is looked at and the way in which her hair wreathes about her face suggests something other than human; the hair may point to a Medusa-type figure with hair that is alive, and the way her beauty grows as she is observed could point to the fact that she is unnaturally enhancing her appearance in order to attract men to her. She snares John Barrington Cowles for instance despite the fact that he appears to be homosexual. Despite her seemingly flawless appearance, the narrative does mention a 'low' forehead which seems slightly out of place in the description of Kate by Armitage. The low forehead seems to harken back to a more bestial appearance. In H. G. Wells' *The Island of Doctor Moreau* (1896), one of the beast-men is described as having the 'same low forehead'⁴⁰⁰ as a sloth so Kate's forehead suggests that she is not as she may appear to be. The unnatural beauty sets up the idea that Kate is not like 'other women' and also that she is not a good example of womanhood since her beauty is grounded not only in witchcraft but also in the single indication that she harbours degenerate traits through the shape of her forehead.

The character of the Señora in 'Olalla' (1885) by Robert Louis Stevenson also has an unmatched beauty but this is combined with her mental degeneration

³⁹⁹ Doyle, p.27.

⁴⁰⁰ Wells, (1896), p.76.

due to the defectiveness of her inherited genes: as she sits watching the nameless narrator with 'an expression of almost imbecile good-humour and contentment, she showed a perfectness of feature and a quiet nobility that were beyond a statue's.'⁴⁰¹ The Señora's beauty almost masks the mental degeneration that the narrator has already been told about through the adjectives that Stevenson uses with four positive words (good-humour, contentment, perfectness and nobility), versus just the one negative (imbecile) though this may have been in some measure because the ideal woman was mentally close to that of an imbecile, evidenced through characters such as Dora in Dickens' *David Copperfield*. Masking continued to be a common device used by some authors of the *fin de siècle* in order to disguise, from the other characters and the reader, a character's 'true nature'. In terms of the eugenic fiction under discussion here, the 'mask' a character wears signifies the ability to disguise degenerate tendencies, to appear 'normal'. Mary Elizabeth Braddon, for instance, employs a similar technique in *Lady Audley's Secret* when she refers to Lucy as 'a childish, helpless, babyfied [sic] little creature.'⁴⁰² Just as at the dénouement of *Lady Audley's Secret* when the reader discovers that Lucy is a scheming, murderous arsonist, the reader of 'Olalla' discovers that the Señora is more than the reader supposes as she bites the narrator, thereby revealing her true nature as animalistic vampire. The beauty that disguises the degenerate interior that Kate and the Señora both share attracts men to them as the degeneration within each party attracts them towards the other.

⁴⁰¹ Stevenson, (1885), p.145.

⁴⁰² Braddon, (1862), p.151.

The beauty of Kate and the Señora is grounded in earthly matters unlike the 'good' female characters (as will be discussed later) whose beauty allows them to transform into more heavenly creatures: Kate has more in common with earth-bound creatures from Greek mythology than the Greek Goddesses and Christian saints that she might have been compared to had she been a good representation of femininity. The Señora is so earth-bound that she is practically stuck to it – 'for the rest of her days she lay luxuriously folded on herself and sunk in sloth.'⁴⁰³ This earthly aspect of their beauty helps to identify Kate and the Señora as fallen women; as Elaine Showalter writes, '[i]n decadent writing, women are seen as bound to Nature and the material world because they are more physical than men, more body than spirit.'⁴⁰⁴ Although this quotation refers to women in decadent writing at the *fin de siècle*, and these texts are not necessarily examples of decadent fiction because apart from the character of Archibald Reeves in 'John Barrington Cowles', none of the characters in the other texts appear to exhibit stereotypically decadent traits, it serves to demonstrate the argument that the vampire woman could never truly be mistaken for the domestic angel type of woman as they are too closely associated with earthly pleasures. Few, if any, women could attain the absolute purity demanded of this ideal, however this allows them to maintain their position as the fallen woman and thus eugenic vampire.

Some of the characteristics of women in decadent writing, primarily that of the degree and type of their knowledge, can be seen in the vampire women of the

⁴⁰³ Stevenson, (1885), p.146.

⁴⁰⁴ Elaine Showalter (Ed.), *Daughters of Decadence: Women writers of the Fin de Siècle*, (London; Virago Press Ltd., 1995), p.x.

texts here. For example, in *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891), the Duchess of Monmouth and Lord Henry have an exchange of words in which she is able to act as a devil's advocate, as she is highly educated, in order for Lord Henry to expound his wit on aesthetic and decadent subjects. Wilde also gives the Duchess her own somewhat controversial opinions on certain matters, such as when the Duchess declares that "women rule the world."⁴⁰⁵ Even at a time when there was a Queen on the throne, this statement would still shock many contemporary readers. The ability of the Duchess to have this exchange on equal terms with Lord Henry on aesthetic subjects suggests that she has knowledge beyond that which an ordinary woman should possess for the time which is the same for the vampire women, though they use this knowledge in order to perform their eugenic purpose.

A woman may appear to be outwardly suitable as a mate because she is beautiful but if such women suffer from mental degeneration and if their beauty is based too much in earthly pleasure in these texts, they are more suited (and more likely) to be eugenic examiners. The female vampire's beauty becomes both a symptom and a warning of their purpose. It is possible for other characters who do not become victims to recognise what the vampire woman truly is but in many of the situations in the tales under discussion here, they are unable to do anything about it: the only real exception to this is Dr Andrew in Arabella Kenealy's 'A Beautiful Vampire,' who understands what Lady Deverish is and is also able to destroy her whereas in 'John Barrington Cowles,' Armitage is only able to narrate the tale

⁴⁰⁵ Wilde, p.215.

after the events have already happened as a warning in order to try and save future victims from Kate. The inability to stop the female vampires does not seem to stem from the degenerate tendencies of the other characters (though Armitage does also seem to display the same homosexual tendencies as Cowles); it appears that it is due to the males not having enough information in order to be able to formulate correctly what the female vampire is or why they perform eugenic tasks. In the eugenic vampire fiction, it is the women who have the useful knowledge as they are the ones who are required to make rational choices regarding any potential mate, just as Rowbotham argued above.

The idea of knowledge and its transmission helps to locate these specific vampire tales within the period of the later nineteenth century; the reason why these characters know what the vampire is but are unable to stop them in the vampire narratives set during the *fin de siècle* is that it was more important that the threat to the continuation of society be removed (the victim) rather than the perceived threat that the vampire posed as a supernatural creature (which is what begins to happen with texts such as *Dracula* and which was discussed in the introduction to this thesis). *Dracula* paved the way for fears of Empire and colonisation as not only did he kill, he also transformed so that those who died due to his feeding would themselves rise as vampires: thereby shifting the fear of vampires from bringing death to transmitting contagious disease. The threat that the victims pose in the texts under examination in this thesis stops with the intervention of the vampire; the vampire does not transform, they only reveal that which is already present in the victim. The

victim as threat is the opposite character construction to what is now the generally accepted form of vampire fiction which we, as twentieth and twenty-first century readers are used to; since *Dracula*, the norm has become the vampiric threat but due to the emphasis within these *fin de siècle* texts on eugenic health and rational reproduction, it is necessary that the victim becomes the true threat to society. The way that the character of the vampire is formulated within the texts discussed in this thesis means that it is made evident that they are not for breeding with; they are there to stop harmful genetic lines from being passed on.

The idea of vampiric beauty is also explored through portraiture which is another type of looking (following on from the art exhibition scene of 'John Barrington Cowles') that can be identified in these texts: a portrait requires both a subject and implies an audience, someone to look at it. In two of the texts under discussion the portrait reveals the true nature of the subject just as in *Lady Audley's Secret*: Robert Louis Stevenson's 'Olalla' and Julian Hawthorne's 'The Grave of Ethelind Fionguala'. Portraits are important in psychoanalysis as they are examples of the uncanny; they represent both the "Doppelgänger" and "the returned dead,"⁴⁰⁶ meaning that dead people may seem to still be present through the representation of their figure within the portrait and thus creating the idea of the uncanny. Elisabeth Bronfen writes that

the portrait as a whole is situated in a liminal position, between an original wholeness in some sense and always already lost and a

⁴⁰⁶ Elisabeth Bronfen, *Over Her Dead Body: Death, Femininity and the Aesthetic*, (Manchester; Manchester University Press, 1992), pp.113-4.

desire for this state. It self-reflexively doubles the uncanny position of its objects of depiction – a woman made relic before her decease.⁴⁰⁷

This quotation imagines the uncanny in the act of sitting for the portrait, not just the final object that is left, whereas in the examples of portraiture here, in 'Olalla' the sitter is already dead and Ethelind did not sit for her pictures, Ken painted them once he has returned to America. From the two quotations from the critics above, portraits can conjure the uncanny in both living and dead forms because the sitter seems to have returned from the dead and in the case that the sitter is alive, because they seem to be worshipped as if they were already dead. In the two examples that will be discussed, the portraits act as uncanny beautiful women who will influence the male characters that gaze at them into revealing their degenerate characteristics.

In 'Olalla' (1885) the portrait represents a former member of the family with whom the narrator is staying. The portrait is that of a woman, and the narrator '[has] a half-lingering terror that she might not be dead at all, but rearsen in the body of some descendant'⁴⁰⁸ revealing a fear of the nature of the portrait as returned dead. Kelly Hurley writes that '[t]he uncanny object is simultaneously *heimlich* and *unheimlich*, familiar and unfamiliar; it violates a crucial binarism by which we organize the world.'⁴⁰⁹ The binarism that the portrait breaks through at this moment in the text is the one which separates the living from the dead; the picture represents the living form of the woman (*heimlich*), but she is dead yet seemingly still present (*unheimlich*). Though

⁴⁰⁷ Bronfen, p. 119.

⁴⁰⁸ Stevenson, (1885), p. 141.

⁴⁰⁹ Hurley, pp. 39-40.

the woman who is represented through the two-dimensional work of the picture is dead, there is a fear that she has been able to break through this constraint and is still able to exist in the body of a current family member. This is combined with the narrator's feeling that 'the double knowledge of her wickedness and of my weakness grew clearer. She came to be the heroine of many daydreams in which her eyes led on to, and sufficiently rewarded, crimes.'⁴¹⁰ The fantasies of the narrator has are also bound up in notions of the uncanny, as Fred Botting describes when he writes that 'the sublime ceded to the uncanny, the latter an effect of uncertainty, of the eruption of fantasies, suppressed wishes and emotional and sexual conflicts.'⁴¹¹ The sublime was an authorial device used in earlier Gothic texts which then became the uncanny with the shifts in literature away from supernatural to psychological explanations of situations; in texts such as *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), the ghostly happenings are examples of the sublime: a supernatural force intercedes in the action, whereas in 'Olalla' the mysteries of the portrait all happen in the narrator's mind: they are projected onto the portrait by him, existing as an example of the uncanny. This reveals the narrator's inherent degeneration: it is his own mental state that creates the feelings about the woman in the portrait and not any supernatural force creating the emotions within him.

The first quotation from the text points to the uncanny ability of the portrait to create the fear that it is not only a two-dimensional creation but that it can

⁴¹⁰ Stevenson, (1885), p.141.

⁴¹¹ Fred Botting, *Gothic*, (Oxon; Routledge, 1996), p.11.

exist outside of its frame in 'the real world'; in this instance the subject seems to reappear in some aspects of the Señora and also in Olalla herself, as Olalla points out the similarities in their hands. This raises the thought in the reader's mind that perhaps Olalla is not as good a woman as she at first appears because throughout the text, the reader is made aware that Olalla is definitely part of the same degenerate family to which the Señora and Felipe belong. The difficulty of being able to tell from physical appearance who would make a eugenically suitable mate becomes pertinent here as only the reader is in the privileged position of 'seeing' the hidden life of a character, and then it is only that of the narrator as the tale is told from a first-person point of view.

The subject of the portrait and the Señora share a familiarity of feature that the narrator notes when he first sees the Señora and then returns to his room; as he looks at the portrait he states that 'there was a likeness, not so much speaking as immanent, not so much in any particular feature as upon the whole.'⁴¹² This quotation suggests Elisabeth Bronfen's point regarding the returned dead because through the Señora (and Olalla), the portrait is able to 'live' again and therefore it is through the portrait that the two current female members of the family are able to fulfil the vampiric function of the text and make the narrator 'safe'. The tale endorses a two-sided programme of protection regarding the choice of mate and potential for breeding, with the main (both degenerate) characters either making the wise choice (Olalla) or being made safe (the narrator) through the eugenic vampire.

⁴¹² Stevenson, (1885), p. 146.

The second quotation above from the text points to the degenerate nature of the narrator; by gazing at the portrait, he feels that he would be willing to commit crimes and open himself up to a degenerate way of living. Max Nordau in *Degeneration* describes men who find themselves under the influence of a certain kind of woman (the same type as the subject of the portrait), writing that '[a man] feels that he cannot resist the exciting influences proceeding from the woman, that he is her helpless slave, and would commit any folly, any madness, any crime, at her beck and call.'⁴¹³ The narrator's belief that he would be willing to commit crimes for the portrait is also echoed in the alliterative use of the letter 'w' with 'wickedness' and 'weakness' in the above quotation, aligning the two characters of the narrator and the woman in the portrait together. This is the reason why the narrator in 'Olalla' has to be punished – by admitting his willingness to participate in wickedness, the narrator admits the fact of his own degeneration and because of this, it allows the Señora to inflict the actual physical punishment of attacking the narrator and drinking his blood though she does not kill him.

The second examples of portraiture, in the texts under discussion, are the pictures that Ken creates in 'The Grave of Ethelind Fionguala' (1887). The portraits in this tale are interesting because, as stated earlier, they show different interpretations of the one character, that of Ethelind Fionguala (the vampire of the piece): the narrator describes the expressions variously as 'demure penetration, now a subtle inviting glance, now burning passion, and

⁴¹³ Nordau, p.169.

again a look of elfish and elusive mockery.⁴¹⁴ The expressions on the faces of the portraits point to Ken appearing to try to understand the true, inner nature of Ethelind; the fact that some of the pictures portray her as a 'good' woman but more show her to be a 'bad' woman illustrates how the vampire women can appear to be unreadable but ultimately, their true nature is understood through the actions that give them away. In the case of Ethelind, her true nature is revealed at the start of the piece (this is one of few vampire tales published at the time where we are already aware that the female character is dangerous before the main action begins), after she has already performed her eugenic purpose; the reader is initially introduced to Ethelind through the portraits that Ken has painted, then he relates his experiences in Ireland which finally culminate in his symbolic emasculation at the hands of Ethelind. Ken's paintings of Ethelind also reveal much about Ken; unable to reconcile himself to either aspect of Ethelind (as either the good, demure woman or the mocking temptress), he paints her as both as he attempts to understand her strange existence.

When Ken is relating his tale, Ethelind's beauty becomes uncanny – it is strange yet familiar to him as he states, on meeting Ethelind, that 'she was the woman of whom I had dreamed, whom I had beheld in visions, whose voice and face had haunted me from boyhood up.'⁴¹⁵ There appears to be a commonality of recognition between female vampires and their victims which begins with the one between Laura and Carmilla in Le Fanu's tale 'Carmilla' as they also recognise each other from appearing in their dreams from their

⁴¹⁴ Hawthorne, p.113.

⁴¹⁵ Hawthorne, p.133.

childhood, and moves through to novels such as *Dracula*, as Harker states in his diary of one of the three women, 'I seemed to somehow know her face, and to know it in connection with some dreamy fear.'⁴¹⁶ This recognition of the vampire by the victim creates the feeling in the reader that what is happening to the characters is bound up in fate, and in the case of the eugenic vampires, that the victim, in this instance, Ken is already marked for eugenic sterilisation from his boyhood since he already 'sees' Ethelind in his dreams due to his inherent degenerate tendencies. The implication with this situation is that the victim's sexual fantasy comes to life in order to punish them for the same, degenerate, fantasies.

The idea of the portrait and its uncanny nature demonstrates how female vampires were able to lure degenerate men to them by using their inhuman beauty. This beauty evokes enough that is 'familiar' to entrap their victims and then allows them to perform their eugenic duties: the familiarity coming from the fact that the male victims already have a latent degeneracy which attracts them to the atavistic characteristics of the female vampires which the female vampires recognise and destroy.

Despite the fact that the female vampires examined in this thesis are able to disguise their true natures physically, they often display an unusual vocal characteristic which helps identify them to the reader. The voice of the vampires and the way they use it assists in emphasising not only their otherness but also their inhumanness and is used by the texts to maintain the

⁴¹⁶ Stoker, p.40.

vampire's status as 'other' and distance them from the 'good' examples of womanhood that can be found in some of the tales, just as Josephine Butler was marginalised as 'other' due to the nature of the social purity movement that she helped to lead. The unusual voices displayed by the vampire women (male vampires do not appear to share this trait in the fiction under study here) suggest a link with the Sirens of Greek mythology (just as Kate's hair in 'John Barrington Cowles' suggests Medusa) who, with their own distinctive voices, lured men to their doom; the main difference between the Sirens and the female vampires is that whereas they are both examples of destructive femininity, the female vampires do serve a social purpose rather than attacking whoever gets near to them, which is what makes the female vampire distinctive within this time period.

Kate in 'John Barrington Cowles' laughs quietly to herself⁴¹⁷ when she hears that Reeves, her ex-fiancé, has died. Her inappropriate response reveals that she is not a good person as sympathy or upset would be the more proper reaction; unfortunately Cowles is not privy to this moment, otherwise it might have revealed to him that Kate really is not the ideal of womanhood. It is not just vampire women in the late nineteenth century who have unusual or inappropriate vocal responses to information; other examples of bad women are, for example, when Lady Audley is accepting her bigamous marriage proposal, her voice becomes 'shrill and piercing,'⁴¹⁸ two adjectives that would not immediately be attributed to the voice of a bride to be, or a conventionally

⁴¹⁷ Doyle, p.41.

⁴¹⁸ Braddon, (1862), p.11.

constructed 'good' woman. This difference in vocal construction helps to identify the evil of the female vampire to the reader.

Within the same scene, where Armitage credits Kate with having an unusually strong will that she uses for nefarious purposes, Kate's vocal style is also described as 'hard and cold'⁴¹⁹ and Armitage also states in his narration that '[t]here was something in the way she spoke which gave an indescribable air of a threat to these few words.'⁴²⁰ The hardness of her voice and the threat which Armitage detects in her intonation, which he is apparently unable to fully identify with his use of the words 'something' and 'indescribable', help to reveal to the reader that she is as dangerous as Armitage had suspected. Lady Deverish (in 'A Beautiful Vampire,' 1896) similarly has a 'ring of metal'⁴²¹ to her voice that implies a coldness of personality that is less than human and links her to Kate as they share this coldness. The metallic quality of her voice makes her appear less feminine, giving an air of the mechanical to her, and makes her therefore very much an unsuitable choice for a mate. The female vampires who exhibit the unusual voices share the same with Josephine Butler who campaigned against the Contagious Diseases Acts as discussed in the introduction of this chapter; her voice was described in one newspaper as 'weak and not very agreeable.'⁴²² The way in which both the female vampires and Josephine Butler are given disagreeable voices points to the idea of transmitting and receiving information and of forbidden knowledge. The vampire women are aligned with the social purity campaigners as they

⁴¹⁹ Doyle, p.41.

⁴²⁰ Doyle, p.41.

⁴²¹ Kenealy, p.22.

⁴²² *Hampshire Telegraph*; Issue 3954.

both lecture, even if the vampire women do it symbolically through their eugenically inspired actions, on the subject of disease (degeneration) and how to prevent it, meaning that they already have an unladylike knowledge of the subject and are willing, through their voices, to pass this information on to previously ignorant people: for the social purity campaigners, abstinence for men and, in the case of the vampire fiction, the man's emasculation or, if necessary, destruction. The passing on of knowledge affected not only the other characters who were susceptible to what the female vampire said, but also the reader who moved from a position of ignorance (not knowing what the vampire is) to knowledge (finally understanding the eugenic purpose of the vampire).

Ethelind has an unusual laugh that is both 'wild' and 'mocking'⁴²³ which makes Ken think it is hardly human, although at the time he attributes this to the 'unusual and uncanny circumstances of the occasion.'⁴²⁴ The mocking quality of her laughter also harkens back to the portraits which the first (unnamed) narrator of the tale sees in Ken's studio home where 'elusive mockery'⁴²⁵ is visible in the expression of one of the pictures. The mocking expression and laughter are also signifiers that identify Ethelind as a vampire woman who vocalises her murderous qualities in order to make her purpose known to the reader.

The unusual vocal characteristics that the female vampires display are therefore another one of the many techniques used by the authors here to

⁴²³ Hawthorne, p.125.

⁴²⁴ Hawthorne, p.125.

⁴²⁵ Hawthorne, p.113.

make the vampire woman ultimately understandable to the readers, but not necessarily to all the characters of the texts (if we take the example of 'John Barrington Cowles', for instance, it is only when Kate tells Cowles outright what she is that he understands her purpose). By making the vampire woman readable it also makes it obvious to the reader which types of behaviour they should be emulating and avoiding; with both vampire and victim displaying undesirable characteristics, the reader learns what is necessary in order to best aid society (if the readers feel they share any of the unappealing traits of the victims, then they should refrain from breeding or learn how to reform themselves). The reader loses sympathy for the victim as it is understood why the victims were chosen and punished, and therefore the necessity of a eugenics programme.

The victims of the vampires under discussion here also play a role for the perceived necessity of eugenics. From at least the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, societal pressure demanded an almost unattainable sense of purity of its women as they were seen as naturally purer than their male counterparts. In Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *Aurora Floyd* (serialised 1862-3), for example, the character of Talbot Bulstrode 'had never met a woman whose stainless purity of soul fitted her in his eyes to become the mother of a noble race, and to rear sons who should do honour to the name of Bulstrode.'⁴²⁶ Braddon further demonstrates Talbot's fanaticism regarding the purity of his future wife stating that

[h]e looked for more than the ordinary every-day virtue in the woman of his choice; he demanded those grand and queenly qualities which

⁴²⁶ Braddon, (1862-3), p.31.

are rarest in womankind. Fearless truth, a sense of honour keen as his own, loyalty of purpose, unselfishness, a soul untainted by the petty baseness of daily life – all these he sought in the being he loved; and at the first warning thrill of emotion caused by a pair of beautiful eyes, he grew critical and captious about their owner, and began to look for infinitesimal stains upon the shining robe of her virginity.⁴²⁷

Talbot's demands for a more-than Madonna-like purity of future wife help to establish, albeit, an impossibly strict set of rules which governed women's behaviour through to the end of the nineteenth century, which suggests an implicit critique of such strict guidelines for women to even attempt to attain. *Aurora Floyd*, as did other sensation fiction published at the same time, set up a juxtaposition of femininity through the presence of two diametrically opposed types of female character, giving the reader a clear set of behaviours that they should be emulating as well as highlighting standards of behaviour that were not to be copied; in *Aurora Floyd*, for instance, Aurora is set up in opposition to her cousin, Lucy, whom Talbot eventually marries: she reaches his high standards where Aurora falls short. *Lady Audley's Secret* (1862) likewise sets up this same opposition of female characters with Lady Audley contrasted to the character of George's sister, Clara. The high moral standards set for women continued through to the *fin de siècle* as it became increasingly the case that these traditional models of femininity were perceived as being eroded by figures such as the New Woman and the rise in social purity and temperance campaigners who established themselves as unafraid to learn of the seedier aspects of the world in which they lived. Because of this, for '[George] Gissing and many other late Victorians the

⁴²⁷ Braddon, (1862-3), p.31.

capacity to be a good mother was identified with womanliness, health and purity.⁴²⁸ The establishment of the virtues of health and purity for future mothers creates the parameters in which the victims of the vampires in this thesis operate.

The female victims here are eugenically judged against the traditional models of femininity and do not just belong to established conceptions of what constituted the 'victim' of a vampire; in 'Olalla', the victim can also be classified as the daughter of the vampire. The characters who end up being defined as traditional victims, those characters who are for instance used as didactic examples in order to show how eugenics was required to work: that people (and more often in the late nineteenth century, women) needed to make more informed decisions regarding their choice of mate in order to better society and so the women here are tested and either allowed to make amends (Bella) and become the ideal wife and future mother, or are punished in the ultimate way (Fanny) by being killed.

The first of the victims under discussion is Fanny from 'The Fate of Madame Cabanel' (1880) by Eliza Lynn Linton, who was described by Sally Ledger as 'one of a number of notable anti-feminist commentators of the period.'⁴²⁹ The title itself hides Fanny's English name; her marriage gives her the French title and surname, associating her fate with her choice of French identity and also establishing the idea that what happens to her is inescapable.

⁴²⁸ Greenslade, p.146.

⁴²⁹ Ledger, 'The New Woman and Feminist Fictions', printed in Marshall, pp.153-168, p.154.

Fanny becomes a victim due to the economic situation that forces her into that position, as explored in the chapter on eugenics. Linton presents us with the circumstances in which Fanny felt it necessary to marry, almost as if she is laying out evidence for the reader to examine and judge whether it was indeed right for Fanny to face the punishment for allowing the possible intermixture of the two sets of genes. The reader learns that '[s]he was simply an orphan and a governess; very young and very poor; whose employers had quarrelled with her and left her stranded in Paris, alone and almost moneyless'⁴³⁰ and that she had married 'as the best thing that she could do for herself [...] all without considering herself as a martyr or an interesting victim.'⁴³¹ This also seems to be the point in the tale where Linton gives her victim (because even if Fanny does not perceive herself to be one, within the narrative, she can certainly be regarded as the victim) a choice: Fanny was not without employment when she arrived in Paris and so marriage was not the only option to her (although it may have been the preferred option for many women); she could have endeavoured to secure new employment but instead chose to get married and it is from this point that she becomes doomed; she has a choice regarding which path her life should take, and as she chooses the one that may lead to racial degeneration, she is not allowed to survive. That Fanny chooses marriage rather than trying to find other employment makes the issue of nationality stand out as Linton seems to argue that it is better to work, and lower your class position, than marry a Frenchman. As Diane Mason states, 'a woman may not marry above her

⁴³⁰ Linton, p.161.

⁴³¹ Linton, p.161.

station in the Victorian novel unless the man she marries is “flawed.”⁴³² Jules is ‘*maire, juge de paix*, and all the public functionaries rolled into one’⁴³³ of his village and so Fanny does marry above her station, although Jules’ flaw is that he is French and as such, not a suitable racial match for Fanny. Though Fanny has the health and apparent purity that men like Gissing put such faith in when it came to the future of motherhood, Fanny is ultimately punished due to her willingness to dilute the healthy British genes that she carries with the unhealthy French, thereby creating a fear of the possibility of ‘bad blood’ in the spectral future child that she may have. The text suggests therefore that Fanny should have remained single rather than ‘make do’ with a man who though seemingly above her in social class, is French and therefore, not racially suitable, as the threat that she creates with the potential English/French child indicates to the reader that she was not capable of making a rational choice of partner, and this necessitates her destruction.

I turn now to Bella from ‘Good Lady Ducayne’ (although this text was published in 1896, some eleven years after ‘Olalla’, Bella shares more of the traditional vampire victim characteristics with Fanny than Olalla does). Like Fanny, Bella finds herself in a foreign country (Italy this time, rather than France) although in slightly different circumstances (she is employed as a Lady’s companion) though as fore-grounded in the chapter on eugenics, this is because they have no choice due to their economic status. Once Bella has met Herbert, Lady Ducayne is able to identify him as a suitable mate for Bella as he is a doctor and Lady Ducayne is able to free Bella from her economic

⁴³² Mason, p.116.

⁴³³ Linton, p.159.

worries by giving her a cheque for a thousand pounds whilst, at the same time, instructing her to '[g]o and marry your doctor.'⁴³⁴ In this text, Bella appears to win the eugenic prize; she is tested by the vampire and begins to succumb to a Continental laziness, but Herbert's strong masculine type, as identified in the previous chapter by his taking charge of his sister's life, combined with his medical training and eugenic rather than class-based outlook gives Lady Ducayne the confidence that together, they will make a suitable eugenic couple.

Bella is asked if she has "good health? Are you strong and active, able to eat well, sleep well, walk well, able to enjoy all that there is good in life?"⁴³⁵ when being interviewed by Lady Ducayne; this is the first indication that she will become the victim of the text as she ends up being bled in an attempt to extend Lady Ducayne's life; the healthy working class girl is expected to prolong the life of the, literally, parasitic aristocracy that was no longer able to sustain its own health and life. As the reader (and Bella) soon find out, Lady Ducayne has had several previous companions who all died in her service due to the same 'scientific' experiments.

In 'Good Lady Ducayne', it is not only important for Bella to remove herself from the foreign country where these blood-lettings take place (aligning foreign country with foreign – i.e. 'bad' practices that would not take place in the safety of England) but also that she must take care in respect to her level of activity as one of Lady Ducayne's other servants states of the previous

⁴³⁴ Braddon, (1896), p.161.

⁴³⁵ Braddon, (1896), p.143.

companions who died in service: “they ate too much, and they were lazy. They died of luxury and idleness.”⁴³⁶ Of course, this is not really the case but it aligns a decadent lifestyle with degeneration and hence the necessity of punishment. Judith Rowbotham writes that ‘[a]uthors [from the 1880s onwards] indicated that an “early Victorian invalidishness” was neither attractive nor desirable’⁴³⁷ and so indications of this were now frowned upon by society and Bella should be expected to take part in a healthy and active lifestyle rather than succumbing to the easy lifestyle that living with Lady Ducayne suggests. This active lifestyle helped to identify those who could be considered eugenically suitable as they fitted in with the idea of the Protestant work ethic; as Samuel Smiles wrote in his work, *Self Help*, ‘[t]he spirit of self-help, as exhibited in the energetic action of individuals, has in all times been a marked feature in the English character, and furnishes the true measure of our power as a nation.’⁴³⁸ According to Smiles, whose seminal work was first published in 1859 but continued to be reprinted through the *fin de siècle*, teaching the prospective middle-classes the benefits of self improvement through the real-life examples of past self-made men, work was bound up in notions of Empire and Britain’s strength as a world-leader, implying that those who did not take part in this pursuit were un-English and therefore aligned with notions of the idle foreigner. A healthy body meant a healthy mind and an unhealthy body implied a foreign-ness of character; as Bella is dragged further under the influence of Lady Ducayne and Dr Parravicini, who begins to drain her health, she becomes more immobile, just like the Señora from ‘Olalla’ as she lies all day in the sun.

⁴³⁶ Braddon, (1896), p.150.

⁴³⁷ Rowbotham, p.36.

⁴³⁸ Smiles, p.5.

Within 'Good Lady Ducayne,' it is up to the newly trained and progressive (in the sense that he is trained in modern medicine, rather than the 'quackery' that Parravicini practises) doctor, Herbert, to save Bella from the dangers presented in the foreign setting and whisk her back to the safety (and healthy lifestyle) of England before it is too late. His cure of making Bella walk up mountains to rebuild her strength equates Englishness with health and strength and the continent with idleness and illness just as Fanny's stature does. Herbert's cure also works in conjunction with his views on relationships. To him, 'riches or rank will count for nothing'⁴³⁹ when he decides to marry as he reveals the eugenic moral for this particular tale: class does not matter to him. As Havelock Ellis wrote in *The Task of Social Hygiene*;

good stocks are nevertheless so widely spread through all classes – such good stocks in the lower social classes being probably the most resistant to adverse conditions – that we are not entitled to regard even a slightly greater net increase of the lower social classes as an unmitigated evil.⁴⁴⁰

Traditional class divisions for eugenicists were less important as individuals from any class might or might not be sufficiently healthy to provide good genes, meaning that for eugenics to be viable, a different criteria for 'class health' had to be established; after all, considering the number of vampire characters at the end of the century who are upper-middle or upper class (Carmilla, Dracula, Lady Ducayne, Lady Deverish, Kate, the Señora and Count Vardalek), there is a clear suggestion that the upper classes could no longer be relied upon to provide a sustainable eugenic future, and so a careful

⁴³⁹ Braddon, (1896), p.155.

⁴⁴⁰ Ellis, pp.19-20.

examination of the working class was required in order to determine who, if anyone, could be determined as suitable. Of course, not all of the working class would be suitable eugenically, and some contemporary social commentators believed none would be due to the poverty that they suffered as 'in the hereditarian climate of the 1890s, poverty, immorality, crime, and prostitution were all swept up under the umbrella of disease.'⁴⁴¹ Bella is saved due to her removal from the unhealthy, foreign, influences that she has been living in, and although she is working class, she belongs to the section that worked in order to support themselves and were not the criminal idlers that so disturbed the social Darwinists.

The character of Olalla appears to have many roles within the text of the same name; hers is a complex existence, neither absolute victim nor absolute monster, she occupies the liminal position between the two states. She is 'the child of an afflicted house'⁴⁴² implying that whatever she is lies outside her control and, as such, she can be viewed as the victim. However, the familial link between the woman in the portrait, the Señora and Olalla implies that being a child of this house she is the same as her mother and ancestor, suggesting that Olalla is a eugenic examiner in training. Olalla is aware of the genes that she has inherited, therefore understanding the consequences which would ensue if she were to breed and allow the family genes to degenerate even further, turning her into a good un-mother (as shall be described in full below). Early reviews of 'Olalla' described it as a 'powerful

⁴⁴¹ Angelique Richardson, *Love and Eugenics in the Late Nineteenth Century: Rational Reproduction and the New Woman*, (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 2003), p.72.

⁴⁴² Stevenson, (1885), p.156.

tract on heredity'⁴⁴³ thereby demonstrating an understanding of the underlying issues that the characters face and suggesting that the tale was a very important piece of fiction regarding the theme of heredity through the use of the word 'powerful'. The first time that she embraces the narrator he finds that it is she who 'had thrust me back, broken rudely from my arms, and fled with the speed of a deer among the cork-trees.'⁴⁴⁴ The fact that it is Olalla that breaks off the embrace first shows that it is she who is most conscious of the dangers of allowing herself to get into a relationship with the narrator even though just before this episode occurs, the narrator states that 'I could not call by name of brother the half-witted lad, nor by the name of mother that immovable and lovely thing of flesh.'⁴⁴⁵ This quotation reminds the reader that when people marry, they do not just take on a new wife or husband, they also 'inherit' the rest of the family members (and implicitly, or explicitly in this instance, any degenerate characteristics that family may possess). Havelock Ellis wrote that

[Francis] Galton had [...] realized the need for supplying a great defect in our knowledge [since family bibles could only supply limited information], and his Life-history Albums showed how the necessary information may be conveniently registered.⁴⁴⁶

From such Albums, Ellis said that it would be possible to

reckon the probable quality of the offspring of a married couple. Given a man and woman of known personal qualities and of known ancestors, what are likely to be the personal qualities, physical, mental and moral of the children? That is a question of immense importance both for the beings themselves whom we bring into the world, for the community generally, and for the future race.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴³ *Glasgow Herald*, (Glasgow, Scotland), Thursday, June 20th, 1895; Issue 147.

⁴⁴⁴ Stevenson, (1885), p.161.

⁴⁴⁵ Stevenson, (1885), p.156.

⁴⁴⁶ Ellis, p.199.

⁴⁴⁷ Ellis, p.200.

In 'Olalla' the reader is presented with a form of the Life-history Album; as the narrator wanders through the house, he sees the portraits of the ancestors of the family and wonders at 'the miracle of the continued race [...] That a child should be born of its mother [...] and put on inherited looks, and turn its head with the gesture of another'⁴⁴⁸ and which is played out more fully between the portrait of the woman in the narrator's room and Olalla drawing attention to the similarities that they share (their hands, hair and eyes).

In order to cement her role as the victim of the piece, when the narrator has told Olalla that he loves her three times within as many speeches, she replies that "I stand, as it were, upon a little rising ground in this desperate descent, and see both before and behind, both what we have lost and to what we are condemned to go farther downward."⁴⁴⁹ This imagery of Olalla seeing the atavism and further degeneration of her familial line is what marks her out as a unique character within the vampire tales under discussion here; she appears to be the only one who does not need to learn that she should not be encouraged to breed; she already has the relevant knowledge and it is instead up to her to teach her fellow (male) victim what needs to be done in order to preserve the race. This ultimately shows that although Olalla may be different to the 'typical' victim, she helps to illustrate the importance of the woman's choice of marriage: one of few choices that women had in regards to their fate.

⁴⁴⁸ Stevenson, (1885), p.152.

⁴⁴⁹ Stevenson, (1885), p.167.

Just as Olalla appears to fill different roles within the text, appearing on the continuum of good woman (victim) and eugenic examiner (vampire) in training which complicates the reader's understanding of her, so do other authors give their vampire women attributes that are more usually associated with good women. Often in the vampire fiction under discussion, when written by men, women characters are described in terms of their immobility (female authors contrastingly create female characters who are mobile), usually as being 'statuesque' in some form or another. It often appears that the only safe (or good) woman in male-authored texts is one who is literally fixed in space, only able to exist under a man's gaze, or so the texts seem to suggest as a literary attempt is made to maintain the status quo of patriarchal control whereby the female characters are given licence to move only when the male characters determine. The notion of the immobile woman helps to distinguish the good women from the bad, but it is also one of the forms of disguise that the vampire females use in order to try to stay unreadable to both their intended victim, and also the reader until the time that through some activity, we, the reader, but still not necessarily the victim, realise what they are and what their ultimate purpose may be.

In 'Olalla' there are three inanimate women; the woman in the portrait, the Señora and Olalla. The woman in the picture ensnares the narrator,⁴⁵⁰ using his imagination to expose his degenerate tendencies, implying that if she were still alive, she would be much more dangerous than the Señora: her portrait form is capable of unleashing degenerate behaviours and since the family

⁴⁵⁰ Stevenson, (1885), p.141.

itself has degenerated through time, her power over men can be seen as much more potent than even the Señora's as the Señora is not capable of such action. As was argued earlier in the chapter, through his looking at the portrait, the narrator is tempted into degenerate behaviours meaning the woman in the portrait has influence from beyond the grave and this is also his eugenic weakness: that he can be tempted but because the painted woman is only a portrait, it is up to the Señora to inflict his physical punishment. By making the woman in the portrait permanently statuesque since she cannot move outside the confines of the frame, Stevenson poses the question to the reader of how much more dangerous would she have been had she been able to move outside the picture? By only allowing her an existence as an inanimate object, the portrait, Stevenson effectively muzzles some of her influence, though it is clear, through the reaction of the narrator that what power she is still allowed is sufficient for her purpose within the text. The portrait's enforced passivity appears to be a critique on the nineteenth century ideal of the immobile, virtuous woman as Stevenson implies that not all immobile women are passive and care should be taken lest the apparently immobile woman is manipulating the situation for her own purposes.

The Señora is the second example of the immobile woman in this text, and the first true example of the vampire woman who tries to disguise herself as stationary, as she lies in the sun all day, every day. Although she watches the narrator, it is she who is seemingly immobilised as he is made to believe he has the power to fix her in space (she only seems to move around the courtyard at the house when he is not looking) and as he narrates the tale, it

makes it appear that he has power over her; watching her as she turns 'statuesque'. This is contrasted to her mobility when there is a storm approaching and she is compelled into movement; 'pacing from wall to wall with disconnected gestures, clasping her hands, stretching forth her arms, throwing back her head [...] but there was a light in her eye that struck on me unpleasantly.'⁴⁵¹ This example of the statuesque woman demonstrates how it is possible for the vampiric woman to disguise herself and make herself appear like the statuesque woman in order to help lure men to themselves, although in the Señora's example, she betrays herself when she is found pacing by the narrator, thus making herself understandable to the reader. When the storm begins and the Señora begins to pace, revealing her vampiric nature as she screams and rages at the wind, proving herself a mobile woman, the narrator has no power to stop her from moving. The Señora's movement here is different from the hill-walking of Bella in 'Good Lady Ducayne' because whereas Bella's movement reveals health, the Señora's movement in the storm instead denotes turmoil and a dangerous woman who will not be subdued by a male ideal of appropriate behavioural standards.

During the nineteenth century, men had the ability to prescribe areas where it was and was not appropriate for respectable women to go; the home, church, shops and making social calls were acceptable areas for women to be but other places, such as public houses would not have been deemed acceptable for 'good' women to go to. Towards the end of the century however, women

⁴⁵¹ Stevenson, (1885), p.149.

began to break from this and began to go into the areas from which they had previously been socially barred. As Judith Walkowitz writes,

[e]ntering public space placed women of all classes [...] in a vulnerable position. Being out in public, observes Richard Sennett, was for a woman to enter an immoral domain [...] by entering into the city center [sic], women entered a place traditionally imagined as the site of exchange and erotic activity.⁴⁵²

By going into areas previously denied them, unless accompanied by a suitable chaperone, women ran the risk of gaining knowledge of a sexual nature. In Sarah Grand's *The Heavenly Twins*, (1893) Angelica (an ironic name since she is the more badly behaved of the twins of the title) decides she

should like to see the market-place by moonlight [...] That was my first weighty reason for changing my dress. But having once assumed the character [she goes about at night disguised as her twin brother, Diavolo], I began to love it.⁴⁵³

Angelica's disguise means that she has the freedoms of a man, literally and spatially, as she is not encumbered with the confining dress of women and she is able to go where she wishes without fear of someone judging her for being a single woman out alone at night. Deborah Anna Logan writes about the movement of a certain type of respectable women, that

[n]ot only did women philanthropists participate in running Midnight Missions and otherwise mobilize by promoting lectures, demonstrations [...] they also, in their zeal to reform, went into brothels to work directly with prostitutes, pimps, and brothel owners.⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵² Walkowitz, p.46.

⁴⁵³ Grand, p.456.

⁴⁵⁴ Logan, p.68.

These women were still considered unusual within the *fin de siècle*; by physically entering traditionally male domains, and expressing a more worldly view than would have been thought proper, they risked condemnation both from the men who saw their presence as an unwelcome intrusion and from other women as being unwomanly due to the knowledge that they possessed. This movement of women is mirrored in 'Olalla' as the Señora begins to break free of the constriction that the narrator believes he has put on her, as her movement during the storm reveals her as an immobile woman in disguise. By transforming from a seemingly immobile woman to a woman of movement aligns the Señora with the women who strayed from the confining spheres of domesticity to those who took up the causes of social purity and philanthropy. The Señora's movement marks her as the woman of knowledge rather than the woman of ignorance, which is how the reader initially interprets her daughter, Olalla.

Olalla is the third woman in this household to be caught by the narrator's gaze but rather than becoming like a statue, Olalla seems to die away from existence itself as she 'paled and faded';⁴⁵⁵ she only seems alive when being looked at by a man, and as soon as he turns away she ceases to have either meaning or purpose. Unlike the portrait and her mother, Olalla's stillness appears genuine, though as stated earlier, her formulation within the text is problematic as she appears neither fully good, nor fully monstrous, which may make her an example of a 'good' woman as she is not appropriating the technique for her own purposes or mean that she is creating a disguise just as

⁴⁵⁵ Stevenson, (1885), p.155.

her mother does. Andrew Dowling argues of the 'good' woman that: 'protected in their domestic sphere [she] had less depth as a person. She was more of a child, or a saint.'⁴⁵⁶ This quotation gives credence to the idea of the male-constructed view of the spiritual life of the woman: she literally appears less real than the other characters who are based more on earth than in the heavenly realm to which she has access, therefore associating vampirism with an earthly, animalistic nature. Since Olalla dismisses the narrator and refuses to enter into a relationship with him, revealing her eugenic understanding, it seems more likely that she is a eugenic examiner in training and therefore creating a disguise for herself: she is learning to appropriate the techniques associated with the good woman in order to perform a eugenic duty much as her mother does when she is seen as immobile.

Another concept that was utilised by male authors during the *fin de siècle* was that which I have termed the 'un-dead' woman. Rather than necessarily referring to the female vampires of these texts, I am using the term un-dead to refer to the women who appear more dead than alive in texts with male authors (as previously stated, female authors at the end of the nineteenth century tended to create vampire tales with more active female characters such as Bella whose activity marks her as eugenically suitable), those women who come under the banner of 'the cult of the invalid', who already seem more within the heavenly realm than the earthly one. By utilising the idea of the un-dead woman, the status as more dead than alive also helps to reflect their purity and therefore their suitability for breeding, and distinguishes them

⁴⁵⁶ Dowling, p.22.

from the vampire women who in some ways actually appear more alive than dead. The un-dead woman may share a physical appearance similar to that of the masturbating woman (discussed above) but can ultimately be distinguished by the re-reading of their actions and also by the revelation of their true nature (that they are, in fact, examples of the good woman rather than the vampire woman in disguise).

In 'Olalla', before the narrator has even seen Olalla, he conceives of her as a saint who is 'spectral of mien, wasted with maceration'⁴⁵⁷ – more dead than alive, the word spectral even implying that she is already dead and reappears as a ghost. The wasted woman that the male narrator perceives acts in the same way that the statuesque woman does, conforming to masculine ideals of the movement of women; she is barely there and so she is 'safe' and therefore a good woman. Bram Dijkstra wrote of the saintly woman in some paintings from the *fin de siècle* that 'what better guarantee of purity [was there] than a woman's pale, consumptive face, fading, in a paroxysm of self-negation.'⁴⁵⁸ The fading face of the good woman is distinguishable from that of the masturbating woman due to the fact that the good woman is already readable and has no secrets to hide from the reader, whereas the masturbating woman will always eventually betray her secret. Olalla appears to fit the narrator's category of the good woman on two counts, her fading before his eyes and also his perception that she would be wasted, though as before, the male perception and the female vampire's ability to disguise

⁴⁵⁷ Stevenson, (1885), p.153.

⁴⁵⁸ Bram Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-siècle Culture*, (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 1986), p.23.

herself problematise Olalla's position. This leads to a dual perception of Olalla: on the one hand she appears to be the traditionally conceived fading, immobile woman, but on the other, as is repeated within the text, she is the daughter of an afflicted family which confuses her purpose within the text. She is unlike any of the other female characters that appear within the eugenic vampire texts; confusing the reader as to her true purpose, she is neither full vampire, nor can she truly be considered a victim. She sits in a marginal position as she fades from view and yet refuses to enter into a relationship with the narrator; she literally clings to her religious beliefs and yet she talks of issues regarding heredity and evolution with confidence. Olalla is the daughter of a vampire and it is only when the male narrator projects his ideals onto her that she is seen as the traditional type of femininity. It is the narrator's misconception of her that adds to the difficulty of defining her position in the text: through everything, she remains the voice of reason by refusing the narrator's advances.

The narrator also makes a comparison between the earth-bound physical Señora and her heavenly (absent) daughter.

[a]s [the narrator] leaned on the balustrade of the gallery and looked down [...] at the gaily dressed and somnolent woman, who just then stretched herself and delicately licked her lips as in the very sensuality of sloth, my mind swiftly compared the scene with the cold chamber looking northward on the mountains, where the daughter dwelt.⁴⁵⁹

The difference between them is highlighted in their respective compass positions: the mother who is always in the sunshine is in the south of the

⁴⁵⁹ Stevenson, (1885), p.153.

house, in the light and of the earth, whereas Olalla is positioned as the north in the cold. Not needing to always be found in the light, she exists in shadows, barely there. Stevenson's use of the juxtaposed compass positions helps to reveal to the reader the true nature of the mother and daughter; the mother with her love of the sunlight needs the world to be able to see her in all her earthly glory, whereas the daughter is happier in the shadows, letting other people 'steal the spotlight' as it were and exist in the background. Other authors also use a juxtaposition of weather and climate to reveal information about a character, for instance, as previously discussed, when Bella in 'Good Lady Ducayne' is in the relative chill and cold (like the area where Olalla seems to exist) of England, she is safe and healthy, but once she goes to Italy with its warmer weather and the associations with a decadent lifestyle (the position that the Señora takes), she becomes ill.

The good woman is not only seen as an invalid but also in-valid as an individual in her own right, only existing in this world for men to use as a step for their own salvation. In *The Heavenly Twins*, when Evadne refuses to live with her husband after finding out about his past indiscretions, her mother writes to her: '[t]he angels in heaven rejoice over the sinner that repents, and you have before you a task which it should gladden your heart to contemplate.'⁴⁶⁰ Evadne sticks to her morals and at the end of the story is blessed with a better husband and a eugenically acceptable child. Edith, as a direct contrast to Evadne, does not have the same moral outlook as she leads a very different life, one which is 'one long beatific vision, and she was

⁴⁶⁰ Grand, p.87.

unconsciously prepared to resent in her gentle way, and to banish at once, if possible, any disturbing thought that might break in upon it.⁴⁶¹ Edith's outlook on life is the same that dooms her to a deformed baby and madness as she sees herself as the saviour of Menteith (her husband) and believes that she can mend his ways in the same way that Evadne's mother expected of her. The texts under discussion in this thesis comment on this perception that women should be used to accept men's moral failings as a given; while women were arguing for more choice in regards to their relationships. It was also the case that as women campaigned for more access to sexual education, 'men should emulate the moral superiority of women, rather than that the New Woman should have the moral freedoms allowed to men'⁴⁶² meaning that in terms of *fin de siècle* sexual equality, men should learn to be more restrained rather than women becoming promiscuous, a situation that would lead to an end to situations such as Edith's. The case of Edith and Evadne helps us to uncover the workings of the eugenic vampire fiction of the *fin de siècle*, Evadne has the ability to make a rational choice regarding the future she may have because she has been able to educate herself accordingly, whereas Edith, who did not have access to any such information, cannot make the same rational choice, and so pays the consequences for this, whereas Evadne is rewarded at the end of the text with an appropriate husband and healthy child. The same plots are played through in the eugenic vampire fiction as the vampire's actions allow the same rational choice to be made, not necessarily by the other characters but by the reader who is

⁴⁶¹ Grand, p.156.

⁴⁶² Sally Ledger, 'The New Woman and the Crisis of Victorianism', printed in Ledger and McCracken, pp.22-44, p.32.

instructed through the various narratives as to what behaviours were and were not appropriate.

Ethelind in 'The Grave of Ethelind Fionguala' uses the appearance of the undead woman to attack her victims, using the conventional ideal of the passive woman in order to demonise it as no longer desirable: when Ken first enters her house, he states that 'her lovely face and slender lips were pale, and all the paler for the dusky glow of her eyes.'⁴⁶³ Then, as she warms up, taking his health, he describes how 'in her cheeks also appeared a delicate shade of pink. She drew fuller breath, as one who recovers from a long lethargy.'⁴⁶⁴ It is the way in which Ken describes her as coming out of a long illness that reveals her true nature; if she were a true 'good' woman, she would remain in her pale/faded state but because she seems to recover, it is this act that marks her out as disguised as an invalid. Ethelind can be differentiated from Bella as a woman who recovers because where Bella recovers under the strict guidance of a strong and eugenically suitable man in order to maintain her own suitability, Ethelind recovers as she reveals the inherent degeneration that Ken was concealing, therefore, revealing her vampiric purpose. In a way, this mirrors the trial by ducking stool for witches: if she is a good woman she will drown (remain pale) but be secure of a place in heaven, if a witch, she will float (gain health) and therefore be revealed as the 'bad' woman. Transforming herself from the 'good' woman into the vampire who was disguised allows Ethelind to perform her eugenic function within the text, removing the risk to society (Ken) by stealing his 'essence' (as she warms up,

⁴⁶³ Hawthorne, p.133.

⁴⁶⁴ Hawthorne, p.133.

he realises '[i]t was I who had become cold and bloodless'⁴⁶⁵) and thereby leaving him impotent. There was a belief within the late Victorian period that people contained 'a fixed amount of energy or "nerve force" [that was] rapidly exhausted by the pressures of modern life'⁴⁶⁶ and so by removing the finite source of his masculinity, the female vampires are able to carry out their task without worry that, one day, the men will recover and reproduce.

Lady Deverish in 'A Beautiful Vampire' (1896) helps to demonstrate the nature of the disguised un-dead woman and also the dangers of becoming a vampire, though one unable to perform a social function properly, through Arabella Kenealy's satirical tale; Doctor Andrew states that

[Lady Deverish] was dying of consumption [...] Suddenly she began to recover. She made flesh rapidly, gained health [...] Meanwhile, her sister, a schoolgirl, whom she insisted on having always with her, sickened, and died. Then a brother died, then her mother.⁴⁶⁷

And so, instead of dying a 'good' (womanly) death, she becomes a vampire but one who is unable to control her feeding. This death would have assured her a position within the 'good' women bracket but instead she decides she wants to live and so begins to 'steal' the life-forces of her family beginning with her sister and continuing to everyone around her (a traditional vampire conceit whereby husbands or wives and close family fall victims first to the vampire's insatiable hunger and then neighbours and so on). According to Dijkstra, it was possible for supposedly good women to fall from grace if they

⁴⁶⁵ Hawthorne, pp.134-5.

⁴⁶⁶ Jenny Bourne Taylor 'Psychology at the fin de siècle', printed in Marshall, pp.13-30, p.18.

⁴⁶⁷ Kenealy, p.27.

were 'tempted by the delicious enticements of worldly pleasure.'⁴⁶⁸ Lady Deverish does perform a eugenic duty in that she feeds from a degenerate and no longer useful aristocracy, but she also feeds from her servants and, literally, anything she can get her hands on (including her dog) so in this tale, she does have to be stopped as she seems unable to control her feeding habits. Kenealy satirises the position of the invalid woman as inherently parasitic in nature, just as it may be possible to also read the character of Ethelind; by complying with the young Lady Deverish's wishes that she always have her companion by her side, it allowed her to feed from the people (and dog) that surrounded her, sometimes resulting in death and at other times, merely weakening them. Lady Deverish is positioned in the text as a selfish woman who becomes monstrous through her greed and lust for life; as she says to Nurse Marian who is working in conjunction with Dr Andrew, isolating her in order to stop her from feeding on others, "I love being beautiful and rich; I love admiration. I must have admiration!"⁴⁶⁹ Lady Deverish's behaviour is contrasted within the tale with that of Dr Andrew, the putative hero who cures everyone that he can. Kenealy sets up this contrast in order to make the reader question where medicine and eugenics should stop; if everyone that Lady Deverish feeds from is eugenically unsuitable, does this mean that there are no suitable people to breed with? Juxtaposed to this is Dr Andrew who does not know when it might be better to let nature take its course for some of the poorer villagers who have large families that they are unable to care for: giving the impression that this is the one vampire text

⁴⁶⁸ Dijkstra, p.23.

⁴⁶⁹ Kenealy, p.28.

studied here that seems to be anti-eugenics. Lady Deverish is only one of a very few examples at the end of the nineteenth century where the vampire is stopped which bolsters my argument that the parasitic invalid woman had no place in *fin de siècle* society and that it was necessary to remove the 'broken' vampire from the position that they held. Many vampires in the tales published at this time perform their eugenic duty and vanish, for instance Kate in 'John Barrington Cowles' does just this, as does Vardalek in 'A True Story of a Vampire' and so, when a vampire is destroyed, it stands out as an unusual occurrence. With the publication of *Dracula* came an upswing in the importance of 'good' triumphing over 'evil' and it is from this date that a change in vampire fiction is seen to begin; the vampire once again becomes a creature to be feared due to the danger that they represent. Vampires such as Dracula no longer served a useful purpose, instead reflecting fears of being conquered, of being transformed into something monstrous and less than human.

Just as Lady Deverish is an example of the disguised un-dead woman, so she also becomes part of the group of characters that I identify as the un-mother. The un-mother becomes a eugenic tool because in some instances (such as in 'Olalla'), the rational decision is made that it would better serve society if a character decides not to have children, therefore helping to safeguard society for the future. Havelock Ellis used the image of a stream in order to demonstrate how eugenics would work in this way;

when we are able to control the stream at its source [conception] we are able to some extent to prevent the contamination of that stream

by filth, and ensure that its muddy floods shall not sweep away the results of our laborious work on the banks.⁴⁷⁰

By giving the choice of procreation to the female characters, the authors examined within this thesis help to ensure the 'stream' is kept clean in order to guarantee that only suitable people have children. The other type of un-mother that appears within the texts in this thesis are monstrous mothers (vampires) who destroy rather than nurture in a juxtaposition of the traditional view of motherhood and who therefore become the eugenically unsuitable women.

Fanny in 'The Fate of Madame Cabanel' (1880) is something of an unusual case within the texts under discussion. Although the villagers in France where she is living with her new husband see her as a vampire, she is, in fact, the victim of the text (as discussed above). When she kisses the lips of the illegitimate son of her husband and his lover (their housekeeper), it is because her 'heart [was] touched with a mysterious force and prevision of her own future motherhood'⁴⁷¹ but because she ends up with the boy's blood on her lips (he is seriously ill) the villagers burst in and think she has been feeding from him. This example is interesting since the reader is allowed to know that though Fanny is not the vampire in the tale (the village itself is), it can still be read as a eugenic text. Due to the fact that Fanny has chosen to marry a foreigner, she risks the racial purity of society (as a good Englishwoman, she should have remained in England where she could have met a suitable English male to have children with rather than allowing for a possible genetic

⁴⁷⁰ Ellis, p.16.

⁴⁷¹ Linton, p.166.

mix between her 'good' genes and the 'bad' French ones) because through the symbol of her having blood on her lips, she becomes a potential 'blood-sucker' of the health of the race. As Sally Ledger states 'the rise of the Eugenics Movement at the *fin de siècle* meant that discussions about women's role as mothers became entangled with discourses on racial purity and strength.'⁴⁷² This quotation helps to demonstrate why Fanny is punished within the text; at a time when the woman in a prospective relationship also had to make a rational choice regarding whether to have children (it is certain that Fanny is sure of her impending motherhood as the quotation above from the text makes clear by the use of the words 'prevision' and 'future'), Fanny is unable to do this and instead risks the racial purity of her genes by marrying a Frenchman.

Olalla, though appearing pure in spirit and beauty, nevertheless carries degenerate genes so that she swears that 'the race shall cease from off the earth.'⁴⁷³ She is unwilling to allow her defective genetic line to continue and so as a good social purist (unlike the male narrator who is willing to risk degenerating the race by pursuing a relationship with Olalla), she denies her 'most important function' in life in order to do her eugenic duty. Her degenerate genes can be seen through part of the costume that Stevenson describes her as wearing: 'a gold coin, hanging by a ribbon, lay on her brown bosom.'⁴⁷⁴ The coin, at first reading, may appear innocuous enough but when contrasted to the deep religious belief that Olalla displays through her poetry and the way in which she speaks it suddenly becomes note-worthy. It appears

⁴⁷² Ledger, printed in Marshall, p.162.

⁴⁷³ Stevenson, (1885), p.167.

⁴⁷⁴ Stevenson, (1885), p.157.

odd that Stevenson does not have her wearing a crucifix or at least some other Christian symbol. Instead, she is given a coin: a symbol of greed and earthly pleasures, and it is this small detail that reveals that although Olalla may be an example of the good woman due to her strong belief that she should not be allowed to have children, she is still her mother's daughter and therefore carries degenerate genes.

Lady Deverish in her role as un-mother, appears to be a forerunner of the Bloofer Lady from *Dracula* ('A Beautiful Vampire' was published the year before *Dracula*) as she feeds from children, holding her arms 'hungrily'⁴⁷⁵ for them. Lady Deverish is the ultimate anti-mother who destroys rather than nurtures, the selfish woman who takes nourishment rather than giving it, and is more aligned to Lilith or the lamia who, according to the legend, 'was once the beloved of Zeus who was driven insane by Zeus's jealous wife, Hera. Lamia killed her own children and goes about at night killing human children for revenge.'⁴⁷⁶ She is a force of destruction with Dr Andrew (the would-be vampire hunter) warning that she should not be allowed to get her hands on any more children. All of the female characters in this section on the un-mother reveal their unsuitability for parenthood: Fanny's child would be a mix of two races which as discussed earlier, would not be able to fit in with any conditions of life (in accordance with Herbert Spencer's reasoning); Olalla's child would carry the same degenerate genes that have turned her mother into a vampiric creature, and Lady Deverish is unable to nurture, she can only

⁴⁷⁵ Kenealy, p.24.

⁴⁷⁶ Raymond T. McNally and Radu Florescu, *In Search of Dracula: The Enthralling History of Dracula and Vampires*, (London; Robson Books Ltd., 1997), p.118.

destroy future generations. She is the example of the un-mother who is the most dangerous of the instances cited here, as she actively destroys life. The symbol of the un-mother in *fin de siècle* eugenic vampire fiction represents the idea of the rational choice; by refusing to allow degenerate genes to pass on to new generations, the un-mother expresses her knowledge of eugenics and the importance it had in the future of society.

This chapter has discussed the acquisition and transference of knowledge, that similarly to the social purity campaigners of the late nineteenth century, the female vampires have knowledge that marks them as other than the good (pure and ignorant) woman of the time who would have been unaware of many of the issues that the female vampires are aware of. Due to the female vampire's association with eugenics, they are given a knowledge that is frequently sexual in nature. The female vampire is associated with platform women such as Josephine Butler who campaigned for women to have access to better education, especially in regards to sexual health. Butler, like the female vampire, may have been seen as monstrous, but was nevertheless, a necessary evil. The vampire woman may attempt to disguise what she is by appropriating some of the modes of behaviour associated with the good woman, but they will eventually make themselves understandable to the reader in order to make the point that certain behaviours would not constitute a suitable eugenic mate and if these behaviours are identified within the individual reader, then they should refrain from procreating. In this chapter I have argued that depending on the part they play in the various texts under study, the female characters still retain many of the traditional ideals of

femininity, an ideology that was increasingly under pressure through the emerging figures of the professional woman, the New Woman and the socially motivated campaigner and that through these oppositions, they become a champion or a victim of the eugenic cause. The vampire women are able to fulfil their eugenic purposes of keeping society safe from degenerate men by disguising themselves as 'good' women. The vampires utilise some of the standards which were used to judge female worthiness to make themselves appear good (such as the ability to appear as the un-dead woman), only finally becoming truly readable once their eugenic purpose has been completed. This implies a critique of the fantasised figure of the traditional 'pure' woman, created from male standards of worth and goodness, such as those mocked in the character of Talbot Bulstrode because it is demonstrated through the various vampire texts that the 'pure' woman is more knowledgeable than she appears and that this wisdom is used against the degenerate male characters. The female victims that appear in these texts are given a chance to atone for previously unwise behaviour; if they can prove themselves eugenically suitable, then they are given the opportunity to become good wives, and, more importantly, good mothers. The women in these texts mirror the social changes occurring at the *fin de siècle* as it became more the woman's role to make a rational decision when it came to breeding; careful choice was required in their prospective partners in order to avoid a fate like *The Heavenly Twins*' Edith's: ending up insane and with a child who cursed rather than blessed the family tree.

Conclusion

In this thesis I have argued that some of the vampire fiction published during the *fin de siècle* can be read as eugenic tales whereby the victims are not chosen at random but due to some degenerate fault which would make them unsuitable breeding partners. The vampire therefore becomes the weapon of society sent to judge and sterilise the degenerate.

As was stated in the introduction to this thesis, readings of late Victorian vampire fiction have focussed on *Dracula*, much to the detriment of our understanding of other vampire fiction of the same time. I have largely chosen to leave *Dracula* out of this thesis, unless pertinent to the argument, and instead concentrate on much less well-known texts in order to show that though *Dracula* is undoubtedly an important *fin de siècle* text, it does not tell us everything about the vampire fiction of the period and the social concerns it reflects and reveals.

While the vampire is unarguably destructive (all of the tales examined in this thesis have led either to the death or irreversible changes to a personality or at the very least, blood-lettings), unlike earlier - and later - vampire fiction, the destructive vampire does not destroy the innocent; instead, in these stories, the vampire destroys only that which can be deemed harmful to society. The vampire fiction examined here situates itself in a very specific time frame and nothing that came before or since has matched what the writers of the *fin de siècle*'s eugenic vampire fiction achieved. The vampires and victims of the *fin de siècle* fiction, unlike any other time, serve a purpose with the victims

chosen for a specific reason and the vampires being the best vehicle of managing the perceived threat that the victim poses. The reader is not meant to have sympathy for the victim but instead to understand why that person was chosen above the other characters within the texts. Very quickly after 1896, vampire fiction changed; with the publication of *Dracula* and Florence Marryat's *The Blood of the Vampire*, both in 1897, came a change with the vampires themselves. No longer serving a useful purpose, the vampire once again becomes a dangerous creature, one who threatens normality and the innocent. If we consider the character of Glamr in Frank Norris' 'Grettir at Thorhall-Stead' (1903), this vampire is indiscriminately destructive, as the narrator of the tale states, '[t]he low eaves of the house were seized in the grip of strong hands and wrenched and pulled till the rafters creaked. Outhouses were plucked apart and destroyed.'⁴⁷⁷ Glamr's purpose is that of destruction of the innocent farmstead but ends in his destruction at the hands of Grettir who knows what Glamr is and is able to stop him. Uel Key's 'The Broken Fang' (circa 1920 but set during the first World War) features the knowledgeable Professor Arnold Rhymer (a vampire hunter modelled somewhat after Van Helsing in that he seems to have knowledge in many different areas) who details the plan of "a Boche conspiracy"⁴⁷⁸ whereby

the corpses of German soldiers [...] were to be sent over [to England], camouflaged as Egyptian mummies [...] [in order that] fit men of military age were to be attacked by these vampires. This looks as though they were plotting to diminish the strength of our fighting units as well.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁷ Frank Norris, 'Grettir at Thorhall-Stead', (1903), printed in Haining, *The Vampire Omnibus*, (1996), pp.170-186, p.178.

⁴⁷⁸ Uel Key, 'The Broken Fang', (circa 1920), printed in Haining, *The Vampire Hunters' Casebook*, (1996), pp.59-110, pp.91-2.

⁴⁷⁹ Key, pp.107-8.

These two examples of fiction demonstrate that in the wake of *Dracula*, vampire fiction began to display a more standardised format, one that as modern readers we are more used to: that of the vampire hunter – the person who has sufficient knowledge to realise the threat and neutralise it. It is during this period that there is also a rise in the vampire being successfully hunted down and destroyed that was not seen in the time frame I have discussed when many of the vampires were able to leave the scene unharmed in order that they would be able to continue their eugenic purpose with new victims.

Of course, some vampire fiction published after the *fin de siècle* still had eugenic themes but these differed greatly from what had come before. Novels such as *The Blood of the Vampire* by Florence Marryat positioned the vampire as the eugenic danger, rather than the saviour of society. The novel concerns the exploits of Harriet Brand, who is a psychic vampire, but unaware of her condition. Harriet unwittingly feeds from the baby of Margaret Pullen as the baby's "sleep is unnatural [...] She slept all yesterday and has hardly opened her eyes today."⁴⁸⁰ It is Harriet's parentage which marks her as dangerous, as Madame Gobelli tells Harriet in a rage over the dead body of her son: "you're a common bastard, and [...] your mother was a devilish negress, and your father a murderer."⁴⁸¹ It is only at the end of the novel when Harriet realises the full horror of what she is that she kills herself by drinking poison and in the last lines of the novel, in her suicide note writes that '[m]y parents have made me unfit to live. Let me go to a world where the curse of heredity

⁴⁸⁰ Florence Marryat, *The Blood of the Vampire*, (1897), (Brighton; Victorian Secrets Limited, 2010), p.40.

⁴⁸¹ Marryat, p.155.

which they laid upon me may be mercifully wiped out.'⁴⁸² The links between this text and Stevenson's 'Olalla' are not difficult to see; both feature women who are 'cursed' by the hereditary of their family but where Olalla is aware of her curse, Harriet is not and where Olalla denies herself the possibility of future relationships thereby stopping the degenerate line, Harriet, being unaware, marries and ends up killing her husband.

The shift in eugenic necessity comes in the difference between the vampires of Marryat and Stevenson's texts: Harriet is the product of a eugenically unsuitable union; for not only is her father a murderer, her mother is black which combines to create in Harriet, a bi-racial psychic vampire. Her existence demonstrates what would happen if eugenically unsuitable people were to breed together and then shows the consequences of that union. Olalla, though eugenically unsuitable herself, makes a rational decision to allow the degenerate genes she carries stop at her generation, thus securing society's future.

As vampires continued to transform through the nineteenth century, so they have also continued to do so through the twentieth and into the twenty first centuries. While vampires maintain their destructive tendencies, in recent years, there has been an upswing in the number of vampire characters who do not like what they are and try to distance themselves from their monstrous natures, or desire a reversing of their vampirism back to humanity: from the character of Angel in Joss Whedon's television series, *Buffy the Vampire*

⁴⁸² Marryat, p.187.

Slayer (1997-2003) and the spin-off, *Angel* (1999-2004), to Edward Cullen in the *Twilight* (2006-2008) series, and also in more adult television shows such as the characters of Mitchell and Hal in the BBC3 drama, *Being Human* (2008-2013): the very name of the series indicating a desire for a move away from the monstrous back to the 'normal'. It is also worth noting that in all the above series, the vampires have sworn off human blood; Angel and Edward survive on animal blood, Angel drinks his pig's blood from a mug as if it were his morning coffee where Edward does still hunt, but only the animals that live naturally in the forests that surround the Cullen family's very modern, glass encased house. Mitchell and Hal however, have sworn completely off blood in any form, though through the series, both do suffer relapses and an unleashing of their internal monsters which lead to tragedy and a personal sense of disgust and guilt at their inability to resist. These modern vampires contrast greatly with some of the vampires that I have examined here: if we consider the behaviour of the Señora from 'Olalla' and Kate from 'John Barrington Cowles', they both appear to revel in their monstrosity; the Señora stretches in the sunshine in joy at her life of indolent pleasure, and Kate laughs happily to herself when she learns of the death of her former fiancé. Only Vardalek in 'A True Story of a Vampire' seems to share in the modern dislike of his nature, bemoaning "'I must live, I who would rather die. Will God not have any mercy on me?"'⁴⁸³ Vardalek, though, still performs his eugenic role within the text, removing the threat of the young homosexual boy, Gabriel.

⁴⁸³ Stenbock, p.167.

The vampires in this thesis teach the reader, through the apparent enjoyment of what they are, why degenerate persons are not suitable for forming relationships with; since the vampires are the epitome of the degenerate figure, the reader is made immediately aware of the vampire's faults and is enabled to search inwardly for any of the same. The eugenic vampire fiction of the *fin de siècle* forms a safe environment for the authors to explore some of the primary fears of the late nineteenth century: the theory of degeneration, the crisis of masculinity and the fear that women would begin to ask for more knowledge than had previously been thought appropriate as they took a more active role in the safety and future of society.

Word count: 66,946

Appendix 1 – Chronology and Synopsis of Primary Texts

- 1880, Eliza Lynn Linton, 'The Fate of Madame Cabanel'

Fanny, from England, marries Jules, a Frenchman and goes to live with him in his village. The locals are suspicious of her health and believe that she is a vampire. The villagers begin to fall ill, including the illegitimate son of Jules and his housekeeper, Adèle. While Jules is away, a mob of the villagers grab Fanny with the intent of throwing her in a pit. Fanny dies on the way and Jules returns too late to save her. Jules confronts Adèle who was at the front of the mob and she takes the place of Fanny and throws herself into the pit.

- 1884, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, 'John Barrington Cowles'

Robert Armitage, the narrator, tells his story after the action has already happened. He introduces his friend, John Barrington Cowles and narrates how, at an art exhibition, they see Kate Northcott with her current fiancé, Archibald Reeves. Armitage learns that Kate has already been engaged at least once before. One night, Armitage sees Reeves who is both very drunk and ill. Armitage attempts to help Reeves and he reveals that Kate is not necessarily what she appears as he claims that Kate sits at the end of his bed and 'sucks' the manhood from him. After a brief holiday, Cowles and Armitage meet up with each other and Cowles reveals that he is now engaged to Kate. After witnessing Kate 'discipline' her dog with a whip, Cowles asks Armitage if he thinks Kate could be cruel. At an exhibition of mesmerism, Armitage sees Kate exert immense mental influence against the mesmerist in order to retain her control of Cowles. Cowles is asked to visit Kate late one evening and when he returns he is very agitated and states that his engagement is off but will not reveal the full reason why. Cowles is ill for some time and to assist his

convalescence, Armitage takes him on a holiday to the Isle of May. While there, Cowles believes he sees Kate beckoning to him and falls to his death by running off a cliff.

- 1885, Robert Louis Stevenson, 'Olalla'

The nameless male narrator is injured fighting a war in Spain. To aid his healing, he is sent to recuperate with a family in the Spanish countryside who were once noble but who have become both financially and genetically impoverished. At first, the narrator sees only the Señora and her son, Felipe who are both degenerate and so the narrator assumes that the daughter, Olalla will be the same. While exploring one day, the narrator comes across Olalla's room and finds clues that she is not the same as her parent and sibling. When he finally sees Olalla, the narrator declares his love for her but she pushes him away. In frustration, the narrator punches a window and cuts his wrist. Appealing to the Señora for help, she instead bites him and has to be restrained by Felipe. The narrator and Olalla meet for one final time and then they part forever.

- 1886 and 1887, Guy de Maupassant, 'The Horla'

Originally published in French, the nameless narrator sees a ship sail past his house but after waving at it, he begins to feel a sense of unease and illness. He realises that he is being stalked and fed upon by an invisible creature, the Horla. He attempts to escape but fails as his will has been overtaken by the Horla's. The narrator decides that his only course of action is to kill the creature but realises that this will be unlikely to be successful as the Horla appears to be a new evolutionary step. The narrator ultimately resolves to kill himself.

- 1887 and 1888, Julian Hawthorne, 'The Grave of Ethelind Fionguala'

The nameless narrator visits his friend Keningale as he has been acting strangely since his return from a trip to Europe. Ken produces a banjo that had been a gift from the narrator but is now decayed and rotten. Ken then takes over as narrator and explains what happened to him and the banjo. Ken was travelling in Ireland and had made friends with some soldiers at the local fort. They begin to tell the tale of Ethelind who was stolen by vampires on her wedding night. The story is never finished and Ken has to leave. On his way back home, he loses his way and finds himself at Ethelind's grave. There, he encounters a strange woman who calls herself Elsie and she helps him to find his way on the promise of giving her a ring that he wears. Ken realises that he is outside Ethelind's home so decides to play his banjo for her. A key is thrown from an upstairs window and he lets himself into the house. Ethelind is inside, wearing the ring that Ken gave to Elsie, and she feeds from him. When he wakes the next morning, he finds the house is dilapidated and his banjo has become decayed.

- 1894, Count Eric Stenbock, 'A True Story of a Vampire'

Carmela, the narrator, tells the story after the action has already happened. Vardalek, the vampire, comes to their house through the invitation of her father and forms a homosexual relationship with Carmela's brother, Gabriel, who seems more wild animal than human. Gabriel begins to waste away and eventually dies. Vardalek disappears and is never seen again and not long after this, Carmela's father dies of grief. Carmela opens an animal sanctuary in memory of her brother.

- 1896, Mary Elizabeth Braddon, 'Good Lady Ducayne'

Bella and her mother are very poor so Bella determines to get a job. Lady Ducayne employs her as a companion and takes her to Italy. Once they have arrived, Dr Parravicini begins to bleed Bella and transfuse her blood to Lady Ducayne in order to try to prolong her life. Bella makes friends with Lotta and Herbert who is a newly qualified doctor. Herbert realises that Bella has been bled and confronts Lady Ducayne and Dr Parravicini. Lady Ducayne consents to let Bella to leave and she also gives her £1000 so that she can marry Herbert.

- 1896, Arabella Kenealy, 'A Beautiful Vampire'

Lord Syfret hears of the attempted murder of Lady Deverish by Dr Andrew. Syfret decides to send Nurse Marian to investigate. Marian discovers that Lady Deverish has been psychically feeding on her entire household and has already killed two husbands with her voracious appetite. Nurse Marian and Dr Andrew put Lady Deverish into isolation in order to stop her and she eventually dies.

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