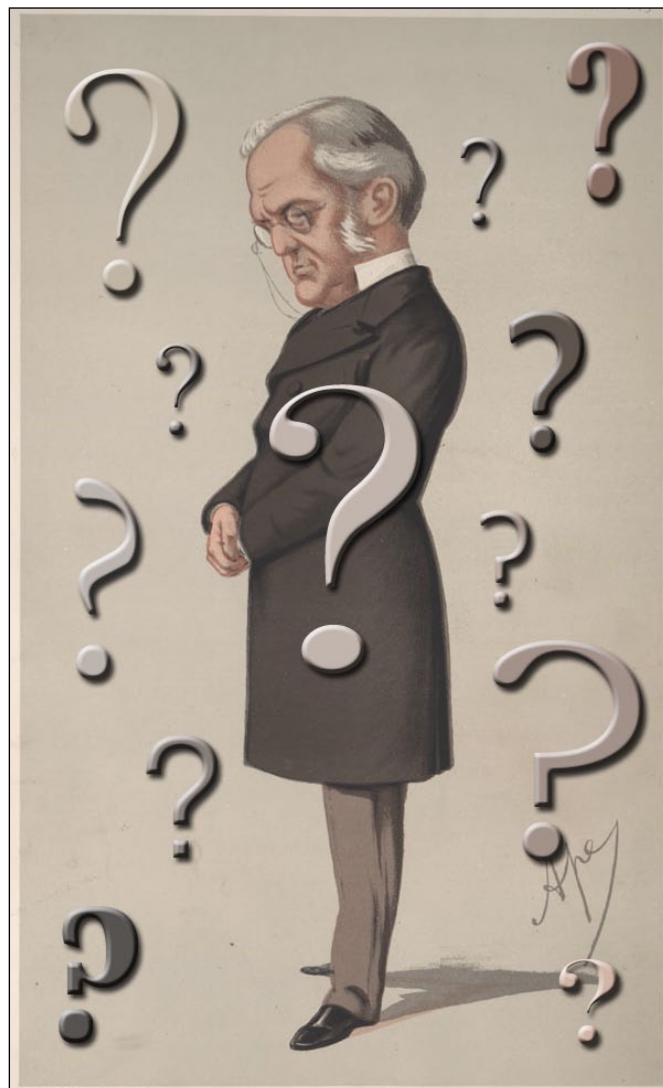


DRACULA'S BEST-KEPT SECRET

THE HIDDEN IDENTITY OF PROFESSOR

ABRAHAM VAN HELSING



by

Hans Corneel de Roos, MA

Email: hanscorneelderoos@gmail.com

“The secret to creativity is knowing how to hide your sources.”

Albert Einstein

Dedicated to Magdalena Grabias, Marcia Heloisa Amarante and Florin Nechita, my “partners in crime” for organizing the international *Dracula* Conference in Braşov, Romania, 17-19 October 2018, and to Clemens Ruthner, whose essays on the German roots of *Dracula* inspired me.

INTRODUCTION: TWO DUTCHMEN AND THEIR HYPNOTIC CLINIC

The true identity of Professor Van Helsing is the best-kept secret of Bram Stoker's *Dracula* novel. The author set him apart from the other characters by claiming that Van Helsing was "founded on a real character."¹ But although a whole series of candidates has been proposed by now, there is no definitive clue whom Stoker may have had in mind. For Jonathan Harker, we know that Stoker borrowed the surname from Joseph Cunningham Harker (1855-1927), a set designer at the Lyceum Theatre.² For Solicitor Hawkins, we may assume that his name refers to Anthony Hope Hawkins, author of *Prisoner of Zenda* (1894).³ Regarding the retired sea captain Mr. Swales from Whitby, David Pybus of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society informed me that a real Mr. Swales had been identified. The names "Lord Godalming" and "Arthur Holmwood" may have been derived from a small town and a nearby village south of London.⁴ The Stoker family believes that the name "Mina" was inspired by Minna, a governess at George Stoker's household.⁵ The character of Quincey Morris may be based on the famous Buffalo Bill (William F. Cody).⁶

Even for the mysterious Count Dracula, we have quite conclusive clues. In Chapter 25 of *Dracula*, Van Helsing and Mina equivocally identify him as "that other" of the Dracula race, who – living "in a later age" – was inspired by the Dracula first mentioned by the Count: the military leader who fought the Turks but was betrayed by his own unworthy brother, who made a shameful treaty with the Sultan. It is easy to identify this first-mentioned historical warrior as Vlad III "the Impaler" – although Stoker probably did not know him by this name.⁷ We may assume that "that other of his race" refers to Michael the Brave (Mihail II Viteazul, 1558-1601), who crossed the Danube to fight the Turks on their own ground and who – unlike Vlad III Dracula – actually "ruled nations."⁸ There were just a few Wallachian Voivodes who actively battled with the Turks: Vlad III, Radu of Radu of Afumați (ruling 1521-1529) and Michael the Brave; of these, Stoker only took notes on Vlad and Michael.⁹ But obviously, he did not want to give away this name to his readers.

For essential geographical locations, Stoker played the same game. Still, I was able to identify the imagined location of the fictitious Castle Dracula, of the mythical Scholomance and the true model for the Count's Carfax mansion.¹⁰ Philip Temple identified St. Mary's Churchyard in Hendon, located between *Kingsbury* and *Hampstead*, as the imagined place of Lucy's tomb in "Kingstead,"¹¹ while *Dracula* specialist Bernard Davies traced Count de Ville's city house at "347, Piccadilly" back to a house later owned by Universal Pictures at 138, Piccadilly.¹²

- 1 Jane Stoddart, "Mr. Bram Stoker. A Chat with the Author of *Dracula*," *British Weekly*, 1 July 1897: 185. In *Dracula* comments, the interviewer's name mostly is written as "Stoddard," but in 2017, I discovered her actual name was Jane Thompson Stoddart (1863-1944); her autobiography *My Harvest of the Years* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1938) does not offer any further clues on *Dracula*, alas.
- 2 Robert Eigheten-Bisang and Elizabeth Miller (ed.), *Bram Stoker's Notes for Dracula: A Facsimile edition* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2008), 280.
- 3 See Bernard Davies, "Inspirations, Imitations and In-Jokes in Stoker's *Dracula*," in Elizabeth Miller (ed.), *Dracula: The Shade and the Shadow – A Critical Anthology*, (Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex, UK: Desert Island Books, 1998), 133.
- 4 See my essay "The Dracula Maps" in my book *The Ultimate Dracula* (München: Moonlake Editions, 2012), 43.
- 5 Personal communication with Dacre Stoker; see also Elizabeth Miller and Dacre Stoker (ed.), *The Dublin Years – The Lost Journal of Bram Stoker* (London: Robson Press, 2012), 319.
- 6 Stoker met Cody through his friend and employer, the actor Henry Irving. See Louis S. Warren, "Buffalo Bill Meets Dracula: William F. Cody, Bram Stoker, and the Frontiers of Racial Decay," *The American Historical Review* 107, Nr. 4 (October 2002): 1124-1157, and Louis S. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America: William Cody and the Wild West Show* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2005), 331.
- 7 It was the merit of Elizabeth Miller's writings since 1997 to point out that there is no evidence that Stoker knew more about Vlad III than what he had read in Wilkinson's book *An Account of the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia* (London: Longmans, 1820).
- 8 From May 1599 on, Michael ruled both over Wallachia and Transylvania. From 7 May 1600 (conquest of the Moldavian capital of Iași) till 18 September 1600 (Battle of Mirăslău), Michael managed to unite Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia under his command.
- 9 The third Voivode in Stoker's notes is Constantine Brâncoveanu (ruled 1688-1714), who refused to give the Sultan military support: He was no Drăculești and did not attack the Turks. For a detailed analysis of the Count's lifetime identity, see my essays "Bram Stoker's Vampire Trap – Vlad the Impaler and his Nameless Double," published 19 March 2012 by Linköping University Electronic Press, Sweden; "Bram Stoker's Vampire Trap: Vlad the Impaler and his Nameless Double" in my book *The Ultimate Dracula*, 222-224; "Dracula's Truth Claim and its Consequences," *Journal of Dracula Studies* 16, October 2014: 53-80.
- 10 For details, see my essays "Castle Dracula – Its Exact Location Reconstructed from Stoker's Novel, his Research Notes and Contemporary Maps," published 7 February 2012 by Linköping University Electronic Press, Sweden; "Fact & Fiction in Bram Stoker's *Dracula* – Time for a New Paradigm," *Letter from Castle Dracula* of December 2013; "Dracula's Truth Claim and its Consequences."
- 11 Philip Temple, *The Origins of Dracula*, *Times Literary Supplement* 4205, 4 November 1983, referred to by Elizabeth Miller, *Dracula – Sense & Nonsense* (Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex, UK: Desert Island Books, second edition, 2006), 143f., and Clive Leatherdale, *Dracula Unearthed* (Westcliff-on-Sea, UK: Desert Island Books, 1998), 263-302, various footnotes.
- 12 Leslie Klinger, *The New Annotated Dracula* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008), 379, note 38, also points to the house numbers 137 and 139. These properties are located near Hyde Park Corner/Old Park Lane.

There are still more examples I could quote here; Stoker seems to have been almost compulsive in using the names of persons and places personally known to him, only to obfuscate the true source in his novel later. We thus have reasons to believe that the statement that Van Helsing was based on a real character was not merely a red herring. Which person Stoker actually had in mind, though, keeps eluding us.

In April 2012, just after publishing my book *The Ultimate Dracula*, I came across a hint that seemed promising. In his autobiography *De Laatste Huzaar*, published shortly after his death, the Dutch filmmaker Tonny van Renterghem (1920-2009) stated:

“I have known my grandfather very well and when I visited him as a child, I spent hours reading in his library. Grandma told me that the Irish author Bram Stoker used him as a model for the character of dr. Von (sic!) Helsing in his book *Dracula*. According to grandmother, they knew each other.”¹³

Tonny’s grandfather was Albert Willem van Renterghem (1845-1939), a psychiatrist from Goes, Zeeland (in the south-west corner of Holland), who set up a clinic for hypnotic treatment in Amsterdam in 1887 and practiced there over the following decades. I managed to contact Tonny’s widow Susanne Severeid in Oregon, who had been closely involved in editing Tonny’s autobiography. Both Tonny’s book and Susanne Severeid drew my attention to the lengthy memoirs that Dr. van Renterghem had started to write in 1920, the year of Tonny’s birth, and were finished seven years later, in 1927. The two heavy leather-bound volumes had been issued in ten copies only, to be kept by the family and some public institutions; the latter were allowed to grant the general public access to them only after 1 April 1975, in order to protect the privacy of the persons portrayed. In May 2012, I was able to consult Albert Willem van Renterghem’s memoirs in the City Archive of Amsterdam.

Well ahead of the international medical field, Van Renterghem visited the French physician Dr. Ambroise Liébeault (1823-1904), the pioneer of therapeutic treatment by hypnotic suggestion, in Nancy in April 1887. Enthusiastic about the positive effects of Liébeault’s method, he applied it to his own patients in Goes, which came to visit his special consultation-hour in increasing numbers. The same year, Van Renterghem was approached by a younger colleague, Frederik van Eeden (1860-1932), who proposed to open a special clinic for hypnotic treatment in Amsterdam together – Van Renterghem agreed.¹⁴ Their consultations in Amsterdam started on 15 August 1887 in a rented space on the Singel canal. Later, they moved to the *Hotel du Passage*, across the Amsterdam Central Station.¹⁵ On 30 September 1887, van Renterghem spoke about hypnotism at a medical congress in Amsterdam. Only one year later, their work was already internationally recognized among specialists in the field, so that various physicians from abroad started visiting their Amsterdam clinic to be informed about this new technique. For 1888, van Renterghem noted the following visits:

- George Chadwick Kingsbury (*1859, Dublin) from Blackpool.
- Charles Lloyd Tuckey (1855-1925) from London
- Robert William Felkin (1853-1926) from Edinburgh, visiting the Van Renterghems also in their private home.
- John Milne Bramwell (1852-1925) from Perth, Australia (studied in Edinburgh)¹⁶

At the *First International Congress of Hypnotism* in Paris in August 1889, Van Renterghem and Van Eeden presented their results. This congress was also attended by Frederic W. Myers (1843-1901), Secretary of the Society for Psychical Research (founded in 1882), and his brother Arthur Thomas Myers,¹⁷ who wrote a report on the event.¹⁸

13 My translation from Tonny van Renterghem, *De Laatste Huzaar* (Schoorl: Uitgeverij Conserve, 2009), 24.

14 Albert Willem van Renterghem, *Autobiographie*, Vol. 1 – 1845-1887 (privately printed in 1924), 606.

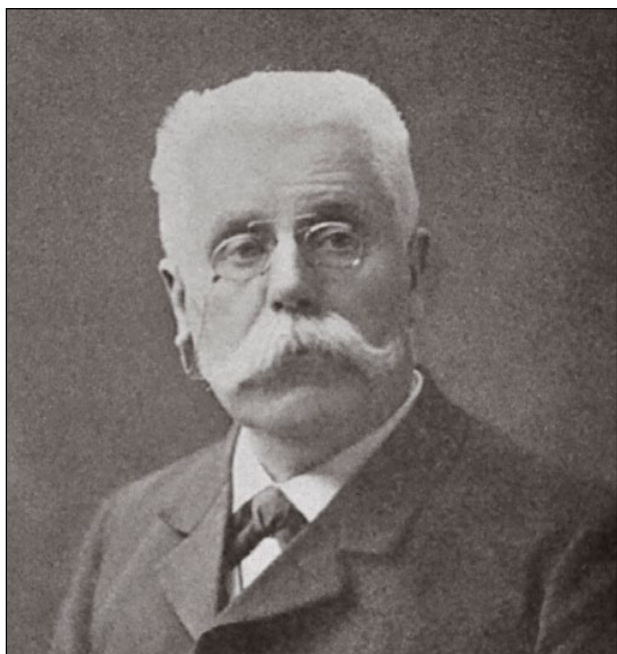
15 A. W. van Renterghem, *Autobiographie*, Vol. 1, 8. Later, he speaks of the Hotel Central.

16 A. W. van Renterghem, *Autobiographie*, Vol. 2 – 1888-1927 (privately printed in 1927), 165. Erroneously, Van Renterghem noted that Kingsbury came from Liverpool; in 1883, Kingsbury settled in Blackpool.

17 For the life of Arthur Meyers, see Mark Ryan, “The Unusual Case of Arthur T. Myers, Tennis Player and Doctor,” posted on 26 January 2010 on <http://tt.tennis-warehouse.com/showthread.php?t=309112>, retrieved 15 July 2012. Arthur T. Myers also published on hypnotism: “Hypnotism at Home and Abroad,” *The Practitioner*, March 1890, as listed in *Journal of the S.P.R.* 6, (1893/94): 239, online at <http://scribd.com/doc/78868182/Journal-of-the-Society-for-Psychical-Research-Vol-6>. Together with Dr. R. Percy Smith, Arthur Myers conducted a series of hypnotic experiments in Bethlem Hospital in 1889 – see George Kingsbury, *The Practice of Hypnotic Suggestion: being an Elementary Handbook for the Use of the Medical Profession* (Bristol: John Wright, 1891), 75.

18 “International Congress of Experimental Psychology,” *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research* 6 (1889-90): 171-182.

Shortly after the Paris Congress, on 15 October 1889, the clinic moved to a large purchased property on 258 Keizersgracht.¹⁹ Around 1892, Eeden lost his interest in the clinic and left it on 1 May 1893, in order to focus on his literary projects, his theories on language and communication, spiritism, and finally on his Walden Commune experiment. The vast majority of therapeutic cases of the clinic during the period of its existence was handled by Van Renterghem and his assistants, while Van Eeden became one of the best-known Dutch authors of his time.



Albert Willem van Renterghem and Frederik van Eeden

For the year 1895, Van Renterghem's memoirs mention a second visit by Dr. Milne-Bramwell, "who accompanied the handicapped (epileptical) brother of (...) F. W. H. Myers during an overseas trip as his personal physician," followed by a visit by Frederic Myers in person one month later.²⁰ Frederic Myers also visited Van Eeden in Bussum.²¹

Van Eeden had met with Myers in England as early as August 1892, after Van Eeden delivered his lecture "The Principle of Psychotherapeutics" at the International Congress of Experimental Psychology in London. Already before this congress, Van Eeden had sent Myers many interesting case stories seeming to support the existence and effect of supernatural forces.²² Van Eeden visited England in 1890, 1890 and 1895 and repeatedly lodged at Myers's Leckhampton House in Cambridge. Since October 1890, Van Eeden negotiated with the publisher William Heinemann and his editor Edmund Gosse about an English translation of his book *De Kleine Johannes*, as part of the "International Library;" it appeared in 1895.²³ Van Eeden was a guest in Gosse's house, who was friends with Hall Caine, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Algernon Swinburne,²⁴ Louis Stevenson and Charles Wolcott Balestier (1861-1891).

¹⁹ Albert Willem van Renterghem, *Autobiographie*, Vol. 1, 63ff.

²⁰ Something in Van Renterghem's chronological overview must have gone wrong here, some thirty years after the actual events: Frederic's brother Arthur Thomas Myers died in January 1894, due to an overdose of chloral hydrate; his obituary was published in the *British Medical Journal* of 27 January 1894. He was a recognised physician himself, an athletic person who excelled as a tennis player in Wimbledon but suffered heavily under his uncontrollable epileptic attacks. For details about his death, see Richard A. Hughes (Lycoming College, Williamsport, PA), *Forms and Rhythms of the Paroxysmal Imagination* (undated paper), referring to David Taylor and Susan Marsh, "Hughling Jackson's Dr. Z.," *Journal of Neurology, Neurosurgery, and Psychiatry* 43 (1980): 760.

²¹ Jan Fontijn, *Tweespalt*, Vol. 1 – Het leven van Frederik van Eeden tot 1901 (Amsterdam: Querido, 1990), 255.

²² Fontijn, *Tweespalt*, Vol. 1, 253. Their contact may actually have dated back to 1889 or earlier: While Frederic Meyers published "Das Doppel-Ich" in the *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research* 6 (1889-90): 207-215, Van Eeden published "Ons Dubbel-Ik" in *De Nieuwe Gids* 4 (1889): 53-62. From 1898 on, both men had sessions with the medium Rosina Thompson. On 19 April 1901, Van Eeden made a presentation on Spiritism for the Society for Psychical Research in Westminster Townhall, London.

²³ Gosse's introduction to the English translation of *Noodlot (Footsteps of Fate)* by Louis Couperus (London: Heineman, 1891) shows that he was well familiar with the Dutch literary trend of Sensitivism and with Van Eeden's work; in fact, Van Eeden advised Gosse on Dutch literary developments. For further details, see Paul Vincent, "Sir Edmund Gosse and Frederik Van Eeden: Some Reflections on an Unpublished Correspondence," *The Modern Language Review* 66, Nr. 1 (January 1971): 125-138.

²⁴ Van Eeden also knew William Morris, a socialist and Pre-Raphaelite artist who belonged to the circle of Irving and Stoker's friends – see Johanna M. Welcker, "Frederik van Eeden," *Biographisch Woordenboek van het Socialisme en de Arbeidersbeweging in Nederland* 3 (1988): 48-53. Online edition last updated 26 August 2002, retrieved 4 August 2012.

From his side, Stoker was familiar with Myers's psychical research; Nina Auerbach suspects that Stoker in 1893 may have attended an S.P.R. event where Myers presented a report about Freud's "Preliminary Communication."²⁵ Stoker mentions Myers and his wife as two of the more than thousand guests who had been attending dinners and banquets in honour of Stoker's employer Henry Irving.²⁶ In *Personal Reminiscences*, Stoker also tells us that Myers's wife, Eveleen née Tennant (1856-1937), was an old friend of Irving. In the night of 15 to 16 June 1898, after Irving had received an honorary degree from Cambridge University, Stoker and Irving lodged in Myers's house.²⁷

Stoker was friends with Heinemann, who published several of his novels;²⁸ he also knew Gosse and Balestier. In 1890, he stepped into a joint venture named Heinemann & Balestier Ltd., London, with Heinemann, Balestier and William L. Courtney, to produce the "English Library," publishing English-language authors in continental Europe. The enterprise, competing with Baron Tauchnitz, Leipzig, failed after a few years. One of the reasons was that in December 1891, the energetic Balestier unexpectedly died of typhoid fever. His friend Rudyard Kipling returned to London and married Balestier's sister Caroline. On 2 February 1892, the freshly-wed were seen off for their honeymoon trip by Gosse, Heinemann, Stoker and Henry James;²⁹ this social event documents their personal connection.

Although Bram Stoker and the Dutch hypnotherapists thus had various friends in common and the British physicians who visited their clinic published about it back home,³⁰ I could find no hard evidence that either Albert van Renterghem or Frederik van Eeden had been the actual role model for Van Helsing. Nowhere in their writings, they mention any contact with Stoker, directly or indirectly. I published my open conclusions in the Dutch literary magazine *De Parelduiker* in September 2012³¹ and archived my unpublished book manuscript for further reference. The present essay thus consists of two sections. The first part was written in summer 2012 and gives a general overview of the Van Helsing character and of the various proposed candidates; it includes a critique of the theory of David Dickens, who claimed that Van Helsing's way of speaking is typical of German, but not of Dutch.³² The second part presents some new findings on one of these candidates, Professor Max Müller, that seem to support a thesis earlier proposed by Christopher Frayling, Elizabeth Miller, David Dickens and Clemens Ruthner. Again, there is no definitive proof to be shown here, but the riddle Stoker left us is too intriguing not to try and spell out the different possible solutions.

25 Nina Auerbach, "Magi and Maidens – The Romance of the Victorian Freud," *Critical Inquiry* 8, Nr. 2 (Winter 1981): 90. See also Auerbach's *Woman and the Demon* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1982), 22f. Friedrich Kittler, *Draculas Vermächtnis* (Leipzig: Reclam, 1993), 19, and Barbara Belford, *Bram Stoker – a Biography of the Author of Dracula* (New York: Knopf, 1996), 212-213, quote Auerbach; Stephanie Moss quotes Belford in her essay "Bram Stoker and the Society for Psychical Research," in Miller (ed.), *The Shade and the Shadow*, 83. Anna Stiles presents the alleged meeting between Stoker and Myers as a fact in her *Popular Fiction and Brain Science in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), 75. Alas, no hard evidence was ever presented.

26 Bram Stoker, *Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving* (London: Heinemann, 1906), Vol. 1, 325.

27 Stoker, *Reminiscences*, Vol. 2, 248-249. Eveleen's sister Dorothy was married to the discoverer Henry Morton Stanley – another member of Irving's and Stoker's circle. A further cross-connection: Arthur Conan Doyle, an S.P.R. member, a relative and friend of Stoker and the author of the play *Waterloo* (performed by the Lyceum Theatre group in 1894-95), hosted both Frederic Meyers and Wolcott Balestier in his London house around 1891. See Andrew Lycett, *The Man who Created Sherlock Holmes – The Life and Times of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2007), 181.

28 *The Mystery of the Sea* (1902); *The Jewel of Seven Stars* (1903); *The Man* (1905); *Lady Athlyne* (1908); *The Lady of the Shroud* (1909).

29 Andrew Lycett, *Rudyard Kipling* (London: Weidenfeld, 2015, E-Book), end of Book III, and *The Carrington Extracts – From the diaries of Caroline Kipling*, Book I, 1892, at http://kiplingsociety.co.uk/members/car_92.pdf. An interesting detail: Charles Tuckey, who had visited the Amsterdam clinic, treated Alice James, the sister of Henry James Jr. and William James – see Jerome Schneck, "Alice James, Dr. Charles Lloyd Tuckey, and Hypnoterapy," *Am. Journal of Psychiatry* 139, Nr. 8 (August 1982): 1079-a–1079. Tuckey and William James were S.P.R. members; Tuckey also was in touch with Stoker's friend Sir Richard Francis Burton – see Burton's letter to Tuckey on hypnosis of 24 April 1889, in Thomas Wright, *The Life of Sir Richard Burton* (London: Everett & Co., 1906), Vol. 1, 164.

30 C. Lloyd Tuckey, "Faith-healing as a medical treatment. The work of Dr. Liébeault in Nancy using suggestion and hypnosis," *The Nineteenth Century* 24 (December 1888): 839-850, reports on the Amsterdam clinic. Stoker was close friends with James Knowles (1831-1908), the magazine's editor; they met as early as 1877 (Stoker, *Reminiscences*, Vol. 1, 44-47). Stoker published in the magazine himself in 1890 and probably was a regular reader. Tuckey also mentions Van Renterghem and Van Eeden four times in his book *Treatment by Hypnotism and Suggestion, or Psycho-Therapeutics* (London: Baillière, Tindall & Cox, 1889), the most authoritative work on this subject in England. In its preface, Tuckey states: "The system of psycho-therapeutics has so far attained its fullest development in Holland, where in every large town it is followed by at least one wellqualified practitioner." In "Revelations of an Album," *The Idler* 10 (Aug. 1896-Jan. 1897): 792-793, the journalist Joseph Hatton reported on his trip to Holland together with Irving, Stoker and their stage manager Henry J. Loveday. The article starts with the phrase "Once upon a time (...)," suggesting that this trip took place long before 1897. Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 220, states: "Busy as Stoker was at the Lyceum, he made time for holidays with his family. Florence loved Paris, and they took short trips here for shopping. Amsterdam (Van Helsing's home) was another favorite destination (...)." This leaves us with multiple possibilities for Stoker to have learned about the Amsterdam clinic.

31 "Heeft de vampierbestrijder uit Bram Stokers *Dracula* echt bestaan? De Amsterdamse psychiater Albert van Renterghem en de hypnose," *De Parelduiker* 17 (2012), September issue: 41-57.

32 I slightly edited the text of Part I for citation style, spelling and fluency, and added some new footnotes printed in dark orange colour.

PART I - THE VAMPIRE HUNTER FROM AMSTERDAM

[Written in summer 2012]

1. THE PARADOX OF FACT AND FICTION IN STOKER'S *DRACULA*.

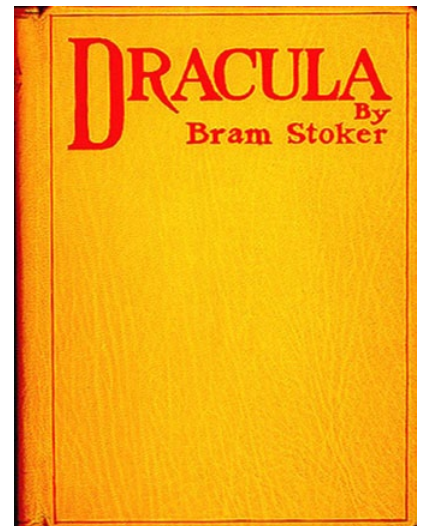
The Irish author Bram Stoker (1847-1912) became best known for his supernatural horror story *Dracula*. Real fame he only acquired after his death, when his narrative was utilized by the German cinematographer Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau in his silent movie *Nosferatu* (1922), by the Broadway play by Hamilton Deane and John Balderston and by the first authorized movie adaptation by Tod Browning (1931) with Bela Lugosi as Count Dracula. Two hundred more films followed, as well as a complete library of secondary literature.

The centenary of Stoker's death (20 April 1912-2012) was commemorated by various symposiums, in Hull, London and Dublin, among others. The London conference in Keats House demonstrated that the emphasis of university-based research has shifted from trying to answer the novel's open questions to mapping the impact of the uncanny Count on popular culture.³³

My discovery of the true location of Castle Dracula³⁴ and my solution to the riddle of the Vampire's lifetime identity³⁵ have shown, though, that it is still possible to tackle fundamental issues related to Stoker's epochal work successfully. From these two essays, a new paradigm for understanding *Dracula* has evolved. The key point is understanding the paradox of fact and fiction in Stoker's literary enterprise: The Irishman set out to present an unbelievable supernatural narrative in the form of a factual report. In his unsigned preface, he expressly addresses this contradiction:

“All needless matters have been eliminated, so that a history almost at variance with the possibilities of latter-day belief may stand forth as simple fact.”

In order to be convincing, Stoker had to create a realistic backdrop. But adding more and more authentic detail increased the chances for readers and critics to prove the story did not take place as described. To deal with this dilemma, the novelist selectively and purposefully introduced vagueness to blur vital addresses such as the site of Castle Dracula and to obscure the Count's lifetime past. The more the characters approach the fiend's stronghold, the more indistinct the route descriptions get. Like the Grail Castle, the characters can only reach the vampire's power base by guidance and more than once fall asleep on the way. Likewise, Stoker uses a literary trapdoor trick to eliminate a suggested link to the historical Voivode Vlad III Dracula (a.k.a. Vlad the Impaler) from his plot in Chapter 25, so that the vampire hunters in the final chapters chase a nameless “other” of the Dracula race.



First edition of *Dracula*, 1897



Nosferatu by Murnau, 1922



Dracula, 1931, with Bela Lugosi

33 Bram Stoker Centenary Symposium in Keats House, London, 20 and 21 April 2012, organized by the University of Hertfordshire, Dr. Sam George.

34 See my essay *The Dracula Maps* in my book *The Ultimate Dracula*, 18-66.

35 See my essay *Bram Stoker's Vampire Trap: Vlad the Impaler and his Nameless Double* in my book *The Ultimate Dracula*, 222-224.

In this strategy of suggesting authenticity while at the same time covering up clues which would allow critics to unmask the *manuscript trouvé* as a piece of fiction,³⁶ the following statement from Stoker's preface to the Icelandic edition of 1901 plays a central role:

"I had to do no more than to remove some minor events that do not matter to the story, and so let the people involved report their experiences in the same plain manner in which these pages were originally written. For obvious reasons, I have changed the names of people and places."³⁷

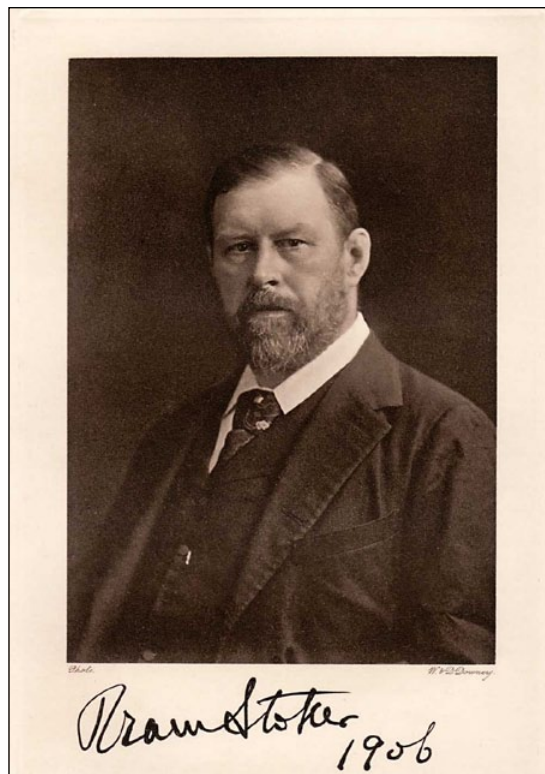
By openly admitting that the names of people and places had been tampered with, Stoker scotches any critique that this information would not be accurate. A special mention is reserved for Professor Abraham van Helsing from Amsterdam, who – according to Raymond McNally and Radu Florescu – is the book's single most important character and the "true hero" of the novel.³⁸ In the same foreword, the author claims:

"(..) and the highly regarded scientist, who appears under a pseudonym here, may likewise be too famous throughout the educated world for his real name – which I prefer not to mention – to remain hidden from the public, especially from those people who have learned firsthand to appreciate and respect his brilliant mind and masterly skill, though they no more adhere to his views on life than I do."³⁹

In the 1897 interview with Jane Stoddart, Stoker equally claimed that Van Helsing is based on a real person:

"Readers of *Dracula* will remember that the most famous character in it is Dr. Van Helsing, the Dutch physician, who, by extraordinary skill, self-devotion, and labour, finally outwits and destroys the vampire. Mr. Stoker told me that van Helsing is founded on a real character."⁴⁰

Although we cannot exclude the possibility that this claim was a mere mystification, it is too intriguing to ignore it and abstain from speculation about the person whom the author of *Dracula* may have had in mind.



4

margir þekkja þá, að þeim verður ekki neitað. Þessi röð af glæpum er mönnum ekki úr minni liðin, röð af glæpum, sem virðast óskiljanlegir, en át leit fyrir að væru af sömu rót runnir, sem á sínum tíma slógu jafnmiklum óhug á almennig sem hin alræmda morð Jakoba kvíðristara, sem komu litlu seinna til sögunnar. Ýmsa mun reka minni til hinna merkilegu útlendinga, sem misserum saman tóku glæsilegan þátt í lífi tigoarfólksins hér í Lundúnum, og menn muna eftir því, að annar þeirra að minsta kosti hvarf skyndilega og á óskiljanlegan hátt, án þess nokkur merki hans sæist framár. — Alt það fólk, sem sagt er að viljandi eða óviljandi hafi tekið þátt í þessari merkilegu sögu, er alþekkt og vel metið. Bæði Tómas Harker og konan hans, sem er valkvendi, og dr. Seward eru vírir minir og hafa verið í mörg ár, og eg hefi aldrei efað, að þau segðu satt frá; og hinn mikilsmetni visindamaður, sem kemur hér fram með dularnafni, mun líka vera of frægur um allan líou mentaða heim til þess að mönnum dyljast hið rétta nafn hans, sem eg hefi ekki viljað nefna, slzt þeim, sem af reyngslu hafa lært að meta og virða snild hans og mannkosti, þótt þeir ekki fremur en eg fylgi lífskoduunum hans. En á vorum dögum ætti það að vera ljóst öllum alvarlega hugsandi mönnum, að

„harða margt er á himni og jörðu, sem heimspökina dreymir ei um“.

Lundúnum, —stræti, ágúst 1898.

B. S.

Preface to the Icelandic edition, as reproduced by Richard Dalby in *Bram Stoker Journal* 5 (1993): 6

36 Noteworthy is that Joseph Sheridan's le Fanu's vampire novel *Carmilla* (1872), which influenced *Dracula* in more than one respect, in its prologue equally presents the narrative as a *manuscript trouvé* written by a near-victim.

37 "Author's Preface" to *Makt myrkranna*, 1901. I have replaced the Dalby translation created by Joel H. Emerson by my own rendering here, as published in *Powers of Darkness – the Lost Version of Dracula* (New York: Overlook Press, 2017). By now, we know that the Icelandic preface in fact was an (incomplete) translation of the preface to *Mörkrets makter*, the Swedish version of *Dracula*, that appeared in the Swedish newspaper *Dagen* and the magazine *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-upplaga* from June 1899 on; we have no certainty that Stoker wrote this preface himself. I refer to my recent article "Was Anton Albert Andersson-Edenberg the First Author to Modify *Dracula*?" in *Vamped.org*, 26 March 2018, and to my newest article on the memoirs of Bernhard Wadström.

38 Raymond McNally and Radu Florescu (ed.), *In Search of Dracula: A True History of Dracula and Vampire Legends* (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1972), 147; Raymond McNally and Radu Florescu, *Dracula – Prince of Many Faces* (New York: Little, Brown & Co., 1989), 4.

39 "Author's Preface" to *Makt myrkranna*, 1901. I have replaced the Dalby translation created by Emerson by my own translation now.

40 Stoddart, *Mr. Bram Stoker*.

2. THE ROLE OF VAN HELSING IN DRACULA

Van Helsing is the Count's best informed opponent. Confronted with Lucy Westenra's mysterious disease, the young psychiatrist John Seward sends his old mentor a desperate letter. Immediately, Van Helsing travels from Amsterdam to London. Apart from being a medical doctor, he also has his Ph. D. in Literature and Philosophy;⁴¹ additionally, he studied Law.⁴² To Lucy's fiancé Arthur Holmwood, Seward describes him as a specialist for obscure diseases, a "philosopher and a metaphysician, and one of the most advanced scientists of his day".⁴³ During his first meeting with Mina Harker, the multi-faceted professor emphasizes that he has specialized on "the brain and all that belongs to him and all that follow from him."⁴⁴ Renfield, who in a moment of lucidity turns out to be an eloquent philosopher himself, confirms this by recognizing Van Helsing as the discoverer of the "continuous evolution of brain matter" – whatever this may mean.⁴⁵ Later in the story, the neurologist accepts Mina's proposal to hypnotize her, so that in her trance, she can hear through the fiend's ears and so outguess the route of the fleeing vampire. After the Count forces her to take part in an intimidating ritual, a blood baptism or blood wedding, she has a long-distance mental relationship with her enemy and Master.

As soon as Van Helsing has gathered all who are ready to fight the vampire, he acts as their charismatic group leader.⁴⁶ But he also shows some peculiar weaknesses, such as his hysterical fit while discussing Lucy's death with Seward⁴⁷ or his tactless remarks towards Mina.⁴⁸ Dr. John Seward, Arthur Holmwood and the Texan Quincey Morris – all three adore Lucy – first are sceptical, then indignant when he proposes to visit Lucy's tomb, cut off her head and stuff the sensuous mouth with garlic. But Lucy's spectacular performance as Un-dead "Bloofer Lady" proves that his presumptions were correct from the very beginning. From this moment on, Van Helsing is accepted as an omniscient father figure, whose aberrations are excused by the enormous burden of responsibility weighing on his shoulders – as a matter of fact, they underline his character as an (almost) mad genius.⁴⁹

Several critics were less lenient with the sandy-haired *homo universalis* with his dark blue eyes and his lofty brow.⁵⁰ In a letter to his friend Alfred Kubin, Fritz von Herzmanovsky-Orlando described him as "the Dutch doctor who would never have graduated from one of our universities!"⁵¹ In modern *Dracula* editions, editors tend to stress the Professor's medical errors, as well as his strategic blunders. Elizabeth Miller comments:

"In 1975, Fred Saberhagen published a novel *The Dracula Tape*, in which the Count narrates the story from his point of view. He is presented in a sympathetic light, while Van Helsing is shown to be a bungling, narrow-minded prude. Since then, Van Helsing has been deconstructed in many forms both in fiction and in scholarly studies, represented from everything from a xenophobic reactionary to a peeping tom."⁵²

In his *Dracula Unearthed*, Clive Leatherdale does not forget to point out a series of parallels between the Amsterdam scientist and Count Dracula himself.⁵³

41 *Dracula*, Chapter 9, Letter of Professor van Helsing to John Seward of 2 September.

42 In *Dracula*, Chapter 13, Dr. Seward's Diary, Van Helsing describes himself as a lawyer as well.

43 *Dracula*, Chapter 9, letter of John Seward to Arthur Holmwood of 2 September.

44 *Dracula*, Chapter 14, Mina Harker's Diary of 25 September.

45 *Dracula*, Chapter. 18, Dr. Seward's Diary of 1 October. Cf. Anne Stiles, *Popular Fiction and Brain Science*, 77.

46 Often referred to as the "Crew of Light", a term coined by Christopher Craft in his study *Kiss me with those red lips, Gender and Inversion in Bram Stoker's Dracula*, in Glennis Byron (ed.), *Bram Stoker: Dracula* (New York: MacMillan, 1999), 93-118.

47 So-called King Laugh monologue, *Dracula*, Chapter 13, Dr. Seward's Diary of 22 September.

48 *Dracula*, Chapter 22, Jonathan Harker's Journal of 3 October.

49 In *Dracula*, there are three such extraordinary characters: Van Helsing, Count Dracula and Renfield. All other figures, with the exception of Mina, are portrayed as rather conventional and dull-witted.

50 Van Helsing's appearance is described by Mina in *Dracula*, Chapter 14, Mina Harker's Journal of 25 September.

51 Letter from World War I, quoted by Clemens Ruthner, "Bloodsuckers with Teutonic Tongues – The German-Speaking World and the Origins of *Dracula*," in Miller (ed.), *The Shade and the Shadow*, 57.

52 Source: http://ucs.mun.ca/~emiller/van_helsing.html. Retrieved 8 June 2012.

53 Leatherdale, *Dracula Unearthed*, 403, footnote 31; 437, footnote 30 and 497, footnote 49, for example.

3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHARACTER

McNally and Florescu propose that his name is an allusion to Shakespeare's *Castle Helsingor*⁵⁴ – since 1878, Stoker was the manager of the *Lyceum Theatre* of actor Henry Irving, who after delivering 200 glorious performances as Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, at the Dublin *Theatre Royal* in 1874, revived the play in London in 1878, now with his new leading actress Ellen Terry as Ophelia. The name “Helsing” also occurs in Sweden, signifying a person from the province “Hälsingland”, which in the 19th century used to be spelled “Helsingland.”⁵⁵ By giving the Professor his own Christian name (or that of his father), “Abraham,” Stoker seems to identify with Van Helsing, whom McNally and Florescu call Stoker's “*alter ego*.”⁵⁶

Stoker's notes for the plot suggest that in the Van Helsing character, three planned fictitious figures have been merged: A German history professor named Max Windshoeffel, a detective Cotford, and Alfred Singleton, a “psychical research agent.”⁵⁷ A still earlier cast list also mentions a “historical philosopher/philosophical historian,” while the detective is specified as a “police inspector.”⁵⁸ From these planned protagonists, only the professor remains, who still is referred to as the “German Professor” during Lucy's death bed scene.⁵⁹

Stoker started making such notes in March 1890, some months before his Whitby visit.⁶⁰ Only when the plot reaches its near-definitive form, does this professor receive the name “van Helsing.”⁶¹ The pre-fix “van” confirms his now Dutch ancestry, although the scientist in moments of excitement resorts to the German *Mein Gott!* and *Gott in (sic!) Himmel*.

4. DUTCH, GERMAN, TALKEE-TALKEE OR AFRIKAANS?

Probably due to these German exclamations, some British newspapers described Van Helsing as German, e.g. *The Athenaeum* of 26 June 1897: “The German man of science is particularly poor, and indulges, like a German, in much weak sentiment.”⁶² A few days later, on 30 June, the *St. James' Gazette* ventured the opposite appraisal, praising “the intrepid courage of a very interesting German scientist.”⁶³ I disagree with David Dickens, however, that the professor's way of speaking proves that he must be an expatriated German scientist working in Amsterdam, instead of a genuine Dutchman.⁶⁴ The “linguistic evidence” put forward by Dickens fails to convince me; I suspect that Dickens studied the Dutch language no more than Stoker did.⁶⁵

1. Dickens calls Stoker's error in quoting the German *Gott im Himmel* “revealing.” In my eyes, it merely illustrates that Stoker's skills in German were rudimentary. The fact that he did not use an equivalent Dutch expression in my opinion only proves that his knowledge of Dutch was even smaller.
2. Dickens attempts to disqualify the proposition “van” as typical Dutch by pointing to Ludwig van Beethoven. But Van Beethoven's ancestors came from Flanders. The fact that Dutch (or Flemish) names may survive in families that later moved to Germany does not prove that these names are not typically Dutch (or Flemish).

54 McNally and Florescu (ed.), *In Search of Dracula*, 147.

55 Source: Wikipedia.

56 McNally & Radu Florescu, *Prince of Many Faces*, 4.

57 Eighteen-Bisang and Miller (ed.), *Bram Stoker's Notes*, 26-27.

58 Eighteen-Bisang and Miller (ed.), *Bram Stoker's Notes*, 14-15.

59 Eighteen-Bisang and Miller (ed.), *Bram Stoker's Notes*, 56-57.

60 Eighteen-Bisang and Miller (ed.), *Bram Stoker's Notes*, 16-17: The first dated page of notes indicates 8 March 1890.

61 Eighteen-Bisang and Miller (ed.), *Bram Stoker's Notes*, 78-79

62 Quoted in Elizabeth Miller (ed.), *Bram Stoker's Dracula – A Documentary Journey into Vampire Country and the Dracula Phenomenon* (New York: Pegasus Books, 2009, 265.

63 Ibidem.

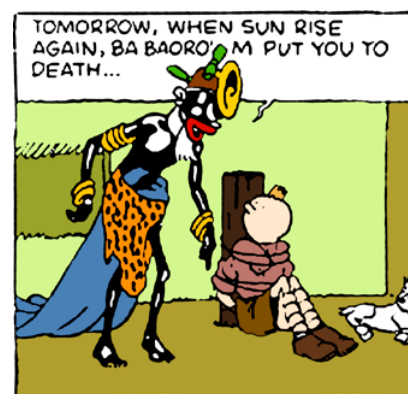
64 David B. Dickens, “The German Matrix of Stoker's *Dracula*,” in Miller (ed.), *The Shade and the Shadow*, 31-40.

65 Dickens's idea that *Dracula* would represent Mephistoles while Van Helsing would stand for Goethe's Faust equally lacks substance: Van Helsing is not looking for the kind of knowledge only a vampire could give him, and the Count does not try to win him over to the side of Evil: the essential dynamics of a Faustian pact between Van Helsing and *Dracula* are completely missing. If the Count actually were the tenth scholar claimed by the Devil at the Scholomance, then *Dracula* is Faust and Mina is his Gretchen!

3. Sentences like “I shall precaution take” or “You shall with us come” show the same word order in Dutch; in the eyes of a Dutchman, there is nothing “distinctly German” about them.
4. “My friend John, when the corn is grown, even before it has ripened – while the milk of its mother-earth is in him, and the sunshine has not begun to paint him with his gold”: The use of personal pronouns is identical in Dutch and German. Moreover, the Dutch equivalent of “the corn” is “het koren” or “het graan”, the German words are “das Korn” and “das Getreide”: All four words are of neuter gender, so that neither Dutch nor German speakers would use the pronoun “him” (Dutch: “hem”; German: “ihn”) here. Stoker’s use of “him” betrays he is neither fluent in Dutch nor in German and/or that Van Helsing’s way of speaking is a pseudo-dialect.
5. “And now, friend John, I think we may to bed”: Omitting of the verb “go” in this sentence is colloquial both in Dutch and in German. In Google Search, the Dutch expression “kunnen we naar bed” produces numerous results, just like the variant “mogen we naar bed.”
6. “The so nice nose”: Enter de Dutch “de zo mooie...” in Google Search and you will find thousands of examples of this word string in Dutch.
7. Dickens claims that Van Helsing’s “But no more think that I am all sorry” points to the German “ganz traurig”. Why not to the Dutch “heel treurig”? Morphologically, “all” (Proto-Germanic: “*alnaz,” Old English: “hāl,” Middle English: “hool”) is closer to the Dutch “heel” (Proto-Germanic: “*hailaz”, Middle Low German “hei/hell”, Old High German “heil”⁶⁶) than to the German “ganz” (Old and Middle High German: ”ganz”; the proto-Germanic root is unknown).
8. That van Helsing’s words “However, ‘the milk that is spilt cries not out afterwards,’ as you say” relates to the English “No use crying over spilt milk” and that no such proverb mentioning milk and crying is known in Holland, simply illustrates that Van Helsing cannot correctly reproduce the English saying, not that he has a German background: In Germany, such a proverb does not exist either.⁶⁷

Further examples confirm that Stoker’s imitation of a Dutch (or German) dialect is utterly unconvincing. On 4 November, Van Helsing writes: „By and by we find all the things which Jonathan have note in that wonderful diary of him.” A German would have used “notiert”, a Dutchman “genoteerd.” To omit the final “d” of “noted” thus is atypical of both German- and Dutch-speaking persons. As a rule, the Professor leaves out the final “s” for the third person singular present indicative – atypical again for both Dutch and German speaking persons, as both languages use the final “t” here, linguistically related to the English final “s,” as shown in the archaic “His Kingdom cometh.” To leave out the final “s” for the third person singular is more typical of French (je parle – tu parles – il parle).

My Dutch colleague Frans Gilson suggested that Van Helsing, not sure how to conjugate English verbs, might fall back on the infinitive.⁶⁸ This would implicate a sort of “infantile babbling” at variance with Van Helsing’s broad vocabulary. As the conjugation of verbs occurs in almost all Indo-German languages, imitating someone’s speech by using uninflected verbs mostly relates to African or Asian languages, often in a patronizing or racist context. Many examples can be found in old comic books, e.g. in the editions of *Kuifje in Congo* (*Tintin in the Congo*) by Hergé (1930), which was later heavily criticized for offending the native people of Congo (Zaire).⁶⁹ Here we find phrases such as “Tomorrow when sun rise again, Babaorum put you to dead” (English edition) or “Ik erg moe ben” (Flemish edition).⁷⁰ Similar expressions are found in the Dutch comic series *Sjors en Sjimmie* in the early editions created by Frans Piët after 1945. In the illustrated scene, the black boy Sjimmie shouts to a swordfish attacking the ship: “Af! Af! Jij niet mooie schip kapotzagen, visje!” (“Off! Off! You not saw nice ship in pieces, fish!”).



Comic *Tintin in the Congo*, English

66 In Germany, the form “heel” only survived in the so-called Plattdüütsch, which is near to the Dutch and the Middle Low German.
 67 The Dutchman says “Gedane zaken nemen geen keer,” the German says “Geschehen ist geschehen.”
 68 Telephone conversation with Frans Gilson on 17 August 2012.
 69 In 2011, the publisher Casterman and Hergé’s heirs were sued by Bienvenu Mbutu Mondondo and the *Conseil Représentatif des Associations Noires*, without success; the book is still freely sold, though the title and some scenes have been modified.
 70 Translation: “I very tired be.”

A third example is an early racist scene with Lambiek, one of the protagonists of the *Suske & Wiske* series, by Belgian comic author Willy Vandersteen.

The same syntax we find in Talkee-Talkee, the half-Dutch dialect spoken by the black people of Surinam; an English book from Stoker's time quotes the following translations from Talkee-Talkee renderings of Bible phrases:

”And when wine end, mamma of Jesus talk to him, them no have wine more.
 (..) Jesus talk to him, me mamma how work me have with you?”⁷¹

Within the British Empire, many English-based pidgin and creole languages were in use. Perhaps Stoker – not familiar with the Dutch language – copied the use of the infinitive from these contact languages.⁷²

Still another possibility is that Stoker attempted to imitate the Afrikaans (“Cape Dutch” or “kitchen Dutch”) spoken by the Boers, Dutch settlers in South-Africa since the 17th century. Some examples:

“Ek gaan huis toe: I am going home.”⁷³
 “Hallo! Hoe gaan dit?: Hello! How is it going? (How are you?)”⁷⁴

For the third person singular present indicative, the Afrikaans omits the final “t,” just like Van Helsing omits the final “s”:

“Die man speel bofbal.” “Die ma lees ’n storie.”
 “Juffrou luister wat ons sê.” “Die man teken mooi.”⁷⁵

During the 1880's and 1890's, the wars with the Boers in South Africa were a major political topic in England, covered by all newspapers and periodicals. Instead of creating a rendering of pidgin or creole language, maybe Stoker found inspiration in the Afrikaans variant of Dutch, as spoken by the Boers.

Whatever his source may have been, Stoker decided to feature a recurring error high-lighting the professor's foreign identity, just like Quincey Morris's pseudo-Texan slang set him apart from the rest; unlike Mr. Swales, for whom Stoker took meticulous notes on Yorkshire vernacular, the characters from overseas have to make do with a fake dialect:

“The novel also suffers somewhat from Stoker's unsuccessful use of dialect. He is inconsistent in his attempts to reproduce the English of the Texan Quincey Morris and the Dutchman Van Helsing and fails to make the speech of either character seem authentic. While his use of dialect is clumsy, it does serve to remind the reader of the important fact that the band is composed of men from different countries.”⁷⁶

“Quincey's speech fluctuates between an overdone approximation of Texan English and Victorian-sounding speech no Texan would be caught dead using.”⁷⁷



Comic *Tintin in the Congo*, Dutch



Comic *Sjors & Sjimmie*, Dutch



Comic *Lambiek*, Flemish

71 Robert Gordon Latham, *The English Language* (London: Taylor, Walton & Maberly, third edition, 1850), 573.
 72 Early researchers in this field were Van Name and Hesseling. See John Holm, *Pidgin and Creoles: Volume 1, Theory and Structure* (Cambridge UP, 1998), 4 and 37.
 73 Source: <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/learn-afrikaans/message/4328>. Accessed 30 August 2012.
 74 Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afrikaans>. The form “gaan” is identical with the infinitive. Retrieved 30 August 2012.
 75 Source: <http://ebookbrowse.com/lc-g12-afrik-lesson12-pdf-d300363488>, about the use of verbs in Afrikaans. Retrieved 30 August 2012.
 76 Source: <http://novelexplorer.com/dracula/literary-qualities-17/>. Accessed 29 August 2012.
 77 Source: <http://gradesaver.com/dracula/study-guide/character-list/>. Accessed 29 August 2012.

5. CANDIDATES PROPOSED IN DRACULA RESEARCH

How serious should we take Stoker's statement that Van Helsing was based on a real person? In the same preface to the Icelandic edition, the novelist calls the fictitious Harkers and Dr. Seward his friends over many years.⁷⁸ But if we are prepared to follow Stoker's hint, some famous scientists, openly mentioned by their names, must be excluded: the neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot (1825-1893) and the degeneration theorists Max Nordau (1849-1923) and Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909). Similarly, Arminius Vámbéry (1832-1913), who wrote a book about the history of Hungary and travelled through many Eastern countries before being appointed Professor of Orientalism at the University of Budapest, can be recognized in the novel far too easily as Van Helsing's "friend Arminius of Buda-Pesth University" to be the latter's role model at the same time.⁷⁹

Stoker and Vámbéry first met at Sandringham on 26 April 1889, where he and Irving were invited. Two plays with a Jewish theme were performed: *The Bells* and *Le juif polonais*, plus a trial scene from *The Merchant of Venice*. The evening was attended by Queen Victoria, who received Vámbéry at Windsor and discussed British diplomacy in Asia with him, especially the Russian threat Vámbéry was emphasizing again and again in his articles and public lectures.⁸⁰ On 30 April 1890, Vámbéry was Irving's guest at the *Beefsteak Room*, after a performance of Henry Irving in the play *The Dead Heart*. Two years later, Stoker saw Vámbéry at Trinity College, Dublin, where the latter received an honorary degree. Stoker mentions their meeting in his *Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving*.⁸¹ There is no proof, however, that the two men ever talked about vampires or Vlad III Dracula.⁸² Bernhard Davies suggests that Vámbéry may have tipped Stoker to shift his story from Styria to Transylvania and therefore was honoured in the novel.⁸³ As noted by Elizabeth Miller after the Bram Stoker Centenary Conference in Hull and Whitby (12-14 April 2012), patrons of the Whitby private subscription libraries were not allowed to browse the shelves. Instead, they had to consult a catalogue and request the books they wished to read.⁸⁴ From this we may conclude that Stoker, three months after meeting Vámbéry, purposefully looked for a book describing the region east of Hungary: Wallachia and Moldavia, today united with Transylvania in the Romanian state. This seems to confirm the thesis proposed by Davies.⁸⁵



Professor Arminius Vámbéry,
painted by Kovacs

The occult brain scientist Martin Hesselius and his Dutch correspondent, Professor Van Loo of Leyden from the bundle *Green Tea*⁸⁶ by Stoker's fellow-Dubliner Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu (1814-1873) and the vampire hunter Baron Vordenburg, appearing in Le Fanu's *Carmilla*, are fictional, not real persons – although the anecdote of Hesselius's assistant, who stabs himself with an infected scalpel, is echoed in Van Helsing's accident.⁸⁷

⁷⁸ As the Icelandic preface was translated from a Swedish text, we cannot be sure anymore that Stoker actually authored it.

⁷⁹ In his *Reminiscences*, Vol. 1, xii, 321 and 371, Stoker equally refers to him as "Arminius" instead of "Armin" or "Hermann": "Amongst the interesting visitors to the Lyceum and the Beefsteak Room was Arminius Vambery, Professor at the University of Buda-Pesth."

⁸⁰ John Fisher and Anthony Best, *On the Fringes of Diplomacy – Influences on British Foreign Policy 1800-1945* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2011), 84. See also Thomas Le Blanc, Clemens Ruthner, Bettina Twrsnick, *Draculas Wiederkehr, Tagungsband* (Wetzlar: Förderkreis Phantastik in Wetzlar, 1997), 78.

⁸¹ Stoker, *Reminiscences*, Vol. I, p. 371.

⁸² See Leatherdale, *The Origins of Dracula – The Background of Stoker's Gothic Masterpiece* (Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex, UK: Desert Island Books, 1995), 127; Ruthner, "Bloodsuckers," 59-61; Miller, *Sense & Nonsense*, 25-27.

⁸³ Bernard Davies, "Inspirations," 135-136.

⁸⁴ Elizabeth Miller in her blog <http://blooferlady.livejournal.com/69184.html>, accessed 24 July 2012; retrieved 13 April 2018.

⁸⁵ Today, we know that Stoker had a still earlier interest in eastern Europe and its fight against the Turks; in 1866-67, he consulted various relevant books and pamphlets in the Marsh Library, Dublin. See the presentations by Jason McElligott (Keeper of the Marsh Library) and by Paul Murray (Stoker biographer) at the Dublin City Hall, 3 October 2015, during the Festival of History..

⁸⁶ David Gates, *Bram Stoker's Dracula and the Gothic Tradition*, McMaster University Open Access Dissertations and Theses, Paper 4700, 1976, 40.

⁸⁷ *Dracula*, Chapter 9, Letter of Van Helsing to John Seward of 2 September; see Davies, "Inspirations," 132.

The personal physician of the Austrian Empress Maria Theresa, Dr. Gerard van Swieten (1700-1772) became known for his attempts to eradicate the vampire superstition – his conviction is the complete opposite of Van Helsing’s, who derives his own wisdom from folklore beliefs and rituals.

The Flemish physician and alchemist Johan Baptista van Helmont (1580-1644) appears in a book about medical superstitions, which Stoker had read and taken notes from while preparing for his novel.⁸⁸ Unfortunately, in these notes we find no clear clues regarding either Van Helmont or two other candidates often mentioned in academic research of the last two decades: Max Müller, a German Professor of Comparative Philology at Oxford University, and Moritz Benedikt, Professor of Neurology at the Vienna University.

Max Müller is shortly mentioned in Stoker’s notes, but only in the context of establishing a linguistic link between the Finnish and the Hungarian languages.⁸⁹ His first name “Max” would harmonize with the name of “Max Windshoeffel” and his German origins with the originally planned identity as a German professor.⁹⁰ But although Stoker took notes on Müller’s linguistic thesis and Müller may have read an article by Mannhardt on vampirism,⁹¹ the documented communication between Stoker and Müller – according to the essays by my Austrian colleague Clemens Ruthner – is limited to Müller’s request for a ticket to Irving’s performance of *Faust* on 14 April 1886 – in a note addressed to Irving, not to Stoker.⁹² I found a further letter by Müller of 18 April, however, in which he thanks Irving for the fine performance and for meeting Liszt and Miss Terry, but criticizes the weak points of the *Faust* translation from the German original. A third letter to Irving, dated 13 August 1886, I found in the Brotherton Collection, Leeds University. Equally overseen by Ruthner is Stoker’s report on the supper party following the *Faust* performance in April 1896 at the *Lyceum Theatre*, mentioning Müller’s participation:

“On 14th April 1886 Abbé Liszt came to the Lyceum to see *Faust* and to stay to supper in the *Beefsteak Room*. (...) There was an interesting party at supper in the *Beefsteak Room*, amongst them, in addition to the party at the play, the following: Ellen Terry, ***Professor Max-Müller*** (sic!), Lord and Lady Wharncliffe, Sir Alexander and Lady Mackenzie, Sir Alfred Cooper, Walter Bach and Miss Bach, Sir Morell Mackenzie, Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Littleton, Mr. and Mrs. Augustus Littleton, Mr. and Mrs. William Beatty Kingston, and the Misses Casella. Liszt sat on the right hand of Ellen Terry who faced Irving. From where I sat at the end of the table I could not but notice the quite extraordinary resemblance in the profiles of the two men. After supper Irving went round and sat next him and the likeness became a theme of comment from all present. Irving was then forty-eight years of age; but he looked still a young man, with raven black hair and face without a line. His neck was then without a line or mark of age. Liszt, on the other hand, looked older than his age. His stooping shoulders and long white hair made him seem of patriarchal age. Nevertheless the likeness of the two men was remarkable.”⁹³ (My bold italics – HdR)



Gerard van Swieten,
Kaisergemälde, Vienna



Jan Baptist van Helmont, painted by
Mary Beale, ca. 1674

88 Thomas Joseph Pettigrew, *On Superstitions Connected with the History and Nature of Medicine and Surgery*, (London: John Churchill, 1844), mentioned as one of Stoker’s sources in Eighteen-Bisang and Miller (ed.), *Bram Stoker’s Notes*, 283.

89 Stoker took notes from Nina Elizabeth Mazuchelli’s *Magyarland* (London: Sampson Low, 1881), 45, not directly from a text by Müller. See Eighteen-Bisang and Miller (ed.), *Bram Stoker’s Notes*, 200-205.

90 Müller’s Christian names were “Friedrich Maximilian,” but he became generally known as “Max Müller.”

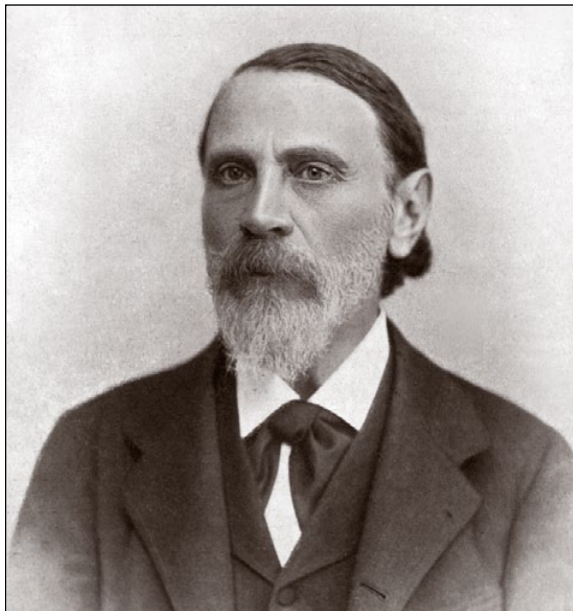
91 Johann Wilhelm Mannhardt, “Über Vampirismus,” *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde* 4 (1859): 259-282, mentioned by Ruthner, “Bloodsuckers,” 57ff.

92 Ruthner, “Bloodsuckers,” 61.

93 Stoker, *Reminiscences*, Vol. 2, 145-147. In the 1907 single-volume edition, 224, the spelling of Müller’s name has been corrected.



Professor Max Müller



Professor Moritz Benedikt

The link to Müller was first suggested by Christopher Frayling⁹⁴ and was supported by Elizabeth Miller⁹⁵ and David Dickens.⁹⁶ Clemens Ruthner has elaborated this idea several times, first in his 1997 conference paper,⁹⁷ which was reworked and published in the *Germanistische Mitteilungen* in the year 2000.⁹⁸ Three years later, he reworded and expanded his theory in *KakanienRevisited*.⁹⁹

A deficit of this theory is that the German Oxford professor may have been familiar with European languages, mythology, religion and superstition, but had no medical experience – unlike Van Helsing, who always carries his blood transfusion gear, his opiate syringes, trephination drill and a little surgical saw with him.¹⁰⁰

Maybe, Müller in Stoker's eyes had the same function as Vámbéry, with whom Müller was acquainted: an expert who in the background supplied useful information.¹⁰¹ The miss-spelling of his name in the *Personal Reminiscences* might indicate that there was no close contact between Stoker and Müller, except for both participating in this supper party, together with at least twenty other guests.¹⁰²

The Austrian neurologist Moritz Benedikt (1835-1920), proposed as a candidate by Robert Eighteen-Bisang, perhaps better fits the bill: he advocated the theory that the brains of criminals resemble those of ferocious animals, especially bears.¹⁰³ This concept of the inferior brain is also worded by Van Helsing, who speaks of Count Dracula's "child brain" and the fixed habits of the criminal mind. Benedikt's ideas were quoted in two London newspaper articles on the Whitechapel murders by Jack the Ripper in 1888 – articles that possibly served Stoker as a source of inspiration.¹⁰⁴ Benedikt's 1879 book on this subject was translated into English in 1881. He also published on hypnotism in 1894, in German.¹⁰⁵ A very strong candidate – but no Dutchman.

94 Christopher Frayling, *Vampyres: Lord Byron to Count Dracula* (London: Faber, 1991), 82, referred to by Ruthner, "Bloodsuckers," 61.

95 "Perhaps the strongest case for a model (assuming there was one) is a contemporary German professor, Max Muller (sic!), who was a specialist in religion and mythology", is stated on Elizabeth Miller's Website http://ucs.mun.ca/~emiller/van_helsing.html, retrieved 8 June 2012.

96 Dickens, "German Matrix," 36-38.

97 Clemens Ruthner, "What's in a Name? – The German-Speaking World and the Origins of 'Dracula,'" published in Miller (ed.), *The Shade and the Shadow*, as "Bloodsuckers with Teutonic Tongues – The German-Speaking World and the Origins of *Dracula*."

98 Clemens Ruthner, "Süd-Osteuropaer als Vampire: Draculas Karriere vom blutrünstigen Tyrannen zum mythischen Blutsauger," *Germanistische Mitteilungen*, Brussel, 52, (2000): 135-148.

99 Clemens Ruthner, "Süd-/Osteuropaer als Vampire: Draculas Karriere vom blutrünstigen Tyrannen zum mythischen Blutsauger - Prolegomena zu einer Literaturgeschichte des Vampirismus II," *KakanienRevisited* (25 February 2003), <http://kakanien.ac.at/beit/fallstudie/CRuthner3.pdf>, retrieved 24 December 2011.

100 This objection is pointed out by J. K. van Dover in her chapter "Professor, Psychical Research Agent, Detective: Van Helsing's Role in *Dracula*," in Eleanor Bourgh Nicholson (ed.), *Dracula* (St. Paul, Minneapolis: Ignatius Critical Editions, 2012), 548.

101 Ruthner, "Bloodsuckers," 67, footnote 15, and "Süd-/Osteuropaer," 9, informs us that Müller and Vámbéry knew each other well.

102 Only recently, I learned that Müller in later years made "Max" a part of his surname, to set it apart from the many other Müllers.

103 Robert Eighteen-Bisang, "Dracula, Jack the Ripper and A Thirst for Blood," *Journal of Dracula Studies*, 7 (2005), 29-46.

104 *Morning Advertiser*, London, 2 Oct. 1888; *East London Advertiser*, 6 Oct. 1888, see Eighteen-Bisang, "Dracula, Jack the Ripper."

105 Benedikt wrote an article titled "Der Raubthiertypus am menschlichen Gehirne," in *Centralblatt für die medicinischen Wissenschaften*, 42 (1876): 930-933, and a book *Anatomische Studien an Verbrecher-Gehirnen* (Wien: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1879), later translated into English by E. P. Fowler as *Anatomical Studies upon the Brains of Criminals - A Contribution to Anthropology, Medicine, Jurisprudence, and Psychology* (New York: William Wood & Co, 1881). He also published on mesmerism and hypnotism, for example *Hypnotismus und Suggestion* (Leipzig: Breitenstein, 1894).

Then except for the Dutch van Swieten and the Flemish Van Helmont, who could not be known to Stoker and his friends from first-hand experience,¹⁰⁶ none of the mentioned candidates spoke Dutch. Maybe to meet this deficiency, an American website proposed the person of Robert Roosevelt (1829-1906), an uncle of the American president Theodore Roosevelt, as the fitting role model for the Dutch Van Helsing.¹⁰⁷ During his travels to the United States together with Irving and the *Lyceum Theatre* company in Stoker became acquainted with the Roosevelts.¹⁰⁸ Robert Roosevelt had been an US Ambassador in The Hague from August 1888 through May 1889 and the family originally came from Holland.



Robert Roosevelt

According to the anonymous author of the website, the Roosevelts were known for fiercely loathing vampires. But... who actually *likes* vampires?¹⁰⁹ The Internet author later specifies that Theodore Roosevelt did not like Kipling's *poem The Vampire* because of its moral decadence. But Theodore was quite different from his uncle Robert, who used to charm a host of female friends and led a secret double life with his mistress – not exactly the right person to fight amoral behaviour.¹¹⁰ Moreover, congressman and author Robert Roosevelt was no more a medical doctor than Vámbéry and Müller – his mission was conservationism, the preservation of American nature. Five of his books were on fishing, hunting and birds, another one was a satire on female physicians.



William Thornley Stoker

In my article in *De Parelduiker*, published in September 2012, shortly after this section had been written, I mentioned a further candidate, proposed by Paul Murray in his Stoker biography *From the Shadows of Dracula: John Freeman Knott*, a physician married to the sister of Florence Balcombe, Stoker's wife.¹¹¹ Knott was a friend of Bram's brother Thornley, a highly renowned brain surgeon and a possible role model himself: Thornley looked through Bram's manuscript and helped his brother with medical information about the operation Van Helsing in *Dracula* performs on Renfield. Moreover, Thornley's wife Emily had serious mental problems, just like Van Helsing's.¹¹² From his side, David Dickens has pointed out that Müller's family story equally has its parallels to Van Helsing's: Müller's daughter Ada died at age 15 in 1876, while his second daughter Mary died in childbirth in 1886; his son Wilhelm nearly died of scarlet fever in 1877. Perhaps, this is echoed by the fate of Van Helsing, whose son died young.¹¹³

106 In the Icelandic text of the preface “af reynslu,” in the Swedish text “af erfarenhet.” Both mean “from (direct) experience.” This excludes any candidates from past centuries. We have no certainty, however, that Stoker actually authored the Swedish preface.

107 Source: <http://truelegends.info/amityville/vanhelsing.htm>. Retrieved 21 March 2012. By now, this website has been deleted.

108 For Stoker's impressions of Theodore Roosevelt in November 1895, see Stoker, *Reminiscences*, Vol. 2, 233-237.

109 That is, except for Bella Swan, whom Stephenie Meyer bestowed with an Un-Dead boyfriend of the nice-smelling, diamond-glittering and piano-playing kind.

110 While still married, Robert Roosevelt lived with his mistress Minnie O'Shea (“Mrs. Robert F. Fortescue”) only one block away from his family; she was pregnant with their first child as early as 1869 – see David McCullough, *Mornings on Horseback – The Story of an Extra-Ordinary Family, A Vanished Way of Life and the Unique Child who Became Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001), 24.

111 Paul Murray, *From the Shadows of Dracula – A life of Bram Stoker* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004), 82f.

112 See Elizabeth Winter, “All in the Family: A Retrospective Diagnosis of R. M. Renfield in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*,” *Journal of Dracula Studies* 10 (Winter 2012): 53-61.

113 Dickens, “German Matrix,” 37.

PART II – THE MAX MÜLLER THESIS RECONSIDERED

[Written in spring 2018]

My 2012 manuscript continues here with 45 pages of research on brain science, hypnosis, telepathy and Spiritism in the Victorian Age and the possible ways Van Renterghem and Van Eeden could have been connected to Stoker and his friends. But although a physician who actually practiced hypnotism in Amsterdam would seem an ideal role model for Van Helsing, the absence of any documented communication between the author of *Dracula* and the two Dutchmen has forced me to put Tonny van Renterghem's claim on ice – for the time being. In the meantime, additional information about one of the competing candidates, Professor Max Müller, has come to my attention, strengthening the case already made by Frayling, Miller, Dickens and Ruthner.

First of all, I came across another, still earlier meeting between Stoker and Müller. In March 1886, Irving and Stoker traveled to Oxford to meet W. L. Courtney.¹¹⁴ In his *Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving*, Stoker presents him as a friend of his employer, but as we already know, Courtney was a business partner of Stoker in the early 1890's, when both participated in Heinemann and Balestier Ltd.¹¹⁵ Apart from Irving, Stoker and Courtney, and several university officials with their spouses, Professor Max Müller was present with his wife and daughter.

As Müller's request to reserve a seat for the *Faust* performance followed within six weeks after the dinner with Courtney, we may suspect that his wish to see Irving perform was inspired by this Oxford event. On 26 June 1886, Irving and Stoker were in Oxford again: as another result of the dinner in March, Irving had been invited to give an Address to the University. According to Stoker, "(t)he great hall was crowded to suffocation with an immense audience, and the reception was warm in the extreme."¹¹⁶ Although Max Müller is not expressly mentioned, we may guess that he was present.

Even more significant may be a piece of information I received from Dacre Stoker: Stoker's only son Noel (1879-1961) from 1887 on was boarded at Summer Fields School in the north of Oxford. It is hard to imagine that Stoker, who spent so much time on preparatory research for his *Dracula* story, would send his only, eight-year-old child to a boarding school away from London without doing a personal background check, including obtaining recommendations from friends living in Oxford and visiting the school itself. We may also suspect that the novelist must have been in Oxford several times to bring or fetch his son before or after the holidays – unless Florence or Noel's nanny made all these tours alone.¹¹⁷ The map of Oxford shows that in order to get from the train station to Summer Fields School, one had to walk through the centre of Oxford and then 3 km to the north. From the town's centre, marked by the Carfax Tower, it was only a few steps to the many university colleges. The geography suggests that Stoker's Oxford contacts may have been more extensive than hitherto assumed. Dacre's information matches my 2012 theory that the historical Carfax complex in Oxford inspired Jonathan Harker's description of the Carfax house in Purfleet offered to Count Dracula, as set forth in my essay *The Dracula Maps*.¹¹⁸ Last but not least, *A visit to Oxford* is the title of a chapter from Stoker's novel *The Man* (London: Heinemann, 1905). After Summer Fields School, Noel visited Winchester College in Winchester, south-west of London, but later returned to Oxford for his studies, so that Bram Stoker's close relationship with this town lasted till well after the publication of *Dracula*.

OXFORD

On Sunday, 7th March 1886, Irving and I went to Oxford to stay with W. L. Courtney, then a Don of New College. For some years the two men had been close friends and Courtney whenever he was in London, would come to supper in the Beefsteak Room. This Oxford visit was arranged for some time, for Courtney was anxious to have Irvine meet some of the Heads of Colleges. The dinner was naturally a formal one, for in Oxford a very strict order of procedure rules. The Vice-Chancellor of the University—Dr. Jowett, Master of Balliol College—was there; also the Master of University, the President of Magdalen, and the Warden of Merton, the last three with their wives. Professor Max Müller was also a guest, his wife and daughter completed the party of fourteen. Jowett was in great form that evening. He was always a good and original talker, but he seemed on that evening to be on his mettle. During dinner one of the ladies

114 Stoker, *Reminiscences*, Vol. 2, 252. Eighteen-Bisang and Miller, in their *Bram Stoker's Notes*, 283, address the same event.

115 In 1894, when the "English Library" proved to be no commercial success, Courtney became editor of the *Fortnightly Review*.

116 Stoker, *Reminiscences*, Vol. 2, 254.

117 Email from Dacre Stoker, 11 January 2016. Given Stoker's idealization of father-son relationships (*Dracula*, *The Lady of the Shroud*, *The Lair of the White Worm* all feature elder men loving a young hero as their own son), the last option would surprise me.

118 In my book *The Ultimate Dracula*, 42-43.



Ordnance Survey Map of Oxford, Six Inch/Mile, 1888-1913. Carfax Tower marked in blue, Summer Fields in orange. Distance from Carfax Tower to Summer Fields: 3 km. The university colleges (in black) were grouped along this route.

Max Müller was born in Dessau, Germany, and from 1841 till 1845 studied Philology in Leipzig, Berlin and Paris, learning Latin, Greek, Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit, as well as modern European languages. In 1846, he came to England to study manuscripts in the possession of the East India Company. In 1850, Oxford University appointed him as deputy Taylorian Professor of Modern European Languages. In 1860, he competed for the position of Boden Professor of Sanskrit, but lost against a more conservative candidate. In 1868, Müller became Professor of Comparative Philology, a chair Oxford University extra created for him. In this field, he developed the theory of a Turanian group of languages, linking, among others, Hungarian, Finnish, Mongolian and Turkish. He became best known, however, for his work in Comparative Religion and Comparative Mythology. He believed that the development of religions should be studied in conjunction with the development of language and culture and that the idea of a personal god was the result of myth-building, portraying the forces of nature and abstract qualities as individualized, supernatural actors for the sake of story-telling.

In 1875, he gave up the active duties of his professorate, but the Dean of Christ Church College, Henry G. Liddell (1811-1898), convinced Müller to stay in Oxford and work on *The Sacred Books of the East*, a 50-volume series of translations of eastern religious texts.¹¹⁹ He became the world's leading expert on the culture of India, which in that time was a part of the British Empire. In 1888, he was invited to give the Gifford Lectures at the University of Glasgow, so that over several years, he and his family spent the months of November and December in Scotland.¹²⁰ He also gave a lecture in London in February 1889,¹²¹ however. And as I discovered, he crossed Stoker's path again in late summer 1890 when he visited the Lyceum Theatre once more to see *The Bride of Lammermoor*. Still in London, Müller, Irving and Terry heard the Queen of Romania read her work *Meister Manole*.¹²² Müller's memoirs-in-letters, edited by his wife, does not tell us whether Stoker was among the around twenty people present there. But even if after the documented meetings of 1886, no further personal encounters took place, we may assume that Stoker did not forget about the Oxford sage. Müller's fame was international; he met with royalty, national leaders and dignitaries from all over the world;¹²³ Van Eeden mentions him in his diary,¹²⁴ and *Fjallkonan* in Reykjavik quoted, discussed and published several of his texts.¹²⁵ Between January 1882 and May 1897, when *Dracula* was published, Max Müller published 17 times in *The Nineteenth Century*¹²⁶ – a magazine Bram Stoker was well familiar with.

Although Müller was no physician, we may accept him as a role model for Van Helsing based on Stoker's earliest notes on the character: a "historical philosopher/philosophical historian,"¹²⁷ later specified as "a German history professor — Max Windshoeffel."¹²⁸

119 See Simon Eliot, *History of Oxford University Press*, Vol. 2: 1780 to 1896 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013), 63, and Georgina Adelaide Müller (ed.), *The Life and Letters of the Right Honourable Friedrich Max Müller*, in two volumes (London: Longmans, Green, 1902), Vol. 2, Chapter 22. Liddell was a good friend of John Ruskin, who was linked with the Pre-Raphaelite artists connected with Irving and Stoker. Today, Liddell is mainly remembered as the father of Alice Liddell, to whom Lewis Carroll (Rev. Charles Lutwidge Dodgson) dedicated his *Alice in Wonderland*. Dodgson taught Mathematics at Christ Church College and can be seen as a further link between Oxford and Stoker. Besides the Liddell sisters, Dodgson photographed the Rossetti family and Hallam Tennyson, a son of Alfred Tennyson. On 26 July 1879, Carroll met with Stoker's later friend Mark Twain at the home of George and Louisa MacDonald, the Retreat in London-Hammersmith. Around 1895 Carroll introduced the daughters of his friends to his long-year friend, Irving's stage partner Ellen Terry, hoping to launch them as actresses. As a result, Dorothea Baird not only got the title role in *Trilby*, but also became Henry Irving's daughter-in-law; see Ellen Terry, *The Story of My Life – Recollections and Reflections* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1909), 201, and Richard Foulkes, "Lewis Carroll, Ellen Terry and the Stage Career of Menella 'Minna' Quin," in Katharine Cockin (ed.), *Ellen Terry, Spheres of Influence* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 93-106.

120 See Müller (ed.), *Life and Letters*, Vol. 2, 222ff.

121 See Müller (ed.), *Life and Letters*, Vol. 2, 239.

122 See Müller (ed.), *Life and Letters*, Vol. 2, 259f.

123 A few examples: in 1879, the Müllers received the Prussian royal family; in 1886, they hosted Prince Christian Victor of Schleswig-Holstein and his parents, and Müller had dinner with Queen Victoria; in August 1889, Müller took part in the Eight Oriental Congress in Malmö and met King Oscar of Sweden; in 1895, the King of Siam financially supported the translation of Buddhist texts in Müller's series and in 1897, the king's brothers visited the Müllers in Oxford; in 1900, King Oscar of Sweden did the same.

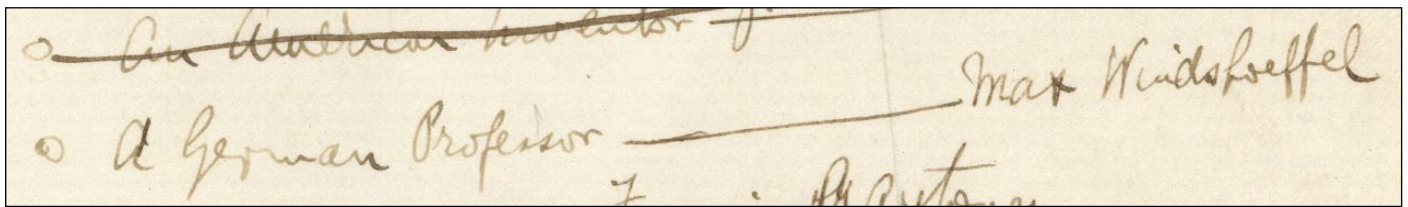
124 Van Eeden's diary of 6 August 1886, on savages.

125 Müller's opinion is cited in the article "Kristnin og heiðnin," *Fjallkonan* of 24 September 1866, 70; in *Fjallkonan* of 11 October 1893, 141, the article "Guðspekin" discusses Müller's articles on Esoteric Buddhism and Theosophy in *The Nineteenth Century* of May and August 1893; *Fjallkonan* of 16 and 22 September 1896 published Müller's article "Bænin í hinum ýmsu trúarbrögðum" (141, 142, 147). The news of Müller's death appeared in *Fjallkonan* of 29 November 1900.

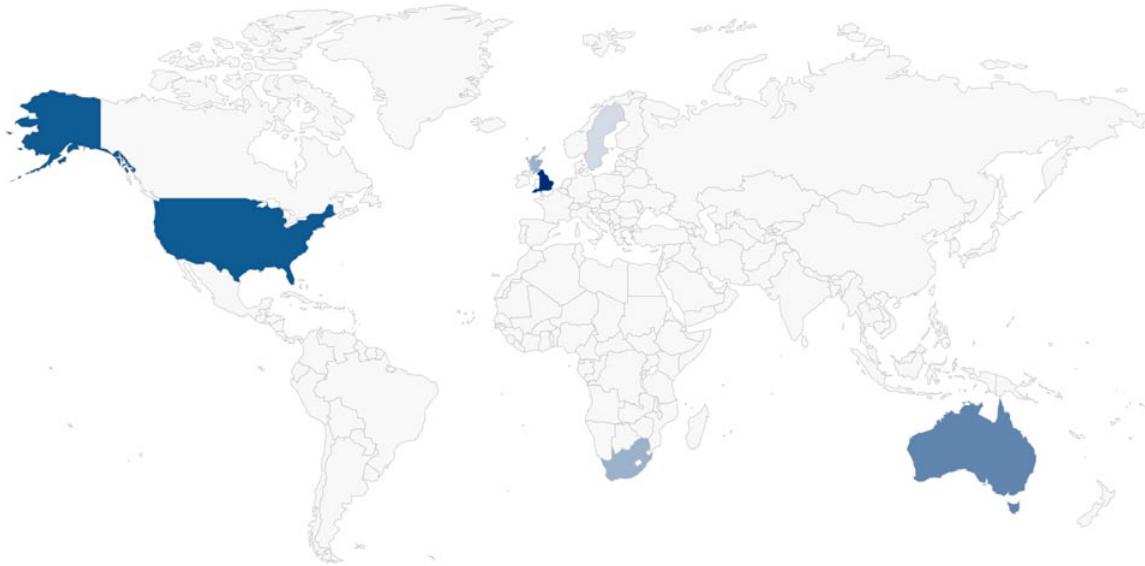
126 See *The Nineteenth Century and After – Catalogue of Contributors and Contributions, from March 1877 to December 1901*.

127 Eighteen-Bisang and Miller (ed.), *Bram Stoker's Notes*, 14-15.

128 Eighteen-Bisang and Miller (ed.), *Bram Stoker's Notes*, 26-27. See also Frayling, *Vampires*, 308; Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 264; Dickens, "German Matrix," 37; Ruthner, "Bloodsuckers," 61.



Intriguingly, the name “Windshoeffel” does not appear in Germany, just like the name “Van Helsing” does not appear in Holland. Even if we correct it for the rules of German spelling and insert the “c” between “s” and “h,” the resulting name “Windschoeffel” produces no hits in Google Search. The nearest name that actually occurs – especially in England, the USA and Australia – is “Windscheffel.”¹²⁹



From the 183 “Windscheffels” counted in the year 2014, 182 lived in English-speaking countries.¹³⁰ None of the popular genealogy websites offers an explanation for this name, however. Personally, I believe it was derived from the German, as the “sch” combination is far more typical of German than of English; the Windscheffels in Kansas I was able to check all were of German origin (see US Census Reports of 1910 and 1920 on pages 21-22). The German “Scheffel” signifies a hollow object, vessel etc. to measure a certain volume of wheat.¹³¹ The name “Schöffel” or “Schoeffel” as a variant of the name “Scheffel” occurs especially in the Alsace region,¹³² that between the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 and World War I politically belonged to Germany; the local dialect is a variant of German. The word “schoefel” also occurs in regional dialects of the Netherlands, as a variant of the Dutch “schoffel” (a small shovel). In the final analysis, all these words have their origin in the suspected Proto-Germanic¹³³ verb “*skeub-a” (Modern English: “to shove”): The Old High German “skioban” and the Old English “scufan” both mean to move some object or lose material (sand, mud, snow, gravel, wheat etc.) horizontally; for lose materials, an instrument is needed, a shovel, that also can be used to lift the material: The name part “shoeffel” thus can be linked to the German “Scheffel,” but also to “Schaufel” (see diagram on page 23).¹³⁴

For our analysis of what meaning Stoker may have associated with “Windshoeffel,” we may note that both “Wind,” “Scheffel” and “Schaufel” can be linked to the trade of a miller (“Müller”); in German, a windmill (“Mühle”) is said to have “Schaufeln” (plural of “Schaufel”). An alternative approach is to consider the name “Windshoeffel” as a whole; the nearest German word would be “Windschaufel,” a shovel used to throw wheat, in order to clean it.¹³⁵

129 Worldwide, there are various people with the name “Shoeffel,” however.

130 Source: <http://genealogy.com>, retrieved 9 January 2016.

131 The English equivalent is “bushel,” as in “Behold, do men light a candle and put it under a bushel?” (Matthew 5:15).

132 Source: <http://enzyklo.de/lokal/42134>, retrieved 6 January 2016.

133 Proto-Germanic is no documented language, but a reconstruction of the common roots of various Germanic languages. The theoretical nature of the words is indicated by the asterisk.

134 In Dutch language, we see the same connections: “Schoefel” can indicate a part of a wheel of a watermill (“schoep”), but also “graanschoffel” – both are related to German “Schaufel.” See Antonius Angelus Weijnen, *Etymologisch dialectwoordenboek* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1996).

135 The wind blows the lighter peels of the wheat away while the wheat itself falls to the ground again.

Table with 10 columns: LOCALITY, NAME, RELATION, PERSONAL DESCRIPTION, CITIZENSHIP, OCCUPATION, EDUCATION, HOUSEHOLD OF BIRTH, RESIDENCE, SEX, AGE. Contains handwritten entries for families like Suddie, Sam, Fredrick, Jacob, and others, with birth dates and locations.

Table with 10 columns: LOCALITY, NAME, RELATION, PERSONAL DESCRIPTION, CITIZENSHIP, OCCUPATION, EDUCATION, HOUSEHOLD OF BIRTH, RESIDENCE, SEX, AGE. Contains handwritten entries for families like Nauway, George, McHenry, Wolf, Ottman, and others, with birth dates and locations.

From US Census Reports (1910) for Harvey Township, Smith County, Kansas: Both parents of farmer and family father Gerhard Windscheffel (45), born in Nebraska, were German; Hilke Windscheffel (73), mother-in-law of Henry Ottman, had German parents as well.

VERBS

Modern German: **schieben** [schob, geschoben]

Modern English: **to shove**

(verb from noun **shovel**, from Mid 15 c)

Modern Dutch: **schuiven**

Modern Norwegian: **skyve**

Middle High German: **schieben**

Low German: **schuben, schuven**

Old High German: **skioban**

Old English: **scufan** (= to shove, move something horizontally with help of mechanical pressure)

Proto-Germanic: ***skeub-a** (verb)

NOUNS

Modern German: **schaufeln** [schaufelte, geschaufelt]

(Ableitung des Substantivs **Scheffel** durch Konversion)

Modern English: **to shovel**

Modern Dutch: **scheppen**

Modern German: **Schaufel** [die Schaufel, pl. die Schaufeln]

Modern English: **shovel** (= a tool to shove materials)

Modern Dutch: **schoffel, schoefel**

Modern Danish: **skovl**

Modern Swedish: **skyffel, skovel**

Modern Icelandic: **skófla**

Modern West Frisian: **skoffel, schoffel**

Middle Low German: **schufle, schufel, schuffel**

Middle High German: **schūvel, schûvel, schûfele, schûfel**

Middle Dutch: **shuffel, schuyfel, schoeffel**

Middle English: **shovele, shovel, showell, shoule, shole**

Old High German: **scūvola**

Old-Saxon: **skufila**

Old English: **scofl, sceofol** (noun)

Proto-Germanic ***skublo, *skufilō, *skūflō** (noun)

Modern German: **schöpfen** [schöpfte, geschöpft]

(= Wasser schöpfen, oder: etwas schöpfen = to create)

Modern Dutch: **scheppen**

Modern German: **scheffeln** [scheffelte, gescheffelt]

(= ugs. wertvolle Dinge in großen Mengen in seinen Besitz bringen)

(Ableitung des Substantivs **Scheffel** durch Konversion)

Modern English: **to pile, rake in, amass, accumulate, hoard**

Modern German: **Scheffel** [Der Scheffel, pl. die Scheffel]

(= altes, deutsches Hohlmaß für feste, schüttbare Körper, wie Getreide)

Modern Dutch: **schepel**

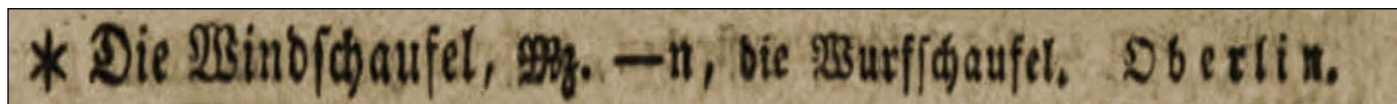
Modern Norwegian: **skjeppe**

Modern Swedish: **skäppa**

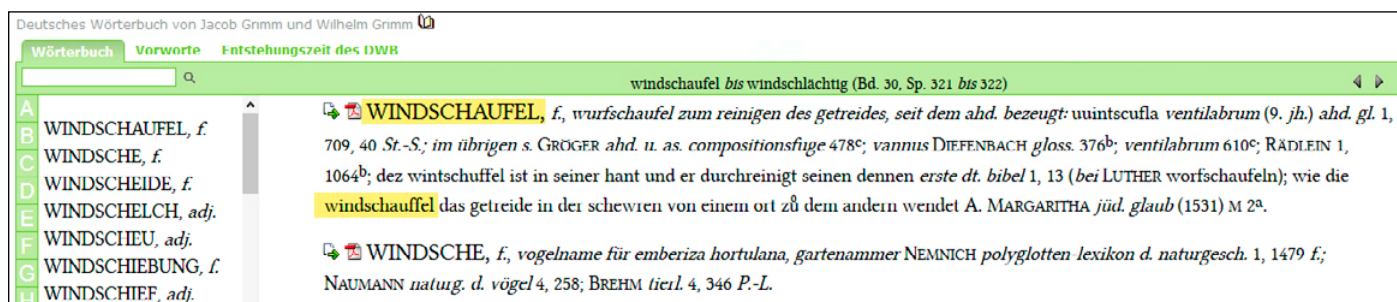
Modern English: **bushel**

Alsacian variant of the name **Scheffel**: **Schoeffel** (especially in and around Strassbourg and Mulhouse)

We find the word “Windschaufel” in the *Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* by Joachim Heinrich Campe of 1811; as a synonym, Campe mentions “Wurfschaufel.”¹³⁶



According to the *German Dictionary* by the Brothers Grimm, the word has been known in Old High German since the 9th century (“uuintscufla”). As a synonym, the Grimms mention “Wurfschaufel” (lit.: “throw-shovel”) and its variant “Wurfschaufel” as used by Luther; they also mention the Latin “ventilabrum” and the spelling “Windschauffel.”¹³⁷



Although Stoker was no professional linguist and his knowledge of German was limited, in my eyes, the name “Windshoeffel” must have had a specific meaning for him; he cannot simply have copied it from a dictionary or a list of existing names. My – highly speculative – hypothesis would be that if Stoker actually picked Max Müller as a role model for Van Helsing (at least for the “German professor” part), he may have used the name “Max Windshoeffel” as a provisory pseudonym; the first German-sounding name that came to his mind in relation to Müller. Perhaps, even the associative chain “Müller”—“miller”—“windmill”—“wind” alone was enough for him to associate “Windshoeffel” with “Müller,” without wasting much thought on the “shoeffel” part.¹³⁸

Other scholars may come to different conclusions, but as no *Dracula* expert yet has researched the possible origin and meaning of the name “Windshoeffel” initially used by Stoker, I hope this essay brings us nearer to unraveling *Dracula’s* best-kept secret. We cannot know for sure what went on in Stoker’s mind; we can only guess how the different pieces of the puzzle might fit together – provided they are parts of the same puzzle at all. For we cannot exclude the possibility that Stoker took his inspiration from different persons at the same time: from physicians, neurologist and psychiatrists such as John Freeman Knott, Thornley Stoker, Albert Van Renterghem, Frederik van Eeden and Moritz Benedikt, from specialists for myth and religion such as Max Müller, from men of the past such as Van Helmont, and from fictitious characters such as Martin Hesselius, Professor Van Loo of Leyden and Baron Vordenburg – only to project all their different qualities back onto the person who had impressed him most.

Of the mentioned candidates, Max Müller is the only one who was truly “renowned and celebrated all over the civilized world” (“känd och uppburen inom hela den civiliserade verlden”), as stated about Van Helsing’s role model in the preface to the Swedish *Dracula* adaptation *Mörkrets makter* (June 1899), later translated to Icelandic.¹³⁹ At this very point, the quest for the hidden identity of Van Helsing intersects with my research into the question whether Stoker personally wrote this preface; in fact, the answer to this question might decide whether Stoker actually had Müller in mind as Van Helsing’s role model. As can be read in a second article, that I publish simultaneously with this one, I just made an interesting discovery relating to this very issue; I refer to “Was the Preface to the Swedish *Dracula* Version Written by a Priest? – Bernhard Wadström and the ‘White Lady’” appearing in the same issue of *Vamped.org* today, in honor of World *Dracula* Day 2018. Enjoy reading!

136 Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (Braunschweig: Schulbuchhandlung, 1811), Vol. U-Z, 729.

137 *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (DWB) by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm in 16 volumes (Leipzig: 1854-1961), lemma “Windschaufel.”

138 In his notes for *Dracula*, Stoker was prone to inconsistent or incorrect spelling; we cannot be certain that “shoeffel” is no such error.

139 Ruthner, “Bloodsuckers,” 61, and “Süd/Ost-Europaer,” 9, understand the corresponding Icelandic phrase as a confirmation that Stoker actually had Max Müller in mind as the real person appearing under the pseudonym “Van Helsing.”