

EMBODIED MONSTERS:
FROM FEAR TO DOMESTICATION IN GOTHIC
MONSTER LITERATURE

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Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate College of the
Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for
the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
December, 2020

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MONSTER LITERATURE

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to pay special thanks to my dissertation committee: Drs. Tim Murphy, Martin Wallen, and Lindsay Wilhelm. They provided invaluable feedback and saw countless drafts as I worked through my ideas until I could settle on what it was about the Gothic that drew my interest. Without their support, this project would have taken a much different direction. I would also like to thank Josiah Meints, Dillon Hawkins, and Alex Hughes for their friendship and support throughout my entire PhD program.

I would also like to express my gratitude to Megan Riddle, my loving wife whose scheduling skills and support kept me on track and motivated. She allowed me to focus on my writing and research at the cost of personal sacrifice and picking up my slack. I cannot put into words how much she helped. And lastly, I would like to thank my parents for believing in me, for never giving up whenever I changed majors, and for teaching me the value of education and hard work.

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Date of Degree: DECEMBER, 2020

Title of Study: EMBODIED MONSTERS: FROM FEAR TO DOMESTICATION IN
GOTHIC MONSTER LITERATURE

Major Field: ENGLISH

Abstract: This dissertation argues that over the course of the long nineteenth century, Gothic antagonists moved from supernatural but disembodied beings into more physically monstrous entities. The shift to monster follows traceable lines as the Gothic monster drifted from beings of terror to beings of horror. Directly related to the movement from terror to horror, we find that Gothic monsters become more physically present, and their bodies become sites of meaning and power. With an embodied self, the monster becomes capable of more physical harm. However, such a physical body brings with it a powerful negative characteristic. When protagonists encounter an embodied monster, they can impose meaning onto the monster. They can classify and apply pre-existing taxonomies onto the monster, rendering the monster knowable and, eventually, defeatable.

After defining key terms and foundational frameworks in the introduction, Chapter One explores the evolution of the monster in Gothic poetry from the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries. Chapter Two focuses more closely on a singular monster: the vampire. Tracing the literary history of the vampire from its Eastern European folkloric roots, through the nineteenth century, I explore how the vampire evolves through time to become more autonomous and powerful, but also more defeatable. The end of Chapter Two argues that once a monster loses some of its ability to inspire fear, society will begin to domesticate the monster until, as seen in *Twilight* or *The Vampire Diaries*, the monster becomes our romantic partner. Chapter Three builds off the previous two chapters, exploring how Robert Louis Stevenson's *Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* plays with the embodied monster in atypical ways. Then, the chapter moves on to explore how stage and screen adaptations of Stevenson's work represent the monster in a visual medium.

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CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

Gothic Fears and Domesticating Monsters

The field of Gothic Studies has made a turn in recent years to an exploration of supernatural folkloric myths and the allegorical power such mythic monsters represent. Scholarship addressing representation of race, sexual deviance, Catholicism, and the Uncanny in Gothic fiction have had a renaissance of late¹. This fascination with the Gothic monster and its ability to invoke fear while representing some allegorical anxiety, both contemporary and modern, led to the major themes present here. This dissertation argues that supernatural Gothic antagonists evolve in definable ways through time, each evolutionary step in accordance with the time period in which the antagonist appears. Because the term monster does not apply to all early Gothic antagonists or folkloric creatures, I will address them as Gothic antagonists until the turn to the more monstrous occurs sometime in the late Romantic period. Supernatural Gothic antagonists largely begin as disembodied ghosts or specters, haunting residents of castles and reinforcing the idea that the past cannot die. In early Gothic texts, wrongdoings perpetrated by a protagonist or by one's ancestors will return to haunt the family until restitutions are made. Good triumphs, but only because the antagonist enacts justice against wrongdoers and rectifies past errors. For early Gothic literature, the antagonist frequently avoids defeat. This has to do with

¹ The March 2020 issue of *Gothic Studies* was a special issue on "Gothic Folklore and Fairy Tale." Jack Halberstam has written on the Gothic body as a site of meaning. Jarlath Killeen writes extensively on the Gothic novel and the monstrous Other, as does Diane Long Hoeveler, Markman Ellis, and Peter Garrett

how well defined the antagonist is. A ghost who haunts a hallway terrifies readers and characters alike, but ridding the castle of it may prove difficult. A late-Victorian vampire, on the other hand, is bound by rules and classifications and can thus be defeated by using those very rules against them. The most effective way to classify a supernatural antagonist is through identifying bodily features that mark it as Other. Thus, a character's embodiment is key not only to its own understanding of itself but also the ability for others to understand it.

Embodiment is a key term in this dissertation. Embodiment is different from merely possessing a body. Some early antagonists have a body and are thus corporeal. They have a physical presence; all it takes to be corporeal is possess a body. Corporeality, however, does not equate with being embodied. Hannah Cowley's "INVOCATION TO HORROR" and Ann Radcliffe's "Night" both feature personified but disembodied concepts. Both HORROR and Night have some form of corporeality, as HORROR sits on a throne and Night has steps and a voice. However, neither of these characters use their bodies, and they are not described. We merely infer their corporeality because they sit on thrones or can take steps and have a voice. Personifying a concept allows poets to treat the concept as human while leaving the concept abstract. Night, as a concept, is broad. Personifying it gives it some semblance of structure and makes describing it easier, though it lacks any definite properties.

When antagonists eventually become embodied, their physical form serves a strong purpose in their monstrosity and characterization. An embodied being's physical body is meaningful to its characterization in a number of ways. In the case of supernatural antagonists, embodiment reflects a monstrous appearance or physique as well as the different functions that body is capable of. Embodiment determines what ways the antagonist may threaten or harm the protagonist, what damage can be done, and even what defenses the embodied character has. These may present as claws, teeth, fangs, shapeshifting abilities or hypnotic powers; there are many ways embodiment appears in the Gothic monster. Very often, these embodied examples of the exceptional, non-normative body appear in physically perceptive ways, allowing those who see the body to identify it

as Other. Once the embodiment becomes fully fleshed out, so to speak, the antagonist's motivations become more complex.

Throughout the dissertation, I focus on texts with supernatural antagonists. Early Gothic antagonists with supernatural origins are often not monstrous in appearance. As time progress and embodiment increases, I will shift terms from supernatural antagonist to monster, as the monstrosity manifests itself more physically via the embodied Other. With increased embodiment, the antagonist's effectiveness as a representative of societal evils increases. The ability of a monster to invoke horror directly relates to their embodiment. Paradoxically, with an embodied monster, protagonists gain the ability to identify, define, and categorize the monster. This knowledge and taxonomy of monstrosity, in turn, allows the protagonists to defeat the antagonist and assuage the concerns of the societal anxieties which the monster represents. The representation of social concerns via the evolution of the Gothic antagonist into embodied monsters serves as the primary focus of my dissertation. As the Gothic monster's threat to protagonists increases proportionally to the increase in its embodiment, the monster becomes identifiable and, thus, defeatable. Only when protagonists can recognize the monster and define its monstrous traits can they find ways to defeat it. The more embodied the monster is, the harder it is for it to hide and avoid detection and classification. Early Gothic antagonists who lack embodiment often avoid defeat. Some outright succeed and live on to harm again. This is an inherent contradiction of the genre: the more threatening and physically damaging an antagonist may be, the higher the chance the protagonists have at defeating it.

Like all scholars of Gothic literature, I find it necessary to provide a brief definition of the Gothic that operates in this dissertation. To aid in the defining process, I use the following Gothic texts as exemplary case studies: *Frankenstein* by Mary Shelley, *Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* by Robert Louis Stevenson, *The Picture of Dorian Gray* by Oscar Wilde, and *Dracula* by Bram Stoker. These popular Gothic narratives, spanning almost 150 years of literary works, provide a good sample of common elements throughout the history of the Gothic. They also allow for a glimpse into the overarching stages within the Gothic monster's evolution from the Romantic--era Gothic up

through the end of the Victorian period. After defining and exploring classic Gothic elements and the defining hypotheses upon which this dissertation is founded, I will provide an outline for the three chapters in this dissertation.

Etymology of the Gothic

Long before *Gothic* became associated with ghost stories and monsters, the term had connections to a violent and uncivilized past. Early in its history, people associated the word *Gothic* with “the frost-cramped strength, the shaggy covering, and the dusky plumage of the northern tribes” (Varma 10), the Goths, whose name was later appropriated for the genre. *Gothic* was synonymous with “archaic, uncouth, . . . barbarous” (Varma 11). During the Renaissance, however, the savagery associated with the Middle Ages began to taper off as society became temporally removed enough to find a certain nostalgic charm in the past. This caused a “shift of emphasis in literature from ‘decorum’ to ‘imagination,’ and ‘Gothic’ ceased to have entirely a derisive implication” (Varma 11). This nostalgia for the Middle Ages shifted *Gothic* from barbarous and savage to the romantic and the supernatural. The supernatural and romantic Gothic tales became quite popular for their ability to excite readers.

One way Gothic stories titillate involves obscuring the supernatural, which forces readers to fill in the gaps with their own imaginations. A visible monster is horrifying, but it will be nowhere near as scary as the one the readers imagine, the mostly hidden “thing” onto which they impose their own worst fears. In this way, using the readers’ own imaginations against them, Gothic narratives serve as a means to reduce common anxieties and overcome fears. The reader imposes their own fears onto the monster, often with the aid of the author, as the plot and monstrous body often represent some cultural anxiety. Then, as the protagonist works to understand and defeat the monster, readers envision themselves doing the same and can piece together an imaginary solution to handle a real-world analog for this monstrous situation.

Despite being saturated with supernatural elements, be they gods, ghosts, monsters, or devils, Gothic narratives tend to locate those supernatural entities in the real world. Gothic narratives do not take

place in space or some alternate universe; they take place in real locations with ordinary people who find themselves face-to-face with supernatural forces. Gothic novels attempt to address contemporary issues that weighed heavy on the hearts and minds of the general populace by providing readers a chance to see how others in their same situations might react and overcome. One of the biggest and most prevalent concerns in Gothic literature is the idea that evil, in the form of threats to one's mortal life and one's immortal soul, exists in the world and can be hard to discern or recognize. Throughout Gothic literature's course of development, supernatural antagonists become more defined, as the chapters of this dissertation will address. An antagonist that lacks corporeal and embodied properties cannot be defeated, as there is no way to understand and therefore overcome them. Only through knowing and recognizing the monster, its bodily form and powers, can one defeat it.

Identifying Evil in the Monstrous Body

Throughout much of Gothic literature, evil often appears easily identifiable through physiognomic descriptions. Evil is often harder to identify in the real world. As Bridget Marshall writes, "Perhaps the most frightening truth about evil is the fact that in real-life it is often disguised, and rarely appears as immediately visible as in the case of the most famous of vampires" (161). To support the claim that real evil is harder to see than fictional evil, many Gothic authors write much about the identifying characteristics and appearances of evil, as well as the dangers of not recognizing it soon enough. This operates as an effective means to produce fear in readers.

As embodiment increases, evil appears via facial features and other bodily abnormalities. These features, largely found in Victorian Gothic, include sharp teeth, unruly eyebrows, yellow eyes, hairy palms (a folkloric sign of masturbation and, therefore, sexual deviance), and deformed limbs or hunched backs. By the late Victorian period, the Gothic monster had evolved to be embodied but also identifiably monstrous. Such monstrosity and deformity in Gothic texts would be literal and definable: Frankenstein's creature's yellow skin and watery eyes; Carmilla's fish-tooth; Dracula's sharp teeth, pointy ears, and hairy palms. Bridgett M. Marshall writes, "If beautiful faces are irresistible, presumably evil faces should be repellent" (167). In *Dracula*, Jonathan Harker describes

the Count quite thoroughly. Harker's "extended description of Dracula is not only textbook phrenology, but is 'based directly upon Cesare Lombroso's account of the born criminal'" (Marshall 167). In the mid-nineteenth century, phrenology and physiognomy were rather prominent, new cutting-edge sciences that claimed to understand the unambiguous link between physical appearance and morality. By the end of the century, however, the two cutting-edge sciences were losing favor and earning a reputation for being pseudo-sciences rather than objectively reliable methods; the link between appearance and morality turned out to be more ambiguous than scientists had thought. Harker and Mina describe people using specific terms and elements from those pseudosciences, but they both fail to recognize the implications of such descriptors. They notice Dracula's features but fail to recognize that such features mark him as evil or monstrous. Regardless of society's view of the pseudosciences, one thing remains clear: "the monster's power to inspire terror, awe, wonder, and divination was being eroded by science, which sought to classify and master rather than revere the extraordinary body" (Garland Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies*, 57). Science's attempt to define and classify monsters removed some of their terror, and it made the monsters defeatable. In real-world Victorian England, however, the sciences often failed and late-Victorian texts reflect this scientific failing.

Dorian Gray is a prime example of hidden evil. "*Dorian Gray* presents a villain whose sins are not apparent on his face. This utterly confuses Dorian's friends and acquaintances, who truly believe that a villain must have a villainous appearance" (Marshall 168). The supernatural portrait changes its appearance instead of Dorian's face. Many people are familiar with Dorian Gray as a person, but he does not appear to be a drug abuser or murderer. He has the face of a good person (Marshall 166). If Dorian the person looked like Dorian the portrait, people would shudder at his sight and stay away from him, similar to the reactions people have when Edward Hyde shows up (Stevenson 51). These Gothic antagonists were able to disguise their true selves in order to conceal their evil, passionate sides. Monsters blending in and disappearing forces readers to confront the idea

that evil may not appear easily in the real world; sometimes, the monster lies beneath the surface, a terrifying prospect to contemporary readers.

Suspense and Fear

The Gothic antagonist's ability to shapeshift or hide builds suspense. Even when the protagonist does not house the villain or monster inside his psyche, as in *Jekyll/Hyde* and *Dorian Gray*, antagonists frequently hide or obscure themselves. Readers must create the monster in their own heads, increasing the suspense they feel. To prevent the monster from being too visible or definable, Gothic authors keep the monster hidden through the narrative structure itself. Suspense and terror grow as authors use narrative shifts, both in chronological time and point of view, to keep readers guessing.

Gothic novels obscure monstrosity and plot details in order to build the terror and engage readers' imaginations. When a story's point of view changes between characters, "we may be given a good picture of the origins of a conflict. We are shown how differently the various characters view the same facts" (Bal 148). Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* begins by focusing on Prince Manfred and his story. However, as the novel progresses, readers follow Matilda, Isabella, and Hippolita. Each of these characters provides some new insight to the situation and move the plot along. Readers also pick up exposition and backstory from Father Jerome and his son Theodore. As the individual narratives unfold, a picture emerges. The narratives overlap until all voices are heard. These overlapping narratives fill in any gaps and answer any questions the other characters' stories may leave, until readers understand the narrative as complete and resolved.

Walpole, father of the Gothic novel, established a precedent of point-of-view shifts to build suspense and withhold the complete narrative until all parties involved need to know. This precedent carried on throughout much of Gothic literature, supporting Mieke Bal's concept of shifting focal points. In each of these classic Gothic novels discussed so far, the point-of-view shifts between multiple parties in an attempt to paint a complete picture of the events. Peter Garrett extends this idea in his discussion about *Frankenstein*. "As we have seen, presenting or projecting multiple versions is

the main way Gothic fiction reflects on narrative; here, by endowing the creature with speech, *Frankenstein* reflexively heightens its formal drama, lodging at the center of the novel an account whose perspective forcefully contests the authority of the one that frames it” (85). *Frankenstein* begins as a frame story with a Captain Walton captaining a ship in the far north. The next morning, the captain and crew pick up a nearly frozen wanderer, Victor Frankenstein. The captain, and through him the reader, listens to Victor’s story: his quest to reanimate a dead corpse and how he rejected “the demoniacal corpse” on first glance (Shelley 57). As the novel continues, readers learn of the same events through the creature’s narrative, which Victor heard firsthand. Readers first encounter the captain’s point of view, followed quickly by Victor’s, and finally the creature’s. These various points of view provide a clear, mostly complete, but deeply conflicted narrative. Readers must choose who is more sympathetic, Victor or the creature. Providing the clearest possible narrative affords readers the best chance at making an educated choice. At the end of the novel, Dr. Frankenstein dies, and the captain finishes Victor’s story. The captain sees and hears the creature mourning over Frankenstein’s body. Readers discover the conclusion to this epic story via Captain Walton, who fittingly began the narrative as well. The frame is complete, and the points of view fill in the picture within the frame.

What sets *Frankenstein* apart from many Gothic narratives is that “it includes the monster’s story” (Garrett 85). Later Gothic will return to this meaningful inclusion. The ability for the monster to tell its own tale is an important step in domestication, giving it a voice and a chance to reason and explain its motivations. However, an articulate monster is also important for embodiment. As embodiment concerns itself with understanding how a body works and what limits it has, hearing the creature’s tale allows us to know him in ways only he knows himself. Stevenson’s *Jekyll/Hyde* does the opposite, where we never hear Hyde’s side of things. He remains obscured, hidden away by Jekyll’s narrative. This inclusion of the monster’s narrative allows readers to think a little more deeply about the novel’s monster, something necessary if the author intends the monster to be sympathetic, as Shelley does.

While many think the monstrous embodiment must represent the monstrous character, many argue that Victor is the real monster. Peter Garrett Writes, “For modern readers, whose reception of *Frankenstein* is inevitably mediated through the many popular versions of its story, the surprise of this moment is much greater” (85). This has become common in modern discussions of the novel, that the creature is not the monster. Shelley’s inclusion of the monster’s own voice, though mediated through Victor’s retelling, allows readers to sympathize with the creature and see Victor’s flaws. Mieke Bal claims that multiple points of view can, in fact, alter readers’ perception and provide room for doubts: “This technique can result in neutrality towards all the characters. Nevertheless, there is usually not a doubt in our minds which character should receive most attention and sympathy” (148). In most fiction, the protagonist is easy to identify, but sometimes a novel with alternating points of view can make readers question. True, the creature murdered innocents and is aware that such actions are wrong (Shelly 210), but he also shows remorse. The creator abhorred his creation, leaving him to fend for himself alone in an unfriendly and judgmental world and, which ultimately, left the creature similarly jaded; Victor Frankenstein showed no remorse even in death.

Jekyll/Hyde also employs this classic Gothic element of points-of-view switches to establish and maintain the suspense plot. *Jekyll/Hyde* begins with Misters Utterson and Enfield talking on a walk. Utterson becomes the main focus for most of the story, but we get parts of the narrative from Dr. Lanyon in letters and Dr. Jekyll himself (in the end). It is not until the very end of the novella that the reader is told that Hyde, the clear villain of the story, is in fact Dr. Henry Jekyll. Modern readers have been stripped of the experience of this classic literary twist due to the popularity of the narrative and its popular culture significance (C. King 158), but readers at the time *Jekyll/Hyde* first appeared would have had no idea that Jekyll was Hyde and vice versa.

Jekyll/Hyde’s narrative pieces all fit together perfectly, like “pieces of a puzzle or mechanism. Thus . . . Enfield’s ‘Story of the Door’ meshes with Utterson’s knowledge of both Jekyll’s house and will to trigger his ‘Search for Mr. Hyde’” (Garrett 105). These little vignette-like stories all come together to give readers the whole story, piece by piece, until the moment when Dr.

Lanyon reveals to Utterson through his posthumous letter that Jekyll is Hyde; Readers learn that truth, but they do not receive the how or why until the last chapter: “Henry Jekyll’s Full Statement of the Case.” And while some critics question the veracity of Jekyll’s full statement (Linehan xii), and rightly so, Jekyll’s full statement supposedly “gathers up the threads of the preceding episodes . . . and joins them in a continuous, intelligible series” (Garrett 107). Even with all of these point-of-view shifts, arguably the most important narrative does not appear: Edward Hyde’s. Hyde’s missing narrative furthers Linehan’s claim that Jekyll’s “full statement” is incomplete². There remain hidden truths that readers, and the characters in the novel, are not privy to. Part of the suspense comes from the ending of the novel; much is left unsaid and remains hidden, compelling the reader to speculate imaginatively.

Dracula is an epistolary novel, written as journal entries, phonograph transcriptions, and letters between characters in the novel. *Dracula* has multiple points of view, with many characters engaging in the events of the narrative at the same time in various locations. Part of what makes these different narrators interesting is that they are all very different in their age, gender, and occupation. We meet an old professor, young women, a middle-aged solicitor, a nobleman, aristocrats, doctors, a lawyer, and a real American cowboy. The primary voice missing is Count Dracula’s. Leaving out Dracula’s voice renders him unable to garner sympathy. Unlike Frankenstein’s creature, who readers learn to accept and sympathize with, Stoker’s vampire must not become sympathetic. He can be knowable and defeatable, but readers cannot and should not sympathize with him. Readers learn about the vampire from multiple sources, thus adding to his mystery. Dracula’s actions and even appearance are different around Jonathan Harker than they are around Mina, thus allowing Harker and Mina to give readers different descriptions of him. Readers cannot fully describe or envision Dracula because the accounts of his appearance differ as frequently as he alters his shape. Dracula as

² Peter Garrett, however, believes this is because Hyde “would never tell it. Frankenstein’s creature actively seeks the chance to tell his story. . . . Hyde has nothing to gain, nothing to explain” (121). Hyde is also an extension of Jekyll, and therefore present in everything Jekyll writes. We do not get Hyde’s voice because Jekyll’s writing is filtered by Hyde.

monster represents a number of late-Victorian fears and anxieties. The novel's multiple point-of-view shifts through its epistolary form keep the vampire hidden, obscured.

To briefly sum up the introduction thus far, Gothic literature is a tool to help readers confront and overcome social and personal anxieties. Monsters represent these anxieties by causing fear. Gothic narratives use myriad tools to accomplish this, including building suspense through shifting points-of-view and time in the novel to piece together, slowly, the whole story, and through blending the natural with the supernatural, the real with the surreal, in order to create dark but powerful images.

Key Terms and Hypotheses

I have structured this dissertation upon the foundation of two overlapping hypotheses, both of which involve and demonstrate the evolution of the Gothic antagonist from personified or disembodied entity to an embodied monster. The first hypothesis involves the physical body of Gothic-literature antagonists and how those bodies change throughout the nineteenth century. The second hypothesis, related to bodily evolution, involves the domestication of the Gothic monster in late- and post-nineteenth century Gothic narratives. Following is a definition of these two related hypotheses and an explanation of how I apply them in the dissertation to further my argument that the fear created by Gothic antagonist shifts from terrifying depictions of personified concepts to horrifying monsters. These, in turn, undergo a domestication, eventually becoming admirable or romanticized.

Modern Scholars apply theories of embodiment in various fields, including feminist studies, queer studies, disability studies, and many Marxist studies. For studies in literature, embodiment functions similar to these other fields. The key point is that having a body is not enough to define an entity as embodied. For something or someone to be fully embodied, the body must serve as a site of experience and be a defining characteristic. "Although embodiment sometimes serves as a synonym for corporeality—the state of living in/through/ as a body— . . . scholars have tended to use the term in relation to phenomenology, the philosophical study of conscious experience from an individual

person's subjective perspective" (Wilkerson 67). The individual and conscious experience are the keys to understanding the difference between corporeality and embodiment.

An embodied character has enough individuality and self-awareness to move, think, or act; the embodied character can function within a given society, but it also functions outside of society as well. The embodied character's actions are not dependent on external governing forces, though they understand what expectations society places on them, and they possess the ability to fit into society should they find themselves needing to. This individual experience of embodiment allows embodied characters to know how their body fits into society. Embodied characters must also understand what limitations and benefits their body affords them.

Embodiment determines what activities an entity can and cannot perform with its own body. It even determines whether the entity is sentient enough to understand the limitations. Dogs have no opposable thumbs, and therefore cannot grasp a container of food or toy. Dogs also see their owners using their hands in precisely this way. We do not see dogs getting frustrated at their failed attempts to pick things up, however. They have enough embodiment to realize that their mouths can grasp and move objects well enough. Humans see birds flying and know that they themselves cannot fly, but humans can use their bodies to swim, walk, dance, run, etc.³. Humans also develop languages and communicate their thoughts, feelings, and ideas with each other. Embodied characters must understand the physical limits or constraints of their physical body. Embodied characters are more than merely a body. They are a self-actualized being who knows how best to manipulate their physical self as a tool.

The embodiment of society plays an important part in the definition and evolution of the Gothic monster, especially the Victorian monster. According to Jack Halberstam, who has written on Gothic embodiment in the Victorian monster, "Victorian monsters produced and were produced by an

³ It is not my intention to promote any kind of ableist agenda in this discussion of embodiment. Differently abled human bodies are still fully capable of embodiment. What matters for my discussion is that the antagonist has a body, however non-normative it may be, and that the antagonist understands how to access the full limits of its physical capabilities, however supernatural they may be. See footnote 4 for more.

emergent conception of the self as a body which enveloped a soul, as a body, indeed, enthralled to its soul” (149). This is an important claim as it pertains to embodiment. Clearly pre-Victorian peoples understood that they had a body in the sense of a physicality or corporeal nature. However, it was not until the Victorian conception of the “self as a body” and the body enslaved by the soul that the body became critical as a piece of self-identification. More than merely having a body, the Victorian people became their bodies; they understood themselves to be a thinking and feeling brain with a physical body that houses their soul.

Literature of the nineteenth century reflects society’s fascination with the body; so does the popularity of the freakshow, something Rosemarie Garland Thomson’s book *Freakery* explains in great detail. Garland Thomson illuminates the nineteenth-century fascination with freak shows, spectacles which place exceptional⁴ bodies on display against which the general public could justify their own sense of normativity. “What seems clearest in all this, however, is that the extraordinary body is fundamental to the narratives by which we make sense of ourselves and our world” (Garland Thomson, “From Wonder to Error,” 90). Readers cannot learn who they are physically without juxtaposing themselves against some exceptional body. The body, or more accurately the normative body, becomes a standard against which all other bodies are measured.

Society defines what behaviors and bodies it will accept. The industrial revolution played a major part in the embodiment of society and its focus on how normal and exceptional bodies function in a technologically developing country. Garland Thomson claims “The changes in production, labor, technology, and market relations that we loosely call industrialization redeployed and often literally reconfigured the body” (Garland Thomson, “From Wonder to Error,” 96). As people’s bodies became more important in the workplace⁵, a greater emphasis was placed on bodies everywhere, including

⁴ A term Garland Thomson uses and which I will use occasionally in the dissertation. For Garland Thomson, exceptional bodies is a positive term to discuss “non-normative bodies” (90).

⁵ Machinery standardizes the production of many mass-produced goods, and it also standardizes the bodily movements and skills workers must use to operate it. Consequently, when the worker’s body fails to perform the movements correctly, machinery produces Industrial accidents, which played a large part in embodying Victorian England. Machinery brought new kinds of bodily harm and mutilation.

literature and public spectacles like the freakshows Garland Thomson's book addresses. The self and the Other exist in tandem, as monstrous twins. The Other exists only in relation the self. It is a "twin, born . . . beside him and at the same time, in an identical newness, in an unavoidable duality" (Foucault 326). This relation between the self and the monstrous Other plays a critical role in Gothic literature due to the Gothic's ability to provide readers a means to confront social anxieties. The monstrous body acts as a site of contention, a thing on which readers may impose their own feelings or insecurities. "Indeed, the word monster—perhaps the earliest and most enduring name for the singular body—derives from the Latin *monstra*, meaning to warn, show, or sign, and which has given us the modern verb demonstrate" (Halberstam 92). Society and literature both use the monstrous Other to de-monstrate, as Halberstam puts it, how exactly a normative body should look via a juxtaposition of an exceptional or monstrous body.

In the case of the embodied monster, the monstrosity appears via their bodily representation, often through external signifiers. While visual adaptations of the exceptional body may explicitly depict monstrosity via visual deformity, disability, race, or gender, the body of the literary monster contains monstrous physical exceptions as its primary markers. Bram Stoker spends many words explaining the unsettling features of Dracula's body. He describes the thin lips, the sharp teeth, and the hairy palms (Stoker 23-24). Mary Shelley, too, has Victor Frankenstein describe the painstaking care he took to choose the creature's features, as well as the monstrosity of the creature's yellow eyes and pale skin once he was enlivened (Shelley 35-36). These features are not meaningless descriptors to the embodied monster. Dracula's sharp teeth allow him to feed on blood. Frankenstein's creature uses his perfectly muscular physique and superhuman endurance to relentlessly chase Victor across frozen wastelands and exact his revenge (Shelley 160). The monster takes advantage of its monstrous physical markers. The markers allow the monster to be monstrous in look and deed.

Jack Halberstam writes of the embodied monster as a being that commits crimes: "In the Gothic, crime is embodied within a specifically deviant form—the monster—that announces itself

(de-monstrates) as the place of corruption” (Halberstam 149). It is no coincidence that as the monster’s embodiment increases, the ability to act out contrary to society’s expectations increases, too. The embodiment of the Gothic monster does not occur all at once. It is a gradual shift with a handful of steps beginning with disembodied entity with no physical presence, all the way up to fully embodied and monstrous Other. Before the supernatural Gothic antagonists became embodied, they appeared as personified concepts or as ephemeral noises in the night: largely lacking physicality or corporeality. As times change, the embodiment slowly increases. Ghosts, often considered ethereal, still have a specific visual form in many cases. They appear human and float about through walls or down hallways. So while they may lack a physical body, their body appears as well-defined shape, even if it lacks any tactile function. A ghost can haunt and perturb, but it cannot steal, rape, murder, blackmail, or commit any other evil act requiring a body. Ghosts mark an early stage in the evolution from no physicality at all to embodied and monstrous body.

In the nineteenth century, the Gothic antagonist grew in popularity as it also became more embodied and monstrous. Perhaps the three most well-known Gothic narratives in modern society are Shelley’s *Frankenstein*, Stevenson’s *Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, and Stoker’s *Dracula*. Aside from being staples in popular culture and common knowledge in society, all three are fully embodied monsters. “Dracula, Jekyll/ Hyde, and even Frankenstein’s monster before them are lumpen bodies, bodies pieced together out of the fabric of race, class, gender, and sexuality” (Halberstam 150). The monster allows readers time to reflect on their own selves and how their own bodies exist inside the changing society of Victorian England. Halberstam writes, “The monsters of the nineteenth century metaphorized modern subjectivity as a balancing act between inside– outside, female– male, body– mind, native– foreign, proletarian– aristocrat” (148). It is easy to find scholarship addressing Count Dracula as a female or queer character, for instance, but equally easy to

find scholarship treating him as an invading imperialist or a reverse colonizer⁶. His monstrous body serves as a metaphor for many fears, both contemporary and modern. Without Dracula's ability to change his shape and form, into a wolf or a supernatural mist, we would not be able to say he is embodied. He possesses a body which can become whatever he needs it to be, and he wields that power to best suit his goals. The ability for the Gothic monster to manipulate its body as an object of fear correlates directly with the narrative's approach to the embodied Other. A person who can turn into an animal at will or dissipate into a cloud of mist might be a superhero protagonist in another text. The threat or celebration of the exceptional body depends upon how the character chooses to employ its embodied self, either to benefit the greater good or exact its own, often selfish, designs.

The Gothic monster's embodiment brings with it one other factor which serves a basis for Chapter One's discussion and which carries throughout the dissertation. Namely, the Gothic monster evolves from a being of terror to a being of horror as the embodiment increases. The division between terror (fear that inspires imagination and thoughtfulness through obscuring the object of fear) and horror (fear that stifles imagination by showing or uncovering the object of fear) is well defined in Gothic scholarship. Typically, the distinction between horror and terror relies on a combination of Edmund Burke's definitions of the sublime and Ann Radcliffe's application of Burke to Gothic literature. Terror and horror correlate with disembodiment and embodiment, respectively. The disembodied monster lacks a physical form, or at least a monstrous and actualized body⁷. As such, its ability to inspire fear comes from terror. Readers will imagine what supernatural agent might be making the noise at midnight or what they think the protagonist saw moving out of the corner of their eye. A creature without a body can more easily hide in shadow, either literally or metaphorically. As the body becomes more important, as the monstrous Other becomes embodied, its ability to remain obscured largely vanishes. The embodied self is a physically present and powerful self, one that exists

⁶ See: *Ethnography* (Moretti, Warren, Arata, Viragh); *Imperialist Ideologies* (Moretti, Arata, Keogh, Said); *Medicine* (Madbak, Freud, Gelder); *Criminality* (Bhabha, Thorslev, Matthew, Marshall); *Discourses of Degeneration and Evolution* (Thorslev); *Feminism* (Senf, Brennan, Lorrain, Mai).

⁷ Occasionally, a personified concept will appear with a hint of physicality but without any kind of embodiment.

in a clearly-defined form in the reader's mind. When the antagonist has a physical and embodied self, they become much harder to hide in shadow. The wondering or imaginative exercises of the terrifying monster disappear with the arrival of horror, i.e. staring a monster in the face. Readers, through the protagonist's eyes, fully see the monster in its often-hideous form.

Along with the physical danger of a monster increasing in relation to its embodiment, just as a ghost can haunt but a vampire can kill, the ability for protagonists to inscribe meaning onto the monstrous body increases. The capacity for someone to defeat a monster requires an embodied and definable (read: horrific, not terrific) monster. As such, defeatability is inextricably connected to embodiment. A prime example of this occurs in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*. Abraham Van Helsing provides a scientific, catalogued list of all of Dracula's powers and weaknesses. The other characters in the novel use Van Helsing's list to track down and defeat Dracula for good. Once the monster can be boxed in, fixed into a category and bound by definitions, protagonists will more easily defeat them. Of course, other literary examples exist to prove the point. Frankenstein's creature, for instance, defies many descriptions. He is a flesh golem, a being created from human parts, though Victor and the creature proper are the only two beings who truly understand the creature. As such, when Victor dies, nothing can defeat the creature, except its own decision to die. Similarly, with the untimely death of Dr. Lanyon, Henry Jekyll becomes the only person who knows and understands Hyde. As such, Jekyll alone can kill Hyde; no one else can defeat Edward Hyde. And at the point when Jekyll does kill himself and Hyde, he does so because Hyde's body is changing. Jekyll loses knowledge and understanding over Hyde's body and recognizes that soon, he will not understand Hyde enough to fight back.

To conclude the discussion of embodiment, as the Gothic antagonist's body becomes more important to the narrative, as the way the antagonist can manipulate their own body increases, they become more horrifying. With the embodiment also comes a weakness or downside, in that they can more easily be classified, defined, and subsequently defeated.

The second major guiding principle of the dissertation follows the domestication of the embodied monster. Domestication and embodiment intersect with the supernatural Gothic antagonist. No domestication can happen until the antagonist becomes embodied. Once the antagonist becomes an embodied monster, it becomes defeatable. When something is knowingly defeatable, eventually its ability to inspire fear will fade. When that happens, it is only a matter of time before the monster's nature must change for it to remain useful as a reflection of societal anxieties and their resolution. In order for an embodied monster to remain relevant in society, its role inevitably shifts. In short, the domestication of the monster follows a predictable path: what I call the Trajectory of Domestication (ToD). This three-step trajectory traces the monster from object of fear to object of admiration and romantic love.

The first step in the Trajectory of Domestication is "Fear." Because the chapter in which the TOD appears most prominently focuses on the vampire as its case study, I will do a more generalized overview here, though the ToD applies to many Gothic monsters, including vampires, werewolves, zombies, doubles and others. We begin by fearing the monster. Monsters induce many fears in readers, who then confront and frequently overcome the anxieties. This allows for a cathartic experience, as readers face their fears, defeat them vicariously through the narrative, and come out stronger on the other side. However, the monster cannot inspire the same level or kinds of fear forever; Victorian England is a significantly different place with drastically different anxieties than modern America, for example. Even so, the Gothic monster as a whole still remains useful and popular. Tracing the evolution of any of these Gothic monsters long enough, one will reach a point where the monster no longer has the same power to incite fear. There are a number of reasons for this, including changing views of individualism, mental or physical disabilities, and other invisible differences. Essentially, what scares society changes and we are able to approach internal monstrosity differently, even if the external monstrous body remains largely unchanged. When this happens, the horrifying monster no longer frightens. To put it another way, we no longer find fear in the monster. The shift in view falls equally on the readers and the monster. What frightens a reader changes, but

for a monster to become domesticated, it must give up some of its antagonistic or monstrous behaviors. A lack of fear does not mean the monster no longer has usefulness as a Gothic mode for bringing about catharsis. Instead, the way the monster allows readers to assuage societal fears and anxieties comes from our relating to it as opposed to our fearfully running from it.

The fear passes and an intrigue and interest appear. With this fascination comes the second step in the Trajectory of Domestication: becoming. We become the monster. Or, more accurately, the monster represents us as the protagonist of the narrative. This does not mean that monster becomes a classic hero. Instead, the monster acts as a mirror through which we recognize our own shortcomings or those aspects of ourselves for which we feel shame. However, through the flawed monster, readers feel sympathy and find common ground. In the course of British vampire narratives, *Varney the Vampire* almost reaches this point; Varney is arguably sympathetic and is a protagonist in the narrative, though he is still quite monstrous. However, not until many years after *Dracula* do we see the vampire pass over completely from fear to representative, as I will demonstrate in chapter 2.

Another example of a more modern monster is the zombie. The zombie in American culture began as a movie monster with George A. Romero's 1968 *Night of the Living Dead*. With his films, Romero introduced America to an undead horde of monstrous and decaying Others. A few decades later and viewers were treated with films like *Shaun of the Dead* and *Fido*, in which the zombie has become truly domesticated (Bishop 204-05). People keep zombies as pets, and all the fear has gone. This turning point allows for adaptations like the comic series-turned-television shows such as *iZombie* in which the main character is a zombie.

We recognize our own internal struggles and impose our own issues onto them. This second stage of the Trajectory of Domestication finds us looking into a mirror and seeing the now less-monstrous Other looking back. In these cases, the monster usually exists on some sort of spectrum. In *iZombie*, for instance, Liv Moore, the main character, is a zombie but there are other zombies out there with more zombiism than her; these other zombies are less articulate and behave more in line with stereotypical zombies from other narratives. Liv is, for lack of a better analogy, a person with an

internal disability of some kind. She appears “normal” on the outside but has something inside which she hides from the world. Many viewers and readers can relate to this; they watch Liv try to situate herself in the world and learn what her life looks like as a member of a society which does not immediately have a place for her. Another example of this is *Warm Bodies*, a movie in which the main character is a young zombie male who maintains his human mind but loses his human speech and body temperature. The film follows his struggle to regain his humanity while avoiding turning into a full zombie. Both of these films with monstrous protagonists provide a bigger, stronger, or more monstrous Other against which the humanity of the monster can be highlighted. Just as there are varying degrees of embodiment, there are varying degrees of monstrosity in domestication narratives. When the monstrosity shifts inward, readers can empathize with the monstrous body; this is doubly true when the monstrous body is juxtaposed against a more monstrous body, as is the case with most monster narratives in the second stage of domestication.

Eventually, this is not enough; we no longer want to see ourselves reflected in the monster. We want to be ourselves, and the monstrous body still serves some purpose, even if it does not inspire the same fear. After all, no matter the stage of domestication, “the monstrous body exists in societies to be exploited for someone else’s purposes” (Garland Thomson 91). The last step of the Trajectory of Domestication is “Romantic Love.” We come to love the monster, or at least the domesticated monster we have created. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, The word *domesticate* comes from the latin *domesticare*, meaning “to dwell in a house, to accustom” (“Domesticate”). Through this domestication process, we take the wild, savage beast and slowly, selectively weed out any negative traits we would not want until the thing becomes suitable to be brought into the home. The monster may have some wild habits still, as with all domesticated animals, but overall it will be a suitable companion.

With novel series like *Twilight*, *The Southern Vampire Mysteries*, *The All-Souls Trilogy*⁸, and others, we have stopped fearing the vampire. In the previous step, we saw the monster's flaws reflecting the flaws in ourselves and could sympathize with them. We recognized that we are not so different from the monster. However, in this stage, we look past the monsters' flaws and see them for the positive traits and supernatural advantages of being "monstrous." If we cannot have those advantages for ourselves, we want our partner to have them. Readers want the vampire to offer eternal love, strength, power, and all the other glorified benefits of being undead. The monster becomes our love interest. Instead of inspiring fear, they become romantic partners who care for us and love us. They share their immortality and their power with us. In this stage of the trajectory, the monster must join the community at large, holding down jobs or going to school. They do not lock themselves away in castles. Many of the vampires in this last stage of domestication are "vegetarians" – that is, vampires who do not feed on human blood (Nakagawa). They either drink animal blood (Meyer), synthetic blood (Harris) or largely suffer with human food until they must feed on animals or evil people (Harkness). Zombies, too, face the same domestication with narratives like *My Boyfriend's Back*, *Warm Bodies*, and *Life after Beth*. In all of these cases, the monsters appear lifelike and relatively free from decay. They also behave humanely, opting to ignore or suppress their monstrous self. If monsters attacked or fed on humans unrestrained, they would be threatening to the protagonist. Instead, the monster must show signs of restraint.

These domestication narratives involving vampires often offer problematic views of masculinity, as the vampires demonstrate possessive and animalistic behaviors over the women who love them. Domestication can remove many of the unwanted and aggressive traits, but not all. Some predatory instincts remain. The vampires must deny their basal urges in order to maintain a level of humanity that can be endearing and loving. By the time this stage arrives, the vampire is little more than a manly love interest who has a unique diet and (frequently has) anger management issues. Many

⁸ Stephanie Meyer, Charlaine Harris, and Deborah Harkness, respectively

of the original characteristics from their folkloric origins and early literary vampires have gone by the wayside, bred out in our quest for domesticity. Many of these romantic vampires cannot shapeshift, they can be out in the sun, and they do not accidentally create new vampires simply by feeding on them. The monster in general and the vampire in particular, has gone from lone wolf to a rescued pit-bull, a fully domesticated version of a once-dangerous monster.

The three chapters that follow each illustrate a certain aspect of these overlapping hypotheses. The first chapter traces embodiment and terror through Gothic poetry of the long nineteenth century. I argue that as time progresses, the supernatural antagonists in Gothic poetry become increasingly embodied and increasingly horrific. The second chapter explores the vampire myth in Western literature as a case study on embodiment in a specific monster. The chapter argues that nineteenth century vampire narratives increase in embodiment while also evolving the vampire to better fit contemporary societal anxieties. The Trajectory of Domestication appears in this chapter, tracing Vampire narratives before *Dracula* up through 2000s-era vampire narratives. The third chapter explores a contradictory monster in Jekyll/Hyde. The chapter argues that the fully embodied Hyde of Stevenson's novella is also a monster of terror, a deviation from most embodied monsters. However, as the Hyde narrative makes its way off the page and onto the stage and screen, he inevitably becomes a monster of horror, finally realizing the trajectory set forth with horror narratives of embodied monsters.

The specific chapters in this dissertation explore the evolution of the supernatural Gothic antagonist through three main categories. Gothic monsters begin largely as personified ideas or concepts, similar to Morality plays. Slowly, the monster becomes embodied, which increases its physical threat until the monster is fully embodied and a self-actor, an entity no longer mandated by others: in charge of its own faculties with its own goals and motivations. The following section will outline what each chapter argues specifically, along with the major texts associated with each.

Chapter Summaries

Chapter One

The first chapter of the dissertation analyzes the evolution of the supernatural Gothic antagonist through poetry. Poetry is frequently under-studied in Gothic scholarship, at least as far as monsters and embodiment are concerned. In addition to the widely studied works of Coleridge and Christina Rossetti, this chapter looks at the poetry of Hannah Cowley, Mathew “Monk” Lewis, and Ann Radcliffe. Using poems from between 1788 and 1862, this chapter identifies Gothic poems that illustrate the evolution of the Gothic antagonist from supernatural and personified ideal to embodied and monstrous body. Though embodied monsters pose more threat, they also have more definable characteristics, which makes them defeatable, an important distinction for Gothic narratives. The chapter builds its foundation on two key concepts: the divide between terror and horror as one, and embodiment as the other.

Blending elements of Edmund Burke and Ann Radcliffe, I define *terror* and *horror* to structure discussions of how Gothic antagonists produce fear in different ways. This first chapter outlines how the terms function in relation to each other and how the evolution of the Gothic antagonist from personified idea to embodied monster parallels the transformation of the antagonist from terror to horror. As embodiment increases, the antagonist loses some of its terrifying capacity and moves toward producing horror. As horror increases, so does the likelihood the monster will be defeated. An obscured, undefinable monster, one who produces terror, cannot be defeated. A fully-formed, embodied and horrifying monstrous Other with clear rules governing its behaviors can. Gothic poetry’s antagonists evolved, just like other Gothic monsters, to become more embodied and more physically present.

Chapter 2

The second chapter of this dissertation extends the argument from chapter one. By analyzing Gothic fiction involving one specific monster, the chapter demonstrates the evolution of the supernatural Gothic antagonist from disembodied antagonist to embodied monster. For the purposes of this chapter, I have selected vampire narratives to serve as my case study. The vampire tradition dates back into Eastern European folklore, hundreds of years before they appear in Western literature.

They come, then, with folkloric baggage and pre-established rules guiding their lives and supernatural powers.

The chapter is largely interested in Western literary vampires, but it would be a disservice not to address their origins in Eastern Europe. After a brief history, I divide the chapter into 5 distinct time periods between 1801 and 1897. I argue that each period determines how the vampire evolves to express contemporary social anxieties. Vampires of the Romantic era differ from those in the mid-Victorian era, for example. Through the nineteenth century, the vampire becomes more embodied and more monstrous. With their embodiment, they become more definable and identifiable. Eventually, this leads to them being defeated by protagonists.

The last section of this chapter builds off the theory that Bram Stoker's *Dracula* serves as a literary watershed for vampire narratives. Up until *Dracula* in 1897, the vampire changed a lot in its various iterations. However, Stoker's novel borrowed heavily from its predecessors and crafted what became the archetypal vampire for decades. I argue that vampire narratives published after *Dracula* had to either follow in his footsteps or they had to break away drastically in order to establish themselves as unique. One of the most significant changes post-*Dracula* appears via an examination of the ways in which nineteenth and twentieth century vampire narratives continue to evolve. The chapter terminates with a discussion of the Trajectory of Domestication (TOD). Specifically, I explore how modern vampire narratives shed light on the domestication of the vampire through all three stages of the TOD.

Chapter 3

Where Chapter 2 explores the evolution of the Gothic monster through the nineteenth century via a singular monster, the vampire, Chapter 3 analyzes a complex step in the evolution of the embodied Gothic monster via adaptations of one single novella: *Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*. By the time Robert Louis Stevenson publishes *Jekyll/Hyde*, the evolution of the Gothic monster has reached a turning point. Hyde is fully embodied, physically present monster, and poses grave danger to those around him. He also, via his ineffable quality, cannot be classified, nor destroyed by

outside forces. This is a critical development in the evolution of the monster. Hyde is simultaneously embodied and unclassifiable. Those who meet him recognize evil in his countenance and understand he has some kind of monstrous body, but they cannot put into words what it about him makes them upset, angry, or violent. He defies description from all he meets.

In the famous novella, Hyde manifests as an evil version of Dr. Jekyll because of Jekyll's scientific experiments. Though Jekyll uses science to transform into his alter-ego/double Mr. Hyde, the transformation into Hyde defies any known science. Hyde embodies, literally, the unmentionable desires of Jekyll, allowing Jekyll to fulfill his fantasies while avoiding detection and consequence. Jekyll can now, with the aid of Hyde's monstrous body, act out his desires which society would find taboo. Jekyll can appear virtuous without acting or behaving virtuously.

Because the Gothic monster in general still holds so much power over society, and because of the meteoric fame Stevenson's novella attained shortly after it was published, the *Jekyll/Hyde* narrative has become ingrained into our society. As such, the last half of the chapter shifts direction and looks specifically at stage and screen adaptations of the *Jekyll/Hyde*. I apply rhetorical analysis to the depictions of Hyde throughout a handful of adaptations in order to analyze the various representations of monstrosity. Here, I make a deliberate departure from the overall structure of the previous sections of the dissertation. I bring in stage and screen adaptation of *Jekyll/Hyde*, both old and modern, to serve as case studies of the evolution of *Jekyll/Hyde* once it moves away from a literary medium and into a visual medium. I explore the different ways Hyde's monstrous body appears and what methods directors use to demonstrate Hyde's evil nature.

Major themes repeat throughout these adaptations. Directors and Playwrights impose various signifiers onto Hyde's monstrous body, making the adaptations unique responses to certain social anxieties. The visual adaptations section of the last chapter is organized into three distinct adaptation styles, based on how the adaptation uses Hyde's monstrosity to represent social anxieties: Hyde as Racialized Other, Hyde as Gendered Other, and Hyde as Allegory for Inner Strife. Hyde proper represents the breaking of social norms. Sometimes he demonstrates the dangers of bending or

ignoring what society expects of its members. Other iterations of Hyde represent social anxieties about addiction or toxic masculinity. Hyde becomes what society needs him to become in order for a film or play to assuage contemporary fears; and Hyde has done this consistently since the novella's publication in 1886 and the first stage adaptation of *Jekyll/Hyde* in 1887. The long, storied history of adaptations of *Jekyll/Hyde* make it ripe for analyzing. When the adaptations of *Jekyll/Hyde* use Hyde as an allegory for some internal struggle or concern, his monstrous body disappears. Hyde often appears in a normative body and becomes more articulate and knowable. This represents Hyde's journey toward domestication, resulting in physically strong but gentle monsters.

Conclusion

These three chapters work together to explore the Gothic monster throughout the history of Gothic literature. Specifically, I argue that the supernatural Gothic antagonist evolves over time, always in relation to the shifting culture of the times. As new societal concerns arise, the antagonist grows and shifts. The first shift leaves the antagonist as an embodied but monstrous Other. This monstrous body better reflects social anxieties and offers readers a way to confront and engage with them. For a monster to effectively represent an anxiety and offer some form of engagement with it, he must be identifiable and defeatable. Early on in Gothic narratives, both fiction and poetry, the antagonist lacks both a physical body and a description. Eventually, once the monster becomes fully domesticated, the monster achieves some semblance of redemption, allowing them to reintegrate into society as a productive member and not an antagonistic force.

This disembodied antagonist works as a stark reminder that the past cannot be buried. It haunts anyone who has done wrong. As time moves on, the antagonist becomes more corporeal and embodied, making it more definable and monstrous. Suddenly, monsters have eyes, fangs, and physical deformities. Along with their embodiment comes the ability to be die or, more specifically, be killed. Even if the monster does not die at the end of the narrative, the fact that it could die allows for the narrative catharsis and a more productive reader engagement with the text. When the monster can be defeated or killed, readers can confront and overcome whatever social anxieties the monster

represents. Readers learn ways to overcome problems and find hope or peace through difficult situations.

England underwent drastic changes in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, changes which influenced fiction and poetry in clearly identifiable ways. As such, Gothic literature and the supernatural Gothic antagonists both adapted to help readers find their way through the changing social, scientific, and political landscapes. Still today, Gothic monsters appear frequently in contemporary fiction and film, and to similar ends as their Victorian counterparts. They help us understand the world around us, our place in it, and have become an effective shorthand for evil. The prevalence of vampires, Gothic doubles, and other Gothic monsters in modern narratives demonstrate just how useful and necessary Gothic monsters still are to society. We still need them today, and they show no signs of leaving. Just as the vampire adapts his shape and the zombie rises from the grave, the Gothic monster changes form and returns time and time again, not to injure or kill but to help us establish our role in society.

CHAPTER II

EMBODIMENT AND FEAR IN GOTHIC POETRY

The introduction to my dissertation introduces two overlapping hypotheses: embodiment and domestication. The primary argument of this chapter is that Gothic poetry, like Gothic fiction, demonstrates an evolution of the supernatural antagonist from personified idea into an embodied and monstrous Other. As such, the chapter will address the non-monstrous antagonist as a supernatural antagonist. Only once it becomes an embodied and monstrous Other will the term *monster* be used. I have chosen to address poetry as separate from fiction for two primary reasons. The first is that poetry often adheres to established formal structures. Gothic poetry in this period relies heavily on the tradition of the ballad. Renewing the balladic form invokes the oral tradition of bards and morality tales. So while Gothic fiction grew from the relatively new format of the novel, Gothic poetry reawakened an old genre for contemporary morality. Gothic poetry, then, is more of a revival of traditional forms and structures for modern purposes than it is an innovative form. Many critics viewed poetry as the strongest form of writing, as it required structure and creative thought. Romances were less popular, and Gothic fiction especially received much criticism for being fanciful: “Any unfortunate ‘family resemblance’ between Gothic prose and Romantic poetry is to be politely ignored” (Williams 4). The Gothic often succeeded best when it was wrapped in the guise of high Romantic work. Keats, Byron, and Coleridge all pen poems featuring Gothic elements, though they often rely on Orientalist mystique or Egyptian Myth to hide the supernatural. Still, the Gothic elements of poetry

persist and many poets use Gothic motifs in their poems, even if the poems do not appear completely Gothic. Ann Williams writes that “Coleridge’s ‘Mystery Poems,’ Keats’s ‘Belle Dame sans Merci,’ ‘Lamia,’ and ‘The Eve of St. Agnes,’ Shelley’s *Alastor*, Wordsworth’s ‘Lucy’ lyrics . . . are all replete with Gothic paraphernalia: Fatal women, haunted castles, bleeding corpses, and mysterious warnings” (3). The second reason I have chosen to discuss poetry separate from fiction is that an exploration of Gothic poetry illuminates unique evolutionary lines if one looks past the academic divisions that modern scholars identified in Gothic fiction. These two sets of taxonomic divisions will establish the foundation for the remainder of the chapter, both of which are based on the gender of the author. The first is the divide between supernatural-explained and supernatural-accepted.

Perhaps one of the most important divisions identified in early Gothic literature appears between Gothic narratives written by women authors and those written by male authors. In the introduction to *Art of Darkness*, Anne Williams “proposes three ideas about the nature of Gothic” (1). Her first two points are that Gothic is a poetic form⁹, and that Romantic novels and Gothic fiction are related¹⁰. Williams’s third point requires a bit of unpacking and will be important in this chapter: she writes, “‘Gothic’ is not one but two; like the human race, it has a ‘male’ and a ‘female’ genre” (1). For much of Gothic literature’s formative years, the author’s gender served as a strong indicator of what style of Gothic the narrative would address, largely due to their anticipated readership and the social issues each would find engaging¹¹. Another scholar, Rebecca Baumann, expands Williams’ argument about male and women Gothic.

⁹ Williams writes that Romantic Gothic prose, like that of Radcliffe and Lewis, has “evocative descriptions, which read like prose poems, [and] their texts repeatedly include actual verse: ballads, elegies, and sonnets” (4).

¹⁰ Gothic and romantic fiction arrive close to each other chronologically and address similar themes (Hume 288-90).

¹¹ Anne Mellor’s 1993 book *Romanticism and Gender* argues for a closer study of women Romantic authors and the growing female readership due to the arrival lending libraries. She reaffirms the idea that the author’s gender affects the kinds of social issues a novel or poem will address.

According to Baumann's 2018 work *Frankenstein 200*, a text dedicated to exploring the two hundred years that have passed since Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* was published, Gothic novels "split off into two distinct tracks" (71). Baumann identifies the "supernatural explained" and the "supernatural accepted" (71). These tracks follow the gendered lines Williams defines. I agree that women and men Gothic fiction authors wrote two different kinds of Gothic stories. However, I argue that Gothic poetry does not follow these divisions in the same way and, as such, should be given its own consideration in Gothic scholarship.

Novels in the supernatural-explained mode, typically written by women authors, offer readers a thrilling tale of discovery as the protagonist uncovers hidden truths. In such novels, the protagonist faces events which appear to be supernatural. By the end of the novel, however, the supernatural gets explained, uncovered. As Baumann informally describes, the supernatural explained "is basically the eighteenth-Century version of *Scooby-Doo*: a ghost terrorizes the protagonists but is unmasked at the end by those meddling kids and shown to be just an all-too-human villain" (71). Such a human-based approach to villainy allows readers the opportunity to accompany the protagonist on their journey and vicariously confront real-world villainy from a safe distance. Baumann claims that "In the novels of Radcliffe, supernatural-seeming elements are used to divert the protagonist from solving the mysteries that surround her, thus drawing out the plot for three- or four-volume novels" (Baumann 71). Baumann's claim is reductive and belittling. Radcliffe and others wrote supernatural-explained novels to produce in readers a moment of sublime reflection and to afford readers space to appreciate the beauty of nature; she did not write simply to string readers along for multiple volumes. I will address Radcliffe's purpose and style in writing shortly. But first, Radcliffe was not alone in writing supernatural-explained novels.

Other notable Gothic authors include Jane Austen, Charlotte Brontë, and Mary Elizabeth Braddon. *Jane Eyre*, like many of Radcliffe's novels, focuses on a young girl whose life is full of torment and difficulty. When she finally thinks she might be in love, she discovers that the house

in which she lives might contain a ghost. As the “*Scooby-Doo*” mask is removed, she learns that the ghost is, in fact, her paramour’s estranged and deranged wife who has been locked in the attic. The reveal turns what might be a supernatural terror into a real-world problem which must now be solved. The wife is violent, angry, and not completely coherent; but she is always there, present in the house and in Jane’s paramour’s mind. Though not supernatural, the estranged wife does exist as a haunting Other. Another famous text, Jane Austen’s *Northanger Abbey*, satirizes such Gothic features. It also marks the supernatural-explained Gothic as a genre mostly read by women. By the time Austen wrote *Northanger Abbey* in 1803 (though it was not published until 1817), the Gothic had become so popular that she could readily satirize it.

In the novel, the protagonist, Catherine Morland, is an avid reader of Ann Radcliffe novels and imagines herself to be a character in a Gothic novel. When she gets invited to the titular Abbey, she expects the location to be a Gothic castle, full of mystery and terror. To fulfill her wild Gothic dreams, she creates a murder-mystery plot which she alone can uncover. She believes that General Tilney, the resident of Northanger Abbey, has killed his wife or locked her away somewhere in a sealed off room. Unfortunately for Catherine, the truth is far less exciting and sinister. There is no haunting ghost, no wronged nor murdered wife. Everything gets explained quite easily. Despite Catherine’s less-than-supernatural conclusion, Austen’s readers embark on a Gothic journey full of mystery, which “involve[s] the reader in special circumstances” (Hume 286). The reader taking a journey with the protagonist marks the difference between the two Gothic divisions: the reader of supernatural-explained Gothic texts goes on a journey of self-discovery. This is because the obscurity and hidden nature of the supernatural forces readers to imagine what dangers may be hidden around any corner. They are actively imagining and wondering what will happen next. As such, readers of supernatural-explained fiction are much more involved in the process. The reader of supernatural-accepted narratives is less involved in the uncovering of the mystery. Instead, they find themselves face-to-face with some monstrous Other and must focus on survival..

Supernatural-accepted is just that: the reader must accept, at least in the context of the narrative, that supernatural beings and occurrences exist and can interact with the characters. Such stories often come from male authors, at least in the early decades of the Gothic tradition. Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* epitomizes this category. In the first few pages of the novel, a giant helmet from a far-off statue falls through the castle roof and kills young Conrad. Later in the novel, a spectre appears and leads Manfred through the gallery. The reader must accept that in the world of the novel, ghosts exist, and that supernatural forces will kill characters without giving them a chance to fight back, like dropping a giant helmet on someone. Matthew Lewis's *The Monk* is also supernatural-accepted, though it might appear as supernatural explained at first. The lascivious monk, Ambrosio, does many things that would make him appear evil. However, Ambrosio is not merely a human evil. He summons Lucifer and makes a deal with the Fiend, trading his own soul for immediate protection from would-be assassins. While many people believed in God and the Devil in the late eighteenth century, seeing them appear in the flesh, so to speak, was supernatural.

Walpole and Lewis are joined by many other late-Romantic authors writing supernatural-accepted tales, including William Beckford's *Vathek*, Polidori's *The Vampyre* (which I discuss in detail in the next chapter), and Maturin's *Melmoth the Wanderer*. All of these novels include the supernatural as a crucial piece of plot that cannot be explained away by simply "removing a mask." Vampires exist; ageless and cursed men walk the world; readers must suspend disbelief for the duration of the novel. The supernatural-accepted versus –explained division falls largely along gender lines in fiction. Another important dichotomy in Gothic fiction falls along gender lines, too: terror versus horror.

The second division involves the difference between terror and horror. These key terms, *terror* and *horror*, take Edmund Burke's work *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* as their foundation. Many early Gothic authors built upon Burke's text. As they wrote their novels, they blended Burke's sublime with Gothic trappings.

For Burke, anything that inspired terror was sublime. Terror, says Burke, “is in all cases whatsoever, either more openly or latently, the ruling principle of the sublime.” The sublime inspires us to stand in awe but not necessarily in fear. We stand before the ocean or watch a storm roll on from a safe distance and we feel the terrifying sublime. We understand the damage that the storm could cause; we know what dangers lurk beneath the ocean’s surface. But from our safe vantage point, we are not in danger, and we can appreciate the sublime, the power and magnitude of the power without feeling threatened. Terror is powerful and generative because, in spite of its intensity, its threat is essentially abstract or potential. Though initially disturbing, terror helps readers experience awe in an affirmative way. Horror, on the other hand, makes readers feel small and shrink in, eliminating any need for imagination.

Being underneath the raging storm or stranded on the ocean is horrific, not terrifying, at least as far as the sublime is concerned. When the danger is imminent, the mind does not consider the vast power of the storm; instead, the mind seeks for shelter or imagines the various possibilities of bodily harm. While horror and terror invoke different reactions in readers, they are not so far separated as to never transform into each other. Using Burke’s example of a storm, if one manages to find shelter and the immediate threat passes, one can turn the horror into terror and appreciate the storm’s power and magnitude. Likewise, if one is safe until the path of the storm changes, terror can quickly become horror. In Gothic narratives, the supernatural often draws people in with terror; ethereal singing from an unknown vocalist, for instance, inspires wonder in the characters of Radcliffe’s *The Mysteries of Udolpho*. A young girl who claims to be weak and abandoned, as seen in Coleridge’s *Christabel*, likewise inspires sympathy and wonder. Her charm and ethereal appearance near the tree awakens the mind of young Christabel. If the narrative turns horrific, the supernatural elements will likewise become dangerous and urgent. Christabel’s terror turns to horror as she abruptly recognizes Geraldine’s true nature. The use of terror mixes with horror to build suspense and intrigue in Gothic narratives.

In her posthumously published essay “On the Supernatural in Poetry,” Ann Radcliffe builds on Burke’s definition of terror and the sublime as they apply to literature. She further defines the difference between terror and horror in terms more applicable to the Gothic; that is to say, she explains the effect they each have. She writes, “Terror and horror are so far opposite, the first expands the soul, and awakens the faculties to a higher degree of life; the other contracts, freezes, and nearly annihilates them.” In the face of horror, Radcliffe claims, the mind shuts down. In Burke’s sublime, terror often comes from powerful nature, and horror from being directly threatened by that power. Radcliffe’s distinction between terror and horror illuminates the difference as it relates the Gothic.

Radcliffe argues that terror in literature comes from “uncertainty and obscurity.” Writing about Milton’s Satan, she claims that Satan’s image “imparts more terror” than it does horror: “it is not distinctly pictured forth, but is seen in glimpses through obscuring shades, the great outlines only appearing, which excite the imagination to complete the rest” (Radcliffe, “On the Supernatural”). In fiction, terror stems from obscurity and uncertainty. The question “Did I just see a monster?” implies terror: the mind opens and attempts to not only answer the question but complete the image of the monster and create its own version of what it has seen. Whatever the character thinks they see, they will fill in the blanks with imagination and impose claws or scales or horns onto the monster, which it may or may not have. Terror comes from obscurity, which “leaves something for the imagination to exaggerate” (Radcliffe, “On the Supernatural”) On the other hand, the statement “I saw a monster” implies horror. The mind shrinks; it has no need to expand and imagine the monster’s form or function. Horror comes from an urgent and immediate presence which is strikingly known and seen. More interestingly, the line between terror and horror in fiction closely follows the gender lines between supernatural-explained and supernatural-accepted. Male authors often write Horror Gothic narratives; these stories are “shorter and more bloodily brutal” than their terror counterparts (Baumann 71-72). Supernatural-accepted Gothic commonly incorporates horror more than terror, and vice versa, supernatural-

explained incorporates more terror than horror. This alignment is no coincidence. The more a supernatural antagonist is real and present in the text, the more horror it will induce. However, as supernatural-explained texts do not involve the supernatural and therefore only hint at the supernatural, there is a lot more room for readers to project their own thoughts into the text and expand their imaginations about what might be. Terror Gothic and horror Gothic both serve different purposes in their respective narratives.

Terror is as the imagining of possible horrors that are as yet unrealized or unconfirmed. For terror Gothic, the joy exists mainly in uncovering those truths. The implication that a ghost might haunt the house or the family hides a murder plot that they might expose thrills readers. And as the narrative progresses, the antagonist or supernatural forces are implied and hinted at, but never directly encountered. This occult and mysterious tension opens the soul to imaginings and pondering, as Radcliffe put it, and invites the reader to look for the truth right alongside the protagonist, investigating rooms and questioning motives; terror Gothic invites participation requires creativity on the part of the reader. On the other hand, horror Gothic constricts the soul, shutting down the imagination and other mental faculties. Horror Gothic demands defensiveness and reaction more than thought and interaction. Wondering if there might be a ghost is exciting. Staring one in the face horrifies. Characters, as well as readers, might wish to run or scream. What's more, reading a narrative with this style of horror reminds readers that the real world offers more danger and confusion than they may have imagined. In both fiction and poetry, Horror Gothic embraces embodied antagonists where terror Gothic hides them. Early Gothic poetry follows the terror pattern, with obscured and non-embodied antagonists. As time progresses, Gothic antagonists become more embodied and the poems become more horrific. One possible reason for this, which I address in the introduction of the dissertation, involves the industrial revolution. Technology shifted the way society viewed the body as it relates to the self. Injuries became more physical and horrifying with the increase in machinery. The anticipation of possible fear excites readers in different ways than the anticipation of bodily harm; both are valid

ways of enticing Gothic readers. With the industrial revolution came another bodily fear. Automation is the opposite of embodiment. Rather than the body becoming an important site of self-identification and power, automation turns an embodied self into a body without a brain. Repetition, common in many industrialized jobs, turns workers into machines and automatons (Austin 28). Where embodiment creates a brain who operates a body, automation creates a body that does not need a brain. Gothic narratives that involve hypnotism¹² frequently do so as a way to allegorically represent the fear of automation.

These two related dichotomies function well as a taxonomy for Gothic fiction and are certainly worth noting. However, when we shift from Gothic fiction to Gothic poetry, I argue that the supernatural-accepted and supernatural-explained dichotomy, along with terror/horror division do not follow the same gendered lines. Instead, Gothic poets used both supernatural tracks and terror and/or horror regardless of their gender; this important point will underlie the poems I discuss. While much has been written about gender differences in Romantic and Gothic authors, this chapter argues that relegating the gender of the author to the background allows readers to focus on the evolution of the supernatural poetic antagonist in the work of both male and women poets. I argue that the Gothic poem's antagonist originated as a personified concept or virtue, but over time, the Gothic antagonist morphed into an embodied and monstrous entity.

In poetry, authors took advantage of both styles regardless of gender. Interestingly, authors whose fiction helped to establish Gothic conventions – and who adhere to the gender divisions – ignore the very same divisions in their poetry. Ann Radcliffe and Matthew Lewis in particular serve as good case studies, but I will also look at other male and women poets to explore how they each use horror, terror, or a mix, and to what ends as I track the evolution of the Gothic monster in poetry.

¹² What we call hypnotism was, in Coleridge's day, called animal magnetism or *mesmerism*, after the German doctor Franz Anton Mesmer.

The remainder of this chapter will transition from historical divisions of Gothic narratives into Gothic poetry. While Radcliffe and Lewis's rivalry is well documented in regards to their fiction¹³, their Gothic poetry seems to be less contentious, one with the other. Both Radcliffe and Lewis write supernatural-accepted poetry with terror-inducing antagonists. Both also recycle renaissance themes like allegory and personifying virtues and vices. The use of medieval and renaissance themes, stylings, and imagery remind readers that our ghosts are, more often than not, our own past. This also speaks to the prevalence of the ballad form of the time. The past does not die easily. Gothic poetry "attested to the nightmarish persistence or 'survival' of the medieval Gothic past rather than a modern stylistic 'revival'" (Lindfield 143, *Fluctuating Tastes*). The Gothic appears, as Lindfield puts it, not as a new and improved genre but as a revenant of the past that will not be put to rest.

The texts I will use in my close reading are the following: Hannah Cowley's "Invocation to Horror;" selected poems from Matthew Lewis's *Tales of Terror*; Selected poetry from Ann Radcliffe; Samuel Taylor Coleridge's "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" and "Christabel;" and finally, Christina Rossetti's "Goblin Market." Through my close reading, these texts will support my argument that Gothic poetry established its own genre conventions and ignored the gender divisions present in Gothic fiction. The main argument, however, is that Gothic antagonists in poetry evolve from disembodied and terrifying personifications into embodied and horrifying monsters. For the purposes of this chapter, an antagonist is any character or force that inhibits the protagonist.

¹³ Some scholars have argued that Lewis wrote *The Monk* to show Radcliffe what a Gothic novel should be. Radcliffe, not surprisingly, did not like Lewis's treatment of the Gothic (Mulvey-Roberts 37; Haydock 19. Mulvey-Roberts, Haydock, Messier, and Hennelly JR each write of the literary feud between Radcliffe and Lewis, though specifics about Radcliffe's complaints with Lewis's text are absent. What we do know is that Radcliffe was horrified and "dismayed by Lewis's homage to her somewhat staid *The Mysteries of Udolpho* in his scandalous *The Monk*" (Hennelly JR 77-78). In 1797, Radcliffe published *The Italian* to show Lewis that he had misunderstood what readers wanted from their Gothic narratives.

In general terms, Gothic antagonists serve as a means of catharsis, allowing readers to confront and assuage social fears and anxieties. Radcliffe writes that obscurity's great effect on terror, the object's hidden nature, complicates its relation to catharsis: "to ascertain the object of our terror . . . is frequently to acquire the means of escaping it" ("On the Supernatural"). In early Gothic poetry, the antagonist cannot be defeated for it is largely disembodied and unknowable. It is not until Coleridge that the antagonist's form becomes more embodied and monstrous. The new monster's threat and its effectiveness in producing horror and catharsis intertwine with its embodiment and its defeatability.

In early Gothic poetry, the antagonist appears less monstrous and less threatening than its fiction counterparts: vampires, golems, and doubles. Instead, the poetic antagonist begins as an idea or a theme. Occasionally, the antagonist in Gothic poetry is a personified virtue or concept. The first example of this I will discuss is Hannah Cowley's 1788 poem "INVOCATION TO HORROR." Cowley was an English playwright and poet born about 20 years before Radcliffe and 30 years before Matthew Lewis. Cowley's poem finds the speaker calling out to HORROR, a personified concept. The speaker searches in a series of locations where she believes HORROR resides, only to find them empty. Eventually, she locates HORROR sitting on its throne, at which point she reminds it where its power originated and what its future holds. She identifies and defines HORROR's nature in the poem, making it real and thus powerless (though not defeatable). After a great, final act of destruction and violence, HORROR will leave earth. In the poem, HORROR is disembodied, despite the physicality of sitting on a throne. Its body has no relation to its ability to invoke emotion in the speaker nor the reader, and never does its body appear or receive any attention from the speaker.

Despite its title, "Invocation to Horror" uses terror, more than horror, in noteworthy ways¹⁴. The poem's primary foot is iambic, though the stanzas have inconsistent meter and rhyme

¹⁴ Hereafter, *terror* and *horror* will be used as Radcliffe defines them.

scheme one to another. The meter fluctuates between three and five feet per line, and each stanza contains a different number of lines. Using variable meter and rhyme schemes was common in narrative poetry. Cowley uses this variation to increase dramatic tension by not allowing readers to find a comfortable rhythm or pattern, forcing them to remain on their guard. In a poem aptly addressed to Horror, dramatic tension should be high. Beyond the meter, the opening lines to Cowley's poem also remove any feeling of comfort from the reader: "Far be remov'd each painted scene! / What is to me the sapphire sky?" The speaker of the poem is removed, disassociated from the "painted scene" or picturesque ideals (1). The first few lines of the next stanza read, "HORROR! I call thee from the mould'ring tower, / The murky church-yard and forsaken bower / Where 'midst unwholesome damp / The vap'ry gleamy lamps / Of *ignes fatui*, shew the thick-wove night" (16-20). Here, Cowley draws from gothic motifs and settings as she invokes "HORROR," in all capital letters. She calls to and for HORROR in locations where it often resides. First, a "mould'ring tower." The mouldering tower, a castle in disarray and disrepair, reminds readers of the medieval castles of old.

Cowley's "Invocation to Horror" uses the tower as the first location from which to beckon HORROR for atmosphere and antiquity. The castle and tower she creates are, crumbling and vacant, an apt place to search for HORROR. Cowley's second location, a "murky church-yard," is a place full of dead bodies. A churchyard represents the past, though in different ways than castles. Churchyards are literally filled with the corpses of beings long-dead. And as the Gothic revives images of the past, zombies, ghosts, and specters all rise from the deceased to invoke fear. Cowley uses a churchyard as a place of horror, not peace or holiness. Even though the speaker does not find HORROR at the churchyard, the speaker says early in the poem that she is searching for HORROR in places one would often find horror: abandoned places full of decay or death. For Cowley's speaker, holiness has left the murky church-yard, and all that remains is the gloom of the deceased. After the speaker cannot find HORROR in the churchyard, she calls on HORROR at one last location: a "Forsaken bower." Cowley's bower is forsaken, abandoned.

This bower cannot be peaceful or safe; it is forgotten, overgrown, and terrible. HORROR would not appear in a safe, pleasant bower; it would instead appear in places long-forgotten and in disarray.

All of the locations where the speaker seeks HORROR are reminiscent of medieval literature, places of peace or power. However, Cowley's use in a Gothic poem distorts and twists them into places of fear. These locations all showcase the sublime. Thunderstorms are made more horrific and less terrifying, per Burke's definitions, when one is stranded in nature or barely sheltered. So, too, is a forsaken bower more horrifying when the "ignes fatui" light up in their "vap'ry . . . lamps" and show just how thickly the night sits. The terror of the speaker entering a forsaken bower, not knowing what lies in or around it, reminds readers that the world around them has hidden dangers. The castles and towers are human creations, and are full of danger that has not decayed with the passage of centuries. Nature, too, has dangers. Nature is also not man-made. Danger lurks everywhere. Without any embodied monster to serve as a protagonist in the poem, Cowley relies on sublime iterations of nature to invoke the same terror. The supernatural antagonist, HORROR, visits real-world locations in order to show readers how powerful HORROR can be.

HORROR weaves the phantoms of Despair (26). Cowley's capitalization of Despair, in conjunction with HORROR's active role in the creation of these phantoms, should help readers view Despair as subordinate to HORROR while also indicating Despair as a powerful entity itself. Despair has power, but when created by HORROR, Despair grows into fully-fledged phantoms that fly on "raven wings" (28). The supernatural antagonist of HORROR almost gives birth to an embodied monster. Despair's phantoms have some physical form, but they are not the antagonist themselves; they are merely servants of strife. The antagonist remains disembodied and elusive.

The speaker visits HORROR's usual haunts, and eventually flies to HORROR's "rocky throne / There, 'midst the shrieking wild wind's roar, / Thy influence, HORROR, I'll adore" (30-

34). Once at HORROR's door, Cowley's speaker invokes the sublime while also, albeit subtly, pointing out the difference between terror and horror. "Thou roll'st thy thunders long and loud / And light'nings flash upon the deep below, / Let the expiring Seaman's cry, / The Pilot's agonizing sigh / Mingle, and in the dreadful chorus flow!" (43-47). These lines invoke the sublime in the Burkean fashion, using thunder and lightning on the sea. HORROR is the creator of this moment. Why, then, is the speaker excited? From the point of view of the speaker, who is standing near HORROR's throne on the "impending cliffs," and not in the middle of the storm, the storm is beautiful and terrifying. However, for the Seaman and the Pilot, people on the sea in the middle of the storm, the power is agonizing and horrifying. This Burkean sublime engages with the Radcliffian notions of terror and horror. The speaker sees the storm in the distance and finds it exciting, where the horror of the sailors' screams gets lost in the sound of the storm, essentially shutting them down and constricting their voices.

In a final act of strength and defiance, HORROR will cause a fierce storm to appear on Earth before disappearing into its "native throne, amidst th' eternal shades of HELL!" The poem ends with this somber scene; the speaker searched everywhere for HORROR, reveled in its might and strength, and then condemned it to a hellish throne. Using HORROR as her Gothic antagonist allows Cowley to provide her protagonist some form of hero's quest -- to seek out the villain and overcome it. The speaker knows HORROR well enough to seek it among its usual haunts. Once found, the speaker praises HORROR's acts throughout time. However, the speaker also limits HORROR's power through definition and identification, two necessary means to defeat any Gothic villain. She does this by first reminding HORROR that its power is not natural or inherent to itself; HORROR received its power from "Th' ALMIGHTY . . . , Th' Omnipotent" for a specific, divine purpose (58-69). In this early version of the poetic Gothic villain, HORROR has a semblance of physicality, but it is not embodied. As such, Cowley's speaker cannot destroy HORROR by typical means of identification and definition. At best, the speaker limits its power and banishes it, leaving it alive in its lair.

Cowley's "Invocation to Horror" employs prototypical versions of later gothic tropes, including decrepit towers, graveyards, and "forsaken" nature. She also deftly plays with horror and terror, blending the two by using analogies found in Burke's work on the sublime as well as Radcliffe's definitions. Her use of capital letters to name and subordinate different attributes is similar to the personification of moral attributes present in Chaucer, Bunyan, and other Morality Plays of the medieval era. It teaches a lesson by giving power to and subsequently taking power from a personified morality. This pattern is repeated in Matthew Lewis's *Tales of Terror*, a collection of morality tales and ballads following folkloric traditions.

Matthew Lewis's 1799 collection of poems entitled *Tales of Terror* contains eighteen narrative poems of varying lengths. Each poem's meter and rhyme remains generally consistent within itself, though the rhyme scheme and meter vary from poem to poem. The poems all have a sort of moral or lesson to be learned through the use of whichever supernatural force Lewis chooses to employ. Some supernatural entities include a skeleton king, a "kelpie," a "sprite," and ghosts (Lewis). Lewis's monsters are much more individualized and physically present than Cowley's HORROR. Certainly many of the antagonists in the poem have some physicality. Lewis's collection shows elements of the transition from supernatural antagonist to monster as embodied entity and semi-rational actor, though none of Lewis's antagonists are fully embodied. Lewis's antagonists are caricatures of danger more than well-defined and embodied monster; their actions show them as single-minded and single-purpose. They do not represent complicated or challenging themes; instead, they represent a singular issue via their static characterization. The Ghosts and Skeleton Kings read as characters in a fairy tale and serve mostly to teach conventional morals and lessons, a drastic change from the fiction he wrote that horrified Radcliffe.

The poetry collection begins with an "Introductory Dialogue" between two characters, "Author" and "Friend." This sets up the Gothic frame, a popular element in much Gothic fiction. The friend asks, "What, scribble tales? Oh! Cease to play the fool!" (1). The author responds,

“Oh! Cease this rage, this misapplied abuse / Satire gives weapons for a nobler use” (11-12). Author feels the need to justify his writing of these tales: “Pouring warm tears for *visionary* times; / And softening sins to mend these *moral* times . . . / [and] To wake Imagination’s darkest powers!” (55-56, 75). Lewis’s Author tells readers from the beginning that the tales will mend the presumed immorality of the day by awakening the imagination, not “to freeze the bosom and confuse the mind” as horror does (Lewis 49). The imagination Lewis’s narrator awakens will be of darkness, supernatural occurrences, and immoral actions. The collection’s title, *Tales of Terror*, fits Radcliffe’s definition of *terror* though Lewis would not have known her definition at the time of publication. Where Lewis’s *The Monk* follows the gendered Gothic divisions by accepting the supernatural and stressing horror over terror, his *Tales of Terror* work, as the name might suggest, uses terror as the dominant style of fear. As the morals in the individual poems become clear, the reader finds their mind expanded and may learn lessons. The terror affects the reader, even if the characters encounter brief moments of horror throughout. For the purposes of this chapter, I will not explore each poem in the collection. Instead, I will look at two poems, one toward the beginning of the collection and one nearer the end. While I could have picked any of the poems in the collection to analyze, I chose the two I did because they offer different styles of the Gothic themes Lewis uses throughout the volume, including different styles of antagonists.

The first poem I will discuss is “Hrim Thor, or the Winter King: A Lapland Tale.” All of the poems in the collection include some form of subtitle with an explanation of where the folkloric elements originate. Some are Spanish, English, Welsh, Swedish, etc. This poem comes from Lapland, a large area of Finland. Finland is exotic insomuch as it is distant enough from England to be generally unfamiliar to readers, though not completely foreign, adding a sense of intrigue and the excitement of the unknown. Any foreign or mysterious location would work, but Lewis had specific reasons for choosing Lapland. The Lapland area of Finland has historical significance with regards to the supernatural, and Lewis chose a location contemporary readers would recognize as supernatural. In Shakespeare’s *A Comedy of Errors*, Antipholus of Syracuse

says that strange events are occurring around him and that surely “Lapland sorcerers inhabit here” (IV.3.11). Milton’s *Paradise Lost* also references Lapland in Book II: “Nor uglier follow the Night-Hag, when call’d / In secret, riding through the / Air she comes / Lur’d with the smell of infant blood, to dance / With Lapland Witches” (II.662-65). A few years before *Tales of Terror* was published, the painter Henry Fuseli painted “The Night-Hag Visiting Lapland Witches” (1796). Fuseli’s painting, a clear reference to Milton, reaffirmed Lapland’s connection with the supernatural. Two of the most famous early modern writers mention Lapland in discussions about witchcraft and sorcery; Lewis calling the poem a “Lapland Ballad” directly informed readers that this poem would follow that same Shakespearean and Miltonic literary tradition, with Lapland as a supernatural locale.

“Hrim Thor” offers a lot to discuss in terms of renaissance and early-modern supernatural references. “Hrim Thor” has twenty-five stanzas written in iambic tetrameter. Each stanza has four lines in an AABB rhyme scheme. This poem, along with many in Lewis’s collection, follows in the traditional ballad mode; the meter and rhyme scheme create a poem that is easy to read aloud, similar to a fairy tale that one might tell a child before bed, or a bard might recite to a captive audience. The balladic structure amplifies the poem’s purpose to educate and provide some moral lesson. The opening line of “Hrim Thor” provides readers the poem’s setting: “The moon shone bright on Lapland’s snows” (1). The events of the poem take place at night, with a moon shining brightly on snow. The plot of the poem follows the Winter King riding off to meet a young woman, convincing her that her absent lover sent him, and tricking her to ride with him into the snowy unknown.

The Winter King leaves his icy cave on his “fiend-born steed” in search of a “beauteous maid” (4-6). Before he leaves, however, he dons “his armour bright, and mounts, a young and comely knight” (9-10). The Winter King on his hell-horse appears as a young knight in bright armor. Before readers even reach the poem’s explicitly-stated lesson, readers can safely assume it will involve not trusting appearances and being wary of how people present themselves. These

are Gothic themes that appear stronger in later Gothic narratives (vampires and doppelgängers are prime examples of hidden evils). The Winter King's ability to ride a horse and wear armor also indicate some level of physicality. Neither his body nor his appearance are described in any detail. And with his ability to appear bright and youthful, his outward appearance will not inform those around him of his true and internal self. The poem also works as a *memento mori*, a reminder that all must die; similarly, the *Danse Macabre* reminds readers that death comes for all, regardless of station, wealth, age, or beauty. The poem offers readers a chance to witness hidden evils in an early state, during a morality lesson while also reminding them that no matter how hard they resist, death eventually takes us all.

Tura, the maiden who has caught the Winter King's eye, mourns for her missing love. Her "charms . . . caused the fight / That tore her Asgar from her sight" (15-16). She believes that she is responsible for her lover's death. This turns her into both a damsel-in-distress and a victim of her own self. She needs saving, but what she needs saving from is her own actions. The Winter King arrives and tells her that he is her "lover's trusty friend" (20). Twice she calls him "courteous knight" and refuses to accompany him, even after he tells her that Asgar, her slain lover, is alive, though dying in a cave (27-28). She refuses twice, forcing the Winter King to show her proof of Asgar's life. When she sees that the Winter King has tokens from her slain lover, she consents to ride away with him. Readers know he is the Winter King and not who claims to be; readers do not know, however, what he truly is other than the Winter King. The terror of the poem comes from the irony and mystery of knowing he is not who he claims to be without knowing what he truly is nor what his goals are. Readers now understand that Tura, and they themselves, are in danger because the world has many evils which can change their shape or appear in "bright armor". Readers begin wondering what he might do with Tura. While it would seem Tura has been beguiled by the evil Winter King in disguise, the next line of the poem offers a different reading.

After Tura agrees to accompany the Winter King, the next stanza begins, “Full sure the demon spreads his snare, / The eager maid descends the stair” (45-46). This raises the question, who feels “full sure” that the demon was spreading his snare? The most straight-forward reading is that the demon believes he has successfully laid his trap. However, the next line implies an alternate reading, that the maid is full sure she is caught in the demon’s trap. She is the subject descending the stair; it tracks then, that she also eagerly goes with the demon knowing full well he may not have come from her dying lover. She accepts the Winter King’s invitation as penance for causing Asgar to die. She realizes that only in death can she be with her lover, and her time has come. The terror of not knowing which reading Lewis intended excites the mind. Readers must interpret the poem to determine who they believe is “full sure.” If Hrim Thor appeared to Tura as a violent and hideous monster, readers would instantly understand his evil nature. As he appears in shining armor and asks her to join him, readers must decide what role he plays: trickster or harbinger. The terror of the poem also forces readers to confront contradictions. They must simultaneously be wary of hidden evil while also acting like the maid, gracefully accepting death when it comes in the guise of a friendly visitor. As they do not know what role he plays and they can only imagine what lies in wait for Tura, they must grapple with the possibility that Hrim Thor is not entirely malicious. Aside from his “fiend-born steed,” he has not acted fiendishly.

The Winter King and Tura ride away together, but as the journey gets more difficult and the ice begins to climb her body, she voices regret for her choice. Repeatedly she asks Hrim Thor to stop, but it is too late. By the time she feels the icy snow chilling her breast, he remarks, “Now vain your fears and wild alarms, / You feel your lover’s icy arms!” (79-80). Her cries are in vain, but still she cries on: “Now shrieks the maid with sad affright” (81). Lewis’s description of her shrieks as “sad affright” imply that her fears are sad -- that is, she is not frozen in panic or fear; horror has not taken her. She is upset at what is happening. She is terrified, wondering what is going to happen. Will she freeze to death? Might she reunite in death with her beloved Asgar? The uncertainty builds the terror as the options around her elude her senses. The Winter King

causes snows and tempests to drown out the maiden's cries until at last, "Her Asgar's ghastly shade arose" (90). She does finally see her deceased lover -- or at least a version of him.

"Now loud are heard the maiden's cries, / But louder blasts and tempests rise; / And when the tempests ceased to roar, / The maiden's cries were heard no more" (93-96). The penultimate stanza, once again, has the maiden's cries drowned out by raging tempests. The swirling snowstorms are a sublime and natural event. When the storm ends, silence looms on the horizon. The end of the narrative portion of the poem leaves the reader on a silent, snowy hillside. There is a certain ambiguity to the ending; the last stanza says her cries were loud during the storm, but silent after the storm. The poem does not say Tura died; readers must decide for themselves what happened to her. She could have been whisked away to live out her days as a reluctant servant or wife of the Winter King, relegated to a silent, unhappy life. Readers only know for certain that her "cries were heard no more" (96). The rest is up to them and their imagination, based on Tura's choices in the poem.

Tura chose to ride with the Winter King in the hopes that she might see her lover again. And she did; she saw him one last time in a terrible storm. She got what she wanted, though arguably at too great a cost. Readers may learn to be careful wishing for great miracles. There was no one but the Winter King who might hear her cry by the end. She has no friends, no Asgar, no hope. While Tura's hope seems lost, the reader's hope remains. The poem concludes this Lapland ballad with its explicit lesson for all young women: "Take warning hence, ye damsels fair, / Of men's insidious arts beware; / Believe not every courteous knight, / Lest he should prove a Winter Sprite" (100).

The end of the poem serves as a reminder that young women should be watchful. They should not trust "every courteous knight." The Winter King lied to her and misled her, but ultimately she chooses to trust him -- or at least accept the risk associated with trusting him, depending on the reading of the scene where she chooses to accompany him. He is very much a supernatural-accepted type of monster, though the poem is hardly horror gothic. Even though the

Gothic antagonist in the poem has a physical body, he represents little more than an idea. The icy storm harms Tura's body and mind, not the Winter King proper. His body is little more than a frame on which to hang shiny armor as an act of deceit. What lies under the armor remains a mystery. Tura and the readers alike cannot know the true Winter King because the façade he dons is powerful and concealing. The fairy-tale format of this poem uses the Winter King as an allegory for hidden evil. It is every maiden's job to distrust her eyes. She must remain vigilant and good in order to cause the man to reveal his true nature. The main idea is that one should be wary and cautious.

Lewis's use of terror and horror in this poem merits some attention. Using Radcliffe's definitions, the Winter King should be horrific: from the opening of the poem, readers know that the Winter King pretends to be a handsome knight. There surely exists an antagonistic entity which will pursue the young woman. Such a direct interaction and certainty of its existence should read as horror Gothic in fiction. However, in the ballad tradition using folkloric elements, the horrific monster is hardly horrifying. Instead, this obscurity, or lack of clarity to his nature, weakens him as an antagonist. He is ill-defined and disembodied. The real terror and imagination comes with the dramatic irony of the readers knowing from the start what Tura takes too long to realize; he is evil. Readers wonder when she will see his true nature, and if it will be too late. She may be "full sure" of his plans, but she eventually accepts his offer anyway due to the chance he might be telling the truth and she can see Asgar again. She does not get to question his existence or nature, as other heroines in Gothic fiction do. There is little mystery or doubt. Instead, she is doomed from the start, a rather scary prospect on its own. What follows, then, is an exercise in terror, in anticipation and imagination, about what it might mean, since the ending is determined from the start.

Not all of the poems in Lewis's collection begin with such foregone conclusions, though anyone familiar with the ballad tradition and morality tales may assume that things will end poorly for some. *Tales of Terror* makes these same kinds of rhetorical moves about morality and

virtue frequently, though in different ways. The second poem I have chosen to use as a case study is “The Black Canon of Elmham; or Saint Edmond’s Eve: An Old English Ballad,” hereafter referred to as “The Black Canon.”

“The Black Canon” contains 30 four-line stanzas featuring an ABAB rhyme scheme. The first and third lines of each stanza contain four feet while the second and fourth lines each have three feet¹⁵. The meter is inconsistent between stanzas, except to say that each line is a mix of iambs and anapests. The four-foot lines often work to set up a thought or question, and the three-foot lines answer the question or finish the thought. Similar to “Hrim Thor,” the balladic meter and rhyme scheme of “The Black Canon” make it effective for bardic recitation or storytelling, further establishing the work as a piece of “Old English Ballad” and part of an oral tradition. The overall plot of the poem has a clergyman journeying to a nearby abbey to exorcise a spirit who has been haunting the church. The restless spirit asks for the clergyman specifically because they have a history together from before the spirit died. When he arrives, he faces the spirit alone and disappears, leaving the abbey’s clergy bewildered.

The narrative opens with the Black Canon on his way to St. Edmond’s town to “say the midnight mass” and exorcise a “wand’ring sprite, / Whose shadowy form doth restless haunt / The abbey’s drear aisle this night” (3-8). The exhausted Canon arrives at the church and prostrates himself at the abbot’s feet. The abbot tells the Canon to rest, and he can exorcise the spirit the next day. The Canon disagrees: “Oh! Faint are my limbs, and my bosom cold! / Yet to-night must the sprite be laid; / Yet to-night when the hour of horror’s tolled, / Must I meet the wandering shade!” (45-48). When it comes to facing restless spirits, there is no time to waste. Interestingly, however, the presence of the supernatural serves more as a plot device than a villainous force. By the second stanza, the reader understands that the Black Canon is traveling to rid the abbey of a spirit. By the third stanza, the reader knows that the supernatural entity is not

¹⁵ This is a variation of the *fourteener*, a standard balladic stanza form.

entirely malicious. The sprite has said it will not leave until it is given a proper burial: "Till he breathes o'er its grave the prayer of peace, / And sprinkles the hallowed tear" (11-12). This haunting is neither evil nor scary, though the church wishes it gone all the same. The spirit just wants to be put to rest in the proper way. There are no evil possessions, no poltergeist-like mischief, and thus no horror. There is only a restless and wandering spirit. Readers and the abbot feel terror, imagining what misdeed or curse has kept such a gentle spirit at unrest. The Canon knows what keeps the spirit from eternal peace. Unlike "Hrim Thor," the reader receives no information about the supernatural entity except that it exists. Its motivations, its goals, and its appearance remain hidden. It is a disembodied and ethereal presence. The only person with whom the spirit interacts does know the spirit, however.

When the Canon and the abbot enter the church, the Canon smiles, "But horror fixed his eye . . . / and fear each bosom froze" (55, 60). The two men search for the "unhallowed tomb" in which "the corpse unblessed was laid" (68). When they reach it, the Canon enters the chancel and the doors close behind him (90). Outside the closed door, "a loud yell was borne on the howling blast, / And a deep dying groan arose" which the monks heard, causing them to "burst through the chancel's gloom" (91-94). When they enter the room, they find it empty except for a cross and rosary beads on the floor and a new blood-red inscription. The inscription tells the monks that "The guilty Black Canon of Elmham's dead! / And his wife lies buried here!" (99-100). In the poem, as with many Gothic narratives, one major theme involves the revealing of hidden truths as the past returns to haunt characters. The truth of the Spirit lies in her life and in how she died. Many years ago, the Black Canon wedded himself to a nun. The nun felt guilty for breaking her religious order and was going to confess, which would have ruined the Canon's reputation. "The Black Canon her blood relentless spilt, / And in death her lips he sealed" (107-108). Readers learn of a church and a repentant woman, both victimized by a member of the clergy. They also learn of the desecration of a holy place resulting in supernatural events. The spirit wants to be put to

rest properly and have her truth known, so she wanders the abbey asking for the Black Canon to set her free.

While the monks read the damning inscription, they hear a crack of thunder and see lightning strike around the altar: “Speechless with horror the monks stand aloof -- / And the storm dies suddenly away” (115-16). The fear and terror they feel at the inscription vanishes as suddenly as the lightning strikes. “But never again was the Canon there found, / Nor the ghost on the black marble tomb” (119-20). The Canon disappears, presumably dragged into the tomb. The ghost got her wish, to be properly put to rest by the person who killed her. Once he had suffered for his hidden transgressions in the church, the specter had no purpose for which to remain.

While “The Black Canon” does not contain the very explicit moral to watch out for lewd or lascivious clergymen, the terror felt by the monks vanished and, more likely than not, solidified their belief in the supernatural powers of heaven. They were blessed to witness a man receive punishment for hidden evils; and more importantly, only the evil man suffered at the hands of the ghost. No innocents were hurt. Like Cowley’s *HORROR* and Lewis’s *Winter King*, the monster serves as an allegory. We can never truly escape where we came from and what we have done. This also reinforces the common anxiety about recognizing evil when it appears. Even the most outwardly pious might conceal sin inside.

Modern ghost stories frequently involve ghosts of horror: malicious or evil ghosts who wish to harm. Lewis’s ghost, however, is a ghost of terror: she serves to haunt the Canon and none other. She invites the monks, the abbot, and the reader to imagine why a she would come back to haunt a church and only be satisfied with the Canon performing her last rites. None of the monks could satisfy her soul. The only way to get rid of her is allow her to fulfil her mission and leave. As a disembodied antagonist, she lacks definition and thus cannot be defeated. She is a being of terror and obscurity.

Matthew Lewis and Ann Radcliffe were instrumental in establishing the Gothic tradition. Their rivalry also established the two gendered divisions, each one setting up specific themes and

styles for Gothic fiction. Their rivalry appears strongest in Gothic fiction, however, and not poetry. Having just discussed Lewis's poetry, I will now turn to a selection of poetry from Radcliffe for one important reason: despite their differences in fiction, the two authors' poetry contains many similarities in theme and style and demonstrates how the poetic form bridges the gap between male and women Gothic authors. For Radcliffe, terror is still the dominant method of fear in Gothic poetry, with supernatural-accepted plots of disembodied antagonists.

The first Radcliffe poem I will discuss is "Night," originally published in 1791. "Night" contains 10 four-line stanzas with an ABAB rhyme scheme. The poem is written in iambic pentameter and is similar in style to Cowley's "Invocation to Horror" in the following ways: both poems use personified virtues as the subject of their poem, and both speakers find darkness and terror attractive and enticing. Night as a character is not inherently antagonistic, though Radcliffe's characterization of Night is full of terror and sublimity.

The poem begins when Ev'ning, personified, goes to bed and Night, also personified, begins its reign. The speaker describes the stars in sublime terms, calling them Night's "awful pomp of planetary fires, / And all her train of visionary powers" (4). While not a common usage anymore, the word "awful" here does not mean unpleasant; instead, it means something full of wonder and that would inspire awe. Looking up at the night sky invokes feelings of sublime peace and stillness while Night obscures and hides everything in darkness; Night leads her train of stars across the sky through the "shadowy hours" so that the stars might "paint with fleeting shapes the dream of sleep" (2-5). Speaking of the stars and visionary powers Night brings, the speaker says, "These swell the waking soul with pleasing dread; / These through the glooms in forms terrific sweep, / And rouse the thrilling horrors of the dead!" (6-8). Radcliffe subtly plays with her own definitions of horror and terror, as well as their connection to the sublime. In the poem, she uses the both horror and terror to create moments of juxtaposition. She writes of the "pleasing dread" that Night creates in the waking soul. Dread is often a negative emotion, but the sublime vastness of the night sky can make that same dread pleasing. Despite the fear that

darkness causes in most people, staring into an empty sky at night awakens a primal sense of the infinite mingled with an absolute sense of scale. Many who stare into the night sky feel small, a feeling similar to staring out over the ocean. The vastness reminds them of how small they are, but at the same time brings peace and stillness through the dark expanse.

The speaker says that this darkness, co-mingled with stars, can take on “forms terrific” which awaken the “thrilling horrors of the dead!” (7-8). Radcliffe use of “terrific” works in conjunction with the “thrilling horrors;” A horror being trilling seems oxymoronic. Radcliffe juxtaposes the excitement of terror and awakened imagination with the stifling horror. In this case, then, especially as the phrase follows the “forms terrific,” Radcliffe seems to be making the point that horror and terror can bleed into each other. Some things, like seeing the stars at night, are terrific; darkness and uncertainty at Night increase the terror as imagination awakens and people wonder what secrets the Night holds. Sometimes, Night holds horrors, but the terror comes from wondering what horrors Night might bring. As such, the terror is in imagining what the horrors might be. The lack of light at Night causes sounds to appear from darkness, as though they are disembodied. Rustling noises and shadowy figures ebb and flow freely, though obscured from view. The speaker, along with Radcliffe’s readers, finds the soul-awakening terror in Night.

In the same way that Cowley personified HORROR, Radcliffe has personified Night. Unlike Cowley, however, Radcliffe’s supernatural entity has no body, nor does her speaker need to search for Night. Radcliffe’s speaker knows exactly where and what Night is: “Queen of the solemn thought -- mysterious Night! / Whose step is darkness, and whose voice is fear! / Thy shades I welcome with severe delight, / And hail thy hollow gales, that sigh so drear!” (9-12). Night is much more known and easier to locate than HORROR. In this third stanza of the poem, Radcliffe’s speaker identifies Night and defines what makes her a suitable antagonist. She is mysterious, like other Gothic villains. She also steps with darkness and speaks with fear. For Radcliffe, Night exists as a character with definable traits, a character who can act. Readers learn what Night wears, possesses, that she is a queen. The speaker defines Night’s character. What

Night does not have is physicality. The speaker never directly sees Night's body; Night possesses things in the poem, but the speaker cannot look at Night without describing things around Night.: "When, wrapt in clouds, and riding in the blast / Thou roll'st the storm along the sounding shore, / I love to watch the whelming billows, cast / On rocks below, and listen to the roar" (13-16). Night herself has no physical form; only a mind and ears to hear the Speaker's adoration. The lack of physical form maintains Night as an idea, an allegory of terror and the unknown. She cannot interact directly with the speaker.

Radcliffe's poem helps establish the trend in early Gothic poetry of using terror in conjunction with Burke's sublime. The storm rages and Radcliffe's speaker enjoys the storm. "Thy milder terrors, Night, I frequent woo, / Thy silent lightnings, and thy meteor's glare" (17-18). Here we get more than just thunderstorms; we get silent lightning and meteors. The speaker calls these weather events "milder terrors" (17). They are terror for two reasons. First, Night makes the storm barely visible and silent. The combination of thunderous roars and silent lightning increases the terror of the storm. The speaker can see the lightning and can hear distant thunder, but the two appear disconnected as though not from the same source. This disconnect forces the speaker to imagine the storm's power as individual components instead of a singular storm. Second, because the events are so far removed from the speaker, they do not instill the same level of soul-awakening terror despite maintaining their natural beauty. Lightning is silent when it is far away, and meteors occur out beyond our planet. The speaker does not feel the horror of being in the storm, and though she knows it exists, its horror seems lessened by distance and darkness. The speaker gets to witness and watch the storm from safety and finds only mild terror and excitement (15).

The speaker continues praising Night's beauties and splendor for a few stanzas before returning to what the speaker finds wonderful about Night: "Then let me stand amidst thy glooms profound" (29). Night speaks with a voice of fear, as the poem suggests toward the beginning (10), and now the speaker tells us that Night's glooms are profound. The speaker

explains through the poem that night has horrors, terrors, fears, mild terrors, and glooms. Night creates darkness, not just in the eyes but in the soul. Luckily for the speaker and for her listeners, the degree to which the darkness excites or affrights changes with our perceptions of Night and her ilk. For the speaker, who seems to delight in the darker sides of Night, she finds that Night allows “melancholy charm” to steal her mind (33). The speaker’s desire to embrace the melancholy charms Night offers insight about herself: she delights in the terror of Night’s somber allure. She wishes for her mind to get lost in thought during Night’s reign. She enjoys letting her imagination free, something she can only do at night. “Day’s bright eye pervades,” the speaker says (40), revealing “sober forms of Truth (39). Only at night can the speaker find freedom, however dark, to let herself be sad, enchanted, or uplifted by the world of darkness and thought which Night offers.

The juxtaposition of the terms “melancholy charms” again speaks to the gentle nature of the poem’s supernatural entity. The speaker’s life is in no imminent danger. The worst effect Night can cause revolves around making the speaker feel contentedly sad. This poem seems to say much about the speaker’s desire to embrace a feeling of sadness. The language used in the poem certainly indicates a happiness or “peace in sorrow” motif, something which appears throughout Radcliffe’s novels as well. In *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, for instance, Emily St. Aubert’s leads a fairly tragic life. It is full of death and sadness during the day, but she cannot express that sadness. At night, Emily is free to feel however she wishes. “The sun was now set, and, recalling her thoughts from their melancholy subject, she continued her walk; for the pensive shade of twilight was pleasing to her” (Radcliffe, “Mysteries of Udolpho,” 487). The night hides Emily’s and the poem’s speaker from prying eyes and sets their minds and souls free. Radcliffe uses Night as an allegory for the freedom and soul-expanding terror that comes from being unseen by others, from being free to be honest and truthful to oneself, something Day’s illuminating rays prevent.

As we progress through Gothic poetry, we can see subtle shifts in the depictions of supernatural antagonists. Early Gothic antagonists are often disembodied but personified ideas. Radcliffe's "Superstition: An Ode" represents a transition from disembodied terror antagonists to the more embodied monsters of later Gothic. The twenty-six-line poem has 6 stanzas: the first four stanzas have four lines each and an ABAB rhyme scheme in each stanza. Stanza five has an AABB rhyme scheme and four lines. The final stanza has six lines in an AABCBC rhyme scheme. Radcliffe's Ode's predominant meter is iambic pentameter, in the tradition of the English ode. However, the poem as a whole does not follow the traditional English ode structure¹⁶. Aside from the number of lines deviating from the English Ode's structure, Radcliffe's poem also uses tetrameter along with spondees and trochees, deviating from the iambic pentameter structure.

The poem, as an ode, should celebrate Superstition; however, the speaker discusses the power superstition has to cause desolation, sorrow, and despair. Subtling the poem "an ode" forces readers to consider the destruction and fears as positive attributes, as worthy of celebration. Readers must also consider whether Radcliffe's ode is meant to be read ironically or if the speaker presents a morally complicated viewpoint. Thus, readers should remember that the descriptions are meant to be celebrated, not feared. The first line of "Superstition: An Ode" informs readers we are "High mid Alverna's awful steeps," near the top of a mountain in Italy (1). The events take place far away from England. This physical distancing of the setting appears frequently in Gothic literature as a tool to engage readers and aid in the suspension of disbelief (Hume 186-87). If a poem celebrating Superstition's destructive power used London as its setting, readers may resist or disregard the happenings in the poem; they would also be too familiar with the locale for it to be exotic or mysterious. However, setting the poem in Italy allows readers a personal distancing. They can maintain an air of suspense for a known but unfamiliar location.

¹⁶ Three *decastichs* or ten-line stanzas (Turco 218)

“Enthron’d amid the wild impending rocks, / Involv’d in clouds, and brooding future woe, / The demon Superstition Nature shocks” (5-7). The speaker tells us that hidden among the mountain’s craggy peaks, a female demon named Superstition sits atop its throne. The poem celebrates this demon, hidden away in an inaccessible and dangerous location. The personified Superstition may remind readers of Cowley’s *HORROR*, which likewise sat upon a throne near rocks, though cliffs instead of mountains, and caused chaos. However, *HORROR* and Superstition manifest differently in the poems. *HORROR* represents an emotional state, while Superstition represents the irrational or illogical. Superstition wreaks havoc through monsters: “Around her throne, amid the mingling glooms, / Wild-hideous forms are slowly seen to glide” (10-11). Radcliffe’s poem introduces the appearance of embodied monsters to Gothic poetry, though they do not serve as major antagonists. Instead, they are minions, lesser evils controlled by a larger disembodied antagonist. Superstition “bids them fly to shade earth’s brightest blooms, / And spread the blast of Desolation wide.” Superstition uses these hideous forms as harbingers of pain and gloom. With the increased embodiment of Superstition’s minions, we have a speaker who seems to celebrate horror¹⁷:

See! In the darkened air their fiery course!
The sweeping ruin settles o’er the land,
Terror leads on their steps with maddn’ning force,
And Death and Vengeance close the ghastly band. (13-16)

It is worth pointing out that Radcliffe uses *Terror* instead of *Horror* in line 15. The creatures themselves may seem horrific by Radcliffe’s own academic definitions, but the monsters spread darkness (and obscurity) over the world (11). The hidden nature of the monsters makes them terrifying. Their bodies are hidden; viewers can only see the monsters’ wings and their fiery wake as they descend. Also noteworthy is that the word *terror* is capitalized in the poem, but it remains

¹⁷ Rather than the soul-awakening terror which nature can generate, as seen in Cowley’s “Invocation to *HORROR*.”

unclear whether that means it should be read as a personified attribute, or not. The reason for its lack of clarity stems from the word appearing at the beginning of a new line. For that reason alone, it may be capitalized. Radcliffe capitalizes words like Death, Vengeance, Desolation, Nature, and others. Terror may similarly be a named entity. I argue that *terror* should not be read as an entity, however. Instead, the hideous forms are harbingers of terror. They spread it before them, hiding themselves in darkness. They slowly glide around the demon Superstition spreading Desolation's blast (12); they bring terror. The last stanza of the poem adds a fifth and sixth line, a notable change from the poem's other four-line stanzas.

Wide--wide the phantoms swell the loaded air
With shrieks of anguish--madness and despair!
Cease your ruin! spectres dire!
Cease your wild terrific sway!
Turn your steps--and check your ire,
Yield to peace and mourning day!" (21-26)

The phantoms move through the air with "terrific sway," while the people below yell in anguish, madness, and despair. These phantoms and spectres fill the viewers with fear and terror. With Radcliffe's "Ode to Superstition," we see the Gothic use of superstition merge itself with monstrosity and evil: though Radcliffe's poem celebrates this merger rather than warns against it. Physical entities begin to enter the conversation as antagonistic forces. Though, at this early date, they exist mostly as servants of strife. They have not become full-fledged antagonists and rational actors yet. They merely do the work of some larger, lesser-defined evil force. The turn to embodied monsters happens soon after Radcliffe's poems with poetry by Samuel Taylor Coleridge.

Coleridge serves as an interesting turning point in Gothic poetry. For one, he notoriously disliked Gothic literature: Jerrold E. Hogle writes that of great interest to scholars is why Coleridge used supernatural, even Gothic elements in "Rime of the Ancient Mariner" and

“Christabel” when Coleridge “so passionately condemns Gothic fiction as ‘low,’ ‘vulgar,’ and ‘pernicious’ in reviews and letters of that very time” (18). Robert Hume addresses Coleridge’s hypocritical use of the Gothic: “Gothic novels are often ridiculed for their use of the supernatural, though no one condemns Coleridge, say, for introducing it in ‘The Rime of the Ancient Mariner’” (Hume 284). His use of the Gothic despite his personal distaste for it demonstrates the Gothic’s growing popularity at the time. Even authors who disliked and critiqued it could not escape writing it. Two Coleridge poems, “Rime of the Ancient Mariner” and “Christabel,” demonstrate the shifting Gothic antagonist well when viewed together. The turn of the nineteenth century acts as a watershed for the Gothic antagonist. Coleridge published “Ancient Mariner” in 1798; he also began writing “Christabel” between 1797 and 1800 (Hogle 18) but did not publish it until 1816. Coleridge wrote the two poems at about the same time, but Coleridge held off publishing “Christabel” for some reason until nearly 20 years after he began writing it, presumably due to the evolving nature of supernatural elements in poetry. “Ancient Mariner” uses supernatural agents as antagonistic forces but also contains corporeal but benevolent monsters. “Christabel” contains elements of early Gothic poetry, like a dark castle and uncanny atmosphere, but also offers a fully embodied monster who poses a serious threat to the protagonist. Geraldine, the monster in the poem, has a body; in fact, her body constitutes a large part of what makes her monstrous.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge’s “The Rime of the Ancient Mariner,” published in the 1798 *Lyrical Ballads*, marks a transition between the supernatural but personified antagonist and the embodied monstrous Other. It is rife with supernatural events and themes, some of which walk the line of being almost embodied. The poem consists of seven parts; each part consists of a varying number of stanzas. The stanzas mostly have four lines and an ABCB rhyme scheme, though some stanzas add a fifth line or even a sixth line, and the rhyme scheme changes. One six-line stanza in Part I uses ABBCDC, but Part II has two six-line stanzas back to back with an ABCBDB rhyme. Part III has four-, five-, and six-line stanzas of varying rhyme schemes. The

lack of consistency built inside the traditional ballad framework works well to emphasize plot points or important lines of text. The rhythm of the poem fixates on the four-line stanza with its alternating iambic tetrameter and iambic trimeter lines. The poem inserts extra lines or changes the rhyme scheme to emphasize certain lines or make moments stand out.

The poem's speaker remains anonymous and acts as a third-person omniscient narrator to the poems' reader. The subject of the poem follows an ancient Mariner who tells his long, supernatural tale to an unsuspecting and unwilling listener, a man attempting to participate in wedding festivities. The supernatural in the poem appears through various sources. The Mariner himself has some supernatural abilities, but he also witnesses many supernatural occurrences at sea. The reader follows the story along with the Mariner's listener. The wedding guest in the poem serves as a surrogate for the reader; he has no foreknowledge of the mariner, nor does he ask to hear the tale. Instead, he is forced to listen as the mariner holds him in thrall through supernatural means. The wedding guest frequently tries to break away but cannot, reflecting the reader's inability to avoid the tale once they begin reading the poem. The mariner's narrative involves killing a good-luck charm, getting stranded on the open sea, and being the sole human survivor on the ship, though he is hardly alone.

The ancient Mariner grabs the arm of the listener, the "Wedding-Guest," as the poem calls him, and begins to tell his story. In the fourth stanza of the poem, the supernatural nature of the poem begins. The poem's anonymous speaker informs the reader, "He holds him with his glittering eye / The Wedding-Guest stood still, / And listens like a three years' child: / The Mariner hath his will" (13-16). The Wedding Guest does not want to listen, but he must. The Mariner uses some form of supernatural hypnotic mind control¹⁸ with his "glittering eye" to force his audience to listen: "The Wedding-Guest sat on a stone: / He cannot choose but hear" (17-18).

¹⁸ See footnote 12 above.

Hypnotism appears throughout many Victorian and Gothic works, and Coleridge presents it here as a supernatural method to compel the Wedding-Guest to listen.

In the eighth and again in the tenth stanzas of Part I, Coleridge repeats, “The Wedding-Guest here beat his breast” (31) and “The Wedding-Guest he beat his breast, / Yet he cannot choose but hear” (37-38). If the Wedding-Guest were not beating his breast, one may assume he was enraptured in the Mariner’s tale. Instead, however, readers see the listener fighting against the story but ultimately unable to remove himself. He listens: restlessly, and against his will; but he listens. As the Wedding-Guest stands in for the reader, we should consider our role in the narrative: should we listen/read attentively or resist the narrative? The poem returns to the Wedding-Guest a few times throughout, mostly as an interjection to break up the Mariner’s narrative. The Mariner’s conflict is largely man-vs-self, but he does not serve as the antagonist of the poem. Instead, nature and superstition mingle to work against him once his actions catalyze the conflict. It is through this blending of nature and the supernatural that we can begin to envision the shift from personified antagonists and monstrous bodies. Holding the Wedding-Guest against his will is minor compared to the antagonism the Mariner faces at the hands of angry nature controlled through superstition and curses.

Like many Gothic poems, the first supernatural element the Mariner encounters is weather. The “STORM-BLAST came, and he / Was tyrannous and strong: / He struck with his o’ertaking wings, / And chased us south along” (41-44). Coleridge personifies the storm, giving it a purpose and strength. The storm chased the Mariner’s ship so far south that they ended up in the land of ice and snow. The storm is not the only natural entity Coleridge anthropomorphizes in Part I: “The ice was here, the ice was there, / The ice was all around: / It cracked and growled, and roared and howled, / Like noises in a swound!” (59-62). The storm was tyrannous and strong, and the ice growled and roared.

Nature tries to ensnare the Mariner and his fellow seamen until an albatross appears through the fog. Coleridge capitalizes the first letter of Albatross consistently, indicating that the

bird is more than a mere animal. It is a creature worthy of attention. Wherever the Albatross flies, the ice breaks and the helmsman steers safely through. The Albatross also brings “a good south wind” with it. The good luck the Albatross brings quickly vanishes with the Mariner’s careless and selfish actions¹⁹: “With my cross-bow / I shot the ALBATROSS.” Part I ends with the revelation that the Mariner has, for some unknown reason, killed the Albatross.

The third and fourth stanzas of Part II show the shipmates’ confusion about what role the Albatross played in their journey. The Mariner’s shipmates chastise him because he “had killed the bird / That made the breeze to blow” (93-94). However, in the next stanza the shipmates decide the bird’s death was for the best:

Then all averred, I had killed the bird
That brought the fog and mist.
‘Twas right, said they, such birds to slay,
That bring the fog and mist. (99-102)

In one stanza, they call the Mariner “wretch” for killing the wind-bringing bird. In the next stanza, they call him a hero for killing the harbinger of fog. The shipmates understand nothing about luck or wind. Coleridge’s focus on the shipmates’ uncertainty in their own moral judgments implies that the supernatural often defies understanding. They cannot know for sure whether the Mariner’s actions were good or evil. Their own understanding of the supernatural Albatross brings the seamen terror, as the fate of their ship rests with unknowable forces. They cannot help but imagine various scenarios in which the Albatross was both beneficial and antagonistic.

After some time, the Mariner sees the sail of a ship off in the distance. Everyone on the ship is too dehydrated to talk. The Mariner, feeling the need to tell everyone of the new ship, learns that his mouth is too dry to speak. In an act of self-mutilation, he exclaims, “I bit my arm, I

¹⁹ Frequently, modern readers consider an Albatross to be a sign of bad luck. However, that is a misunderstanding of the poem. The Albatross gave good luck to those on the ship until the Mariner killed it. The death of the Albatross brings the bad luck.

sucked the blood, / And cried, A sail! a sail!” (160-61). Even with his vampiric blood sacrifice, the Mariner and his shipmates could not lift their curse. As the new ship passes between theirs and the setting sun, “the Sun was flecked with bars . . . / As if through a dungeon-grate he peered” (179). Though not a physical being, it appears as a ship with physicality but no embodiment: to put it another way, the ship approaching them had shape but not substance. More than that, it represents the metaphorical prison in which they find themselves; they can see out through the grate or bars, into the open sea, but cannot escape to freedom.

The seamen see the sun through the ribs of the ship, meaning the ship was mostly decayed or destroyed. And on the deck of this ghost-ship, the Mariner sees a pale-skinned woman with red lips and yellow hair. Next to her sits another figure. The Mariner wonders if the second figure is “a DEATH” (188). The use of the article combined with DEATH entirely in capital letters implies an even more powerful supernatural entity than the Albatross, placing it on equal terms with Cowley’s HORROR. While HORROR has a physicality in the sense that she has a throne (Cowley 30), we never see HORROR actually sitting on the throne. The fact that a DEATH has a body and can be seen next to a woman also indicates a physical presence. DEATH’s body is visible and active. DEATH is not fully embodied, though we can see the monstrous Other’s physicality increasing in this poem. The Mariner describes the lady as “The Night-mare LIFE-IN-DEATH was she, / Who thicks man’s blood with cold” (193-94). She is LIFE-IN-DEATH, and the person casting dice with her is a DEATH. The two are playing dice, and the woman exclaims she wins. It appears that the two were playing for the Mariner’s soul. Whether DEATH or LIFE-IN-DEATH is a better outcome for the Mariner is up to reader’s imagination. Not knowing whether it would be better to die or to maintain some semblance of life in death invokes strong levels of terror.

Some time after the ghost ship leaves, things on his own boat turn against him. The Mariner says,

One after one, by the star-dogged Moon,

Too quick for groan or sigh,
Each turned his face with ghastly pang,
And cursed me with his eye

Four times fifty living men,
(And I heard nor sigh nor groan)
With heavy thump, a lifeless lump,
They dropped down one by one.

The souls did from their bodies fly, --
They fled to bliss or woe!
And every soul, it passed me by,
Like the whizz of my cross-bow!" (212-23)

Two hundred men use their last bit of life to curse the Mariner before they drop dead on the boat. He saw every man's soul leave its respective body, at which point they flew around him. This is the second time in the poem where the supernatural manifests in visible ways. The Mariner sees souls leave their bodies before flying around to heaven or hell, he does not know, ends Part III. The Mariner tells the Wedding-Guest, and by proxy the reader, that the supernatural is real, though he cannot explain to what end. The uncertain rapture of souls, whether hellish or divine, builds terror. If the soul is real, as evidenced by them leaving the body, then an afterlife must also be real; less certain is what the afterlife looks like. DEATH and LIFE-IN-DEATH gamble for human life without apparent moral judgment or divine purpose. The afterlife, the Mariner's narrative seems to imply, is determined by a throw of the dice.

The Mariner has killed an albatross, survived an encounter with a ghost ship, and witnessed hundreds of souls vacating his crewmates' bodies. He is tinged with death all around. He now embodies LIFE-IN-DEATH. He lives as a harbinger of death. The Mariner calmly

reassures the Wedding-Guest, “Fear not, fear not, thou Wedding-Guest! / This body dropt not down” (230-31). The Mariner did not die when he should have, when the other two hundred people on his boat did. He was spared . . . or cursed. Did the woman save him for a reason, or was he merely a piece in her game? The reader and Wedding-Guest must wrestle with that very question.

In part V, the weather returns to the narrative in the form of wind and rain. There was no thunder or lightning, no tyrannous Storm; there was just wind and rain. The weather has moved from sublime horror to sublime beauty: “And soon I heard a roaring wind: / It did not come anear; / But with its sound it shook the sails” (309-11). The wind was far away from him and did not pose any threat. He does not worry that it will strand him and the ship again, like the storms from the beginning of the poem had. Without that concern, he lets the sublime terror of the storm bring some peace to his soul. It was a beautiful wind, which moved his long-dormant sails until something unexplainable happened: “Beneath the lightning and the Moon / The dead men gave a groan” (330). The wind may be sublime, but night brings many terrors. The men who had lay dead made noise. More than that, “They groaned, they stirred, they all uprose, / Nor spake, nor moved their eyes” (331-32). These two hundred sailors stood up after weeks of being dead and began running the ship. “The helmsman steered, the ship moved on; / . . . The mariners all ‘gan work the ropes, / Where they were wont to do” (335-38). They are not alive; they are instead soulless entities reanimated by some supernatural and unexplained forces. They are undead puppets. The Mariner reacts with sublime terror, awestruck at the sight of two hundred dead men returning to some semblance of life. A moment like this in later Gothic poetry and fiction would be horrifying, seeing zombies running a ship. However for Coleridge, the monster is not fully embodied yet and the Mariner is more fascinated by their movements than he is horrified. Part of the reason is that once they animate, they do not attack him or overpower him; they get back to work.

One major fear in Gothic works is the fear of automatism²⁰. This fear of automatism bridges the gap between an allegorical monster and an embodied, real monster. In her book *Automatism and Creative Acts in the Age of New Psychology*, Linda Austin writes that “automatisms were negatively correlated with a Cartesian idea of humanness based on thinking, willing, feeling, and feeling” (1). To be human and embodied, then, is to think, feel, and will. “A human being had by definition to possess attributes not normally associated with machines: . . . spontaneity, unpredictability, and emotion” (Austin 22). Coleridge’s zombies do none of those things. The zombie seamen move and perform duties similar to those they performed during life. They have physicality. What they lack is intention or motivation. They do not act on their own behalf. They repeat the movements they did in life, the things they knew best. This unsettling scene invokes terror as readers face a soulless life of repetitive work with no chance for self-expression or freedom²¹. This is the fear of what happens when the body keeps functioning without intentional action. These men “raised their limbs like lifeless tools” (339). This fear comes up in vampire narratives as well, usually in the form of somnambulism and hypnotism. A body moving without intention is unnerving and uncanny. The Mariner thought so, too. He tells the Wedding-Guest that he saw his nephew’s body standing by him, except he doesn’t call it his nephew. Twice he calls it “The body,” reinforcing the idea that the physical body is not what makes a person whole; the mind must be present for embodiment to occur. Whatever soul that made that particular body his nephew was no longer present. Instead, it was merely the body of what used to be his brother’s son. Somewhere between personified ideas and a flesh-and-blood monster lies Coleridge’s zombie boatman.

The zombies steer the ship and help rescue the mariner. The Mariner, on the hand, resembles a brown, wrinkly Devil (227; 569). The human survivor presents a devilish façade but

²⁰ As a nation in the midst of a technological and industrial revolution, the fear of becoming a mindless worker resonates through many writings of the time.

the zombies are beings of light and good. The Mariner looks to the deck and sees the bodies lying there motionless again: “A man all light, a seraph-man, / On every corse there stood” (490-91). The mariner witnesses many supernatural things on his journey to morality. He sees skeletons and ghost-ships. And he sees automatist zombies; these are the exact opposite of embodied monsters. Rather than being a mind that uses a body to its full extent, they are a body that lacks any kind of brain or motivation. They are machines, animated and programed by the supernatural. The poem works against stereotypes, with the supernatural moments being largely beneficial to the protagonist while still inspiring terror in his unwilling listener.

With the publication of “Christabel,” Gothic antagonists becomes embodied and monstrous. The character Geraldine hides her monstrosity well, rendering her at different times in the poem an object of terror or horror. Coleridge never finished the poem, which adds to the terror, as the monster remains incompletely defined and therefore undefeated. For this chapter, I will explore “Christabel” without addressing its vampiric themes because the poem also briefly appears in the next chapter, due to some scholarship which claims “Christabel” to be a vampire poem.

“Christabel” is of much interest to Coleridge scholars due to its unfinished nature (Mitsein 67). It has two parts, and each part has a written “Conclusion,” though scholars disagree about the “Conclusion to Part II”, as it strays away from many of the poem’s themes²². Regardless of the unfinished nature or the contradictions present in Part II’s Conclusion, “Christabel” illustrates a shift in Gothic poetry from personified ideas to more embodied, albeit still unknowable and undefeatable monsters. “Christabel” uses rhyming couplets throughout each stanza, though each stanza is of varying lengths: some have twelve lines, and others have two. The poem’s narrative begins in the middle of the night with owls awakening roosters. A young girl, Christabel, sneaks out of her house, encounters another young girl, Geraldine, who seems to

²² Mitsein argues that the first appearance of the text in “Conclusion to Part II” came in a letter to Robert Southey in 1801 and was not originally intended to be part of “Christabel” at all.

be weakened and confused. The two go back to Christabel's house, and fall asleep. In the morning, the first girl's father learns of his new guest and rejects Christabel's pleading with him. He focuses all attention on Geraldine, declaring he will spare no expense to return her safely home. In a moment of despair, Geraldine turns to look at Christabel, who sees that Geraldine's eyes resemble those of a serpent.

Christabel has snuck out of the house in order to pray for her "betrothèd knight." Christabel hears something on the other side of the tree and wonders if it was the wind. This subverts the Gothic connection to nature and inclement weather. Instead, it establishes a new pattern where the weather produces a feeling of uncanniness rather than being the antagonist proper. The poem creates a sense of uneasiness in its readers by using nature which defies expectations: "The night is chilly, but not dark. . . . The moon is behind, and at the full; / And yet she looks both small and dull" (15-19). The moon is full but somehow does not produce much light. The wind might be making noise even though there isn't enough to blow hair from Christabel's cheek (44-47). Coleridge uses nature as a means to establish the Gothic mood in the poem instead of using nature as the catalyst for conflict or source of the sublime²³.

On the other side of the tree, Christabel eventually sees "a damsel bright, / Drest in a silken robe of white, / . . . Her stately neck, and arms were bare; / her blue-veined feet unsandl'd were" (58-63). This young lady wears a white robe with no shoes. She appears disheveled and sylvan. This description is one of the earliest examples of a poetic Gothic antagonist whose body and clothes an author describes in any detail. Christabel takes on the role of faithful knight and helps Geraldine, the damsel in distress, as they slowly make their way to Christabel's castle-home. The knight has left the castle, found a young woman in need of help, and safely escorts her away from harm. Some scholars read this poem as an allegory for the fears of invasion. Though,

²³ Examples of nature as a source of the sublime include rolling "thunders long, and loud" in Cowley's "INVOCATION TO HORROR" (line 43) and "silence dwell / Save, when the gale resounding sweeps" in Radcliffe's "Superstition: An Ode" (lines 2-3).

as James Mulvihill argues, “If this is an invasion, it is a strange one, made stranger by its seeming victim’s apparent complicity with it” (258). Christabel willingly opens the locked gate and leads Geraldine through. Whether or not the fear of invasion was present in Coleridge’s mind at the time he began writing (Mulvihill 255), Geraldine does, in fact, invade the castle. In another moment of subverted expectations, Coleridge’s knight is in danger and needs saving from the damsel.

Once the two girls have snuck into the castle without waking Leoline, Christabel’s father, they pass by the family’s dog, who demonstrates her sensitivity to the supernatural by growling when Geraldine passes close. Another supernatural occurrence at Geraldine’s physical proximity to an object happens as Geraldine passes in front of a dying fire: “A tongue of light, a fit of flame” appears (156-59). Not only did the sleeping dog sense her monstrosity, but the fireplace reignites briefly as she passes. In that brief firelight, “Christabel saw the lady’s eye, / And nothing else saw she thereby” (160-61). Similar to the Mariner’s hypnotic trance in “Rime,” Christabel gets lost in Geraldine’s eyes and loses sight of everything else. In an act of embodiment, Geraldine’s eyes possess hypnotic power. She uses her enticing eyes in order to hypnotize the young Christabel. The supernatural forces grow the moment Geraldine enters the house. Her physical presence is the catalyst for the supernatural elements in the poem.

The two girls make it safely to Christabel’s room with minimal supernatural interruptions and begin drinking wine. Christabel mentions her late mother, to which Geraldine cries, “Off, wandering mother! Peak and Pine! / I have power to bid thee flee” (205-206). The opening of the poem implies that the ghost of Christabel’s mother may appear each night at midnight, causing the dog to bark repeatedly. More than personified ideas, Gothic poetry starts to get more defined monsters -- supernatural entities with antagonistic properties. Ghostly presences and supernatural visitors haunt the night. The mother’s ghost appearing or not appearing, as the text never clarifies which it is, invokes terror. The dog barks at empty space every night, presumably the mother’s

ghost. But no one knows for sure, and readers can only speculate whether the ghost truly haunts the castle or not.

In one of the most analyzed parts of the poem, Geraldine asks Christabel to disrobe herself, which Christabel does. Once she is undressed, Christabel lies down on the bed, then props herself up on the bed and watches Geraldine undress. Geraldine unbinds

The cincture from beneath her breast:

Her silken robe, and inner vest,

Dropt to her feet, and full in view,

Behold! her bosom and half her side----- (249-52).

The two young girls lay down together naked, and Geraldine takes Christabel in her arms²⁴. When Christabel sees Geraldine's exposed body, she says, "A sight to dream of, not to tell!" (253).

Benjamin Scott Grossberg claims that Christabel's silence on the matter indicates an unexpressed and inexpressible lesbian desire, which she could not have had the words for in the early nineteenth century (155). While this reading has some merit, I argue that Geraldine has cast some hypnotic spell over Christabel, marking this moment as a violation of Christabel. After the fireplace where Christabel saw nothing but Geraldine's eyes, Christabel lost self-control and power to make decisions for herself. Geraldine's eye and bosom give her supernatural powers over Christabel. Clearly, whatever monstrous self lives inside Geraldine uses her physical body to enact its desires.

Christabel could not consent to any kind of homosexual intimacy with Geraldine while she was entranced. A similar but non-sexual violation appears in "Rime of the Ancient Mariner" as the Mariner's eye entrances the Wedding-Guest, rendering him unable to move or act on his own. It seems that for Coleridge, supernatural eyes hold hypnotic powers which can render those

²⁴ Scholars frequently read this scene as a homoerotic moment of early women empowerment. Mitsein writes, "As Christabel kneels in front of the oak tree praying for her lover's safety, her heteronormative, conjugal relationship is hijacked by the arrival of Geraldine. . . [Once Christabel is naked, however], Christabel's posture conveys, if not desire, then at least an absence of shame" (72).

who see them powerless. In this moment where Christabel finds herself compelled to disrobe, Geraldine violates Christabel's mind and body too. A supernatural figure, though less morally upright than the Mariner, forced her to act in ways against her nature²⁵.

In the morning, the girls wake up and speak with Christabel's father. Sir Leoline finds out that Geraldine's father is an old friend of his, but they had broken off their friendship due to unpleasant rumors. In true Gothic fashion, Leoline's past comes back to haunt him. Someone he once knew gave birth to offspring who shows up and poisons his daughter's mind and body. More than that, Geraldine entrances him, too, to the point where he ignores his daughter's pleas to get rid of the evil woman. While Leoline and Geraldine chat, Christabel sees Geraldine's true self shining through her damsel mask:

A snake's small eye blinks dull and shy;
And the lady's eyes they shrunk in her head,
Each shrunk up to a serpent's eye
And with somewhat of malice, and more of dread,
At Christabel she looked askance!--
One moment--and the sight was fled!
But Christabel in dizzy trance
Stumbling . . . (583-89).

The viper Geraldine has snaked her way into Leoline's home and wrought destruction. Leoline feels that Christabel dishonored him with her outrage. He leaves his house and "led forth the lady Geraldine!" (655). In this moment of clarity, Christabel moves from entranced to horrified. She finally sees Geraldine's true body, snake eyes and all. She no longer has to wonder or imagine what secrets Geraldine holds. She knows the truth and it horrifies her, a testament to the power of the embodied monster.

²⁵ This moment also invites many of the vampiric connections, as vampires frequently seduce and enthrall their victims in similar ways.

The quote above is the last scene of the poem before the controversial “Conclusion to Part II.” Leoline has left home with the supernatural seductress and violator. Geraldine is an embodied monster. As such, the monster Geraldine has supernatural powers that relate directly to her physical body. Her seductive nature and supernatural powers lie in her bosom, her eyes, her physicality. Readers see that her supernatural presence affects humans and nature. She arrives on a chilly but bright night with a full but small moon. She entrances Christabel and sneaks her way into the house, wherein she upsets a sleeping dog and a dying fire. She then turns the young girl’s father against her and leads him to some unknown fate.

The unfinished nature of the poem leaves much to be desired, but it also makes the poem that much more suspenseful. There is a “finished” version, completed by Coleridge’s son by compiling letters and other writings Coleridge sent about the story, which has Christabel’s lover arriving just in time to save everyone from Geraldine. However, this ending is little more than educated fan-fiction. Coleridge himself published the poem in its unfinished form and never returned to it. Perhaps he was upset with himself for writing in the “vulgar” and “pernicious” Gothic mode. On the other hand, perhaps Coleridge did not finish the poem because Geraldine has to get away. Geraldine as the first embodied monster remains largely unknown to those around her, and as such readers must imagine what other powers she has and how a young, bright girl could house viper-eyes and an evil interior self. The horror of seeing a monster was still nascent in Gothic poetry and Geraldine’s embodiment complicates her role, though she also paves the way for future embodied antagonistic monsters. Perhaps Coleridge did not feel confident finishing the poem specifically because his monstrous Other was too innovative. He did not have a tradition or previous examples upon which to look for inspiration. Whatever reason Coleridge had for not finishing the poem, “Christabel” remains a powerful piece of Gothic poetry for its use of the medieval Gothic setting, its focus on night and atmosphere, and its antagonist whose supernatural monstrosity relies on her embodied nature to move from terror to horror.

The last Gothic poem I wish to discuss is Christina Rossetti's poem "Goblin Market." Many scholars read the poem as a meditation on the "fallen" woman²⁶. Other recent scholarship argues for the commerce-aspect of "Goblin Market," looking specifically on what London markets Rossetti might have based her Goblins, where one might encounter such a variety of exotic produce, and most importantly, the commercialization and commodification of the human body²⁷. I approach the poem through the lens of the Gothic. And while the publication in 1862 is quite a large jump in time from "Christabel," Coleridge's poems represent a pivot point in Gothic poetry by introducing an embodied monster, and Rossetti demonstrates the outcome of Coleridge's pivot. "Goblin Market" is notable because its antagonists, the goblins, are embodied monsters in both deed and body. The poem discusses two sisters who encounter a group of goblins selling unusual fruits. One sister partakes, against her better judgment, and suffers. The other sister intentionally puts herself in harm's way in an attempt to save her sister.

"Goblin Market" begins with an unspecified number of young women hearing, morning and evening, the goblins crying "Come buy our orchard fruits, / Come buy, come buy" (3-4). These goblins sell various fruits to the women who come find them. The two protagonists of the poem, Laura and Lizzie, must decide if they want to buy the Goblin's wares. In a moment of weakness, "Laura bow'd her head to hear, / Lizzie veil'd her blushes" (34-35). Laura wants to listen to the goblins, though she warns her sister, "We must not look at goblin men, / we must not buy their fruits" (42-43). Her advice to her sister implies a certain choice in the matter. Each person must decide how much attention they are willing to give to the monster, or how close they are willing to get to temptation. Unfortunately, Laura does not heed her own advice. She knows

²⁶ Christina Rossetti volunteered at Highgate penitentiary, where she worked with "fallen" women, but "'Goblin Market' was composed a few months before Rossetti began working at Highgate" (Rogers 859-60).

²⁷ See Clayton Carlyle Tarr's "Covent Goblin Market;" Mary Wilson Carpenter's "'Eat Me, Drink Me, Love Me': The Consumable Female Body in Christina Rossetti's 'Goblin Market';" Elizabeth Campbell's "Of Mothers and Merchants: Female Economics in Christina Rossetti's 'Goblin Market';" Terrence Holt's "'Men Sell Not Such in Any Town': Exchange in 'Goblin Market'."

the danger of the goblins. She knows people who were victims; she understands the risk and can see their abnormalities in their physical nature. Even so, she chooses to inch closer and closer to danger. The terror of the Goblins causes Laura to imagine what fruits they sell and she desires to see them. She has never seen the Goblins, only heard their cries; she cannot be horrified by them, which leads to her downfall.

Lizzie reminds Laura that “their offers should not charm us, / Their evil gifts would harm us” (65). As Laura chooses to stay behind in order to face temptation, she notices the goblins have monstrous and unnatural faces: “One had a cat’s face, / One whisk’d a tail, / One tramp’d at a rat’s pace, / one crawl’d like a snail” (71-74). Rossetti describes the goblins’ outward appearances in detail, further proving the embodied nature of the antagonists. These goblin men are no men; they are animalistic humanoids and perversions of nature. This animalistic nature is the only unifying element among all the goblins. Some goblins are furry, whiskered, or rat-like. With these physical differences, the goblins are not a unified, cohesive monster. They are many individual monsters, adding difficulty to defining them. The goblins vary in species and appearance, indicating how they can represent undefinable but unique moral depravities. Though the narrator describes them in accordance with their resemblances to animals with which Laura is familiar, the narrator cannot define the “goblin” group because each goblin is different. This variation makes defining and overcoming them extremely difficult. The women know to avoid them, as they recognize the Goblin’s monstrousness; what the women cannot recognize is how to beat them when evasion fails. Unlike Geraldine, who hid her monstrous self and thus evaded identification until it was too late, the goblins appear as obviously monstrous but lack coherency.

The poem largely focuses on the exchange of goods and the human body as commodity. When Laura tells the goblins that she has no copper, no silver, and no gold, one goblin responds, “you have much gold upon your head” (123). The other goblins agree, and tell her that she may use her hair as payment (125). Laura’s body suddenly becomes a commodity. Or, more specifically, the goblins tell her to commodify her body. Not only do we have monsters with

pronounced physical bodies and monstrous deformations, but Laura's body becomes crucial to the narrative, too. Earlier Gothic poems with less physical monsters also involved less physicality in the protagonists. As the monsters become more embodied, so, too, does the protagonist. The protagonist's embodiment turns their physicality into a site of power but also vulnerability. Christabel's body becomes vulnerable to Geraldine's advances, and Laura gives her body away in exchange for fruit. The speakers in "Invocation to Horror," "Night," and "Superstition: an Ode" exist as disembodied voices. The Mariner and Christabel both have a physical form, and Christabel's bedroom scene with Geraldine invokes some interest in bodies. "Goblin Market" shows us protagonists with bodies crucial to the development of the plot.

After Laura's feast on the goblin fruits, she becomes listless. Laura becomes an automastistic double. Her mind wanders away and her body remains, doing little other than following her routine. She still performs her daily chores, but she longs for the night. Night again becomes important in Gothic, as it allows her to pine and behave in ways contrary to society's expectations. Lizzie wishes to help her sister before Laura suffers the same fate as another of the goblin's victims, Jeanie, "Who should have been a bride ; / But who for joys brides hope to have / Fell sick and died" (313-15). Many scholars read this line as indicative of the goblin's sexual nature. Jeanie ate their fruit, or the joy brides hope to have: sexual intercourse. Not only are the Gothic monster and the protagonists embodied, but the fruit represents physical, embodied pleasures. As the ending of the poem demonstrates, the resisting of these physical pleasures, even as the goblins try to force the fruits into her mouth, empowers Lizzie.

Eventually, Lizzie decides that saving her sister is worth whatever cost she must pay. She finds them easily and offers to buy some fruits with money, which they refuse. They want Lizzie to eat the fruits with them. When Lizzie repeatedly turns them down, the goblins turn angry: "Their looks were evil," and they begin elbowing her, clawing her, and they tear her clothes (397). Eventually, they "Held her hands and squeez'd their fruits / Against her mouth to make her eat" (406-07). This forcible assault against her was their last-ditch effort to impose some form of

dominance over Lizzie. When their normal tactics failed, they tried to use their bodies to overpower Lizzie and force objects into her body. This troubling physical violation can only occur between two embodied characters.

“White and golden Lizzie stood, / Like a lily in a flood” (408-09). She remains unmoved by their assault and leaves them. She chooses to be strong, which removes whatever power the goblins may have had over her. The goblins try to use physical force over her, but Lizzie keeps her body in control. She does not open her mouth to eat nor lick the fruit the goblins “squeeze’d . . . against” her face (407). Her body is her own and nothing can take away her agency. The goblins, on the other hand, quickly lose control of their bodies as they become instantly violent and wild. Lizzie recognizes the evil and identify how to resist it: through strong embodiment.

The embodied goblins are not defeated in the end of the poem. It is true that Lizzie resists their temptations and saves Laura, but the goblins live and, presumably, continue hawking their wares to any young woman who hears them.

With an embodied monster, the embodiment of the protagonist plays a critical role in the narrative. “Goblin Market” demonstrates just how important bodies are to Gothic narratives when they can be controlled. Lizzie remains strong and resists the goblin’s attacks, both verbal and physical. Lizzie stands for truth, sisterly love, and self-sacrifice. But she also stands for self-control and an actualized embodiment. The goblins gained power over Laura by convincing her that her value lie in destroying or harming her body or giving it away. Lizzie shows that power lies in the control over her body.

Through these poems, this chapter has argued two important points. First, as Gothic poetry moves from the late eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, the antagonists evolve in specific ways. In early Gothic poetry, the monster is an ill-defined and personified attribute or idea. HORROR, Night, and Despair are examples of early-Gothic supernatural but disembodied antagonists. As society became more industrialized, human bodies became more involved in dangerous work, resulting in bodies becoming objects importance as well as

commodities. The poetry's antagonists started having more embodied traits. Supernatural creatures appear with the rise of benevolent zombies, hypnotic and seductive women, and eventually goblin vendors. As authors describe the monster's body, the monstrosity becomes more apparent. This evolution to embodied monsters is important for Gothic narratives. The more embodied an antagonist becomes, the more likely it is to be defeated, as characters cannot defeat the monstrous antagonist without understanding, knowing, and defining it. The antagonists in these poems all survive or escape in some way, as their embodiment is budding. Later iterations of the Gothic monster, however, defeat monsters through classification and definition, both of which require an even more fully embodied monster.

The second thing this chapter argues is that Gothic poets, men and women, use supernatural elements to increase terror and, sometimes, horror. Neither horror nor terror belongs to one gender of poets, as scholars argue they do in Gothic fiction. The next chapter will look more at supernatural Gothic fiction, largely from male authors. Specifically, the chapter will explore how the vampire evolves in similar ways to the Gothic monster in poetry, though the evolution continues to its deadly conclusion. The vampire in Western literature begins as a largely undefinable form, based on Eastern European folkloric tradition, and slowly merges into a definable but destroyable embodied monster.

CHAPTER III

VAMPIRE, FROM REVENANT TO *DRACULA*

The previous chapter explored Gothic poetry's relation to terror and horror. It also argued that the Gothic monster evolves to become more embodied, leaving them better defined which, in turn, allows monsters to be defeated or overcome. This chapter will continue that second argument, specifically focusing on the vampire in the Western literary tradition. Throughout the chapter, I analyze "canonical" Western vampire narratives as well as a few others from the nineteenth century to provide a chronology. This will help explain the evolution of the vampire myth from its folkloric origins. This chronological approach works to demonstrate how late-Victorian vampires evolved with traits from their literary predecessors as well as characteristics which had been lost during the numerous and semi-unsuccessful attempts to translate Eastern European vampire myths into Western literature.

I will begin with a discussion of the Eastern European folkloric tradition of the vampire, followed by a timeline through British literature, beginning in 1801 and moving up through 1897. During this time, many authors attempted to translate the vampire myth from its Eastern European origins into Anglophone literature, though these attempts were largely unsuccessful at invoking the myth and the power of the vampire as a Gothic monster. The vampires in these early adaptations were ill-defined and inconsistent one with another. Vampires, definable or not, induce fear in their readers. Through time, just as with the poetic monster, the vampire becomes more corporeal and active, as well as more defined and, consequently, defeatable. When protagonists

can defeat the monster, the reader finds catharsis. This chapter will explore the various fears and social anxieties vampires have represented, as well as the peace of mind that comes from overcoming them.

Through this discussion, I will address five distinct eras in the nineteenth century²⁸. The first division is the Romantic era. For the purposes of my chapter, the Romantic vampire appears between 1801 and 1810. Some scholars ignore the Romantic vampire because it lacks many of the vampire traits from Eastern Europe. However, I argue that such vampires play an important role in the evolution of the vampire and should not be dismissed. The second period runs from 1811-1820, or the Regency era (Altick 9; Lynch and Stillinger 3). Regency vampires appear as upper-class men with seductive charms who steal the hearts and life from young women. These vampires seem young and beautiful until their true nature unmask itself. These narratives largely revolve around wealth, marriage, and youth. As the late Romantic/Regency era transitions into the early Victorian era, a number of vampire texts concern themselves with shifting class structures and the past, due largely to the First Reform Bill of 1832. The next division runs, then, from 1832 until 1867. I have chosen 1867 as the cut-off date for the Victorian era vampire because the Second Reform Act in 1867 serves as a large turning point in English history. Thus, the two great reform acts that altered the landscape of Britain's social structure forever bookend my Victorian era²⁹. After 1867, moving up through 1890, we have the late-Victorian era. This liminal period demonstrates Victorian society and morals while forecasting some of the more relaxed cultural norms of the twentieth century.

²⁸ My divisions of the nineteenth century borrow from discussions in Richard D. Altick's *Victorian People and Ideas: A Companion for the modern reader of Victorian Literature*. Altick's text offers evidence to divide the nineteenth century. Altick traces the century through its Romantic and Regency roots, all the way through the late Victorian period's shift into fin de siècle values and ideas.

²⁹ 1837 was the year that Queen Victoria, for whom the Victorian era is named, ascended the throne. However, "historians often reach back to 1832, the year of the First Reform Bill. . . . Which date is chosen matters little, because the 1830s were, in any case, a decade of transition" (Altick 2). Queen Victoria passed away in 1901, marking the official end of the Victorian period, but "historians argue that the Victorian age proper came to an end about 1880; at least one would move the date back to 1870" (Altick 16).

My last division, 1890-1897, marks a literary and temporal watershed for vampire literature. The publication of *Dracula* in 1897 signifies the apex of vampire literature's translation from an Eastern European folklore into Western literature. Count Dracula became the quintessential vampire, concretizing vampiric characteristics and behaviors for all the undead who come after. Post-*Dracula* vampire literature either adheres to Stoker's definition of the vampire or rejects it in deliberate and meaningful ways. Aside from the importance *Dracula* plays in the history of vampire literature, this fin de siècle period represents the shifting values of the nineteenth century as a whole: Fin de siècle "literature speaks with a quite different voice, echoing the contemporary mood in which values were being drastically re-ordered and intellectual energies were set working in new directions" (Altick 16). Many of these new ideas appear in *Dracula*, making it a text replete with opportunities to explore the changing Victorian values.

The introduction of my dissertation introduced a term, the Trajectory of Domestication. The vampire as a literary monster illustrates this domestication well. The bulk of this chapter will explore the first step of the trajectory: fear and anxiety. Monsters of various types appear in literature as a way for readers to cope with and confront social or personal anxieties. The vampire, throughout its historical evolution, has stood in for varied anxieties, altering and adapting as needed to conform to whatever society needed the vampire to be.

These five divisions showcase different kinds of vampires. Vampires appear for different reasons and to help assuage various societal fears, each appropriate for its respective time. Since the beginning of the vampire myth in the western tradition, the vampire has undergone many changes. Vampires evolve as time goes on, but a few constants remain. Vampires need blood to survive, they are immortal, and they are villainous, at least through *Dracula*. After that, the vampire changes. Whose blood they need; how they remain immortal; and their status as villain, or more precisely, how they act as the villain, shifts over time. Because each author's interpretation of the vampire represents different societal fears, defining the vampire becomes a

complicated task. However, this ever-changing nature makes the vampire a suitable Gothic monster to permeate society and appear as a number of allegories over the century.

Before arriving in England, the vampire was a European folkloric monster for centuries. Some early work on vampires points to a Transylvanian Voivode, or ruler, named Vlad Tepes. Tepes is also known by the names Vlad the Impaler or Vlad Dracula. Tepes is frequently, though incorrectly, cited as the inspiration for Bram Stoker's eponymous vampire, Dracula³⁰. Regardless of his loose connection to Stoker's work, Tepes frequently appears as one of the earliest iterations of the vampire legend in Eastern European folklore, due to his bloody and merciless actions against his enemies. Vlad Tepes was born somewhere between 1428 and 1431, but many consider him, even today, a Romanian hero, not a villain. Despite the incredible cruelty with which he treated his enemies, he was a leader who fought, albeit ruthlessly, for the freedom of his people. The cruelty and death he left in his wake served a greater purpose -- to free the people of Romania from Ottoman domination. Vlad became a "folk hero" ("Vlad"), and people praised him. Vlad's reputation as a powerful and bloodthirsty leader spread throughout the region, making him legendary and infamous. To outsiders, this myth turned Vlad into the vampire - a being who feasted on blood and violence.

Less than a hundred years after Vlad's death, a Hungarian countess and the niece of the Prince of Transylvania, Elizabeth Bathory, gained a bloody reputation for herself as well.

³⁰ Stoker did not model his count after Vlad Tepes (Davis). One reason this false narrative persists is because scholars in the 1970s pushed the connection between Vlad and Dracula (Clasen 379). Their support is that Vlad Tepes is also referred to as Vlad Dracula. Vlad's father, Vlad the second, joined the Order of the Dragon, and people began calling him Vlad Dracul, or Vlad the Dragon. Vlad III became Vlad Dracula, or Vlad, Son of the Dragon. Modern Romanian translates Dracul as devil, not dragon, which Stoker found when he was reading a history of Wallachia and Moldova, two ancient regions of Romania (Davis). In the book, Stoker saw the word "Dracula" and made a note: "DRACULA in Wallachian language means DEVIL" (Davis). So while Stoker did read a book about Romanian leaders and saw the word Dracula, he did not read about Vlad the Impaler's acts and model the character after him ("Vlad"). Other details exist to help disprove the Vlad/Stoker connection.

Hungary, at the time, consisted of modern-day Hungary, Slovakia, and Romania. According to the legend, Bathory killed (or caused to be killed) over 600 young girls so that she could bathe in their blood. A write-up of Bathory's story appeared in the September 1828 issue of *The Ariel: A Semimonthly Literary and Miscellaneous Gazette*. The Gazette listed Bathory's deeds under the heading "Curious Historical Anecdotes about Hungary." The 1828 article explains that after striking a young lady in the face, Bathory "fancied that her skin had become whiter, more beautiful, and more brilliant -- and the idea immediately occurred to her of renewing her youth by bathing herself in the blood of these unfortunate girls" (88). Bathory gained notoriety for her desire to use blood to provide life³¹. Whether or not Tepes and Bathory inspired Stoker's *Dracula*, these two "vampires" spread blood and soaked the ground in blood through Eastern Europe, increasing the prevalence of the vampire mythos in the area. The two real-life vampires left quite a mark on Hungary and the surrounding region. The myth of the vampire spread and grew. By 1734, the Oxford English Dictionary added the word *vampire*.

Nina Auerbach's seminal *Our Vampires, Ourselves*, claims that the "first use of *vampire* the Oxford English Dictionary records" was "in 1734." Aurbach does not give the name of the text, but the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) lists John Swinton's travel journal, "The Travels of Three English Gentlemen" as the first recorded use³². According to OED's early definition based on Swinton's work, vampires are evil spirits who re-animate deceased bodies (OED, "Vampire"). Today, we call such monsters *revenants*, a term borrowed from French. The revenant-vampire does not think or act on its own. The host-body's original soul disappears,

³¹ Due to the sanguine nature of her lifestyle, supposedly drinking and bathing in blood, some scholars suggest Bathory inspired Stoker's *Dracula*. However, there is little academic support for such claims.

³² Swinton's text uses as its full title "The Travels of three English Gentlemen, from Venice to Hamburg, being the grand Tour of Germany, in the year 1734." Though the title says the travels occurred in 1734, the tale was not published until 1745, which is what the OED currently lists as the first appearance of *vampire*. In 1999, after Auerbach published *Our Vampires, Ourselves*, Trevor Shaw discovered that Swinton was the author of the previously anonymous "Travels" and discovered that despite being written in 1734, the earliest printed version was 1745. See; Trevor Shaw's "John Swinton, F.R.S., Identified as the Author of a 1734 Travel Journal." *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (September 1999). *JSTOR*. Accessed 15 June, 2020,

replaced by a new, evil soul. Once a protagonist destroys the revenant-vampire, the body returns to a state of rest, and the host-body's soul returns to peace. The revenant-vampire appears in early Anglophone vampire fiction, but not before the folkloric vampire spreads terror through Europe.

In 1736, two years after *vampire* appeared in "The Travels of Three English Gentlemen," a French publication by the name of *Mercure Historique et Politique* featured a story discussing two separate instances of vampirism: one in Belgrade and the other in a small Hungarian town near Transylvania ("Lettres Juives" 402-11). Worth noting is that the location of these events, Belgrade and Hungary, historically belonged to Vlad Tepes's empire. The French articles indicate, through their thorough descriptions, that the folkloric myth of the vampire has a long, storied past. These articles simultaneously expose the fear of the vampire and explain the standard practices of disposing of vampires. Both of the 1736 news reports contain variations of the same set of instructions. To destroy a vampire, someone must drive a stake through the vampire's heart. After being staked, the vampire's head should be removed. Next, the body must be burned, and the ashes should be sprinkled in the river (Southey). French reports of Eastern European vampires contain instructions on murdering vampires. These vampires had some sort of prescribed embodiment which, even as early as 1736, could be used against them.

During the early years of the vampire's introduction into Western culture, even before it made its literary debut, the vampire had numerous other names, not just the French *revenant*. The name vampire also appears with terms like *revenant*, *ghost*, *oupire*, *vampyr*, *fiend*, *spectre*, *goblin*, and *shade* (Auerbach 20; Stagg; Le Fanu). This early blending of vampires with evil spirit influenced Romantic vampires, who acted as ghosts, fiends, demons, or revenants. They were possessed, driven by a singular motive, and were hardly complex monsters. However, as stand-ins for political upheaval and revolutionary anxieties, they served their purpose well.

Romantic Vampires (1801-1810)

The last few years of the eighteenth century and the first few years of the nineteenth century saw political and societal turmoil for much of Britain. The Romantic period was an

“epoch of free enterprise, imperial expansion, and boundless revolutionary hope” (Lynch and Stillinger 19). Politically, tensions were high as Britain watched in anticipation and anxiousness to see how the French Revolution would end³³. Black et al. write, “It is still almost universally accepted that the Romantic mind-set and the literary works it produced were shaped, above all, by the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution” (14). Trade unions were outlawed in The Combination Acts of 1799 and 1800 (Black et al. 17), and many began seriously questioning slavery. In Britain proper, the 1801 Act of Union officially created the United Kingdom, unifying Great Britain and Ireland. Despite this unification, Catholics were unable to vote, and Ireland’s parliament in Dublin dissolved. A national identity was at risk of being lost. Religion and politics were almost inseparable. The class gap was growing as the wealthy became wealthier at the lower class’s expense. This came in part from the industrial revolution, which saw England adopt a more industrialized identity and leave much of its agricultural roots behind. This political and economic instability echoes through British literature, and the vampires of the first decade of the nineteenth century display the same concerns.

Vampires from the first decade of the nineteenth century represent political instability and class struggles via their disembodied and ghost-like appearances. The turmoil of political shifts gives rise to vampires without much autonomy. The vampires, like many readers’ sense of political and personal identity, lack consistency or solid form. Scholars writing on origins of vampire literature select from common texts: “In the Western literary tradition, John Polidori’s ‘The Vampyre,’ the Victorian *Varney the Vampire*, J. Sheridan Le Fanu’s *Carmilla*, and Bram Stoker’s *Dracula* form the ‘classics’ of the vampire canon” (Nevárez 5). Notably absent from Nevárez’s list is Robert Southey’s 1801 epic poem *Thalaba the Destroyer*. “Gothic novelists revisited the romance, the genre identified as the primitive forerunner of the modern novel, looking to a medieval (i.e. ‘Gothic’) Europe” (Lynch and Stillinger 26). Southey’s epic poem

³³ Edmund Burke’s *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, published 1790, inspired authors like Mary Wollstonecraft and Thomas Paine to respond to Burke’s widely read work.

Thalaba the Destroyer (1801) follows Thalaba, a Muslim, as he travels across the Middle East on a quest to fulfill a prophecy.

Thalaba is a twelve-book epic poem with irregular line lengths and meter. Although the vampire scene in the poem takes up less than two stanzas, Southey's poem deserves some dedicated portion of this chapter for a number of reasons. *Thalaba* contains the first appearance of the vampire in English literature (Macdonald and Scherf 11). Southey's vampire is often overlooked in vampire scholarship because it lacks numerous traits that became characteristics of literary vampirism³⁴. Also, despite having a lengthy footnote about folkloric vampires, Southey ignores many of the vampirism traits present in his own footnote. Instead of the folkloric vampire he footnotes, Southey's vampire follows closely with the revenant-vampire present in the Oxford English Dictionary at the time: namely an evil spirit which possesses the body of a human. Southey's vampire does not hunt, reproduce, or feed on living victims. This early vampire is nothing more than a "mindless animated corpse" (Macdonald and Scherf 11). Southey's vampire is ill-defined and disembodied. Southey's vampire has a body in only the most literal sense; as a revenant-vampire, it possesses a human's body, but it does not act or relocate the body. The body does not belong to the vampire, and the vampire's character is not reliant upon the body to induce fear. It remains near the grave and speaks, nothing more. The first instance of the literary vampire in British literature is little more than a ghost, an echo of a demonic warning.

The plot revolves around a group of sorcerers attempting to kill Thalaba to prevent a prophecy from being fulfilled. In Book 8 of the poem, Thalaba and Moath, the protagonists, meet the corpse of Oneiza, Thalaba's fiancé and Moath's daughter. She is standing in her tomb: "but in her eyes there dwelt / Brightness more terrible / Than all the loathsomeness of death" (Southey, Book 8: pg. 81). Oneiza's body has been possessed by a demon. She is a revenant-vampire. As

³⁴ Southey's vampire does not feed on humans, drink blood, fear the cross, sleep in its own coffin, to name a few. Another potential reason for Southey's vampire to remain undiscussed is that Southey's poem includes many other supernatural creatures. The vampire is not the main antagonist, which distinguishes it from other Vampire narratives.

such, Oneiza, or the demon operating her body, claims her main purpose is to leave her grave each night in order to tell Thalaba that God has forsaken him. The vampire must “nightly leave [her] grave” (Southey, Book 8: pg 81). This concept comes up frequently throughout early Western vampire lore: the vampire must return to its own coffin/grave each night. The specifics of how this concept occurs changes from vampire to vampire, or more specifically, from author to author. In the case of Southey’s vampire, the demon simply animates a body from its grave for a specific purpose: to steal Thalaba’s soul. The demon does not seem to be wandering the earth throughout the night as one might expect a vampire to do. Instead, it remains near Oneiza’s grave while striving to do its mission: turn Thalaba from God.

Before the vampire successfully accomplishes her mission, Thalaba and Moath destroy her. The first vampire in Western literature dies thirty-three lines after it appears. It barely registers as a primary antagonist let alone as a memorable and terrifying villain³⁵. After a short battle, Moath attacks the vampire, which has taken up residence in his daughter’s former body. Moath must sacrifice his daughter, or at least her body, to ensure the success of the quest. “. . . Thro the vampire corpse / He thrust his lance; [the vampire] fell, / And howling with the wound / Its demon tenant fled” (Southey, Book 8: pg. 82). The fact that the vampire had a corpse through which Moath could drive his lance represents the only instance where the vampire’s body appears tangible in the poem, further proving its physical but disembodied state. The corpse does nothing to further the vampire’s mission, though the body does allow Moath to banish the vampire out of Oneiza’s body. Once the lance enters the body, the revenant-vampire disappears, leaving only the lifeless corpse once again³⁶. Throughout the whole encounter, the vampire does not reach out or

³⁵ Nonetheless, Southey used the revenant-vampire for a purpose. The vampire scene comes at a crucial moment of learning for Thalaba, who realizes that God has not forsaken him and his mission is to carry on. Another theme present in the text and in this moment in particular is that “suffering is the necessary pruning without which no vine can bear fruit” (Bernhardt-Kabisch 89). The vampire appears at a crucial moment; it becomes the ultimate teacher for moving forward and accepting that suffering is an unpleasant but necessary part of living.

³⁶ Southey’s footnote explains the proper method for killing vampires, including beheading, staking through the heart, burning the body, and scattering the ashes. Moath and Thalaba do none of this, aside

strike. It does not move or attempt to bite. It merely stands above the coffin and speaks until the moment Moath separates it from the body. As a revenant-vampire, the spirit possessing the body leaves, but the spirit lives on. The “demon tenant fled;” it does not die.

In the poem, the vampire leaves the narrative with little adherence to the folkloric traditions of Eastern Europe, which usually require death. Oneiza’s spirit was able to talk to Thalaba with her “angel eyes” instead of the terrible demon eyes from before. Her body was not beheaded nor cremated; her remains were not scattered in a river. This lack of adherence to tradition might explain one reason why vampire scholars often ignore *Thalaba*. Southey’s poem attempted to acknowledge the historical and folkloric traditions of Eastern Europe in his footnote while simultaneously using British definitions of the vampire for his poem. Southey failed at translating the Eastern vampire into Western literature, but his footnotes at least brought the vampire closer to life. The revenant-vampire was too unthreatening and ill-defined to remain unaltered, but the die had been cast and soon the vampire would leave its revenant roots behind.

Nina Auerbach writes that vampires gradually lost their connection to the human realm, as reanimated corpses, and became “a separate species” (20). The revenant disappeared and something else took its place. The second major appearance of the vampire in English literature exists in a liminal space between revenant and classic vampire. John Stagg’s 1810 poem “The Vampyre” establishes the literary tradition for what became many classical vampire characteristics. Here, I will address Stagg’s poem as well as its notable deviations from Southey’s poem. Stagg’s poem is 38 stanzas in iambic tetrameter with an ABAB rhyme scheme. Compared to Byron, Polidori, Le Fanu, or Stoker, little has been written about Stagg’s poem in vampire scholarship. This may be because the title of the poem is the only place where the term “vampire” or “vampyre” appears. The remainder of the poem refers to the creature in the following terms: ghost, goblin, shade, and spectre. Stagg’s vampire follows the revenant-vampire model of the

from lancing it through the heart. Were the vampire less revenant and more folkloric, its body would still be very much vampiric, even after the staking.

early nineteenth century, being an animated corpse with a singular goal and motivation. However, Stagg's vampire also brings in more of the myth and folkloric elements that Southey did not. For this reason, vampire scholarship should address Stagg's poem more than it does: it is a kind of transitional vampire between what Southey wrote (and quoted in the footnotes) and what Stagg's vampiric successors would eventually do.

Absent from Southey's narrative but present in Stagg's poem is the vampire's sanguine dietary restriction. Vampires need to feast on blood to survive. Stagg's poem establishes the literary tradition of the blood-drinking vampire. Herman tells his wife that the vampire comes at night "And drinks away [his] vital blood! / Sucks from my veins the streaming life, / And drains the fountain of my heart!"(70-72). Southey's vampire does not drink Thalaba's blood. Stagg's, on the other hand, is seen "besmear'd / With clott'd carnage o'er and oe'r." The vampire will drink Herman's blood nightly until Herman dies. In the poem, Herman recognizes that tomorrow will be his last night; he will die with the next night's visit (88). With the blood-sucking comes another vampiric trait Stagg's poem establishes³⁷: the creation of new vampires.

Throughout the literary tradition, vampires have frequently created new vampires by biting their necks. At least, that's what many people would say if they were asked. In truth, literary vampirism is frequently not transmitted by bite, unlike zombieism³⁸. Vampires do not automatically create new vampires simply through a bite. The revenant vampire, as an evil spirit taking over a deceased body, has no need to bite or feed. In Stagg's poem, Herman warns Gertrude, his wife, that once he dies from the vampyre's bite, he "too shall seek thy life, / Thy blood by Herman shall be drain'd" (91-92). Stagg introduces the folkloric element of the vampire turning its victims into vampires, which remains through most literary vampiric narratives which followed.

³⁷ Southey's vampire does not drink blood, nor does it create new vampires. Both of these vampiric traits do appear in Southey's footnote.

³⁸ At least American zombieism as George Romero initiated it. The Haitian zombie tradition deals with automatism and usually involves a combination of voodoo and mind control (Bishop 39-40)

Stagg's eponymous vampyre reinforces the difficult-to-define nature of the Romantic vampire. Unlike Southey's poem where the poetic vampire differs greatly from the footnoted vampires, Herman, the main character of Stagg's poem, has a hard time explaining what the vampire is or what it does. Herman does not know what to call the thing attacking him each night. The other terms used, listed above, indicate some form of supernatural haunting and, interestingly, an incorporeal nature. Though the creature appears as the body of Sigismund, one of Herman's friends, it also adheres to the revenant-vampire mode used by Southey and "The Travels of Three English Gentlemen." Stagg's vampire is slightly more embodied than Southey's, but as a revenant-vampire who has taken over someone else's body, it becomes a transitional vampire, a blending of revenant and embodied monster.

Stagg's vampire leaves its "drear mansion of the tomb" and moves through the night to torment Herman (65). Like Southey's, Stagg's vampire also has a nightly goal. Unlike Southey's vampire, however, Stagg's vampyre leaves its tomb. It nightly roams from the graveyard to Herman's bedside. And while the diegetic details of the poem do not offer readers a distance between the two, it is decidedly farther than Oneiza's corpse travels in *Thalaba*. This mobility is another sign of the transition from revenant to modern literary vampire. Vampires leave the grave, feed (or perform whatever goal motivates them), and return to the grave. This nightly routine indicates a lack of autonomy. Once Sigismund's body has accomplished its nightly goal, it "will to its sepulchre retire, / Till night invites him forth once more" (79-80)³⁹. The vampire with a single-track mind and someone else's body make it a horrifying monster: it is not fully embodied yet, as it must borrow someone else's. But it is embodied enough to be recognizable and partially knowable. However, its lack of full embodiment also makes it largely unstoppable. The semi-embodied vampire is unsettling. As a transitional vampire, between a revenant and a fully embodied monster, Stagg writes an antagonist whose actions are known but who itself is

³⁹ Leaving the tomb and returning to it appears in the French magazine accounts of the Serbian and Hungarian vampires.

unknowable. Herman knows it will come back this night; he knows it will attack him again and kill him. Herman even knows that a stake must be driven through its heart to kill it. But Herman cannot stop it from coming and hurting him. All he can do is warn his wife to impale him once he is gone.

Stagg's vampire lays the foundation for many literary vampires, though the specifics disappear and reappear frequently. For example, for a time after Stagg's poem, vampires lost the infectious bite but retained the bloodthirst. The first decade of the nineteenth century shows vampires which draw inspiration from the folkloric traditions of the Eastern European vampire, though much remained unused in the myth. Southey's and Stagg's examples of vampirism were revenants, reanimated corpses which lost the personality and autonomy of the next generation of vampires. From 1813 with Lord Byron's vampires up through 1820 with Robert Planché's vampiric adaptation of Polidori's story, the vampire became a much more menacing, embodied, and mobile monster. They also, terrifyingly, became unrecognizable: the vampires of the second decade of the nineteenth century were so successful due to their ability to disguise themselves as human.

The Regency Vampire (1811-1820)

The political climate in the 1810s changed drastically, largely in part due to King George III's mental decline and his son's ascendancy to the position of Regent. The Regent George had been well-liked during his reign as the Prince of Wales. As Regent, however, he was less than an ideal ruler. According to *An Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age*, "In youth his charm and handsome figure had been likened to that of Adonis, but by the early nineteenth century he weighed more than 300 pounds, with a stomach that hung down to his knees. Even among courtiers he had become a byword for indolence, gluttony, and selfishness" ("Regency"). After George IV's death, numerous authors penned satires, novels, and memoirs discussing his reign as a time of "unprecedented personal scandal, frivolity, and profligacy, inaugurating what has become an enduring historical interpretation of the period" ("Regency"). I argue that the noted

shift from Adonis to glutton coupled with the scandal, libertinism, and selfishness appear reflected in vampire literature of the time. As the vampire becomes more corporeal, it also becomes more selfish, gluttonous. Its appearance also begins as seductive and handsome; but as it reveals its true nature, the appearance becomes grotesque. This ability to hide allows the Regency vampire to win, so to speak. In the texts addressed in this section, the protagonists do not defeat the vampire. The vampire lives on to terrorize again. While class mobility appeared with industrialization, for the most part there was no success in rising above one's class. There was no end to George IV until he died on his own. Once the protagonists recognize the monstrosity of Regency vampires, at best they can try to protect themselves. But they cannot fight back and win. Embodied regency vampires, then, can be defined, but only too late, which makes them less likely to be defeated. To demonstrate this trend, I turn to Lord Byron's 1813 narrative poem *The Giaour* and its successor, Polidori's *The Vampyre*.

The Giaour follows three main characters: Leila, Hassan, and the eponymous Giaour (which is a Turkish word for *infidel*). The Giaour becomes a vampire, trapped and cursed. The vampire cannot leave his country and must only feed on family members, an interesting take on the vampiric diet: "Then ghastly haunt thy native place, / And suck the blood of all thy race; / There from thy daughter, sister, wife, / At midnight drain the stream of life" (Byron, 757-60). This horrifying betrayal of familial values "juxtaposes a sentimental fantasy of fatherhood with a horror of infanticide and incest" (Gelder 29). While Byron's direct influence on vampire literature is undeniable, it is also short-lived. Byron is said to have learned of the vampire myth during his world travels to the East, which had a significant influence on his physician, John Polidori. Both Byron's and Polidori's poems take place far from England. The exotic nature of the location follows contemporary ideas of Romantic Orientalism and imperialism. As with Lewis's poems using Lapland or other exotic areas to increase the supernatural motif, Romantic Orientalism places readers in an unknown but popularly mythologized place, increasing the terror as they

imagine what strange occurrences they may face. As with other supernatural Gothic, the monster appears far from England; however, Polidori brought the monster home.

Byron's name is forever attached to Polidori's story, not only because Polidori's text was an adaptation of Byron's unfinished narrative, but also because Polidori's vampire, Lord Ruthven, is loosely based on Lord Byron himself⁴⁰. John Polidori's *The Vampyre* acts as perhaps the most influential vampire narrative of the Regency era⁴¹. What Polidori does is create a vampire who cannot be named or identified and, as such, cannot be defeated. Ken Gelder writes, "Indeed, Polidori's story is about the *inability* to testify to the vampire, since Aubrey is under an oath to remain silent about Lord Ruthven" (50). Such a move alters the vampire narrative significantly from its Romantic roots. Polidori's work paved the way for future vampires in important ways. Two of the major themes Polidori's work addresses include class mobility and blending in or passing, two common concerns in Regency-era England. Most importantly, he embodied the vampire without giving away his monstrous nature via his physical appearance.

Lord Ruthven meets a young man, Aubrey, and they quickly become friends. The two undertake a journey, during which they pass through Rome and Greece⁴², areas with as much exotic appeal as the locations from *The Giaour*. At a crucial point in the narrative, bandits shoot Lord Ruthven and Aubrey believes him to be dying. Ruthven asks Aubrey to promise to keep his death a secret for one year and one day (Polidori 51). Then, the traveling party leave Ruthven's body on the top of a nearby mountain where "it should be exposed to the first cold ray of the

⁴⁰ Lady Caroline Lamb's *Glenarvon* included a character named "Clarence de Ruthven, Lord Glenarvon" who was based on Lord Byron, Lamb's former lover. Polidori took the name and used it for his Byron/Vampire character (Auerbach 16, Macdonald and Scherf 13).

⁴¹ Polidori's novella carries with it a legendary history. Lord Byron took Polidori abroad in 1816. At Geneva, Byron and Polidori met Percy Shelley, Mary Godwin, and Claire Clairmont. The group spent their time in Geneva reading ghost stories (Macdonald and Scherf 10). One night, as the popular story goes, "Byron suggested to the group that the members of the group write ghost stories of their own" (Macdonald and Scherf 10). From that simple suggestion, Mary Godwin started and subsequently published *Frankenstein*. Byron "began one but became bored with it and gave it up; Polidori appropriated his idea and based another tale on it" (Macdonald and Scherf 10). Someone published Polidori's story without his permission or knowledge.

⁴² Aubrey's journeys with Ruthven mirror Polidori's journeys with Byron.

moon that rose after his death” (Polidori 51). Upon going to bury the body the next day, Aubrey was shocked to find the body missing (52). Aubrey assumed that someone had come along and buried it, but Ruthven resurrected in the moonbeams⁴³. Here we see the first inklings of a fully embodied vampire. The vampire’s monstrous body cannot die through mortal wounds. The body becomes something else, a source of vampiric power and undeath. It becomes a source of terror. Previous iterations mention the ways to dispose of a vampire’s body, but Polidori shows precisely why protagonists must take specific steps. Without a beheading and a burning of the body, the vampire will not die.

Aubrey continues his journey without Ruthven. During these travels, Aubrey learns that young women are dying frequently on his path. He thinks little of it until he returns home. Upon his arrival, Aubrey finds that his sister is engaged to Lord Ruthven. Because Aubrey swore to keep Ruthven’s “death” a secret, he could not save his sister; the chilling last line of the novella reads “Lord Ruthven had disappeared, and Aubrey’s sister had glutted the thirst of a VAMPYRE” (59). The editors of the Broadview edition of Polidori’s *The Vampire*, D.L. Macdonald and Kathleen Scherf, write that Ruthven is a “real, though monstrous, human being” (11). His goal is singular: to survive. The difficulty and ruleset Polidori established for the vampire indicate a shift in the previous decade’s vampiric tradition. The vampire gains a discernible socioeconomic class, during a time when England’s class structure was changing. Polidori’s Lord Ruthven has wealth and power. He also gains a voice and personality, something lacking from Southey and Stagg. The most important of Polidori’s alterations to the literary vampire, according to Macdonald and Scherf, was that the vampire became seductive (14). Folkloric vampires, Macdonald and Scherf write, “are sometimes sexual but not seductive; their sexuality is that of rape” (14). However, Regency vampires possess great seductive power. They can hold people in their thrall. They also spend time alone with vulnerable young women. They are seductive

⁴³ Moonlight has long been symbolic of occult acts, and with the vampire it is no different.

enough that many young women allow the vampire to get close enough to kill them. They never suspect the true, evil nature within. With such seductive powers, Ruthven lives on to find another family, another woman to glut his thirst. His actions all indicate that he is, in fact, a conniving and meticulous deceiver. Southey, Stagg, and Byron all wrote vampires who were recognizably evil. Polidori rewrote the vampire myth by making his seductive and not just sexually violent. “Such a character was to be dreaded, for the possession of irresistible powers of seduction, rendered his licentious habits too dangerous to society” (Polidori 43). Ruthven’s body is an important part of his charm, as a handsome and rich murderer. He can show up anywhere and be welcomed with open arms. His outward appearance allows him to blend in to society, to infiltrate and seduce his way to his next meal.

Ruthven is manipulative and vile, though his outward appearance does not reflect that. It is only when someone learns the truth about who, or what, Ruthven is that his evil nature appears. With the changing class structure caused by the industrial revolution, people became cautious about people from different walks of life arriving and attempting to fit in. The very question of self, who am I and what sets me apart from others, becomes important for Regency-era and Victorian authors. Similarly, blending into a different class became a concern throughout the nineteenth century. A hypothetical question might look like this: If a foreigner, a vampire, or a person of the lower class can mimic⁴⁴ someone from the dominant culture, what kind of danger will that dominant culture face? Is an invasion by the Other always negative and dangerous? These hypothetical concerns appear in vampire fiction and other Gothic narratives. In Gothic fiction, the cost of mimicry is frequently death for those who fail to recognize the danger of the monstrous Other. Interacting with someone of a different class or race/culture or age group can

⁴⁴ Homi Bhabha’s “Of Mimicry and Men: the Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse,” published in 1992, addresses British colonialism in India and covers the Colonial mindset of mimicry well. Also, sumptuary laws, largely abandoned by the nineteenth century, established legal regulations on who could wear what colors and styles of clothing (See: Maria Hayward’s *Rich Apparel: Clothing and the Law in Henry VIII’s England*). These legal guidelines attempted to mitigate mimicry between the classes as well.

have negative consequences. As a counterpoint, other Romantic literature treats the issue differently. Other instances of mimicry come up in Romantic novels like *Jane Eyre* and *Northanger Abbey*, though the price of “passing” for the young heroines is marriage. They are able to rise in social status and marry a wealthy man. In such novels, climbing the social ladder is positive; it is a way for a young girl to secure a good life and good future. An author’s, and a reader’s, view on class mobility affects the consequence or reward of social climbing and “passing.”

Polidori’s vampire forces Aubrey to confront hidden evil, warning readers to beware of the same. Unlike Southey’s and Stagg’s vampires, who remained more or less motionless (or traveled to and from food but nowhere else), Ruthven does not stand at his tomb or wander into the neighbor’s house only to return to the tomb again. Ruthven is not a tomb-dweller; he lives a life of decadence.

Polidori’s Lord Ruthven is an aristocrat. Polidori’s second and third major vampire alteration are closely related. Ruthven is a lord with a penchant for gambling who “drains some of his victims of cash at the faro table much as he drains others of blood after dark” (Macdonald and Scherf 13). Ruthven is also mobile. Ruthven moves between countries, houses, and women. Through him, “the natives of England are now first made subject to the horrible attacks of Vampyres” (*Monthly Review*, 90). The aristocratic vampire had the means to travel which, ultimately, brought the vampire “home” to England. It also indicates a level of distrust for the ruling class. Those with power threaten those without. This issue is simultaneously a class and generational issue. The older generation have little to fear from the wealthy. It is the new, young generation who will be killed (read: exploited) by the aristocratic, titled upper class. Aubrey and his sister were both orphaned and left a large estate (Polidori 40). The young siblings were in a position to be taken advantage of by those around them looking to prey on their naivety and youth. Polidori’s vampire is not the only vampire to demonstrate this distrust.

In response to Polidori’s vampire, James Robinson Planché wrote *The Vampire: or The*

Bride of the Isles, an 1820 stage-play based loosely around Polidori's tale. One notable change involves the dietary restrictions. Instead of needing to feed on daughters and sisters, as Byron's Giaour did, Planché's vampires only feed on their wives: "[Vampires] must wed some fair and virtuous maiden, / Whom they do after kill, and from her veins / Drain eagerly the purple stream of life, / Which horrid draught alone hath pow'r to save them / From swift extermination" (Planché, "Introduction Vision:" 48-50). In this way, Planché's Lord Ruthven⁴⁵ is free to travel, which he does in ways similar to Polidori's vampire. Unlike Polidori's vampire, however, Planché's cannot simply drink any maiden's blood. He is also not bound to his native land, like Byron's Giaour. Planché's Ruthven must first marry the woman before feeding⁴⁶, but that can be accomplished anywhere he finds a young woman on whom he may use his seductive powers. Polidori's vampire, too, was seductive and able to prey on young women who could not recognize the monster within him. The seductive vampire grows out of the Regency era. As mentioned above, as a youth, King George IV was well-liked and physically attractive. As he aged, he grew exceedingly large due to his gluttony. George gained a reputation for his "immoral, and extravagant lifestyle" ("Regency"). These same traits appear with both Lord Ruthvens. They lead extravagant lifestyles full of immorality. Indulging in one's desires is akin to the vampire's need to satiate their hunger by whatever means possible. King George IV and Ruthven both give in to their needs without thinking about self-control. As such, they become automatons, performing their one primary function without any attempt at restraint.

Planché's Ruthven is free to roam and feed only on women he marries. Planché's iteration of Lord Ruthven, then, is seductive by necessity. Were he not seductive, he would not be able to find anyone willing to marry him; in the play, the marriage is arranged before Ruthven arrives and his intended bride sees him. This would make it easy for him to wed many times

⁴⁵ Planché used the same name for his vampire as Polidori did.

⁴⁶ Planché does not make it clear how quickly or frequently Ruthven must feed, only that in the play, he is running out of time. How long Ruthven may go between feedings remains unclear.

without being seductive. He could merely arrange a marriage based on wealth alone. However, upon seeing him, Lady Margaret, his intended, is not repulsed; she finds him charming and endearing. Shortly upon meeting Lord Ruthven, Lady Margaret exclaims, “I can hardly account for my sudden attachment to Lord Ruthven, especially after the shock his introduction gave me” (Planché, II.1.110-12). The vampire has power over the women it meets and uses its handsome body and vampiric powers together to seduce Margaret. She feels the sudden, unexplainable attachment to Ruthven.

The last Regency vampire I will only mention, as I spent a portion of the last chapter addressing it in more detail, is, Coleridge’s *Christabel*. Geraldine is, arguably, not a vampire at all, though much scholarship identifies her as such⁴⁷. Discussions of pre-*Dracula* vampires often reference Polidori and Byron. Southey and Stagg appear less frequently. I argue that though Southey and Stagg’s vampires are not fully embodied vampires, they adhere to the revenant-vampire traits present at their time and do merit some discussion in vampire scholarship for their blending of contemporary definitions and folkloric vampire traits. In vampire scholarship, Samuel Taylor Coleridge’s 1816 poem *Christabel* appears occasionally, but usually in the context of Polidori or Le Fanu’s *Carmilla*. Nina Auerbach writes, “[*Carmilla*’s] major source, Coleridge’s haunting fragment *Christabel* (1816), has a strange, scarcely cited half-life among vampire works” (47). Auerbach continues. “Nonetheless, *Christabel* fed Ruthven. Shortly before the famous ghost-story contest, Byron recited part of it as the Villa Diodati. . . . By her century’s definition, Geraldine is unquestionably a vampire” (48). Despite being a clear predecessor of *Carmilla* and Ruthven, *Christabel*’s half-life prevents it from earning any great attention from vampire scholars. And while I will not devote much time here to *Christabel*, Geraldine has many traits in common with the other Regency vampires. She is seductive; she convinces *Christabel* to

⁴⁷ See: Arthur H. Nethercot’s “Coleridge’s ‘Christabel’ and Lefanu’s ‘Carmilla;’” Amy Leal’s “Unnameable Desires in Le Fanu’s *Carmilla*;” William A. Ulmer’s “*Christabel* and the Origin of Evil;” Susen Eilenberg’s *Strange Power of Speech: Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Literary Possession*.

strip down with little effort. Geraldine also seduces Leoline, though it hardly seems sexual, at least as far as the text explicitly states. She does, however, convince him to trust her more than his own daughter. Christabel is blinded to Geraldine's nature until it is too late, when Christabel recognizes a small flicker of snake in Geraldine's eyes. Leoline never learns her true evil nature, as the poem remains unfinished. But she can, by all accounts, pass as human until it serves her purpose. She is young and beautiful right up until the moment Christabel sees her snakelike eyes (585-87). Like George IV, she begins desirable and ends hideous. This reflects the monstrous nature of the once-beautiful. *Christabel* also reflects the romantic age's obsession with gothic imagery and the medieval period, with all of the ancient knights and castles juxtaposed against the modernity of the castle's clock.

The resurgence of older forms and styles was common through the nineteenth century as many authors wanted to forge their own way and create their own style while also not completely abandoning the respected ways of the past. Regency vampires exist as a balance between history, tradition, and modernity. Through Regency vampires, readers meet more embodied and fleshly monsters. The Regency vampire has power to seduce sexually, not just violently, and it uses its body to blend in to society. The vampire also has power and wealth to accompany its physical form. In addition to all these attributes, it moves about to and from England killing and feeding on those it meets. Regency vampires represent a unique space in the evolution of the supernatural Gothic antagonist. They are more embodied but they are also unidentifiable and largely undefeatable.

Victorian Vampires (1832 - 1870)

The Victorian era, by many historians' accounts, begins sometime in the first few years of the 1830s. Queen Victoria began her reign in 1834, but the Great Reform Act of 1832 marks a significant change in the way England would run. The Reform act gave more people the opportunity to vote, and it gave newer, industrialized cities more votes as well. Parliament begins representing the whole of England, not just the wealthy, better than it had before. Other

significant changes included the consolidation of the middle class into a parliamentary-represented group. With the creation of the middle class, religion and moral virtues began to be outwardly expressed more strongly. With a defined middle class in an industrializing world, many members of society began working in secular enterprises. Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* argues that this protestant work ethic played a large part in defining and reshaping English society. The middle class saw the need to work hard and define themselves via their embodied work. They begin to put on airs, so to speak, to distance themselves from the behaviors of the lower classes and the decadence of the upper classes. This is a continuation of the mimicry issue present in earlier texts of the nineteenth century.. Victorian vampires are embodied and monstrous, though they still often blend in to their surroundings in dangerous ways. Two major themes Victorian vampire narratives reflect are the expanding middle class / failing upper class and anxieties about automation and industrialization.

Varney the Vampire, a weekly penny dreadful published between 1845 and 1847, addresses issues of both high and low culture and sexual indulgence. The serial was written by James Malcolm Rymer, though some issues are attributed to Thomas Peckett Prest. *Varney the Vampire* gets little attention from scholars, though *Varney* merits some discussion here because he is a transitional vampire: Varney bridges the gap between Regency vampires and late-Victorian vampires. This alone makes him worth studying. He possesses many traits of the Regency vampires, like mobility and a penchant for drinking blood. He also establishes patterns for vampire behavior which will become common after him but were notably absent from previous vampire narratives.

One element that *Varney* introduced, which largely disappeared until its strong resurgence in the late twentieth century, was the sympathetic vampire or the vampire-protagonist. Scott Laming, author of "A Brief History of Vampires in Literature" writes, "Varney is also the first example of a sympathetic vampire who loathes his own condition but is helpless to stop it" (Laming). Future authors of vampire literature would pick this vampire trope up and adapt it, but

at the time, it was highly unusual for a monster, a blood-sucking and money-hungry creature, to be a protagonist of the narrative. Varney's nature inspired sympathy in those around him. Flora Bannerworth tells her brother Henry that Varney is, "to a certain extent, an object of my sympathies rather than my abhorrence" (Prest, Chapter XLIV). The powerlessness Varney feels reflects Victorian feelings of loss of self-identification. Varney tells Flora that no one on earth suffers as much as he does. "those whom my insatiable thirst for blood make wretched, suffer much, I, the vampyre, am not without my moments of unutterable agony. . . . for never crawled an abject wretch upon the earth's rotundity, so pitiable as I" (Prest, Chapter XXXIV). In this same scene, Varney fights all his natural urges and tells Flora how to escape from his grasp and that he will keep her safe from himself as long as he can. Varney fights against his "professional" vampire needs in order to protect her, but he does so at the cost of his own health and wellness. In the increasingly industrialized England, automation and labor were replacing artisanal work. However, the need to work left them with little choice. They had to go to the factories, just as a vampire must drink blood. The necessity overpowers the wants or desires, leaving little behind. As the laboring class grew in size, the skilled labor of pre-industrialization vanished, leaving workers feeling like machines⁴⁸.

Varney establishes other vampire trademarks, including "having fangs leaving two puncture wounds, coming through a window to attack a sleeping maiden, hypnotic powers, and superhuman strength" (Laming). Previously, the vampire feasted on blood but ate without much subtlety or finesse. Stagg's vampyre of an unknown but not upper class was seen covered in clotted carnage. Varney, as a Victorian gentleman-Vampire, makes two small bite marks. His fang-like teeth feature in his feeding scenes, and accompanying the teeth plunging into his victim is "a gush of blood, and a hideous sucking noise" (Rymer and Prest). The clean pin-prick of teeth, hollow like drinking straws, comes later in vampire literature. Varney introduces a rough version

⁴⁸ John Ruskin's *The Stones of Venice* speaks to this issue, arguing that demanding perfection in mass-produced items turns workers into soulless machines; imperfections in art indicate humanity and a soul.

of the fanged vampire. When Varney's predecessors bite or feed, they mangle; Varney's bloody but precise nature allow him to be more sympathetic than a beast on a feeding frenzy. Varney's fangs pierce and open the skin, allowing him to suck cleanly. The physical force it takes to bite someone and drink their blood indicates a certain vampiric strength and embodiment. Without a physical body, Varney, nor any other vampire, could successfully feed. That is, unless they could hypnotize⁴⁹ their prey into submission. While extreme physical strength is something vampires had not possessed until Varney, their hypnotic powers appear in previous versions. Earlier, I addressed the seductive nature of the Regency vampires, and mentioned that they have a certain capacity to enthrall those around them. This can easily be read as a form of hypnotism, though it is not explicitly stated as such in the stories and plays. Varney seems to possess both physical strength and a certain hypnotic ability.

The serialized story revolves around a formerly wealthy family, the Bannerworths, whom Varney haunts. The Bannerworth family is now in ruin; Varney, the story suggests, might be a former Bannerworth, which is why he haunts them. The text, though, never explicitly confirms the familial connection: Varney resembles a portrait hung in the house of an old ancestor and claims to have information on an ancestor (possibly the same one from the portrait, though the name changes inexplicably). Not much else is made of the relation. The motif of the past haunting us remains consistent in much vampire literature and, more so, even more gothic literature. An ancient creature from the past torments a family who has fallen on hard times. This hearkens back to Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto*. As the Victorians work to distinguish themselves from the ages and traditions of the recent past, they dig up the ancient past. They re-created and re-visited rather than creating anew. And Varney is the same. He watches the Bannerworths fail to learn from past mistakes and continue to make the same ones their ancestors made. The family's finances were in a "peculiar state . . . [despite having] a respectable livelihood, yet it was nearly

⁴⁹ See Footnote 12 for clarification about the term "hypnotism" in the Victorian period.

all swallowed up by the payment of regular instalments upon family debts incurred by his father” (Chapter XXII). Varney not only drains blood from his victims, but also drains finances. He seeks financial gain, much like Polidori’s Ruthven did. Varney as a Victorian vampire bridges the gap between the Regency vampire cohort and the late-nineteenth century vampires of Le Fanu and Stoker: he is simultaneously a creature of the past and a vision of things to come. He embodies both elements of previous vampires while establishing a legacy for future vampires.

Mid- and Late-Victorian Vampire (1867-1890)

The changes in British society and culture that began with the 1832 Reform Act carry through and evolve into the last half of the century, changing even more with the passing of the 1867 Reform Act. The full act, though passed in 1867, did not take full effect for a few years. The 1867 act nearly doubled the number of men who could vote, bringing the number from one million up to almost two million (“Second Reform Act”). Suddenly, the lower classes had more power and could have their demands heard. Bloodlines and inherited wealth meant less than they did before. Despite these progressive political changes in England itself, the English colonies remained unrepresented and did not benefit from reform. Ireland’s lower classes especially found little sympathy from England.

Jarlath Killeen, scholar of Irish Gothic literature, writes that “for a nineteenth-century British reader, vampirism and Ireland were related and analogous sites of infection and terror” (“An Irish *Carmilla*” 100). The absentee landlord bridges vampirism with the progressive reforms of middle-class England with the lower-class struggles of the Irish. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Ireland’s land was stripped from catholic landowners and passed on to protestant Irish, known as the Ascendancy. The Ascendancy prevented Catholics from voting or having a voice in local politics. Members of the ascended class were also stuck in a liminal space: “To be Anglican in Ireland meant to be considered too Irish by English commentators, yet generally not Irish enough by Catholic fellow inhabitants of the island, and this was not a comfortable existential position in which to be stuck” (Killeen, *Emergence of Irish Gothic Fiction*

38). In 1870, Ireland enacts the first of five Irish Land Acts which allowed tenants the option to buy their land from the landlord. Le Fanu's position as a Protestant Irish was in jeopardy. The Irish connection comes up frequently in Gothic scholarship. Vampire narratives have a strong connection to the absentee landlords in Ireland, a relic of England's colonization⁵⁰. Between the Irish Question and the increasing rate of emigration, literature, especially vampire literature, addressed national identity and translocation. One element that did not change much in this time period, however, was a strong connection to and inability to escape from the past. "In the Gothic, the past is never completely finished with and tends to reemerge with a vengeance in the present" (Killeen, "An Irish *Carmilla*" 104). Many viewed the past nostalgically, and others found the past to provide tried and true models for confronting contemporary problems. The most famous vampire of the mid-Victorian period, *Carmilla*, successfully blends the past iterations of vampires while introducing an embodied and defeatable monstrous Other. The novel also uses the past as a means of confronting past vampire narratives in new ways.

Sheridan Le Fanu's *Carmilla* follows a direct line of descent from Geraldine in Coleridge's "Christabel," Varney, the multiple Lord Ruthvens, and Byron's vampire (Leal 39). The short story blends together a number of earlier vampire iterations to create a fleshed out and threatening antagonist. It also evolves the vampire narrative in important ways and serves as a direct predecessor for Stoker's work. In this section, I explore *Carmilla*'s eponymous vampire as a blending of folkloric and Victorian vampires' conceptions. Scholars have traced her vampirism into many earlier texts. According to Elizabeth Signorotti, "Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu's 'Carmilla' (1872) is the original tale to which Stoker's *Dracula* served as a response." And since Stoker's work "constitutes . . .the culmination of a series of nineteenth-century vampire tales" (Signorotti), it stands to reason, then, that *Carmilla* also represents a critical step in the culmination of

⁵⁰ See: Jarlath Killeen's "An Irish *Carmilla*" and *The Emergence of Irish Gothic Fiction: History, Origins, Theories*; Luke Gibbons' *Gaelic Gothic: Race, Colonization, and Irish Culture*; R. J. Clougherty, Jr.'s "Voiceless Outsiders: Count Dracula as Bram Stoker;"

nineteenth-century vampire literature. A few vampire characteristics that appear in literature relatively early and remain constant, largely borrowed or stolen from Eastern European folklore, include feasting on blood, being seductive, acting mostly at night, turning others into vampires, and sleeping in coffins. Vampires typically only die from via a stake in their heart. *Carmilla* contains all of these in one way or another. The novel successfully blends vampiric folklore and previous literary iterations together. It also introduces readers to a female vampire, something unexpected. The femme fatale in *Carmilla* is a fully embodied vampire who haunts her own descendants and terrorizes a town, killing mostly women. It also introduces a vampire whose presence cannot be hidden forever. The tell-tale signs she leaves on her victims allow her to be identified and eventually defeated.

The novella begins with 27-year-old Laura telling an unknown audience, some unnamed “town lady,” about Laura’s home in Styria, a part of Austria. The events of Laura’s narrative occurred when she was 19 years old, per her explanation. However, the narrative explains the first time Laura met the eponymous vampire of *Carmilla* occurred much earlier; Carmilla appeared to Laura, the protagonist of the novella, in a waking-dream when Laura was merely a girl. The two girls talk for a bit before Laura awakens from “a sensation as if two needles ran into [her] breast very deep at the same moment” (Le Fanu 5). Laura screams herself awake, and three adults in the house run to her aid. The adults examine her but find no marks on her chest. Laura says that the story left a lasting impact on her. The main narrative resumes years later, when 19-year-old Laura meets Carmilla in person for the first time. Laura recalls meeting Carmilla, or someone who looks a lot like her, when she was little (21). These two meetings imply Carmilla’s supernatural nature, as she has not aged in over a decade. Her body remains young and beautiful. The past never changes, and the mid-Victorian vampire likewise remains unchanged.

Carmilla spends much of the novel in disguise: she does not appear monstrous, though her one long, sharp tooth is visible: “The young lady . . . has the sharpest tooth – long, thin, pointed like an awl, like a needle; . . . the tooth of a fish” (34). She cannot contain her inner

monstrosity fully. Her physique gives her away slightly. Eventually, General Spielsdorf learns what Carmilla truly is, by consulting a doctor about the symptoms plaguing his niece, and investigates vampirism until he learns the proper way to track down and kill Carmilla (88-91). It is not Carmilla's body that gives her away; it is the marks and illness her actions leave on her victims. The mid-Victorian vampire mostly can hide in plain sight, though as Carmilla gets bold and feeds more frequently, she leaves a trail of identifying vampire traits in her wake. Le Fanu certainly knew the folklore about how to kill a vampire. Laura's explanation outlines the steps one must take to kill a vampire, the same steps from 1736 that Southey listed in his footnote. First, a stake must be driven through the heart. Next, the vampire must be beheaded. And lastly, with the head placed by the body, both must be burned to ash, which must then be sprinkled in the river (97). The old woodsman in *Carmilla* says that is the only way to kill a "revenant" -- a term which also hearkens back to Southey's *Thalaba the Destroyer*. Le Fanu read and was familiar with much vampire folklore and literature.

Carmilla's bite does not appear to suck blood in the way Varney did, nor does it create as much carnage as Stagg's vampire. Only once in the narrative does Carmilla appear covered in blood: during Laura's dream. Outside of that, Carmilla is clean. There are no blood stains or drops left behind. Laura does write that vampires have a "horrible lust for living blood" (100); Laura gets bitten twice, but she always wakes up the instant she feels the "needles," leaving no time for Carmilla to drink. How, then, does Carmilla feed if not through Laura? Throughout the novel, women and girls from the nearby villages appear to die, grasping their throats in their sickness. Carmilla clearly kills the villagers, but she may not be drinking their blood. Laura writes that when Carmilla's coffin was opened, "the lead coffin floated with blood, in which to a depth of seven inches, the body [of Carmilla] lay immersed" (97). It appears, then, that the blood removed from Carmilla's victims is not consumed; instead, she bathes and sleeps in it, similar to the historic charges against Elizabeth Báthory. Carmilla, then, is sustained by blood, but not feeding on it. She bites, and somehow transports the blood to her coffin. We have already learned

from Laura that Carmilla's body remains youthful over time. Perhaps, in a Báthory-esque coffin of female blood, she rejuvenates her body.

Carmilla and her mother frequently use the story of a sick Carmilla to convince men to let Carmilla repose at their house for a time while the mother travels on urgent business (14; 76-77). Carmilla, then, needs to appear helpless, young, and frail. She needs her embodied self in order to achieve her goals. The absentee landlord, a common real-world connection between English colonial rule in Ireland and the vampire narratives of the Victorian era, gets compared to a bloodsucker (Gibbons 82). The absentee landlord benefits from those who live on and work the land without doing any of the hard work, just as Carmilla drinks the blood of the living without giving anything back. The fact that Carmilla hoards the blood is terrifying. She does not use it to gain sustenance; she takes it and sleeps in it. No one else can have it, but she does not consume it.

While Carmilla remains at the house, Laura experiences strange hallucinations envisioning a cat-like creature crawling by her bed, jumping up on top of her, and "suddenly [she] felt a stinging pain as if two large needles darted . . . deep into [her] breast" (47). Once again, she feels the pain of the vampire's bite, this time from a feline body. Carmilla's ability to transform herself marks her body as monstrous and significant. While Laura believes these visitations are dreams, it is more likely that she is lucid, though possibly entranced. Whether she appears as a cat or a young woman, Carmilla's body is always front and center in the narrative. From *Varney the Vampire*, Victorian readers learned that a vampire's fangs leave two puncture marks. Carmilla, too, leaves a bite mark on her victims. In her mouth is just one sharp, fish-tooth which leaves only one mark, a "small blue spot" (62) Carmilla's victims all report feeling two needles penetrate their breast, but when a doctor examines Laura, he finds only one blue spot. Perhaps, then, Carmilla's fish tooth acts like a drinking straw, which allows her to syphon blood from her victims which she then somehow deposits into her coffin.

While Carmilla lives at the house, the village is tormented by a disease or sickness that kills women and girls. Presumably, Carmilla has been hunting all night, only to return to her

bedroom before morning. Not only is Carmilla hunting at night, but Laura warns her readers that Carmilla is somehow also spending time in her coffin each day:

How they escape from their graves and return to them for certain hours every day, without displacing the clay or leaving any trace of disturbance in the state of the coffin or the cerements, has always been admitted to be utterly inexplicable.

The amphibious existence of the vampire is sustained by daily renewed slumber in the grave. (100)

Carmilla sneaks into her coffin without disturbing the ground. She must have some supernatural ability which allows her to alter her body into some immaterial or disembodied state. Laura, in claiming that Carmilla's method is "utterly inexplicable," further advances the complicated nature of Carmilla as a vampire. Carmilla's body is so central to her character that Laura cannot fathom a way in which she enters or exits a coffin without moving dirt. Her abilities, along with those of other vampires, confound the protagonists. They are not easily identifiable as vampires, and even when they do get identified, their powers remain a mystery. This inability to recognize and readily define the vampire allows Carmilla and others to feed and terrorize a town for far too long.

We see a large portion of the vampire's threat comes from its ability to remain undetected as a vampire. Carmilla passes as human enough to be threatening to those around her, increasing her effectiveness as a literary villain of the late Victorian era. Bridgett Marshall argues that the Gothic villain's evil appearance plays a crucial role in making the villain frightening to both character and reader: "Perhaps the most frightening truth about evil is the fact that in real-life it is often disguised, and rarely appears as immediately visible. . . . in the world of the novel, particularly the Gothic novel, villains are clearly marked. The idea that evil can be seen in the face is important to the characters in the Gothic novel, as well as the readers of the Gothic novel" (161). While I agree with much of Marshall's essay, I believe that she fails to recognize that the Gothic vampire, especially in the latter half of the Victorian era, was unrecognizable as a vampire

to those closest to it. It is precisely for its ability to pass as human, to be unrecognizable as a monster, that the vampire makes such an effective villain. For Polidori's *bunch* and Le Fanu and eventually Stoker, the vampire's ability to blend into society and adopt the lifestyles of their intended victims enable it to wreak havoc and remind Victorian (and modern) readers that real danger exists in the world and that they (and we) must be vigilant before it causes irreparable harm.

Carmilla offers scholars an allegory for the colonization of Ireland and the Protestant Ascendancy. Luke Gibbons writes that "some of the earliest forays into the Gothic" were the Irish wilds (19). During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Ireland's land was stripped from catholic landowners and passed on to protestant Irish, known as the Ascendancy. The Ascendancy prevented Catholics from voting or having a voice in local politics. Members of the ascended class were also stuck in a liminal space. The Irish Ascendancy were torn, stuck between the two extremes. They were too Irish for the English and too Protestant for the Catholics. Laura herself is also stuck between two worlds. She is half-English on her Father's side: "My father is English, and I bear an English name, although I never saw England" (2). Like many Irish ascendancy, she was English on paper but not in practice. She had never been to England; Laura was a Styrian-born girl. At home, however, she was given an English name, raised to speak English, and expected to behave as an English woman. Laura was English without being English, just like Ireland's inhabitants. They had a national identity imposed on them and were forced to accept it. The protestants were granted power by a foreign entity who claimed itself as ruler, and the people who belonged to the "wrong" religion, despite being the majority of the citizens, had power stripped from them.

Jarlath Killeen writes that "Irish Gothic is not, as many believe, a straightforward expression of Anglican bigotry in which Catholics simply continue to occupy the villain's position, but instead it articulates an urgent need felt by liberal Anglicans to find some means of reconciliation with the reviled Other, for the healthy future of the body politic" (*Emergence of*

Irish Gothic Fiction 50). In 1870, Ireland enacts the first of five Irish Land Acts which allowed tenants the option to buy their land from the landlord. Le Fanu's position as a Protestant Irish was in jeopardy, but the fear is not of Catholics, per se. Instead, the literature is more about the ascendancy fearing reparations and the consequences of a long history of oppression. Long has the vampire been oppressed⁵¹, and when it returns to seek reparations, the dominant group must either give in (relinquish power and become vampires) or fight (maintain power and their own identity). They frequently chose to fight. And they are able to maintain their own power. For Le Fanu, there is no peaceful reconciliation from the potential coup.

In the conclusion of *Carmilla*, Le Fanu includes a small allegory on the Ascendancy, specifically the absentee landlords. Baron Vordenburg had all of the documentation necessary to find Carmilla's final resting place because his ancestor, also Vordenburg, was a Styrian nobleman who had moved and become a Moravian nobleman. Moravian by name but Styrian by birth, he learns that his former lover, Carmilla, may be a vampire. To protect her, he secretly moves her body and destroys her tomb. However, he eventually regrets his actions. "From the vale of years, he looked back on the scenes he was leaving, he considered, in a different spirit, what he had done, and a horror took possession of him." Like the absentee landlords who owned the land but were never around nor provided for their tenants, the elder Vordenburg took possession of Carmilla's body but refused to care for it. He was not responsible for it once he took ownership. Carmilla, herself, may also be analogous of such an evil landlord: "The vampiric aristocrats have landed . . . to suck dry the middling country gentlefolk" (Signorotti). In such a reading, Carmilla's vampirism does not represent the rising Catholic population but the English protestants taking over Irish land and bleeding the land dry with no regard for the peasant-class. Regardless of what Carmilla and her vampirism represent, one thing remains clear: Carmilla is a vampire, which

⁵¹ In nineteenth century vampire narratives, this oppression is acceptable because the vampire is Othered. Similarly, Imperialism states that colonizing other countries is acceptable because they are "uncivilized" and need someone to show them how to be civilized, essentially replacing their culture and heritage with the colonizers'.

makes her a dangerous woman. The Irish ascendancy had an easier time blending in than the lower, Catholic class. Carmilla's terror then, stems from her ability to appear as an *us* instead of a *them*. She was so visually similar to her human acquaintances that identifying her as a vampire was impossible. In the case of the vampire, we can see echoes of Homi Bhabha's "Of Mimicry and Man." Bhabha says that mimicry is a compromise between the colonizing party and the colonized party. The goal of the colonizer is to create a "reformed, recognizable Other, *as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite*" (Bhabha 126). In many of England's colonies, the colonized were recognizable and, even after they began mimicking English behaviors, there were external, visible markers to indicate their Otherness.

From Southey through Le Fanu, readers witness the vampire lose its revenant characteristics. It gains its own body instead of borrowing someone else's. With a proper body, the vampire can move and feed as it wishes. It develops its own rules for how to be destroyed, what foods it needs to survive, and how best to avoid detection. These literary vampires blend Eastern European myth and their English literary predecessors into distinct vampires, each with specific traits and narrative elements which reflect social anxieties of their time. The vampire always induces fear and anxieties, but as it becomes more embodied and definable, as it loses its ability to permanently remain undetected as monstrous, protagonists find an easier time defeating it. This evolution of the vampire culminates in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, a text that many consider the apex of vampiric evolution.

Fin de Siècle Vampires (1890- 1900)

The nineties were a tumultuous time. They are the culmination of a century of colonization, industrialization, scientific advancement, and social reconstruction. The nineteenth century as a whole looks significantly different at its end than it did at its inception. One reason for this drastic change is that the nineties brought about radical changes. R.C. K. Ensor writes in *England: 1870-1914*, that the nineties

[. . .] were a period of unsettlement. The nation was out of health. It passed through a phase like adolescence; its temper was explosive and quarrelsome; it boasted itself with the harshness of immaturity. . . . Very certainly it was a period of widening comfort; of humaner manners in the mass; of relaxation in taboos, both social and moral; and of growing mental freedom, accompanied, however, by a loss of concentration and direction. [There also came about a] rapid decrease in the amount of time and thought which it was customary for laymen to bestow on religion. (Ensor 304-07)⁵²

While Victorians were not thinking as much about religion, they did have plenty of time to think. One of the major factors affecting late-Victorian England was an abundance of free time in all social classes due to shorter work hours (Ensor 340). Leading up to the last decade of the nineteenth century, gothic texts preoccupied themselves with the concept of the inner self⁵³. In the Gothic tradition, *Dracula* finds a way to incorporate these religious and social changes. The story at its core involves a young man looking to improve his station, a foreigner plotting to invade England and disseminate his way of life, and a group of people grappling with issues of feminism, science, and religion. Just as the nineties consolidated and redefined the changing views of the century, *Dracula* consolidates the vampire narratives of folklore and literature from the past, blends them together, and establishes the model for what we now know as “the vampire.”

⁵² For further reading, see Series 3 of Charles Booth’s 1903 *Life and Labour in London*.

⁵³ As seen in Stevenson’s *Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1886) and Oscar Wilde’s *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1890).

Rebecca Cordes writes, “Stoker combines the existing elements of the folklore and the literary vampire and establishes a new creature which acquires mythological status” (n.p). Stoker’s familiarity with vampire lore indicates a certain attention to detail. His novel establishes vampires in a way unlike any other work had done. “Dracula adheres to more taboos than he breaks, thus inhibiting future vampires significantly. His un-dead existence is regulated by ‘absolute if arbitrary rules’ that vampires seem unable to break even now” (Cordes). When *Dracula* was published in 1897, the vampire stopped evolving for a time and the literary tradition changed. Literary vampires after *Dracula* show clear signs of Dracula’s vampiric bite. Polidori’s vampyre was the first to come to England (*Monthly Review* 90), but Stoker’s vampire raised the bar for vampiric travel. Dracula carried Transylvanian soil with him and was able to completely uproot himself. Stephen D. Arata calls this reverse colonization. Stoker’s vampire also was not the first to turn into an animal. Carmilla turned into a large cat. Dracula, on the other hand, turned into a bat, the most recognizable symbol of vampirism. Readers see Dracula performing all other vampiric traits previously established, making him the epitome of vampiric antagonists.

Dracula’s body is so much more than human. Dracula can, seemingly at will, turn into various other forms. He is a fully embodied entity with power over his physical shape and properties. He changes his appearance to seem younger once he arrives in England. At various times, he takes the form of a wolf, a large dog, a fog, an elemental dust, and a smoky mist. Jonathan Harker also describes him as a lizard, after seeing Dracula scale down a wall in an unnatural way. These forms allow him to travel unnoticed when he needs to. Within the narrative, defining Dracula in any terms beyond “vampire” is difficult due to the many things he can be. What matters most is that he is an embodied vampire in every way. His physical presence makes him powerful and strong.

The introduction to this chapter argued that early vampires are hard to define and identify. This was true for most pre-*Dracula* literature. Polidori’s protagonist could not name the vampire. Dracula, however, is quite susceptible to definition and naming. “His responsiveness to

his enemies' classifications sets him apart from the other great monsters of the century . . . Dracula was, despite his occult powers, so comparatively docile a vampire, so amenable to others' definitions, that he stifled the tradition that preceded him" (Auerbach 83). Dracula's vulnerability to definition as a vampire turns him into an immortal literary figure, a character who lives on via retellings and adaptations for decades. The naming and defining of Dracula establishes and solidifies vampires as literary monsters. Through the explicit explanations that elderly doctor Abraham Van Helsing gives, Stoker laid a foundation for vampirism on which others build still to this day. Van Helsing illuminates the powers Dracula has, but also the rules by which Dracula must abide. For the purposes of this chapter, I have removed Van Helsing's support for each point and left only the defining characteristics:

The vampire live on, and cannot die by mere passing of the time; he can flourish when that he can fatten on the blood of the living. Even more, we have seen amongst us that he can even grow younger; . . . He throws no shadow; he make in the mirror no reflect . . . He has the strength of many of his hand . . . He can transform himself to wolf . . . he can be as bat, . . . He can come in mist which he create . . . but, from what we know, the distance he can make this mist is limited, and it can only be round himself. He come on moonlight rays as elemental dust; . . . He can, when once he find his way, come out from anything or into anything, no matter how close it be bound. . . . He can see in the dark. (211)

A few traits of vampirism stand out as unique to Dracula: not casting a shadow and not reflecting in a mirror reappear in later vampire literature and even films. He is strong, yet he can enter and exit any enclosed space he wishes, no matter how tightly sealed. He also can see in the dark, which is not explicitly mentioned in other vampire narratives, but many infer it is common as most vampires feed at night. Crucial to each of these is Dracula's power over his own body. Being able to transform, grant himself sight in darkness, and escape any location once he knows how to leave, these all demonstrate the control Dracula has to manipulate his own form. Not only

is his embodied state important, but he can alter it in any way he wishes. Of course, such power does not come without its costs.

He can do all these things, yet he is not free. . . . He cannot go where he lists; he who is not of nature has yet to obey some of nature's laws He may not enter anywhere at the first, unless there be some one of the household who bid him to come; though afterwards he can come as he please. His power ceases, as does that of all evil things, at the coming of the day. . . . If he be not at the place whither he is bound, he can only change himself at noon or at exact sunrise or sunset. . . . He can only pass running water at the slack or the flood of the tide. (211-12).

Unlike later vampires who are destroyed by sunlight⁵⁴, Dracula is often merely dormant throughout the day. Should he find himself away from his home, he can only transform at noon, sunrise, and sunset. This drastically weakens his threat. In his embodied state, he can do practically anything he wishes physically, but certain superstitious beliefs trap or limit him. Fortunately for the Crew of Light⁵⁵, Dracula has weaknesses and aversions, more than just limitations to his power and ability to enter locations. These limitations come from a blending of Pagan and Judeo-Christian superstitions. This blending of superstitions reflects the tumultuous changes in religious and scientific thought of Stoker's time.

Then there are things which so afflict him that he has no power, as the garlic that we know of; and as for things sacred, as this symbol, my crucifix, that was amongst us even now when we resolve, to them he is nothing, but in their presence he take his place far off and silent with respect. . . . The branch of wild rose on his coffin keep him that he move not from it; a sacred bullet fired into the

⁵⁴ Or those who sparkle in it.

⁵⁵ A term coined by Christopher Craft in "Kiss Me with Those Red Lips: Gender and Inversion in Bram Stoker's Dracula" (1984).

coffin kill him so that he be true dead; and as for the stake through him, we know already of its peace; or the cut-off head that giveth rest. (212)

This long series of vampiric powers and weaknesses creates the framework upon which Dracula is ultimately destroyed. Once his enemies learn what he is and what he can and cannot do, they are able to stop fearing Dracula. They no longer need to defend themselves against him; they take up a more offensive position instead. Van Helsing, having been granted an indulgence, crushes a bit of communion wafer and makes a paste which he uses to seal up the tomb so Dracula cannot re-enter. Crushing up a communion wafer to ward off a vampire means using one transfigured body to keep at bay a monstrous body. Earlier vampires were stopped with folkloric tradition and “rustic superstitions” (Gelder 35). The Crew of Light, however, stop Dracula with a hybrid cure comprised of religious traditions and scientific theory. One reason for such a shift could be the epistemological shift during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Such a shift from faith-based religion to proof-based science explains why Van Helsing can apply a taxonomy to Dracula so readily. The rules and definitions reek of hypothesis and testing. Defeating the vampire before it wreaks too much havoc requires an epistemological shift similar to the one Victorian England made.

Between the first and second reform bills, the middle class began earning more money and gaining power. Thomas Carlyle is one of the more prominent philosophers of the time who abhorred and cautioned against democracy. To Carlyle, democracy granted non-aristocratic citizens time to think and work as they pleased instead of as God pleased in true Calvinistic fashion. Many people took their newfound liberty and began to search for knowledge. After the first reform bill, England gradually abandoned religion and faith for science and proof as the primary mode of knowledge, culminating in the fin de siècle epistemology and increasing lack of faith. Phillip Holden writes, “It is difficult to find a late Victorian novel that does not in some way touch upon hypnotism, possession, somnambulism, or the paranormal. Paradoxically, interest in the paranormal increased even as scientific methodology increasingly promised rational

explanation of the physical world” (471). Even such mystical practices as demonic possession or hypnotism were treated with scientific care⁵⁶. Nowhere is this paradox more visible than in *Dracula*. As the burden for proof increases, the necessity for religion and the traditions of the past grows.

Van Helsing represents the older generation of scientists, those who grew up in a time when religion influenced science and scientific advancement. Van Helsing’s upbringing allows him to look beyond that which can be “proven” and see that which cannot. He is a contradiction, a being who spans the bulk of the Victorian period. Through Van Helsing, Stoker is able to point that that the only way for England to survive and prosper is through both scientific study and supernatural or religious beliefs.

Van Helsing understands both the new and the old. He represents the pure quest for knowledge. Van Helsing wants to learn everything, which includes the supernatural and unprovable (pagan and Christian beliefs). Stoker does not suggest that scientific advancement serves no useful purpose, nor does he suggest that scientists should ignore religion and the supernatural. Van Helsing comprehends the old ways as well as the new scientific methods; he keeps his mind open enough to have faith in things outside of the observable, scientific world. With the growing interest in germ theory and the microscopic world, Stoker’s novel warns against a myopic or tightly focused worldview. The danger, then, comes from zooming in too closely while ignoring or avoiding the remainder. Looking only at Lucy’s illness from a disease or hard-science lens means Seward will not see the bite marks or consider non-medical “contagions.” The Late Victorian scientists, which Stoker represents through Dr. John Seward, were moving away from religion as a way of explaining the world. This nearsighted scientific

⁵⁶ The Society for Psychical Research formed in 1882 to try and apply modern scientific practices to “apparitions, clairvoyant visions, precognitive dreams – the kind of miraculous events that have been reported since the earliest times” (“Our History”). For further reading, see Janet Oppenheim’s *The Other World: Spiritualism & Psychic Research in England 1850-1914*.

pursuit threatened society at the turn of the century, and Van Helsing and Seward serve as Stoker's case study to prove this point.

Seward cannot determine Lucy's cause of death. He cannot see the numerous signs because they do not fit into a believable or provable category. Seward's "scientific mind" does not entertain the idea that the cause might be supernatural. As Van Helsing tells him, "You do not let your eyes see nor your ears hear, and that which is outside your daily life is not of account to you" (170). The issue, Stoker seems to suggest, is not that people cannot see but that they do not let themselves see; there is an active denial taking place among scientists simply because they cannot prove that for which they must have faith. The relationship between Seward and Van Helsing demonstrates the complicated nature of a society built upon religious ideas shifting toward a more scientific foundation. For Van Helsing, Dracula must be treated scientifically, even though he defies most scientific study. He is a man who can alter his body and dines only on blood. However, Van Helsing still identifies the vampire as such by applying a scientific taxonomy. To broaden the idea out more, society can advance but it should not forget its past or where it came from.

Dracula's allegorical power extends far beyond the religious and scientific debates of Victorian England. Its adaptability allows it to survive and prosper in both popular culture and academic circles. "*Dracula* has never been out of print. . . . The novel was distributed free of charge to American soldiers serving abroad in World War Two in a special 'Armed Services Edition' (Clasen 379). Despite its popularity, some argue that "*Dracula* is arguably not a work of remarkable literary quality"(Cordes) and that the book was a "literary failure" ("The Insanity of the Horrible" 273). The question, then, becomes "Why has Dracula sparked the imaginations of several generations of readers, academic and leisure readers alike? What has allowed it to withstand the test of time, transcend the anxieties specific to late-nineteenth-century Britain, and breed a thousand offspring?" (Clasen 380). The reason the vampire itself is so pervasive in popular culture has been discussed in the introduction of this text; gothic monsters allow readers a

chance to engage with and overcome social anxieties. Arguably, many people familiar with Dracula as a character have never read Stoker's novel. To non-academics, *Dracula's* themes are ingrained in society even if the words on the page are not. To academics, the novel serves a different purpose. "The productive nature of this novel may lie in the uneasy cohabitation of . . . various discursive fields. . . . It seems that there is always more to be said about *Dracula*. . . . this is a novel which seems to generate readings, rather than close them down" (Gelder 65). For the remainder of this chapter, I will argue that what makes *Dracula* so engaging to scholars is that like Count Dracula, who can shift into whatever form best suits his needs, the novel *Dracula* similarly adapts, allowing scholars to analyze it from myriad critical theories. And just like the count, despite being well-defined, the mutability of its themes and relevance to society allow the work to persevere through time.

Contemporary Societal Anxieties

The Gothic in general is great at allowing contemporary readers the opportunity to confront social anxieties. *Dracula's* multi-track academic opportunities⁵⁷ do not tell us much about readers, both contemporary and modern, who do not care about feminist theory or Marxist critiques. For Victorian readers, Dracula was "thrill-producing entertainment" (Auerbach and Skal 363). More than that, however, it allowed Victorian readers a chance to engage with their own time and their own hopes and fears. Ken Gelder writes, "Gothic fiction thus speaks for modernity; its anxieties are *modern* anxieties" (51). To move Gelder's point away from generalizations and more in line with Stoker's text, Farson writes, "*Dracula* succeeds partly because it is *not* Gothic; to the Victorian reader it must have seemed daringly modern" (142). Gothic, as discussed in the introduction to this dissertation, traditionally means old or ancient. *Dracula* is a Gothic novel thematically, but the ways it uses those classic themes is modern. A

⁵⁷ See: Ethnography (Moretti, Warren, Arata, Viragh); Imperialist Ideologies (Moretti, Arata, Keogh, Said); Medicine (Madbak, Freud, Gelder); Criminality (Bhabha, Thorslev, Matthew, Marshall); Discourses of Degeneration and Evolution (Thorslev); Feminism (Senf, Brennan, Lorrh, Mai).

supernatural element/being invading and endangering a village is nothing new. An “other” who is practically indistinguishable from “us” who wants to make us like them speaks to late-Victorian fears of invasion or, as Arata calls it, reverse colonization. “Dracula is ‘an idea, a concept full of fantasy and wonders.’ He is the personification of late-Victorian angst and anxieties” (Cordes). *Dracula* induces fear and terror in its readers. The count is rarely seen doing anything violent or aggressive. He is unusual, true. But it is vampire spawn, Lucy and the sister-wives, who we see feed and be malicious. Dracula proper remains a figure obscured by multiple layers of imposed narrative. Because of the novel’s epistolary format, nothing Dracula does or says comes to the reader without first passing through the words and interpretations of someone else. As such, he is a creature of terror, one who makes reader’s imaginations awaken. The sister-wives and Lucy, once she turns, are monsters of horror. We see them behaving inappropriately by Victorian standards.

The fear and thrill allow Dracula to remain a monster for some time before he, and other vampires, fall down the monster hole. Unfortunately, Clasen believes that such discussions of Victorian readers lacks power in explaining why the book still has such a following. “Monocausally explaining *Dracula* in terms of anxieties peculiar to late-Victorian Britain does not tell us why the novel retains its narrative power” (Clasen 380). Dracula is one of the most recognizable literary characters today. He has inspired dozens of movies, television shows, and his vampiric legacy is unrivaled. All vampires written after him are held to his standard. If Dracula cannot do something, no vampire can. Or, as evidenced by Stephanie Meyer’s *Twilight* series, an author may define their vampires in non-Dracula terms, like sparkling in sunlight and being “vegetarians,” but they will face backlash from numerous gatekeeping vampire fans.

The gatekeeping clearly failed. Meyer’s work, and others like it, were largely successful, cultural phenomena. The modern vampires found a fang-hold in society in a new form; first, the protagonist, and then the romantic interest. The last few pages will argue that after *Dracula*, vampires had to either adhere to or actively fight against Stoker’s vampire. Through the greater

part of the twentieth century, vampires shifted from monster to protagonist and eventually to love interest, following the Trajectory of Domestication.

Modern Vampires

After *Dracula*, vampire fiction rode the Count's coattails for a long time. Many films came out about vampirism, mainly based on or inspired by *Dracula*. A few *Carmilla* adaptations appeared as well. Vampires hit the stage and screen, but in doing so, *Dracula*-style vampires left the page for a long time. With all of the vampire narratives of the Victorian era, and the abundance of screen adaptations after, the vampire slowly began losing its ability to inspire fear in its readers/viewers. The Trajectory of Domestication's first step is fear and anxiety, something early vampire narratives excelled in providing. The second step in the trajectory, becoming the vampire, begins making its approach with Richard Matheson's 1954 *I Am Legend*. While Matheson's tale does not place the vampire as the protagonist, as a second-stage narrative would, the ending implies that the vampires should have been the protagonists. Their story was interesting; they were a society with rules and inner thoughts, feelings, and lives. The main character, Robert, does not understand that until the ending.

Matheson's book toys with the idea that the vampire may not be the monster. Robert Neville, Matheson's main character, spends his mornings reinforcing his house against vampire attacks and spends his days hunting vampires in the neighboring houses and cities. Matheson's text directly references *Dracula*, even going so far as to explore what it got wrong about the vampire myth. "Garlic always worked" (2), Neville says, but the cross was only effective on vampires who were Christian before they turned (123). Jewish vampires, for instance, did not react negatively to the crucifix (Matheson 123)⁵⁸. Throughout the novel, Neville slowly comes to the realization that vampires he faces have, in fact, developed a society. Talking to himself about the vampires, Neville says, "You have turned the poor guileless innocent into a hunted animal. He

⁵⁸ The Torah, however, does affect Ben Cortman, a Jewish vampire (Matheson 129).

has no means of support, no measures for proper education, he has not the voting franchise. No wonder he is compelled to seek out a predatory nocturnal existence” (21). This is an important realization for both Neville and the reader. The vampire is a fully embodied monster, but it is also being who exists as a disenfranchised and underprivileged entity. However, even with this realization, Neville fears the vampire and hunts them down. Using the knowledge he gains from books, namely *Dracula*, but also others, Neville identifies and dispatches the vampires. He uses Van Helsing’s scientific method of classification to establish rules and determine what is and is not effective⁵⁹. He learns how to protect himself and how to harm them. He learns that during the day, the vampires sleep and do not fight back. Using these methods, Neville becomes a very effective vampire hunter.

Neville’s early experiments with recognizing the civilized nature of the vampires eventually come to a head when a vampire sympathetic to him helps him realize that he, the human who stalks and kills the vampires while they sleep, is the real monster. He is the nightmare that vampires have, the creature lurking in the shadows and hurting them. He is their bogeyman, their monstrous Other: “A new terror born in death, a new superstition entering the unassailable fortress of forever. I am legend” (159). While the vampire through most of the novel is antagonistic to Neville, readers come to understand that they have merely read the narrative from the villain’s perspective and sympathized with him. The Trajectory of Domestication remains in its first step, anxiety, almost exclusively during the nineteenth century, but Matheson’s novel moves right up to the line of the second step.

In the 1970s, Anne Rice revisited the vampire in *The Vampire Chronicles* series. Her vampires are similar to *Dracula* in many ways, but with one noticeable difference: they are the protagonists of the series. This does not mean that they are heroic figures or sympathetic figures à la *Varney the Vampire*. Readers of Rice’s novels follow the vampires who, though monstrous, are

⁵⁹ One of Neville’s major experiments attempts to discover what precisely in garlic repels vampires and whether or not he can synthetically replicate it.

not the villains of the series. Unlike practically all vampire literature before it, Rice's vampires take the center stage; the novels do not climax in the destruction of the vampire. In the first book, *Interview with the Vampire*, a character named Louis divulges his life story to a young reporter. Louis meets a vampire named Lestat who turns Louis into a vampire, and the two become inseparable. Early on in his vampirism, Louis maintains some semblance of morality, opting to eat rats and other animals rather than killing humans: "I've indicated to you I would not then kill people. I moved along the rooftop in search of rats" (Rice 57). Louis and Lestat demonstrate two different types of vampires: regular, blood-sucking vampires and what later gets termed "vegetarian" vampires, those who refuse to kill humans and instead choose to satiate their hunger on animals. As the narrative progresses, Lestat convinces Louis to feed on humans. And while Louis does, in fact, begin feeding on humans, he maintains his disgust and hatred of it (Rice 269). He feels compassion for those he kills, marking him as a character readers can sympathize with to some extent and see themselves in the vampire. This is an important step in the domestication process. Louis's guilt marks him as a part of the moral order, even if he is not productive or entirely welcomed part. Feeling guilt at killing and feeding off of humans implies that he feels a sense of moral obligation to not hurt others and to uphold societal rules. The monster may behave however it wishes; once it aligns its behavior with the dominant culture, it no longer wishes to remain on the outside and will eventually be accepted.

Through Rice's novels, we see the Trajectory of Domestication fully take its second step: Self-identification. We, the readers, become the vampire. We accept the monstrosity and engage with it on a personal level. One possible reason for such self-identification is that in the latter half of the twentieth century, science made huge leaps in human psychology. We learned more about mental illness, abnormal behaviors, and invisible disabilities. This dissertation will not address disability studies in detail, though much can be written about the self-identification with monsters, including recent trends in vampire and zombie literature. Society better understands that differences do not make us monstrous; we can be different and still be productive or valuable

citizens. With that knowledge, readers are more ready to see themselves take on roles previously dedicated to villains or monsters. This celebration of difference and otherness leads to the vampire becoming more than just a reflection of ourselves. We begin to look past whatever faults we see in the inner monster and develop the ability to accept differences in others as well.

The last step of the Trajectory of Domestication, romantic love, appears in vampire literature with Charlaine Harris, Stephanie Meyer, and Deborah Harkness. In each of these series, the main character is a young woman who falls in love with a vampire⁶⁰. In these series, the vampire love-interests have all reached peak domestication. They are “vegetarian,” meaning they do not drink human blood (Nakagawa). In Meyer’s *Twilight* series, the “vegetarian” vampires feed on deer and other small game (Meyer 186). The vampires in *Twilight* are not “out” yet, meaning they keep their true nature hidden. Because their skin shines in sunlight (Meyer 260), they live in overcast places. They do not interact much with society and keep largely to themselves. The youngest, Edward, is a seventeen-year-old boy who must attend school. He also falls in love with a girl named Bella. When she discovers he is a vampire, she does not care because he seems nice and she heard he did not hurt humans nor drink their blood.

“Don’t you want to know if I drink blood?”

“Well, Jacob [. . .] said you didn’t . . . hunt people. He said your family wasn’t supposed to be dangerous because you only hunted animals.” (186)

The main character heard from a friend that the vampire was safe because he did not hurt humans. As such, he “wasn’t supposed to be dangerous,” to which the vampire takes offense. He reminds her “they’re right to keep their distance from us. We are still dangerous” (187). However, shortly after telling her that just because he and his family are still dangerous, he reminds her that he is a complicated man: “I don’t *want* to be a monster” (italics in original. 187). Edward’s simple declaration that he does not want to be a monster speaks volumes to his domestication. He has

⁶⁰ This appears in television with Joss Whedon’s *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, where Buffy has multiple vampire love interests.

great physical power and special vampiric abilities, but he did not choose this life and does not want to be a part of it. He wants to be kind and gentle. It is hard to imagine Dracula or Carmilla making such a claim. The domesticated vampire, however, can feel internally conflicted.

A similar scene in which a protagonist does not fear but instead feels for the vampire happens in in Harris's *True Blood* series. Vampires have become so commonplace that they drink a synthetic blood called "true blood" rather than feeding off humans. The first interaction Sookie, the main character, has with a vampire involves him ordering some synthetic blood at the bar where she is a waitress.

"Do you have the bottled synthetic blood?" he asked.

"No, I'm so sorry! Sam's got some on order. Should be in next week."

"Then red wine, please," he said. (Harris 3)

When Sookie tells the unnamed vampire she is out of stock, he orders a red wine, an apparently suitable replacement for a drink. Sookie faces no physical threat as she gladly serves a vampire a glass of wine. The scene demonstrates just how domesticated Harris's vampires are. Neither Edward from *Twilight* nor Harris's vampire, Bill, seem to have any real embodied monstrosity. As the monster becomes domesticated, it loses the external, physical side of its monstrosity. Instead, everything internalizes into dietary restrictions and anger-management issues. These domesticated vampires do not shapeshift, transform, or do any of the embodied vampire things others do, including sleeping in coffins or fearing the cross⁶¹.

In *Dracula* and pre-*Dracula* vampire literature, the vampire is something to be feared and destroyed if possible. The vampire uses death or the drinking of blood as a mortal threat, and the damning of one's soul by turning them into a vampire forever as an eternal threat. These threats reinforce the embodied nature of the vampire, that they have so much power over their physical selves that they can also impose that control onto others' bodies, altering them into a monstrous

⁶¹ Edward tells Bella these things are all myths (185-86).

Other. Literary works in stage one of the Trajectory of Domestication feature vampires as objects of fear and anxiety. No one in those narratives intentionally chooses to become a vampire. Turning into a vampire is damning and will most likely result in your death. Rice's series shows us vampires who are us -- monsters who do bad things but we relate to and understand. We may not choose to be a vampire, but we accept that we are vampires and will do what it takes to survive⁶². When Harris, Meyer, and Harkness arrive on the vampire scene, readers see vampires who sexually excite us and have something we want, usually eternal life and, with it, everlasting love. A major theme throughout the *Twilight* series as well as Harkness's *All Souls Trilogy* is that of a lifemate. The eternal vampires become possessive, often described as animalist and protective over their intended. However, they also hesitate to turn their intended, even if she wants to be turned, because they understand the weight of such a decision. Gaining eternal life and eternal love should not be taken lightly. With a divorce rate of around 40-50% ("Marriage and Divorce"), ideas of a love that cannot end and will not die speaks to many contemporary readers.

While Dracula and his brood were sexually stimulating, their seduction was oftentimes less consensual and more animalistic. We, the reader, want to enter into a romantic and consensual relationship with the vampire. This trend of sexually and romantically enticing vampires terminates the Trajectory of Domestication. The vampire has nothing left to scare readers. They are "defanged" (Nakagawa), stripped of power, and domesticated. Their immortality is not a curse but instead a blessing, allowing true love to be eternal. Vampirism has become a desirable trait.

⁶² Many modern vampires follow this trajectory. There are examples of a middle step between "we are the vampire" and "we love the vampire." That step is "we laugh at the vampire." Taika Waititi's "What We Do in the Shadows" which follows a group of domesticated vampires through their conflicts with werewolves while debunking popular vampire myths. Viewers do not engage with the complexities of vampirism. Instead, viewers engage with the absurdity of vampirism.

Vampires throughout the Western literary tradition have undergone many iterations. The most important evolutions of the vampire myth occurred prior to and foreshadow the publication of *Dracula*. The vampire remains a popular character in literature and film. The vampire's literary immortality informs its immortality in popular and academic circles. Throughout the history of the Western literary vampire, readers witness significant growth and changes in the embodiment of the monster. Early vampires were closer to ghosts or body-possessing spirits, harbingers of bad tidings but hardly the blood-sucking vampires modern readers expect. As the vampire becomes more embodied, science catches up and finds ways to impose taxonomies onto the vampires, rendering them identifiable. Vampires only ever lose their fights when the protagonists can identify them and classify their powers. Eventually, killing vampires loses its thrill, at which point we see the vampire undergo domestication until it becomes a vegetarian boyfriend. The domestication of the Gothic monster, and in this case the vampire, is a direct response to its embodiment and eventual destruction. The fear subsides and gets replaced by romantic ideas of everlasting love and eternal life.

CHAPTER IV

JEKYLL, HYDE, AND THE EMBODIED DOUBLE

The previous two chapters explored the Gothic monster as it evolves and becomes more embodied and horrifying. Building on concepts from the previous two chapters, this chapter argues that the terror and horror dichotomy addressed in the first chapter applies to Robert Louis Stevenson's novella *Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*. Hyde represents a unique point in the monster's evolution. Despite being an embodied and physically threatening Other, characteristics typically attributed to horror monsters, the text explicitly informs readers that Hyde is ineffable in both appearance and behavior. He forces those who see him to open their imaginations to the unknown. Throughout the text, those who see him are unable to articulate specific details regarding how he looks, except to say that they feel that he has some unnamable deformity. "He must be deformed somewhere; he gives a strong feeling of deformity, although I couldn't specify the point" (Stevenson 11). They must imagine or impose their own ideas onto him in order to make any sense of the hideous Mr. Hyde. The ineffable quality renders Hyde hidden and obscured to both the reader and the characters in the novella.

This chapter will use Robert Louis Stevenson's *Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1886) as its case study to explore the embodied monster. I have chosen *Jekyll/Hyde* because it represents the Gothic monster as fully embodied but also terrifying more than horrifying. As a tale about a Gothic double, *Jekyll/Hyde* adapts the narrative to be much more psychologically

rooted. The double is completely internalized and shares a life with the protagonist. As a Gothic monster, *Jekyll/Hyde* invokes terror in its readers, despite Hyde being a fully embodied antagonist. This is a departure from the standard Gothic monster's evolution; typically, the more embodied a monster becomes, the more horror they induce. The internalized double and the terror/horror divide make Stevenson's work ripe for analysis. When the *Jekyll/Hyde* narrative reaches the stage or screen, which occurs quickly after the novella's publication, Hyde's terrifying nature from the novella vanishes as the director must visually represent the character. He leaves the shadows and turns horrifying and definably monstrous. The end of this chapter explores this shift from terror to horror by analyzing the monstrous body in stage and screen adaptations of *Jekyll/Hyde*.

Hyde is an example of a literary double⁶³ or *Doppelgänger*. While readers and scholars alike frequently associate the double or *Doppelgänger* with "evil and the demonic . . . defective, disjunct, split, threatening, spectral" (Vardoulakis 100), this is not always the case. The literary double acts as a mirror, reflecting the protagonist or some part of her/him. In literature, the double catalyzes the plot, offering moments of conflict and self-reflection for both the protagonist and readers alike. Later scholarship and criticism on the double relies heavily on terms laid out in works by Sigmund Freud⁶⁴. The Id and Ego serve as useful referents for discussions on the literary double, but Victorian England first grappled with the concepts before Freud gave society those critical terms. So while Freud's works may have named and described these two operating personalities, they appeared frequently throughout the nineteenth century. The double reserves its own place in literary discussions, though other similar literary terms exist.

⁶³ Early examples of the literary double include James Hogg's 1824 *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* and Edgar Allan Poe's 1839 "William Wilson." In both of these examples, the double's existence is questionable as the protagonist interacts with and speaks with the double, but in the end both are implied to be psychological and not physical beings.

⁶⁴ Freud's 1919 essay "The Uncanny" addresses the *Doppelgänger* as a literary figure as it relates to the Uncanny, though only briefly. He discusses duality and man's double-nature more in *The Ego and the Id*, 1923.

The double works differently than, say, a literary foil. While a foil and a double are both characters whose actions or behaviors contrast those of the protagonist, the two are wildly different in one major aspect. The foil serves to highlight a stark contrast between her/himself and the protagonist. They are separate people with distinct goals and motivations; they are just opposites in some way(s). However, in the case of the double, the protagonist has some psychological and embodied connection with the double. This connection usually helps the double be a creature who inspires terror more than fear. Narratives involving a double frequently leave readers guessing about whether the double is real or a figment of the protagonist's imagination. If real, the double should invoke horror. If not, more likely the double will be obscured and terrifying.

To remind readers of previously established points, we noted earlier that Anne Radcliffe's posthumously published essay "On the Supernatural in Poetry" lays out the foundation for literary discussions of the terms terror and horror. Terror, she claims, "expands the soul, and awakens the faculties to a high degree," but horror does the opposite (149). The reason terror expands the soul lies in its ability to obscure but not confuse the supernatural. Radcliffe explains, "Obscurity leaves something for the imagination to exaggerate; confusion, by blurring one image into another, leaves only a chaos in which the mind can find nothing to be magnificent, nothing to nourish its fears or doubts, or to act upon in any way" (150). For Radcliffe, obscurity presents as negative space void of meaning which the reader must fill; confusion, on the other hand, is a chaotic positive space with no room for the reader's imagination (15). The more the supernatural object's existence is unquestionable but its form and nature are unknowable, the more a reader or viewer's imagination will work to fill in the gaps. This awakens the soul and faculties, as Radcliffe puts it. In Gothic tales, the implication that a ghost might exist excites as it scares. Wondering whether noise heard at night originated from a creature or just the wind also excites a kind of terrified imagining. However, a ghost flying directly at someone down a dark hallway is horrifying. Suddenly the obscurity, the "what ifs" are gone. There exists no need to

speculate on whether the ghost exists or what it might do. Instead, those questions are answered immediately and explicitly, and the survival instinct takes over from the imagination.

Hyde as a Gothic double presents a blending of horror and terror. Stevenson's novella presents itself as an exciting and "strange case" – a case in which Mr. Utterson turns himself into a detective searching to find who he believes to be Jekyll's blackmailer. Readers do not learn until the last paragraphs of the penultimate chapter that upright citizen Dr. Henry Jekyll and the murderous Edward Hyde are the same person: "For there before my eyes . . . there stood Henry Jekyll. . . . The creature who crept into my house that night was, on Jekyll's own confession, known by the name of Hyde and hunted in every corner of the land as the murderer of Carew" (Stevenson 47). The remainder of the novella consists of the final chapter titled "Henry Jekyll's Full Statement of the Case," in which the story provides Dr. Jekyll's point of view and his own editorializing commentary on Hyde's actions.

Jekyll and Hyde as analogies for good and evil, which appears in most retellings and adaptations, misrepresents the major themes and conflict in Stevenson's work. In the novella, Stevenson has Jekyll explicitly tell Utterson, and by extension the readers, that Jekyll is a complex and frustrating blend of good and evil; in fact, Jekyll says that all men contain this dual nature: "that man is not truly one, but truly two" (48). Modern readers know that Jekyll and Hyde are the same person, doubles of each Other. The novella, on the other hand, withholds that information from readers until the end. The novella's first nine chapters follow Utterson on his quest to learn who exactly Edward Hyde is. Utterson believes that Hyde is some distant relation or friend who has returned to blackmail Jekyll.

Utterson's case is made more difficult by Hyde's ineffability. Utterson meets Hyde and interviews others who met him. None of them seem able to describe Hyde in any concrete detail. Utterson's inability to define Hyde in any practical way is precisely what makes *Jekyll/Hyde* so terrifying. The characters in the novella see Mr. Hyde and recognize something upsetting about his appearance. Mr. Utterson remarks, "You must know as well as the rest of us that there was

something queer about that gentleman -- something that gave a man a turn -- I don't know rightly how to say it, sir, beyond this: that you felt it in your marrow kind of cold and thin" (Stevenson 37). Hyde reminds readers that such internal monstrosity may be difficult to recognize or identify. It is not until the last chapter that readers get a more detailed picture of Hyde. And even then, Jekyll's description of Hyde is hardly trustworthy⁶⁵.

In the last chapter of the novella, readers finally get to see the events through Jekyll's eyes. The last chapter, misleadingly titled "Henry Jekyll's Full Statement of the Case," reads as a letter Henry Jekyll writes to Utterson in an attempt to explain Jekyll's actions as well as the crimes Hyde committed. His version of the tale opens with a confession of duplicity and confusion. He is the wealthy-born Henry Jekyll, whose worst "fault was a certain impatient gaiety of disposition" (47). Jekyll writes that he had some natural inclinations to pleasure, though he never explicitly states what those are. Some scholars speculate that Jekyll's desires were homosexual in nature⁶⁶, though the novella never explicitly states what Jekyll's desires are. Readers only learn that his desires constantly fought against his "imperious desire to carry [his] head high, and wear a more commonly grave countenance before the public. Hence it came about that [he] concealed [his] pleasures" (48). Jekyll was a man conflicted. He wanted to indulge in his desires, but he also felt the need to present himself in public as a wealthy, upstanding man. Because portions of the first nine chapters get repeated by Jekyll as he recounts his version, I will use the Utterson's and Jekyll's versions to build a timeline and present important analysis chronologically.

⁶⁵ Jekyll's "Full Statement of the Case" claims that eventually, Hyde took over control from Jekyll: "It was Hyde, after all, and Hyde alone, that was guilty" (53). However, Jekyll's "full" statement purposely leaves out a number of details and things Jekyll claims he cannot bear to repeat or chooses not to, making him too unreliable. For a "full statement," Jekyll omits too many things to be a reliable narrator.

⁶⁶ See: Laubender's "The Baser Urge: Homosexual Desire In The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" (2009); Elaine Showalter's "Dr. Jekyll's Closet" (1991); Heath's "Psychopathia Sexualis: Stevenson's *Strange Case*" (1986); Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's *Between Men* (1985);

Dr. Jekyll was intelligent and well-respected and well-educated, but he was no saint; he only pretended for his reputation. The novella mentions quite early on that Dr. Jekyll is a man of high esteem and many degrees: he is “Henry Jekyll, M.D., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., &c” (Stevenson 13)⁶⁷. Nobody in the novella, none of Jekyll’s friends, know Dr. Jekyll’s dark secrets, his “undignified” desires, and the fact that he committed murder while under the guise of Mr. Hyde. Clearly, according to Victorian social assumptions, a man of his education and experience must be good and decent. Only he knows that is not the case. Shame caused him to reflect on his life and “on that hard law of life, which lies at the root of religion and is one of the most plentiful springs of distress” (48). This hard law of life, Jekyll speaks of, based in religion, seems to imply a natural disorder; the natural self fights against the spiritual, or as Jekyll puts it later, “the moral and the intellectual,” self (48). For Jekyll, his main preoccupation had less to do with being good than in appearing good. Walter Houghton’s discussion of Victorian culture at large expands upon this. Houghton’s book *The Victorian Frame of Mind* claims, “the motive was not virtue but the appearance of virtue, and what was condemned was not sin but open sin” (149). For this reason, *Jekyll/Hyde* is not about curing evil or preventing sin; instead, it deals with a man attempting to hide his sin better so that he may suffer fewer consequences. Jekyll’s state in the beginning of the novella is one of self-imposed imprisonment.

The following description illuminates Jekyll's driving force. He feels trapped between how he wants to act and how society tells him to act. However, the issue is not so clear cut as “who am I?”. He cannot simply choose a side and ignore the other. In fact, Jekyll claims the that both sides are equally and “radically” genuine:

Though so profound a double-dealer, I was in no sense a hypocrite; both sides of me were in dead earnest; I was no more myself when I laid aside restraint and

⁶⁷ Doctorate of Medicine (M.D.), Civil Law (D.C.L), and Laws (LL.D.); Jekyll was also a Fellow of the Royal Society (F.R.S.). This long list of degrees and awards mark Jekyll as a respectable, intelligent man who has studied in diverse fields.

plunged in shame, than when I laboured, in the eye of day, at the furtherance of knowledge or the relief of sorrow and suffering. . . . I learned to recognize the thorough and primitive duality of man; I saw that, of the two natures that contended in the field of my consciousness, even if I could rightly be said to be either, it was only because I was radically both. (48-49)

After drinking his scientific potion and suffering excruciating pain during the transformation (50), Jekyll realizes that his mind feels different. His new mind runs with “sensual images” as he recognizes this new persona to “be more wicked, tenfold more wicked” (50). He rushes through his house to find a mirror to look at his new form. Upon finding the mirror, he finds himself in a new, smaller but more hideous body. The theoretical reason behind the change in stature, Jekyll says, comes from Jekyll’s life being largely a good one. “The evil side of my nature . . . was less robust and less developed than the good which I had just deposed. . . . It came about that Edward Hyde was so much smaller, slighter and younger than Henry Jekyll” (51). The evil in him is newer and less developed; thus, when he released his evil side, it appears younger and smaller.

Jekyll describes Hyde as a literal personification and embodiment of the evil inside of himself. Hyde’s body appears uglier and, according to Jekyll, evil-looking, though Jekyll avoids any specifics. “Even as good shone upon the countenance of the one, evil was written broadly and plainly on the face of the other. . . . And yet when I looked upon that ugly idol in the glass, I was conscious of no repugnance, rather a leap of welcome” (51). Despite the immediate recognition that his new mind is more wicked and his new body has evil written on its face, Jekyll does not feel disgust nor attempt to turn back. Instead, he delights in his new form and liberated mind (50). Jekyll returns to the lab, still sporting Hyde’s body, to complete the experiment. He takes the potion once again to verify that he can switch back to normal. Once he finds out that he can, he rents a house in Hyde’s name and takes the potion whenever he feels his “undignified” desires tempt him (52). It is clear that Jekyll maintains control of Hyde. Were that not the case, Hyde would not have returned to the lab to finish the experiment. That was Jekyll’s goal, which he

completed. Hyde is little more than a monstrous suit Jekyll can put on, despite feeling more evil as Hyde. Jekyll merely liberates himself from guilt and becomes free to act as he wishes.

Jekyll's fascination and excitement over his new self, despite its ugly and evil appearance, imply just how strong Jekyll's desires for freedom were. He willingly ignores obvious signs of moral danger and physical pain for the chance at acting undignified. At first, Jekyll claims he controlled Hyde's body, almost like a video game avatar, though he does not use that terminology: Jekyll "projected and shared in the pleasures and adventures of Hyde (53, 55). Jekyll uses Hyde as a disguise to give in to temptations. But Hyde allows Jekyll's undignified desires to "turn towards the monstrous" (53). This is where Jekyll's narrative turns. The safety afforded him through Hyde's disguise allows his selfish and untoward desires to manifest and blossom into acts of villainy and malignity (53). Jekyll begins to disassociate from Hyde very quickly, though he still takes the potion draught to turn intentionally.

Jekyll writes, "Henry Jekyll stood at times aghast before the acts of Edward Hyde. . . . It was Hyde, after all, and Hyde alone, that was guilty. Jekyll was no worse. . . he would even make haste, where it was possible, to undo the evil done by Hyde" (53). His use of the third person indicates a certain disassociation with himself and with Hyde. Jekyll loses touch with reality as he distances himself from his own actions. With this statement, Jekyll feigns innocence for Hyde's more heinous actions. Jekyll, however, is guilty of everything Hyde does. It is Jekyll, after all, who takes the draught whenever evil tempts him too strongly⁶⁸; but Jekyll states that he was not the one doing the things⁶⁹. Yet somehow, his temptation was satisfied and according to Jekyll himself, he had full recollections of the deeds⁷⁰. Jekyll's attempts to claim innocence fail, largely

⁶⁸ Jekyll says that Hyde's body was growing, indicating that Jekyll had been feeding it evil (read: giving into temptation more and more frequently (55).

⁶⁹ Jekyll states that he transforms into Hyde one night while sleeping and only realizes it when he wakes up and sees Hyde's hand instead of his own (54). It was still Jekyll's mind that woke up, not Hyde's. Thus, even as Hyde took control of Jekyll and could transform without the chemicals, Jekyll's mind was still lucid and aware of what was happening.

⁷⁰ Jekyll discusses the "leaping pulses and secret pleasures, that [he] had enjoyed in the disguise of Hyde" (55).

because his own words betray him. He says Hyde did the evil actions alone, then he reminds Utterson that he enjoyed being Hyde because of all the enjoyable things he gets to do. Hyde is not the monster because Hyde does not really exist. Jekyll is a fully embodied monster. He gains control over his body to the extent that he can alter his appearance, almost at will.

Jekyll represents the epitome of the monstrous evolution. He can disappear by morphing his body into Hyde's to do his unsavory deeds, and then turn his body back into Jekyll. This allows him to remain undetected and avoid capture. He also has the wealth and power to carry out his wicked desires. As Jekyll gives in to his evil side, Hyde's physical stature grows (55). Jekyll learns that he can grow physically if he indulges or feeds his double's body.

As Jekyll's account tells it, Hyde develops more as a villain. Hyde begins to think for himself, or so Jekyll claims. Jekyll says that Hyde was indifferent to Jekyll except as a place to hide. Hyde, it seems, uses Jekyll in the same way Jekyll uses Hyde. Neither can be caught or held accountable for their actions since each can disappear into the other. Where Dracula turns into an animal or the mist, Hyde turns into Jekyll. They shift their appearance for the same reason. The ability for Hyde and Jekyll to transform into each other, to use whichever physical appearance best suits their needs, complicates the appearance of monstrosity. Hyde represents an evil present within Jekyll, but he represents it as an external being of flesh and blood. Jekyll as an embodied monster can then fluctuate, becoming both visible and invisible as Jekyll's needs dictate.

Jekyll/Hyde, Hyde, then, supports and contradicts the notion of visible and identifiable evil. When Jekyll houses Hyde within, Hyde's evil should be visible to those around him through Jekyll. After all, Hyde is Jekyll's own self; this means Jekyll's body and countenance should reflect the evil inside, just as it does with Hyde. However, Jekyll does not produce an ill feeling in anyone and thus is presumed to be morally upright by those around him. No one can recognize Jekyll for the evil inside of him. Edward Hyde, as Jekyll's embodied evil, has a physical body that others can see and touch. Despite this, those who view Hyde have a hard time putting into words what he looks like: "The few who could describe him differed wildly, as common

observers will” (24). Hyde defies description, even from those who have seen him firsthand. Stevenson also makes a point to tell his readers that Hyde has never been photographed (24)⁷¹. Technology fails at finding or defining the evil Mr. Hyde: even at a time when photography should help define Hyde’s appearance and thus make him at least more knowable⁷², his likeness is never captured on film and thus never solidified in the reader’s mind. These failings to capture his likeness or accurately describe Hyde’s body prevent him from being a being of horror. They also prevent him from ever being defeated. His body avoids being documented or categorized. The fluid way he moves into and out of Jekyll makes him impossible to define or defeat.

Only on one point did the various characters who saw Hyde agree: they all had a “haunting sense of unexpressed deformity with which the fugitive impressed” upon them (24). The few physical descriptions given in the text differ enough to be largely unreliable⁷³. In fact, as the text states, the only consistent description is that they recognize something wrong with him, but they cannot put their finger on what: some unnamed deformity. Hyde moves through the city hurriedly, and mostly at night. He maintains his presence obscured in darkness, causing readers and characters alike from ever getting to know him. Jekyll’s write-up is the only time we get glimpses into Hyde’s internal thoughts and feelings; however, Jekyll’s explanations are mediated and filtered through Jekyll’s account. Were readers able to trust in phrenology or physiognomy, Stevenson may have included specific features to help identify Hyde’s deformity. However, the

⁷¹ This could be attributed to Hyde’s constant appearance at night and the quick way he moved about, but it could also mean that Hyde would not appear in photographs, similar to a vampire’s lack of reflection in mirrors.

⁷² Or capturable or held accountable for his crimes

⁷³ The few people who attempt to describe Hyde contradict each other, and thus their versions of Hyde become difficult to trust. The first description is from the Sawbones. He saw Hyde walking quickly at 2 A.M., and after Hyde knocked over a little girl, Sawbones was “white with the desire to kill him” (9). Sawbones’ testimony is undermined by his immediate hatred of Hyde, as well as the time of day. Another description comes from a maid who is daydreaming close to midnight while sitting at her upstairs window. On the street, she sees Hyde and MP Carew from get into a shouting match. Hyde strikes Carew, and the maid passes out (22). Her retelling is also potentially unreliable, as the time of night, her dreaming state, and the fact that she fainted all call into question the validity of her memory.

fact that Hyde remains ineffable implies the failings of those sciences⁷⁴ and the importance of Jekyll's embodiment.

Hyde's ineffability has serious consequences for his ultimate defeat at the end of the novella. As I have argued in the previous chapters, Gothic monsters can only be defeated when they can be identified, classified, and understood. Throughout the novel, Hyde spends minimal time in society, at least as far as Jekyll tells his readers. Utterson and Enfield both meet him, as well as the few citizens mentioned above. But Hyde's lack of time in public prevent even those most suitable to recognize his evil ways from getting to know him or his body. Hyde defies the typical trajectory of embodied monsters: that they must be knowable to be defeatable. No one in the novella, besides Jekyll, can classify or describe Hyde nor his monstrous body.

Because Jekyll is the only one who knows Hyde, the only way for Hyde to die is for Jekyll to kill him. Jekyll's embodiment includes understanding both his and Hyde's bodies and the powers each one holds. As Jekyll's story continues, Jekyll learns that Hyde has become embodied enough to take over Jekyll's body without the chemicals. The knowledge Jekyll has over Hyde's body begins to wane. Once Jekyll can no longer understand and control Hyde's body, Hyde will become truly unknowable and unkillable. If Hyde takes over Jekyll permanently, the only person who possessed the power to kill Hyde will be gone. For this reason, Jekyll acted when he did, killing himself and Hyde in the process. He used the knowledge he had at the last moment to prevent a completely unknowable monster from reigning free. Hyde also almost succeeds in defeating Jekyll by taking over their shared body, nullifying Jekyll's embodiment. Hyde's ineffable quality creates a powerful monster who inspires terror, one who almost avoids defeat by maintaining his presence hidden.. Contemporary readers found the narrative powerful, and modern society still holds Hyde as an allegory for representing anxieties.

⁷⁴ Cesare Lombroso's writings on criminology in the nineteenth century attempted to establish a scientific links to identify criminality. For critical readings on Lombroso's works, see Wetzell's *Criminals and their Scientists* or Bridgette Marshall's "The Face of Evil: Phrenology, Physiognomy, and the Gothic Villain."

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, an increasing number of people who have never read *Jekyll/Hyde* have become familiar with some of the major themes and motifs⁷⁵. This familiarity works against it, however, as a Gothic tale. Modern audiences and readers only know that Dr. Jekyll becomes Mr. Hyde, which is a large spoiler for the book. Readers know so little about the novella's plot, in fact, that in 1941, Jorge Luis Borges wrote that by changing the names of the characters, one could make a movie based on the novella which would shock viewers because, aside from the names, viewers are not familiar with the plot (140). The detective-story themes vanish from most visual adaptations; what remains throughout is the story of good versus evil. One outcome of the story becoming so popular so quickly is that by 1887, a stage production debuted. The novella's acclaim and success led to Stevenson's narrative branching out into other artistic media.

While many who attended the play also read the novella, this was certainly not the case for many others, especially as time progressed. Eventually, the play became the artifact with which people were familiar. One major issue with this method of gaining popularity is that the specifics of the plot, as well as the social anxieties and terror of the story, disappear. Many of the stage and film adaptations take such creative liberties with the story that large portions are deleted or altered.

Richard Mansfield, an American actor in the late 1880s, contracted T.R. Sullivan, a playwright, to adapt the novella into the first stage production. Mansfield planned to star as the main characters. However, Mansfield felt that the novella needed some drastic interventions to attract audiences. Sullivan and Mansfield made changes to the narrative. The most notable and long-lasting change include the addition of a love interest for Jekyll to make him more sympathetic:

⁷⁵ Charles King claims that the narrative gained so much popularity that even those who have never read it are familiar with the main premise (King 158), though they understand little else beyond the mad scientist and his transformation.

My Jekyll is not Stevenson's. It was after eight months of serious thought and study that I arrived at my conception, and I have no reason to doubt that it is the right one for dramatic purposes. The "Jekyll" of the book is a hearty, jovial, middle-aged, unromantic person. Were he to be so presented before our eyes on the stage he would not satisfy the idea of a man whose studies in so occult a direction. Besides, it is not probably that a good man as "Jekyll" was and must be in the play to obtain force of contrast, would have shown continually in his look and bearing remorse for the ascendancy the power of evil was gradually gaining over him. . . Moreover, I had to introduce a love interest, and for that alone I must make "Jekyll" somewhat interesting and romantic. ("The Stage")

Mansfield's changes to Jekyll's character and the addition of a love interest echo throughout adaptations still today. The stage and screen adaptations make Jekyll sympathetic and good, a man devastated by his accidental creation of Mr. Hyde. While Jekyll's motivations for experimenting with chemicals change throughout the various adaptations, they are never as selfish or hypocritical as those presented in the novella. The Dr. Henry Jekyll from the novella wishes for nothing more than to appear virtuous without having to be virtuous⁷⁶. The Mansfield stage adaptation simplifies the themes into a more readily-accessible moral about good and evil.

The remainder of this chapter explores the noteworthy alterations and representations of monstrosity for various adaptations of the *Jekyll/Hyde* story. Many of the adaptations borrow heavily from the Mansfield stage play, though they often give Jekyll different motivations for his scientific experiments. These motivations typically serve to make Jekyll more sympathetic and a stronger paramount of good, rather than the complex and dual-natured character from the novella. The way in which the adaptations represent monstrosity visually merits discussion for a number

⁷⁶ "When I reached years of reflection, and began to look around me and take stock of my progress and position in the world, I stood already committed to a profound duplicity of life" (Stevenson 48). Jekyll was used to hiding his desires and living a double life.

of reasons. This analyses of the visual representation of monstrosity demonstrate the shift from terror to horror in the Gothic monster. Whatever the monster or supernatural entity may be, depicting it visually on screen inherently moves it into the realm of horror. Terror relies on obscurity to engage the readers'/viewers' imaginations. Showing the monster removes any need for the audience to imagine or wonder. While the terror disappears in visual representations of *Jekyll/Hyde*, the physical body becomes more important to defining the monstrosity. Thus, visual representations demonstrate the endpoint in the evolution toward embodiment. The visually monstrous body becomes a powerful site of allegorical power. Before moving on to the adaptation analyses, however, I wish to address why representing monstrosity visually is a complicated task and what issues arise from such an undertaking.

Film: Terror/Horror

A large number of Gothic novels obscure the supernatural, at least slightly. Dracula's features, while well-described, are still vague enough for readers to use their imagination. For example, Harker says the Count has sharp fangs; he does not say how far they stick up out of his mouth in centimeters nor what the curvature of the teeth is. Victor Frankenstein remarks about the creature's skin and eyes and his enormous height, but readers are left to imagine the scale of its height and the degree to which these things terrify Victor (35-36). Jack Halberstam writes that these limited descriptions create a possibility space in which readers can create their own monsters, imposing their own greatest fears. "In the modern period and with the advent of cinematic body horror, the shift from the literary Gothic to the visual Gothic was accompanied by a narrowing rather than a broadening of the scope of horror" (150). Halberstam continues: the creature's "monstrosity is limited only by the reader's imagination; in the horror film, the monster must always fail to be monstrous enough" (150). The difference between terror and horror is crucial for visual representations of Gothic monsters, especially in film and stage adaptations. A director will often choose to show the Gothic monster on stage, relying on makeup and special

effects to demonstrate the monstrosity. Showing the monster will always result in a less-scary monster than keeping the monster hidden or obscured⁷⁷.

When the monster's ability to terrify disappears, the filmmaker or stage director must find another means to reclaim monstrosity. The most common way to reclaim this monstrosity is with violence, often through the "violation of female bodies" (Halberstam 129). In a sizable majority of film adaptation of *Jekyll/Hyde*, a love story appears which is notably absent from the book. Charles King writes that "Stevenson's story lacks any female characters or sexual content" (159). Despite the novella's Jekyll never saying what his undignified desires were, most films make them desires for heterosexual relationships with women of the lower class⁷⁸. Jekyll courts a respectable, wealthy woman, but Hyde falls in love with a prostitute or barmaid. Another common trope shows Jekyll falling for the prostitute and using Hyde as a disguise to be with her. The iterations are countless, but one thing remains consistent: violence toward women often becomes the means to demonstrate monstrosity when the creature's obscured nature ceases to serve as the source of fear. Halberstam claims this to be a large problem because "the monster's body, indeed, is a machine that, in its Gothic mode, produces meaning and can represent any horrible trait that the reader feeds into the narrative" (131). If the meaning directors ascribe to the monster is violence toward women, as is commonly the case, then the women intentionally added to the screen or stage exist only as objects to be mistreated or abused. The Gothic double can be a much more powerful meaning-machine than as an abuser of women. Jekyll's desires for liberty and freedom, his desire to sin in secret, as Houghton claims, create a much more interesting tale than that of a man torn between being an abuser or libertine and an upstanding citizen.

⁷⁷ A possible solution for fixing this problem is hiding the monster, only having it move behind the scenes as a shadow. That might allow audiences to create the monster on their own in their own imaginations rather than being forced to see the "monstrosity" as the director envisions.

⁷⁸ Many scholars claim Jekyll's desires in the novella involve homosexuality. They cite the lack of female characters and the main characters' homosocial relationships and bachelorhood as evidence. See footnote 66 for further readings. Film and stage versions disagree with these readings, instead opting for heterosexual relationships, often forbidden by class differences.

Similar to the monster's visual appearance limiting the terror for audiences, the same occurs when directors choose to expose Jekyll's desires for initiating his experiments. Making Jekyll's desires known limits the terror of wondering what secrets this aging doctor hides. The novella intentionally hides Jekyll's "undignified" desires from the readers (Stevenson 53). Readers, then, get to imagine what "undignified" things Jekyll wishes to do and why he feels so conflicted about appearing virtuous. The Jekyll on the screen, however, must have sympathetic motives for conducting his experiments, as Mansfield claims. Hyde as a vehicle for such secrecy reads much more fascinating and terrifying than the mere sexual desires of a lonely bachelor; when the motivations are left unclear, readers project their own desires onto Jekyll and may wonder what they would do with a perfect disguise⁷⁹.

Aside from the issues listed above, another large problem surrounds adapting a novella, especially one with a Gothic monster, into a stage or screen adaptation: fidelity or faithfulness to the source material. I will briefly turn to a discussion of adaptation theory to lay down a foundation for why fidelity is problematic and how it relates specifically to Gothic monstrosity. After this theoretical groundwork, I will return to *Jekyll/Hyde* in order to analyze a number of stage and screen adaptations and what alterations they find necessary in order to tell Stevenson's story.

Adaptation Theory

Because some of the adaptations of *Jekyll/Hyde* I discuss do not use the names of Jekyll or Hyde, I find it important to establish some limits for my discussion and define what constitutes an adaptation. I limit my discussion to instances of the transformation narrative in which one character alters their physical form drastically and repeatedly into some version of a monstrous

⁷⁹ Leon Edel paraphrases Sigmund Freud on this topic, explaining how many people imagine they would do negative things given the chance "'See what monstrous things you would do if you could,' Freud seemed to say to rational men" (Edel 101). Society saw itself and its darkest desires mirrored in Victorian Gothic narratives.

Other. Putting on a disguise or going undercover does not equate to a *Jekyll/Hyde* narrative⁸⁰. Nor does any version of the more common two-person body-swapping narratives⁸¹. I have also left off time travel body-swap narratives where characters either wake up as a younger or older version of themselves or go back in time into their young bodies but keep their old minds⁸². These all involve a one-time change that results in significant personal growth. None of the transformations involve a monstrous Other. For these purposes, I focus on adaptations of *Jekyll/Hyde* in which the two characters change repeatedly and the change is drastic and largely negative for the Jekyll character⁸³.

The story of *Jekyll/Hyde* remains quite popular in modern culture, even among people who have never read the novella. They still use the terms Jekyll and Hyde as a shorthand for split personality/duality or to represent good and evil. One reason that *Jekyll/Hyde* had so much success beyond its initial book run comes from the Mansfield/Sullivan play. John M. Desmond and Peter Hawkes write that this is common for classic novels. Many classic novels, they write, “are now mainly remembered because of their film adaptations” (84). *Jekyll/Hyde* certainly has enough film adaptations for society to remember the characters for the films at least as much as the novella.

Because audiences are largely familiar with the central motif and twist that Jekyll and Hyde share a body, the detective-fiction structure of the novella disappears in almost every

⁸⁰ See: *The New Guy* (2002), *Miss Congeniality* (2000), or *She’s the Man* (2006) do not qualify despite having the protagonists “transform” themselves into someone else.

⁸¹ Multiple film versions of *Freaky Friday*: 1976, 1995, 2003, 2018. *Wish Upon a Star* (1996). Music video for *Freaky Friday* (Burd 2018). Other Film Versions: *The Hot Chick* (2002), *Jumanji* (2017) and *Jumanji: The Next Level* (2019).

⁸² See: *Big* (1988), *13 Going on 30* (2004), *17 Again* (2009), *Hot Tub Time Machine* and its sequel (2010; 2015).

⁸³ The 1999 film *Fight Club*, based on the Chuck Palahniuk book of the same name, occupies an interesting space in this discussion. It is close to a *Jekyll/Hyde* adaptation, except that the Jekyll sees the Hyde as a distinct individual, someone he can talk to and interact with. No one else sees that; they only see the Jekyll character.

adaptation. The audience needs no surrogate to uncover the mystery for them. The primary narrator of the novella, Mr. Utterson, receives little attention from directors. They replace or combine Utterson with another character or relegate him to a bit part. Utterson does not need to play Mr. Seek (Stevenson 15). The detective nature of the novella is lost in the visual representations, and thus the mystery of Hyde and the suspense of not knowing who he is becomes diminished. Instead, directors must portray Hyde with visible and explicit monstrous features. Representing Hyde's monstrous body on the stage or screen requires showing it to audiences, taking him out of the realm of *terror* and placing him firmly into *horror*, a place of seeing and understanding the monstrosity rather than imagining what it might be.

Before moving on to my analysis of a selected number of the myriad film versions, I wish to provide a brief theoretical framework for studying film. Two major elements are at play in film adaptations of Gothic monstrosity. First, Film adaptations often abandon terror in their depictions of Gothic monsters for a horror-based fear. This happens because showing the monster instantly removes any need from the audience to imagine the monster or impose their own monstrosity onto it. The visual depiction replaces their imagination with a ready-made monster. Second, and more complex, fidelity to the source material is not a good metric to measure an adaptation's success or value. Brian McFarlane's primer on adaptation theory *Novel to Film* notes that "the adducing of fidelity to the original novel as a major criterion for judging the film adaptation is pervasive. No critical line is in greater need of re-examination -- and devaluation" (8).

McFarlane's reasoning for such a harsh critique on the fidelity criteria lies in the growing field of reader response theory. Fidelity from novel to film "depends on a notion of the text as having . . . a single, correct 'meaning' which the filmmaker has either adhered to or in some sense violated" (8). Texts are complex and can address more than one anxiety or have more than one appropriate reading.

Another issue with fidelity criticisms in film adaptation comes from the following question: to what specifically should the movie be faithful? Does changing a setting or character's

name break fidelity? Can filmmakers combine minor characters or cut out unnecessary scenes? If the author maintains the spirit of the work, is the letter of the work as important? (McFarlane 9-10). McFarlane's text, as well as those of other prominent film scholars⁸⁴, use three categories to discuss adaptations. The categories, as McFarlane orders them, move from most faithful to least faithful in terms of the source material: 1) transposition, or close adaptation; 2) commentary, or intermediate adaptation; and 3) analogy, or loose adaptation. While these categories prove useful in many adapted works, adaptations of *Jekyll/Hyde* add a complication to McFarlane's categories. Most adaptations of *Jekyll/Hyde* base themselves not on the novella proper⁸⁵ but the Sullivan stage play⁸⁶, which introduced the love story and sympathetic, good Jekyll.

The novella also has structural and narrative issues that do not translate well to "faithful" transposition adaptations. The detective tale finishes, and then the novella narrates many events through a new point of view; the final chapters also exist largely through found letters. These elements work well in Gothic writing but do not translate well to screen or stage. Consequently, we must acknowledge that strict transposition adaptations of *Jekyll/Hyde* largely do not exist. McFarlane's other two categories, commentary and allegory, both contain a number of adaptations of *Jekyll/Hyde*. For my purposes, however, I use McFarlane's terms when they apply, but I organize my analyses of *Jekyll/Hyde* adaptations in terms of how the adaptation chooses to represent Hyde's monstrous body.

⁸⁴ See: Michael Klein and Gillian Parker's *The English Novel and the Movies*; Geoffrey Wagner's *The Novel and the Cinema*; and John M. Desmond and Peter Hawkes's *Adaptation: Studying Film & Literature*.

⁸⁵ The archive list at "Film Versions of *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*" refers to the 1910 Danish film *The Fatal invention / Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* as "more faithful to Stevenson than the films that derive from the stage plays," though they also write that "Jekyll wakes up at the end to find it was a dream." Even this "more faithful" version takes creative liberties in the larger plot.

⁸⁶ C. Alex Pinkston, JR. writes that the famous 1920, 1931, and 1941 versions "and most other film and theatrical treatments of the novel must pay homage to the first professional theatrical adaptation" (152). The Mansfield play paved the way for stage and screen adaptations, providing writers and directors a framework on which to build a visual adaptation.

I have identified three categories of adaptations that address Hyde's monstrous self specifically. The first category contains adaptations of the narrative in which Hyde appears as a racialized Other. The second category focuses on adaptations in which Hyde's embodiment addresses gender differences, and the third category involves adaptation where Hyde's monstrous body serves as an allegory for internal struggles. In the first two categories, Hyde allows Jekyll to operate against societal expectations. The last category often depicts Hyde's body in less-than-monstrous ways. Hyde becomes an object which expresses Jekyll's internal and often invisible struggles, including anger, addiction, depression, and mental health issues. This last category also contains elements which depict the Trajectory of Domestication, as Hyde begins to move from the fear-stage into the "love" stage.

For all three adaptations categories, I am specifically interested in how the adaptations choose to represent Hyde or the Hyde-like character as a physical being and as a psychological creature. Hyde's body as a site of anxiety and monstrosity will be the focus of the remainder of this chapter. I will address notable deviations or variations of themes, though my focus will be the physical depiction of the monstrous double in visual mediums and what challenges and opportunities such an undertaking present. I will organize my objects of analysis chronologically within each category.



Figure 1: Richard Mansfield as Jekyll and Hyde.

The adaptation history of *Jekyll/Hyde* begins almost immediately after the novella's publication. The first adaptation, the Mansfield/Sullivan stage play, debuted in 1887. Little remains of the Mansfield/Sullivan production beyond its script. There is one famous image of Richard Mansfield as Jekyll and Hyde from the stage production, which I include here as figure 1. The play depicts Jekyll wearing fancy, Victorian clothes and with his hair nicely combed. Jekyll appears to be looking up, implying his devout nature, an alteration from the text, while Hyde appears noticeably shorter, and his

grimace is one of pain and anger. Hyde looks straight ahead into the audience, keeping a watchful eye on them. Note Hyde's hand positions and hairstyle as well. He looks poised to grab or strike anyone who gets near. Wild hair and claw-like hands become commonplace in visual representations of Hyde. Longer, unruly hair and hands in an open but claw-like position become a shorthand for monstrosity in early adaptations.

The Mansfield/Sullivan play establishes many tropes of later adaptations, notably the sympathetic Jekyll and the addition of the love story addressed earlier. The play also establishes the monstrous Other's physical traits. The first transformations in the play occurs offstage, each with enough dialogue to cover any time Mansfield might have needed for new makeup or prosthetics or even for a new actor to take over. The end of Act III and Act IV, however, feature

onstage transformations, one from Hyde into Jekyll (Act III) and another from Jekyll into Hyde (Act IV). The onstage transformations shocked audiences such that some theater critics did not believe that Mansfield could have transformed so well without some theatrical trickery. In response to claims that Mansfield used prosthetic tricks to alter his appearance, Mansfield spoke to a reporter for the New-York Tribune and set the record straight (“The Stage” 1887). Mansfield claims he used nothing but his own body to become Hyde. Mansfield’s acting ability to contort his body into a deformed-looking Hyde solidified the monstrous Other in visual adaptations. Mansfield was extremely effective at inducing a sense of horror in his audience⁸⁷. The Mansfield/Sullivan play also introduced the use of skin color as a means of identifying Hyde’s evil nature. The stage directions indicate that Hyde’s appearance on stage always coincides with green lighting to add a sense of eeriness (Danahay and Chisholm 56). Thus, audiences associated Hyde with a green, sickly color. Mansfield’s play, then, set in motion what became the most common methods of demonstrating Hyde’s monstrousness. The highly contorted body and change in color⁸⁸ present the monstrous body on two fronts: physical deformity and race.

Hyde as Racialized Other

Hyde as a monstrous Other stems from descriptions given in the book. Mr. Utterson meets Mr. Hyde and they chat. When Hyde leaves, Utterson is left perplexed:

Mr. Hyde was pale and dwarfish, he gave an impression of deformity without any nameable malformation, he had a displeasing smile, he had borne himself to the lawyer with a sort of murderous mixture of timidity and boldness, and he spoke with a husky, whispering and somewhat broken voice; all these were points against him, but not all of these together could explain the hitherto

⁸⁷ According to Christopher J. Morley’s *Jack the Ripper: A Suspect Guide*, Mansfield’s transformations were so convincing that some believed he must be Jack the Ripper, as no sane man could so readily transform between good and evil.

⁸⁸ The contortions and lighting convincingly present a new character and a monstrous body to the audience, and Mansfield transformed so well that many speculated how exactly he managed. See: “The Stage” from the New-York Tribune newspaper on 25 December, 1887.

unknown disgust, loathing, and fear with which Mr. Utterson regarded him.

(Stevenson 17).

Utterson's disgust and inability to describe Hyde, the contradictory mix of "timidity and boldness", for example, mark Hyde's body and demeanor as Othered. When Hyde makes it to the stage or screen, however, his physical monstrousness must be explicit and visible to audiences.

The oldest extant film version, the 1912 Lucius Henderson silent film, has a runtime of only 12 minutes. Henderson adapts the spirit of the Sullivan play in a drastically reduced time. Using camera tricks and editing, Henderson masks the transformations to better portray Hyde's monstrous body in contrast to Jekyll's young and non-monstrous body. Jekyll's hair is strikingly blonde, even for a black and white film (See: Figure 2). He walks upright and dresses well. Then, Jekyll drinks one of the two glasses and becomes a new, wilder man. Quickly, Hyde drinks the other glass and turns

back into Jekyll.

Clearly, Jekyll

maintains control

over Hyde's body, as

Hyde would have no

reason to drink an

unknown cup, but

Jekyll knew precisely

what to do to finish

the experiment.

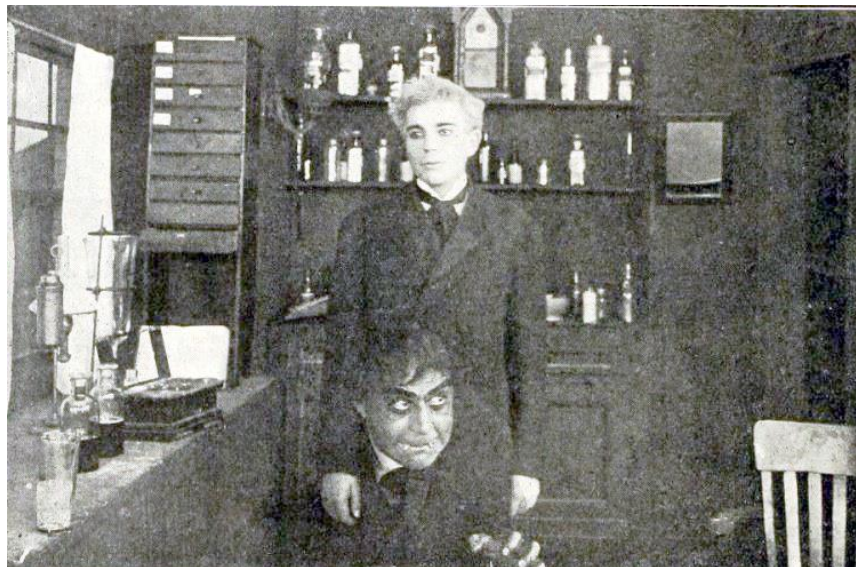


Figure 2: Still of James Cruz as Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, 1912

In Henderson's film, Hyde's hair is dark and unkempt. His back hunches and his fingers bend up, like claws. Hyde's eyes pop out, appearing more animalistic. Hyde's skin tone is also darker than Jekyll's (See: Figure 2). These visual markers indicate Hyde's differences. Hyde's darker skin appears juxtaposed against Jekyll's white hair and skin. The eyes, hair, and skin

depict Hyde as evil as much as his actions do. Hyde moves as though something is wrong with him; his back seems to have a deformity, which causes him to move in unnatural ways, especially when contrasted with the natural and upright way Dr. Jekyll moves. While the film does not explicitly name Hyde's deformity, it is clear that his movement is hindered by some physical ailment. Jekyll has a slim, young face. Hyde's face looks older and fuller. This is a deviation from the novella. Jekyll, in the novella, is older and taller. Hyde is shorter, younger and more slim. Cruze's depiction of Jekyll is one of the youngest-looking depictions. Jekyll's white hair and white skin mark him as distinctly Anglo and therefore good, contrasted with Hyde's darker and therefore savage nature, per contemporary views of race⁸⁹. Isabel Cristina Pinedo identifies an interesting trend in Gothic narratives, one that holds true for all instances of the Racialized Hyde: "Horror films which explicitly code the monster as a racial Other . . . are usually set in the city rather than the suburban or rural retreat" (112). Rural areas represent the unperturbed natural spaces, places where man can return to nature in meaningful ways. Cities represent spaces where nature no longer exists, except perhaps in manmade parks where nature is contained and limited for public consumption. In a horror film or narrative where the monster's race is irrelevant, the action will take place far from civilization. On the other hand, using a racial Other equates to using an uncivilized⁹⁰ Other; the lack of civilization becomes enmeshed with the monster's race rather than the natural and undisturbed, literally uncivilized location. Hyde's darker hair and darker complexion concretely mark him as a racial Other. Hyde's mouth also gives him away as a monstrous Other: he has two large fangs extending out of his mouth at all times. We never see

⁸⁹ "Savages and savage races confronted British colonists in Australia or southern Africa; and they supposedly also confronted upper-class Britons in the slums of London and Manchester. Like Robert Louis Stevenson's Mr. Hyde somewhat later, the residuum emerged in the 1860s as the homegrown antithesis of the stalwart members of 'the imperial race'" (Brantlinger 22). Whether at home or abroad, the non-Anglo-Saxon race was savage and inferior.

⁹⁰ Patrick Brantlinger's "Taming Cannibals: Race and the Victorians" analyzes the connection between race and imperialism. He quotes eighteenth century Scottish Philosopher David Hume: "There never was a civilized nation of any other complexion than white" (4). The wild and unruly depiction of Hyde plays on late Victorian/early twentieth century views of the racialized Other as savage and uncivilized. See also:

him bite or harm anyone with them; their sole purpose is to create a visual indicator of his animalistic nature and emphasize his horrific and savage Otherness.

John Stuart Robertson's 1920 silent film continues the trend of the racial Other. Robertson's film stars John Barrymore. This film version uses a monstrous and racialized Hyde to portray evil. Robertson's film follows closely the Sullivan play ("Film Versions"). The Robertson version provides a lot more characterization to Jekyll. An early title card claims that Jekyll is an idealist and philanthropist. To illustrate this point in image and not just word, the film shows Jekyll entering and working at a free medical clinic, called a "Human Repair Shop." The use of the word repair seems mechanical more than medical; the way Jekyll uses science is also more mechanical than medical; he believes that there are broken parts inside a person's mind that can be repaired or removed. The inclusion of such mechanical treatment of the internal self becomes problematic when applied to a racial Other. This film almost reads as a "white savior" narrative, where the good, upstanding doctor wishes to fix the broken parts inside the savage and racialized Other.

Sir George Carewe, Jekyll's friend, taunts Jekyll's idealistic approach to goodness. "A man cannot destroy the savage in him by denying its impulses. The only way to get rid of



Figure 3: John Barrymore as Dr. Jekyll (Left) and Barrymore as Mr. Hyde (Right)

temptation is to yield to it. . . .

Live as I have lived. I have my memories. What will you have at my age?"

(underlines in original). Carewe implies that all

men are a little savage; that all men give in to temptation in their youth. The film portrays Jekyll as a young and handsome man. Hyde, on the other hand, becomes identifiably monstrous⁹¹. Gone are the implied deformities from the novella. Barrymore's depiction of Hyde has long, scraggly hair, ugly and pronounced teeth, a hunchback, and long fingers. He also has darker skin. His head has a cone-like shape near the crown, making his head appear bulbous and malformed (see figure 3). Barrymore's depiction of Hyde adheres to some Elizabethan depictions of the Jewish monstrous body (Luborsky; Shapiro). Rather than being racialized with African features, Barrymore's Hyde presents his monstrous body through Jewish stereotypes. This depiction combined with Carewe's insistence that indulging in temptation is a good thing implies a certain fear of Jewish peoples, that Jews do not respect Christian morals, except on the surface as needed in order to blend into a Christian society. Should the white, English citizen give in to temptation too much, the film says, they will forfeit their own soul, a concern which Jekyll himself expresses in the film. When the God-fearing Christian soul is abandoned, what remains is a Jewish soul: unredeemed by Christ, hence damned and monstrous. When a film depicts Hyde's embodied monstrosity, he inherently loses his terrifying nature. In order to make him more horrific, directors rely on contemporary racial stereotypes to convey the monstrous nature of the Other; they translate the psychological Other of the book into a racialized Other, adding visual and explicit monstrosity rather than imagined and obscured monstrosity.

⁹¹ Again this is a problem with demonstrating monstrosity on screen. The novella's Hyde has undefinable deformities which leads readers to speculate and imagine just how Hyde appears. Showing him on screen defines the deformities and makes them more horrific than terrifying.

The 1931 version of *Jekyll/Hyde* starring Fredric March and directed by Rouben Mamoulian portrays Hyde in perhaps the most animalistic visuals of any of the racialized Other versions. Fredric March’s performance “basically follows the Sullivan stage plot” (“Film Versions”), though Hyde’s body is far more monstrous and savage⁹². As evidenced in figure 4, Jekyll is young and spry, but Hyde is, too. Hyde’s facial features become more pronounced, with large teeth, a pair of large fangs, and wild, wiry hair, making him appear simian⁹³. While Mamoulian could be referencing the novella, where Poole tells Utterson that he saw a masked creature “like a monkey jump” (Stevenson 37), more than likely Mamoulian uses negative stereotypes of African Americans as uncivilized animals. Hyde’s actions for a large part of the film are very human. His appearance scares people, including the young dancer girl he meets, but



Figure 4: Fredric March as Hyde and Jekyll, 1931.

his appearance is not repulsive or threatening. The dancer, Ivy Pearson, played by Miriam Hopkins, says, “Well, you ain’t no beauty,” but she remains seated with him at a table and drinks

⁹² Interestingly, Hyde’s presentation in this adaptation is much more charismatic, which changes how future versions present him. Despite being animalistic, people talk to and engage with him with little apprehension.

⁹³ This appearance plays into contemporary racist stereotypes, a truly problematic approach. However, despite its problems, I feel it necessary to address at least in part, in order to explain the trajectory this narrative takes through society. Hyde’s animal nature becomes shorthand for monstrosity, but audiences would also understand his monstrosity as racially motivated.

champagne with him. This adaptation allows viewers to get significantly more insight into Hyde's day-to-day. The novella's details are sparse, but March's Hyde is a man about town with an agenda and goals. And while Hyde looks drastically different from Jekyll, people still engage with him without running in fear. It seems that Hyde's monstrosity is quite visible to those around him, but he remains a member of society. He can blend in and move about despite his monstrosity, almost as though he were a wealthy man from an English colony visiting London: an obvious outsider who wishes to join society.

While Mamoulian's directorial choices stray from Stevenson's descriptions of Hyde's physicality, they capture well Hyde's attitudes and personality. Neither Ivy Pearson in the Mamoulian version nor Utterson in the novel know quite how to react to Hyde. They speak to him and have gut reactions to his appearance and, by extension, his self as Other, but they do not run in fear. Mamoulian's Hyde is charismatic yet violent. He is young and bold, with a raspy voice. What he isn't is pale: Mamoulian makes a concerted effort to show Hyde's hands transforming during one scene. The major difference between the two is that Hyde's skin is significantly darker than Jekyll's (see Figure 5). The animalistic appearance and explicitly-shown dark skin carry racialized overtones. Hyde as Other plays into early-twentieth century concepts of



Figure 5: Fredric March's hands as Jekyll (Left) and Hyde (Right)

race. Jekyll's desire to free his wild side turns him into a different race. Hyde is violent, animalistic, and angry, an uncivilized member of society invading white spaces, but a member nonetheless. This represents another problematic depiction of Hyde as a dark-skinned and therefore monstrous Other. Early film adaptations of *Jekyll/Hyde* clearly indicate that the racialized Other lingers as a societal fear directors wished to address. Where the vampire represents an invasion from far away, one which must be invited in, *Jekyll/Hyde* represents an invasion from within. The Other, the animalistic Gothic Double, lives inside us and can enter our spaces even without permission. This makes the double significantly more horrifying than vampires for contemporary audiences.

The next two adaptations I will discuss together, as they do similar things with the racialized Hyde. Spanning some fourteen years, the 1941 and 1955 versions retread familiar territory. The 1941 Victor Fleming version is a remake of the Mamoulian version; though many critics find the Mamoulian version to be a better film, Fleming's version places "more emphasis on Victorian repression and psychological interpretation" ("Film Versions"). The 1955 version directed by Allen Reisner stars Michael Rennie as Jekyll and Hyde. This version is a blending of the Sullivan stage play and the novella. Jekyll is not engaged, and he does not suffer "sexual temptation before the first transformation, and Utterson plays an important role" ("Film Versions"). Jekyll is older, somewhere in his 60s, and Hyde travels as a stylish, wealthy gentleman.

These films represent Hyde in similar ways. In each of these representations, Hyde is roughly the same age as Jekyll, and roughly the same stature. Hyde no longer slouches or has a noticeable humpback. Hyde’s skin tone appears noticeably darker than Jekyll. (See figure 6 for side-by-side comparisons). It is no surprise that in the ‘40s and ‘50s, American films represent Hyde’s monstrosity as a racialized Other. He shows wild eyes, pronounced facial features including a prominent brow ridge and barred teeth. These depictions demonstrate the social



Figure 6: Left, promotional picture for Victor Fleming’s 1941 film. Notice Hyde’s wild eyes and dark skin tone. Right top: Michael Rennie as Dr. Jekyll. Right bottom: Michael Rennie as Mr. Hyde.

anxieties and racial tensions of the mid-twentieth century. Between the forties and the late sixties, racial tensions in America grew. African-American soldiers fighting in World War II returned home from fighting for their country and freedoms, only to be met with strict

segregation laws⁹⁴. Civil Rights issues came to the forefront of discourse communities nationwide⁹⁵. From the early films through the late sixties, Hyde was Othered by virtue of an animal-like, darker physique. His pale skin was gone, and his eyebrow ridge grew more pronounced. Fleming and Reisner both use Hyde’s skin as a shorthand their contemporary audiences would understand. His dark complexion demonstrates Hyde’s monstrosity by making him a racialized Other.

⁹⁴ Alan M. Osur’s *Blacks in the Army Air Forces During World War II* good insight in to the prevailing racism of the time: “The military acted out the racial attitudes and reflected the racial problems of American society at large. . . Decisions affecting [black people] were made on the white assumption that ‘we know what is best for you’” (123).

⁹⁵ Annette McDermott argues that WWII was one of the major catalysts for launching the civil rights movement in the ‘50s and ‘60s.

The last racialized Hyde adaptation I will address is the 2016 television series *Penny Dreadful*. The showrunner's depiction of the racial Other drastically departs from the other versions discussed. The plot of the show follows the exploits of a number of Gothic characters including Dracula, Victor Frankenstein, Dorian Gray, and others. In the final season of the series, the show introduces Dr. Henry Jekyll, played by Shazad Latif. Jekyll's characterization is significantly different from other film versions. He is the illegitimate son of a British man and an Indian woman. His mother dies, and he attends a university in England. Throughout the season, he works with Victor Frankenstein on a serum to pacify angered patients in a psychiatric hospital. They work to create a chemical compound which can alter a person's behavior. The whole season, the show teases viewers by signposting a drastic physical change once the two scientists complete the serum. Jekyll struggles with anger; not guilt or hidden desires. He is angry that the world judges him for the color of his skin and his father's affair. He says that he has had to create himself, which implies his creating a new self as Jekyll did in the novella.

The show uses these themes, the self-motivated but angsty young man to show Jekyll's inner anger. Audiences waited patiently to see him turn, to see his body shift and his attitude fully change. That never happens. In the last episode, Jekyll gets word that his father has died and that Henry has inherited his father's name and title. Victor then remarks, "I should properly call you by your title: Lord Hyde" ("The Blessed Dark"). Jekyll, that is, the new Lord Hyde, hears his name and smiles. He has finally changed into the person he wanted to be. The change, as the show addresses it, roots itself in class structure, but it also plays with imperialism and race. Jekyll is angry; and once he becomes Hyde, the proper Lord Hyde, there is no going back to Jekyll. He is forever altered, as in the book and other film adaptations. However in this one, the only thing that has truly changed is how others see him, and perhaps how he sees himself. His body and mind remain the same. There is no physical transformation to speak of. His title and name change, nothing more. He does not become a giant, hulking beast nor a small, deformed man. He becomes wealthy and powerful; he has finally become what he always wanted. Now he is Lord

Hyde and will always be Hyde. He also has transcended his race; that is, he has become more than his race in society's eyes. He is Henry Jekyll, Lord Hyde. With his father's title, Lord Hyde has accomplished what no other Jekyll has been able to do. He is both Henry Jekyll and Lord Hyde without needing to switch back and forth. He can now exist in both worlds, as the aristocrat and the scientist. The show seems to domesticate Hyde, making him less terrifying and less monstrous. The desire to be someone else is strong in Jekyll, but what he wants most is to not be judged for his parents' decisions and be allowed to act how he wishes. A title and wealth will afford him that opportunity. The show does not show him again after that.

Up until now, this section has been organized chronologically. I feel it necessary to include this next adaptation in the racialized other section, even though the Hyde character is not a different race than Jekyll. In 1990, Michael Caine took on the mantle of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde for the film *Jekyll & Hyde*, directed by David Wickes. This film does something with Hyde's monstrous body that marks it as a critical piece of adaptation history.

Michael Caine's depiction of Hyde is pale-skinned, and thus not racialized, but he has many clearly-visible physical deformities. He appears to be a "bald-headed ghoul" (Nollen 174). His skin is stretched tight over his bulbous face (see figure 8). The Utterson frame story from the novella also returns, though the movie makes it much more tragic than the novella.



Figure 7: Michael Caine as Jekyll (Top) and Hyde (Bottom)

Hyde's unique monstrosity appears via Utterson's frame⁹⁶. Utterson tracks down Sarah, Jekyll's sister-in-law, who has run away years before. She tells Utterson her version of the events, which is what viewers see on screen. She describes how Hyde raped and abused her. At the end of her tale, the narrative frame returns to her finishing her tale to Utterson. Here, audiences learn that Hyde's rape resulted in a pregnancy, and Sarah fled to raise her baby. Unfortunately, the child, now a young man, resembles his father: Hyde, not Jekyll, is the child's father. The boy has similar facial deformities as his Hyde. Wilkes's

version of Hyde, though not racialized, extends the racialized Hyde to a logical conclusion. Either Hyde's genes are stronger than Jekyll's or Jekyll's genes alter significantly when his body changes. The transformation from Jekyll to Hyde is genetic; Hyde's monstrous body can pass onto others, infecting society with more monsters. If society allows Hyde to live, he will

⁹⁶ Scott Allen Nollen writes that, though campy and full of "romantic schmalz, this adaptation interestingly revivifies many features of Stevenson's story, such as a narrative frame via Utterson, Hyde's reverse transformation in front of a horrified Lanyon" (174). The Utterson frame was left out of many film adaptations because it was no longer needed. Here, it returns as a method to withhold the twist of the film until Utterson's detective work is over.

procreate and spread his monstrous genes on to the next generation, a cultural anxiety tied to racial identities even when racial difference is not immediately visible in the character.

Hyde as Gendered Other

According to the Robert Louis Stevenson Archive, the first comedy film version of *Jekyll/Hyde* was in 1909 (“Film Versions”). Little is known about this adaptation, as there are no surviving copies⁹⁷. The title, *A Modern Dr. Jekyll*, indicates that the film follows a different storyline than the novella and the Mansfield play. The plot follows Jekyll going to a post office, a chemist’s shop, and the bank. Jekyll then goes home, “rushes past a banana stand, steals a horse and buggy, and rides past the policeman who stops him. A rapid series of transformations and near captures follow, during one of which Jekyll transforms into a girl on a swing” (Griep 1-2). Interestingly, this 1909 film is the first of its kind to introduce a female Hyde, and it does so twice. Before Jekyll turns into a girl on a swing, a policeman visits Jekyll’s home: “When the policeman reaches Jekyll’s home, he is sent away by a woman, who transforms back to Jekyll after the policeman leaves” (Griep 2). The trope of a male Jekyll turning into a female Hyde started early. I will discuss two examples of this in this chapter, one drama and one comedy.

In 1972, director Roy Ward Baker released *Dr. Jekyll and Sister Hyde*, starring Ralph Bates as Dr. Jekyll and Martine Beswick as Sister Hyde. In this film, Jekyll tries to create a medicine that will extend life. To do so, he removes hormones from recently deceased women because women tend to live longer; thus, their hormones must cure diseases and extend life (Baker). The movie takes pieces of the novella and stage adaptations but changes them drastically. Jekyll buys corpses from the anachronistically placed Burke and Hare, famous grave robbers from the 1820s. The film implies that Jekyll is also Jack the Ripper, notorious serial

⁹⁷ Mark Griep has researched the film and found that it ran about seven minutes long and was produced by the Selig Polyscope Company of Chicago. Griep scoured the Margaret Herrick library and found the film’s cutting continuity, which informed him that “the film was directed by ‘Kenyon,’ and starred ‘Barrows.’ We have not been able to establish the identity of director Kenyon, but the actor is probably Henry Arthur Barrows” (Griep 1).

killer. Despite these large departures from the novella, the film's largest revision is that Hyde is a woman.

When Jekyll drinks the life-elixir potion, he turns into a beautiful woman (See: Figure 8). The violence Hyde commits in order to gain more female hormone and make more serum reads differently when Hyde is a woman. The monstrous double of Sister Hyde is monstrous inside but beautiful outside. This is an important departure from the novella. Instead of Hyde being a monstrous body that reflects Jekyll's inward evil, this film shows a physical change which makes Jekyll's evil nature beautiful. The negative inner life of Jekyll stays inside; only the outside appearance changes.



Figure 8: Ralph Bates as Dr. Jekyll (Left) and Martine Beswick as Sister Hyde (Right)

After Jekyll's first transformation, he stares at himself in the mirror, opens up his coat, and admires his female body. Charles King calls many of the *Jekyll/Hyde* transformations a kind of wish fulfillment fantasy (163). When male Jekyll turns into female Hyde, the wish fulfillment becomes something more than just a desire to appear respectable or virtuous. While Jekyll did not mean to turn into woman the first time, he chooses to drink the potion again, becoming a woman repeatedly. This implies a certain level of body dysmorphia or dissatisfaction with one's own

gender. The monstrous Other becomes significantly less monstrous when its primary physical difference is gender. Jekyll wants to extract female hormones to enable himself to live longer. What he gets, instead, is to experience life as a woman, a body significantly different from his own.

Being a woman makes it easier for Jekyll to get close to other women so he can kill them and steal their hormones. Lost on him but not the audience is the irony present in Jekyll's situation. The secret to prolonging life lies in women. To learn that secret, women must die. Women are literally life-givers, bearing children and, according to Jekyll's theories, possessing hormones which extend one's life. But to give life, women must lose it. For Jekyll to live, he must become a woman. And the cost for his double life? The continued murder of others. Much like Dracula, the Gothic monster must sacrifice a victim or take one's life in order to survive. This version's fascination with violence toward and the killing of women is reminiscent of Elizabeth Bathory's bloody killings. The film seems to adapt the Bathory myth and use scientific rationalization to justify a folkloric legend. The anachronistic Burke and Hare, the inclusion of Jack the Ripper, and the vampiric and Bathory elements all seem to make Baker's film a hodgepodge of Gothic monstrosity, all centering around powerful but fragile women.

The remainder of the film involves Sister Hyde's murderous rampage as she kills women from all walks of life. Unlike the motif present in most male-to-male transformations, Sister Hyde does not only interact with or hurt prostitutes. At one point in the film, she remarks to herself about Jekyll's moral objections to her killing, "There'll be a different kind of victim tonight. Not a streetwalker but a pure young virgin. That will end the tug-of-war between us" (Baker). Where the novella largely ignores women and most films shoehorn women into a secondary or tertiary plot as objects upon which Jekyll/Hyde might act, Baker's film brings women to the forefront in dangerous ways (Nollen 173). The 1960s and '70s saw the rise of second-wave feminism, sparked by civil rights movements and discussions of equality. This film's *femme fatale* is an oppressive male from a wealthy background who lives out a complex life as a split-gendered individual,

indulging in a transgendered fantasy. The *femme fatale* uses her unassuming gender to perpetuate violence against other women. The film, then, can be read as a critique of male-dominance as well as the wish-fulfillment fantasy of men to become women, gaining the ability to give life⁹⁸. Jekyll's scientific experiments strip away the power women have and give it to men, rendering women useless. Jekyll wishes to adopt the positive aspects of femininity – long life – without taking on what he deems negative – womanhood in general and the perceived lack of physical strength. The end of the film undoes the *femme fatale* motif completely, as the death scene only occurs because the female Hyde is not physically strong enough to keep herself from falling – all because she is a woman⁹⁹.

The *femme fatale* is strong in will and motivation, but she lacks strength in her muscles. This obviously sexist interpretation treats the female Hyde as lesser than the male Hyde. Rather than being a critique of male dominance as much of the film seems to imply, the ending attempts to shed light on the dangers of feminism. When a woman takes over for a man, both will die. If only Jekyll had remained a man, he would still be alive and, by extension, Hyde would live in him, as well. The monstrous body, then, serves to advance scientific advancement but remains limited by normative concepts of masculinity and physical strength. Hyde's body has sex appeal and does not appear threatening to the women she attacks, but for the greater part of society, the male body is more useful, according to Baker's film.

⁹⁸ This is a common analysis of Shelley's *Frankenstein*, that Victor wishes to become a mother by creating life on his own. See Sandra M. Gilbert's "Horror's Twin: Mary Shelley's Monstrous Eve" for more information.

⁹⁹ Jekyll is on the run from police and finds himself hanging on the edge of a building. Hyde takes over the body and loses strength, causing them to fall.

Some twenty year later, another male-to-female *Jekyll/Hyde* film appears, this time a comedy. David Price directed the 1995 comedy film *Dr. Jekyll and Ms. Hyde*. Tim Daly stars as Dr. Richard Jacks, a chemist, who works at a perfume laboratory and turns into Helen Hyde, played by Sean Young. The promotional poster for the film shows the two characters in flux, moving back and forth between genders (see figure 9). Throughout the film, Helen and Richard swap places repeatedly. It seems that once Richard unlocks Helen from his psyche, she is free to come and go without the medicine. As a comedy, the Hyde character does not represent fear, neither via terror nor horror. Instead, she stands in as an allegory for the sexism of corporate America.



Figure 9: Tim Daly as Richard Jacks (Left) and Sean Young as Helen Hyde (Right)

The inspiration for her last name is obvious, but she steals Helen from a newspaper clipping of Mount St. Helens. The article states that the volcano may erupt again. Her choice to name herself after a volcano is not without meaning. She lives deep inside Richard and erupts frequently but spontaneously with no real indications or warning signs. She is also volatile and dangerous, though in this adaptation, the director plays her danger for comedic effect. Where Baker's film played the female Hyde as a dangerous woman, Price neutralizes the threat the

female Hyde has by making the film a comedy and using her feminine body as punchline.

Shortly after the first transformation, Helen has a voiceover in which she claims, “This is great. I’ve got Richard’s brain and this body” (Price). This line is important, as it establishes the dynamic the two characters have. Helen has her own female brain in addition to Richard’s male brain. She recognizes that the brain inside her head is Richard’s, but she is also aware enough to have that that thought, indicating she has her own brain, too. Were it Richard thinking he had merely switched bodies, the line would say something along the lines of “I have my old brain and this new body.” Helen possesses two brains in her body, while Richard only ever taps into his own. The movie clearly demonstrates Helen’s dual brain by showing her doing stereotypically feminine things. She goes on a shopping spree and she buys a thoughtful gift for Richard’s overworked and underappreciated secretary. Richard, when he takes over the shared body, has no recollection of these things. Helen is not merely a male mind controlling a female-bodied avatar. She is a woman who has access to Richard’s brain and memories, too. The female body has a male brain, which the film implies is a recipe for dangerous advancements in social structures.

Maintaining the misogyny of the male-to-female transformations, Helen implies that the only thing stopping beautiful women from taking over companies is their lack of a male brain. With both, she says, she will own the company Richard works for in two weeks. The male brain in her female body portrays female power grabs in problematic ways: Helen flirts shamelessly; she seduces her superiors, even her homosexual boss; and she sexually harasses her coworkers. She uses her body and sexuality to lower men’s guards until she can take advantage of them. Helen also convinces Richard’s fiancé Sarah to move out so that Helen can enjoy his apartment alone without needing to worry about getting her own place or hiding her transformations.

Throughout the film, Helen has a calm nature, Richard claims, and she bought his secretary a dress, cleaned up his house, and befriended his fiancé: he describes a stereotypical woman: caring, domesticated, attentive. Helen also seduces and behaves unlady-like. In one scene, Helen seduces Richard’s boss and smokes cigarettes. Helen’s body is female, but her behavior is split. She can act like a Wadonna or a Whore, to use the American Psychological

Association's terms: "The Madonna-Whore Dichotomy (MWD) denotes polarized perceptions of women in general as either 'good,' chaste, and pure Madonnas or as 'bad,' promiscuous, and seductive whores" (Bareket, Kahalon, Shnabel, and Glick). Through the film, Jekyll and Hyde switch bodies, but Hyde has to alter her personality to better fit in with her surroundings.

Jekyll cannot seem to understand that the two sides to Hyde exist in every woman, just as he cannot fathom that his and her bodies are different. Though her arms are hairless, her hair is long, and she has breasts, even though the film makes it clear that Richard loses his genitals when the transformations happen, he believes that the insides remain the same. When he realizes he has been smoking cigarettes, he gets upset that she would do that to his lungs. He cannot separate his body from hers, and he cannot understand her as a complex person. She cannot be more than one thing at a time. His complete misunderstanding of the transformation speaks volumes to one point the film hints at: men expect women to be Jekylls all the time: good, kind, and caring. Men fear that women can be Hydres, seducing men and using their bodies to get what they want. Women are not allowed to be complex. They are either Madonnas or volcanic Helen Hydres. But never both, never fluid and fluctuating. Stevenson's novella claims that all men are two, and this version of the film seems to cry out that women are, also. Richard turns into Helen, but Helen's personality fluctuates, Janus-like, between the two "acceptable" roles men envision for women.

While Helen was abusive to Richard and those around her, she points out the misogyny and sexism present in corporate America. She argues that every woman at the perfume company where they work, except for the CEO, is a secretary; none are researchers, scientists, or bosses. She also points out how the only way to break into the system is to simultaneously be attractive and think like a man. Otherwise, there is no way for a woman to succeed. So while the comedy aspects are played up, the meaning of the comedic Gothic double in Price's movie exposes audiences to a societal fear: gender equality and sexuality. While the film does not offer a good resolution to inequality in the business world, it at least points out the problem and opens up room for discussion.

Hyde as Allegory for Internal Strife

This last category represents a departure in the monstrous body adaptation. Over time, Hyde follows the Trajectory of Domestication. This results in him losing some of the obvious monstrosity in his body, whether racialized or gendered. As this domestication occurs and Hyde's body becomes less abnormal, to use Rosemarie Garland Thomson's terms¹⁰⁰, the meaning present in Hyde's body comes to reflect an inward concern or struggle the Jekyll character faces. In order for someone's inward expression of self to change in this style of adaptation, there must exist a physical change, too. And while the internal struggle may be something abnormal, like addiction, disability, or anger issues, the outward body may not be monstrous or horrific. For this reason, that the monstrous body loses its monstrosity when Hyde begins his domestication journey, I find these styles of adaptation and their treatment of Hyde's body worth analyzing here.

¹⁰⁰ Her book *Freakery* addresses the fascination with abnormal bodies in nineteenth century freakshows. She uses the term normal to discuss bodies in society as they juxtapose those abnormal bodies in the freakshow. As such, when I reference a normal body, I do not mean to imply any sort of ableist ideology or concepts of "normalcy." I merely mean to use the term as a counterpoint for an abnormal body as Garland Thomson uses the term.



Figure 10: Jerry Lewis as Julius Kelp (Left) and Buddy Love (Right).

Jerry Lewis plays nerdy and shy chemistry professor Julius Kelp, who was sick of being shy and unable to flirt successfully with his students. He makes a serum which turns him into Buddy Love, an outgoing and confident but obnoxious man (see figure 10). Kelp takes the potion repeatedly, even though he knows Love is an annoying, if not bad, person. The 1996 remake follows Eddie Murphy, playing professor Sherman Klump. He is a chemist and wants to date a graduate student who finds his work compelling. During a depressive episode, Klump takes a potion that causes him to lose over 200 pounds instantly. He calls his new persona Buddy Love and begins living a double life as Sherman and Buddy. The 1996 Buddy is annoying and self-centered, also. However, he is also thin (see figure 11).

Both of these movies work on the premise that the protagonist is unhappy with who he is. After changing repeatedly, he learns to love himself and hate the person he became. While both movies end with the protagonist learning to love who he is, the choice to make them shy or overweight speaks to society's issues at the time. In the 1960s and 1970s, masculinity equated to aggression, even in courtship. Men were expected to be strong and confident. Like the vampires in the last chapter, Lewis's depiction of Buddy Love was seductive with little regard for the

The 1963 and 1996 versions of *The Nutty Professor* represent two different takes on the Hyde as Allegory for Internal Strife. In the 1963 film,



Figure 11: Eddie Murphy as Sherman Klump (Left) and Buddy Love (Right, in Mirror)

feelings of his intended. In both movies, the Hyde character's body no longer depicts monstrosity. The new bodies present as normal. When Hyde represents an internal struggle with self-confidence, depression, or some other invisible ailment, the narrative no longer needs the monstrous body. This is a stark departure from the racialized Other or the gendered O, in which the body marks the monstrosity or anxiety. These versions of the internalized Hyde also mark a departure from the fear narratives into a slightly domesticated Hyde. In both of these cases, Jekyll creates Hyde to help him be more successful in his romantic life, and in both cases it works to some extent. The ending of both implies that Jekyll was good enough all along and just needed more self-confidence, but Hyde begins, at least, as sympathetic.

The 1996 film *Mary Reilly* pushes the domestication of Hyde further. The film uses the standard plot of *Jekyll/Hyde* transposition narratives and is set during the Victorian era. Scientist Henry Jekyll and his counterpart Edward Hyde cause trouble for citizens of London. The protagonist, Mary Reilly, played by Julia Roberts, works as a housemaid in Jekyll's home and develops feelings for both Jekyll and Hyde. Viewers see the two men through her eyes. She loves both of them but for different reasons. They also look fairly similar to each other and Hyde's body is not monstrous or deformed. He represents Jekyll's inner struggles with depression and embodies a medicated self. Jekyll's serum in this film functions as a cure for depression, and once Hyde has done his job to make Jekyll feel better, Hyde administers an antidote to turn back to Jekyll. Jekyll's depression speaks to the growing concern over mental health issues in the late twentieth century, as well as the recent medical advancements in anti-depression medications (Hillhouse and Porter). Jekyll takes an anti-depressant which drastically alters his personality, and the question becomes whether or not Jekyll feeling better is worth the Hyde he becomes. This is a similar effect to the addiction and alcohol depictions of the earlier films, though this one involves medication and not vice.

While Hyde's body proper is not monstrous, the film shows the physical transformations in quite monstrous visuals. Jekyll has short, gray hair and Hyde has long, black hair. The moment where Reilly sees Hyde transform into Jekyll is horrifying. Rather than Mary wondering how the transformation happens by moving the action off screen, which would be an act of terror, she sees firsthand how painful and monstrous the transformation is. It appears as though the body of Jekyll must reform inside of Hyde, almost like a growing baby. In fact, as the change happens, Reilly hears a baby crying. The body inside grows larger and begins displacing limbs and joints to the sounds of bones breaking (see figure 12).



Figure 12: John Malkovich as Hyde. Jekyll breaks free from Hyde's body.

The transformation completes by growing a new body for the person to inhabit. It is painful to watch, but this style of transformation remains unique among its peers. Many films show Jekyll writhing in pain and cut to Hyde, or they use trick photography or special effects to superimpose some other visual onto Jekyll. Here, the special effects show a mix between Jekyll giving birth to his inner child, hence the cries Mary hears, and a parasitic body trying to break free from its host, one who the other tries to repress until it can no longer contain it inside. One persona literally taking over the other violently seems to reinforce the contemporary mental

health concerns. If man is not one but two, as Stevenson claims, the schism at the end of the twentieth century is not between good and evil with religious connotations. Instead, the schism comes to deal with chemical imbalances in the brain and the medications that balance the chemicals but have adverse side effects like altering the patient's personality and causing more pain when the medicine wears off.

In the 2001 recording of the Broadway musical *Jekyll and Hyde: The Musical*, David Hasselhoff plays both Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. Other than a few superficial differences like having his hair not in a ponytail and a slightly hunched stance, Jekyll and Hyde look the same. Hyde's evil actions become crucial to making him into the monster, as his appearance cannot do it. Again, we see a Hyde whose representation of an internal struggle ignores the monstrous body. Instead, Hyde acts aggressively, murdering a large number of people including members of the hospital board and a kind dancer. He is vengeful and violent, a monster in deed more than appearance.

The musical has clear connections to addiction and addiction recovery as it pertains to Hyde's aggression. Jekyll becomes a sympathetic character. In one scene, Jekyll has a breakdown in one emotional scene, after his fiancé confronts him. He says he feels addicted to the drugs. These drugs he administers via injection, rather than drinking, reflecting heroin and other IV drugs. She tells him that she will help him. However, the drastic changes in behavior also make a certain moral judgment against Jekyll's drug use. The IV use of the hard drugs, the lack of physical changes but the drastic personality change, these all advance the play's anti-addiction narrative. Jekyll can be sympathetic, a victim to addiction, and also be a man whose choices led him away from his idealistic moral center from earlier in the musical. Contemporary anxieties of drug abuse disseminate through society until the musical version of *Jekyll/Hyde* shows Jekyll injecting drugs in order to manifest a hyper-masculine self. These addiction-laden adaptations of *Jekyll/Hyde* reflect contemporary anxieties about vice and addiction as well as the dangers of unchecked male aggression.

The addiction narrative in *Jekyll/Hyde* adaptations is not always hard drugs. Sometimes, as in the 2003 film *League of Extraordinary Gentleman* and the 2004 film *Van Helsing* films, the addiction might be connected to a specific kind of body dysmorphia, one in which the sufferer has a skewed concept of how the masculine body should look. Both the 2003 and 2004 adaptations of Jekyll and Hyde both engage with Hyde’s body as an allegory for body dysmorphia and the desire to bulk up one’s musculature. By this point in time, Hyde has lost a lot of his ability to inspire fear. Hyde is on the path to becoming domesticated. Both versions of Hyde appear shirtless or in tattered clothes (See figure 13), borrowing the imagery from The



Figure 13: Jason Flemyng as Mr. Hyde from *The League of Extraordinary Gentlemen* (Left. 2003).
Robbie Coltrane as Mr. Hyde from *Van Helsing* (Right. 2004)

Incredible Hulk. Neither Hyde is particularly complex or dynamic. Instead, their sheer size is their defining feature, not their fearful monstrosity. They appear relatively

normal, except for their height and bulging muscles. They are not terrifying creatures obscured in shadow, and they are not horrifying monsters prowling through the night. They are big, strong fighters and nothing more. This style of depiction hyper-focuses the audience’s attention to the monstrous body. There is no sympathetic Jekyll to root for, no larger social issue against which audiences might find some catharsis. The monstrous body *is* the depiction of the character, and it reminds readers that supernatural physical strength comes at a price.

Both Hydes are unusually pale-skinned. Gone are the days of a racialized Hyde and his physical strength becomes a tool. Despite his immense strength in both films, Hyde shows bulging muscles and a lack of self-control. The potion makes him stronger, faster, and larger. In

the early 2000s, steroids played a large part in discussions of athletic ability¹⁰¹. Steroids represent a very real scientific concoction like the one Jekyll brews. By taking steroids, users turn into bodies capable of power and strength beyond what their natural bodies are able. However, they also develop the capacity for unnatural anger. One symptom of steroid use is “roid rage.” The timing of these two movies and their similar representations of Hyde demonstrate the pervasive impression steroids made on society. The steroid use of the 1990s and early 2000s appears as one contemporary version of Hyde, just as the anti-depressants appears in the late ‘90s and the addiction and alcoholism problems appear in early- and mid-twentieth century adaptations. The domesticated Hyde serves to normalize mental illness, addiction, and invisible disability. It also serves as a means to confront self-esteem issues and develop a more developed sense of self-acceptance. The above films all seem to say that just because something inside of a person is different or abnormal does not mean that the person cannot be a productive member of society. Even the most famous modern example of a *Jekyll/Hyde* adaptation can be a destructive monster and a superhero.

One of the most famous adaptations of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde comes in the form of a comic book character turned film hero: The Incredible Hulk. Hulk began as a comic book character in a Stan Lee and Jack Kirby comic book in 1962. The large, green monster and mild-mannered Robert “Bob” Bruce Banner came about as Stan Lee tried to create a different kind of superhero, someone monstrous but also good. In a 2015 interview with Rolling Stone Magazine, Stan Lee recalls the creation of The Hulk:

I was getting tired of the normal superheroes and I was talking to my publisher. He said, “What kind of new hero can we come up with?” I said, “How about a good monster?” He just walked out of the room. I remembered Jekyll and Hyde,

¹⁰¹ Major League Baseball saw record-breaking home run seasons in the late ‘90s, and it did not begin implementing league-wide testing for performance enhancing drugs (PEDs) until 2003 (“The Steroids Era”).



Figure 14: Bill Bixby (Bottom, Left) and Lou Ferrigno (Top, Left). Eric Bana (Bottom, Center left). Edward Norton (Bottom, Center Right). Mark Ruffalo (Bottom, Right).

and the Frankenstein movie with Boris Karloff and it always seemed to me that the monster was really the good guy; he didn't want to hurt anybody, but those idiots kept chasing him up the hill until he had to strike back. So why not get a guy who looks like a monster and really doesn't want to cause any harm. But

he has to in self-defense, because people are always attacking him. . . . Well, I said to Jack, I want you to draw a monster who's a little bit sympathetic-looking, who the readers can like. He's a man but he turns into a huge super-powerful guy, all muscle and angry-looking — but he's not all that ugly, he's just a very strong, monstrous man. Jack got it right away. (Hiatt 2015).

Lee's description of the Hulk as a Jekyll/Hyde and Frankenstein style character as the misunderstood good guy indicates a certain misreading of both of those texts, though Lee does understand that Jekyll did not originally try to become evil; he just wanted to do things with which society disagreed. And Victor's attempts to recreate life, though problematic, were successful; and his creature was not angry or murderous until it learned such behavior from humanity.

The Hulk has appeared in a handful of animated and live-action films (See. Figure 14). Beginning with the 1977 television series *The Incredible Hulk*, viewers witness mild-mannered David

Banner¹⁰² turn into the Incredible Hulk when he gets angry. In the television series, Bill Bixby (Banner) turns into bodybuilder Lou Ferrigno (Hulk). Ferrigno wears green body paint, a green wig, and no shirt. Ferrigno is a large man, but he is still relatively human-sized. The monstrous body changes to an unnatural skin color, the same color the Mansfield play used to portray Hyde's monstrosity. The body also gets stronger, though within the limits of human possibility. Hulk is angry, violent, and inarticulate. This non-CGI, life-sized Hulk/Hyde continues for Ferrigno's tenure, but current live-action Hulk films use Computer-Generated Images (CGI) to make Hulk larger than life. Sometimes, Hulk stands 20+ feet tall and is strong enough to throw military tanks at helicopters.

Hulk also appears in the 2003 film *Hulk*, starring Eric Bana. Most recently, Hulk has appeared in the Marvel Cinematic Universe (MCU), portrayed by Edward Norton in the 2008 film *The Incredible Hulk*, and by Mark Ruffalo in the 2012, 2015, 2017, 2018, and 2019 MCU films. The mild-mannered Bruce has a being inside him which makes him tougher, stronger, more resilient. The Hyde as allegory theme presents itself in the Hulk narratives via the Hulk's literal embodiment of Banner's anger. To control the beast, Banner struggles to maintain calm. Not only is this not easy, but it takes its toll on Banner as he lives with a constant reminder that at any minute, he could fly off into an uncontrollable rage. In one film, he claims that the pressure and depression grew too much and he attempted suicide: "I didn't see an end, so I put a bullet in my mouth, and the other guy spit it out" (*Avengers* 2012). In this case, Hulk saves Banner's life against Banner's will.

¹⁰² A name change from the more common Bruce Banner

Hulk's monstrous body is monstrous in color and size, but it lacks deformities. The transformation also appears painless and fluid; Bruce grows in size as his skin changes color. The beast within and the mild-mannered scientist coexist in such a way that the Hulk is little more than an inarticulate armor Bruce can don. Banner eventually grows weary of constantly fighting the beast inside. He decides to research the radiation which caused the Hulk mutation and finds a way to merge his own intelligence and the Hulk's body, might, and strength. He accepts the monster within, and in doing so learns to control it. Here we see two things occurring: first, the monster as internal struggle can be overcome through practice, control, and patience; and second, Hulk has become domesticated. Once this happens, his appearance changes. He begins wearing glasses and shirts with a nice cardigan (see figure 15).



Figure 15: Mark Ruffalo as CGI Hulk/Bruce Banner hybrid.

In no other *Jekyll/Hyde* adaptation, nor the novella proper, does Jekyll decide to maintain Hyde's appearance while acting and thinking like Jekyll. Bruce comes to see his other self as a tool for self-improvement more than a tool for destruction. He repurposes the monster, something Jekyll never attempted. Banner and Hulk, in this iteration where they have fused together, represent a greater acceptance of mental illness and anxiety. The invisible, inner self does not have to be feared or cause anxiety. Banner can feel different on the inside, even sometimes manifesting that difference outwardly. Even with this internal difference, he can be accepted and

appreciated for who he truly is as a complex and dual person. As defined in the introduction and expanded upon in the last chapter, when Hyde becomes an allegory for internal struggles and not about a racial or gendered Other, Hyde becomes a character who should not be feared or hated. Such a non-monstrous Hyde fluctuates between the second and third stages of the Trajectory of Domestication. We want to be the monster, strong and smart, with the knowledge that nothing can hurt us. Hulk also becomes a love interest for Black Widow (“Avengers 2”, 2015), a method to learn self-confidence, or a weaponized body for the greater good. Mary Reilly falls in love with Hyde. Buddy Love helps his other self learn self-acceptance, and Audiences want to be the smart Hulk. Children want to take pictures with Mr. Hulk and get his autograph. They do not fear him nor worry that he will hurt them in a mindless rage. Hyde is on his way to total domestication, despite his abnormal appearance¹⁰³. Hyde as an allegory for internal strife often loses the monstrous body in exchange for a non-monstrous but still physically different body; the monstrosity often appears via his actions and not his looks. This reflects modern medical understandings of mental illness and invisible disabilities which may mark people’s insides as different or Othered without affecting their outward appearance.

Conclusion

The Gothic double is a fascinating character in literature and offers readers a number of opportunities for terror. The double represents not just the individual character but the inner workings of society as a whole. The Gothic works extremely well to hold a mirror up to society, though the Gothic mirror often shows echoes of the past or has ghosts floating around inside. Gothic monsters in general work well to do this, but the Gothic double does this work extremely well through showing the internal struggles of what society expects of its members or what it fears. The double can expose society’s deep, dark secrets. The secrets which Jekyll holds inspire terror, keeping the audience guessing at what Jekyll’s wishful desires might be. And Hyde’s

¹⁰³ Abnormal but not monstrous or deformed; just large and maybe green.

ineffable quality mark him as terrifying, too. Those who meet him cannot know him. They cannot label or categorize him except as a generic Other. This makes him undefeatable. Only Jekyll possesses the requisite knowledge to defeat Hyde. And with Hyde's defeat, Jekyll's orchestrates his own defeat.

Hyde represents Jekyll's inner-self, a concept only accessible via embodied monstrosity. When the embodied self recognizes its capacity to think, feel, and act, it can also recognize the desires it has which it cannot do. Film adaptations often remove the Ego, and play solely with the Id and the Superego. Good Jekyll versus evil Hyde is the dominant theme. The complex nature of the Gothic double, as more than the binary good/evil motif present in many adaptations, helps readers understand and confront contemporary anxieties about self and the role each person feels compelled to play in society. In screen adaptations of the *Jekyll/Hyde* narrative, of which there are many, Jekyll and Hyde or their allegorical counterparts represent a number of things to a handful of different time periods. Sometimes the double represents anxieties of race and acceptance in society. Sometimes, they represent repressed sexuality or the curiosity one gender has toward the other. Often, Hyde speaks as an allegory for internal struggles, including addiction, mental health, and disability. Still other times, it represents gender roles, toxic masculinity, the dangers of wish-fulfillment, or the acceptance of mental illness and the stigmas related to it. In all of these, Hyde must be monstrous in definable ways, marking him as horrifying. The only exception is when Hyde represents an internal struggle, he becomes much more sympathetic and much less monstrous, a unique twist in the evolution of the embodied monster.

CHAPTER V CONCLUSION

The primary argument of this dissertation claims that the supernatural Gothic antagonist evolves over the long nineteenth century, following predictable patterns. While I focus on British literature specifically, American Gothic has a large body of work with its own styles of supernatural antagonist and other folkloric monsters. However, I focus on British Gothic as the most common monsters in British Gothic literature still hold significant power over modern society through their various retellings and visual adaptations. Gothic narratives have long been used to afford readers a chance at confronting social anxieties and fears. The most effective way gothic narratives represent these fears involves the use of the supernatural. In early Gothic fiction, supernatural elements appeared as ghosts and unexplainable events. Through these supernatural elements, the Gothic narrative reminds readers that the past is real, and that unpunished evils will not remain unpunished for long. Horace Walpole, the father of Gothic fiction, writes in the first preface to *The Castle of Otranto*, that the moral of the work is that “the sins of fathers are visited on their children to the third and fourth generation” (Walpole 6). With the well-documented rivalry between Ann Radcliffe and Matthew Lewis, the Gothic splits into two sub-genres: supernatural-explained and supernatural-accepted.

Both styles offer readers the chance to feel fear, though one invites terror and the other horror. Ann Radcliff’s definitions of terror and horror appear in the briefly in the introduction and in more detail in Chapter One. Supernatural-explained narratives often bring terror, as they

involve the “what-ifs” of fear. The reader embarks on a journey of self-discovery and generative imagination as they follow the protagonist through the text. The hint at a supernatural entity excites fear in readers, as they wonder what they might find around every corner. This is terror: a fear that requires active participation, imagination, and wonder.

Horror is the inverse of terror. A supernatural-accepted plot revolves around the actual presence of monsters or other supernatural beings. These often involve horror through seeing the monster up close. When the supernatural appears visible, tangible, its existence cannot be denied. In these narratives, rather than imagining what a monster looks or if it even exists, readers come face-to-face with the monster.

The two styles of supernatural Gothic narratives function via two overlapping theories, which serve as the foundation of this dissertation. The first theory is embodiment and the second is domestication. Throughout this dissertation, I have used these terms to argue that the evolution of the Gothic antagonist in the long nineteenth century increases in embodiment and, consequently, in horror. The early Gothic antagonist, disembodied as they were, remained largely undefeated. Many of the antagonists in Chapter One remain undefeated. Even early Gothic antagonists who were corporeal lacked embodiment. Just having a body is not enough to become embodied. Embodiment, as the introduction argues, requires not just having a body but understanding one’s self in relation to that body. It requires understanding what that body’s limits are and what it is capable of doing. The embodied antagonist often appears monstrous in physical form, or at least has an exceptional body that presents as non-normative. Such a monstrous body can include fangs, unnamable deformities, and the ability to drink blood or walk down walls, shift form completely to appear as another person, or entrance others with their eyes. The embodied antagonist manipulates its body in complex ways to demonstrate its monstrosity.

Embodiment is a double-edged sword, increasing the damage the monster can do while simultaneously increasing the likelihood that the protagonists will defeat the monster.

Embodiment, then, positively correlates to classification and defeat. The more embodied the

antagonist, the easier it will be for protagonists to categorize and identify the monster. Applying categories or taxonomies to antagonists is the best way to ensure defeat. A prime counter-example of this lies with Polidori's Lord Ruthven. In the play, Ruthven "dies" in the narrative, only to return and wreak havoc. In Polidori's version, Ruthven forces Aubrey to promise not to tell anyone about his death. From this simple oath, Ruthven kills Aubrey's sister and escapes. Aubrey is powerless to do anything until it is too late. On the other hand, Van Helsing and the Crew of Light¹⁰⁴ were able to defeat Count Dracula precisely because his embodiment made him classifiable. Van Helsing looked at the signs of Lucy Westenra's sickness and recognized the marks of the vampire. With that information, he provides the Crew of Light a list of the vampire's powers and weaknesses, which they use to corner and defeat him. Dracula's embodiment allows him to turn into fog or mist, to drink blood and walk down walls, making him a very powerful vampire. However, his embodiment also allows those around him to describe him, name him and categorize him.

As the monster becomes knowable and describable, their ability to bring fear diminishes. As society changes, the monster must change, too. But an embodied and horrifying monster has little place to go. Instead of becoming more monstrous, society begins to domesticate the monster and bring them into society. The Trajectory of Domestication, as I call it in the dissertation, applies to many Gothic monsters, though the dissertation focuses on the vampire and the Jekyll/Hyde character. Chapters Two and Three address the domestication of the vampire and the Double, something that occurs in modern adaptations of the respective monster narrative. When the monster ceases to be fearful, readers begin to sympathize and identify more with the monster. In recent years, society has become more accepting of mental illness, of visible and invisible disabilities, and of other internal differences. Readers or viewers of modern monster narratives

¹⁰⁴ A term coined by Christopher Craft. See footnote 55 for more information.

recognize themselves in the monster's flaws and understand that the monster, and by proxy themselves, can join society as productive members despite their own perceived shortcomings.

Eventually, after seeing ourselves reflected back in the monster long enough, we find the monster endearing and charming. A number of recent modern monster narratives have transitioned to the last step of the Trajectory of Domestication, which is romantic love. The vampire or Hyde-like Hulk have become love interests, characters who are desirable as romantic partners. The vampire, for instance, can offer immortal life, eternal love, and physical strength. The domesticated Hyde offers physical strength, intelligence, and a sense of protection.

For the dissertation, I selected texts that exemplified my arguments and the two fundamental hypotheses of embodiment and domestication. Of course, I could not analyze every Gothic monster. I could not even analyze every instance of once monster. Film adaptations of *Jekyll/Hyde* number somewhere over 130. The number of modern Gothic monster narratives, either fiction or film, indicate that the Gothic has not gone away. Readers and viewers still find a certain macabre pleasure in intentionally confronting fear, albeit vicariously, through their consumption of Gothic narratives.

However, going forward, I believe that my hypotheses of embodiment and domestication will serve as a point of entry to other Gothic monsters beyond those analyzed in the dissertation. Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* is one of the most recognizable Gothic monsters in modern society. Similarly to *Jekyll/Hyde* and how the Mansfield play established what became the modern *Jekyll/Hyde* narrative, modern representations of *Frankenstein* often base themselves on the iconic 1931 film version in which Boris Karloff plays the creature. The bolts through the neck, the scars, and the stiff gait all stem from Karloff's depiction. Examining the role embodiment plays in Shelley's work might result in fruitful scholarly analysis. Taking the next step, and looking at film adaptations and the way they depict the creature, too, would be informative. The text and modern adaptations together would provide unique insight into the development of the flesh-golem. The creature in the novel is quite sympathetic and articulate. However, in modern

parlance, he is called monster, a clear deviation from the work's sympathetic themes. Calling the creature by the name *creature* marks it as Other without demonizing him. Referring to him as *monster* implies some sort of moral judgment and marks him as villain more than abandoned creation. Analyzing the novel and the numerous modern adaptations may help Gothic scholars understand the reasons why the sympathetic and intelligent creature evolved into green monster of modern representations. Embodiment plays more of a role than just what term we decide to use to refer to the Victor's creation.

In Shelley's text, the creature wishes to enter society. He observes and helps the De Lacey family and learns to speak by watching them. Eventually, he gains the courage to introduce himself to the blind old De Lacey. He begs De Lacey to help persuade the rest of the De Lacey family to take pity on him and not let their prejudice against his monstrous visage soil their opinion of him. His greatest wish and desire is for others to accept him for his inner self and not his outward appearance. He recognizes the monstrosity of his body and is aware enough to recognize that he has more to offer than just his appearance.

When his attempt to join the De Lacey family fails, he tracks down Victor and makes a firm demand. The creature wishes to have a mate. Frankenstein's creature literally wishes to become domesticated with a house and wife. The creature demands Victor build him a mate, Victor worries that the two will procreate and spread forth a new "race of devils" (Shelley 124). The creature's desire for a mate reflects his understanding of humanity and society; people are not meant to live solitary lives. They mate and live together. They share a domesticity and their bodies with each other. Victor's concern in building a mate is that the female will procreate and spread evil across the land. However, Victor could obviously just build the female creature without a uterus. For some reason, he does not consider making the creature a partner who lacks reproductive organs. Victor's concern also implies that Victor's goal to create life in a perfect body was so great that he provided his creature with reproductive organs. He could not imagine a perfect body existing without the ability to reproduce, though he fears that same reproduction. In

retaliation to Victor's refusal to make a mate, the Creature warns Victor that he "shall be with you on your wedding-night" (Shelley 125). The embodiment in Shelley's *Frankenstein* certainly could be an opportunity for further research in this project.

The *Frankenstein* story also has some practical adaptations in which the creature becomes domesticated. Both *The Munsters* and *Penny Dreadful* have explored the idea of the domesticated Frankenstein's Creature. Though not a main character, Lurch, the butler from *The Addams Family*, appears as an inarticulate but domesticated Frankenstein's Creature. The domestication narrative I have outlined deals mostly with dramatic interpretations of the monster. However, using Lurch or Herman Munster as case studies could extend the domestication narrative. As both of those depictions are more comedic, especially Herman Munster who has a more defined characterization, the Trajectory of Domestication hypothesis could branch out. It is possible that comedic interpretations of the Monster represent a middle stage in domestication narratives, as I briefly claim in footnote 62. When we no longer fear the monster, we can laugh at or with the monster. It is also possible that comedic monstrosity is less its own stage and merely a variation of the second stage, the one in which we see ourselves in the monster. As the dissertation does not address the comedic adaptations of the various monsters in any detail, more work needs to be done to better situate the comedic domestication in the overall trajectory as I outline it.

Another Gothic text which may benefit from a similar embodied approach is Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray*. Dorian is another embodied double, like Hyde. Except Dorian's other is strictly visual; there is no body to speak of. There exists a portrait of Dorian which reflects Dorian's inner self. Whenever Dorian acts in a way that would mark his soul as evil or immoral, his picture changes instead of his own physical countenance. This deviation may prove useful to study as it applies to embodiment. Dorian remains youthful and beautiful, but his picture morphs into a monstrous visage. Dorian hides the picture away to prevent others from seeing his monstrous "body." The picture serves as a constant reminder of how ugly Dorian's

soul has become. Dorian acts violently toward the picture and harms it. However, when he does, the physical appearance in the picture changes places with Dorian's young-looking self. Dorian dies ugly and hideous, an accurate reflection of his soul. The picture left behind is beautiful and young. Even though there is no physical body, the portrait presents as one, making embodiment still important in the novel. Beyond the text, there exist many film adaptations of the Dorian narrative. One could study the ways in which writers and directors choose to portray Dorian's picture as monstrous. The application of embodiment and fear hypotheses may need further refinement in such a study because Dorian's picture is a static object and not a moving body, as with Hyde.

The combined use of embodiment and domestication, as they relate to the Gothic offer a novel way to approach Gothic texts. The embodiment of the Gothic monster plays a significant role in determining what fear the monster produces, what kind of threat it poses, and whether or not the protagonists will be able to defeat the monster. The fear of not knowing what will happen excites readers, as does confronting a vampire as it flies in through the window. Early Gothic narratives often had the antagonists escape, but mid- to late-Victorian Gothic found that by confronting the creature directly, they could reach a higher chance of success. Identifying monstrosity is a common concern in Gothic narratives, and the ability to classify the monster directly relates to its defeatability. Without defeating the monster, the contemporary anxieties cannot be assuaged, and the Gothic loses its catharsis. That is, unless, we can domesticate the monster.

There exist many Gothic works that this dissertation does not consider and that also may benefit from an analysis through my two hypotheses. Charles Maturin's 1820 Gothic novel *Melmoth the Wanderer* does not get addressed, though I could reference the book as a transitional piece. Melmoth has a body that has been cursed with longevity. He lives for centuries without aging. However, he is not fully embodied. His attempts to damn another soul in order to redeem his own fail, eventually leading to his own suicide. He cannot be known and

therefore an only be defeated through self-harm, but he also poses little threat to those around him. So while the tale is extremely supernatural and often regarded as an important piece of Gothic fiction, it only tangentially relates to the major argument of this dissertation. The Gothic novels of Ann Radcliffe and Matthew Lewis, likewise, receive little attention in this dissertation. Radcliffe's novels do not contain supernatural antagonists, and therefore do not fit in with the major themes of this project. Lewis, on the other hand, does contain supernatural antagonists. However, *The Monk's* primary antagonist is a corrupt monk and not some supernatural entity. And while Ambrosio the monk does make deals with the devil who appears as a physical entity in the novel, there is little embodiment or supernatural elements directly affecting the protagonists. *The Monk*, along with other early Gothic literature, involve anti-Catholic sentiments (Killeen; Mulvey-Roberts). These narratives often do not modernize well, as the social anxieties and concerns they address are so tied to their historical period that extricating them becomes difficult. A text like *The Monk* cannot easily break free from its obvious statements about Catholic corruption. *Dracula* and *Carmilla* both include allegories for religious concerns, but both also are broad enough that they can represent many other social concerns, even modern ones.

This dissertation has been an exciting project, as I was able to explore the changes of the supernatural antagonist in Gothic literature as they become more embodied over the long nineteenth century. The monstrous body evolves into a site of fear and meaning, juxtaposing the normative body against an extraordinary body. This juxtaposition allows readers to develop a stronger sense of identity through assuaging the fears or social anxieties the Gothic monster represents. Readers learn to overcome and defeat problems and can reach catharsis over contemporary anxieties. Eventually, the anxieties lessen and readers find themselves not fearing but identifying with the monsters through a process of domestication which results in the monsters joining society, not as antagonistic forces but as productive members.

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Image – Promotional Picture of Fleming film

Image for Hulks (combined by me).

Image for Nutty Professor

Image for Smart Hulk

Image of Fredric March

Image of James Cruz

Image of John Barrymore

Image of John Malkovich (Screenshot).

Image of Mansfield

Image of Michael Rennie (Screenshot)

Image of Ralph Bates and Martine Beswick

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