

Reverse Colonization as a Function of Criminal Atavism in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*

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Abstract

Victorian Britain had a great fear of foreigners from their colonies overtaking Britain and degrading the lives of the English. At the time, people took pseudosciences such as physiognomy very seriously. Cesare Lombroso invented the idea of Criminal Anthropology, which insisted that all criminals had physical indicators not only of their inherent criminality, but also of which kind of criminal they are. This essay discusses Bram Stoker's *Dracula* in relation to British xenophobia and the pseudosciences of the time. It focuses specifically on Criminal Anthropology and how it relates to the theory of atavism, which is the idea that Darwin's theory of evolution can work in reverse. Dracula perfectly fits Lombroso's description of a murderer, and fills the role of the "foreign other" that plagued the British mind. He comes into the country, kills Englishmen, and spreads his bad blood, resulting in the reverse colonization that the English so strongly feared.

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The Victorian period brought new fears to Britain. With imperialism at its peak, the British began to fear what their colonies would bring to them. The “foreign other” was portrayed as diseased, criminal, and primitive. As the foreign began to be conflated with the criminal, anthropometry, “the classification of individuals and population groups through physical measurements” (Towheed 11), was used to describe criminals in addition to ethnic groups. “Criminal Anthropology” emerged as a science, relying heavily on the concepts of atavism and degeneration. Atavism, a tendency to revert to ancestral type, and degeneration, a progressive deterioration of physical characteristics or reversion to a simpler form, were both inspired by Darwin's theory of evolution. Proponents of the theories believed that if humans could evolve, they could also do the opposite by becoming degenerate or atavistic. Criminal anthropologists purported that criminals were a class of atavistic human. Critic Stephen Arata points out that “the study of degeneration was. . .an effective means of “othering” large groups of people by marking them as deviant, criminal, psychotic, defective, simple, hysterical, diseased, primitive, regressive, or just dangerous” (Arata 16). It was used, for example, to classify epileptics as inherently criminal, and to claim that certain ethnic groups were “less evolved” than others and therefore more inclined to crime. But while the science of Criminal Anthropology did not “possess anything resembling a coherent terminology or rational methodology” (Arata 15), it strongly influenced the literature of the time. The mark of theorists such as Max Nordau, Havelock Ellis, and Cesare Lombroso can be seen in the work of authors such as Robert Louis Stevenson, H.G. Wells, and Arthur Conan Doyle. Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, both the novel and the Count himself, is clearly inspired by contemporary theories of atavism and Criminal Anthropology. Count Dracula represents one of the greatest fears of Victorian Britain—the atavistic criminal who is also the foreign other, and substantiates the threat of reverse colonization.

The science of Criminal Anthropology, though now thoroughly disproven, had a marked influence on the Victorian period and beyond. Its foundational concept of degeneration was “considered a form of 'common sense'” (Arata 16). Victorians took for granted that such concepts were true, and thus the concepts, and the so-called sciences that they led to, influenced every aspect of Victorian life, particularly literature.

One of the primary means by which the criminal was identified was physical description. Physiognomy, the art of determining personal characteristics from the features of the body, particularly the face, was the basis of criminal classification. Cesare Lombroso published his book, *L'uomo delinquente*, or *The Criminal Man*, in 1878, which “would have been available to Stoker in the French translation” (Byron 468). Lombroso originated the idea of Criminal Anthropology, which created through extensive measurements and examinations of the skulls, faces, and bodies of criminals. He decided on a set of physical characteristics that were common to criminals and indicative of a criminal type. These anomalies include “voluminous jaws”, “extraordinary development of the canines”, and “high cheek-bones” (Lombroso 23, 114, 118). Lombroso also notes that perpetrators of different types of crime may have different identifying features. He gives this description of an archetypal murderer: “The eyes of murderers are cold, glassy, immovable, and bloodshot, the nose aquiline, and always voluminous, the hair curly, abundant, and black. Strong jaws, long ears, broad cheek-bones, scanty beard, strongly developed canines, thin lips. . .which bare the canines in a kind of menacing grin” (Lombroso 119). When compared to Jonathan Harker's first impression of Dracula, there seems to be a direct inspiration:

His face was a strong—a very strong—aquiline—with high bridge of the thin nose. . .The mouth, so far as I could see it under the heavy moustache, was fixed and rather cruel-looking, with the peculiarly sharp white teeth; these protruded over the lips. . . For the rest, his ears were pale and at the tops extremely pointed; the chin was broad and strong, and the cheeks firm though thin. The general effect was one of extraordinary pallor” (Stoker 48)

Dracula and the archetypal murderer share aquiline noses, long or distinctive ears, and sharp teeth. Dracula's “broad and strong” chin correlates to the “voluminous jaw” that Lombroso described. Dracula's close resemblance to the “murderer” type is appropriate since, while the victims he kills come back to some form of life, it is not as themselves, and it is in such a way that they are, barring outside interference, forbidden from reaching the next life. To a

Victorian, this would have been even worse than a normal murder because most British people in that time period would have believed in a redemptive afterlife of which the Count robbed his victims. Two of the other vampires that Jonathan encounters in the castle are described similarly to Dracula, having “high aquiline noses, like the Count, and great dark, piercing eyes”. They also have an additional feature of murderers as identified by Lombroso. “The lips of. . . murderers are fleshy, swollen and protruding” (Lombroso 24). The two dark vampire women are said to have “voluptuous lips” (Stoker 69). The word voluptuous says that they are large and full, but also implies a sense of sexuality that is present in these vampires that is distinct from human women. The other female vampire is fair and it seems that, like Lucy, she is a victim of the Count's influence rather than an instinctive criminal type like the Count himself. Lombroso wrote that the hair of the criminal was generally dark, “especially in murderers” (Lombroso 25). When Jonathan meets Dracula, the Count's hair is white. As the novel progresses and the Count gains strength, his hair turns black. Lombroso writes that murderers have dark hair, and Dracula's hair becomes darker as his murders increased. As he embodies the murderer character more in action, he embodies it more in appearance as well. Dracula's eyebrows are also described, as “very massive, almost meeting over the nose” (Stoker 48). This almost exactly matches Lombroso's description of a criminal's eyebrows as “bushy and tend[ing] to meet across the nose” (Lombroso 25). Physically, Dracula clearly matches Lombroso's criminal archetype.

Another aspect of the criminal's physicality described by Lombroso was his vitality. Lombroso believed that criminals generally had a “greater insensibility to pain” and were “generally agile and preserve this quality even at an advanced age” (Lombroso 29). Dracula is of a supernaturally advanced age—he is likely centuries old—and yet he is faster than any of the men in the novel and, according to Van Helsing, possesses the strength of “twenty men” (Stoker 276). Vampires are shown as stronger than and more aggressive than humans. Arata notes the “robust health” of the vampires in the novel and contrasts it to the British since “the undead are, paradoxically, healthier and more fertile than the living” (Arata 117). This fertility is of a different sort than that of the living, since vampires reproduce by turning existing humans into vampires, but it is much more present in the novel than any living reproduction. The birth of Mina and Jonathan's son at the end is contrasted to all of the death that constituted vampire fertility. Dracula's health and strength at his impossibly advanced age, as determined by his accounts of centuries of wars in which he was directly involved, not only

marks him as a criminal but highlights the fear of the foreign other overtaking the British. Jonathan is weak compared to Dracula and almost falls prey to him in his castle. He is only able to defeat him later on while working in a group.

Facial expressions were thought to reveal similarities to non-human animals and thus, through the theory of criminal atavism, might indicate criminality. In Charles Darwin's 1872 book *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*, he devotes a chapter to hatred and anger. Darwin writes that "the first symptom of an approaching passion was the rushing of the blood into his bare scalp" and conversely that "the action of the heart is sometimes so much impeded by great rage that the countenance becomes pallid or livid" (Darwin). Both of these effects are consistent with Dracula's appearance when he expresses his "hate and . . . hellish rage" to the men who are tracking him down (Stoker 347). Seward describes "the red scar on the forehead. . . on the pallid skin like a palpitating wound" (Stoker 347). Though generally pale, Dracula looks particularly pallid in his rage, and the scar on his forehead is more noticeably red and inflamed, consistent with the blood rushing to the scalp that Darwin described. Darwin also writes about the importance of the teeth in expressing rage. Teeth are mentioned often in *Dracula*. The Count's teeth are one of his most distinctive and dangerous features. Darwin writes "the appearance is as if the teeth were uncovered, ready for seizing or tearing an enemy" (Darwin). Darwin goes on to note that the majority of people rarely use their teeth as weapons. Dracula, however, is an exception—his teeth are his primary weapon. Darwin writes of a doctor, who works with "the insane whose passions are unbridled" and has confirmed that biting is more common among these mentally ill criminals (Darwin). Dracula would likely be classified as such, and he acts out his crimes through biting. This would have been considered a primitive trait, since according to Darwin, "our male semi-human progenitors possessed great canine teeth" (Darwin). Since large canine teeth and biting would have been more common in early human ancestors, they are atavistic traits.

Lombroso and his contemporaries described the criminal mindset in almost as much detail as the physical description. The main problem in a criminal's mind, as described by Lombroso, is that "the ability to discriminate between right and wrong, which is the highest attribute of civilized humanity, is notably lacking" (Lombroso 30). It is through the narrating characters' sense of right and wrong that the reader views Dracula, and with this sense in mind, it is clear that the count is, as Van Helsing describes, "devil in

callous" (Stoker 276). This is also consistent with Lombroso's descriptions of criminal "cruelty" and "indifferen[ce] to the sufferings of others" (Lombroso 35). Dracula chooses his victims based on a general sense of revenge rather than any personal reason. The choice of Lucy, for example, seems random at first to her friends since she had never met Dracula, nor personally wronged him or his people. She seems to be a complete innocent, and therefore Dracula's targeting of her is a mark of cruelty. Another quality found in the criminal mind is, as Van Helsing describes, that "the criminal always work at one crime" (Stoker 382). The criminal is determined, but single-minded. After calling the Count "a criminal and of criminal type", according to "Nordau and Lombroso", Mina says of Dracula: "he confines himself to one purpose. The purpose is remorseless" (Stoker 383). Dracula does not give up on his goals. Van Helsing notes how tireless he is with "he be beaten back, but did he stay? No! He come again, and again, and again. Look at his persistence and endurance" (Stoker 361). It is obvious to Van Helsing that the Count has been fighting this particular battle for hundreds of years even if he hasn't been specifically fighting it against them the whole time. He doesn't care that they are not his original enemy. They are representative of his original enemy and that is enough, which speaks to his indifference to individual suffering and his persistence.

The criminal was considered similar to both "primitive" races and to "lower" animals. Lombroso framed this as a kind of revelation. When he was examining the skull of a criminal, he "seemed to see all of a sudden, lighted up as a vast plain under a flaming sky, the problem of the nature of the criminal--an atavistic being who reproduces in his person the ferocious instincts of primitive humanity and the inferior animals" (Lombroso 15). This is based on atavism, which was seen as the opposite of Darwin's theory of evolution. Darwin's theory "was unsettling to Victorians because it dissolved the boundary between human and the animal" (Danahay 19). This view betrayed a fundamental misunderstanding of evolution. The Victorians thought that existing lower animals had evolved directly into humans, and that the process could be reversed. This misunderstanding could be partially attributed to the influence of the great chain of being, a medieval concept that ranked all beings. It began with god and other supernatural figures, then humans, ranked by class and race, then the other animals, ranked approximately according to their similarity to humans. This chain was confused with evolution, giving many people the idea that evolution was a straight line connecting all animals and "leading to the conclusion that if something—individual or nation—could evolve, it could also devolve or

degenerate" (Byron 20). Lombroso was among those who believed this. He compares criminals to "apes. . .birds of prey. . .snakes" and writes that "all these characteristics pointed to one conclusion, the atavistic origin of the criminal who reproduces. . .qualities of remote ancestors" (Lombroso 21). The more a criminal resembles an animal, and the lower that animal in the great chain of being, the further he is from civilized humanity. This distance is one of the main things that Lombroso emphasizes throughout his writings, asserting that the criminal is uncivilized because of his atavistic tendencies. Dracula himself is compared to "the rat, and the owl, and the bat. . . the fox, and the wolf" (Stoker 276). These are animals associated with particular traits. The fox, the wolf, and the owl are all thought of as intelligent, though the fox in particular generally has emphasized its cunning, which has negative implications. The rat and the bat are both common disease carriers. This is significant since Dracula "infects" his victims with vampirism. Dracula's physical description also points to a similarity to lower animals. His nose is described as aquiline—like an eagle's beak. Birds of prey are one of Lombroso's examples of animals that criminals might resemble. The count is also unusually hirsute. He has his thick hair, bushy eyebrows, and, as Jonathan notices "hairs in the center of the palm" (Stoker 48). This resemblance to lower animals is another indication of criminality.

Lombroso and those who built on his research classified criminals according to different types. The type that he called "most important" were "born criminals. . .because the crimes committed by them are of a peculiarly monstrous character" (Lombroso 21). Count Dracula is a vampire, quite literally a monster. While this is probably not what Lombroso had in mind with the word "monstrous", his crimes of murder and mutilation would certainly have fallen under this category. Renfield, Dr. Seward's insane patient, represents another classification of criminal. Lombroso writes of "the idiot", who "is prompted to paroxysms of rage to commit murderous acts on his fellow-creatures" and "the imbecile, or weak-minded individual" who "yields to his first impulse, or, dominated by the influence of others, becomes an accomplice in the hope of some trivial reward" (Lombroso 49). What Dr. Seward terms Renfield's "zoophagy" is the extent of his murderous acts that are described in the novel, but the latter classification points toward his devotion to Dracula and hope that the Count will come to him with instructions or assistance. Havelock Ellis, who expanded on Lombroso's theories, writes of "the insane criminal" (Ellis 3). Dr. Seward seems to classify Renfield as this himself, referring to him as "my own pet lunatic" (Stoker 272). Renfield is clearly a psychological curiosity, and his

criminal tendencies are linked to his mental illness or, as it would have been called, insanity. The final representation of criminals in *Dracula* comes with Lucy and the other female vampires.

Lucy's condition is similar to the then-popular diagnosis of hysteria, which Lombroso attributed to criminality in women. Women were often diagnosed as hysterical when experiencing psychological difficulties or even just because they did not adhere to the strict ideals of femininity expected of them by their family and society. Lombroso writes that hysterical women have a particular "Susceptibility to suggestion. Of still greater importance for the criminologist is the facility with which hysterical women are dominated by hypnotic suggestion. Their wills become entirely subordinated to that of the hypnotizer" (Lombroso 57). *Dracula* seems to target women for this reason. He is able to hypnotize them into carrying out his will, and thus they are particularly useful to him. The symptoms of hysteria were "hallucinations, sudden change of character. . . .loss of strength, trembling" (Lombroso 57). Lucy's loss of strength is one of the first symptoms of her attack by *Dracula*. After her death and subsequent transformation, the change of character becomes apparent. When the men see her as a vampire, they see "Lucy Westenra, but yet how changed. The sweetness was turned to adamant, heartless cruelty, and the purity to voluptuous wantonness" (Stoker 249). That word "cruelty", as used so often when applied to criminals, is now applied to Lucy. The "voluptuous wantonness" in the latter half of the sentence is also important, since Lombroso states that hysteria can cause "erotomania" (Lombroso 58). Lucy is more sexual after her transformation. The other female vampires are also sexually aggressive, which undermines conventionally passive femininity and shows "the breakdown of traditional gender roles, the confusion of the masculine and feminine. . .one indication of cultural decay" (Byron 20). The aggression and sexuality that the female vampires show would have been more often attributed to males, so the female vampires confused this border between masculine and feminine. Border-crossing was one of the greatest driving forces behind what the Victorians believed was cultural decay.

At the height of imperialism, Victorians feared what Arata called "the late-Victorian nightmare of reverse colonization" (Arata 115). As the British expanded their empire, they also experienced an influx of immigrants from the new colonies. Some worried about the effects this immigration might have. Lombroso thought that "the agglomeration of population produced by

immigration is a strong incentive to crime" (Lombroso 80). Many Victorians agreed, and feared the natives of colonies coming to Britain would influence British culture, in what they felt would be a negative and regressive manner. This phenomenon is relevant to the works of Lombroso and his contemporaries because "reverse colonization narratives are obsessed with the spectacle of the primitive and the atavistic" (Arata 109). Lombroso's criminal as a figure of primitiveness and atavism is the perfect figure to enact the revenge that the Victorians feared, and Dracula fits that archetype.

Dracula shows a warlike nature and a history of militaristic aggression. Narratives of reverse colonization show an exaggerated invasion, and the leader of such an invasion is appropriately a general. Dracula's home of Transylvania has become synonymous with vampires, but it was with Stoker and this book that the association began. Before *Dracula*, "Transylvania was known primarily as part of the vexed 'Eastern Question' that so obsessed British foreign policy in the 1880s and 90s. The region was first and foremost the site, not of superstition and Gothic romance, but of political turbulence and racial strife" (Arata 113). The instability of this region meant that it was the site of many political disputes. It would have been immediately associated with war, and Dracula with "the numerous warrior races--Berserker, Hun, Turk, Saxon, Slovak, Magyar, Szekely--inhabiting the area" (Arata 114). Dracula, as vampire, is the strongest of these warrior races. The count shows pride in his conquests and even in his defeats.

Was it not this Dracula, indeed who inspired that other of his race who in a later age again and again brought his forces over the great river into Turkeyland; who, when he was beaten back, came again, and again, and again, though he had to come alone from the bloody field where his troops were being slaughtered, since he knew that he alone could ultimately triumph? (Stoker 61)

This shows his persistence, as it seems he has fought the same battle many times. When he tells Jonathan of his family history, his greatest glory is in the "bloody sword" (Stoker 60) and he laments that "the warlike days are over" (Stoker 61). The juxtaposition of words like "bloody" and "slaughter" with "inspired" and "triumph" suggest that the count takes as much pride in the bloody scenes themselves as in the victories they signify. This affinity toward blood is because of his nature both as vampire and warrior. Arata writes that "by continually blurring the lines between the Count's vampiric and warrior activities, Stoker forges seemingly 'natural' links among three of his principle concerns: racial strife, the collapse of empire, and vampirism" (Arata 111). Dracula's fondness for violence also emphasizes his

criminality. Lombroso writes of criminals having “the irresistible craving for evil for its own sake, the desire not only to extinguish life in the victim, but to mutilate the corpse, tear its flesh, and drink its blood” (Lombroso 15). The count is a figure of evil, who leaves his mark on the people he attacks, tearing the flesh. Blood is his main source of sustenance and the source of his influence. His lust for blood shows him as vampire, criminal, and warrior at once. Dracula easily crosses borders and inhabits all spheres of transgression that contributed to the fear of reverse colonization.

A transgression of class barriers was one of the main fears contributing to the idea of reverse colonization. Dracula confuses class barriers from the beginning of the novel. Jonathan is surprised to not “[see] a servant anywhere” in his castle (Stoker 50). The meals are prepared and placed entirely out of Jonathan's sight, but it seems that the only person who could possibly be doing it is the Count. This is strange for him, as a noble, to act as a servant in his own home, especially to a foreigner who is not of noble birth. He soon reveals his feelings about traveling to England to Jonathan: “Here I am noble; I am *boyar*. . .but a stranger in a strange land, he is no one. . .I am content if I am like the rest. . .I have been so long master that I would be master still—or at least that none other should be master of me” (Stoker 51). The Count is concerned about standing out as a foreigner in England, because it would mark him as lower than the native English, while he is used to being recognized as higher than those around him. He wants to blend in with the English to make it easier for him to infiltrate them from the inside.

Dracula also transgressed racial and cultural barriers. Lombroso writes that “There exist whole tribes and races more or less given to crime” (Lombroso 77). Among other ethnic groups he asserted were more likely to be criminals were some Eastern European groups with which the English might have associated Dracula. That may have been part of the reason he felt the need to study so hard to blend in with the English. He wanted to avoid appearing “criminal” so he could commit his crimes unnoticed. “To impersonate an Englishman, and do it convincingly, is the goal of Dracula's painstaking research into 'English life and customs and manners,' a goal the Count himself freely, if rather disingenuously, acknowledges” (Arata 124). While he claims that the goal is simply to blend in, he plans to use that ability to infect people with vampirism without them realizing that he is a foreign other. This aligns with the fear that Victorians had of foreign cultures and diseases infecting Britain. Dracula's type of reverse colonization is a particularly apt metaphor because “if 'blood' is a sign of racial identity, then Dracula effectively

deracinates his victims. In turn, they receive a new racial identity, one that marks them as literally 'Other'" (Arata 116). Dracula's use of blood makes blood as racial identity literal. Dracula is taking Lucy, who has "English blood" and giving her instead "Vampire blood", which she can then spread to others. The spread of vampirism shows the fear that the British "race" would decline in favor of that of immigrants. However, with Van Helsing's guidance, the men are able to "'re-racinate' [Lucy] by reinfusing her with the "proper" blood" (Arata 118). They give her blood transfusions each in turn. The order of the donors is "Holmwood, Seward, Van Helsing, Morris" (Arata 118). This order reflects a strict hierarchy. Holmwood, British and of noble birth, is first. Morris, American and of common birth, is put behind even the other foreigner Van Helsing. Though they are unable to save Lucy with this technique, it shows how racial, cultural, and class order were strictly established. Dracula's attack on the body "endangers Britain's integrity as a nation at the same time that he imperils the personal integrity of individual citizens" (Arata 115). He simultaneously invades individuals and the nation.

The Count's campaign is a form of revenge against imperialism. Considering his location and his history of war, he often fought against conquering imperialists. These people were, like the British did with their colonies, attempting to assimilate Dracula and his people. Dracula takes great pride in his cultural heritage, as vampire and as a member of his country Lombroso writes that "pride, or rather vanity" is a feature in many criminals (Lombroso 33). It is because of this pride that Dracula fought so fiercely against those who sought to assimilate him and his people, and that he held on to his hatred for them for so long. Through his many experiences in war, he developed a hatred not only for those people, but for any who conquer. Lombroso claims that criminals have "an extraordinary thirst for revenge" (Lombroso 34). Dracula is consistent with this description. He says that he "spread [his revenge] over centuries"(Stoker 347). He is so dedicated to it that it does not matter that those who initially spurred the revenge are gone. He has moved on to another enemy. The British are not the ones who repeatedly attempted to take away his power and identity. However, as the strongest empire, England is representative of empire in general, and according to Van Helsing "the place. . .most of promise for him" (Stoker 356). Because of this, Dracula takes his power there, to strip the British of their identities in revenge and make them work for him. Dracula says to Mina, "They should have kept their energies for use closer to home" (Stoker 328). This seems not only to refer to those men who are currently fighting him, but to serve as an indictment of imperialists in general. He hates imperialism and

wants to fight against it, but he does this by being imperialist himself. Through the spread of vampirism, the Count is forging his own empire. When he infects people, he acts as the ruler of an empire. He forces the ones that he feeds on to become like him, as an empire attempts to make natives of its colonies assimilate. They become his "jackals" (Stoker 347). This is not only a position of servant who helps when he wants to feed, but also like a soldier, helping him spread his regime by making more people into vampires. He expresses a desire to have Mina as his "companion and . . . helper" (Stoker 328). He likely envisions her to have a similar role, as companion and a type of second-in-command, turning as many people as possible into vampires. He wants to create a race, an army, of people who look and act like him, generating even more of the Victorians' fear of that which is atavistic. Were Dracula allowed to continue on this path unhindered, he would eventually be able to take over by creating an army of vampires and killing or infecting everyone in the country. Arata writes, "Dracula not only mimics the practices of British imperialists, he rapidly becomes superior to his teachers. The racial threat embodied by the Count is thus intensified." (Arata 125). He is able to assimilate people more effectively than the British imperialists because he can change their race and their alliance with his bite. The British feared the people that the Count created, or the people that they worried that real foreigners might create, but even more, they feared becoming one of them.

Stephen Arata writes that "degeneration was a term no late-Victorian thinker could do without" (Arata 2). The Victorians, including Bram Stoker, thought frequently about degeneration and how it might affect their country. The work of Cesare Lombroso and others who explored the field of Criminal Anthropology, describing how criminals were a degenerate and atavistic race of humans, influenced Victorian thinkers and writers. Bram Stoker's *Dracula* shows how the atavistic criminal and another major Victorian figure of fear, the foreign other, could be the same person. *Dracula* is a gothic horror, a travel narrative, and an epistolary novel. Each of these literary forms individually concerns itself with boundaries. The gothic crosses borders of natural and supernatural, the travel narrative geographic and cultural, and the epistolary crosses narrative borders to allow the reader directly inside the mind of several characters in one book. These genres combine to make the perfect format for a narrative of reverse colonization, which is based on transgression of traditional boundaries. Count Dracula is a transgressive character in several ways. His status as vampire puts him on the border between dead and alive, human non-human, natural and supernatural. His role as atavistic criminal puts him on the border between human and animal.

He attempts to cross other boundaries—of race, culture, and class—and forces others to cross them. The fact that he crossed these borders knowingly, intentionally to undermine British imperialism, makes him the embodiment of the Victorian fear of reverse colonization.

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