

# BRAM STOKER'S HIDDEN WORLD

A SOCIOGRAM OF LONDON'S ESOTERIC CIRCLES

by

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## PREFACE

This text is largely based on my manuscript “Professor Abraham van Helsing: A Psychiatrist from Amsterdam? Hypnotism, Telepathy, Spiritualism and Magic in the Victorian Age.” The first version was published through [Moonlake Editions](#) on July 18, 2012. Version 2 was published on July 26, 2012. Ticked by repeated remarks by the film maker Tonny van Renterghem that his grandfather, the Amsterdam psychiatrist and hypnotist Albert van Renterghem, would have been the role model for Stoker’s Professor Van Helsing,<sup>1</sup> I tried to chart the possible connections between Albert van Renterghem and Bram Stoker, either directly or indirectly, through intermediaries such as Frederik van Eeden, William Heinemann, Edmund Gosse, W.F.H. Myers, William James, Charles Lloyd Tuckey, Sir Richard Francis Burton, etc.

In 2016, I made a similar attempt to discover the possible links between Bram Stoker and Valdimar Ásmundsson, the publisher of the Icelandic version of *Dracula*: a 70-page dossier entitled “Weighing The Odds – Stoker’s Contribution to *Makt Myrkranna*.” Although in both instances, definitive proof of a nexus eluded me, some of this material may serve here to portray how interconnected London’s intellectual, literary and artistic circles of the 1890s were, especially when it came to their interest in esoteric phenomena.

As my original manuscript on Van Renterghem focused on his possible connections to Stoker’s world, I had to restructure the text in order to present the reader with a more general inquiry into Stoker’s interest in hypnosis, telepathy and the occult. By and large, the footnote apparatus and the bibliography of the 2012 text could be retained, but for the e-book presented here, I went to great lengths to find free download links for all materials in the Public Domain, and preview links for copyrighted materials. This way, you will have access to most of the sources quoted or discussed in this text. Some of the sources I used in 2012 are no longer available online. The dates on which I retrieved them are indicated in the footnotes.

Initially planned as a mere *excursus* within my essay “Trends and Topics in *Mörkrets Makter*,”<sup>2</sup> the amount of text quickly grew. Although in its current state it represents only 50% of the length of the 2012 manuscript, it became too long to be just an extra chapter in “Trends and Topics” – an essay that originally was conceived as a supplement to “*Mörkrets Makter*’s Mini Mysteries.”<sup>3</sup>

As I am rounding up my *Dracula* research, I am happy to publish this text as a record of my early interest in Bram Stoker and his world of hypnosis, telepathy and spiritualism.

Bantayan, in December 2021

Hans Corneel de Roos

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- 1 “Ik heb mijn grootvader nog goed gekend en wanneer ik als kind bij hem op bezoek was, zat ik uren in zijn bibliotheek te lezen. Oma vertelde mij dat de Ierse schrijver Bram Stoker hem als model gebruikte voor de figuur van dr. Von Helsing (sic!) in zijn boek *Dracula*. Volgens oma kenden ze elkaar.” (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.) Quoted from [Tonny van Renterghem](#), *De Laatste Huzaar – Verzet Zonder Kogels* (Schoorl, NL: Conserve, 2009), 24.
  - 2 Hans Corneel de Roos, “Trends and Topics in *Mörkrets Makter*” (Obo-ob/Pfaffenhofen: Rainbow Village/Moonlake, 2021).
  - 3 Hans Corneel de Roos, “*Mörkrets Makter*’s Mini-Mysteries” *Bulletin of the Transilvania University of Braşov*, Series IV 14(63) no. 1 (2021) (forthcoming).

## Hypnosis and supernatural phenomena

By 1890, hypnosis had developed into a scientific discipline, discussed at the First International Congress of Hypnotism held in Paris on August 8-12, 1889 at the *Hôtel-Dieu*, parallel to the Congress of Physiological Psychology.<sup>4</sup> From its obscure origins in Mesmerism/animal magnetism and from the early experiments by James Braid (1795-1860), it had spread to doctor's offices and specialized hypno-therapeutic clinics all over Europe. Despite the many theoretical and practical differences,<sup>5</sup> there was a consensus that the hypnotic state had brought psychical processes to light that eluded scrutiny and control by the conscious, rational mind. This "subconsciousness" – a term coined by the Paris neurologist Pierre Janet (1859-1947) – was, by its very nature, to a certain extent unknowable.<sup>6</sup> This notion opened the way for various cross-connections between hypnosis and other subjects equally dealing with the unknowable: religion, magic, and phenomena such as automatic writing, telepathy, telekinesis, teleportation, precognition or *clairvoyance*, ghost appearances and ghost voices, electrography, aura reading, the manifestation of ectoplasm, etc.

## The Society for Psychical Research

The Cambridge scholar Frederic William Henry Myers (1843–1901) coined an alternative term, "subliminal consciousness," to define the marginal region of consciousness where such hitherto unexplained – and often doubted – experiences could have their basis.<sup>7</sup> His *Society for Psychical Research*

4 Resolutions adopted at the Paris Congress: Charles Lloyd Tuckey, *Treatment by Hypnotism and Suggestion or Psycho-Therapeutics* (New York: Putnam & Sons, 5<sup>th</sup> edition 1907), 381.

5 In *Dracula*, Van Helsing deplors the death of the "great Charcot." Charcot's theories on hypnosis (the Salpêtrière School) competed with those of Liébeault and Bernheim (the Nancy School). The latter maintained that the hypnotic state was not a symptom of neurosis or hysteria, and could be induced in any healthy person by means of suggestion. The controversy was discussed at the first International Congress of Physiological Psychology in Paris, August 6-10, 1889. William James noted, "The partisans of the Nancy school were decidedly in the majority at the meetings; and everyone seemed to think that the original Salpêtrière doctrine of hypnotism, as a definite pathological condition with its three stages and somatic causes, was a thing of the past." Quoted from William James, "[The Congress of Physiological Psychology at Paris](#)," *Mind* 14, no. 56 (1889): 614-615. See also Arthur T. Myers, "[International Congress of Experimental Psychology](#)," *Proceedings of the SPR* 6 (1889-90): 171-182. In his article "[The Faith Cure](#)," *The New Review* 8, no. 44 (January 1893), Charcot indirectly admitted his error. See Geneviève Paicheler, "[Charcot, l'hystérie et ses effets institutionnels: du « labyrinthe inextricable » à l'impasse \(Commentaire\)](#)," *Sciences sociales et santé* 6, no. 3-4 (1988): 133-144. Retrieved June 9, 2013. Charcot is quoted as saying that "la notion d'hystérie telle que la concevait la Salpêtrière était caduque et devait être révisée." See Audrey Arnoult, "[Le traitement médiatique de l'anorexie mentale, entre presse d'information générale et presse magazine de santé](#)," *Institut d'Études Politiques de Lyon*, 2006, retrieved July 24, 2012, quoting from Michel Bonduelle et. al. *Charcot, un grand médecin dans son siècle* (Paris, Editions Michalon, 1996), 182. For the Bonduelle quote, see [here](#). Within years, "la grande hystérie" vanished as a recognized illness from the hospitals and doctor's offices.

6 The term "subconscious" was first used by Pierre Janet (1859–1947) in "[De l'Automatisme Psychologique](#)," Thèse d'État, Faculté des lettres (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1889) – see Olivier Walusinski and Julien Bogousslavsky, "[Charcot, Janet, and French Models of Psychopathology](#)," *European Neurology* 83 (2020): 333–334. From 1896 on, Sigmund Freud preferred the term "unconscious" ("das Unbewußte"), as it avoided the idea of being located "underneath" the conscious mind. Although Freud later dropped hypnosis in favor of the method of free association, it was the former technique that had clearly shown that the mind was "split": when awake, the subject could not remember things said or done during the hypnotic state. It was unclear, however, if and how this correlated with the functioning of two separate brain halves.

7 Frederic Myers was one of the participants at the First International Congress of Hypnotism, together with Sigmund Freud, Joseph Delboeuf, Hippolyte Bernheim, Ambroise-Auguste Liébeault, Pierre Janet, Paul Janet, William James, Auguste Forel, Wilhelm Wundt, Moritz Benedikt, Jules Dejerine, Émile Durkheim, Frederik Van Eeden, Albert van Renterghem, and Julian Ochorowicz. See [French Wikipedia, lemma "École de la Salpêtrière \(hypnose\)](#)," retrieved July 22, 2012. Frederic was joined by his brother Arthur T. Myers, M.D. (1851-1894), who conducted psychical research in Bethlem Hospital in 1889, together with Dr. R. Percy Smith – see George C. Kingsbury, [The Practice of Hypnotic Suggestion](#) (Bristol: John Wright/London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1891), 75. He published "[The Life History of a Case of Double or Multiple Personality](#)," *Journal of Mental Science* 31 (January 1886): 596-605, and contributed a report about the Paris Congress to the *Proceedings*

(*SPR*), founded in 1882, had developed from the "Sidgwick Group" around Cambridge's Trinity College Professor of Moral Philosophy Henry Sidgwick and his wife Eleanor Mildred Sidgwick née Balfour since 1874. Over the years, it had become a widely recognized platform for investigating supernatural phenomena. Darwin's theory of natural evolution instead of biblical creation had taken God out of the equation. In Britain, the *SPR* bundled the attempt to prove the workings of a soul that existed and acted independently from the physical, mortal body – a soul with the potential to communicate invisibly and instantly across the world, yes, even across death. It tried to reconcile faith and technology, employing scientific observation, classification and analysis to identify a core of genuine miracle amongst the mass of fraudulent performances. This endeavor attracted prominent members from the scientific community, such William James (Harvard professor of Psychology), Lord Rayleigh (professor of Experimental Physics at Cambridge (1879-1884) and a professor of Natural Philosophy at the *Royal Institution* (1887-1905), winner of the Nobel prize 1904 for the discovery of argon), and the philosopher and Nobel prize winner Henri Bergson.

### **Bram Stoker's contact with *SPR* members**

Bram Stoker was friends with various well-known members: William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898, four times British Prime Minister); Arthur James Balfour, the conservative politician who was to become England's Prime Minister from 1902 to 1905; the poet laureate and playwright Alfred Lord Tennyson (1809-1892); Oxford Professor of Fine Art John Ruskin (1819-1900); Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (1832-1898, known as Lewis Carroll, the author of *Alice in Wonderland*);<sup>8</sup> James Knowles (1831-1908, editor of the *Contemporary Review*, founder of *The Nineteenth Century* and the pivotal figure in the creation of the *Metaphysical Society*), Arthur Conan Doyle (1859-1930, distantly related to Stoker; he wrote the script for *Waterloo*, opening at the *Princes Theatre* in Bristol in September 1894.<sup>10</sup> The physician Dr. Charles Lloyd Tuckey (1855-1925, practicing in London since 1878, was a co-founder and council member of the *SPR*. He treated Alice James, the sister of the novelist Henry James (1843-1916) and the already mentioned psychologist William James,<sup>11</sup> and shared his interest in

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*of the SPR*, see footnote 5 and page 10 of this essay. He suffered from epilepsy and probably committed suicide. See Mark Ryan, "[The Unusual Case of Arthur T. Myers, tennis player and doctor](#)," *Tennis-Warehouse*, January 26, 2010, retrieved July 16, 2012; David Taylor and Susan M. Marsh, "[Hughlings Jackson's Dr. Z. – The Paradigm of Temporal Lobe Epilepsy Revealed](#)," *Journal of Neurology, Neurosurgery, and Psychiatry* 43 (1980), no. 9: 758-767, and Richard A. Hughes, "[Forms and Rhythms of the Paroxysmal Imagination](#)," retrieved from [www.szondiforum.org/docs/t505.rtf](http://www.szondiforum.org/docs/t505.rtf) on June 9, 2013.

- 8 For these members, see Stephanie Moss, "Bram Stoker and the Society for Psychical Research," in *Dracula: The Shade and the Shadow*, ed. Elizabeth Miller, (Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex: Desert Island Books, 1998), 82-92. See also Valerie Pedlar, *The Most Dreadful Visitation: Male Madness in Victorian Fiction* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006), 135-158.
- 9 The *Metaphysical Society* lasted from 1869 to 1880. Professor Henry Sidgwick, later the first president of the *SPR*, stated that it "[...] sought by frank explanation of their diverse positions and frank statement of mutual objections, to come, if possible, to some residuum of agreement on the great questions that concern man as a rational being [... such as] the meaning of human life, the relation of the individual to the universe, of the finite to the infinite, the ultimate ground of duty and essence of virtue." Quoted from Henry Sidgwick, *Practical Ethics. A Collection of Addresses and Essays* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1898), 3; see Bruce Kinzer, "Relating the Finite to the Infinite. Leslie Stephen, the Metaphysical Society, and Intellectual Life in Victorian England," *The Fortnightly Review (new series) of January 9, 2021*.
- 10 Barbara Belford, *Bram Stoker – A Biography of the Author of Dracula* (New York: Knopf, 1996), 239. Doyle invited Stoker to contribute a chapter to *The Fate of Fenella* (1891-92), a murder story written by 22 different authors, who did not know the rest of the text. In August 1897, he wrote Stoker a letter congratulating him on *Dracula*: "I think it is the very best story of *diablerie* which I have read for many years. It is really wonderful how with so much exciting interest over so long a book there is never an anti-climax." Doyle also praised Stoker for his use of a secret code in *The Mystery of the Sea*. The Stokers attended his second marriage to Jean Leckie, which evidences a more than merely professional contact.
- 11 See Jerome M. Schneck, "[Alice James, Dr. Charles Lloyd Tuckey, and Hypnotherapy](#)," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 139, no. 8 (August 1982): 1079. DOI: 10.1176/ajp.139.8.1079-a. Retrieved November 23, 2021. Henry James was part of Henry Irving's social circle – see Jason Edwards, *Albert Gilbert's Aestheticism – Gilbert amongst Whistler, Wilde,*

hypnotism with his friend Sir Richard Francis Burton (1821-1890), another acquaintance of Stoker.<sup>12</sup> He was a member of the SPR's Hypnotic Committee.<sup>13</sup>

### Spiritualism in the USA and Britain

Spiritualism had its roots in Emanuel Swedenborg's writings on the spirit world<sup>14</sup> and the theories of Franz Mesmer, purporting that celestial entities influenced earthly life and that spirits mediated between human beings and God. It was made fashionable by Margaretta and Catharine Fox, two sisters from Hydesville, New York, who claimed to communicate with the spirit of a murdered person by means of "rapping." Their show-like séances became highly popular and the circus of Barnum invited them to New York. They formed the *Spiritualist Society*, encouraging other aspiring mediums, so that the hype spread all over the USA and in 1852 spiritualism was introduced in Britain. The *Marylebone Spiritualist Association*<sup>15</sup> was established in 1872, the *British National Association of Spiritualists* in 1884 and the *National Federation of Spiritualist Churches* in 1890. One of the most celebrated female poets of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806-1861), developed a deeply mystic view of life and art that became widely influential.

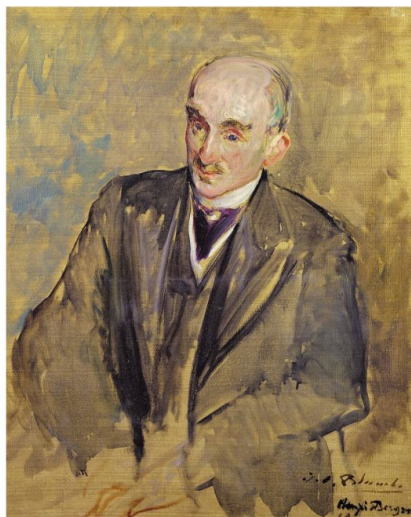
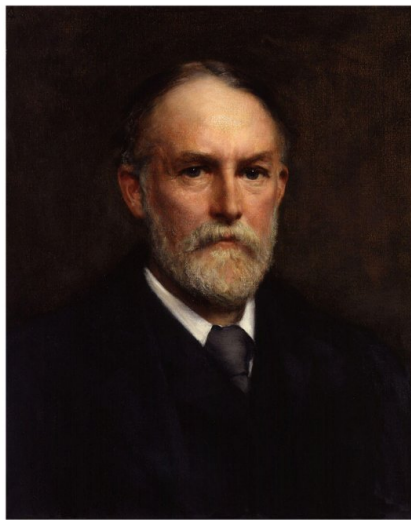
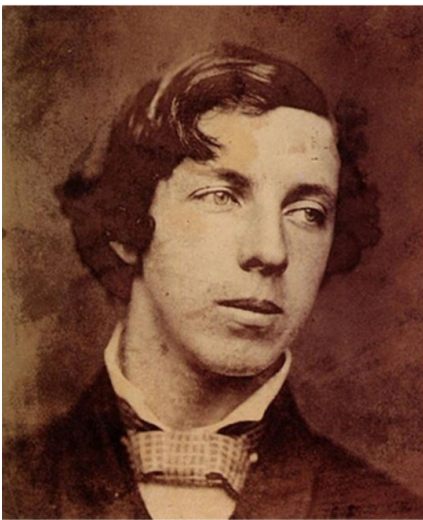
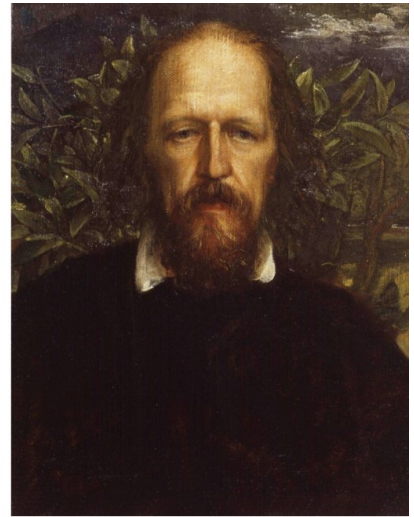
Despite the fact that illustrious mediums such as D.D. Home and Henry Slate were proven to be fraudulent and the Fox Sisters in 1888 admitted that their performance had been a hoax,<sup>16</sup> Spiritualism attracted many intellectuals who hoped that modern science would be compatible with the solace of an individual afterlife and that rigid observation would help to separate the wheat from the chaff. For this purpose, the Cambridge Ghost Club was founded as early as 1862:

The (Ghost) club has its roots in Cambridge when in 1855 fellows at Trinity College began to discuss ghosts and psychic phenomena. Formally launched in London in 1862 (attracting some light hearted ridicule in "The Times"), it counted amongst its early members Charles Dickens and Cambridge academics and clergymen. This group undertook practical investigations of spiritualist phenomena, which was then much in vogue and would meet and discuss ghostly subjects. The Ghost Club seems to have dissolved in the 1870s following the death of Dickens but it was relaunched in 1882 simultaneously with the Society for Psychical Research (SPR) with whom there was an initial overlap of members."<sup>17</sup>

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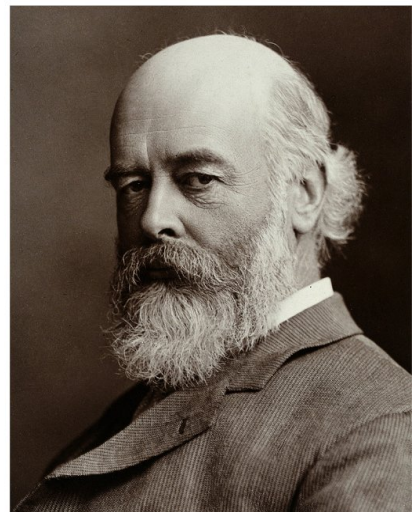
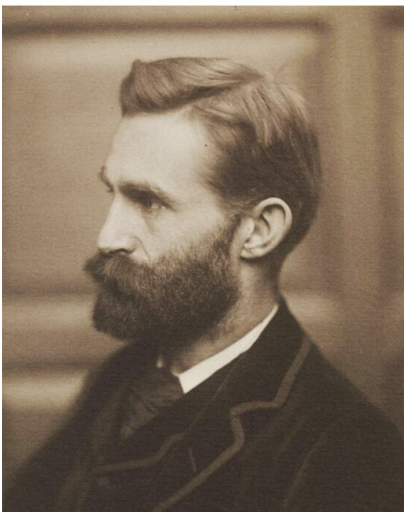
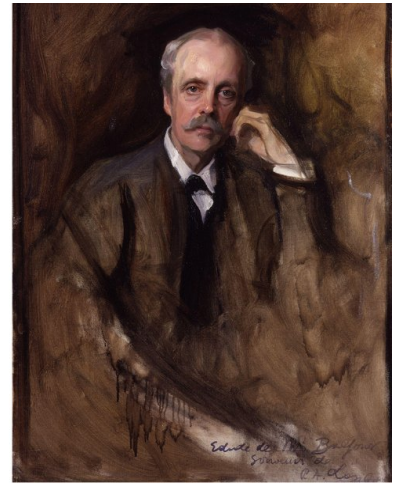
*Leighton, Pater and Burne-Jones* (Hants, UK: Ashgate Publ., 1971), 136. Burton was known for his exploration tours in Africa and for his translation of the *Arabian Nights*. But according to Thomas Wright, *The Life of Sir Richard Burton* (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1906), Vol. 1, xi-xiii, Burton did not translate the *Arabian Nights* himself, but copied large parts from his friend John Payne.

- 12 Tuckey, *Treatment by Hypnotism*, 6<sup>th</sup> edition 1913, 29, footnote. See also Wright, *Richard Burton*, x and xxi.
- 13 *Journal of the SPR* 4, No. 59 (April 1889): 49, lists, C. Lloyd Tuckey, MD of 14, Green Street Grosvenor Square as a new member. *Proceedings of the SPR* 11 (1895): 604, 623 mention Charles Tuckey as a full member, now at 33 Green Street. *Journal of the SPR* Vols. 22-23 (1925): 115 gives a short announcement of Charles Tuckey's death "on August 12<sup>th</sup>, 1925." In the *Journal's* October 1925 issue: 22, we find an "obituary, focusing on his varied work for the Society; and a note that he had left the Society £50 in his will. There was also an appreciation by Dr Arthur Percy Allan, a fellow hypnotherapist and member of the Society, who had been a friend of Charles since his days as an undergraduate at Guy's Hospital in the late 1880s/early 1890s." Data and quotations taken from Sally Davis, "[Charles Lloyd Tuckey](#)," May 14, 2017 (private blog). Retrieved November 22, 2021.
- 14 Emanuel Swedenborg was born in 1688 in Sweden and spent many years in England and Holland. He extensively published on mineralogy, cosmology, physiology and psychology, and the human brain representing the soul as opposed to the body. Due to a religious crisis, he experienced dream visions and mystic states, leading him to believe that the natural and the spiritual world were interconnected. He died in London in 1772.
- 15 Now *The Spiritualist Association of Great Britain*.
- 16 It turned out that the rapping sounds had been produced with the joints. See [Wikipedia, lemma "Fox sisters."](#)
- 17 Quoted from <https://www.ghostclub.org.uk/history.html>; older version (.htm) retrieved on August 2, 2012.

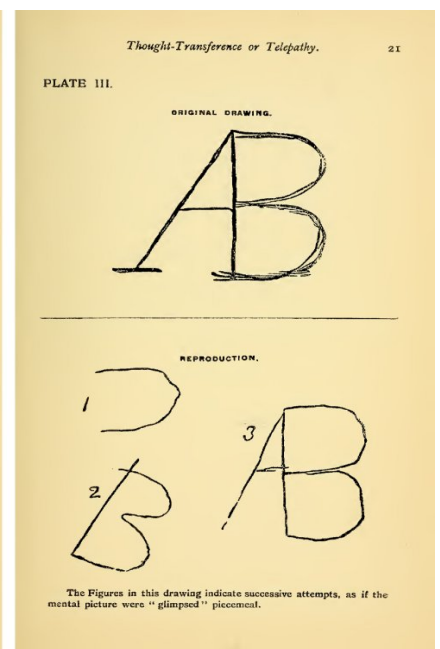
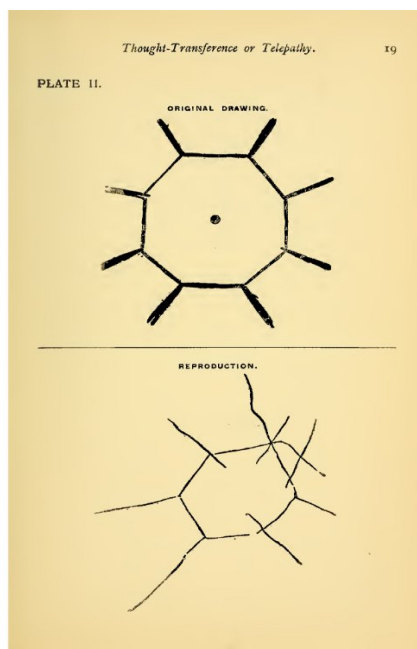
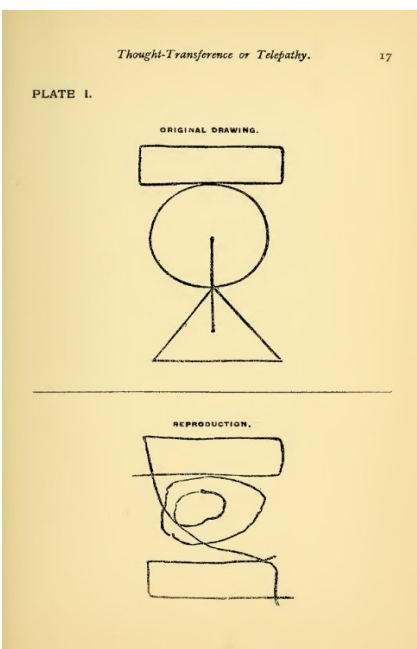


Prominent members of the *Society for Psychical Research*

Top: William Ewart Gladstone, by George F. Watts | George Frederic Watts, self portrait | Alfred Lord Tennyson, by George F. Watts.  
Middle: Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, self portrait | Frederic W.H. Myers, by William C. Wontner | William James, by his son Alexander R. James.  
Bottom: John Ruskin, self portrait | Henry Bergson, by Jacques-Émile Blanche | Sir Richard Francis Burton, by Sir Frederic Leighton.



Top: Vice-presidents of the *SPR*. Prof. Henry Sidgwick (1838-1900), by James J. Shannon, photo Newnham College, Cambridge University | Lord Rayleigh (1842-1919), by George Reid | Arthur James Balfour (1848-1930), by Lawrence Alma-Tadema (1891).  
 Bottom: Active researchers. Frank Podmore (1856-1910), c. 1890, photo Frederick Hollyer, platinum print, *VAM* | Edmund Gurney (1847-1888), photographer unknown. | Sir Oliver Lodge (1851-1940), photo Lafayette Ltd., CC [Attribution 4.0 International](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/) license.



Diagrams used by the *SPR* in telepathic experiments, and their attempted reproduction by the probands.  
 From David T. Bennett, *The Society for Psychological Research, Its Rise and Progress & A Sketch of Its Work* (London, Brimley Johnson, 1903).



Table lifting by the (fraudulent) Italian medium Eusapia Palladino during a session in Paris at the house of Camille Flammarion, 1898.



Satire: The "fortune-seeking European nobleman" enchanting the top 400 families of New York as Svengali. *Puck*, October 2, 1895.



## Hypnosis and telepathy

Still in 1882, Myers coined the term “telepathy” to describe “all cases of impressions received at a distance without the normal operation of the recognised sense organs.”<sup>18</sup> He also introduced the term “telekinesis”: moving objects by willpower without bodily contact. In 1886, he published *Phantasms of the Living*, together with Edmund Gurney and Frank Podmore (co-founder of the *Fabian Society* in 1884). In two volumes, this book presented an extensive series of telepathic experiments, hallucinations and deathbed perceptions.<sup>19</sup>

Although hypnotism normally functions through verbal suggestion and/or through making the patient sleepy,<sup>20</sup> not through “wireless” thought transmission, Liébeault himself mentions occurrences of telepathy taking place while hypnotizing a susceptible patient:

“Liébeault describes a series of experiments with Camille, a very hysterical subject well known to those who have visited Nancy. Camille, unconscious of the experiment, was in Dr. Liébeault’s garden, and Dr. Liegeois in the dispensary. The distance between them was 29 metres, and subject and operator were concealed from one another by a thick hedge. Dr. Liegeois simply fixed his mind on the idea of making Camille sleep. In eight minutes she was actually asleep, and it was found that she was en rapport with the Professor and with no one else.”<sup>21</sup>

In *Phantasms of the Living*, Myers describes similar experiences reported by Pierre Janet, who was a corresponding member of the *SPR*:

“... cases in which M. Gibert, without warning, and at a moment then and there fixed on by M. Janet or another friend, produced a distinct effect on the subject from another part of the town the fact being immediately verified by M. Janet; who on one occasion found that the “subject,” on feeling the impulse to sleep, had only prevented herself from yielding to it by putting her hands in cold water; and on two others, found her in a deep trance from which only M. Gibert could wake her. On the last of these occasions, M. Gibert, at a distance, further willed three times, at intervals of 5 minutes, the performance of certain actions during the trance, which the entranced “subject” began to execute, though obviously rebelling against the impulse, and ending with a laugh, « Vous ne pouvez pas... si peu, si peu que vous soyez distrait, je me rattrape. »”<sup>22</sup>

18 Citation provided by Simone Natale, “[A Cosmology of Invisible Fluids: Wireless, X-Rays, and Psychological Research around 1900.](#)” *Canadian Journal of Communication* 36 (2011): 4, quoting from Roger Luckhurst, *The Invention of Telepathy 1870-1901* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 61. Luckhurst, in turn, quotes from the report of the *SPR*’s Literary Committee. The article by Frederic Meyers (with William Fletcher Barrett and Edmund Gurney) in *The Nineteenth Century* 11, no. 64 (June 1882): 890-900, still was titled “Thought-Reading.”

19 London: Trübner, 1886.

20 For example by requesting the patient to focus on a light or a moving pendulum; for an overview of methods, see Kingsbury, *The Practice of Hypnotic Suggestion*, 20-32.

21 Tuckey, *Treatment by Hypnotism*, 6<sup>th</sup> edition 1913, Note 16 – Hypnotism and Crime, 417, footnote, refers to “Liébeault, op. tit., p. 275,” meaning Ambroise Liébeault, *Thérapeutique suggestive, son mécanisme, propriétés diverses du sommeil provoqué et des états analogues 1891 – Sur les expériences de suggestion à distance menées avec Liégeois et Beaunis* (Paris: Octave Doin, 1891). In *The Fortnightly Review* for June and August 1890, Dr. Jules Bernard Luys of La Charité Hôpital, Paris, published an article “The Recent Discoveries in Hypnotism,” reporting on an even stranger phenomenon: Diseases or nervous states being transferred by a magnet from patients to hypnotized “stand-ins.” See *The Fortnightly Review* [Vol. 53: 896-921](#), and [Vol. 54: 168-183](#) (old series). Stoker equally contributed articles to this magazine.

22 Gurney, Myers and Podmore, *Phantasms of the Living*, Vol. 2, 680. The French remark of the subject reads: “You won’t manage – when you are distracted only a little bit, I recover.” For the telepathic experiments conducted by Pierre Janet and Joseph Gibert, see also Carlos S. Alvarado and Renaud Evard, “[Nineteenth Century Psychological Research in Mainstream Journals: The Revue Philosophique de la France et de l’Étranger.](#)” *Journal of Scientific Exploration* 27 (2013), no. 4: 662-668.

Myers was convinced that hypnotism offered the best conditions for the study of telepathy. In *Harvest and Laborers in the Psychical Field* (1891), he opined:

“I am disposed to think that for the present it is to hypnotism that we must look for cases where the telepathic message can be sent repeatedly and at will. It is in the rare cases of *sommeil à distance*, or such cases as those of Mrs. Pinhey, Dr. Héricourt, and Dr. Gley, reported in Vol. II. of *Phantasms of the Living*, that there has as yet been the nearest approach to that clock-work regularity and repeatability which is the experimental ideal. It is, therefore, on the medical profession that I would urge the importance of watching for cases of this sort, which are likely to be found more frequently as the therapeutic use of hypnotism extends.”<sup>23</sup>

In Arthur Myers' report on the 1889 Congress of Physiological Psychology in Paris, we find:

Mr. F. W. H. Myers described some experiments which he and other members of the Society for Psychical Research had made to test the possibilities of thought-transference when the recognised means of communication through the senses were cut off. [...] The answer was not correct in every case, but the total number of correct answers in a very long series of experiments was so vastly greater than would have been the result of chance, which under these conditions could be mathematically calculated, that he could not doubt that there was some other agency at work, which was neither fraud nor chance but thought-transference. Prof. Charles Richet knew well the experiments described by Mr. Myers, and had himself made some others which led to a similar result. Such experiments, he thought, should be repeated widely and with the greatest care, for if the proof of thought-transference to which they led could be established, without a doubt it would be one of the greatest discoveries of our time.

Prof. Sidgwick remarked that results of a similar character had been obtained with subjects in a normal condition as well as in hypnotism. At the same time the experiments of himself and his colleagues seemed to show that success was rather more likely to be obtained in the hypnotic than in the normal state. He entirely agreed in the view that more experiments were urgently required.”<sup>24</sup>

This shows that Myers was not alone with his ideas; before he wrote *Harvest and Laborers in the Psychical Field*, he had received the support from Richet, Sidgwick and others.

### Hypnosis and telepathy in *Dracula*

Count Dracula is modeled after the “Svengali” type of an ambitious, malicious master-hypnotist.<sup>25</sup> His methods are described as telepathic, however, mimicking the influence exerted by Liégeois and Gibert as described above, instead of the verbal suggestion normally used by the Nancy School. Without speaking or moving, lying flat in a box, the Count forces the shovel out of Harker's hand.<sup>26</sup> Lucy knows exactly where to go when she leaves the pension to climb the steps up to St. Mary's Churchyard, where the vampire awaits here; during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the terms “hypnotic trance” and “somnambulism” were used as synonyms. Mina Harker's bond with Count Dracula is telepathic as well – over hundreds of miles, he can influence her mind, while she is also able to look into his. The novel states that Van Helsing uses hypnosis to activate and tap Mina's telepathic abilities, but instead of verbal suggestion, he employs mesmeric hand passes to induce Mina's trance, so that their rapport equally shows telepathic features.

23 Frederic Myers, “[Harvest and Laborers in the Psychical Field](#),” *Arena* 4, no. 22 (September 1891): 399.

24 Arthur T. Meyers, “[International Congress of Experimental Psychology](#),” *Proceedings of the SPR* 6 (1889-90): 171-182.

25 See Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 228-229, and David Skal, *Hollywood Gothic – The Tangled Web of Dracula from Novel to Stage to Screen* (New York: Faber and Faber, 2004), 48.

26 In his *Dracula Unearthed* (Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex: Desert Island Books, 1998), 441, Clive Leatherdale notes that the Count's use of his “blazing red eye that melts away all resistance” does not conform with regular hypnotic practice; see also my analysis of how the vampires exert their will power in *Mörkrets Makter*, in “Trends and Topic in *Mörkrets Makter*.”



Scenes from the movie *Svengali* (1931, dir. Archie Mayo), with John Barrymore, Marian Marsh and Bramwell Fletcher.



Bela Lugosi as Count Dracula forcing his willpower upon his victims, in the movie *Dracula* (Universal Pictures, dir. Tod Browning, 1931).

In his dialogue with Dr. Seward, Van Helsing fiercely defends the connection between the two phenomena:

“I suppose now you do not believe in corporeal transference. No? Nor in materialization. No? Nor in astral bodies. No? Nor in the reading of thought. No? Nor in hypnotism – ”

“Yes,” I said. “Charcot has proved that pretty well.”

He smiled as he went on, “Then you are satisfied as to it. Yes? And of course then you understand how it act, and can follow the mind of the great Charcot, alas that he is no more, into the very soul of the patient that he influence. No? Then, friend John, am I to take it that you simply accept fact, and are satisfied to let from premise to conclusion be a blank? No? *Then tell me, for I am a student of the brain, how you accept hypnotism and reject the thought reading.* Let me tell you, my friend, that there are things done today in electrical science which would have been deemed unholy by the very man who discovered electricity, who would themselves not so long before been burned as wizards. There are always mysteries in life.”<sup>27</sup> (My bold italics – HdR)

In this dialogue, Van Helsing views seem compatible with those of Frederic Myers, Ambroise Liébeault, Jules Liégeois, Pierre Janet and Joseph Gibert, while the more narrow-minded Seward only accepts the authority of Charcot.

In 1987, Leatherdale remarked that “Lucy’s capacity for somnambulism and Mina’s easy succumbing to Van Helsing’s handpasses marks them both in Stoker’s eyes, as of hysterical temperament.”<sup>28</sup> In her 1997 essay, Stephanie Moss believed that the unemotional Mina after Lucy’s death experienced a hysterical crisis, which made her susceptible both to Dracula’s influence and Van Helsing’s hypnotism.<sup>29</sup> In fact, it would be possible to explain Mina’s receptivity *without* the diagnosis of hysteria – an illness mainly existing in Charcot’s mind. A year later, Leatherdale assessed that neither Lucy nor Mina are ever described as “hysterical”, as opposed to Arthur Holmwood, and Van Helsing himself.<sup>30</sup>

### Social contact between Stoker and Myers

In her 2012 book *Popular Fiction and Brain Science in the Late 19th Century*, Anne Stiles wrote:

“Founding SPR member Myers spent many years accumulating empirical evidence of the existence of an immortal soul. This evidence included the testimony of mediums who believed they had communicated with the spirits of deceased individuals, in addition to studies of trance states and telepathic communications between living persons. Like Stoker, Myers was anxious for psychology to return to its roots as a science of the soul, so much that he was often quite gullible in terms of the evidence he accepted (...)

It is easy to imagine why Stoker, as a Christian trying to reconcile his beliefs with his scientific training, would have been attracted to the SPR, and to Myers’s work in particular.”<sup>31</sup>

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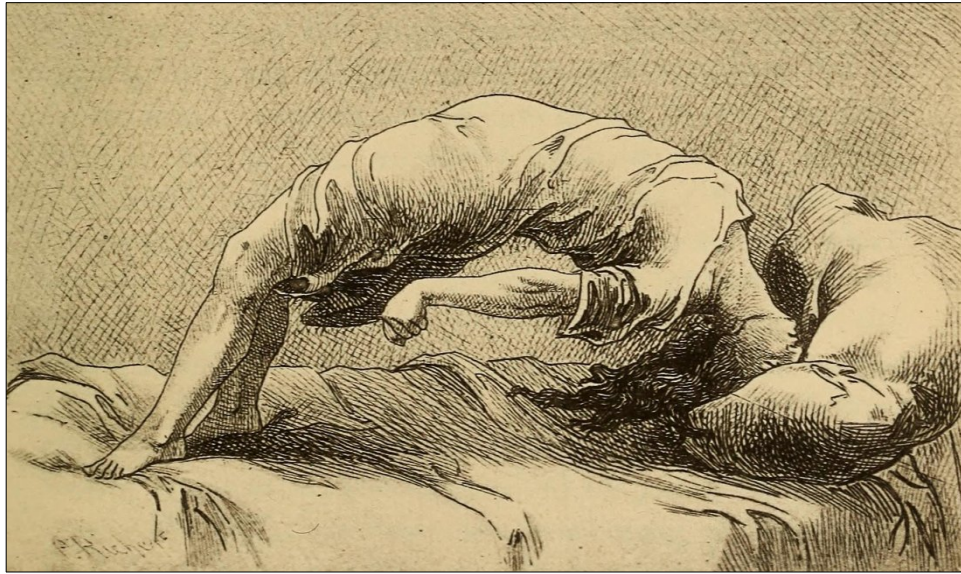
27 *Dracula*, Chapter 14, Dr. Seward’s Diary of 26 September.

28 Clive Leatherdale, *The Origins of Dracula* (London: William Kimber, 1987), 187.

29 Stephanie Moss, “The Psychiatrist’s Couch: Hypnosis, Hysteria, and Proto-Freudian Performance in *Dracula*,” in *Bram Stoker’s Dracula: Sucking Through the Century, 1897-1997*, ed. Carol Margaret Davison (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1997), 138f.

30 Leatherdale, *Dracula Unearthed*, 325, footnote 70.

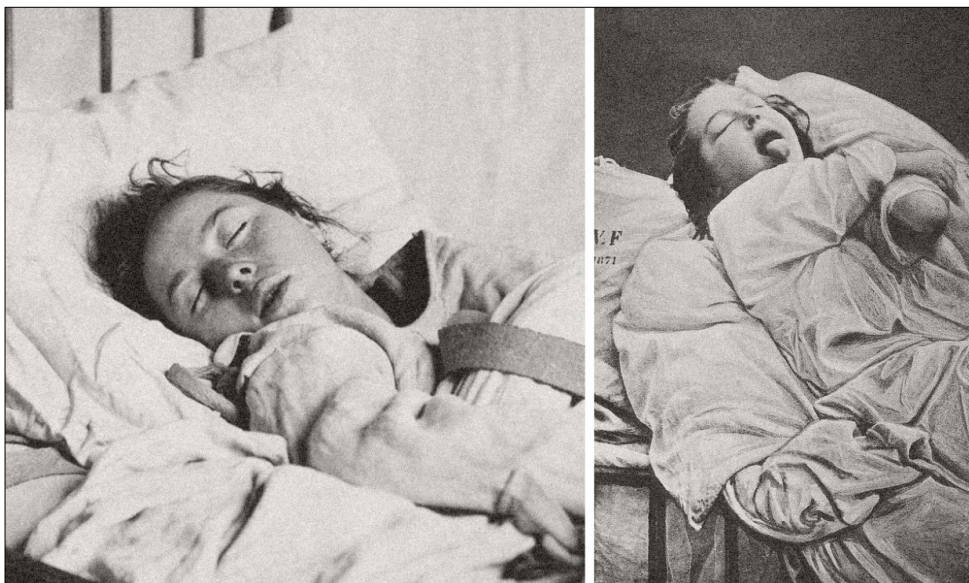
31 Anne Stiles, *Popular Fiction and Brain Science in the Late 19th Century* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 75.



Hysteria, "convulsive attack," Plate 2, Fig. 2, George J. Preston, *Hysteria and Certain Allied Conditions, Their Nature and Treatment, with Special Reference to the Application of the Rest Cure, Massage, Electrotherapy, Hypnotism, etc.* (Philadelphia: P. Blakiston, 1897). After Paul Richer.



"Phase d'immobilité tonique," Paul Richer, *Études cliniques sur l'hystéro-épilepsie ou grand hystérie* (Paris, Delahaye, 1881), following p. 42



Photos of hysterical patients, by D.M. Bourneville and P. Régnard, between 1876 and 1880.

To examine to what extent Stoker actually was in touch with Myers and other *SPR* members, I tried to trace when and how they met. In her essay "The Psychiatrist's Couch," Stephanie Moss quotes from Barbara Belford's Stoker biography:

"Stoker also attended F.W.H. Meyer's (sic!) enthusiastic talk on Freud's experiences at a London meeting of the *Society of Psychical Research*, a group that inquired into thought reading, mesmerism, apparitions, and haunted houses."<sup>32</sup>

Unfortunately, Belford does not mention when and where exactly Myers' lecture on Freud was supposed to take place. Valerie Pedlar calls Belford's statement "unsupported."<sup>33</sup> All we know for sure is that the lecture was actually given, in London in April 1893. In Strachey's introduction to the English translation of *Studien über Hysterie* by Freud and Breuer (Leipzig, 1895), we read:

On December 18, 1892 Freud wrote to Fliess (1950a, Letter 11): 'I am delighted to be able to tell you that our theory of hysteria (reminiscence, abreaction, etc.) is going to appear in the *Neurologisches Centralblatt* on January 1, 1893, in the form of a detailed preliminary communication.' (...) The appearance of the paper seems to have produced little manifest effect in Vienna or Germany. In France, on the other hand, (...) it was favourably noticed by Janet, whose resistance to Freud's ideas was only to develop later. (...) More unexpected, perhaps, is the fact that in April 1893 only three months after the publication of the 'Preliminary Communication' a fairly full account of it was given by F. W. H. Myers at a general meeting of the *Society for Psychical Research* in London and was printed in their *Proceedings* in the following June."<sup>34</sup>

A more reliable source for Stoker's contact with Myers are the former's *Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving*, in which he mentions Myers and his wife Eveleen as two of the more than thousand guests who had been attending dinners and banquets in honor of Henry Irving, his employer.<sup>35</sup> Here we also find the name of Walter Leaf, another prominent *SPR* member.<sup>36</sup> In Irving's correspondence, we find a letter from John Ruskin (1819-1900) of 30 November 1879, criticizing Terry's role in *The Merchant of Venice*.<sup>37</sup> Ruskin – writer, philosopher, art critic and Slade Professor of Fine Art at Oxford – championed the art of the Pre-Raphaelites (Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Thomas Woolner, Edward Burne-Jones, William Morris, John William Waterhouse, and others). From their side, Stoker and Irving were also in touch with these artists,<sup>38</sup> who focused on atmosphere and mood and showed an interest in altered states of consciousness.<sup>39</sup>

32 Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 212-213, quoted by Moss, "The Psychiatrist's Couch," 124.

33 Pedlar, *Dreadful Visitation*, 157, footnote 20. I traced Belford's claim back to a statement by Nina Auerbach in her article "[Magi and Maidens: The Romance of the Victorian Freud](#)," *Critical Inquiry* 8, no. 2, Writing and Sexual Difference (Winter, 1981): 290. See also Nina Auerbach, *Woman and the Demon: The Life of a Victorian Myth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 22f. [Borrow it on Archive.org](#). Friedrich Kittler, *Dracula's Vermächtnis. Technische Schriften* (Leipzig: Reklam, 1993), 19, refers to Auerbach's *Magi and Maidens*, while Rosemary Guiley, *The Encyclopedia of Vampires, Werewolves, and Other Monsters*, (New York: Facts on File, 2005), 267, presents Stoker's presence at the event as a fact. Auerbach only mentions a "conceivable" possibility, however, and does not quote a source.

34 Sigmund Freud and Josef Breuer, *Studies on Hysteria*, originally in German, 1895, translated from the German and edited by James Strachey in collaboration with Anna Freud (New York: Basic Books, n.d.). This quote is from Strachey's "Editor's Introduction," xiv-xv. The preliminary communication originally appeared as "Über den psychischen Mechanismus hysterischer Phänomene (vorläufige Mitteilung)," in *Neurologisches Centralblatt* 12, January 1, 1893, hrsg. von E. Mendel.

35 Stoker, *Personal Reminiscences*, 1906, Vol. 1, p. 325.

36 Moss, "Bram Stoker and the Society," 85.

37 Ruskin was an honorary member of the *SPR*. See Frederic Myers, "[Obituary: John Ruskin](#)," *Journal for Psychical Research* 9, no. 167 (March 1900): 208-210.

38 E.g. via the art critic, playwright and gallerist Joseph Comyns-Carr, who wrote the play *King Arthur*, staged by Irving in 1895, with artwork designed by Edward Burne-Jones. See Stoker, *Personal Reminiscences*, 1906, Vol. 1, 253f.

39 Dinah Roe, "[The Pre-Raphaelites](#)," *The Guardian*, May 15, 2014. Retrieved November 5, 2021.

In the *Reminiscences*, Stoker also states that Myers' wife, Eveleen née Tennant (1856-1937), was an old friend of Irving. She was a daughter of Gertrude Barbara Rich Tennant née Collier, a Victorian *grande-dame* known for her salon evenings. Reportedly, Eveleen met the wealthy and erudite Myers in her mother's salon; they married in 1880. In the night of 15 to 16 June 1898, after Irving had received an honorary degree from Cambridge University and held the Rede Lecture there, he and Stoker lodged in Myers' house.<sup>40</sup>

Although we do not know for sure if Stoker ever had an opportunity to chat with Myers on telepathy and hypnosis *before* 1897, the typification of Alfred Singleton as a "psychical research agent" in Stoker's preparatory notes seems directly derived from the *SPR's* name. Moss suggests that Singleton's name was inspired by that of the theosophist Alfred Percy Sinnett (1840-1921), author of *The Occult World Phenomena* (1886).<sup>41</sup> Sinnett, journalist, vice-president of the *Theosophical Society*, was on good terms with Myers. In 1896, he was in charge of the neophytes of *The Golden Dawn*, according to W.B. Yeats. He also was friendly with Arthur Edward Waite, who created his famous Tarot card deck together with Pamela Colman Smith.<sup>42</sup> In his Stoker biography, Skal suggests that the name was borrowed from a character from Wilde's *Picture of Dorian Gray*.<sup>43</sup> In September 2012, I established a third possibility: as for the surname, Stoker may have hinted to Mary Singleton née Mary Montgomery Lamb (1843-1905), who was well-known in London's literary circles and wrote novels and articles under the pen name "Violet Fane."<sup>44</sup> She created one of the first English novels dealing with hypnotism and crime, *The Story of Helen Davenant* (1889), in which the freshly-wedded Helen unravels a murder committed by her own husband – whom she initially suspected to be a Wallachian prince (!)<sup>45</sup> – and discovers that he acted under the hypnotic control of a Jewish charlatan. To *The Nineteenth Century* of February 1892, she contributed *The Two Moods of a Man – by a Woman*. Constance Battersea described her with the following words:

"Lady Currie, [Philip Currie's] wife, was an author of prose and of verse, a minor poet, as she once humorously signed herself after her pseudonym "Violet Fane" in a book of her own poems which she gave to me. She had been a beauty in her youth, well known in the world of writers and in social circles as Mrs. Singleton, and had married Philip Currie after her first husband's death in somewhat late middle life."<sup>46</sup>

40 Stoker, *Personal Reminiscences*, 1907, 395f. Identical in the 1906 edition, Vol. 2, 248. Also mentioned by Stiles, *Popular Fiction*, 75. See also the telegram between Eveleen Myers and Henry Irving of May 26, 1898, in the [collection of Irving's correspondence](#), ref. 6781 and 6782.

41 Moss, "Bram Stoker and the Society," 90. Moss writes that Sinnett was a *SPR* member, but I found no proof for that yet.

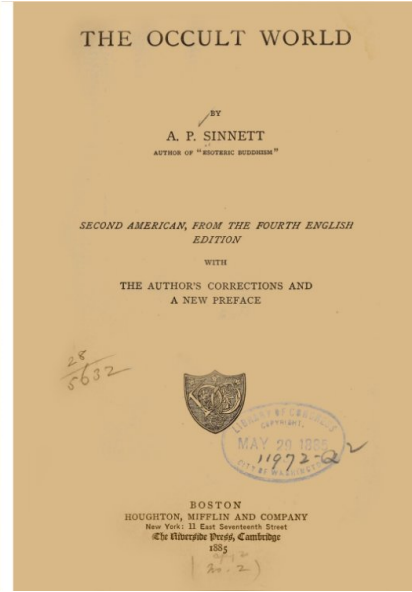
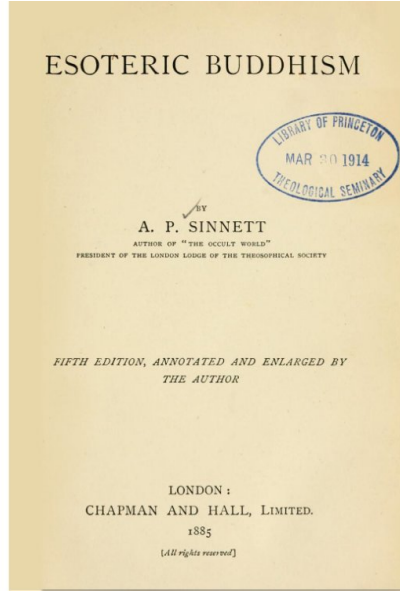
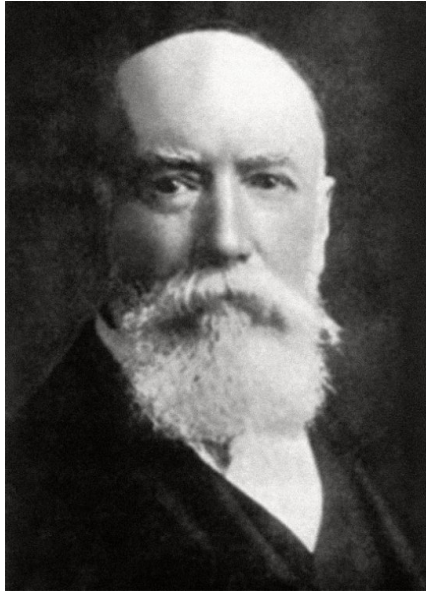
42 See "Sinnett, A(Lfred) P(Ercy) (1840-1921)" at [Encyclopedia.com](#). Retrieved October 23, 2021.

43 David Skal, *Something in the Blood. The Man Who Wrote Dracula* (New York: Norton, 2016), 321. Skal mixes up the first names: Stoker invented "Alfred Singleton," Wilde "Adrian Singleton."

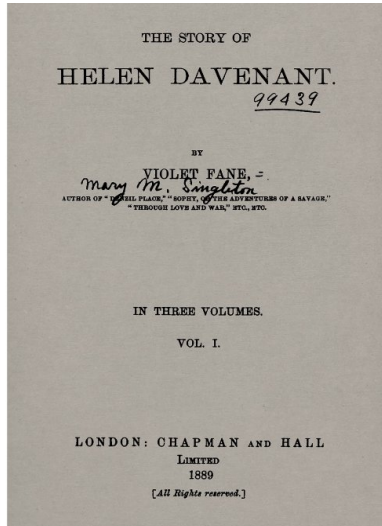
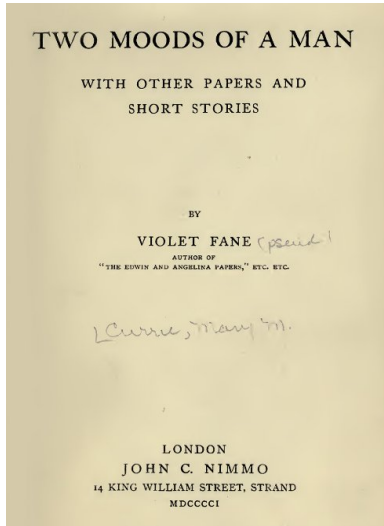
44 Mary Montgomery Lamb (1843-1905) was the eldest daughter of Charles J.M. Lamb and Anna Ch. Gray, a well-to-do Sussex family. In 1864, she married Henry Sydenham Singleton, an Irish landowner. The marriage was unhappy, however, and Mary openly hinted at this in her *Edwin and Angelina Papers* (1878). She married the diplomat Sir Philip Henry Wodehouse Currie on January 24, 1894, just 9½ months after her husband's death on March 10, 1893, and moved to Constantinople with him – circumstances reminding of the scandalous marriage of Mary Holmwood in *Mörkrets makter*. She was in touch with James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1834-1903), to whom she wrote a series of letters and with whom she had breakfast on July 7, 1883, together with Oscar Wilde, among others – see Elizabeth Robins Pennell and Joseph Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler* (London: Heinemann, 5<sup>th</sup> edtn. 1911), Vol.1, 137. In a [letter of February 22, 1885](#), she remarked that Oscar ("I recognized his pumpkin-head amongst what seemed, by contrast of proportion, – a sea of surging water-melons") had grown fat since his marriage – a rather intimate observation. Retrieved from the manuscript collection of the University of Glasgow on September 7, 2012. Stoker was friends both with Whistler, Wilde and Heinemann, who also belonged to Whistler's circle. We also find Singleton's name back in Matthew Arnold's letters, who thanks her for sending him a copy of *Sophie* – see his letter of March 6, 1882. *Sophie, or the Adventures of a Savage* appeared in 1881.

45 Only on page 71, she finds out that he is Polish (London: Chapman and Hall, 1889, Vol. 1).

46 Constance Battersea, *Reminiscences* (London: MacMillan, 1922), 406. See also Alexander Hay Japp, "Mary M. Singleton ("Violet Fane")(1843-1905)," in *Women Poets of the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Alfred H. Miles (London: George Routledge & Sons/New York: E.P. Dutton, 1907). Retrieved from [Bartleby.com](#) on November 23, 2021.



The author and theosophist Alfred Percy Sinnett (1840-1921) and two of his books about esoteric matters.

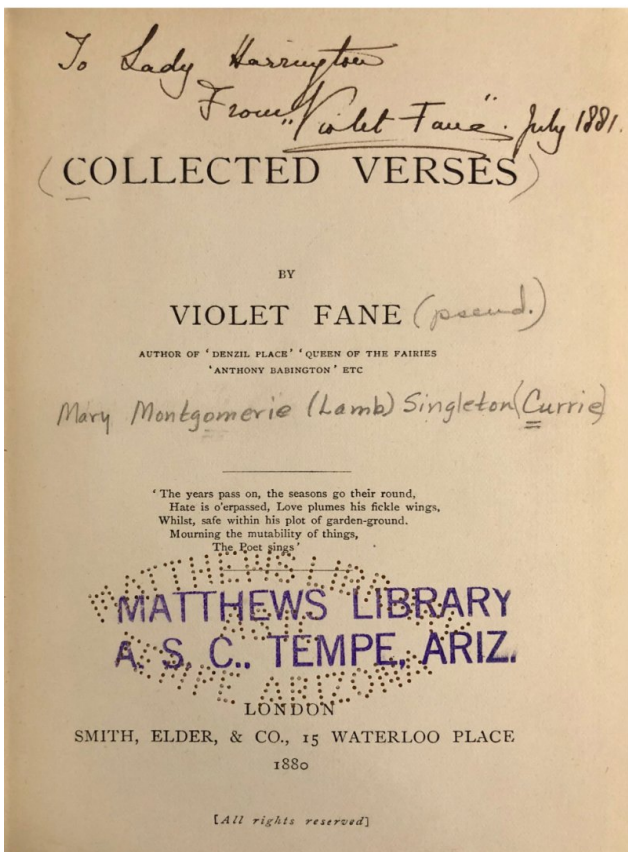
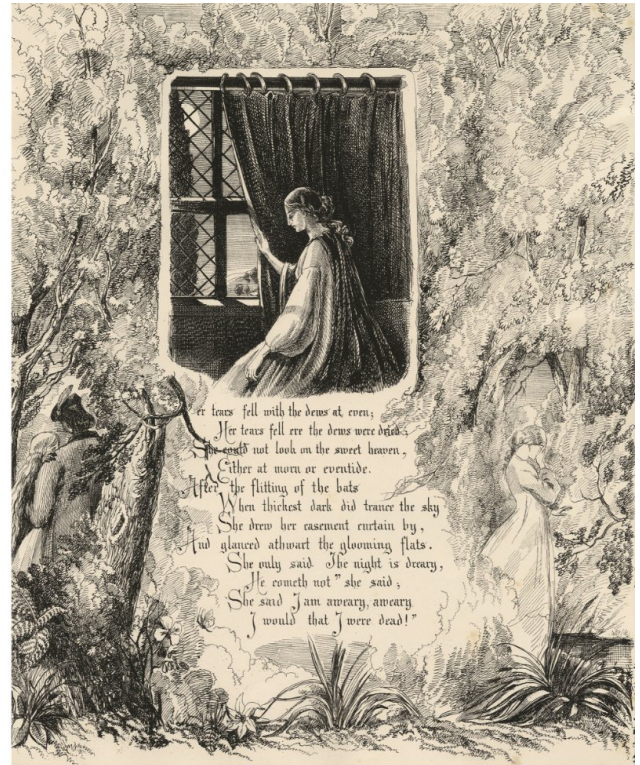


The writer/poet Violet Fane (Mary Singleton née Montgomerie Lamb, later Lady Currie, 1843-1905) and some of her writings.



Oscar Wilde (1854-1900), photo by Napoleon Sarony, c. 1882. | James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1834-1903) by Walter Greaves.





Top left: Another portrait of Violet Fane. From the cover of the book *Violet Fane* by Ceylan Kosker.  
Top-right: Page from *Mariana* by Tennyson, with etchings by Mary Montgomery Lamb (Worthing: O. Breads, 1863)  
Bottom-left: title page of *Collected Verses* by Violet Fane, with a handwritten dedication to Lady Harrington, July 1881.  
Bottom-right: *A Reception at the British Embassy, Constantinople, Lady Currie Welcoming her Guests.*  
By John Percival Gülich (1864-1894), for *The Graphic* of February 8, 1896.

Her name also appears as part of a circle planning to contribute to a planned newspaper named *Tomorrow*, initiated by Margot Asquith, Countess of Oxford and Asquith (1864-1945), who remembered:

The contributors on our staff were to have been Laurence Oliphant, J.K. Stephen, Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, Hon. George Curzon, George Wyndham, Godfrey Webb, Doll Liddell, Harry Cust, Mr. Knowles (the editor of the *Nineteenth Century*), the Hon. A. Lyttelton, Mr. A. J. Balfour, Oscar Wilde, Lord and Lady Ribblesdale, Mrs. (now Lady) Horner, Sir Algernon West, Lady Frances Balfour, Lord and Lady Pembroke, Miss Betty Ponsonby (the present Mrs. Montgomery), John Addington Symonds, Dr. Jowett (the Master of Balliol), M. Coquelin, Sir Henry Irving, Miss Ellen Terry, Sir Edward Burne-Jones, Mr. George Russell, Mrs. Singleton (alias Violet Fane, afterwards Lady Currie), Lady de Grey, Lady Constance Leslie and the Hon. Lionel Tennyson.<sup>47</sup>

The *Dictionary of Literary Biography* reports:

“She was well known in London society as a great beauty and a witty conversationalist. A sense of her power in that society can be obtained from W. H. Mallock’s *The New Republic* (1877), which he dedicated “To ‘Violet Fane’ authoress of ‘Anthony Babington’ ‘The Queen of the Fairies,’ etc....” A roman *à clef*, Mallock’s work portrays a country house party attended by famous cultural, political, and intellectual figures of the day. That Mallock placed Lady Currie, called Mrs. Sinclair in the novel, in the company of more important writers such as Thomas Huxley, Benjamin Jowett, Matthew Arnold, and John Ruskin can be attributed only to his deep affection for her. She is portrayed as being quintessentially feminine, witty, and somewhat sly in conversational manner. One character in the novel tells another that “That ... is Mrs. Sinclair, who has published a volume of poems, and is a sort of fashionable London Sappho.”<sup>48</sup>

### **Stoker’s personal contact with other *SPR* members**

From the *Personal Reminiscences*, we also learn that Stoker personally knew two further prominent *SPR* members, Tennyson and Gladstone.

“In a whole group of men of his own time Tennyson would have, to any physiognomist, stood as a fighter. A glance at his mouth would at once enlighten any one who had the seeing eye. In the group might be placed a good many men, each prominent in his own way, and some of whom might not *prima facie* be suspected of the quality. In the group, all of whom I have known or met, might be placed Archbishop Temple, John Bright, Gladstone, Sir Richard Burton, Sir Henry Stanley, Lord Beaconsfield, Jules Bastien-Lepage, Henry Ward Beecher, Professor Blackie, Walt Whitman, Edmund Yates. I have selected a few from the many, leaving out altogether all classes of warriors in whom the fighting quality might be expected.”<sup>49</sup>

This little list demonstrates that Stoker knew these *SPR* members from nearby. In Volume 2 of the *Reminiscences*, 1906 edition, there are many references to the friendship between Alfred Lord Tennyson and Walt Whitman, about Tennyson’s plays, his burial, etc., which demonstrate Stoker’s intimate knowledge about the poet laureate. According to Belford, “Stoker added Gladstone and Tennyson to his personal pantheon” in the early 1880’s, after he and Florence had moved to 27, Cheyne Walk, in

47 Margot Asquith, *An Autobiography – Two Volumes in One* (ca. 1922, now as [Project Gutenberg ebook](#)). In Chapter 2, she quotes a letter by Dr. Benjamin Jowett of Balliol College, University of Oxford, dated October 23, 1890.

48 *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, lemma “Violet Fane,” retrieved September 7, 2012. Mrs. Singleton took her pen name from Benjamin Disraeli’s novel *Vivian Grey* (1826).

49 Stoker, *Personal Reminiscences*, 1907, 129-30.

London-Chelsea.<sup>50</sup> Farson indicates that “Bram became a personal friend of Lord Tennyson from the time of his visit to *Hamlet* in 1879, when Bram spoke to him afterwards.”<sup>51</sup> The Stoker family website even indicates 1876 as the year Stoker and Tennyson first met.<sup>52</sup> Starting on January 3, 1881, the *Lyceum Theatre* staged *The Cup* by Tennyson; during the months before Irving frequently wrote to the writer’s son Hallam to discuss details of his role of Synorix.<sup>53</sup> In 1891, Tennyson gave the rights to *Becket* to Irving, who wanted to shorten it; Stoker was sent to the Island of Wight, to negotiate the royalties and Irving’s modifications. Florence accompanied him on this trip, which took place only eleven days before Tennyson deceased on October 6, 1892.<sup>54</sup>

Regarding William Ewart Gladstone, Stoker mentions *The Corsican Brothers* as the first play under Irving’s management Gladstone came to see, on January 3, 1881.<sup>55</sup> According to Belford, Gladstone admired Florence Stoker’s beauty and used to discuss his Home Rule politics with Stoker.<sup>56</sup> In the Leeds collection of Stoker’s correspondence, we find four letters by Gladstone to Stoker, dated November 18, 1890 - May 27, 1897, and one letter to Irving, dated April 8, 1886.

### Gertrude Tennant’s salon

Both Tennyson and Gladstone are mentioned as visitors to Gertrude Tennant’s salon. Gertrude’s life, her salon and the career of her daughters are a good example of how London’s elite was interconnected. Gertrude had a love affair with Gustave Flaubert and was in touch with notables such as D’Israeli, Mark Twain, Thomas Huxley, Henry James, Elizabeth Barrett Browning<sup>57</sup> and Victor Hugo.<sup>58</sup> She was a cousin of the popular novelist, playwright and poet Charles Hamilton Aidé (1826-1906). Hamilton was in touch with Irving as early as 1875<sup>59</sup> and appears on his guest list.<sup>60</sup> Gertrude wrote a letter to Irving in 1886;<sup>61</sup> several people named “Tennant” appear on Irving’s guest list.<sup>62</sup>

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50 Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 128-132. Stoker, *Personal Reminiscences*, 1907, 128, states that Tennyson was friends with Irving before Stoker met the latter in 1876. Paul Murray, *From the Shadow of Dracula: A Life of Bram Stoker* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004), 117 indicates that Stoker first met Tennyson in March 1879, introduced by James Knowles at the *Lyceum Theatre*.

51 Farson, *The Man Who Wrote Dracula*, 120. This must have been the London series of *Hamlet* performances, in the *Lyceum Theatre*.

52 Website of the Stoker Family Estate, “Circle of Friends,” retrieved September 7, 2012.

53 Database of Irving’s correspondence, letters of November and December 1880.

54 Jeffrey Richards, *Henry Irving – A Victorian Actor and His World* (London: Bloomsbury Continuum, 2005), 342. See also the website of the Stoker Family Estate. According to Stoker, *Personal Reminiscences*, 1906, Vol. 1, 247, the *Lyceum Theatre* staged Tennyson’s play *The Foresters* in 1892. Other sources mention the US production first, and the London production only for October 1893, in *Daly’s Theatre*.

55 Stoker, *Personal Reminiscences*, 1906, Vol. 1, 166, and 1907, 107.

56 Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 131.

57 I could not establish whether the poet Elizabeth Barrett (1806-61, daughter of Edward Moulton-Barrett) was related to Myers’ co-author Prof. William Fletcher Barrett (1844-1925, son of William Garland Barrett), who – like Elizabeth – had his roots in Jamaica.

58 See David Waller, *The Magnificent Mrs. Tennant: The Adventurous Life of Gertrude Tennant, Victorian Grande-Dame* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009).

59 Collection of Irving’s correspondence. The Brotherton collection in Leeds also contains a letter from Hamilton to Irving dated July 25, 1898. In Irving’s correspondence, we also find one of May 31, 1890. According to the database, Aidé may have been revising *Ravenswood*.

60 Stoker, *Personal Reminiscences*, 1906, Vol. 1, 323.

61 In the [database of Irving’s letters](#). Retrieved November 23, 2021.

62 “Mrs. Tennant” and “Mr. and Mrs. F. Tennant”, see Stoker, *Personal Reminiscences*, 1906, Vol. 1, 326.

Both Eveleen and her one year older sister Dorothy were artists in their own right. As a child, Eveleen posed for Julia Margaret Cameron, one of the female pioneers of photography, who in 1864 also portrayed Ellen Terry, then aged only 16. In 1888, Eveleen picked up photography as a hobby. Apart from picturing her husband and her children, she portrayed Sidgwick together with the Italian medium Eusapia Palladino, the American medium Eleonore Piper and – more than once – Henry Irving, as well as a series of other notables such as Lord Acton (1834-1902), Arthur Balfour, Joseph Chamberlain, Robert Browning, Henry Morton Stanley, William James, Edmund Gosse, Oliver Lodge, along with the already mentioned Tennyson and Gladstone.<sup>63</sup> Eveleen was widely acclaimed for the results, established a studio in Cambridge and exhibited at the *Linked Ring Salon* in the early 1890's. Her independence was also manifest when after the tragic death of Myers' research partner Edmund Gurney in 1888 she donated 10 £ for creating an Edmund Gurney Library Fund, just like her husband Frederic and his brother Arthur; Sidgwick's spouse also contributed 10 £ in her own name, while the Rayleighs donated 10 £ together. Podmore gave 2 £ 2 s., Prof. Barrett 1 £ 1 s. and Charles Lloyd Tuckey donated 1 £.<sup>64</sup>

Dorothy Tennant (1855-1926) studied painting at the *Slade School* under Poynter and Legros, later in Paris under Henner. Her work appeared in magazines and exhibitions. Besides nude nymphs and dryads, she pictured little street rascals; the work *First Offence* shown here was shown at the *New Gallery* in 1896 and acquired by Henry Tate, who requested her to produce additional works in this genre for him.<sup>65</sup>

Both sisters were known for their beauty, so that in turn, they were portrayed by George Frederic Watts and Sir John Everett Millais. In 1877, Dorothy sat for the painting "No" by Millais, featuring a young woman with a letter declining a marriage proposal; in Watts' painting she figures with a squirrel.<sup>66</sup> Eveleen is shown by Watts with a red umbrella and cape, matching her reddish hair; this work was exhibited in 1880, when she was 24. In the work by Millais, we see the same large eyes in a sensitive face.

### **Painting and being painted**

Both by virtue of their mother's reputation, their own artistic work and of the portraits made of them, the Tennant sisters were celebrities long before Stoker visited Myers in Cambridge. In 1890, Dorothy married the explorer Henry Morton Stanley, knighted in 1899, which only added to her public status. Stoker reports of a dinner evening with Stanley – then still a bachelor – at the *Garrick Club* on October 22, 1882, also attended, among others, by the newspaper man Joseph Hatton and Angela Baroness Burdett-Coutts.<sup>67</sup> After the publication of *A Glimpse of America*, Stanley wrote to Stoker that he admired his booklet.<sup>68</sup>

63 Prints in the collection of the *National Portrait Gallery*. See page 21 of this essay for examples.

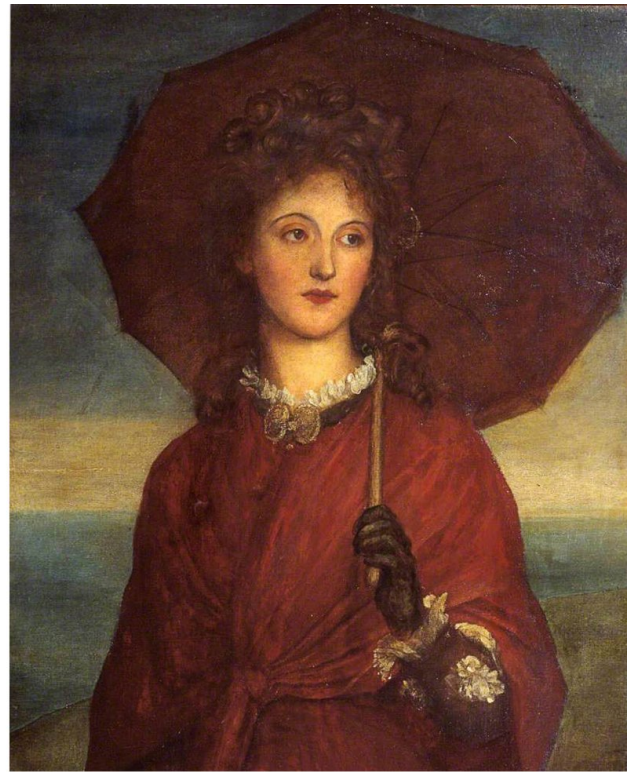
64 Anon., "Edmund Gurney Library Fund," *Proceedings of the SPR* 5 (1889): 575-589.

65 Source: <https://gardenofpraise.com/artprint74.htm>, retrieved September 3, 2012. See also Gilbert Keith Chesterton, ed., *Famous Paintings Selected from the World's Great Galleries and Reproduced in Colour* (London/New York: Cassell, 1913), Vol. 2, Plate 34. Also [here](#).

66 John Guille Millais, *The Life and Letters of Sir John Everett Millais, President of the Royal Academy* (London: Methuen, 1905, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition)(=abridged, one-volume edition), 248.

67 Stoker, *Personal Reminiscences*, 1906, Vol. 1, 362ff. Together with Hatton, Loveday and Irving, Stoker spent time in the Netherlands – see Joseph Hatton, "A Rip van Winkle on Wheels," Chapter 34 of *Revelations on an Album, The Idler* 10 of August 1896-January 1897, 792-793, retrieved August 31, 2012. The wealthy Angela Baroness Burdett-Coutts is hinted at in *Dracula* – see Bernard Davies, "Inspirations, Imitations and In-Jokes in Stoker's *Dracula*," in Miller, *The Shade and the Shadow*, 131-137.

68 Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 190.



Top left: *Dorothy Tennant, Later Lady Stanley*, by George Frederic Watts, Tate/National Gallery.

Top right: *Portrait of Eveleen Tennant (later Mrs. F.W.H. Myers)*, by George Frederic Watts.

Bottom left: *Dorothy Tennant in No*, by Everett Millais.

Bottom right: *Miss Eveleen Tennant*, by Everett Millais, 1874, Tate Gallery.

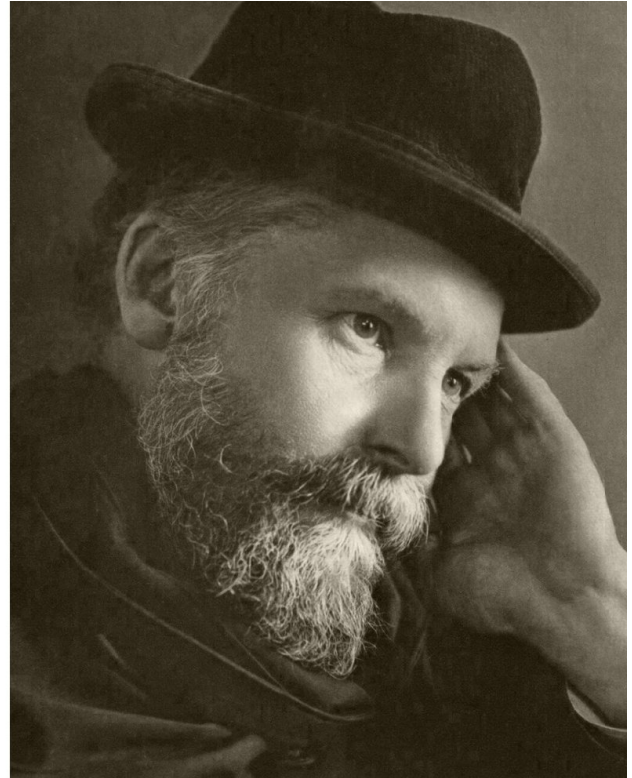
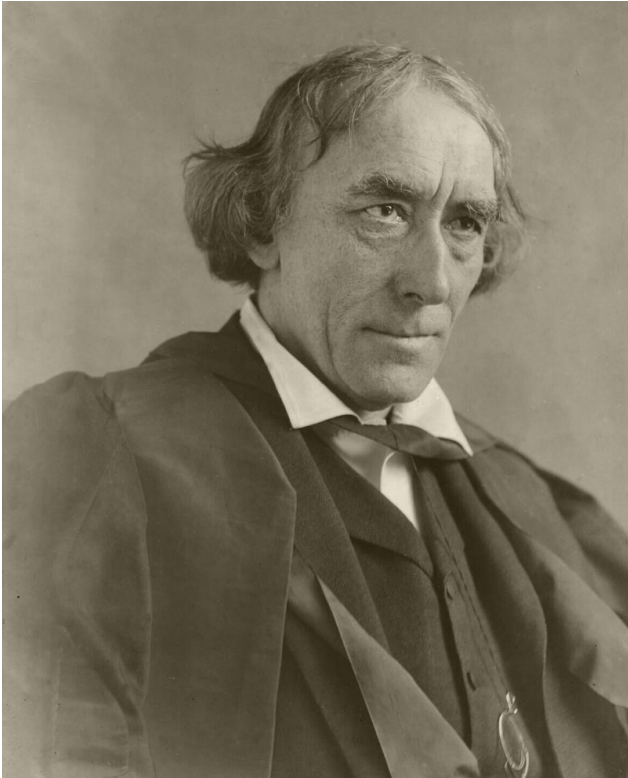


Photo portraits by Eveleen Myers née Tennant.

Top left: Henry Irving, Bram Stoker's employer and the most celebrated actor of his time. Platinum print, published 1900.

Top right: Frederic William Henry Myers, Eveleen's husband. Photogravure, late 1890s, after platinum print, c. 1890.

Bottom left: portrait of Marie King, with Harold Hawthorn Myers. Platinum print, c. 1890..

Bottom right: Adelaide Augusta Floyd Passingham. Platinum print, 1889.

All digital reproductions were made by the *National Portrait Gallery* from items in their collection.



Charles Goldsborough Anderson, *William Rufus Building the Tower of London*, mural for the *Royal Exchange*, 1911.

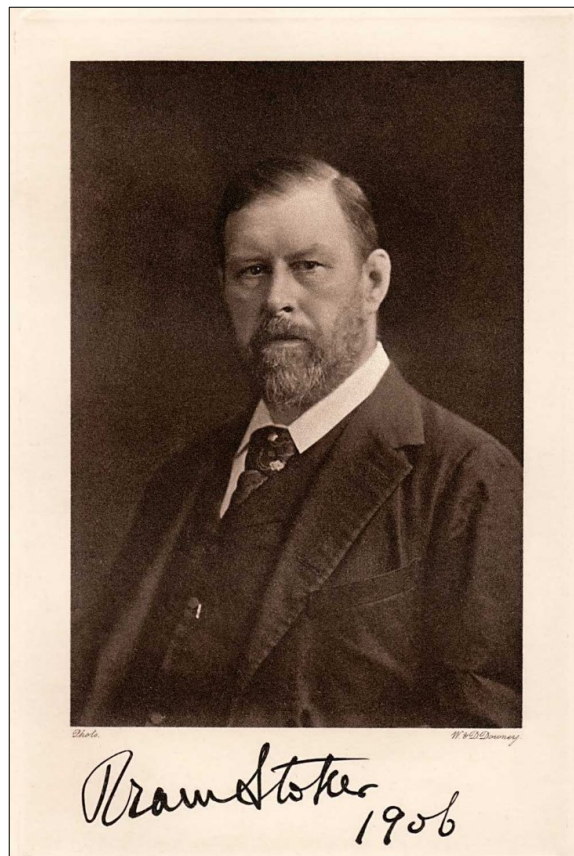


Photo of Bram Stoker made in the studio of Downey, 1906

While the Tennant sisters in their twenties already had been portrayed by two of the most gifted painters of their time, Mrs. Bram Stoker – “one of the three most beautiful women in London”, according to George du Maurier<sup>69</sup> – had to wait until 1895 before the sketch Oscar Wilde had made from her at age 17<sup>70</sup> was followed up by an oil painting by Walter Frederick Osborne, a success at the summer exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts in 1895.<sup>71</sup> And while Myers, Stanley, Irving, Gladstone, Balfour, Acton and Tennyson all had sat for masterly oil paintings before they had reached the age of 55, the first professional portrait of Bram Stoker seems to be a photo made in 1906 by the studio of W. & D. Downey of Ebury Street, London, a respected commercial enterprise specializing in parliamentarians and royalty.<sup>72</sup> The first painting of Stoker I could identify was by Charles Goldsborough Anderson, who in 1911 asked the red-bearded giant to model for his mural of *William Rufus Building the Tower of London* for the *Royal Exchange*<sup>73</sup> and also made an oil on canvas portrait of him, a photo of which Stoker used to promote his book *Famous Impostors*. It appeared in *The Bookman* of January 1911, one year before Stoker's death at age 67.<sup>74</sup> While in 2012, the painted portraits of the Tennant sisters and of Myers, Stanley, Irving, Gladstone, Balfour, Acton and Tennyson could all be easily accessed as quality images through the Internet, I searched in vain for the mentioned portraits by Walter Frederick Osborne and Charles Goldsborough Anderson.<sup>75</sup> These subtle differences in representation may hint at the fact that the Stokers stood one step lower on the social ladder than the prominent personalities the novelist and theater manager would meet through his work for Irving.

### The London gentlemen's clubs

The exclusive *Garrick Club* where Irving hosted Stanley was frequented by Charles Dickens and William Makepeace Mackeray (*Vanity Fair*, 1848) during the middle of the 19th century. The club's newsletter published in 1911 mentions Irving in a list of 100 famous deceased members.<sup>76</sup> Although Bram Stoker's name does not appear here, according to the Stoker family website the novelist and theater manager was admitted here as well and in William Hughes' bibliography, we find eleven letters from Stoker to the journalist and Irving's biographer Percy Fitzgerald in 1906, held at the Fitzgerald Collection at the *Garrick Club*.<sup>77</sup> Moreover, Stoker was a member of *The Arts Club* from 1886-1896, where he was in touch with Goldsborough Anderson.<sup>78</sup> Around 1902, Stoker's membership in clubs and associations included the *Dramatic Debaters*, the *Society of Authors*, the *Shakespeare Memorial Society*, the *Urban Club*, and the *New Vagabond Club* (with Hall Caine).<sup>79</sup>

69 E.V. Lucas, “The Creator of Trilby,” *London Times* of March 6, 1934, see Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 228, note on p. 350. For an excerpt with the relevant quote, see the [website of the Bram Stoker Estate](#). Retrieved December 15, 2021.

70 Now in the *Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center Art Collection*, University of Texas at Austin, see Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 84 and 378.

71 Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 246.

72 Now in the *National Portrait Gallery*, [inventory no. NPG x3769](#).

73 Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 310.

74 Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 318.

75 Only recently, I found Goldsborough Anderson's painting in digitized form on Shopify, while [a website by Susan Wands](#) on *Medium* (retrieved November 9, 2021) shows a profile sketch of Florence by Burne-Jones and Osborne's 1895 painting, probably reproduced from the black-and-white illustration in Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 246.

76 English Wikipedia, lemma “Garrick Club.” Retrieved September 7, 2012.

77 Richards, *Sir Henry Irving*, xi, and William Hughes, *Bram Stoker: A Bibliography* (Brisbane: Historical Fiction Research Group, 1997), 45.

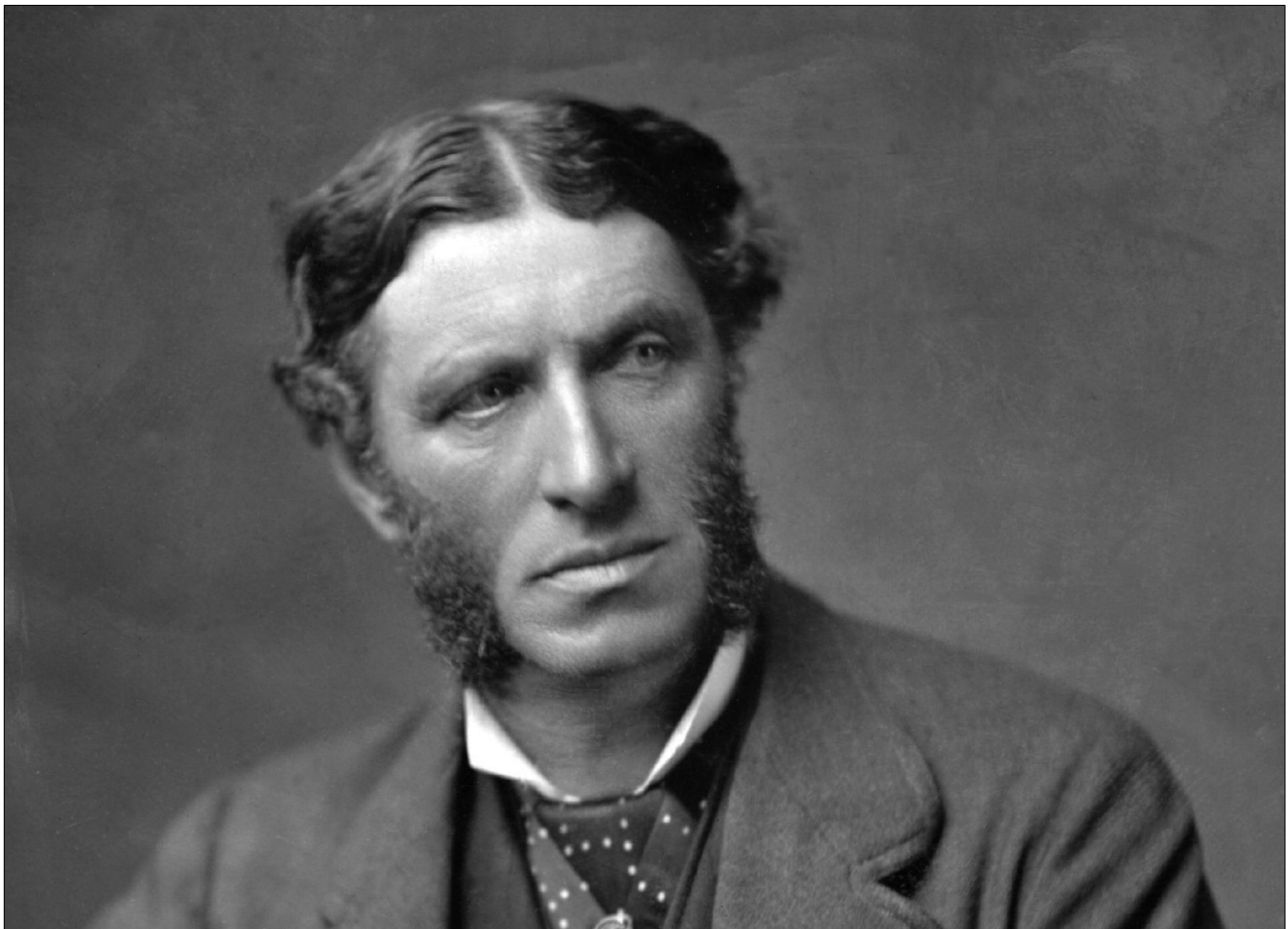
78 See “[The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler, Bram Stoker](#),” Database of the University of Glasgow, retrieved September 9, 2012.

79 See Anon., “Bram Stoker (1847-1912),” [http://ricorso.net/rx/az-data/authors/s/Stoker\\_B/life.htm](http://ricorso.net/rx/az-data/authors/s/Stoker_B/life.htm), retrieved September 9, 2012.



### The correspondence of Matthew Arnold

The London gentlemen's clubs were an extremely powerful hub for building social contacts and careers. If we look through the many letters written by Matthew Arnold (1822-1888), a celebrated poet and essayist, we find that many of them were sent from the illustrious *Athenaeum Club* at 10, Pall Mall, where Dickens and Mackeray had been members as well, followed by Stoker's contemporaries Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (Lewis Carroll), George du Maurier, Thomas Hardy, Rudyard Kipling, John Ruskin, Robert Louis Stevenson, Alfred Lord Tennyson, Charles Darwin, Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, Sir Edward Burne-Jones, Sir John Everett Millais (also a member in the *Garrick Club*, donating a painting he made of Irving in 1884), Edward J. Poynter, John William Waterhouse, George Frederick Watts and Sir Frederic Leighton (1830-1896, President of the *Royal Academy of Arts* and honorary member of the *SPR*, just like Watts<sup>80</sup>), among many others. From its noble premises, Arnold – employed as a school inspector since 1851 – wrote four of his eight letters to his colleague Frederic Myers and one to Eveleen Myers, documenting a longtime personal contact with the Cambridge couple.



Matthew Arnold. Photo: Edouard Rischgitz. Source: poetryfoundation.org.

As early as 1878, Arnold invited Irving for dinner; he corresponded with *SPR* member William James and his brother, the novelist/critic Henry James (who also was part of Irving's social circle,<sup>81</sup> with

80 Frederic Myers, obituary for Sir Frederic Leighton, in *Fragments of Poetry and Prose*, ed. Eveleen Tennant Myers (London: Longmans, Green, 1904), 86. Also [here](#). Identical in *Journal of the SPR* 7, no. 116 (February 1896): 208.

81 See Edwards, *Albert Gilbert's Aestheticism*, 136, as already mentioned in footnote 11 of this essay.

William Ewart Gladstone, Lord Acton, the biologist Thomas Henry Huxley,<sup>82</sup> Professor Henry Sidgwick, Edward Henry Stanley, the architect James Thomas Knowles (already mentioned as editor of *The Nineteenth Century*;<sup>83</sup> also editor of *The Contemporary Review*; in 1869 he designed Tennyson's house in Aldworth), Prof. Max Müller, George Frederic Watts and the poet/essayist Violet Fane,<sup>84</sup> to name just the persons playing a role in the network this essay has set out to map.<sup>85</sup> Arnold also belonged to the social circle of Arminius Vámbéry, who had impressed Irving and Stoker during his 1889 lecture tour in England and also was in touch with the Dickens family.<sup>86</sup> A photo shows Bram Stoker at a costumed ball together with Mrs. Henry Dickens, the wife of Charles Dickens' youngest son.<sup>87</sup>

Two of Arnold's letters, of July 7, 1884 and of March 22, 1887, are directed to Stoker, to excuse his absence from a theater performance and from a committee formed to raise a testimonial fund for Dr. Westland Marston. Other than most other letters, opening with "My dear Myers" or "Dear Mr. Irving", these two short notes commence with the impersonal "Dear Sir" – again suggesting a certain social distance.

### Periodicals and medical books

In light of the network of personal connections outlined above, it seems safe to say that Bram Stoker, though neither of aristocratic background nor wealthy, and still far removed from literary fame, in the 1880's and 90's was closely in touch with the leading circles of his time fascinated by esoteric phenomena. But personal contact was not the only way to stay informed. Periodicals such as *The Nineteenth Century*, *The Contemporary Review*, *The Fortnightly Review*, *The Spectator*, *Cornhill Magazine*, *The Athenaeum*, *The Idler*, *Longman's Magazine*, *The Edinburgh Review*, etc. discussed the newest scientific, literary and social trends. Before radio, television and the Internet appeared, newspapers, magazines and journals played a dominant role in communication on such issues. The *SPR* published its *Journal* and its *Proceedings*, while the Theosophists around Helena Blavatsky issued *Lucifer. Arena*,<sup>88</sup> *Forum*, *Overland* and *Popular Science Monthly* highlighted the discussion around hypnosis, telepathy and esoteric issues.<sup>89</sup> Physicians would peruse the *Glasgow Medical Journal*, the *Dublin Journal of Medical & Chemical Science*, and the *British Medical Journal*, among others.<sup>90</sup>

82 As we have seen, Irving, Henry James, Gladstone and Huxley also belonged to the salon guests of Gertrude Tennant.

83 See p. 4 of this essay.

84 See the section on Mary. Singleton, pp. 15-18 of this essay.

85 Cecil Y. Lang, ed., *The Letters of Matthew Arnold – A Digital Edition*, Rotunda, consulted on September 9, 2012. See also Bruce Kinzer, "Relating the Finite to the Infinite. Leslie Stephen, the *Metaphysical Society*, and Intellectual Life in Victorian England," *The Fortnightly Review*, (new series), January 9, 2021, retrieved October 29, 2021.

86 David Mandler, "[Vambéry, Victorian Culture and Stoker's \*Dracula\*](#)," in *Comparative Hungarian Cultural Studies*, ed. Steven Tötösy de Zepetnek and Louise Olga Vasvári (Purdue University Press, 2011): 54.

87 Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 133.

88 E.g. Benjamin Orange Flower, "[Hypnotism and its Relation to Psychological Research](#)," *Arena* 5 (1892): 316-334.

In *Arena* 6 (1892): 208-218, Flower (the magazine's editor) wrote another article under the title "[Hypnotism and Mental Suggestion](#)."

89 Moss, "The Psychiatrist's Couch," 129.

90 As Stoker's brothers were all physicians, it can be assumed that Bram discussed medical topics with them. Stoker's notes show that Thornley reviewed *Dracula's* medical details and contributed comments and sketches. Some authors suspect that the character of Renfield was based on Thornley's wife, Emily. See Elizabeth Winter, "[All in the Family: A Retrospective Diagnosis of R.M. Renfield in Bram Stoker's \*Dracula\*](#)," *Journal of Dracula Studies* 12 (2010), Article 3, and Anne Stiles, "[Bram Stoker's Brother, the Brain Surgeon](#)," in *Progress in Brain Research*, ed. Anne Stiles, Stanley Finger, and François Boller, Vol. 205 (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2013), 211, quoting from Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 244 and 316.

Two years before the novelist started taking notes for *Dracula*, Charles Lloyd Tuckey published an informative article on hypnosis in *The Nineteenth Century*.<sup>91</sup> He also published in *The Lancet*, *The Contemporary Review* and *Science*.<sup>92</sup> Furthermore, he contributed a review entitled *Recent Books on Hypnotism* to the 1895 *Proceedings of the SPR*, Vol. 11, to which Myers also made three contributions.<sup>93</sup> Further contributions by Milne Bramwell and Tuckey followed there: in 1896-97, the former contributed an article on hypnotism in which he worded a strong critique of Charcot and his Paris or Salpêtrière School.<sup>94</sup> Alexander Taylor-Innes and George Chadwick Kingsbury published articles on hypnotism and crime in *The Nineteenth Century* in 1890 and 1891 respectively, while Charcot contributed an article on this topic to *Forum of New York*.<sup>95</sup> Kingsbury also published "Should we give Hypnotism a Trial?" in the *Dublin Journal of Medical Science* of May 1891.

Myers equally published in *The Nineteenth Century*. In June 1882, he contributed an article on thought-reading, together with Edmund Gurney and Prof. William Fletcher Barrett,<sup>96</sup> in October 1883 an article on mesmerism, in May and July 1884 on apparitions (all with Gurney), besides articles on George Sand, Archbishop Trench, Victor Hugo (2 parts), Ernest Renan (2 parts) and Tennyson (2 parts). His ground breaking essay *Multiplex Personality* appeared in November 1886.<sup>97</sup>

Ewart C. Theodore's "The Power of Suggestion" appeared in *The Nineteenth Century* in 1890,<sup>98</sup> Ernest Hart's "Hypnotism and Humbug" was published there two years later<sup>99</sup> and followed by a little book.<sup>100</sup>

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- 91 Charles Lloyd Tuckey, "[Faith Healing as a Medical Treatment. The Work of Dr. Liébault in Nancy Using Suggestion and Hypnosis.](#)" *The Nineteenth Century* 24, no. 142 (December 1888): 839-850. Text retrieved June 9, 2013. See also James Knowles, *The Nineteenth Century and After – Catalogue of Contributors and Contributions, from March 1871 to December 1901*, 148, and Sally Davis, "Charles Lloyd Tuckey."
- 92 "[Cases Treated by Hypnotism and Suggestion.](#)" *The Lancet* 134, no. 3443 (August 24, 1889): 365-67; "[The Applications of Hypnotism.](#)" *The Contemporary Review* 60 (November 1891): 672-686, also on [Archive.org](#); "[The Applications of Hypnotism.](#)" *Science* 18, no. 462 (December 11, 1891): 328-331; "[A New Hypnotism: A Reply to Mr. E. Hart's 'The Revival of Witchcraft.'](#)" *The Contemporary Review* 63 (March 1893): 416-419. For a more complete overview of Tuckey's publications, see Gordon David Lyle Bates, "[The Survival of Suggestion: Charles Lloyd Tuckey and British Medical Hypnotism \(1888-1914\)](#)" (Unpublished thesis, Birkbeck University of London, 2021). Retrieved November 24, 2021.
- 93 Charles Lloyd Tuckey, "[Recent Books on Hypnotism](#)" (reviews), *Proceedings of the SPR* 11 (1895): 139-143.
- 94 Myers, *Human Personality*, 166 and 509, refers to John Milne Bramwell, "[What is Hypnotism?](#)" *Proceedings of the SPR* 12, (1896-1897), Part 31: 204-258. To the same Part 31, Bramwell also contributed "Personally Observed Hypnotic Phenomena" (176-203). Also [here](#).
- 95 As discussed in Chapter 10 of "Trends and Topics in *Mörkrets Makter*." Alexander Taylor Innes, "[Hypnotism in Relation to Crime and the Medical Faculty.](#)" *The Contemporary Review* 58, (October 1890): 556-566; George Chadwick Kingsbury, "[Hypnotism, Crime and the Doctors.](#)" *The Nineteenth Century* 29, no. 167 (January 1891): 145-153. Also [here](#) and [here](#); Jean-Martin Charcot, "[Hypnotism and Crime.](#)" *The Forum* (New York) 9 (March 1890): 159-168. Also [here](#). Alexander Taylor Innes proposed to penalize the abuse of hypnosis. Kingsbury, on the other hand, proposed to limit the use of hypnotic techniques to qualified medical professionals, instead of persecuting misuse *ex post facto*. Ironically, he was put to trial himself for having unduly influenced an elder lady to inherit her wealth to him, but the case was dismissed. See Tuckey, *Treatment by Hypnotism*, 5<sup>th</sup> edition 1907, 401-402 (for the 1900 4<sup>th</sup> edition, 368-369, mentioned by Gauld, *History*, 514, footnote 180).
- 96 Myers, Frederic W.H. (with Prof. Barrett and Edmund Gurney), "[Thought-Reading.](#)" *The Nineteenth Century* 11, no. 64 (June 1882): 890-900. Barrett later investigated the spiritualist messages presented by Hester Dowden, who had settled in London as a professional medium. Both Bram Stoker and Oscar Wilde were acquainted with her – see the following section on *The Golden Dawn*. Directly after "Thought-Reading," Knowles pointed to his article "[Brain-Waves – A Theory.](#)" *The Spectator* of January, 1869: 133, written 30 years before Röntgen's and Marconi's discoveries. In *The Nineteenth Century* 45, no. 267 (May 1899): 857-864, Knowles followed up with "[Wireless Telegraphy and 'Brain-Waves.'](#)"
- 97 See Knowles, *Catalogue*.
- 98 Ewart C. Theodore, "[The Power of Suggestion.](#)" *The Nineteenth Century* 28, no. 162 (August 1890): 252-259.
- 99 Discussed in *The New York Times*, February 7, 1892: 4, under the title "[Hypnotism and Humbug.](#)"
- 100 Ernest Abraham Hart, formerly Surgeon to the West London Hospital, *Hypnotism, Mesmerism, and the New Witchcraft. With Twenty Illustrations* (New York: D. Appleton, 1893). Review in *Popular Science Monthly* 43, October 1893.

In *Poole's Index to Periodical Literature*,<sup>101</sup> between 1887 and 1896, 64 entries related to “hypnosis” were listed.<sup>102</sup> At that time, hypnotism, telepathy and spiritualism were no fringe issues engaging only as small fraction of esoteric fans. As worded by Frannie Moyle in her Constance Wilde biography:

“It is hard to imagine the importance of mysticism and spiritualism in the latter half of the nineteenth century, but rather than lying on the peripheries of social interest, it lay at its heart. Séances were regularly held as the focus of social gatherings, and self-proclaimed mediums, professional and amateur, were highly visible. Constance's own interest in mesmerism as expressed in her juvenile letters, far from singling her out as unusual, merely shows the extent to which even the most conventional members of Victorian society were at least tolerant of and in other cases actively fascinated by the supernatural.”<sup>103</sup>

How fashionable mesmeric treatment was considered already in the 1840's is exemplified by this letter from William Wordsworth to Isabella Fenwick of January 25, 1845:

[Saturday,] January 25, 1845

Did we tell you that Mr Robinson and some of the Arnolds were present when Mrs Winyard performed upon Jane. Mary Arnold has taken most accurate memorandums of all that occurred, and you may see them yourself, but it should seem that nothing at all decisive happened, except that when the organ of veneration was touched the sleeper assumed an attitude and expression of devotion more beautiful than anything he, Mr R, ever beheld. When Miss M[artineau] drank tea at Mrs Arnold's on Thursday, Mrs. Wynyard (sic!) could not be of the Party, because Jane was by all means to be mesmerised on that day, it being *Thursday*, and on Thursdays the effects are always the *most striking*.”<sup>104</sup>

Belford reveals that Stoker made use of a personal clipping service;<sup>105</sup> possibly, the subject of hypnotism, which obviously was of great interest to the novelist, was included here.

*Phantasms of the Living* was released in 1886, four years before Stoker started taking his first notes on *Dracula*.<sup>106</sup> Myers' *Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death*<sup>107</sup> was already published as separate articles in the *Proceedings of the SPR* between 1891 and 1895,<sup>108</sup> so that Stoker may have read its relevant passages while he was still working on his vampire novel. In his article in *The Nineteenth Century*, Kingsbury pays tribute to Tuckey's book on hypnotism:

“In mentioning some names intimately associated with past or present hypnotism, the name of Dr. C. Lloyd Tuckey, of London, should always find an honoured place, for to his courage in publishing his *Psychotherapeutics*<sup>109</sup> in 1889 is largely, in fact mainly, due the present forward movement in England.”

101 William Fletcher, ed., *Poole's Index to Periodical Literature*, The Second Supplement from January 1, 1887 to January 1, 1892 (Second reprint: Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1958).

102 Mentioned by Moss, “The Psychiatrist's Couch,” 127.

103 Franny Moyle, *Constance: The Tragic and Scandalous Life of Mrs Oscar Wilde* (London: John Murray, paperback 2012), 165f.

104 Philip Wayne, ed., *Letters of William Wordsworth* (London/New York/Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1954), 284-285.

105 Belford, *Bram Stoker*, xiv. The results are archived in the Bram Stoker Collection of the *Shakespeare Library*, Stratford-on-Avon.

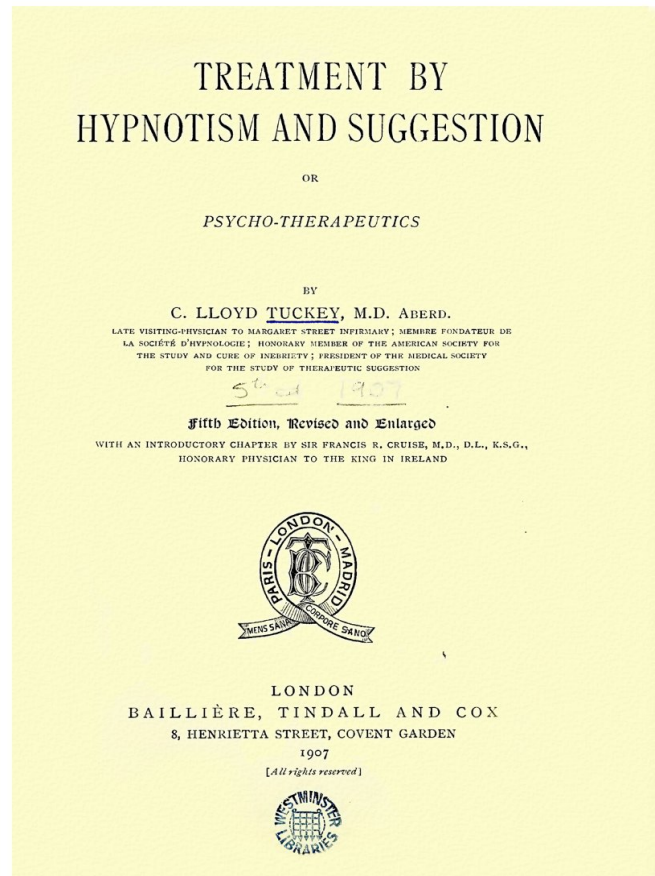
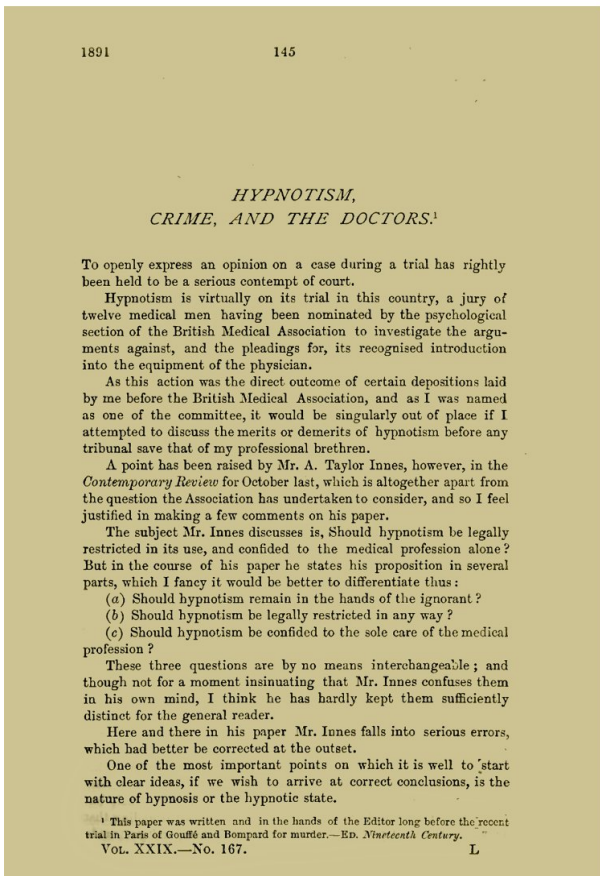
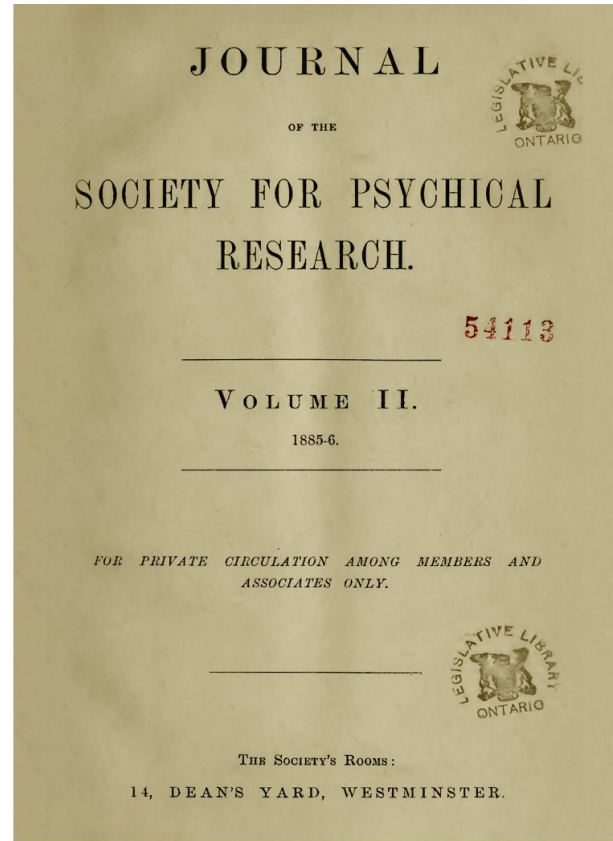
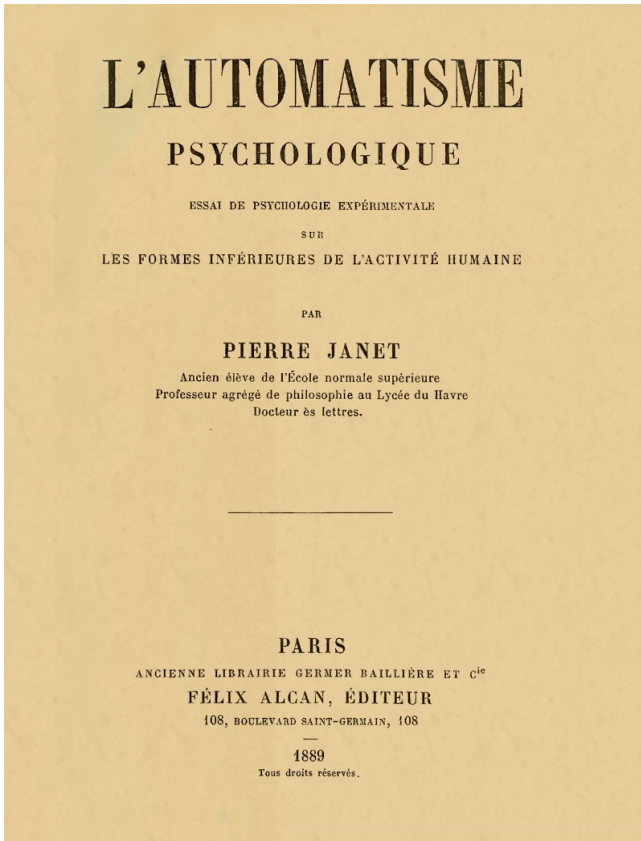
106 Edmund Gurney, Frederic W.H. Myers, and Frank Podmore. *Phantasms of the Living*, (London: Trübner, 1886).

[Vol. 1](#) | [Vol. 2](#).

107 Frederic W.H. Myers, *Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death* (London: Longmans, Green, 1903). [Vol. 1](#) | [Vol. 2](#).

108 Ingrid Kloosterma, “Capturing the Paranormal Scientifically. Suggestions for the Investigation of the History of Dutch Parapsychology,” (Master thesis ‘Historical and Comparative Studies of the Sciences and Humanities,’ University of Utrecht, August 24, 2009), 23, retrieved August 1, 2012.

109 Charles Lloyd Tuckey, *Treatment by Hypnotism and Suggestion, or Psycho-Therapeutics* (London: Baillière, Tindall & Cox, 1889). For later editions, see the bibliography. See also footnote 4 of this essay, and the illustration on the next page.



Key publications on subconsciousness/hypnosis. Pierre Janet, *L'automatisme psychologique* | *Journal of the Society for Psychical Research*; George Kingsbury, "Hypnotism, Crime and the Doctors" | Charles L. Tuckey, *Treatment by Hypnotism and Suggestion, or Psychotherapeutics*.

In his own book on hypnosis, that appeared in 1891, Kingsbury notes:

“As this is purely a practical book, and in no way concerned with any theories, not bearing on the treatment of disease, I must at once state that I deliberately exclude from our consideration here, Thought-Reading, Thought-Transference, Spiritualism, Clairvoyance, and all similar phenomena, which more or less imply something like a magnetic effluence from the operator or medium, to the subject – though I do not for one moment deny the great interest which attaches to their investigation. To those of my readers who wish to study these most fascinating subjects, I cordially recommend a perusal of the proceedings of the *Society for Psychical Research* (Trübner & Co.). This Society has been in existence since 1882, and the extent and quality of its investigations are astounding. The philosophic aspect of hypnotism has also received a large share of attention, and the observations of the Committee on hypnotism, and especially the reports of Messrs. Myres (sic!) and Gurney, will well repay careful perusal.”<sup>110</sup>

The *British Medical Association* took the matter to an official level by starting its own investigation:

“In 1892 the BMA had responded to the growing interest in hypnotherapy by commissioning a special committee of eleven doctors ‘to investigate the nature of the phenomenon of hypnotism, its value as a therapeutic agent, and the propriety of using it.’ In addition to studying the work of James Braid, the Committee sent representatives to Paris and Nancy to personally observe the experiments of Jean Martin Charcot and Hippolyte Bernheim – two of the most important figures in the history of hypnosis. Their report was received by the BMA and published in the *British Medical Journal*.”<sup>111</sup>

### Dr. Vincent at the North Hospital

The report of the *British Medical Association* was published on July 29, 1893.<sup>112</sup> In the same year, a now forgotten physician, Dr. Ralph Harry Vincent of Oxford (1870-1922), published *The Elements of Hypnotism*, aiming at a lay audience.<sup>113</sup> In his preface, Vincent thanks Charles Lloyd Tuckey “for his kindness for revising the chapter on the medical aspects of the question.” Not surprisingly, Charcot’s position is described as outdated and isolated, the experiments of Dr. Luys at the Charité as useless and compromised.<sup>114</sup> In Vincent’s book, we find again all the great names of hypnotic suggestion: Liébeault and Bernheim of Nancy, Forel of Zürich, Moll of Berlin, Schrenk-Notzing of Munich, Wetterstrand of Stockholm, Milne-Bramwell of Goole and Kingsbury of Blackpoole, Van Eeden and Van Renterghem of Amsterdam. In turn, Vincent is mentioned in the revised 1909 English edition of Dr. Albert Moll’s *Hypnotismus* (1889)<sup>115</sup> in a list of English researchers, together with Tuckey, Kingsbury, Hart and Coates.

Vincent’s name should ring a bell with *Dracula* readers. In Stoker’s novel, a Dr. Vincent is introduced as

110 George Chadwick Kingsbury, *The Practice of Hypnotic Suggestion: Being an Elementary Handbook for the Use of the Medical Profession* (Bristol: John Wright/London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1891), 17-18.

111 Quoted from Donald Robertson, “[Special Report: The Medical & Scientific Status of Hypnotherapy](#),” REBHP: Register for Evidence-Based Hypnotherapy & Psychotherapy, retrieved June 9, 2012. See also Moss, “The Psychiatrist’s Couch,” 127.

112 “Report of the Committee Appointed to Investigate the Nature of the Phenomena of Hypnotism, its Value as a Therapeutic agent, and the Propriety of Using it,” *British Medical Journal* of 29 July 1893. Reprinted in Tuckey, *Treatment by Hypnotism*, 6<sup>th</sup> edition 1913, 424. Noteworthy is that Van Helsing, while hypnotizing Mina on their way from Veresti to Castle Dracula, ignores the rule not to hypnotize a woman without a witness, as laid out in this report.

113 Ralph Harry Vincent, *The Elements of Hypnotism – The Induction of Hypnosis, its Phenomena, its Dangers and Value* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1893). Also at [Archive.org](#).

114 Tuckey heavily criticized Luys’ experiments at the Charité in his article “[A New Hypnotism](#)” of March 1893: 416-417.

115 Albert Moll, *Der Hypnotismus* (Berlin: Fischer’s Medicinische Buchhandlung H. Kornfeld, 1889)(2<sup>nd</sup> edition: 1890).

the physician treating the children molested by the “Bloofer Lady” at the “North Hospital.” Van Helsing informs us that Dr. Seward and Dr. Vincent attended medical classes together in Amsterdam. Lucy notes that Seward is young for a director of a complete asylum: he is “nine-and-twenty”. Ralph Harry Vincent published his book on hypnotism, partly based on his own practical experiences, at age 23. In 1897, when *Dracula* was published, he was 27 – a bright young talent Seward could have studied together with.

Instead of becoming a psychiatrist, Harry Vincent specialized in pediatrics: the healing of children. By the turn of the century, he was a Senior Resident Officer at the *Queen Charlotte's Lying-In Hospital* at Marylebone Road, near the south-west corner of Regent's Park.<sup>116</sup> It was the oldest hospital of its kind in London, offering women of the lower classes a facility to deliver their babies, while the richer mothers were taken care of at their private homes.<sup>117</sup> As one of the first maternity hospitals, it was also open to unmarried women, but only for their first baby: an example of the Victorian way of “educating” the poor. In this position, Vincent was confronted with the extremely high mortality rate of infants: both in New York and in a sample of 16 European cities, 10 percent of the new-born babies died within the first four weeks. In rural areas, the mortality was somewhat lower. In the urban working classes, with long working hours in factories or mills, crowded housing and poor food, infant mortality was highest.<sup>118</sup> As one of the causes of the terrifying number of deaths, Vincent identified improper nutritional habits, like feeding babies with starch, bread, sugar and fat, instead of milk. He also protested against the pasteurization and sterilization of milk, arguing these methods “destroy the very germ, *streptococcus lacticus*, on which the wholesomeness of the milk depends.”<sup>119</sup>

In 1903, he founded the *St Francis Hospital for Infants* (later called *Infant's Hospital*) in London-Hampstead, together with Helen Levi, the wife of Sir Robert Mond (1867-1938), the wealthy industrial chemist, who also engaged in archaeological expeditions in Egypt. The hospital itself was located at the modest premises of the former *St. Francis Cripples Home* at 10, Denning Road, just south of the Hampstead Heath. In 1904, Vincent published his book on the nutritional needs of children, praised by the medical press.<sup>120</sup> The same year, *The Infant's Health Society* was formed, with the aim of establishing medically supervised milk depots in order to ensure a “clean, constant and reliable milk supply”.<sup>121</sup> Dr. Vincent's private practice was south of Regent's Park, located at 1, Harley Street, the top address for physicians in the Victorian Age: Around 1860, ca. 20 doctors had their offices there, by 1900 there were 80 physicians, by 1914 almost 200.<sup>122</sup>

Although Stoker in 1897 could not have predicted the establishment of *St. Francis Hospital for Infants*, Vincent may have made himself a name as a pediatrician *before Dracula* was published. The novelist, with his excellent contacts in medical circles, may have picked up the name and used it in his vampire story.

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116 Thomas Ryan, *The History of Queen Charlotte's Lying-In Hospital, From its Foundation in 1752 to the Present Time* (London: The Hospital/Hutchings and Crowsley, 1885).

117 See Anon., “[Lost Hospitals of London](#),” retrieved September 11, 2012.

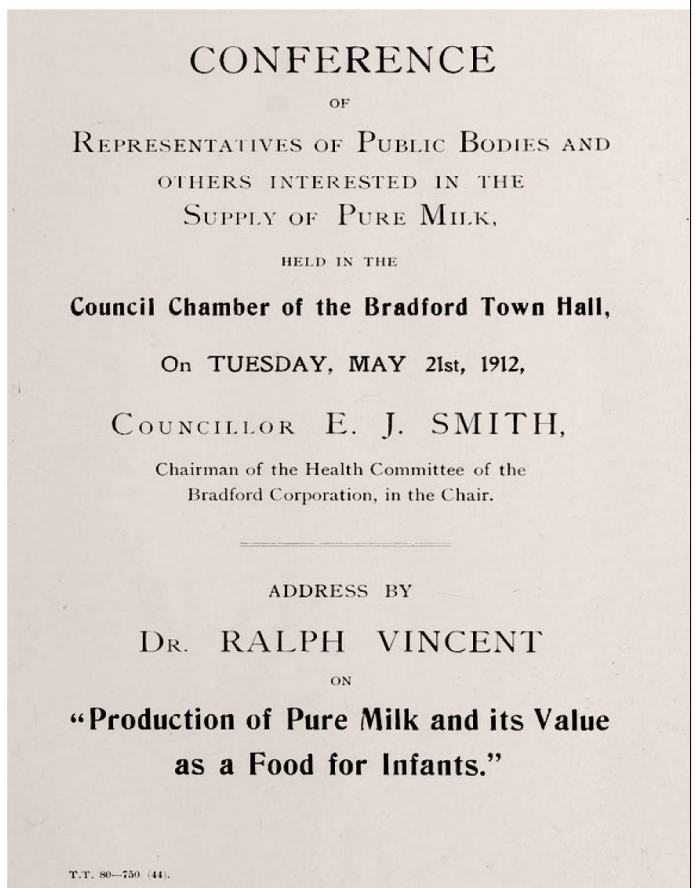
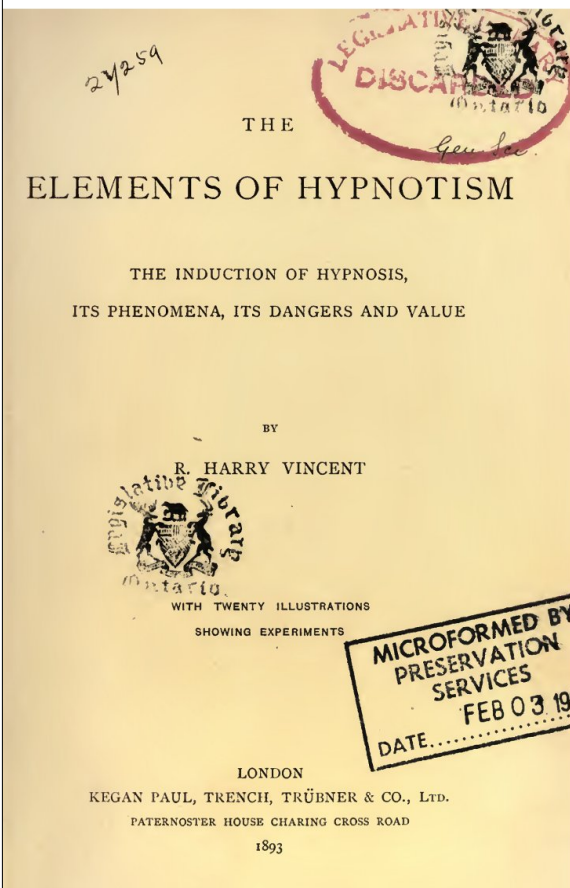
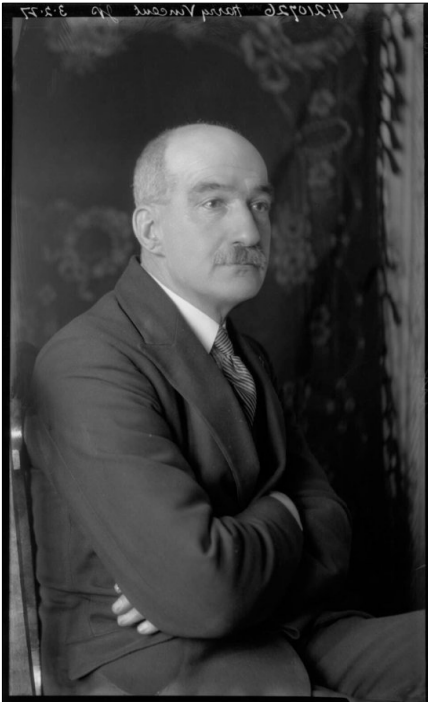
118 See Edwin E. Graham, M.D., *Infant Mortality, Chairman's Address before the Section on Diseases of Children*, at the *Fifty-Ninth Annual Session, American Medical Association*, 1908, *Journal of the American Medical Association* 51, no. 13 of September 26, 1908: 1045-1050.

119 Quoted from “[Pasteurization of Milk Criticized](#),” *American Journal of Nursing* 13, no. 5 (February 1913): 380.

120 Ralph Harry Vincent, *The Nutrition of the Infant* (London: Baillière, Tindall & Cox, 1904).

121 Quoted from Deborah Dwork, *What is Good for Babies and Other Young Children – A History of the Infant and Child Welfare Movement in England 1898-1918* (London: Tavistock, 1987), 109.

122 See [website “History of Harley Street](#),” retrieved September 11, 2012.



Top left: Portrait of one “Harry Vincent,” photo by Lafayette Ltd, in the *National Portrait Gallery*. The *NPG* does not have any information about the sitter’s background yet, but I suspect that it is Dr. Ralph Harry Vincent, the author of *Elements of Hypnotism* (bottom left).  
 Top right: The Infants Hospital, that started out as the St. Francis Hospital for Infants. It was founded in a small house in Denning Road, Hampstead, in 1903 by Helen Levis, wife of the industrial chemist and director of Brunner Mond & Co, Sir Robert Ludwig Mond (1867-1938, son of Ludwig Mond, 1839-1909), together with Dr. Vincent. The institution was named after the St. Francis Cripples’ Home, originally located at these premises. In 1904, its name was changed to “The Infants Hospital” to avoid confusion with another institution of the same name. After Helen’s death in 1905, Mond financed a purpose-built hospital as a memorial to her; the new Infants Hospital opened in 1907. Later, it merged with the Westminster Children’s Hospital at Vincent Square, Westminster. Source: [Lost Hospitals of London](#).



### Stoker's knowledge of medical literature

Besides Charcot, Stoker's novel mentions the work of Sir David Ferrier (1843-1928), a Scottish neurologist who developed the first brain maps, and the writing of the physiologist Sir John Scott Burdon-Sanderson:

"Had I even the secret of one such mind, did I hold the key to the fancy of even one lunatic, I might advance my own branch of science to a pitch compared with which Burdon-Sanderson's physiology or Ferrier's brain knowledge would be as nothing."

It is also claimed that Stoker was familiar with the work of W.B. Carpenter:

"Stoker [...] derives a number of his passages about the workings of the brain from the theories of the well-known professor of physiology, W.B. Carpenter, founder of the notion of "unconscious cerebration," a concept developed in his book *Principles of Mental Physiology* (1874). [...]"

Like Charcot, Freud and Breuer, Carpenter saw hypnotism as a form of "artificial somnambulism," a means of sending sensory impressions or commands for bodily movements that would bypass the conscious mind."<sup>123</sup>

Additionally, Stoker must have been familiar with the work of Franz Mesmer, to whom he dedicated a critical chapter in his 1910 book *Famous Impostors*; the practices of mesmerism are also depicted in *The Lair of the White Worm* (1911).

### Popular fiction and stage plays

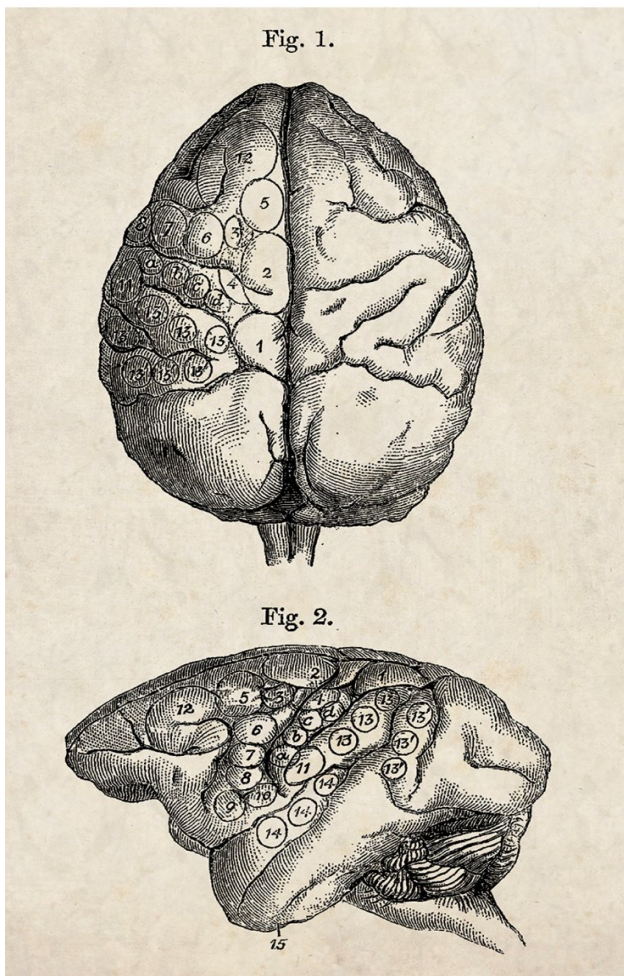
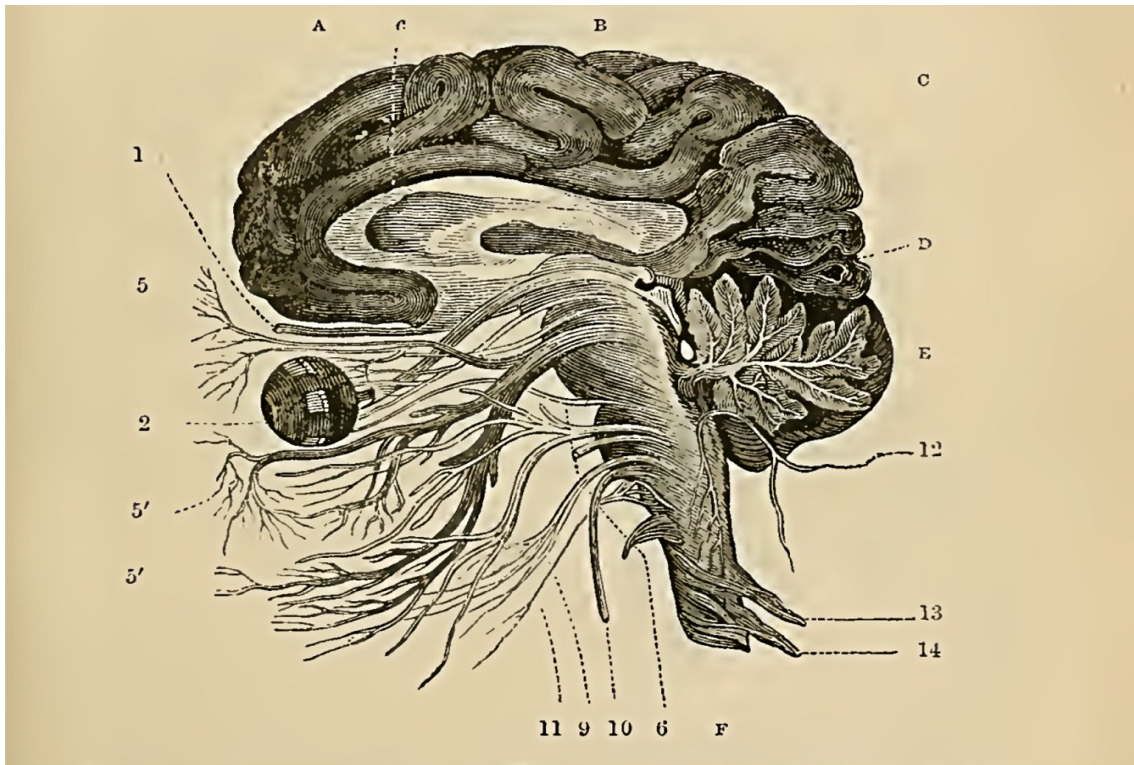
Not only medical and juridical specialists dealt with the topic of crime under hypnosis. In France, various novels dealt with the topic of crimes committed by split personalities. In 1880, William Mintorn wrote *Le somnambule*, about a respected minister who in a trance state turns into a rapist and child murderer. Under the pseudonym "Charles Epheyre", Charcot's student Charles Richet published *Possession* in 1885 and *Sœur Marthe* in 1887. *Sœur Marthe* dealt with a young religious orphan woman, who under hypnosis revealed herself as the heir to a great fortune and fell in love with the young doctor hypnotizing her. But before she could flee with him, her old, religious personality took over again.<sup>124</sup> In 1893, the play *Le procureur Hallers* by Henri de Gorsse and Louis Forest – based on the 1893 play *Der Andere* by Paul Lindau – was a big success in Paris; it dealt with a coroner trying to solve the mystery of a crime, which has been committed by another part of his own personality.<sup>125</sup>

123 Diane Long Hoeveler, "[Objectifying Anxieties: Scientific Ideologies in Bram Stoker's \*Dracula\* and \*The Lair of the White Worm\*,"](#) *Romanticism on the Net*, no. 44 (November 2006), Université de Montréal. Retrieved July 15, 2012.

Stiles, *Popular Fiction*, 5 and 54ff., equally claims that *Dracula* draws on Carpenter's work. Although the [abstract of her article](#) "Cerebral Automatism, the Brain, and the Soul in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*," *Journal of the History of the Neurosciences* 15, no. 2 (June 2006) states that "(Stoker's) composition notes for *Dracula* include typewritten pages on somnambulism, trance states, and cranial injuries", I only found typed notes related to psychology on [The Theory of Dreams](#) (attributed to Robert Gray, Bishop of Bristol)(London: F. C. & J. Rivington, 1808), with remarks on catalepsy and George Cheyne's book [The English Malady](#) (London, 1733)(Rosenbach #66-68, see Eighteen-Bisang and Miller, *Stoker's Notes*, 234-239), plus Thornley's *handwritten* notes on – indeed – cranial injuries (Rosenbach #45 a and b).

124 Richet's books were mentioned in Marie Pauline Rose Blaze de Bury, "[The Spiritualisation of Thought in France," \*The Contemporary Review\* 60 \(November 1891\): 652. Also at \[Archive.org\]\(#\).](#)

125 With thanks to Frans Gilson (telephone conversation of August 17, 2012 and email from Gilson of August 23, 2012).



Top: Illustration Nr. 11 from William B. Carpenter, *Principles of Mental Physiology* (London: Henry S. King, 1875).  
Bottom left: David Ferrier, brain map of a monkey, in his report "*Experiments on the Brain of Monkeys.--No. I.*" *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London* 23 (1874): 409-430. Ferrier established that, for example, region 12 was responsible for the eyes.  
Bottom right: Poster for the movie *Der Andere* (1930), based on Paul Lindau's stage play.

Stoker was keenly interested in the discussion on split personalities and the *Doppelgänger*-motif. According to Belford, he exchanged ideas on “the conflicts of duality, on nightmares and on the unconscious” with fellow-novelist Samuel Clemens, known as Mark Twain, in 1883 when he was in Chicago. Later, when Twain came to London, they would have discussed *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*.<sup>126</sup> Robert Louis Stevenson’s Gothic tale appeared in 1886 and was soon adapted for Richard Mansfield’s stage performances in the *Lyceum Theatre*.<sup>127</sup>

As early as 1880, Stevenson, together with William Ernest Henley, wrote the drama *Deacon Brodie*, based on the real life case of the respected Edinburgh cabinetmaker and deacon William Brodie (1741-1788), who abused the knowledge entrusted to him to organize a series of spectacular burglaries. In an 1893 interview with a New Zealand journalist,<sup>128</sup> Stevenson denied to have read about medical cases of split personalities before he wrote *Jekyll & Hyde* and Frederic Myers sent him his article about the case of Louis Vivet (*Multiplex Personality*).<sup>129</sup> Both *Multiplex Personality*<sup>130</sup> and *The Life-History of a Case of Double or Multiple Personality* by Frederic’s brother, Arthur T. Myers,<sup>131</sup> were published only *after Jekyll & Hyde* appeared. In his contribution to *Robert Louis Stevenson – Writer of Boundaries*, Richard Dury followed up a hint by Stevenson’s wife Fanny about a French paper about subconsciousness that allegedly inspired Stevenson’s story. Dury arrived at the articles published by Eugène Azam on the case of Félicité X. in French medical magazines of the 1870s.<sup>132</sup> Anne Stiles specifies that in France, Vivet’s case of multiple personality had been published in July 1885 already. But as Stevenson’s tale precisely describes a case of dual, not multiple personality,<sup>133</sup> Stiles agrees that the Félicité X. case was the probable model for Stevenson’s narrative. She adds that the Félicité X. and Sergeant F. cases were reported by Richard Proctor in *Cornhill Magazine* in 1875 and 1877 respectively<sup>134</sup> – widely circulated and discussed articles that may have informed Stevenson, who also contributed to this magazine.<sup>135</sup>

126 Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 164-165. Mentioned by Stiles, *Popular Fiction*, 76.

127 See Alan Sharp, *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Saucy Jacky*, [The Ripperologist](#), no. 55 (September 2004), retrieved November 11, 2021.

128 “Mr. R.L. Stevenson on Reading and Literature: An Interview,” *The Argus* [Melbourne], datelined ‘Wellington, April 11’ [1893]: 163, mentioned by Richard Dury, [“Stevenson’s Shifting Viewpoint,”](#) *The Bottle Imp*, no. 12, retrieved November 26, 2021; also by Richard Dury, “Crossing the Bounds of Single Identity: *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* and a Paper in a French Scientific Journal,” in *Robert Louis Stevenson – Writer of Boundaries*, ed. Richard Dury and Richard Ambrosini (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 251, and in Anne Stiles, [“Robert Louis Stevenson’s \*Jekyll and Hyde\* and the Double Brain,”](#) *SEL Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 46, no. 4 (Autumn 2006): 880, footnote 3. Single pages of the text retrieved from *Popular Fiction*, September 8, 2012. Another copy of her article can be found [here](#). For an overview of Stevenson’s interviews, see Reginald Charles Terry, ed., *Robert Louis Stevenson: Interviews and Recollections* (London: MacMillan, 1996). Also ([Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1996](#)).

129 See Stiles, *Popular Fiction*, 27, and Stiles, “Robert Louis Stevenson’s *Jekyll and Hyde*”: 880.

130 Frederic W.H. Myers, [“Multiplex Personality,”](#) *The Nineteenth Century* Vol. 20, no. 117 (November 1886): 648-666. Also [here](#) and [here](#). Also in [The Proceedings of the SPR 4](#), Part 11 (May 1887): 496-514.

131 Arthur T. Myers, [“The Life History of a Case of Double or Multiple Personality,”](#) *Journal of Mental Science* 31 (1885/86): 596-605, retrieved November 26, 2021 from *Oregon Digital*, Dissociation and Trauma Archives.

132 Dury, “Crossing the Bounds,” 245. Pp. 239-249 retrieved September 8, 2012. Article available on [Academia.edu](#).

133 Dual personality was and is believed to be caused by bilateral brain hemisphere asymmetry, specifically, the “savage” right brain part dominating over the “rational” left brain part, whereas multiple personality disorder was and is linked to severe childhood traumas – see Stiles, *Popular Fiction*, 31.

134 Richard Proctor, [“Have We Two Brains?”](#) *Cornhill Magazine* 31, no. 182 (February 1875): 149-166; Richard Proctor, [“Dual Consciousness,”](#) *Cornhill Magazine* Vol. 35, no. 205 (January 1877): 86-105.

135 Stiles, *Popular Fiction*, 27-49; Stiles, “Robert Louis Stevenson’s *Jekyll and Hyde*”: 880, and Anne Harrington, *Medicine, Mind and the Double Brain* (Princeton University Press, 1987). Preview [2021 edition](#). See also [1989 edition](#). For an overview of the Stevenson debate, I consulted Ann Michelle Costa’s [untitled paper](#) (2011), retrieved September 8, 2012, link no longer active.

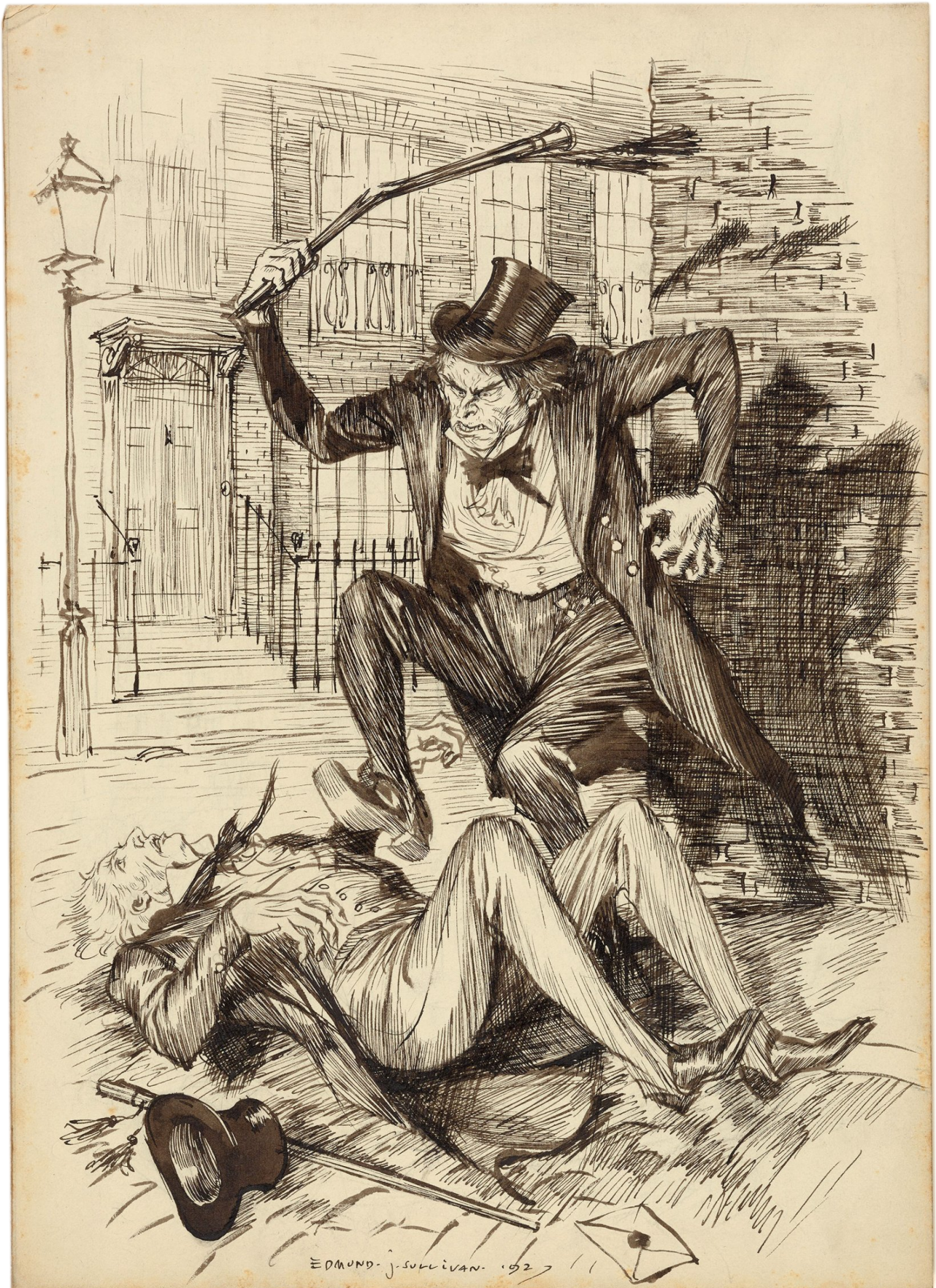


Illustration for Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, by Edmund J. Sullivan (1869–1933), 1927. *The Morgan Library & Museum*.

Already mentioned are *The Story of Helen Davenant* (1889) by Violet Fane, and *Trilby* by George du Maurier (1834-1898), living in London with his wife Emma Wightwick. Only one year after its release in 1894, it was adapted for the stage, with Sir Herbert Beerbohm Tree in the role of Svengali, the master musician and hypnotist who abuses the young model Trilby O'Ferrall to embody his idea of the perfect singer. The enormous financial success of the stage version was surely noticed by Stoker.<sup>136</sup> Belford even suggests that Du Maurier and Stoker discussed their Svengali and Dracula characters over tea.<sup>137</sup> The "Oriental Israelite Hebrew Jew" Svengali had pointed ears, a beaky nose, a beard – all echoed by Harker's description of the Count. And like the vampire, Svengali lives off his victim-lover's energy – a theme already employed in Edgar A. Poe's *The Oval Portrait* (1842) and also utilized in Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1890). The same idea of a malign genius extracting the life juice from a helpless female victim shows up in *Dracula* again, when the Count gradually drains the blood from Lucy and later describes Mina as his "my bountiful wine-press for a while".<sup>138</sup>

Charles Dickens, co-founder of the *Ghost Club*, would hypnotize his wife and used the topic in *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*. Many novels from the Victorian Age contained allusions to mesmerism, like Daniel Horner's *The Mesmerist's Secret* and Edward Heron-Allens's *The Princess Daphne*.<sup>139</sup> As one of the origins of *Dracula*, Leatherdale discusses a book by John Jones which Stoker read, *The Natural and the Supernatural: or Man – Physical, Apparitional and Spiritual*,<sup>140</sup> dealing, among others, with "mesmerine", the invisible fluid that was said to pass from the *magnétiseur* to the mesmerized subject. Another book Stoker had read, Herbert Mayo's *On the Truths contained in Popular Superstitions – with an Account of Mesmerism*, dealt with the various forms of trance.<sup>141</sup> Leatherdale notes:

"This brief simplistic account of the induction process might suggest that Stoker was not greatly acquainted with the mechanics of hypnosis. In fact, his sources indicate that he read a great deal on that subject. It is difficult from today's vantage point to appreciate just how excited and agitated Victorian society was by the mysterious 'science' of mesmerism. Along with its associated phenomena, clairvoyancy and spiritualism, it constituted a mounting challenge to perceived ways of thought, drawing both passionate support and vehement criticism from among the ranks of the Church. Pick up at random any Victorian book on contemporary medicine, science or Christianity and there is a fair chance that it will have something to say about mesmerism. At least half a dozen of Stoker's sources, while making no mention of hypnosis in the title, turn out to contain disquisitions on the subject."<sup>142</sup>

136 Skal, *Hollywood Gothic*, 48. For a discussion of *Trilby* mania, see Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 229.

137 Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 228. Mentioned by Stiles, *Popular Fiction*, 76.

138 *Dracula*, Chapter 21, Dr. Seward's Diary of 3 October. For the parallel with Poe's *The Oval Portrait*, see Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 261. Contemporary adaptations of this concept include the novel *Das Parfum* (1985) by Patrick Süskind, portraying the olfactory genius Grenouille, who murders thirteen virgins and cuts off their hair in order to extract the absolute scent of love from their bodies.

139 For an overview of relevant English fiction and plays, see Donald Hartman, "[Hypnotic and Mesmeric Themes in Selected English-Language Novels, Short Stories, Plays and Poems, 1820-83](#)," *Bulletin of Bibliography* 44, no. 3 (Sept. 1987): 156-166.

140 John Jones, *The Natural and the Supernatural: or Man – Physical, Apparitional and Spiritual* (London: H. Ballière, 1861).

141 Herbert Mayo, *On the Truths Contained in Popular Superstitions – With an Account of Mesmerism* (London/Edinburgh: Blackwood, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition 1851).

142 Leatherdale, *The Origins of Dracula*, 187.



Stage hypnotists in the USA: [Leslie J. Meacham, Dr. Herbert L. Flint, and Flint's wife or daughter](#). Photo: Mrs. G.W. Sittler, Springfield, MO.

On at least one occasion, Stoker played the role of hypnotist himself:

“Stoker himself once gave a Charcot-like “lecture” on hypnotism during one of the *Lyceum*’s transatlantic crossings, though the event appears to have been little more than a joke, involving a “hypnotized” confederate recruited from Irving’s stable of actors.”<sup>143</sup>

And in his *Personal Reminiscences*, he describes Irving’s qualities as an actor as a demonstration of “dual consciousness”, a concept directly derived from the medical-psychological discourse of his time:

“I have seen a good many times Irving illustrate and prove the theory of the dual consciousness in and during his own acting: when he has gone on with his work heedless of a fire on the stage and its quelling: when a gas tank underneath the stage exploded and actually dispersed some of the boarding close to him, he all the time proceeding without even a moment’s pause or a falter in his voice. One other occasion was typical. During a performance of *The Lyons Mail*, whilst Dubosc surrounded by his gang was breaking open the iron strong-box conveyed in the mail cart the horses standing behind him began to get restive and plunged about wildly, making a situation of considerable danger. The other members of the murderous gang were quickly off the stage, and the dead body of the postilion rolled away to the wings. But Irving never even looked round. He went calmly on with his work of counting the *billets-de-banque*, whilst he interlarded the words of the play with admonitions to his comrades not to be frightened but to come back and attend to their work of robbing. Not for an instant did he cease to be Dubosc though in addition he became manager of the theatre.”<sup>144</sup>

It seems only logical that a novelist who sought to integrate hypnotism and the telepathic transmission of thoughts and willpower as key elements in his story, would keenly follow the discussion on these subjects; there is no reason to assume that Stoker would fail where Robert Louis Stevenson, George du Maurier, Mary Singleton and many other authors of his time succeeded. His close contact with his brothers Thornley, the brain-surgeon, and George must have facilitated Bram’s access to this debate considerably.

143 Skal, *Hollywood Gothic*, 48f.

144 Stoker, *Personal Reminiscences*, 1906, Vol. 2, 21.

## The Order of the Golden Dawn

While the members of the *SPR* and the physicians practicing hypnosis sought a public forum to present their experiments and discuss their findings, a second circle of people, partially overlapping with the first, preferred to meet in secret to conduct what they believed were ancient magical rituals. The most prominent of these secret associations was *The Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn*. The word "hermetic" refers to the divine Hermes Trismegistus, a combination of the Greek god Hermes and the Egyptian deity Toth. The Order was founded in March 1888 by William Wynn Westcott (1848-1925) and Samuel Liddell Mathers (1854-1918) as a mixture of Rosicrucianism and Freemasonry, claiming to embody the Western tradition of ritual magic. Its members sought to attain mystic experience and communicate with "spiritual teachers" by means of magic rituals, including Tarot, Qabalah, astrology and astral travel. In order to attain complete insight, the spiritual seekers had to be initiated first and then climb a ladder of knowledge, controlled by exams. Neophytes first entered the Outer Order, where they had to attend a series of courses, until they reached the level of *Philosophicus*. The next step was to be admitted to the Inner Order, consisting of members with organizational competence. The third level was believed to be populated by spiritual masters without earthly presence.

There has been speculation that Stoker was a *Golden Dawn* member himself. Leigh Blackmore states that the journalists Louis Pauwels and Jacques Bergier first launched this suggestion.<sup>145</sup> According to Ithell Colquhoun, Stoker's French biographer Antoine Faivre supported this idea.<sup>146</sup> Farson equally believed that Stoker belonged to the Order.<sup>147</sup> But in his book *The Golden Dawn – Twilight of the Magicians* (1983), Robert A. Gilbert purports:

"Dracula itself cannot be laid at the door of the *Golden Dawn*, for Bram Stoker (despite popular claims to the contrary) was never a member, but he was a friend of Brodie Innes and they did discuss their mutual interest in the dark side of occultism."<sup>148</sup>

Leatherdale subscribes to Gilbert's opinion that there is no evidence for Stoker's membership:

"It has even been claimed that Stoker was a member of the occult *Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn*, whose ranks included W.B. Yeats. In fact, there is no evidence for this whatsoever, though Stoker was an acquaintance of J.W. Brodie-Innes who invited him on at least one occasion to a gathering of the *Sette of Odd Volumes* (a bibliographical society) which discussed occult ideas."<sup>149</sup>

Instead, it seems probable that Stoker was an outsider fostering personal contacts to a series of actual members, who may have leaked information to him. Therefore, we will look into some of these contacts now.

145 Leigh Blackmore, "Hermetic Horrors: Weird Fiction Writers & The Order of the Golden Dawn," *Shadowplay Pagan and Magick webzine* 9 (1994). Chapter on Bram Stoker. Blackmore refers to Louis Pauwels and Jacques Bergier, *The Morning of the Magicians*, trans. Rollo Myers (New York: Avon Books, October 1968), 189-190. The Archive.org scan is incomplete.

146 Ithell Colquhoun, *Sword Of Wisdom: Macgregor Mathers and The Golden Dawn* (London: Neville Spearman, 1975), 144. I could not find a copy of Faivre's book to check this, but Sharon R. Cogdill points to a text allegedly confirming that Faivre was of this opinion, in *Esotérisme, gnosés & imaginaire symbolique: mélanges offerts à Antoine Faivre*, ed. Richard Caron et al., (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 143. Again, I was not able to access the specific page. See Sharon R. Cogdill, "For Isis and England," in *Perplex in Faith: Essays on Victorian Beliefs and Doubts*, ed. Alisa Clapp-Itnyre and Julie Melnyk (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 213.

147 Farson, *The Man Who Wrote Dracula*, 403-404.

148 Robert Andrew Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn – Twilight of the Magicians* (Wellingborough, Northants: Aquarian Press, 1983), 81.

149 Clive Leatherdale, *Dracula: The Novel and the Legend – A Study of Bram Stoker's Gothic Masterpiece* (Wellingborough, Northants: Aquarian Press, 1985), 81, quoted by Leigh Blackmore, *Hermetic Horrors*. Gilbert's and Leatherdale's appraisals are echoed by Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 213.

### John William Brodie-Innes, Charles Loyd Tuckey and Robert Felkin.

The name of the lawyer and writer John William Brodie-Innes, mentioned by Leatherdale, sounds similar to that of Alexander Taylor-Innes. In response to the latter's article, Brodie-Innes wrote an article entitled "Legal Aspects of Hypnotism" in the *Juridical Review* of 1891.<sup>150</sup> In this text, he notices:

It does not of course fall within my province to discuss the medical problems which hypnotism raises. Remarkable cures seem to have been effected, and otherwise successful results attained, by Charcot and Luys in Paris, by Liébeault at Nancy, by Liégeois, Renterghem, Van Eeden, Ladame, Voisin, and others – all of them physicians of repute. Abundant examples will be found in Binet and Féré's Manual, and in Dr. Felkin's articles in the *Edinburgh Medical Journal*, now republished in a collected form. The latest testimony in this country to the use of hypnotism as an anaesthetic was given by Dr. Milne Bramwell, at Leeds, on the 28<sup>th</sup> of March last, in the presence of some sixty medical men, detailed in the *British Medical Journal*, 1890, p. 801.<sup>151</sup>

Brodie-Innes' article shows that he was well informed about the debate between the Paris and the Nancy School, and the discussion around hypnotism and crime.

According to Daniel Farson, Stoker may have been a member of Brodie-Innes' inner circle,<sup>152</sup> but that does not necessarily imply that Stoker was a *Golden Dawn* member. An article about the *Sette of Odd Volumes* mentions Stoker as one of the prominent guests invited to the yearly dinner rounds – but that does not make him a regular member there either.<sup>153</sup> Brodie-Innes' first letter to Stoker of July 20, 1902, starts with: "Very many thanks indeed for '*The Mystery of the Sea.*' I shall read it with it (sic!) the greatest pleasure. The opening chapters fascinate me as always and hold the imagination in a remarkable design." In a further letter to Stoker of November 29, 1903, sent from Forres, Scotland, Brodie-Innes praised *The Jewel of Seven Stars*, writing "... when I see you again there are various questions I want to ask you about it – It seems to me in some ways you have got clare (sic!) light on some problems which some of us have been fumbling in the dark after for long enough." He also mentions "It was a great disappointment to my wife and myself that you were not able to come /s us last autumn."<sup>154</sup> About *The Lady of the Shroud* (1909) Brodie-Innes commented, "The opening confused me and I could not make out who was who." In 1912, he dedicated his occult novel *The Devil's Mistress* to "the memory of my dear friend, the author of 'Dracula', to whose help and encouragement I owe more than I am present at liberty to state."<sup>155</sup> All in all, the two men seem to have shared a heart-felt friendship – which was also possible without Stoker being a member of *The Golden Dawn*.

150 John William Brodie-Innes, "[Legal Aspects of Hypnotism](#)," *Juridical Review* 52 (1891): 51-62, retrieved from Hein Online, June 9, 2012 (now behind pay wall). In the same year, Brodie-Innes published his book [Scottish Witchcraft Trials. Read before the Sette at a meeting held at Limmer's Hotel, on Friday, 7<sup>th</sup> November 1890](#) (London: Chiswick Press, 1891).

151 Brodie-Innes, "Legal Aspects of Hypnotism": 57.

152 Farson, *The Man Who Wrote Dracula*, 404 (207 in the London: Michael Joseph, 1975 edition), mentioned by David Glover, *Vampires, Mummies, and Liberals: Bram Stoker and the Politics of Popular Fiction* (Duke University Press, 1996), 173, note 57 (notes to Chapter 2 of his book).

153 Anon. "[The Sette of Odd Volumes](#)," January 13, 2016. Retrieved November 1, 2021. Ellen Crowell, "[The Necromancer and the Seer](#)," *The Times Literary Supplement* of December 18-25, 2015. Retrieved November 15, 2021.

154 Brotherton Collection, Leeds University Library. Quoted by Glover, *Vampires, Mummies, and Liberals*, 81. See also Bethany Csomay, "[Examining Bram Stoker's Correspondence: Revealing the Lost Network](#)," private blog, retrieved November 21, 2021, and William Hughes, *Beyond Dracula: Bram Stoker's Fiction and its Cultural Context* (London: Macmillan, 2000), 52.

155 Quoted from Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 213. Glover, *Vampires, Mummies, and Liberals*, 173, also mentions the dedication.





Prominent members of *The Golden Dawn*. Top: Constance Lloyd Wilde | Charles Lloyd Tuckey.  
Middle: Robert Felkin [\[credits, license\]](#) | Moina Mathers (Mina Bergson) | Bottom: Pamela Colman Smith, William B. Yeats.

Two other *Golden Dawn* members with strong ties to Scotland were Dr. Charles Lloyd Tuckey, already mentioned as a prominent *SPR* member, medical hypnotist and a friend of Sir Richard Burton,<sup>156</sup> and Dr. Robert William Felkin (1853-1926), mentioned in Brodie-Innes' article, a medical hypnotist as well.<sup>157</sup> Both are active members in the *Society of Psycho-Medical Research*. In 1894, Felkin joined the *Amen-Ra Temple of The Golden Dawn* in Edinburgh, founded by Brodie-Innes. In 1903, after a schism within *The Golden Dawn*, Felkin stuck to Brodie-Innes and together with him established the *Order of the Stella Matutina* in 1903; in London, he created the *Amoun Temple* – in which William Butler Yeats also played a role. Besides a Myers/Bramwell/Tuckey cluster, contributing to the *Proceedings of the SPR*, we can thus speak of a Brodie-Innes/Felkin/Tuckey/Yeats cluster, engaged in *The Golden Dawn*. Although Stoker was no part of their medico-professional correspondence and practices in ritual magic, their views of life were probably known to him, if only through their publications and through friendly conversations.

### Pamela Colman Smith and William Butler Yeats

Pamela Colman Smith (1878-1951) was a graphic artist of Jamaican origin who cooperated with W.B. Yeats and Bram Stoker – too late, however to have been able to influence his writing on *Dracula*. From 1893 until 1897, when *Dracula* was published, Colman Smith studied at the *Pratt Institute of Art* in Brooklyn. She arrived in England together with her father only in summer 1899.

The English trip was made primarily to investigate employment possibilities for PCS and promote her new book of Jamaican folklore called *Annancy Stories*, which was being published that same year. They called on Bram Stoker (1847-1912), the author of *Dracula* (published 1897) and the business manager of the *Lyceum Theatre* in London. He told them about the upcoming American tour of the *Lyceum Theatre Troop*, led by Sir Henry Irving (1838-1905) and Ellen Terry (1847-1928). After his review of her art portfolio, Stoker was sufficiently impressed to obtain her services to illustrate an 18 page souvenir brochure that he was writing to be sold at performances of the upcoming *Lyceum Theatre* tour. The brochure, with this extremely long title: *Sir Henry Irving and Miss Ellen Terry in Robespierre, Merchant of Venice, The Bells, Nance Oldfield, The Amber Heart, Waterloo, and Other Dramatic Works*; was published in New York by Doubleday and McClure, with copies available just before the *Lyceum* tour was to begin on 30 October. PCS probably made her drawings from photographs taken of previous performances, which were provided to her by Stoker.

In October 1899, PCS met Stoker, Irving and Terry in New York and talked them into letting her join the tour as one of the minor cast members. She got along well with the troupe, especially with Ellen Terry who gave her the nickname of "Pixie."<sup>158</sup>

During the same visit to England, she and her father met with John Butler Yeats, who reported on this event in a letter to his son, William Butler Yeats (1865-1939); still in England, Pamela wrote to the poet, proposing to produce a children's book of Gaelic mythology.

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156 Tuckey studied at Aberdeen University, graduating as Bachelor of Medicine. He was initiated into *The Golden Dawn* at its Isis-Urania temple in London on July 21, 1894, taking the Latin motto "*Stant robora vires*" (The troops stand firm). He left the Order in November 1895. See Sally Davis, "Charles Lloyd Tuckey."

157 Felkin, Robert William: *Hypnotism, or Psychotherapeutics* (London/Edinburgh: Young J. Pentland, 1890). A discussion of Tuckey's book and the subject of hypnotism, originally published in the *Edinburgh Medical Journal* 35 (July 1889 to June 1890), beginning at p. 240 (September 1889); last installment on p. 1036 (May 1890.)

158 See Phil Norfleet, "[Alfred Stieglitz and Pamela Colman Smith: Biography of Pamela Colman Smith.](#)" retrieved September 5, 2012.

Already in New York in 1898, she had illustrated *The Illustrated Verses of William Butler Yeats* for publisher Robert Howard Russell. In early summer 1899, she designed new scenes for his mystery play entitled *The Countess Cathleen*, commissioned by Florence Farr – another prominent *Golden Dawn* member. By 1901, she was befriended both with William Butler Yeats and his brother Jack, a writer as well.<sup>159</sup>

Introduced by William, Colman joined *The Golden Dawn* in November 1901. In 1903, she launched *The Green Sheaf*, a short-lived magazine with contributions by Yeats and Gordon Craig (Ellen Terry's son), among others. In 1906/1907, she had a highly praised exhibition of her drawing at Alfred Stieglitz's art gallery in New York. In 1909, she began drawing the Tarot card deck co-designed by Arthur Edward Waite. In 1911, she converted to Catholicism and designed a cover for Stoker's novel *The Lair of the White Worm*.

Already in 1885, Yeats was involved in the Dublin *Hermetic Order* and in March 1890 was admitted to *The Golden Dawn*. William Butler Yeats and Bram Stoker co-founded the *Irish Literary Society* in London, and also met at the salon of Lady Wilde in Oakly Street; Yeats sent Stoker a copy of his *Countess Cathleen* with a personal dedication in 1893.<sup>160</sup> Both were friends with Oscar Wilde (the former lover of Stoker's wife, Florence Balcombe) and his wife Constance.<sup>161</sup> At Leeds University, two letters by John Butler Yeats, William's father, to Bram Stoker, from the year 1879 are archived.<sup>162</sup> But in Stoker's *Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving*, the name of Yeats, either father or son, does not appear at all, except for the indication that John Butler Yeats was the artist who created a pastel of Irving as Shylock.<sup>163</sup>

## Hester Dowden

Like William Butler Yeats and Oscar Wilde, Bram Stoker was befriended with Hester Dowden (Hester Travers Smith, 1868-1949), the daughter of Edward Dowden (1843-1913), his former mentor at *Trinity College* and professor of English Literature and Oratory. Hester married a Dublin physician, settled in London as a professional medium and held countless séances. Allegedly, she received messages about the true identity of William Shakespeare, communicated spiritually with Francis Bacon and later with Oscar Wilde, who wittingly commented the efforts of other writers and called James Joyce's *Ulysses* "a great bulk of filth" and "heated vomit." When the *Lusitania*, the largest ship of her time, in 1915 was attacked by a German submarine and sank, 1,200 people dying, Hester claimed to receive messages from one of the passengers, who had drowned.<sup>164</sup> She wrote a books about her life as a medium: *Voices*

159 See Phil Norfleet's [main website](#) about Alfred Stieglitz and Pamela Colman Smith, retrieved November 20, 2021.

160 Murray, *From the Shadow of Dracula*, 133.

161 Yeats got to know Oscar Wilde at W. E. Henley's house in September 1888 and spent Christmay Day 1888 with the Wilde family – see David A. Ross, *A Critical Companion to William Butler Yeats – A Literary Reference to his Life and Work* (New York: Facts on File, 2009), 9, and William Butler Yeats, *Four Years* (Churchtown, Dundrum, Ireland: Cuala Press, 1921), Chapter 6, 16-19. See also Moyle, *Constance*, 177. About the friendship Wilde-Stoker, see Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 216f. More recent research about the relationship Stoker-Wilde can be found in Skal, *Something in the Blood*.

162 A third letter to Stoker is undated. Together with Bram Stoker and Walter Osborne, John Butler Yeats was one of the twelve co-founders of the *Dublin Sketching Club* in 1874.

163 "Pastel of Irving as Shylock by J. B. Yeats to face p. 86," mentioned in Stoker, *Personal Reminiscences*, 1906, Vol. I, xiii, in the "List of Illustrations."

164 Edmund Bentley, *Far Horizon: A Biography of Hester Dowden: Medium and Psychic Investigator* (London: Rider Company, 1951). For a critical discussion of Dowden's messages from Wilde, especially her harsh critique of James Joyce's *Ulysses*, see Helen Sword, *Ghostwriting Modernism* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2002), 65-69. Claire Nally, *Envisioning Ireland: W.B. Yeats's Occult Nationalism*, Bern: Peter Lang, 2010, 147, equally points out that Hester was biased against

from *the Void* (1919).<sup>165</sup> Moreover, her work was described by many other authors and she is believed to have been the model for Mrs. Henderson in Yeats' play *The Words upon the Window Pane* (first performed in 1930).<sup>166</sup> As Yeats was good friends with the Wildes, who invited him to join them on Christmas Day 1888<sup>167</sup> and in turn were regular guests at Stoker's home,<sup>168</sup> and Yeats and Stoker had friends in common in Dublin, we may assume that ideas on spiritualism and the afterlife were carried back and forth between all parties – especially as Constance Wilde was a *Golden Dawn* member herself.

### **Constance Wilde née Lloyd**

Stoker had known Oscar Wilde from *Trinity College* days since 1871.<sup>169</sup> Stoker saw Wilde at the *Lyceum Theatre*, in its *Beefsteak Room*, and privately, despite the fact that Oscar had wooed Florence for two years before she – surprisingly for Wilde – decided to marry Bram in 1878: a rebuff Wilde would not lightly forget. In 1884, Wilde married Constance Lloyd, whose Pre-Raphaelite beauty rivaled that of Florence. According to Belford, Oscar and Constance were regular guests at Stoker's home.<sup>170</sup>

Constance Wilde took an interest in spiritualism, joined the *Theosophic Society* of Madame Blavatsky and in 1888 moved on to *The Golden Dawn*, so that she would not have needed Yeats' information in order to report on what she experienced there. On November 13, 1888, she was initiated; as her personal motto, she chose "*Qui patitur vincit*" (Who endures, conquers). Already in November 1889, she reached the rank of *Philosophus*, but did not proceed to enter the inner circle of the organization. Instead, she retired from public life in 1890, complaining that she and Oscar were isolated after he had published *The Picture of Dorian Gray*. Maybe she already sensed the scandals that would erupt when Oscar's homosexuality became public. She joined the *SPR*, however, as an associate in 1892 and as a full member in 1894. She developed a friendship with Frederic Myers, corresponding with him and meeting him regularly.<sup>171</sup>

According to Belford, Stoker talked with her "many an evening while dining at Tite Street<sup>172</sup> or when the Wildes supped at St. Leonards Terrace."<sup>173</sup> The biography by Franny Moyle discusses the allegation later raised by Anna, Comtesse de Bremont, that Constance only entered the Order to gather intelligence for Oscar's literary projects. Moyle dismisses this as implausible, but believes Constance may have shared many of the Order's secrets with her husband.<sup>174</sup> How much of this knowledge was dissipated to Stoker we can only guess. The activities of the *SPR*, on the other hand, were not bound to any confidentiality, and Stoker's friendship with the Wildes may have served as a channel for the author of *Dracula* to learn more about the ideas of Myers and his colleagues – especially as Oscar's work (e.g. *The Portrait of Dorian Gray*) in part was inspired by his wife's spiritual and parapsychological interests.

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*Ulysses* since it made fun of her own father, the late Shakespearean scholar Professor Edward Dowden,

165 Hester Travers Smith (née Dowden), *Voices from the Void. Six Years' Experience in Automatic Communications*. With an introduction by Professor Sir W.F. Barrett (London: Rider and Son, 1919). U.S. edition: [New York: Dutton, 1919](#).

Here (49-52), we also find her own report on the *séance* where Sir Hugh Lane "called in" from the *Lusitania*.

166 See Yoko Satoh, "The Words upon the Window-Pane: From Spiritualism to 'Noh' to Acoustic Images," in *Journal of Irish Studies* 22 (2007): 105-115.

167 Moyle, *Constance*, 177.

168 See the next chapter about Constance Wilde.

169 Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 60.

170 Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 127 and 216.

171 Moyle, *Constance*, 176.

172 The Wildes lived here.

173 Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 216-217.

174 Moyle, *Constance*, 174.

## Sir Richard Francis Burton

I already mentioned Sir Richard Francis Burton as a friend of both Stoker and Charles Lloyd Tuckey. Stoker's *Personal Reminiscences* mention that he had met Burton and his wife together with Henry Irving several times in small company – the first time in Dublin at Westland Row Station on August 13, 1878.<sup>175</sup> I found no confirmation, though, that Burton had been a member of *The Golden Dawn*. Rather, he was an active member of the *Kama Shastra Society*, which published works that were forbidden by the Obscene Publications Act of 1857.

Burton had written a book about Hindu vampire tales as early as 1870: *Vikram and the Vampire*.<sup>176</sup> In Isabel Burton's 1893 preface to the second printing of the book, we find a description of a mystery Stoker apparently referred to in his *Dracula*:

“(This book) also alludes to that state, which induces Hindu devotees to allow themselves to be buried alive, and to appear dead for weeks or months, and then to return to life again; a curious state of mesmeric catalepsy, into which they work themselves by concentrating the mind and abstaining from food – a specimen of which I have given a practical illustration in *The Life of Sir Richard Burton*.”<sup>177</sup>

Burton evidently was interested in taboo-breaking sexual practices and tantric experiences – a focus not harmonizing with the spiritual approach propagated by *The Golden Dawn*; the relationship between founding member Samuel “MacGregor” Mathers and his wife Moina was even said to be purely celibate.

## Mina Bergson (Moina Mathers)

It has been suggested that Moina Mathers (1865-1928) was the inspiration for the character of Mina Murray.<sup>178</sup> Born as Mina Bergson, Henri Bergson's sister, in a Dublin family of Jewish background, she met her future husband and co-founder of *The Golden Dawn*, Samuel Liddell “MacGregor” Mathers, in the study rooms of the *British Museum* in 1887 – equally frequented by Stoker and his protagonists Harker and Van Helsing. She was one of the first to join the Order, still in March 1888 when it was established, with the motto “*Vestigia nulla retrorsum*” (I leave no traces behind). In 1890, William Butler Yeats was initiated into the Order in Mina's studio in Fitzroy Street.<sup>179</sup> Intriguing is that Stoker in his notes for the plot sometimes writes „Mina“, then again “Minna”<sup>180</sup> – which also applies to Bergson's sister. Only after 1890, when she married Samuel, she took on the name of Moina. Within their asexual partnership, she would display clairvoyant qualities, receiving spiritual impulses from her husband.<sup>181</sup>

175 Stoker, *Reminiscences*, 1907, Chapter XL, “Sir Richard Burton,” 224-231. Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 135, erroneously mentions 1879 as the year they first met.

176 Captain Sir Richard F. Burton, *Vikram and The Vampire – Tales of Hindu Devilry*, edited by his Wife Isabel Burton (London: Longmans, Green, 1870).

177 (London: Tylston and Edwards, 1893), xi.

178 For example Stephen D. Winick, “[Artist, Mystic, Scholar: Robert M. Place](#),” retrieved July 12, 2012. Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 5, sees Stoker's mother Charlotte as the role model for Mina, and Florence Balcombe, Stoker's wife, for Lucy.

179 Moyle, *Constance*, 171.

180 Eighteen-Bisang & Miller, *Bram Stoker's Notes*, 60-61, footnote 161. Also 64-65. Another possibility put forward by Dacre Stoker is that “Mina” refers to a housemaid working in the household of George Stoker, Bram's brother.

In Paris, she would perform the "Rites of Isis," while Mathers was celebrated as the reincarnation of an ancient Pharaoh.<sup>182</sup>

### Florence Farr and others

In her breakdown of letters sent to Stoker by persons linked to the occult – as kept in the Brotherton Collection, Leeds – Bethany Csomay lists the leading London actress Florence Farr, already mentioned as and high-ranking *Golden Dawn* member, as one of Stoker's correspondents. Jane Thompson Stoddart, who interviewed the author for *The British Weekly* of July 1, 1897, also appears here as the translator of Maurice Materlinck's *Ruysbroeck and the Mystics*.<sup>183</sup> Further correspondents include Dr. Moncure Daniel Conway (author of *Demonology and Devil-Lore*, 1878); Robert Leighton; Reginald Stuart Poole; G. Anderson Critchett; Stuart Cumberland.<sup>184</sup>

Another sign of Stoker being fascinated by the occult is that he would visit *Watkins Books* at Leicester Square in the theater district, which opened in 1897: the first bookshop worldwide openly specializing in occult and esoteric literature. It was frequented by Madamer Blavatsky and leading *Golden Dawn* members such as William Wynn Westcott, MacGregor Mathers and Aleister Crowley; Pamela Colman Smith and Arthur Edward Waite also used to frequent the shop.<sup>185</sup>



Women in *The Golden Dawn*: Maud Gonne Macbride (1866-1953), Anni Horniman (1860-1937) and Florence Beatrice Farr (1860-1917).

181 Mary Greer, *Women of the Golden Dawn: Rebels and Priestesses: Maud Gonne, Moina Bergson Mathers, Annie Horniman, Florence Farr* (Rochester, VT: Park Street Press, 1995), 40-45.

182 In his obituary *Some Personal Reminiscences*, written in 1919, after Mathers' death in November 1918, J. W. Brodie-Innes quotes "an Egyptologist whose name is world-famous" who allegedly stated "MacGregor is a Pharaoh come back. All my life I have studied the dry bones; he has made them live." See [http://golden-dawn.org/trad\\_mathpr.htm](http://golden-dawn.org/trad_mathpr.htm), retrieved September 9, 2012.

183 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908). In *Dracula* literature, Stoddart's name is frequently miss-spelled as "Stoddard."

184 Bethany Csomay, "Examining Bram Stoker's Correspondence."

185 Source: Antonyus Subia and Hernestus Gill, "[Saint of the Day](#)," chapter on Montague Summers, retrieved September 9, 2012.

## FINAL WORDS: A GOODBYE

The conclusions of this essay are already contained in its text, that merely seeks to depict Bram Stoker's manifold exposure to the world of hypnotism, thought-reading, ghost appearances, *clairvoyance*, precognition and other esoteric phenomena, as well as brain science, and inventorize the many sources describing such "windows of opportunity." It never was not my intention to give a complete overview of the world of Victorian Age psychological and psychical research – this would not be possible within the framework of this little e-book. Even with regard to Stoker's fascination with the mentioned fields, the material presented here is certainly not complete and would need to be checked against more recent publications<sup>186</sup> – a task I happily leave to more specialized colleagues. But even with the limited resources I was able to mobilize, I hope to have added something useful to the notion that both literary, artistic and scientific trends of Stoker's time are mirrored in his most famous novel, *Dracula*.

Visual research has always been one of the key elements of my academic projects. While trying to find fitting illustrations for this essay, I was once more confronted with the fact that today, it is easier to download a whole library of books, magazines and journals from the Victorian Age than to find a single proper photo of, let's say, Florence Stoker, Moina Mathers, Alfred Percy Sinnett or Mary Singleton. And while the book scans can range in size from 10 to 100 Mb and can be freely accessed through Google Books or Archive.org, provided the copyright term has expired, it often is hard to find a digital photo portrait of more than 100 Kb. And although such old photographs mostly are in the Public Domain, the more suitable ones are often hosted by commercial agencies such as Alamy or Getty Images, that charge exorbitant prices for images held by tax funded public institutions.<sup>187</sup> I assume that most of my colleagues – just like me – spend hours, days, or even weeks on fine-tuning and formatting their footnotes, double-checking their text sources, and completing their bibliography, and lay out their private money to have articles proofread. Only a handful of researchers, by contrast, take the trouble to edit the visual materials they provide to their publisher (or even learn a new language to pursue a promising line of research!). The reward system of "academic points" apparently puts scholars under a false kind of pressure and fails to promote the kind of research I have tried to develop over the past ten years. Receiving no financial compensation for thousands of hours of research and editing, however, is not very encouraging either, and with other sources of income drying up with my retirement or being cut short by the Covid-19 pandemic, and with a cute baby daughter needing diapers now and education later, I am not planning any new academic projects for the future – except, perhaps, publishing my *Dracula Travel Guide* and other manuscripts I did not find a proper outlet for yet. In this sense, I say goodbye my readers, at this very last day of 2021, with all my best wishes for the coming new year, but without a promise to write more *Dracula*-related papers.

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186 E.g. William Hughes, *That Devil's Trick: Hypnotism and the Victorian Popular Imagination* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015).

187 A good example is the full-size portrait of Oscar Wilde by Napoleon Sarony, taken in New York around 1882. The original is held by the [Library of Congress](#) and can be downloaded as a 47 Mb TIFF from its website. At no cost, Wikipedia offers a [professionally retouched version](#) with ca. 8.6 Megapixels, sufficient for printing in A4 size. Still, Getty Images charges \$ 250 for a medium version, and \$ 450 for a large version (18.8 Megapixels); their license is for editorial use only, and lasts up to 15 years maximum. As Sarony died in 1896, his copyrights have expired in all countries granting copyright protection up till 125 year after the author's death (in most cases, it is only 50, 70 or 100 years). For scholars or editors that do not have the time and the legal knowledge to examine Getty's claims or to find an alternative version, Sarony's photo either eats into their budget – or they may decide not to use the picture at all. Similar problems arise from the [copyright claims of especially British public institutions](#) for Public Domain works they merely digitize.

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## NOTES:

As this essay is published in digital form, links have been embedded in the titles of books and articles, instead of spelling them out. In all other questions of formatting, I have followed the Chicago Manual of Style, with some minor deviations. This essay, v.1 of December 31, 2021, has not been proofread by external proofreaders yet. Later edits will be published in updated versions. As of December 31, 2021, all links were functioning, unless indicated otherwise. In the future, links may change or be deleted. All featured images are believed to be in the Public Domain, or otherwise available for this kind of publication; see links to the licenses.

*This e-book is dedicated to my dear friend Florin Nechita from Braşov, Romania.*

The ISBN numbers used for our series of private publications have originally been purchased by Moonlake Editions UG in 2012. After the publication of *The Ultimate Dracula* (2012), it became clear that economically, it made no sense to keep operating the company; it was liquidated in 2018. 'Moonlake Editions' now is an imprint for the publishing projects of Hans Corneel and Richie de Roos.

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- Revisions: 1) Minor issues of spacing, spelling, style corrected. Completed on Saturday, January 1, 2022, 4:50 a.m. (New York time).  
 2) Two pictures added, image quality improved, minor issues of spacing corrected. Completed on Saturday, January 1, 2022, 11:59 p.m.  
 3) Formatting in links in the bibliography (format keeps "jumping"). Corrected on Sunday, January 2, 2022, 11:45 p.m.  
 4) Four illustrations added on p. 17 (Mary Singleton/Violet Fane/Lady Currie). Wednesday, January 5, 2022, 4:05 a.m.