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Dracula’s Sexology

Queer Gothic, Straight-Up

Bram Stoker’s *Dracula* (1897) was published at that moment in time when the modern concept of sexuality started to gain traction in scientific, cultural and political debates. A ‘correlative’, in Michel Foucault’s well-known phrase, to the formation of the *scientia sexualis*, the notion of sexuality emerged out of political and cultural efforts for the decriminalisation and affirmation of same-sex sexuality, and related, albeit typically opposing, scientific and legal practices that sought to identify perceived transgressions from an implicit reproductive norm.\(^1\) The *scientia sexualis*, more commonly known as sexology or sexual science, was a new field of research that developed out of nineteenth-century medical sciences and related forensic work. Initially dominated by the work of psychiatrists and other medical doctors as well as criminologists it was concerned with studying all aspects of ‘sex’, which in this context was primarily understood as sexual behaviour. Broadly speaking, the early sexologists aimed to establish whether certain sexual acts were the products of illness or criminal intention, a distinction that mattered when trying to establish if a person had broken the law or needed medical treatment. But sexuality was not merely the product of the clinic and the courtroom. Sexual debates including within sexology were shaped from the outset by the contributions of writers, poets, philosophers, literary and cultural critics who presented imaginative evidence of the long history of same-sex desire and its naturalness, coining a new vocabulary that included terms such as inversion, contrary sexual feelings, and, most lastingly, homosexuality.\(^2\) Fiction in turn served as a kind of sourcebook for some of the medical sexologists
who were inspired by literary narratives to conceptualise phenomena such as sadism and masochism, both terms popularised by the influential psychiatrist Richard von Krafft-Ebing and derived from the works of the Marquis de Sade and Leopold von Sacher-Masoch respectively. Critics have teased out many of the cross-influences between sexology and literature, especially in relation to the constructions of sexual deviancies and the formation of affirmative same-sex (counter)discourses.3 This scholarship has offered many important insights into the genealogies of certain sexual concepts and their relationship to the lives of nineteenth-century subjects, fictional and real.

If sexology and its fictions are, then, broadly aligned with realism and life writing via their focus on the sexual vita of the subject, the Gothic, which, in Paulina Palmer’s words, is a ‘highly mobile and fluid literary form’, is commonly understood as a queer genre because of its concern with the crossing of boundaries.4 Clearly, the Gothic’s emphasis on fluidity and transgression echoes the concerns of queer theory, which are conceptually informed by the linguistic roots of the word queer in a vocabulary of movement.5 Like queer theory, however, the Gothic’s concern with transgression offers more than insights into the conception of deviancies: it also brings to light the fears, ideals and social expectations that forge the implicit norms against which deviancies are measured. In the nineteenth-century, it was an emerging yet little mentioned heterosexual ideal that shaped the explosion of discourses about ‘perversion’ and ‘corruption’. Coined in relation to the neologism of homosexuality, the term heterosexuality was first introduced into English in the 1892 translation of Krafft-Ebing’s *Psychopathia Sexualis*. It did not enter popular discourse until
much later in the twentieth-century, and remained under-theorised in sexological debates despite – or rather because – sexual deviancies were tacitly read against it. While sexological writings paid little attention to heterosexuality, then, the formation of a modern notion of heterosexuality can nevertheless – and somewhat paradoxically – be charted via the queer Gothic genre. Novels such as *Dracula* represent anxieties about the implications of sexual transgression, anxieties that may have publicly targeted same-sex subjects (including via legal persecution) but which de facto revealed fears about the impact of improper opposite-sex acts on the future of the national body.

*Dracula* addresses key concerns in fin de siècle sexuality discourses including questions about the integrity, violation and potentially dangerous reproduction of certain bodies, and anxieties about an increasingly unstable gender binarism that was nevertheless considered crucial to social life. If the novel supports the argument that ‘gothic fiction is not about homo- or heterodesire as much as it is about the fact of desire itself’, it also offers insights into the fears and fantasies that clustered specifically around opposite-sex desire and the implications of reproductive sex. Reading *Dracula* in proximity to sexological discourses of the time reveals the complexity of fin de siècle attitudes to sex, showing that the (im)possibilities of heterosexuality came under scrutiny as much as perceived deviations from that norm.

**From Perversions to Heterosensibilities**

Some of the most influential readings of desire in *Dracula* have focused on the novel’s place in the history of modern sexuality via attention to its coincidence
with sexological developments. Mostly, critics have read the novel against

*Psychopathia Sexualis*, that key work of sexology, which has come to epitomise

the pathologization of sexual acts and the classification of sexual types for which

sexology is most famous today. Robert Mighall, for instance, inspired by

Foucault’s genealogy of modern sexuality, has argued that the temporal

closeness of *Dracula* with *Psychopathia Sexualis* marks the moment when older,

mythological formations of ‘deviancy’ were replaced by a modern concept of the

‘sexual pervert’. But the development of a modern vocabulary of sex cannot

merely be understood in terms of discipline and repression. Count Dracula, the

iconic vampire of Western modernity, entered the English literary scene in the

same year in which Havelock Ellis and John Addington Symonds’s *Sexual

Inversion*, the first work of English sexology, was published. Unlike scientific

works such as *Psychopathia Sexualis*, which catalogued a wide range of sexual

‘perversions’, *Sexual Inversion* dealt specifically, and broadly affirmatively, with

the history and present-day experiences of same-sex desire. The work’s same-

sex focus to some extent reflected the authors’ own personal investments in the

topic. Ellis, a medically trained literary critic and editor, was at the time

working on a larger study on *The Psychology of Sex*, which was partly motivated

by the discovery that his wife, the feminist activist and writer Edith Lees was in a

relationship with another woman. Symonds in turn, an influential Victorian

literary critic and married father of four, had several affairs with men and a long-

lasting relationship with a Venetian gondolier, Angelo Fusato, whom he

supported financially. Ellis’ and Symonds’ personal investments combined with

their literary-philosophical, rather than medico-forensic, conception of ‘sexual

inversion’ signal a broader shift in sexual debates in the 1890s when the
pathologizing discourses of early sexology increasingly came to compete with more positive, proto-identitarian claims in support of the naturalness and long history of same-sex sexuality.

The greater visibility of male same-sex cultures in particular came at a cost. In 1895, at the height of his fame, Oscar Wilde was famously tried for ‘indecent conduct’ with other men and imprisoned to two years hard labour in Reading Gaol. These events mark the moment when homosexuality first entered public discourse in England, as well as many other countries in Europe and North America, where Wilde’s trials received considerable attention. Nina Auerbach has argued that the Wilde scandal deeply influenced Bram Stoker, who knew Wilde from Dublin. She claims that ‘Dracula was one particularly debased incarnation of the fallen Wilde, a monster of silence and exile, vulnerable to a legalistic series of arcane rules [who as Dracula] could be isolated by diagnoses and paralyzed by rules’. Auerbach’s reading, which aligns Wilde with Dracula and Stoker with the Count’s foe, Jonathan Harker, suggests that the first public homosexual trial and scandal produced a clear-cut division between those sympathetic to homosexuality and those who rejected it outright. Yet, as Talia Schaffer has pointed out, the boundaries of identification were often blurred. She argues that Dracula’s proximity to the Wilde trial, and Harker’s own anxieties about the ‘ever-widening circle of semi-demons’ that surround Dracula, reflect not merely anti-homosexuality attitudes but broader fin de siècle concerns with ‘corruption’. While Schaffer understands ‘corruption’ mainly in terms of what we might call ‘bad’ influence, the term was also used in
nineteenth-century sexual debates to describe what we might today call ‘abuse’.\textsuperscript{17}

The double-connotations of corruption as a both immoral influence and criminal act are picked up within \textit{Dracula} when Dr Seward, the doctor who runs the asylum near Dracula’s first English residence, claims that ‘the Count is a criminal and criminal type. Nordau and Lombroso would so classify him’ (p. 363). This much-cited quotation refers to two of the most notorious figures in fin de siècle socio-sexual debates: the polemicist Max Nordau, who would become an influential figure in the emerging Zionist movement, gained infamy for his work \textit{Entartung} (1892), translated as \textit{Degeneration} (1895), in which he claimed that nineteenth-century cultural production was evidence of Western civilisation in decline. The criminologist Cesare Lombroso in turn gained fame for his typologies of the crime, which sought to trace the hereditary characteristics of ‘criminals’ via studies of their cranium and other facial features. Alluding to their work on degeneration and heredity, \textit{Dracula} firmly moves beyond a specific concern with homoeroticism towards broader contemporary fears about the decline of Western civilisation, fears that centred specifically on the reproductive body. If Seward’s classification of the Count as a degenerate criminal places great emphasis on the importance of taxonomic identification, which here is figured as a crucial step in the attempt to capture and contain the count, it also serves as a reminder that vampirism within the novel serves a metaphor both for sexual acts and the transmission of undesirable, dangerous traits.

\textbf{Vampire Sexuality}
Over the course of the nineteenth-century the mythological figure of the vampire was increasingly dragged into all kinds of scientific debates about the boundaries of human life. Against the backdrop of brutal imperial expansion post-evolutionary discourses, which reimagined the human body as the repository of a past that will shape its future, increasingly centred on questions about sexual reproduction and related concerns with contagious influences and their transmission. In this context vampirism came to serve as a metaphor for the leaky boundaries of human existence, used to conceptualise all kind of violations of the body that were feared to push the subject into the spaces between life and death, and between the animal and the human. How these debates were racialised is indicated, for instance, by the claims of Edward B. Tylor, one of the founders of English anthropology, who argued in his *Anthropology: An Introduction to the Study of Man and Civilisation* (1881) that it was ‘Slavonic countries’ specifically which suffered from ‘blood-sucking nightmares whose dreadful visits the patient is conscious of in his sleep’. Tylor’s observations on the Slavonic ‘demon- souls dwelling in corpses’ [which are known as] vampires’ picks up on the older cultural stereotyping of certain parts of Eastern Europe, which in the twentieth-century would replace the generic mythology of vampirism with the specific story of Dracula – Daniela Olărescu has pointed out that when West Germany forged new links with Romania in the late 1990s several publishing houses in the country immediately reissued new editions of *Dracula*. Perhaps even more significantly, Tylor’s words are a reminder that up until the nineteenth-century many observers located the existence of the vampire outside of the realm of English civilisation.
Towards the end of the nineteenth-century, however, vampirism was increasingly invoked in debates about British health. For example, in a book entitled *Cremation and Urn-Burial, or The Cemeteries of the Future*, which was published in 1889, the influential Irish gardener and horticulturalist William Robinson, who was an avid advocate of cremation, turned to the vampire to conceptualise issues of hygiene. Robinson, citing members of the Cremation Society of England, argued that by adhering to the common practice of burying bodies ‘we are continually producing vampires’ because while ‘we bury our dead, decay does not take place, and the vampires spread from our burial grounds, attacking the population and producing disease’.20 ‘Vampire’ here served as a name for germs and diseases transmitted from the rotting flesh of the dead into the living world, a discursive sleight of hand that recurs in *Dracula*, most famously perhaps in the description of the fate of the upstanding Mina Harker, ‘that sweet, sweet, good good woman’ who is corrupted by ‘the Vampire’s baptism of blood’.21

While vampires came to stand in as a metaphor for corruption in all kinds of scientific writing, then, they are curiously absent from the sexological literature of the time. Instead scientists and other cultural commentators concerned with sexual violations and the transmission of vice tended to draw indirectly on the ‘life-sucking’ discourses associated with vampirism, especially in discussions of all kinds of non-reproductive sexual acts – such as masturbation or same-sex sex acts – that were figured as parasitic activities with a weakening effect on the national body. The few sexual commentators who did mention vampirism did so primarily to comment on the nature of women.22 Iwan Bloch, for example, author
of *Sexual Life of Our Time* (1909), in a chapter on ‘Obscene Art’, mentions in his analysis of Wagner’s *Tristan* ‘a horde of frightful, half-nude vampire women [who are] half-crazed with delight, neighing, necrophilic’. The controversial French journalist Léo Taxil in turn claimed in his study *La Prostitution Contemporaine: Étude d’un Question Sociale* (1884) that ‘vampire’ was a name given in antiquity and during the middle ages to someone who had sex with corpses (‘passion du cadavre’). This practice entered the modern catalogue of sexual perversions as ‘necrophilia’, a term coined by the Belgian physician Joseph Guislain in 1850. It was made famous by Krafft-Ebing, who adopted it in his *Psychopathia Sexualis* where he argued that ‘this horrible kind of sexual indulgence is so monstrous that the presumption of a psychopathic state is, under all circumstance, justified’. Taxil’s discussion stands out not only because he used the term ‘vampire’ to distinguish sex with corpses from ‘exhibitionists, pederasts, people who have sex with animals’, but also because he considered vampirism as part of a study of prostitution and sapphism, aligning it with female sexuality in particular.

The alignment of vampirism and predatory female same-sex practices has been famously explored in Sheridan Le Fanu’s much-discussed Gothic novella ‘Carmilla’ (1871-1872) including in relation to questions of Irish national identity. *Dracula* in contrast is less specifically concerned with female same-sex sexuality. Instead it redirected the parasitic fantasies about sexuality that preoccupied so many Western observers into more specific concern with the effects of the colonial encounter, especially in relation to fears that the perceived inferiorities of other races might infiltrate Western society via reproduction. The
The novel picks up on discourses that figured the body in sexual terms, influenced by the colonial expansion efforts and on the psychic strains colonial violence brought back into fin de siècle life in unacknowledged ways. The impact of individual sexual behaviour on collective wellbeing especially came under intense scrutiny in the later nineteenth-century when European state-building efforts and their colonial expansion redrew the political boundaries of the modern world. As major European nations such as the recently founded German and Italian states, France, and Britain struggled to subjugate peoples and territories in Africa, Asia and the South Pacific, questions about the strength and weaknesses of the individual body became the focus of anxious theorising, and legal and medical interventions that were ostensibly aimed at protecting or improving the collective body of the nation. Intimate practices here became fantastic sites onto which fears about the wellbeing and future progress of social, national and racial health were projected.

But if Dracula and his entourage of vampires offered a perfect metaphor for the racial anxieties of the time, as the sexualised act of blood-sucking came to symbolise both the forbidden thrills and overt fears of a loss of power that marked the colonial encounter, the figure of the Count also raises questions about how the struggle against oppression was perceived by the dominant powers. Attila Viragh has pointed out that in the novel Dracula initially claims kinship with the Székely, a Hungarian-speaking people whose distinct culture in Transylvania is threatened.²⁸ While Dracula’s nationality – his origins, becoming, belonging – are never fully revealed, he is thus firmly identified as on the margins, out-of-culture, a figure that according to Viragh stands for the
cultural extinction of minority culture in a globalizing world. Viragh's reading runs counter to the established arguments that Dracula represented Victorian fears about ‘reverse colonization’ and the integrity of English identity under foreign influence. Instead it alerts us to a queer characteristic of the text: that the novel, produced at a historical point in time when national, racial, gender and sexual identities were being forged, left Dracula’s identity unfixed. This unfixedness to some extent reflects the discursive circumstance of opposite-sex sexuality at the time, which, unlike its same-sex counterparts, remained a difficult to pin down phenomenon. Dracula’s unclear allegiances, as much as his vampiristic pursuits, reflect fin de siècle fears about the reproductive sexual body, a new kind of hetero-sensibility that conceived of the sexual body simultaneously as fundamental to the future of the Empire and one of the biggest threats to it.

A Violent Conclusion

If Dracula’s Gothic form problematizes the possibilities of realist representation, it also raises questions about the relationship between fantasy and the social. I want to conclude with a brief consideration of what the novel can tell us about sexual violence, a twentieth-century concept that slowly started to come into view at the fin de siècle. Sexologists described all kinds of what we would now call non-consensual sexual behaviours, typically categorising them under the headings of ‘fetishism’ or ‘perversion’. Yet their focus on classification all too often obscured the real violence they thus documented. Much of the modern catalogue of ‘abuse’, especially around child abuse, emerged in fin de siècle debates about sexuality, but only gradually entered social as well as legal
contexts over the course of the twentieth century. It is partly against this long history of the denial and obscuring of sexual violence against women and children that some feminist critics have examined *Dracula* specifically for the insights it offers into the relationship between violence and sexuality. One of the most famous passages of *Dracula* appears in Chapter 16 when Lucy, now in her vampire form, is staked by her beloved Arthur. Arthur is entreated by the group of male vampire hunters who are with him to drive ‘deeper and deeper the mercy-bearing stake’.\(^{30}\) While many critics have discussed this scene as a symbolic rendering of sexual intercourse, Macy Todd has pointed out that such a reading ignores the violence represented.\(^{31}\) Distinguishing between two types of violence in the text – the ‘mythical’ violence ascribed to Count Dracula and the ‘terrestrial’ violence of his adversaries – Todd, who draws on Freud's work on the unconscious and child development, argues that ‘Dracula materializes the impossible fantasy of violence-that-disappears in his magical ability to inflict wounds that vanish’.\(^{32}\) Yet if Todd identifies a violent wish fulfilment – the ability to inflict injury and get away with it – violence-that-disappears also has a social reality. Sexual violence in particular all too often still disappears, if not from the lives of those who suffer it, then from public and political life where for instance rape remains underreported and unpunished even when brought to trial.

*Dracula’s* narrative turns, which are built around violent encounters, draw attention to the erasure of sexual violence from many accounts of modern sexuality, be they fictional, scientific or critical.

Considering *Dracula’s* representation of opposite-sex practices and the fears and concerns that gathered around them brings to light some of the violence of the
gender norms that governed what counted as permissible sexual behaviour around 1900. Reading *Dracula* and sexology in proximity to each reveals some of the gaps and silences in nineteenth-century discourses about sexuality, especially in relation to the emerging heterosensibilities of the time: the norms and expectations that centred on opposite-sex acts. In an influential queer reading of *Dracula* Jack Halberstam has argued that the novel ‘calls into question all scientific and rational attempts to classify and quantify agents of disorder. Such agents, Gothic literature makes clear, are invented, not discovered, by science’, in other words they challenge the authorial function of sexology.33 Yet science – including the *scientia sexualis* – is a contingent discipline, less a rigid inventor of norms than one of the vernacularisers of normativity. Or to say this differently, while sexology no doubt played a formative role in the establishment of certain sexual norms, the questions that motivated sexual study reflect the social anxieties and aspirations of fin de siècle Britain. So, rather than reading *Dracula* against sexology in the way many critics have done, I have read the two texts together, as documents of the discursive and social transformations that occurred around sex towards the end of the nineteenth-century. The gaps and tensions between fiction and sexology reveal how modern heterosensibilities began to take shape at a time when public discourses centred on the vagaries of same-sex desire.
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3 For an indication of the range of this scholarship see e.g. Chiara Beccalossi, Female Sexual Inversion: Same-Sex Desires in Italian and British Sexology, c. 1870-1920 (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Paula Bennett and Vernon Rosario (eds), Solitary Pleasures: The Historical, Literary and Artistic Discourses of Autoeroticism (New York, Routledge, 1995); Peter Croy and Alison Moore, Frigidity: An Intellectual History (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Geertje Mak, Doubting Sex: Inscriptions, Bodies, Selves in Nineteenth-Century Case Histories (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).


5 As Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick has so influentially noted, ‘the word “queer” itself means across’, derived from ‘an Indo-European root - twerkw, which also yields the German queer (traverse) [and] Latin torquere (to twist)’. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, Tendencies (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), p. xii.


9 Sexual Inversion had in fact first been published in a German translation in 1896, but Ellis managed to find an English publisher the following year.

10 Havelock Ellis’s foray into medical training resulted in his being awarded the Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries, the lowest possible medical diploma, in 1889. Ellis did not practice medicine, unlike many other sexologists such his colleagues with whom he shared the co-presidency of The World League for Sexual Reform, Auguste Forel, a Swiss expert on the brain, and Magnus Hirshfeld, a trained physician famous for his homosexual rights activism and early transgender work.

11 Symonds was married with children but maintained relationships with men including a long term relationship with a Venetian gondolier, whom he financially supported. After Symonds’s death in 1893, his family, keen to
dissociate him from homosexuality, insisted that his name was removed from *Sexual Inversion*, which is why the work is today often only known as a work of Havelock Ellis. See Ivan Crozier, ‘Introduction’, to his *Sexual Inversion: A Critical Edition* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 1-95. See also Sean Brady, *John Addington Symonds (1840-1893) and Homosexuality: A Critical Edition of Sources* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

12 Unlike sex between men, sex between women was not criminalized in most European nations. This does not indicate greater tolerance towards female same-sex sexuality but that women still barely existed as legal citizens.


14 Auerbach, *Our Vampires, Our Selves*, p. 102.


16 Schaffer “‘A Wilde Desire Took Me’”, p. 400.


22 Silas Weir Mitchell, for example, the American physician infamous for his advocacy of the so-called ‘rest cure’, which denied patients any forms of mental stimulation (with devastating effects, as problematized in Charlotte Perkins Gilman’s 1892 short story “The Yellow Wallpaper”), claimed that the invalid Mrs Gradgrind of Oliver Wendell Holmes’s short story was ‘a vampire, sucking slowly the blood of every healthy, helpful creature within reach of their demands’. S. Weir Mitchell, *Wear and Tear, or Hints for the Overworked* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1887), p. 32.


26 Taxil, *La Prostitution Contemporaine*, p.132.
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32 Stoker, *Dracula*, p. 375.