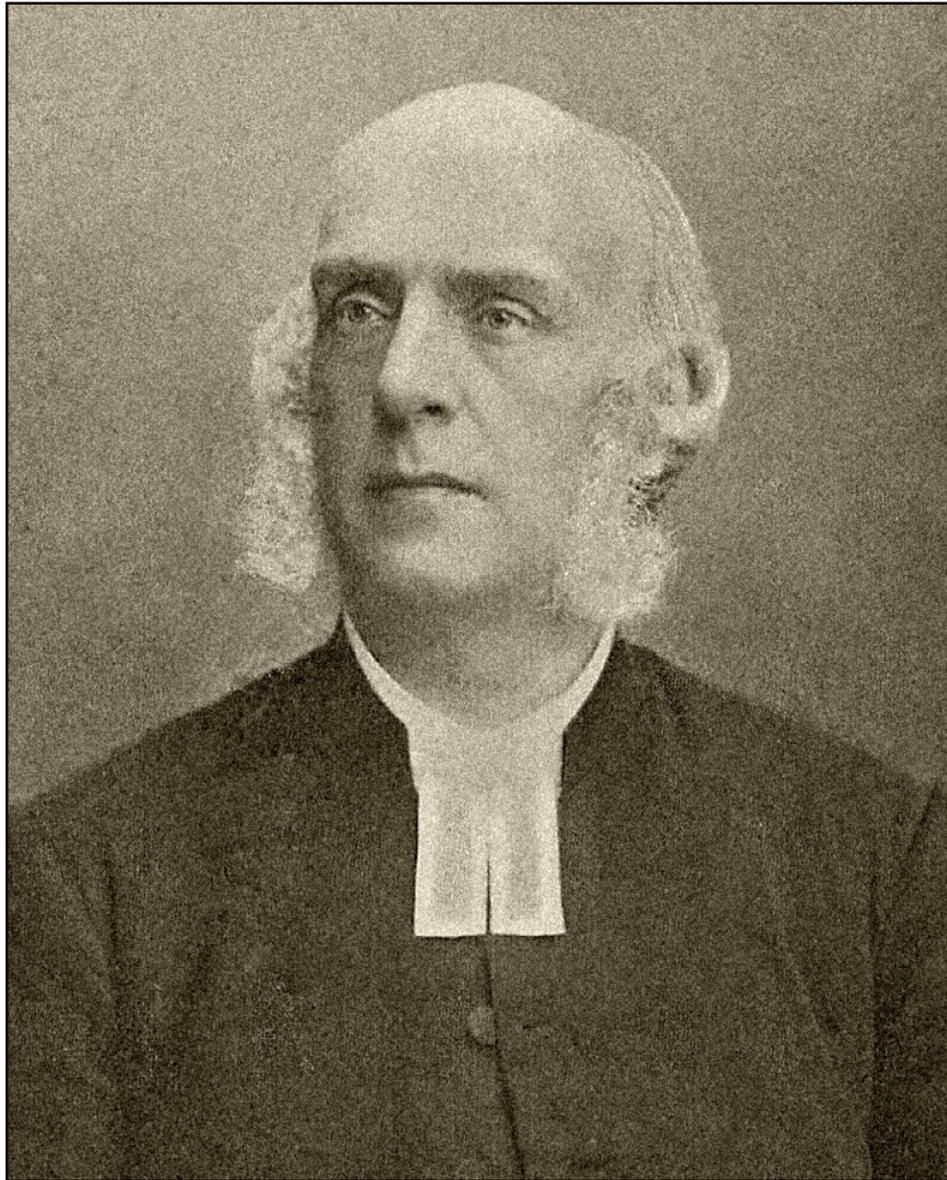


WAS THE PREFACE TO THE SWEDISH *DRACULA* VERSION WRITTEN BY A PRIEST?

BERNHARD WADSTRÖM AND THE “WHITE LADY”



by  
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Dedicated to Richie, Jane and Jiven, who shared the excitement of this strange discovery with me.

**Note:** References to the Swedish text of the *Dagen* variant of *Mörkrets makter* are given in [square brackets], indicating the page numbers as given in the newspaper serialization. For the section describing Harker's adventures in Transylvania (up to the middle of page 196), the *Dagen* and the *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-upplaga* variants have the same text and identical page numbers; in fact, these serializations must have been printed from the same matrices. The *Tip-Top* republication of 1916-1918 was typeset in a different format, without continuous page numbers.

**Note:** The Icelandic text of *Makt myrkranna* and the Swedish text of the variants of *Mörkrets makter* are in the public domain; my translations of these texts and my comments are protected by international copyright laws.

# WAS THE PREFACE TO THE SWEDISH *DRACULA* VERSION WRITTEN BY A PRIEST?

## BERNHARD WADSTRÖM AND THE “WHITE LADY”

by Hans Corneel de Roos, MA

For 52 months now, the question whether Bram Stoker personally contributed to the modified plot and the changed style of *Makt myrkranna*, the Icelandic version of *Dracula*, has haunted me. A surprising discovery I made at the start of May 2018 now throws a new light on the matter and dramatically narrows down the options. A report.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Over the past decades, the preface to the Icelandic edition has held a special place in *Dracula* research. It was introduced to the international community of *Dracula* aficionados by Richard Dalby, who in 1986 included an English translation of this foreword by Joel H. Emerson in his *Bram Stoker Omnibus*.<sup>1</sup> In 1993, he republished this translation in *The Bram Stoker Journal*, together with a reproduction of the Icelandic preface text and his comments on the novel, which he believed to be a “heavily abridged” translation of the 1897 British edition.<sup>2</sup> The Dalby translation of the preface became accepted as one of the few canonical texts shedding light on Stoker’s intentions and the suspected backgrounds of his novel: it suggested “the infamous murders by Jack the Ripper” originated from the same source as the events depicted in *Makt myrkranna*; it even seemed to state that the Whitechapel crimes themselves would appear in the Icelandic text “a little later.” As I demonstrated in 2014, the latter part of this interpretation was the result of a defective translation from the Icelandic.<sup>3</sup> Emerson’s error, in turn, may partly have been due to a lack of context: although Dalby had acquired a copy of the rare book and further copies were available for consultation at university libraries in Iceland, Denmark, England and the USA, as well as at various Icelandic public libraries, no scholar outside of Iceland ever made an effort to study the text.

In January 2014, after obtaining the book’s preface from Reykjavik, I got hold of the complete text of *Makt myrkranna*. I soon found out that the story had been serialized in the Reykjavik newspaper *Fjallkonan* from 13 January 1900 on, and that the Icelandic version was *not* – as hitherto believed – an abridged translation of Stoker’s text at all: although much shorter than *Dracula*, it contained many new characters and a heavily modified plot. Moreover, the style seemed atypical of Stoker to me: the tiresome deliberations on legal issues and the sentimental assertions of friendship between the members of Van Helsing’s team had been cut out; instead, a series of gorgeous and at times half-denuded young women made their appearance. Already in my first essay on *Makt myrkranna*, I addressed the question if and to what extent Stoker had authorized the Icelandic version or even had contributed to it himself.<sup>4</sup>

Over the years, even after my annotated translation of *Makt myrkranna* had been published by Overlook Press, New York, in February 2017, I continued to pursue this issue. My discussions with a round of Icelandic translation experts had produced strong linguistic clues suggesting that the preface had been translated from another language, instead of being originally composed in Icelandic.<sup>5</sup> A hint by the Swedish fantasy fiction expert Rickard Berghorn gave my quest a new turn: shortly after the book release, Berghorn informed me that the Icelandic text in fact must have been a translation of *Mörkrets makter*, a Swedish *Dracula* adaptation that had been serialized in the newspaper *Dagen* and the magazine *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-upplaga*, starting in June and August 1899 respectively. But while Berghorn insisted that the Swedish version was *much longer* than Stoker’s original and – unlike *Makt myrkranna* – upheld its epistolary style throughout the novel,<sup>6</sup> the facsimile I received directly from the Swedish National

1 Richard Dalby, *A Bram Stoker Omnibus* (London: Foulsham, 1986).

2 Richard Dalby, “Makt Myrkranna – Power of Darkness,” *Bram Stoker Journal* 5 (1993): 2-8. In the second part of Dalby’s article, the plural *Powers of Darkness* was used for the Icelandic novel; as such it became listed in various *Dracula*-related bibliographies.

3 See my article “*Makt Myrkranna* – Mother of all *Dracula* Modifications?,” *Letter from Castle Dracula*, 4 February 2014: 3-19, and my introduction to *Powers of Darkness* (New York: Overlook Press, 2017), 13-43.

4 See my article “*Makt Myrkranna* – Mother of all *Dracula* Modifications?”: 12ff.

5 In January-February 2016, I discussed this issue per email with Ásgeir Jónsson (the editor of the third Icelandic edition) and a series of translation experts from Icelandic universities and language research institutes.

6 See my interview with Rickard Berghorn, *Children of the Night Congress Bulletin*, 5 March 2017: 8.

Library on 8 March 2017 showed otherwise: although longer than the Icelandic version, this text was definitely *shorter* than *Dracula* and after Harker's adventures in Transylvania switched to a conventional chapter style. I concluded that the shorter variant I had got hold of – as published in *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-upplaga* – must have been the text translated by Ásmundsson, while Berghorn had gained access to an extended variant – as published in *Dagen* and later reprinted in the magazine *Tip-Top*.<sup>7</sup>

The status of these variants, however, remained unclear; the questions and doubts I had already worded regarding Stoker's possible role in creating *Makt myrkranna* now had to be transposed to *Mörkrets makter*. Like before, we could not be certain that (1) the hint in the preface pointing to the Thames Torso Murders, (2) the mentioning of Van Helsing as a real person and (3) the *Hamlet* quote actually came from Stoker; the parallels between Stoker's early notes for *Dracula* and similar elements showing up in the northern adaptations might result from an exchange of ideas between Stoker and his Swedish translator/editor, or even from an early draft of *Dracula* that the Irishman had sent to Sweden – or, alternatively, they might be due to pure coincidence, as argued by Jason Colavita.<sup>8</sup>

Early April 2017, I updated my annotation and my introduction to *Powers of Darkness* to reflect my newest insights and inform readers about Swedish plot clues that had been omitted from *Makt myrkranna*; although Overlook Press agreed to include this update in a second print run, a concrete time schedule for this has not materialized yet. Meanwhile, I wrote a series of research essays about the hidden identity of the Swedish translator/editor of *Mörkrets makter*: both Swedish variants in their title state that these adaptations had been wrought by “A-e.” Based on a number of clues I found in the Swedish press of that time, I presented the journalist Anders Albert Andersson-Edenberg (1834-1913) as a possible and plausible candidate.<sup>9</sup>

Research on *Makt myrkranna* has stalled for almost three decades after Dalby first published its preface, because no scholar outside Iceland thought of the possibility that its plot might deviate from that of *Dracula*, and no one in Iceland thought it useful to inform an international audience – just like the Swedish literary experts familiar with *Mörkrets makter* never felt the urge to publish about it abroad until my *Powers of Darkness* caused a global buzz.<sup>10</sup> It is curious to see that today, 14 months after the news about the Swedish version broke,<sup>11</sup> no other scholar yet has delved into the similarities and differences between the Icelandic and Swedish text variants available now. In October 2017, Berghorn republished the text of the *Tip-Top* version.<sup>12</sup> Apart from that, facsimiles of both the *Dagen*, the *Halfvecko-upplaga* and the *Tip-Top* publications have been available from the Swedish National Library.

At least the Swedish preface should have attracted some scrutiny: first, in order to determine if and to what extent the Icelandic preface matched its Swedish counterpart, and, second, to determine if the Swedish text, too, pointed to a translation – as should be expected in case Bram Stoker had authored it himself. The question whether Stoker within a few years after the publication of his *magnus opus* consented – or even actively contributed – to a radical re-interpretation of his vampire novel should be of eminent interest to all *Dracula* scholars and fans; still, the mills of university-based research into Victorian and/or Gothic Literature – fields almost all major academic institutions have appointed special professors and lecturers for – seem to turn too slow to catch up with recent developments. Now that I, for the time being, have rounded up my research about the hidden identities of Professor van Helsing<sup>13</sup> and the anonymous translator/editor of *Mörkrets makter*, I decided to take a closer look at the Swedish preface myself.<sup>14</sup>

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7 I established this in my emails to Rickard Berghorn of 11 March 2017.

8 Jason Colavita, “Why the Icelandic ‘Dracula’ Adaptation Is Probably Not Evidence for a Lost Original Version of Bram Stoker’s Classic Vampire Novel,” online blog of 15 February 2017.

9 See my article “Was Anders Albert Andersson-Edenberg the First Author to Modify *Dracula*?” Vamped.org of 27 March 2018, for an overview of these findings and for references to my earlier publications on this issue.

10 My article “On *Dracula*’s Lost Icelandic Sister Text. How a Supposed Translation proved to be much more” for *The Literary Hub* of 6 February 2017 was clicked 30,000 times in the first weeks.

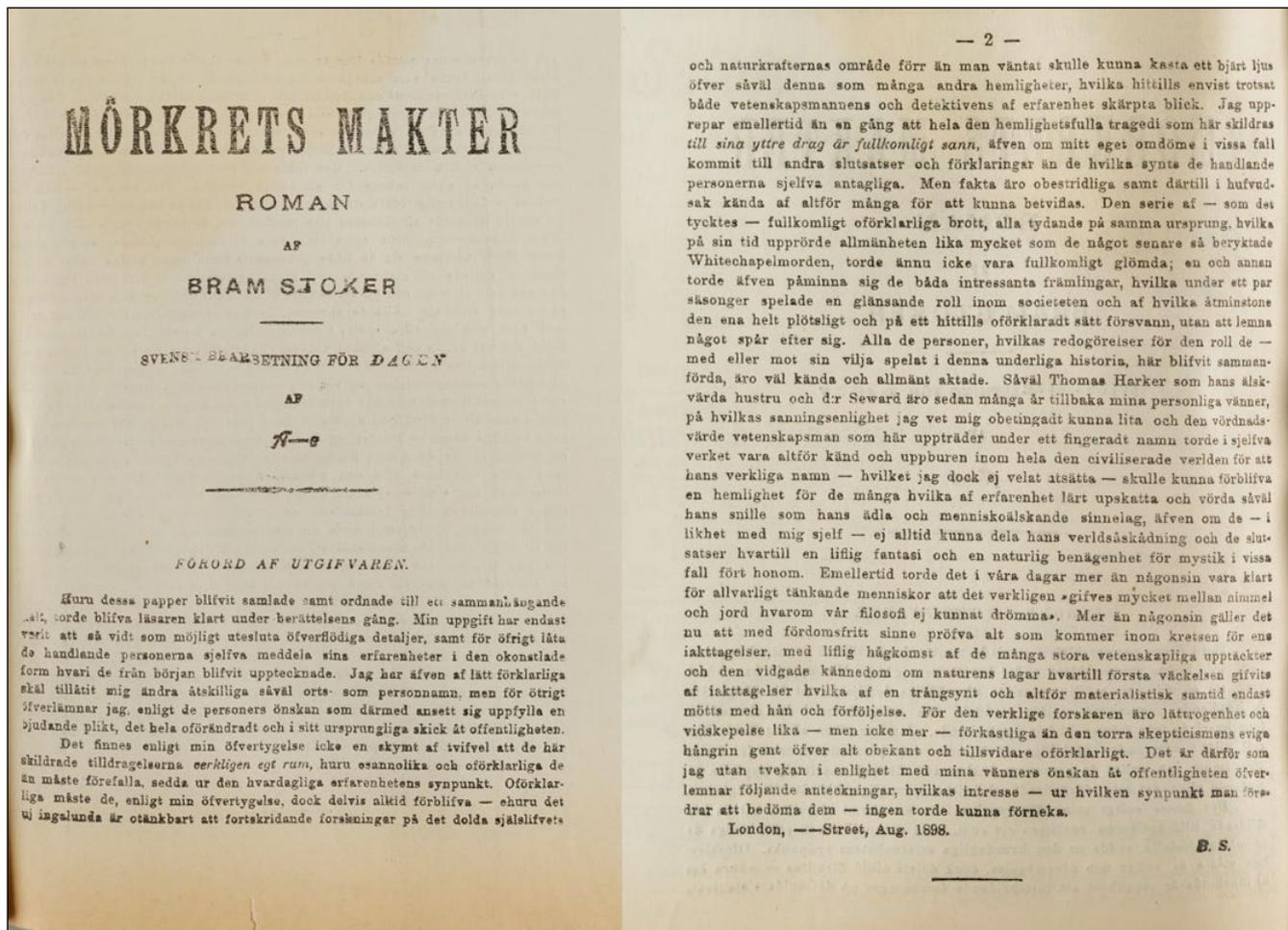
11 See the special *Children of the Night Congress Bulletin* of 5 March 2017, and “Icelandic version of *Dracula*, *Makt myrkranna*, turns out to be Swedish in origin,” *Iceland Monitor*, 6 March 2017, an article I set up together with the journalist Anna Margrét Björnsson.

12 Rickard Berghorn (ed.), *Mörkrets makter* (Landsbro: Aleph Bokförlag, 2017).

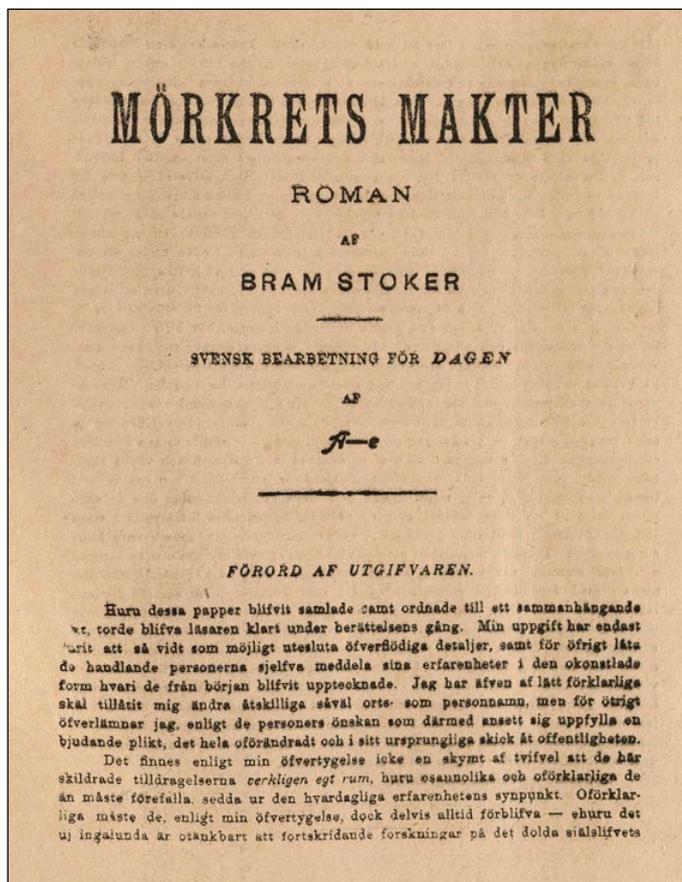
13 See my article “*Dracula*’s Best-Kept Secret – The Hidden Identity of Professor Abraham van Helsing,” also in Vamped.org of 26 May 2018.

14 A little *caveat*: I never studied Swedish in any structured way. But as I found out, this language is much closer to Dutch (my mother tongue), German (which I speak and write fluently since I moved to Munich in 1986) and Icelandic (which I had to tackle for translating *Makt myrkranna*) than to English (which remains a hopelessly illogical language). It is very well possible, though, that some translation errors have slipped through; I trust that my Swedish colleagues will be more than happy to point them out to me.

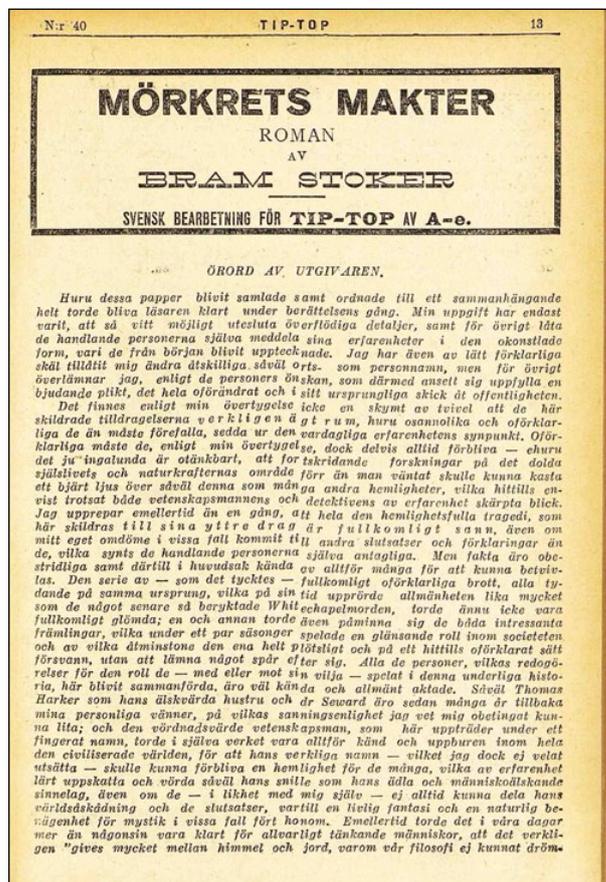
## 2. SOURCE TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS



Preface to *Mörkrets makter* as appearing in *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-upplaga* of 16 August 1899



First part of the preface in *Dagen* of 10 June 1899



First part of the preface in *Tip-Top*, 1916, nr. 40, p. 13

# Makt myrkranna.

## Róman.

Eftir

**Bram Stoker.**

### Formáli höfundarins.

Lesarinn getur sjálfur séð, þegar hann les sögu þessa, hvernig þessum blöðum hefir verið raðað saman, svo að þau yrði að einni heild. Ég hef ekki þurft að gera annað en að draga úr þeim ýms óþörf smáatvik og láta svo sögufólkið sjálft skýra frá reynslu sinni í þeim sama einfalda búningi, sem blöðin eru upphaflega skrifuð í. Ég hef, af augljósum ástæðum, breytt nöfnum manna og staða. En að öðru leyti skila ég handritinu óbreyttu, samkvæmt ósk þeirra sem hafa álitid það stranga skyldu sína, að koma því fyrir almenningssjónir.

Eftir minni sannfæringu er það ekkert efa-  
mál, að þeir viðburðir, sem hér er lýst, *hafi sannarlega átt sér stað*, hversu ótrúlegir og óskiljanlegir sem þeir kunna að sýnast, skoðaðir eftir almennri reynslu. Og ég er sannfærður um, að þeir hljóta jafnan að verða að nokkuru leyti óskiljanlegir, þó ekki sé óhugsandi að áframhaldandi rannsóknir í sálfræðinni og náttúrufræðinni geti þegar minst varir skýrt bæði þessa og aðra leyndardóma, sem hvorki vísindamenn né njósnaarlögreglan hafa enn þá getað skilið. Ég tek það enn á ný fram, að þessi dularfulli sorgarleikur, sem hér er lýst, er *fullkomlega sannur að því er alla ytri viðburði snertir*, þó ég eðlilega hafi komist að annari niðurstöðu í ýmsum greinum en sögu-

# MÖRKRETS MAKTER

ROMAN AF BRAM STOKER

SVENSK BEARBETNING FÖR *DAGEN* AF *A–e*

## FÖRORD AF UTGIFVAREN<sup>1</sup>

Huru dessa papper blifvit samlade samt ordnade till ett sammanhängande helt torde bli läsaren klart under berättelsens gång. Min uppgift har endast varit att så vidt som möjligt utesluta öfverflödiga detaljer, samt för öfrigt låta de handlande personerna sjelfva meddela sina erfarenheter i den okonstlade form vari de från början blifvit upptecknade. Jag har äfven af lätt förklarliga skäl tillåtit mig ändra åtskilliga såväl ords- som personnamn, men för ötrigt öfverlämnar jag, enligt de personers önskan, som därmed ansett sig uppfylla en bjudande plikt, det hela oförändrat och i sitt ursprungliga skick åt offentligheten.

Det finns enligt min öfvertygelse inte en skymt af tvifvel att de här skildrade tilldragelserna *verkligen egt* rum, hur osannolika och oförklarliga de än måste förefalla, sedda ur den hvardagliga erfarenhetens synpunkt. Oförklarliga måste de, enligt min öfvertygelse, dock delvis alltid förblifva – ehuru det uingalunda är otänkbart att fortskridande forskning på det dolda<sup>2</sup> sjäslifvets och naturkrafternas område förr än man väntat skulle kunna kasta ett bjärt ljus öfver såväl denna som många andra hemligheter, hvilka hittills envist trotsat både vetenskapsmannens och detektivens av erfarenhet skärpta blick. Jag upprepar emellertid än en gång, att hela den hemlighetsfulla tragedi, som här skildras *till sina yttre drag är fullkomligt sann*, äfven om mitt eget omdöme i vissa fall kommit till andra slutsatser och förklaringar än de hvilka synts de handlande personerna sjelfva antagliga. Men fakta är obestridliga samt därtill i hufvudsak kända af alltför många för att kunna betviflas. Den serie af – som det tycktes<sup>3</sup> – fullkomligt oförklarliga brott, alla tydande på samma ursprung, hvilka på sin tid upprörde allmänheten lika mycket som de något senare så beryktade Whitechapelmorden, torde ännu inte vara fullkomligt glömda; en och annan torde äfven påminna sig de båda intressanta främlingar, hvilka under ett par säsonger spelade en glänsande roll inom societeten och av hvilka åtminstone den ena helt plötsligt och på ett hittills oförklarat sätt försvann, utan att lämna något spår efter sig. Alla de personer, hvilkas redogörelser för den roll de – med eller mot sin vilja – spelat i denna underliga historia, här blifvit sammanförda, är väl kända och allmänt aktade. Såväl Thomas Harker som hans älskvärda hustru och dr Seward är sedan många år tillbaka mina personliga vänner, på hvilkas sanningsenlighet jag vet mig obetingat kunna lita; och den vördnadsvärde vetenskapsman, som här uppträder under ett fingerat namn, torde i sjelfva verket vara alltför känd och uppburen inom hela den civiliserade verlden för att hans verkliga namn – hvilket jag dock ej velat utsätta – skulle kunna förblifva en hemlighet för de många, hvilka af erfarenhet lärt uppskatta och värda såväl hans snille som hans ädla och människoälskande sinnelag, äfven om de – i likhet med mig sjelf – ej alltid kan dela hans världsåskådning och de slutsatser, hvartill en liflig fantasi och en naturlig benägenhet för mystik i vissa fall fört honom. Emellertid torde det i våra dagar mer än någonsin vara klart för allvarligt tänkande människor, att det verkligen »gifves mycket mellan himmel och jord, hvarom vår filosofi ej kunnat drömma». Mer än någonsin gäller det nu att med fördomsfritt sinne pröfva allt, som kommer inom kretsen för ens iakttagelser, med liflig hågkomst af de många stora vetenskapliga upptäckter och den vidgade kännedom om naturens lagar, hvartill första väckelsen gifvits av iakttagelser, hvilka av en trångsynt och alltför materialistisk samtid endast mötts med hån och förföljelse. För den verkliga forskaren är lättrogenhet och vidskepelse lika – men inte mer – förkastliga än den torra skepticisms eviga hångrin gent öfver allt obekant och tillsvidare oförklarligt. Det är därför som jag utan tvekan i enlighet med mina vänners önskan åt offentligheten öfverlämnar följande anteckningar, hvilkas intresse – ur hvilken synpunkt man föredrar att bedöma dem – ingen torde kunna förneka.

London, -- Street, aug. 1898.

B.S.

- 1 Text as first published in *Dagen* of 10 June 1899 and *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-upplaga* of 16 August 1899. In the *Tip-Top* republication of 1916-18, republished by Aleph Books in October 2017, "af" has been changed to "av," "hvilka" to "vilka," etc.
- 2 Swedish "dold" means "hidden," "obscured" or "invisible". In the definite form "dolda," the term can relate to "område" ("field") or to "sjäslifvets" (lit.: "of the life of the soul"), but it can also include "naturkrafternas" ("of the forces of nature").
- 3 In the *Tip-Top* republication, "tycktes" (seemed) has been replaced by "tycks" (seems). In this context, the past tense seems more appropriate to me, as *Mörkrets makter* is offering an explanation for this series of crimes now – at least in part.

# MAKT MYRKRANNA

RÓMAN EFTIR BRAM STOKER.

## FORMÁLI HÖFUNDARINS<sup>1</sup>

Lesarinn getur sjálfur séð, þegar hann les sögu þessa, hvernig þessum blöðum hefur verið raðað saman, svo að þau yrðu að einni heild. Ég hef ekki þurft að gera annað en að draga úr þeim ýms<sup>2</sup> óþörf smáatvik og láta svo sögufólkið sjálft skýra frá reynslu sinni í þeim sama einfalda búningi, sem blöðin upphaflega eru skrifuð í. Ég hef, af augljósum ástæðum, breytt nöfnum manna og staða. En að öðru leyti skila ég handritinu óbreyttu, samkvæmt ósk þeirra, sem hafa álitnið það stranga skyldu sína, að koma því fyrir almenningssjónir.

Eftir minni sannfæringu er það ekkert efamál, að þeir viðburðir, sem hér er lýst, *hafi sannarlega átt sér stað*,<sup>3</sup> hversu ótrúlegir og óskiljanlegir sem þeir kunna að sýnast, skoðaðir eftir almennri reynslu. Og ég er sannfærður um, að þeir hljóta jafnan að verða að nokkru leyti óskiljanlegir, þótt ekki sé óhugsandi, að áframhaldandi rannsóknir í sálfræðinni og náttúrufræðinni geti, þegar minnst varir, skýrt bæði þessa og aðra leyndardóma, sem hvorki vísindamenn né njósnaarlögreglan hafa enn þá getað skilið. Ég tek það enn á ný fram, að þessi dularfulli sorgarleikur, sem hér er lýst, er *fullkomlega sannur*, að því er alla ytri viðburði snertir, þótt ég eðlilega hafi komist að annarri niðurstöðu í ýmsum greinum en sögufólkið. En viðburðirnir<sup>4</sup> eru ómótmælanlegir, og svo margir þekkja þá, að þeim<sup>5</sup> verður ekki neitað. Þessi röð af glæpum er mönnum ekki úr minni liðin, röð af glæpum, sem virðast<sup>6</sup> óskiljanlegir en út leit fyrir, að væru af sömu rót runnir, og slógu á sínum tíma jafnmiklum óhug á almenning sem hin alræmdu morð Jakobs kviðristara, sem komu litlu seinna til sögunnar. Ýmsa mun reka minni til hinna merkilegu útlendinga, sem misserum saman tóku glæsilegan þátt í lífi tignarfólksins hér í Lundúnum, og menn muna eftir því, að annar þeirra<sup>7</sup> að minnsta kosti hvarf skyndilega og á óskiljanlegan hátt, án þess að nokkur merki hans sæist<sup>8</sup> framur. Allt það fólk, sem sagt er að viljandi eða óviljandi hafi tekið þátt í þessari merkilegu sögu, er alþekkt og vel metið. Bæði Tómas Harker og konan hans, sem er valkvendi, og dr. Seward eru vinir mínir og hafa verið í mörg ár, og ég hef aldrei efað, að þau segðu satt frá; og hinn mikilsmetni vísindamaður, sem kemur hér fram með dularnafni, mun líka vera of frægur um allan hinn menntaða heim, til þess að mönnum dyljist hið rétta nafn hans, sem ég hef ekki viljað nefna, síst þeim, sem af reynslu hafa lært að meta og virða snilld hans og mannkosti, þótt þeir ekki fremur en ég fylgi lífsskoðunum hans. En á vorum dögum ætti það að vera ljóst öllum alvarlega hugsandi mönnum,

„harðla margt er á himni og jórðu,

sem heimspekina dreymir ei um.“-

Lundúnum, — stræti, águst 1898.

B.S.

1 Text as first published in *Fjallkonan* of 13 January 1900, 4. For an English translation and comments on errors and omissions in the translation by Joel H. Emerson, see my book *Powers of Darkness* (New York: Overlook Press, 2017), 61-63.

2 Read: ýmis.

3 The italics only appear in the *Fjallkonan* serialization, not in the book edition of August 1901 and later republications.

4 Instead of the indefinite form (fakta = facts) as used in Swedish, the Icelandic text uses the definite form here (*the facts*).

5 Here and in other cases, Valdimar uses the dative, here in combination with “verður neitað” (auxiliary verb, cf. German “werden,” plus supine form of “ad neita” = to deny). As I checked in the Icelandic press archive, the use of the dative in such cases was not unusual in Valdimar’s time. Discussed per email with Ragna Eyjolfsdóttir in January 2016.

6 Valdimar opted for “virðast” here, the present tense instead of the past tense. See fn. 3 on the previous page.

7 As noted by Ásgeir Jónsson in his email 1 February 2014, the Icelandic “annar þeirra” refers to the other of a pair, not to one of a group, as indicated in Emerson’s translation. Ásgeir’s precise observation is confirmed by the text of the Swedish preface.

8 The form “sæist” is the subjunctive past tense, third person *singular* of the mediopassive form of the strong verb “sjá”: “so that no signs of him *was* ever seen again.” One would expect the third person *plural* form “sæjust” here, as given in the second edition of 1950 and the third edition of 2011. Valdimar, however, also used the singular verb form in *Fjallkonan* of 20 April 1892, 63 (“hvort nokkur merki *væri* ugglaus...”). The final meaning stays the same.

# POWERS OF DARKNESS

NOVEL BY BRAM STOKER

SWEDISH ADAPTATION FOR *DAGEN* BY A–e

## EDITOR'S PREFACE<sup>1</sup>

How these papers have been collected and arranged to form a coherent whole will become clear to the reader in the course of the story. My task has merely been to eliminate unnecessary details as far as possible, and for the rest allow the actors themselves to report their experiences in the same plain form in which they were initially taken down. I have also, for easily explainable reasons, allowed myself to change some names of places and persons, but for the rest, in accordance with the wish of the people who believe to fulfil an imperative personal duty this way,<sup>2</sup> I hereby pass everything unchanged and in its original condition to the public.

There is, in my conviction, not a shade of doubt that the events pictured here *really took place*, no matter how unlikely and inexplicable they may appear, seen from the perspective of everyday experience. Inexplicable, however, they must in part remain, I believe – though it is by no means unthinkable that ongoing research in the field of natural and hidden psychical forces,<sup>3</sup> before we may expect it, will cast a bright light on both these and many other secrets, that so far have stubbornly defied both the scientist's and the detective's acumen, sharpened by experience. I repeat once again, however, that the entire mysterious tragedy described here *in its outer features is completely true*, even though in some instances, my own judgment has come to other conclusions and explanations than those that seem plausible to the acting persons. But facts are indisputable, and moreover, in the main points they are known by too many people to be open to doubt. This series of – as it seemed – completely unexplainable crimes, all pointing to the same origin, that in their time troubled the public as much as the so infamous Whitechapel murders happening somewhat later, should not be completely forgotten yet; some people may also remember the two interesting strangers who, for a couple of seasons, played a glamorous role in the high society<sup>4</sup> and of whom at least one all of a sudden and in a hitherto unexplained way disappeared, without leaving any trace behind. All persons, whose reports about the role they – willingly or unwillingly – played in this strange story have been collected here, are well-known and widely respected. For many years, both Thomas Harker and his charming wife and Dr. Seward have been my personal friends, on whose truthfulness, I know, I can rely unconditionally; and the revered scientist, who appears here under a pseudonym, in fact may be all too famous and celebrated throughout the civilized world, for his real name – which I do not wish to disclose here all the same – to remain a secret to the many who from experience have learned to appreciate and honor both his genius and his noble and philanthropic mind, though they – like myself – can not always share his world view and the conclusions to which a lively imagination and a natural tendency to mysticism in some cases have led him. However, today, more than ever, it might be clear to seriously thinking people that there really “are more things in heaven and earth, than are dreamt of in our philosophy.”<sup>5</sup> More than ever, it is now a matter of examining, without prejudice, all that comes within the circle of our perception, with a lively recollection of the many great scientific discoveries and our broadened knowledge of the laws of nature, that has initially grown on the basis of<sup>6</sup> observations that from the side of narrow-minded and all too materialistic contemporaries were only met with mockery and persecution. For the true scientist, credulity and superstition are just as – but no more – objectionable as<sup>7</sup> the eternal sardonic grin of dry skepticism toward everything unknown and hitherto unexplained. That is why I, without doubt in accordance with the wish of my friends,<sup>8</sup> present the following notes, whose significance – from whatever viewpoint one might prefer to judge them – no one could deny.

London, — Street, Aug. 1898.

B.S.

1 The Swedish term “utgi(f)varen” literally means “publisher.” As this preface is signed with Stoker's initials, this must refer to Stoker's assumed role as the editor (German: “Herausgeber”) of a text written by others, not to “A–e” or the publisher of the newspaper.

2 Swedish: “sig uppfylla en (...) plikt.” English and German have no matching reflexive phrase, hence my translation “personal.”

3 See p. 7, fn. 2. As I suspect that “dolda” refers to hidden psychical forces or mechanisms, I have opted for this solution.

4 Swedish: “societeten,” lit.: “society,” here in the sense of “high society,” “elite,” “higher circles,” etc.

5 In *Hamlet*: “There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, than are dreamt of in (y)our philosophy.”

6 Swedish: “(...) vartill första väckelsen givits av, (...)” lit.: “(...) to which the first revival was given by (...)”

7 Correct but less elegant: “(...) just as objectionable as, but no more objectionable than (...)”

8 The Swedish “utan tvekan i enlighet” uses no commas, hence this somewhat awkward translation: from the first paragraph, we already know that the editor's friends expressly wish these materials to be published.

# MÄCHTE DER FINSTERNIS

ROMAN

BRAM STOKER

SWEDISCHE ÜBERARBEITUNG FÜR *DAGEN: A–e*

## VORWORT DES HERAUSGEBERS<sup>1</sup>

Wie diese Papiere gesammelt und geordnet wurden um ein zusammenhängendes Ganzes zu bilden sollte im Laufe der Erzählung deutlich werden. Meine Aufgabe bestand lediglich darin, unnötige Details wo möglich zu streichen und es den Akteuren selbst zu ermöglichen, ihre Erfahrungen in derselben ungekünstelten Form zu veröffentlichen, in der sie ursprünglich zu Papier gebracht wurden. Aus leicht verständlichen Gründen habe ich mir auch erlaubt, manche Orts- und Personennamen zu ändern, aber im Übrigen übergebe ich, gemäß dem Wunsch der Personen, die hiermit eine gebietende persönliche Pflicht zu erfüllen glauben, das gesamte Material unverändert und in seiner ursprünglichen Fassung der Öffentlichkeit.

Es gibt meines Erachtens keinen Schimmer von Zweifel daran, dass die hier geschilderten Ereignisse *wirklich stattfanden*, wie unwahrscheinlich und unerklärlich sie im Lichte der alltäglichen Erfahrung auch erscheinen müssen. Unerklärlich müssen sie, nach meiner Überzeugung, jedoch teilweise immer bleiben – obwohl es keineswegs ausgeschlossen ist, dass der Fortschritt der Forschung im Bereich des verborgenen Seelenlebens und der Kräfte der Natur früher als erwartet ein klares Licht auf diese sowie auf viele andere Geheimnisse werfen könnte, die bisher hartnäckig dem durch Erfahrung geschulten Blick des Wissenschaftlers sowie des Detektivs getrotzt haben. Ich wiederhole aber noch einmal, dass die ganze mysteriöse Tragödie, wie hier dargestellt, *in ihren äußeren Merkmalen absolut wahr ist*, auch wenn mein eigenes Urteil manchmal zu anderen Schlüssen und Erklärungen gekommen ist als die, welche den handelnden Personen selbst plausibel erscheinen. Aber Tatsachen sind unbestreitbar, und außerdem sind sie in den wesentlichen Punkten zu vielen Menschen bekannt um fraglich zu sein. Diese Serie von – wie es schien – völlig unerklärlichen Verbrechen, die alle auf den gleichen Ursprung hinwiesen und in ihrer Zeit die Öffentlichkeit ebenso sehr beunruhigte wie die später so berühmten Whitechapel-Morde, dürfte noch nicht vollständig vergessen sein; manche Leute dürften sich auch an die beiden interessanten Ausländer erinnern, die während einiger Saisons eine glamouröse Rolle in höheren Kreisen spielten, und von denen zumindestens einer ganz plötzlich und auf ungeklärte Weise verschwand, ohne eine Spur zu hinterlassen. Alle Personen, deren Aussagen über die Rolle die sie – mit oder gegen ihren Willen – in dieser seltsamen Geschichte spielten, hier zusammengebracht sind, sind wohlbekannt und weithin respektiert. Sowohl Thomas Harker als auch seine reizende Frau und Dr. Seward sind seit vielen Jahren meine persönlichen Freunde, auf deren Wahrheitstreue, wie ich weiß, ich mich ohne Vorbehalt verlassen kann; und der verehrte Wissenschaftler, der hier unter einem Pseudonym erscheint, dürfte in der ganzen zivilisierten Welt wohl zu bekannt und berühmt sein, als daß sein wirklicher Name – den ich hier dennoch nicht preisgeben möchte – ein Geheimnis bleiben könnte für die vielen, die aus Erfahrung gelernt haben seine Genialität sowie seine edle und philanthropische Gesinnung zu schätzen und zu ehren, obwohl sie – wie ich selbst – nicht immer seine Weltanschauung und die Folgerungen teilen können, zu denen eine lebhafte Einbildungskraft und ein natürlicher Hang zur Mystik ihn in manchen Fällen geführt haben. Aber heute, mehr denn je, dürfte es allen ernsthaft denkenden Menschen klar sein, dass es wirklich “mehr Ding’ gibt im Himmel und auf Erden, als uns’re Schulweisheit sich träumt.” Mehr denn je geht es nun darum, alles zu erforschen, was in den Kreis der eigenen Beobachtungen fällt, mit lebhafter Erinnerung an die vielen großen wissenschaftlichen Entdeckungen und das erweiterte Wissen um die Naturgesetze, das den ersten Antrieb von Beobachtungen erhielt, die durch engstirnige und zu materialistische Zeitgenossen nur mit Spott und Verfolgung bedacht wurden. Für den wahren Wissenschaftler sind Leichtgläubigkeit und Aberglaube gleich – aber nicht mehr – verwerflich wie<sup>2</sup> das ewige Hohngrinsen des trockenen Skeptizismus allem unbekanntem und bisher ungeklärten gegenüber. Aus diesem Grund übergebe ich, zweifellos in Übereinstimmung mit dem Wunsch meiner Freunde, die folgenden Notizen, deren Bedeutung – aus welchem Blickwinkel man sie auch bevorzugt betrachten möge – niemand bestreiten könnte, der Öffentlichkeit.

London, — Straße, Aug. 1898.

B.S.

<sup>1</sup> As Swedish is nearer to German than to English, I add my German translation here.

<sup>2</sup> Voll ausgeschrieben (korrekt aber weniger elegant): “(...) gleich verwerflich wie – aber nicht verwerflicher als – (...)”

### 3. OBSERVATIONS

#### A. VALDIMAR ÁSMUNDSSON'S TRANSLATION: DEVIATIONS FROM THE SWEDISH PREFACE

First of all, we can see that Valdimar translated the largest part of *Mörkrets makter's* preface more or less faithfully, but omitted the 113 Swedish words directly following the *Hamlet* quote. We do not know the reason; perhaps he needed to save place, perhaps he found these statements superfluous, as much of them is already contained in the previous lines.

Furthermore, Valdimar made some small text changes. E.g. where the preface speaks of the high society in which the foreigners would have played a dazzling role, he specified “in London.” At other places, he slightly condensed the text, e.g. in the last sentence of the first paragraph.<sup>15</sup> He also changed the structure of this sentence, splitting it up in smaller units. He also simplified the complex sentence “Alla de personer, vilkas redogörelser för den roll de – med eller mot sin vilja – spelat i denna underliga historia, här blivit sammanförda, är väl kända och allmänt aktade”: instead of mentioning the reports that have been combined in this *manuscrit trouvé*, this sentence now directly speaks of the people who played a role in the story. Again, this reduces redundancy.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, it becomes easier to follow the flow of the text. Similarly, in the description of the famous scientist, the sentence part “(...) och de slutsatser, vartill en livlig fantasi och en naturlig benägenhet för mystik i vissa fall fört honom” has been omitted.

In the Swedish text, the “interesting foreigners” playing a conspicuous role in the *demi-monde* are clearly defined as a *pair* (“de båda intressanta främlingar”), not as a *group*. In the Icelandic translation, this clarity is blurred – although my Icelandic colleague Ásgeir Jónsson, editor of the third Icelandic edition, quickly noticed that the Icelandic “annar þeirra” refers to the other of a pair.<sup>17</sup> Unfortunately, this subtlety was lost in the Emerson translation, so that the English rendering published by Dalby speaks of a “group of foreigners.” We may guess that the two foreigners the Swedish preface refers to were Count Dracula (alias Baron Székély alias Marquis Caromon Rubiano; he disappears without a trace when the vampire's body turns into dust) and the beautiful Comtesse Ida de Gobonitz Varkony: they are portrayed as the “stars” of the evening party at Carfax. Prince Koromezzo, Madame Saint Amand and the violinist Guiseppe Leonardo, on the other hand, play minor roles in the Count's conspiracy; at the end of the Swedish version, Koromezzo turns out to be Mary Holmwood's husband, the murder victim found outside Seward's asylum,<sup>18</sup> while Madame Saint Amand commits suicide. Possibly, they had been hypnotized, drugged, blackmailed, turned into vampires or coerced in any other way to serve Count Dracula's purposes.

#### B. THE “ENGLISH ORIGINAL” THAT VANISHED FROM THE DONALDSON TYPESCRIPT

When I was in Dublin in March 2014, together with Dacre Stoker, we met John Moore – a well-known collector of early *Dracula* editions – who told me he knew about the original English text that in his opinion must have been the basis of the Icelandic preface. I had just started up my *Makt myrkranna* translation project and followed up enthusiastically by email. Moore reported that he had personally seen the English text while examining the so-called Donaldson typescript, which in the 1980s was in the possession of John McLaughlin, another collector of rare books, in Orange County, Florida. McLaughlin had allowed him to make a transcript of the text in longhand. But when Moore emailed me a typed version of this alleged transcript, I felt reminded of an alternative translation of the Icelandic preface commissioned by Robert Eighteen-Bisang, a third well-known book collector, from White Rock, Canada, in 2004. It turned out that Moore's transcript, allegedly made in Florida in the 1980s, was word-for-word identical with the translation created by Silvia Sigurdson for Eighteen-Bisang's publishing company Transylvania Press. Like the Emerson translation, Sigurdson's work showed various flaws and omissions. As I demonstrated in my essay on the matter in April 2014, it is completely unimaginable that Stoker would have authored the text presented by Moore, which would then have been translated to Icelandic by Ásmundsson, while the re-translation to English by Sigurdson would result in *exactly the same* text as originally penned by Bram Stoker.

<sup>15</sup> I.e. “unchanged and in its original form” is reduced to “unchanged.”

<sup>16</sup> We already know from the first paragraph that these persons wrote reports or diaries mirroring their role in the story and that these documents had been combined to form a larger whole.

<sup>17</sup> Email from Ásgeir Jónsson of 1 February 2014.

<sup>18</sup> These details have been left out in *Makt myrkranna*.

Apart from the general statistical improbability that a re-translation would return the exact original, it would mean that Valdimar would have added some words to Stoker's preface *ad-lib*, while Sigurdson, by pure chance, again would have omitted exactly these words.<sup>19</sup> Obviously, Moore's story did not add up, although it caused quite some confusion in the top ranks of *Dracula* research at that time.<sup>20</sup> Today, the observation that the Icelandic preface is a slightly altered and condensed translation of the Swedish text proves that John Moore's claim can have had no basis in reality: if there ever existed an English original of the preface – Moore purported that it has been separated from the rest of the typescript before the bundle of papers came up for auction through Christie's, New York, in 2002 – his transcript should have matched the 1899 Swedish version, not the changed Icelandic text of January 1900.

### C. TRACES OF TRANSLATION?

As no letters or agreements between Stoker and Ásmundsson could ever be found, the only way for me to try and determine who had authored *Makt myrkranna* was to examine textual and linguistic clues. As already mentioned, the very language of the Icelandic preface pointed to a translation: With the discovery that *Makt myrkranna* had been translated from the Swedish, Ásgeir Jónsson's first appraisal turned out to be correct. As until now, no documented contact between Bram Stoker and Harald Sohlman, the chief editor of the *Aftonbladet* newspaper group, could be found either, we again need to look at linguistic and textual hints.

Alas, I am not familiar enough with the Swedish language to judge whether the text of *Mörkrets makter* sounded natural to Swedish readers around 1900.<sup>21</sup> The only contribution I can make is this: for me, it is hard to imagine that the complex sentences that Ásmundsson simplified or broke up were originally written in English, by Bram Stoker. This opinion is based on intuition rather than linguistic expertise; it would be an issue for native Swedish speakers and translation experts to look into. Fortunately, I found a further clue.

### D. FROM MEMORY AND DIARIES: A FEW WORDS ON GHOST APPARITIONS

God's ways are full of wonders, so perhaps, seen from a religious point of view, it makes sense that important parts of the preface to the Swedish version of *Dracula* now turn out to have been copied from – or inserted into? – the memoirs of a Lutheran priest. Bizarre as this statement may seem, the connection between the two texts can easily be verified, by comparing the essay about ghost apparitions written by Pastor Bernhard Wadström (1831-1918) to that of the preface under discussion.<sup>22</sup> In this chapter of his memoirs, Wadström discusses various seemingly unbelievable and unexplainable events reported by highly respectable persons. Princess Eugenie – who regularly invited him as her spiritual advisor to her summer residence at Fridhem, near Visby<sup>23</sup> – told him about a “white lady” she saw at Stockholm Castle; Professor Erik Gustaf Geijer – Wadström's self-chosen “godfather” – reported about unexplainable, sudden wind gusts he and his colleagues had experienced indoors, after discussing supernatural experiences; Notary H–n reported about the uncanny presence of a man who had hanged himself; Professor R. heard heavy furniture violently move about in a house where a widow had just died. Discussing such stories was not unusual in Wadström's time – we only have to think of the popularity of Spiritism in Victorian England and the efforts of the Society of Psychical Research to get to the gist of such reported experiences; in Sweden, there was a similar interest in the supernatural. That the connection between Wadström's chapter and the text of *Mörkrets makter's* preface is no coincidence, however, becomes obvious when we juxtapose the paragraph highlighted on the next page with the last part of the Swedish preface. Here we find the sentence with the famous quote from *Hamlet*, plus – with some minor changes – the sentences omitted from the Icelandic foreword. I trust that the similarity is so striking and self-evident that I do not need to explain it any further here.

19 The Icelandic preface, for example, contains the phrase “viljandi eða óviljandi” (willingly or unwillingly), omitted in both the Emerson and the Sigurdson translation. As the alleged transcript of the English original and the Sigurdson translation from the Icelandic are identical, this would mean that Valdimar had added this phrase freehandedly and that Sigurdson – who did not know the transcript/the original – coincidentally would have cut it out again. The statistical chance for this is so small that it can be ignored.

20 For details, see my article “Bram Stoker's Original Preface to *Dracula* Revealed?” *Letter from Castle Dracula*, 18 April 2014: 3-20.

21 In “*Dracula's Way to Sweden*”, Berghorn states: “The text is also in no small amount interspersed with translation mistakes in the form of Anglicisms.” This does not tell us, alas, whether this applies to phrases directly taken from *Dracula*, or to newly added elements.

22 Bernhard Wadström, “Några ord om »andeuppenbarelser». Hvad skriften och erfarenheten betyga därom,” in his memoirs *Ur Minnet och Dagboken – Anteckningar från Aren 1848-1898* (Stockholm: Fosterlandstiftelsens Förlagsexpedition, 1899), Vol. 2, 105-122.

23 See Willy Svahn, “Wadström war hövets själasörjare,” *Dagen*, 21 February 2001, online edition. Retrieved 9 May 2018.

## II.

Enligt gifvet löfte vill jag nu anföra några tilldragelser, som bestyrka det förut sagda.

I våra dagar torde allvarligt tänkande människor mer än någonsin vara öfvertygade, att det verkligen »gifves mycket mellan himmel och jord, hvarom vår filosofi ej kunnat drömma». Mer än någonsin gäller det nu också, att man enligt skriftens maning med fördomsfritt sinne »pröfvar allt» som kommer inom kretsen för ens iakttagelser. Man må därvid ock einra sig de många stora upptäckter och den vidgade kännedom om naturens lagar, hvartill första väckelsen gifvits genom iakttagelser, som af en trångsynt och materialistisk samtid i början endast möttes med förakt och förlöjligande. För hvarje ärlig tänkare äro visserligen lättrogenhet och vidskepelse förkastliga, men lika mycket äfven den torra skepticisms hängrin, som helt drygt förkarar: »Jag skall aldrig antaga något, som är oförklarligt för mitt och alla 'klokas' sunda förstånd».

Bland de många oförklarade och tills vidare oförklarliga tilldragelser, som blifvit mig berättade af allmänt aktade och fullt trovärdiga män, skall jag här — utom hänvisningen till prinsessan Eugénies skildring om sin syn på Stockholms slott\*) — endast meddela fem, samt vid en hvar af dem angifva sagesmannen.

\*) Äfven en annan medlem af vårt konungahus har för mig omtalat sig två gånger ha sett »hvita frun», båda gångerna kort före dödsfall inom den kungliga familjen.

## FROM THE SWEDISH PREFACE:

Emellertid torde det i våra dagar mer än någonsin vara klart för allvarligt tänkande människor, att det verkligen »gives mycket mellan himmel och jord, varom vår filosofi ej kunnat drömma». Mer än någonsin gäller det nu att med fördomsfritt sinne pröva allt, som kommer inom kretsen för ens iakttagelser, med livlig hägkomst af de många stora vetenskapliga upptäckter och den vidgade kännedom om naturens lagar, vartill första väckelsen gifvits av iakttagelser, vilka av en trångsynt och alltför materialistisk samtid endast mötts med hån och förföljelse. För den verkliga forskaren är lättrogenhet och vidskepelse lika — men inte mer — förkastliga som den torra skepticisms eviga hängrin gentemot allt obekant och tills vidare oförklarligt.

If we look further through Wadström's essay, additional congruences catch our attention. As a parallel to Van Helsing, there is Wadström's personal friend, "the widely renowned Professor R.," mentioned by this pseudonym only. The other stories have also been told to the author by "widely respected and fully trustworthy people":

Bland de många oförklarade och tills vidare **oförklarliga** tilldragelser, som blifvit mig berättade af **allmänt aktade** och fullt trovärdiga män, skall jag här (...) endast meddela fem, samt vid en hvar af dem angifva sagesmannen. (my emphasis - HdR).<sup>24</sup>

We find this phrase echoed in the Swedish preface:

Det finns enligt min öfvertygelse inte en skymtav tvifvel att de här skildrade tilldragelserna *verkligen egt* rum, hur osannolika och **oförklarliga** de än måste förefalla, sedda ur den hvardagliga erfarenhetens synpunkt. (...) Alla de personer, hvilkas redogörelser (...) här blifvit sammanförda, är väl kända och **allmänt aktade**. (my emphasis - HdR) [1-2]

While discussing the various reports, Wadström notes :

Somliga människor ha en **naturlig** fallenhet eller **benägenhet** för allt slags uppenbarelsen. En ung allvarlig präst af mina bekanta från ungdomstiden förklarade, att det understundom spelade så **lifligt** för hans **fantasi**, (...). (my emphasis).<sup>25</sup>

It is not difficult to find the italicized words back in the preface's description of Professor Van Helsing:

... de slutsatser, vartill en **livlig fantasi** och en **naturlig benägenhet** för mystik i vissa fall fört honom. (my emphasis) [2]

These additional parallels could be merely accidental, but as the close connection between Wadström's text and the preface to *Mörkrets makter* and the paragraph reproduced on the previous page seems irrefutable, I tend to believe that these further similarities are no coincidence.

#### 4. CARL BERNHARD PHILONEGROS WADSTRÖM ("BERNHARD WADSTRÖM")

Bernhard Wadström was born in Uppsala in 1831 as the son of the writer and public servant Carl Gustaf Wadström, and Catharina Sophia Boström. Via his grandfather Pär Gustaf Wadström (1747-1828), he was related to the well-known abolitionist Carl Bernhard Wadström (1746-1799). He studied Theology in Uppsala and passed his exam in 1856. Together with Carl Olof Rosenius, Hans Jakob Lundborg and others he founded the religious organization Evangeliska fosterlandsstiftelsen; until 1875, he acted as its secretary. In 1859, he received the ordination as a Lutheran priest and became an adjunct pastor in the parishes of Klara, Katarina and Jakob in Stockholm. Between 1867 and 1881, a nervous disease made it impossible for him to fulfill his public functions as a priest,<sup>26</sup> but in 1881, he became a "komminister" (pastor) at Klara Church; he continued to serve in this church at least until 1900. He was the publisher and editor of numerous magazines with a religious background;<sup>27</sup> he also published calendars, psalm collections and travel reports. Moreover, he built a significant collection of portrait etchings and prints.

Wadström was married to Helga Louise Westdahl; in 1883, he married Tekla Lovisa Broberg.<sup>28</sup> He was the father of five children, including the writer Frida Stéenhoff (1865-1945) and the politician/feminist Ellen Hagen (1873-1967).

<sup>24</sup> Wadström, *Ur Minnet*, Vol. 2, 113.

<sup>25</sup> Ibidem, 111.

<sup>26</sup> A profile of Wadström maintained by Felix Åhrberg on Geni.com suggests he had depressions, or perhaps a religious crisis. Willy Swan, "Hovets själasörjare," states that during a sermon in 1867, Wadström experienced a "nerve stroke."

<sup>27</sup> Bernhard Wadström was publisher ("utgifvare") or chief editor ("redaktör") of the following periodical publications: *Väktaren. Tidning för stet och kyrka*, 1853-1888 (publisher); *Budbäraren. Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsens Tidning*, 1856-1895 (chief editor 1856-1876); *Månadsbladet*, January 1857-December 1858 and January-December 1860 (editor, together with H. J. Lundborg and Th. Norlin); *Förr och Nu. Illustrerad läsning i hemmet*, December 1869-December 1879 (publisher and chief editor 1869-1877), followed by *Nya Förr och Nu, Illustrerad Läsning för Hemmet*, 1886-March 1891 (publisher and chief editor); *Historisk Läsning för hemmet*, December 1876-April 1877 (publisher and chief editor); *Hemåt. Tidning för Lutherska kristna*, January 1877-December 1880 (publisher and chief editor); *Praktisk Bibeltolk*, bearbetad efter James Comper Gray's »Biblical Museum» af T. T[ruvé], öfversedd och granskad af B. Wadström (Bd 1:1-10), bearbetad af d:r Th. Carlsson (Bd 2:1) och Marcus Wester (Bd 2:2-5:6), December 1878-1883. Published by P. Palmquists Bokförlag; *Barnens Bibel. Sammandrag för barn af den Hel. Skrifts innehåll*, November 1887-1888 (published by Frans Ulrik P:son Beijers Bokförlag, edited by B. Wadström). Source: *Sveriges Periodiska Litteratur – Bibliografie Enligt Publicistklubbens Uppdrag*. Utarbetad af Bernhard Lundstedt, Vol. 2, Stockholm 1813—1894 (Stockholm: Aktiebolaget H. Klemmings Antiquariat/Iduns Tryckeri Aktiebolag, 1896).

<sup>28</sup> According to the Swedish Wikipedia, lemma "Bernhard Wadström." Various posts on MyHeritage.com mention "T(h)ekla (Louise) Dorot(h)ea Krook" (24 October 1843 - 3 March 1917) as his second wife. Perhaps, Tekla Krook had been married before

## 5. POSSIBLE SCENARIOS

### A. DID BERNHARD WADSTRÖM WRITE THE PREFACE TO *MÖRKRETS MAKTER*?

The simplest scenario would be that Bernhard Wadström authored or edited the preface to *Mörkrets makter* himself. I think it is very improbable, however, that a well-known priest, who in the course of four decades had built himself a public reputation as a spiritual and ethical advisor, would lend himself to translating/adapting a vampire novel or to writing a preface to it, recycling a complete paragraph he had already authored for his memoirs, and then would sign the foreword off with Bram Stoker's name. Especially impersonating another author would not have been compatible with his role as an example of Christian behaviour – not to speak of the many erotic and violent scenes featured in the Swedish version of *Dracula*. Moreover, the pseudonym “A-e” does not fit.

### B. WHO DID COPY FROM WHOM?

The release date of Volume 2 of the memoirs, printed by P. Palmquist's Aktiebolag, Stockholm, 1899, confronts us with the next dilemma: the final list of *errata* is dated “in December 1899” while the “Slutord till andra delen” (Epilogue to Volume 2) is dated 9 December 1899 – which means that this book volume was published *after* the preface to *Mörkrets makter* first appeared in *Dagen* on 10 June 1899. Unless we are able to find an earlier, separate publication of this essay, or an earlier print run of Volume 2 of the memoirs, released *before* the epilogue and *errata* list of December 1899 had been added, this would suggest that Wadström copied his paragraph from the preface to *Mörkrets makter*, not the other way around.

For various reasons, though, this scenario seems almost as implausible to me as the idea that Wadström would have authored *both* texts. First of all, as indicated in the title of his book, his notes were supposed to have been completed before the end of 1898. Of course, we cannot exclude that Wadström, editing his manuscript one more time before it was typeset, decided to “upgrade” or “update” his essay by adding phrases borrowed from *Mörkrets makter*. Still, it is hard to believe that a priest with excellent contacts to the Swedish royal family, invoking God's help and inspiration on nearly every second page, would plagiarize phrases from a freshly published vampire novel.

### C. WHAT ABOUT BRAM STOKER'S CONTRIBUTION TO *MÖRKRETS MAKTER*?

In the *Express* (online edition) of 23 April 2017, Mark Branagan reported:

#### **'Sex and violence' version of *Dracula* TOO shocking for Victorian Britain**

A “SEX and violence” version of *Dracula* deemed too shocking for Victorian Britain has been found serialised in Swedish newspapers from the 19th century.

The classic spine-chiller was revealed by Stoker's great great nephew Dacre Stoker. The alternative draft by Bram Stoker features one of the book's heroes being repeatedly seduced by a blonde vampire. *Dracula's* Castle also includes a secret chamber where ape-like creatures carry out blood-curdling human sacrifices. The existence of the soon-to-be published version of the classic spine-chiller was revealed by Stoker's great great nephew Dacre Stoker. It will also complete a recently published Icelandic version of the story – Powers Of Darkness – which had huge gaps in the narrative. Yesterday, during a visit to Whitby, where his Irish relative began writing the novel, Dacre revealed the full manuscript had been found in Sweden. Scenes deleted from the version Bram Stoker submitted to his London publishers include a number of sizzling encounters between Jonathan Harker – a character believed to be based on Stoker himself – and a gorgeous blonde vampire. *Dracula* was officially published in 1890 (sic!). The Icelandic version appeared in 1889 (sic!).

Dacre told an audience of *Dracula* experts: “In the seven years it took to write *Dracula* it stands to reason there is more than one draft. Now we have found what is effectively a sister version of the original.

“Maybe his publishers thought the alternative version was just too strong.”

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she married Wadström in 1883? It would be interesting to know whether she was related to the liberal-conservative journalist Axel Krook (1831-1893), who wrote most of the contributions to “Ett fosterländskt Bildergalleri” in *Svenska Familj-Journalen*.

In his introduction to the Swedish reprint of *Mörkrets makter* (October 2017), Rickard Bergström equally assumes that *Mörkrets makter* must have been based on an alternative draft of *Dracula* supplied by Bram Stoker, that may have seen further modifications at the hand of “A-e,” the Swedish editor:

At this stage, it is simply not possible to know how much of the text reflects Stoker’s original draft, and how much is deleted, added and reworked by “A-e”. (...)

The editorial staff of *Dagen* and *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-Upplaga* certainly expected that they, with Stoker’s draft as a basis, had a guaranteed literary success, a future alternative classic to *Dracula* 1897. (...)

How did Bram Stoker’s draft end up in Sweden? Here we come to the author and playwright Anne Charlotte Leffler (1849-92) and her brother, a mathematician and man of art and culture, Gösta (Gustaf) Mittag-Leffler (1846-1927).(...)<sup>29</sup>

In his argumentation, Bergström – without mentioning this – heavily draws on my own discovery that certain elements from Bram Stoker’s preparatory notes for *Dracula* seem to reappear in *Makt myrkranna*, and hence in *Mörkrets makter* as well. As I already noted in my last article on Albert Anders Andersson-Edenberg, however, the discovery that *Makt myrkranna* was an (abridged) translation/modification of the *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-upplaga* variant of *Mörkrets makter* has changed the perspective: we can now explain why the Icelandic preface reads like a text translated from another language, *without* assuming that Stoker must have provided an English original:

Today, we know that Valdimar translated a Swedish text. This fact, in combination with the great number of elements in *Mörkrets makter* that seem to have flown from Andersson-Edenberg’s pen, not from Stoker’s, has changed the game fundamentally: perhaps, the author of *Dracula* was not involved at all. It is hard to imagine that Stoker, who pleaded for censorship of erotic language in fiction and stage plays, would approve of the suggestive semi-nude scenes featured in the Swedish version, or would even allow Dr. Seward to kiss Lucy on the lips during the hallucinatory evening party at Carfax.<sup>30</sup>

To avoid any possible misunderstandings: up till this point, there is *no* conclusive proof (and I never claimed such proof would exist) that Stoker actually contributed to *Mörkrets makter* or – indirectly – to *Makt myrkranna*.<sup>31</sup> Neither is there any hard evidence (and I never claimed to have found such evidence) to the contrary. The discovery, however, that either the author of *Mörkrets makter*’s preface must have borrowed some key phrases from Bernhard Wadström’s memoirs, or the other way around, provides a new, important clue – although at the moment that I am writing these lines, it is not clear yet where it will lead to.

If we are ready to believe that Bernhard Wadström, in the last months before publishing the second volume of his memoirs, plagiarized from *Mörkrets makter*, the effect on our argument would be zero; his actions, taking place *after* the preface had been published in *Dagen* and *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-upplaga*, would be of no relevance to us. If we are *not* willing to believe so, though, the consequences are substantial: the only alternative is that the author or editor of the Swedish preface would have copied phrases from the memoirs of a priest almost verbally.

As Volume 2 of Wadström’s memoirs was only published in 1899, in Swedish, we may safely exclude the possibility that Bram Stoker in August 1898 – the date he allegedly signed the preface – had already read Wadström’s essay on ghost apparitions. Stoker could not read Swedish and as far as I could check, no English translation of Wadström’s essay on ghost apparitions was ever published; not *before* August 1898, and not *after*.

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29 Rickard Berghorn, “Dracula’s Way to Sweden: A Unique Version of Stoker’s Novel,” introduction to the Swedish reprint of the (extended) *Tip-Top* variant of *Mörkrets makter* (Landsbro: Aleph Books, October 2017). English translation of this introduction published by *Weird Webzine*, online magazine published by Aleph Books, retrieved 15 November 2017. This introduction also shows that Berghorn must have misunderstood my use of the word “source” in my article on the *Inter Ocean* serialization of *Dracula* of May-June 1899. I never claimed that the *Inter Ocean* text would have been an *adaptation* of *Dracula* or that *Mörkrets makter* would have been a *translation* of this first U.S. serialization; I merely stated that “A-e” may have used this U.S. text *as a source text*, that is, as the print copy of *Dracula* he consulted for creating his own version, instead of the hardcover book published in London: “Perhaps, Andersson-Edenberg worked from the *Inter Ocean* text and simply copied the initial (miss-)spelling ‘Western,’ without realizing it was erroneous.” See “Next stop: Chicago! Earliest U.S. Serialisation of *Dracula* Known so far Discovered. Was it the Source of *Mörkrets makter*?” in *Vamped.org* of 26 May 2017: 24.

30 See my article “Was Anders Albert Andersson-Edenberg the First Author to Modify *Dracula*?” *Vamped.org* of 27 March 2018: 17.

31 Redundant as such *caveats* may seem, in his critique of my article “The Origin of the First *Dracula* Adaptation,” Berghorn purported that I would have presented my “evidences” (sic!) as “undeniable.” Of course, this is plain nonsense. See “The Origin of the First *Dracula* Adaptation,” *Bulletin of the Transilvania University of Braşov*, Series IV: Philology & Cultural Studies, Vol. 10 (59) Nr. 1 – 2017; Berghorn’s post in the Facebook group “Crypt of the Un-Dead” of 18 November 2017; my article “Any New ‘A-e’ Candidates? A Reply to Rickard Berghorn’s Posts of 18 November 2017,” distributed via the same group on 19 December 2017.

UR  
MINNET OCH DAGBOKEN

ANTECKNINGAR

FRÅN ÅREN 1848—1897

AF

B. WADSTRÖM

I.

MED TALRIKA ILLUSTRATIONER.



STOCKHOLM  
FOSTERLANDS-STIFTELSENS FÖRLAGS-EXPEDITION.

UR  
MINNET OCH DAGBOKEN

ANTECKNINGAR

FRÅN ÅREN 1848—1898

AF

B. WADSTRÖM

ANDRA DELEN

MED 250 ILLUSTRATIONER



STOCKHOLM.  
FOSTERLANDSTIFTELSENS FÖRLAGSEXPEDITION.

The next possibility would be that Stoker authored the preface – tailored to fit the modified Swedish plot<sup>32</sup> – and that the Swedish translator/editor in charge of the *Dagen* newspaper serialization would have added phrases from Wadström’s memoirs, which were soon to be published. But: if *Mörkrets makter* actually would have been officially authorized by Bram Stoker, it seems not very probable that the Swedish editor would have added a plagiarism *with* Stoker’s express consent; the other option that this editor – still *within* the framework of an authorized translation/adaptation project – would have added Wadström’s words *without* Stoker’s consent seems just as outlandish. After all, this would expose Stoker to accusations of plagiarism, as the preface was signed with his name.

**All this leads me to my personal conclusion that if we are *not* ready to believe that Bernhard Wadström plagiarized from the preface to *Mörkrets makter*, Stoker’s active participation in the Swedish adaptation of *Dracula* just has become even more questionable, and the possibility of a piracy more probable.**

#### D. THE ALTERNATIVE SCENARIO: THE SWEDISH PREFACE COPIED LINES FROM WADSTRÖM’S ESSAY

The alternative scenario, that is, that the author of the Swedish preface would have copied the discussed phrases from Wadström’s chapter, presupposes that this author was familiar with Wadström’s text *before* Volume 2 was officially released. There would be two possibilities: either this essay, or parts of it, had been published *separately*, e.g. in one of the many magazines Wadström edited or contributed to, or, the editor of *Mörkrets makter* must have seen the manuscript, or a part of the typeset book, *before* the epilogue and the final list of *errata* were added. As I was not able to find any prior publication of the essay or the discussed phrases, the second option would need further attention.

Intriguingly, the page with the final *errata*, dated December 1899, informs us that the regular proofreader had fallen ill; we may assume that the publisher’s staff and/or friends of Wadström stepped in to get the book ready and printed before the Christmas buying season. Apart from that, we may expect that Wadström had discussed his manuscript with his publisher and with various friends and colleagues during the year 1899 or before, to get helpful comments and tips. *Ergo*, in this alternative scenario, the translator/editor/author of *Mörkrets makter* must have been someone from the publisher’s staff or from Wadström’s circle of trusted colleagues and friends.

#### E. BERNHARD WADSTRÖM AND ANDERS ALBERT ANDERSSON-EDENBERG

Instead of trying to make a list of all people who may have had access to Wadström’s manuscript before 10 June 1899, I will merely discuss *one* person here, who already has passed a series of my tests: Anders Albert Andersson-Edenberg. The former chief editor of *Svenska Familj-Journalen* had, as I explained elsewhere, already 35 years of journalistic experience when *Mörkrets makter* appeared. In 1874, he had been a cofounder of Publicistklubben, the professional organisation of Swedish journalists and photographers; he was its secretary, and over the decades engaged in important initiatives to improve the working conditions of his colleagues. Through his work in Publicistklubben, he was in touch with Harald Sohlman, the chief editor of *Dagen*, *Aftonbladet* and *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-upplaga*, who also played a key role in this association. Andersson-Edenberg had translated various dramatic works by the later Norwegian Nobel Prize winner for Literature, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson (1832-1910); he could read and translate English texts, was well-travelled, and had an impressive background knowledge in the literary, artistic, historical, economical and cultural field. Last but not least, several topics on which he or his colleagues published in *Svenska Familj-Journalen* during the years 1867-1887 seem to turn up in *Mörkrets makter* again.<sup>33</sup>

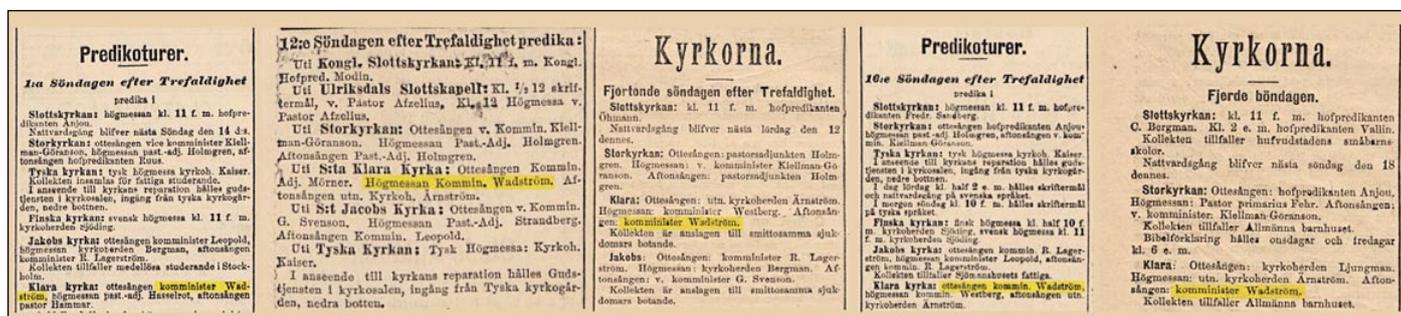
I found several points supporting the possibility that Bernhard Wadström and Anders Albert Andersson-Edenberg might have known each other personally. First of all, after living in Vårdinge (Stockholm) since 1861, Andersson-Edenberg moved to Klara församling in 1866. At that time, Bernhard Wadström already lived there: his daughter Helga Frideborg (“Frida”) Maria was born on 11 December 1865 in Klara parish. On 17 May 1867, Andersson-Edenberg married Gabriella (Gella) Magnus. I assume that the couple married in Klara kyrka (Klara Church) – but the marriage record I was able to find merely indicates “Stockholm.”

<sup>32</sup> See again my 2014 article “*Makt Myrkranna* – Mother of all *Dracula* Modifications?”

<sup>33</sup> For a detailed overview, see again my article “Was Anders Albert Andersson-Edenberg the First Author to Modify *Dracula*?”

In 1868, Andersson-Edenberg and his family lived at Regeringsgatan 89, in Jakob & Johannes, somewhat east of Klara parish; his daughter Gertrud Ester Maria was born there on 9 November 1868. Between 1871 and 1880, the Andersson-Edenbergs lived at Skaraborgsgatan 12, Maria Magdalena, Stockholm. The years 1884-1887 were spent in Katarina, Stockholm, but the family returned to Maria Magdalena and lived there till 1899, when *Mörkrets makter* was published.

Although Andersson-Edenberg thus only lived in Klara from 1866 till 1868, his later addresses never were far away from this neighborhood (see map on next page), and evidently, he did not forget about the tall church that dominated Klara parish: in 1885, he wrote an illustrated article about the history of the Klara Church for *Svensk Familj-Journalen*, signed “E-g.”<sup>34</sup> The article ends with an upbeat “Blicka dig omkring!” encouraging his readers to take a look around there. During the time that Andersson-Edenberg prepared this article, Bernhard Wadström was a pastor at Klara and regularly led religious ceremonies at this church, as is well-documented by the announcements in local newspapers. In light of the precise historical and architectural data presented in Andersson-Edenberg’s article, we may suspect that he had a talk with the church’s officials; it is even possible that the very inspiration for the article and its final line resulted from his contact with Klara’s staff.



Religious ceremonies in Klara Church, period June-October 1885, while Andersson-Edenberg wrote and published about this church. As indicated in the announcements, “Komminster” Wadström was part of the pastoral team and led religious ceremonies at Klara Church. F.l.t.r.: *Dagens Nyheter* 6 June, *Stockholms Dagblad* 22 Aug., *Svenska Dagbladet* 5 Sept., *Dagens Nyheter* 19 Sept., *Svenska Dagbladet* 10 Oct.

Another point of shared interest is that Wadström was as much a journalist, author and publisher as he was a priest. As the secretary of *Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsen*, overseeing the foundation’s publishing enterprise Fosterlandstiftelsens Förlagsexpedition, he must have been well known in the publishing field.

A third overlap is that Wadström’s collection of etchings and prints, comprising over 280,000 sheets, especially portraits of persons from Swedish national history,<sup>35</sup> must have been of great interest to Andersson-Edenberg: as the chief editor of the illustrated *Svenska Familj-Journalen*, he had 32 pages to fill each month. Especially for the reproductions in the series “Ett fosterländskt Bildergalleri,” he would continuously need high quality portrait prints. Possibly, Andersson-Edenberg – on behalf of *Svenska Familj-Journalen* – was in business with Wadström, borrowing portraits from the priest’s collection.

From this point on, it would be possible to start an in-depth search for all possible cross-connections between Wadström and Andersson-Edenberg. August Strindberg, to mention just an example, in March 1874 published his essay “Våra böcker” in Andersson-Edenberg’s newspaper *Svenska Medborgarans*,<sup>36</sup> but under the pseudonym “S.” also contributed to Wadström’s magazine *För och Nu*.<sup>37</sup> Wadström also seems to have felt close to the Sohlman family: his memoirs include a report on the death of Signe Sohlman, the daughter of August and the sister of Harald Sohlman.<sup>38</sup> But as the deadline for this article is nearing, I will not follow this up here. Instead, in the following section I will discuss some further intriguing similarities – now based on the *first* volume of Wadström’s memoirs.

34 “Klara kyrka in Stockholm,” *Svenska Familj-Journalen* 24 (1885), Nr. 10, 300-301, as already reported in my article “Was Anders Albert Andersson-Edenberg (...)” in *Vamped.org*, 26 March 2017.

35 Source: Swedish Wikipedia, lemma “Bernhard Wadström.”

36 See Torsten Eklund, “Strindbergs verksamhet som publicist 1869-1880,” *Sammlaren/Ny följd*. Årgång 11 (1930): 173.

37 See Lundstedt, *Sveriges Periodiska Litteratur*, Vol. 2, 152.

38 Wadström, *Ur Minnet*, Vol. 2, 364. Signe Sohlman, born 1854, was a gifted young painter and draftsperson. She died of lung tuberculosis in 1878. She was four years older than Harald. Their father and their younger brother had died on 5 July 1874, during a sailing accident near the summer house of the Sohlmans.



Inner City of Stockholm; map by Edvard Cohrs, 1928.

The neighborhoods or parishes where Andersson-Edenberg lived are marked by turquoise circles; two of his known addresses are marked by yellow stars. As we can easily see, during his Stockholm years, Andersson-Edenberg never lived more than a mile away from Klara Church; he could easily reach it by foot from all indicated parishes.

## Klara kyrka i Stockholm.



En anmärkning, som länge och med skäl gjorts beträffande Stockholms utseende, att det i förhållande till sin storlek och sina naturliga behag lidit brist på vackra kyrktorn, skall ej längre med fog kunna upprepas, ty nu äro två sådana under byggnad, nämligen Tyska kyrkans, hvaraf vi redan meddelat en afbildning (Sv. Fam.-Journ. 1883, sidan 340) och Klara kyrkas, af hvilket vi här lemna en teckning, hvarjämte vi erinra om, att Östermalms församling för icke så länge sedan fick sin kyrka prydd med ett vackert torn och att Johannes församling har en ny, synnerligen vacker kyrka under uppförande, af hvilken vi äfven delgifvit tidsskriftens läsare en afbildning (Sv. Familj-Journalen 1883, sidan 77).

Af Stockholms tempel är Klara församlings det tredje i ordningen i afseende på ålder. Den nuvarande kyrkan började visserligen icke byggas förr än 1572, på föranstaltande af Johan III, sedan S:t Claræ kloster, hvars grundmurar äfven äro kyrkans, på Gustaf I:s befällning blifvit förstördt 1527; men kyrkans ålder räknas från klosters grundande i senare hälften af 1200-talet. Samma öde, som på 1520-talet öfvergick alla kloster i landet, skulle naturligtvis äfven drabba S:t Claras, men dess undergång påskyndades och befastades af dess sista abbedissa, som under Gustaf I:s strider med danskarna underhöll förbindelser med dessa och åt dem förrådde landsmän, som sökt skydd i klostret.

Magnus Ladulås uppgifves i början eller midten af 1280-talet hafva med egen hand laggt första grundstenen till detta kloster, hvars tillkomst skylles konungens sedan ock fullbordade afsigt att der bereda en fristad för sin dotter Richissa, hvilken i sitt sjunde år der insattes, för att upp-

fostras, men under tiden fattade sådant tycke för klosterlivet, att hon tog slöjan och sedan blef klostrets abbedissa.

Den af Johan III uppbyggda kyrkan behöfde redan 1627 få ett nytt torn, hvilket äfven byggdes och blef färdigt sju år derefter eller 1634. Detta blef emellertid ej bättre sammansatt, än att dess öfre del den 8 September 1717 blåste

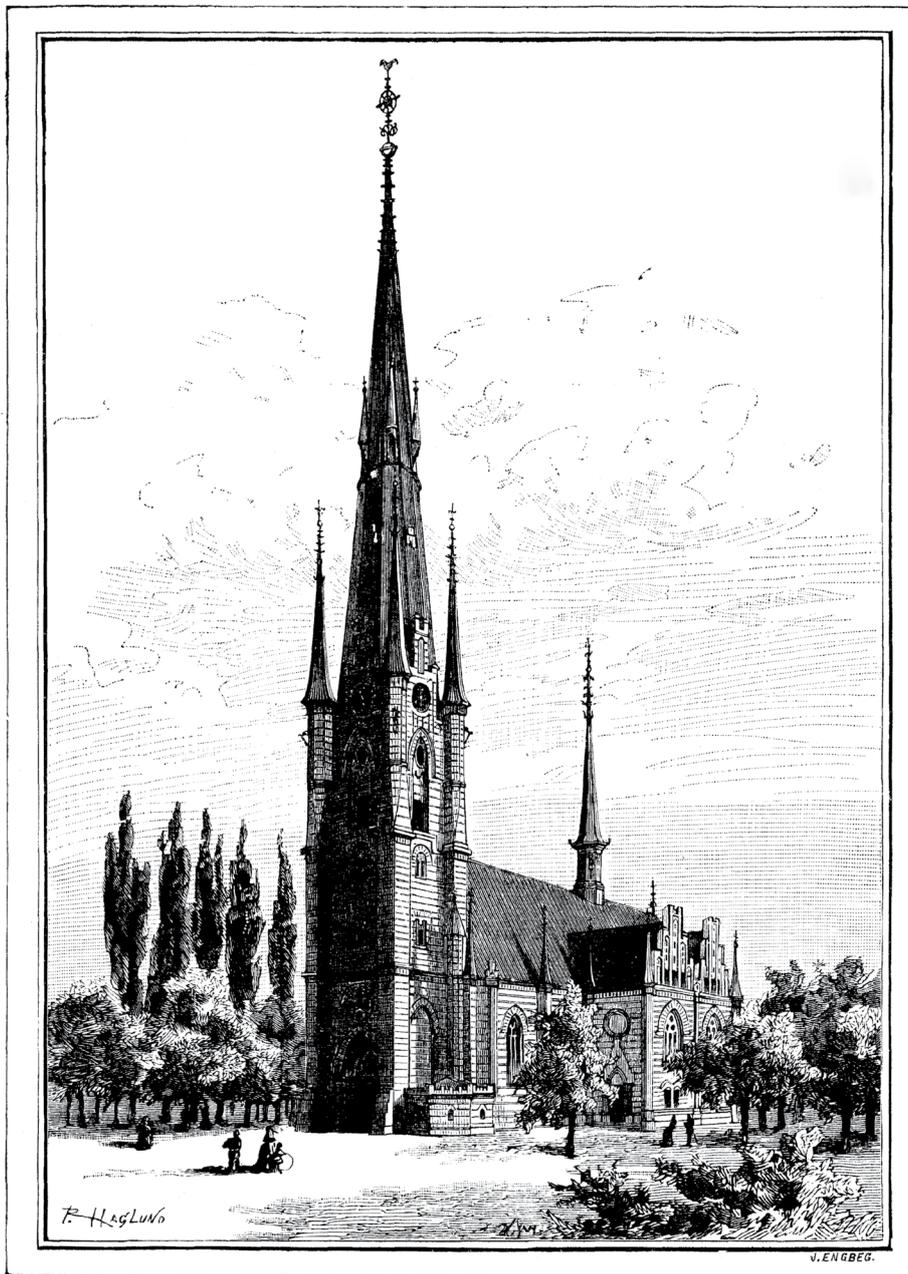
af och föll med hiskligt brak och till människornas förskräckelse till marken. Den tornstupp af koppar, som fick göra denna brådstörtade kullerbytta, var en kolossal bjesse och beskrefves sålunda:

"Af tretti markers vigt, så stor, så lång och breder,  
Som jag, båd' opp och ned, för eder tecknad står,  
Den koppartuppen var, som till Sanct Claræ heder  
Och stadsens prydnad stod i try och ättio år  
På tornets högsta spits: till dess en ganska svår  
Och ohörd vestavind slog honom plötsligt neder."

Den 27 Juli 1722 var det nya tornet färdigt och försedt med en ännu väldigare tupp, nämligen en, som vägde fyrtyotvå och ett halft skålpund. Spirans största kula rymde ättio kannor. Detta torn var emellertid allt annat än en prydnad för sin plats och inom församlingen öfvergafs aldrig tanken och förhoppningen att kunna åstadkomma en kyrkan värdigare tornspira.

Så upprättade den berömda ar-

kitekten Carl Fredrik Adelcrantz — fullbordaren af Stockholms slottsbyggnad (kommendantsflygeln och Lejonbacken), förskönaren af Drottningholms slott, skaparen af Norrbro, Adolf Fredriks kyrka i Stockholm och Stora theatern samt det arkitektoniska å altartaflan i Klara kyrka, med mera — en ritning till tornbyggnad å Klara kyrka, hvilken ritning blef af konungen gillad den 18 Maj 1768 samt till församlingens framtida bruk öfverlemnad, enär medel då saknades till byggnadens utförande. Huruvida denna Adelcrantz' rit-



Klara nya kyrktorn i Stockholm.

## 6. WHITE WOMEN SIGHTED AT OLD CASTLES

### A. PRINCESS EUGENIE'S ACCOUNT

For Princess Eugenie's story about the "white lady" she had seen, Wadström's essay in Volume 2 refers to the first volume of his memoirs, published in 1897-1898.<sup>39</sup> I studied the pages dedicated to Eugenie's account, discussed under the title "»Hvita frun» på Stockholms slott."<sup>40</sup> In my tentative translation, Eugenie's report reads as follows:

"It was in the evening of one of the last days in March 1871, shortly before Queen Lovisa's death.<sup>41</sup> I had spent the evening with the queen-widow (Josefina).<sup>42</sup> My mother and I had both been delighted and thanked God that a turn to the better had taken place in Queen Lovisa's condition, so that the doctors gave us a good hope that she might recover. It was already late, and I was just to say goodbye to go down to my apartments when the chamberlain reported that a fire had broken out in the north, in the neighborhood of Hötorget, and that the flames rose up high against the dark sky. The queen-widow asked me whether I did not want to accompany her up to the big gallery to have a view of the fire from her window. A servant was sent in advance to light some candles in the chandeliers of the halls and rooms we had to pass. Then we went up there, and from the gallery we looked at the "terribly magnificent" spectacle, which we could see in perfect clarity behind the large building of the Slöjdskola.<sup>43</sup>

When it was time to return, my mother suggested that on the way back we would pass through the outer rooms of the king's (Karl XV's) quarters, to personally enquire about the latest news on Queen Lovisa's condition.

When we entered the quarters of King Charles, from which a stairway led down to the queen's rooms, I saw a tall woman with distinguished features standing there in the room, right under the chandelier. She was dressed in a white silk dress,<sup>44</sup> over which a big lace collar went down to her shoulders. I assumed that it was one of Queen Lovisa's ladies-in-waiting, who had been given instructions to wait for the queen-widow and tell her how the invalid Queen Lovisa was now. The lady looked straight at us, without changing her posture. As I had never seen this woman, who was completely unknown to me, at court before, at first I thought of quietly asking my mother who she was. But I instantly hesitated at the thought that if we would proceed a little more, after the lady's usual curtsey, the queen-widow would say a few words to her and mention her name.

Great, therefore, was my amazement that when we came closer, neither did my mother appear to take notice of the lady, nor did the latter greet the queen-widow. As no thought of something supernatural had come to my mind, the only explanation had to be that the lady had not yet been introduced and that my mother therefore simply passed her by. However, it seemed strange that *she* would not know either of us. But when the queen-widow said nothing, I could not do so either.

Once we had reached the door leading out of the room, I turned around and saw the white-clad lady still standing under the chandelier. But when I watched her for a few moments, she took a few steps forward, as if to come to us.

As soon as we reached the next room, I immediately turned to my mother, asking, "Who was she?"

"Which 'she'?" my mother replied with a counterquestion.

'The white-dressed lady, standing in there and looking at us without greeting.'

Now the queen-widow suddenly stopped, asking me with a voice that trembled for astonishment: 'Have you seen a white-dressed lady in there, in the room leading down to the Queen's apartment? Did you *really* see that?!'

My mother's commotion now affected me, too, for reasons I could not explain. I replied, 'Yes, I saw her! Just in there, under the chandelier. Did not the two of us *both* see her? Let me open the door again, so we will look once more.'

But then the queen-widow took my hand and said, 'In the coming time,<sup>45</sup> don't say a word about this to a single person. *You may have seen the 'white lady,'* and if so, this means that the queen will die.'

39 In the hard-cover edition of Volume 1, we find the note "Tryckt Hos P. Palmquists Aktiebolags Boktryckeri 1897." As we will see in Chapter 7, part 1 of Volume 1 appeared in December 1897, while parts 2-4 and the complete cloth-bound volume appeared in 1898.

40 Wadström, *Ur Minnet*, Vol. 1, 111-118.

41 Queen Lovisa of Sweden and Norway (1828-1871), the wife of King Karl XV of Sweden (Carl IV of Norway)(1826-1872), the son of King Oscar I and Queen Josefina. She was born Princess Wilhelmina Frederika Alexandrine Anna Louise of the Netherlands, and was called "Queen Lovisa" in Sweden. During the events described here, she suffered from a severe pneumonia; she died on 30 March 1871. King Karl XV died during the next year. As Lovisa's and Karl's only son had died as a child, the throne went to Karl's and Eugenie's brother, King Oscar II of Sweden (1829-1907), who married Princess Sophia of Nassau.

42 The mother of Princess Eugenie and of King Karl XV, Joséphine of Leuchtenberg (1807-1876), Queen of Sweden, called "Josefina" in Sweden. She was a granddaughter of Joséphine de Beauharnais. She is called "queen-widow" (queen dowager) here, as her husband, King Oscar I (of the house of Bernadotte), had died in 1859. He was followed up by their son King Karl XV (see previous footnote).

43 A drawing school for craftsmen, founded in 1844 by Nils Månsson Mandelgren; later, it became an art academy ("Konstfack").

44 Swedish: "hvit sidensargeklädning," a dress made of a fabric of silk mixed with cotton thread. Whether this qualifies as "satin" – as given in an English translation by J. de Kronhelm (see fn. 46) – depends on the method of weaving.

45 Swedish: "på många dagar," lit. "for many days."

Now I first understood why my mother was so upset when I mentioned what I had seen. With a heavily pounding heart I went to bed that night, and it took a long time before I fell asleep, still praying for Queen Lovisa and for my brother, King Karl, who might suffer such a great loss.

The following day, the doctors' bulletin announced that a deterioration had occurred in the queen's condition. Three days later, the noble Queen Lovisa died, (...).<sup>46</sup>

## B. COUNTESS AGNES VON ORLAMÜNDE AND PERCHTA (BERTHA) VON ROSENBERG

To give his readers a theoretical and historical context for Eugenie's experience, Wadström points to Jung-Stilling's *Theorie der Geisterkunde*,<sup>47</sup> which was translated to Swedish in 1812; later, it also appeared in English.<sup>48</sup> In this book, the author explains his universalist views on humans, their soul, sin, punishment, redemption, immortality and God, and discusses the activities of ghosts. In the last chapters, he addresses the myth of the "white lady." While many believe her to be Countess Agnes of Orlamünde, Jung-Stilling follows the opinion of the Jesuit scholar Baldinus and introduces her as Perchta (or Bertha) von Rosenberg, who in 1449 married Freiherr Johann von Lichtenstein; she was grossly abused by her husband and died with a bitter hatred against him.<sup>49</sup> Wadström, however, focuses on Countess Agnes von Orlamünde, as her ghost allegedly showed a special interest in the Hohenhollerns and the aristocratic families linked to them through blood or friendship, the Swedish royal family included.<sup>50</sup> Agnes was the daughter of the Duke of Meran and married Count Otto von Orlamünde, with whom she had two children. After Otto's death in 1393, she fell in love with Count Albrecht the Fair from Nürnberg. Albrecht allegedly told her, though, that he would not marry her "as long as four eyes were in the way." In her desperate passion, she murdered her two children. Albrecht, however, turned away from her in disgust. Although Agnes travelled to Rome to beg for forgiveness and founded a cloister, she was imprisoned and died in captivity in Hof near Nürnberg. Since then, she has been sighted as a "white lady" at various castles in Germany, but also at Castle Drottningholm and Castle Stockholm, always to warn and prepare for an imminent death in the family.<sup>51</sup>

As an explanation for the ghost sightings described by Jung-Stilling, Wadström maintains in Volume 1:

The vast majority of Jung-Stillings' so-called "sightings" are nothing but what physiologists call "subjective perceptions or hallucinations," which are due to strange, yet unexplored disorders in the functioning of the nervous system. In our hospitals, too often, there is a proficiency in such hallucinations. But even healthy people may be exposed to such experiences (...).<sup>52</sup>

## C. PARALLELS BETWEEN PRINCESS EUGENIE'S ACCOUNT AND *MÖRKRETS MAKTER*

Readers already familiar with *Makt myrkranna* will easily recognize that there are some intriguing parallels between Princess Eugenie's story and the Icelandic version of *Dracula*; this applies to the Swedish version as well.

The common denominator of Princess Eugenie's report and the Swedish vampire story is that one evening, person A (the narrator, a younger person) perceives an unknown, slender, white-clad lady standing in a room, assuming that person B (a senior person with superior authority) – who has just walked through that room (Queen-Widow Josefina) or has just entered that room (Count Dracula) – must have noticed that woman as well. As A mentions her and it turns out that B has *not* seen her, B starts questioning A about his/her experience. B reacts in a nervous way, which also affects A, for a reason A cannot explain. Although B has not seen the woman, B seems to know who she is, or is supposed to be, and finally explains the backgrounds of the white lady's appearance to A.

46 Wadström, *Ur Minnet*, Vol. 1, 115-118, my translation. Eugenie's story was reprinted in *Tidning för Wenersborgs stad och län* of 28 April 1898, 3, and *Kalmar* of 14 January 1914, 7. Also in *Light*, Vol. 25, issue of 8 April 1905: 161, in an English translation by J. de Kronhelm.

47 Johann Heinrich Jung-Stilling, *Theorie der Geisterkunde: in einer Natur- Vernunft- und Bibelmässigen Beantwortung der Frage: Was von Ahnungen, Gesichtern und Geistererscheinungen Geglaut und Nicht Geglaut Werden Müsse* (Frankfurt-Main/Leipzig/Nürnberg: im Verlag der Raw'schen Buchhandlung, 1808). The title literally means "Theory of the Science of Ghosts."

48 Samuel Jackson (transl.) and George Bush (ed.), *Theory of Pneumatology* (London: Longman, Rees, 1834/New York: Redfield, 1851).

49 Jung-Stilling, *Geisterkunde*, 276, explicates: "(...) ihr Ehebette wurde zum Wehebette, (...)" (her nuptial bed became a bed of pain).

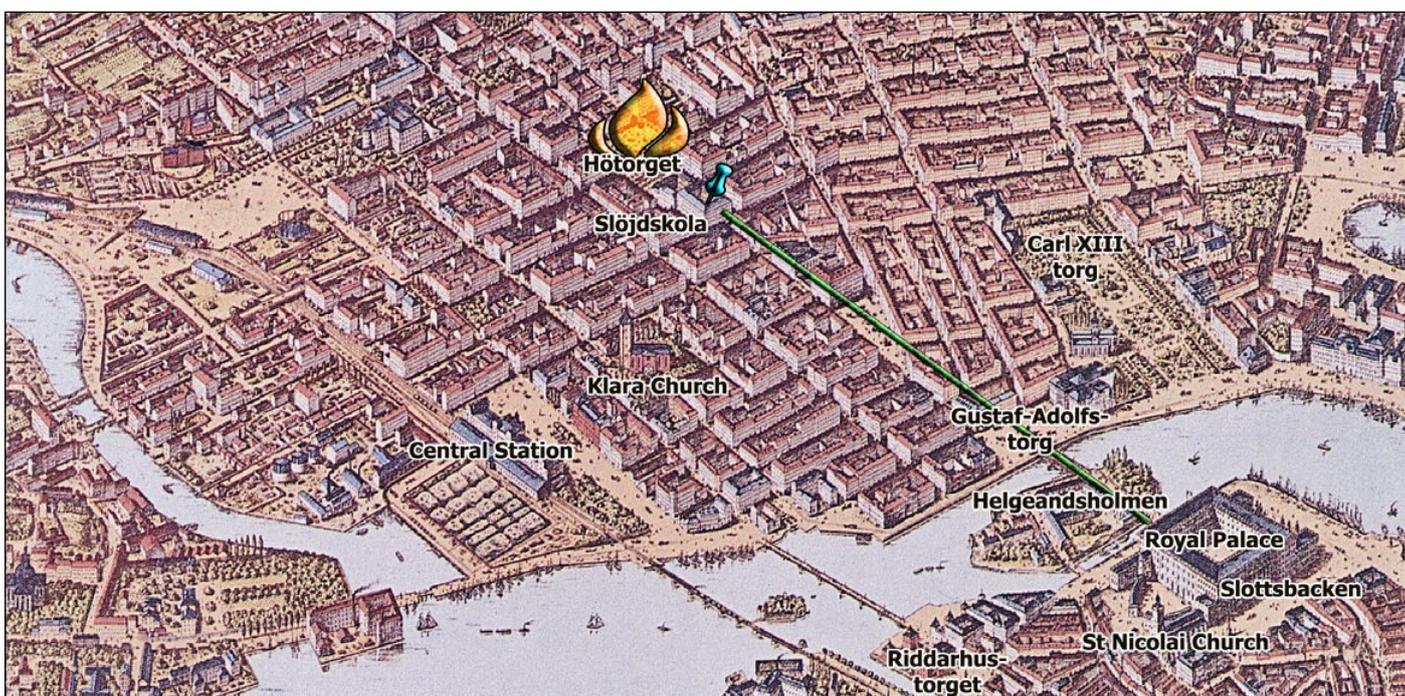
50 Wadström, *Ur Minnet*, Vol. 1, 114-115, explains that Louisa Ulrika of Brandenburg was married to King Adolf Frederik of Sweden.

51 Ibidem.

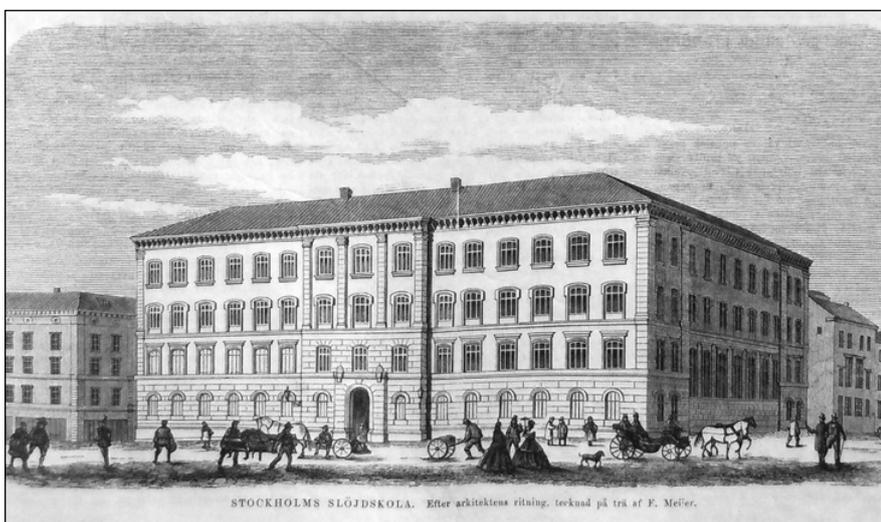
52 Wadström, *Ur Minnet*, Vol. 1, 113, my transl. See also Vol. 2, 105: "Då jag i föregående delen af dessa »Minnen» meddelade prinsessan Eugenies skildring om sin syn af »hvita frun» på Stockholms slott, tillade jag såsom min slutsats, att dylika andeuppenbarelser ofta, fastän icke alltid, äro hörsel- eller synvillor, s. k. hallucinationer." In the rest of his essay, he cites reports seeming to disprove this.



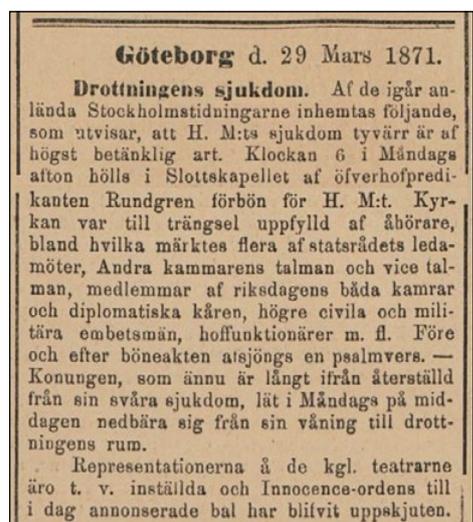
Slottsbacken & Royal Palace, Stockholm, around 1870, with St Nicolai Church left in the background. Photo: Carl Victor Bergman



Panorama, showing the view from the Royal Palace to the Slöjdskola and Hötorget, around 1870. Lithography by Heinrich Neuhaus



Slöjdskola, after an architectural drawing. *Ny Illustrerad Tydning*, 9 June 1866



*Göteborgsposten*, 29 March 1871, p. 1

But there are several more elements linking Princess Eugenie's story to the corresponding scene in *Mörkrets makter*. Eugenie's sighting takes place after she and her mother have gone up to "the big gallery" to watch a large fire outside. A servant is sent ahead to light the candles in the chandeliers. In *Mörkrets makter*, before Harker's second encounter with the blonde girl, Count Dracula invites Harker to take a look around at the large gallery upstairs. Before the Count and Harker go up there, the Count goes up alone there to light the candles.

In her account, Eugenie uses the word "skådespel" (spectacle, drama, theatre play; cf. German "Schauspiel"):

Därefter gingo vi ditupp, och från galleriet betraktade vi det »**hemskt praktfulla**» **skådespelet**.

In *Mörkrets makter*, before Harker meets the girl for the first time, he watches the sunset from the library:

(...) jag gick till fönstret för att njuta av det **skådespel** som där erbjöds mig och som i skönhet överträffade nästan allt vad jag sett i den vägen.

On the evening of 10 May, after thoroughly exploring the castle, Harker goes to the gallery and the tower room on the west side alone, to watch the magnificent sunset from there:

Från våningen en trappa upp – från tavelgalleriet och tornsalen måste utsikten vara ännu **praktfullare**. (...)

Jag gick från det ena till det andra av de stora fönstren med sina små blyinfattade rutor och djupa fönsternischer, men stannade till sist vid det där jag bäst kunde njuta av detta underbara **skådespel** (...).

Sedan solen gått ned (...) – täcktes hela himlen av en glödande rodnad, på en gång **hemsk** och förunderligt skön – **det var som om hela världen stått i brand** (...). (my colored emphasis - HdR).

Thus, *Mörkrets makter* description of the view from the gallery employs various terms found in Eugenie's report; Harker expects it to be "**praktfull**" (magnificent, cf. German "prachtvoll") and again calls it a "**skådespel**," while the glowing red of the sky is both "**hemsk**" (uncanny, terrifying, dreadful) and "amazingly beautiful": it looks "as if the whole world were on fire." The juxtaposition of "hemsk" with "skön" or "praktfull" stands out in both texts.

In her account, Eugenie repeats her description of the mysterious woman:

(...) såg jag ett **högväxt fruntimmer** (...)

(...) vände jag mig om och såg då **det hvitklädda fruntimret**

»**Det hvitklädda fruntimret**, som stod där inne (...).

»Har du sett **ett hvit-klädt fruntimmer** därinne (...). (my emphasis - HdR)

Harker first description of the blonde girl uses similar phrases – synonyms, in fact: "**en smärt, ljusklädd fruntimmersgestalt**." When the Count later asks him whether she was "**hvitklädd**," Harker confirms this. But there are more similarities: whereas Princess Eugenie's apparition wears a lace collar covering her shoulders, Harker's young woman wears a shawl. While Eugenie's white lady stands "framme i rummet, midt under ljuskronan" (there in the room, right under the chandelier), that is, in the middle of the room, Harker's new companion stands "(b)orta vid det stora bordet mitt i rummet" (over there by the large table in the middle of the room); at another occasion, Harker finds her "mitt under lampan" (right under the lamp) in the octagonal cabinet leading to his room, echoing Princess Eugenie's words almost exactly. And while in Stockholm Castle, the white lady looks Eugenie directly in the face, in Castle Dracula the white-clad girl watches Harker "with a curious and examining expression."

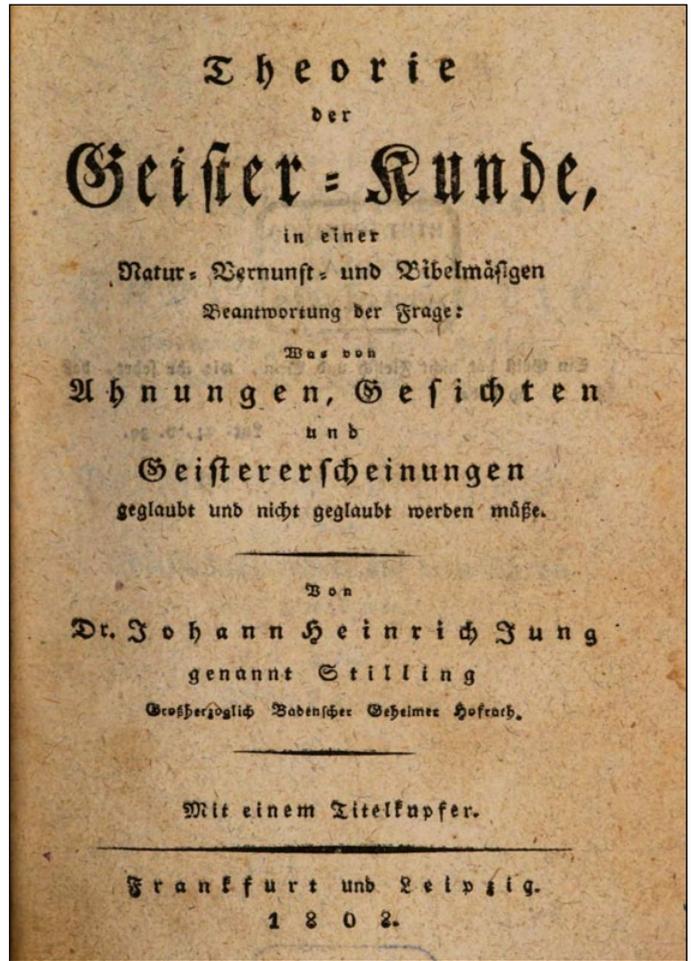
The Count explains that the primitive people in the region believe that a "hvit fru" (white lady) is wandering through the corridors of his castle at night, appearing to those who find themselves in lethal danger within its walls, and that many old castles in Europe are linked to such legends. This matches the text of Wadström's essay regarding the sightings of the "white lady." And the young blonde woman indeed *does* warn Harker – for the Count!<sup>53</sup>

Remarkable is also the opinion Harker expresses on ghost apparitions: when the Count criticizes the superstitious views of his countrymen and praises the enlightened people of England, Harker remarks that such apparitions are "merely a question of pathology" and that they are caused by "hallucinationer och ofverrättade nerver" (hallucinations and overwrought nerves) – exactly the explanation given by Wadström in Volume 1 of his memoirs.

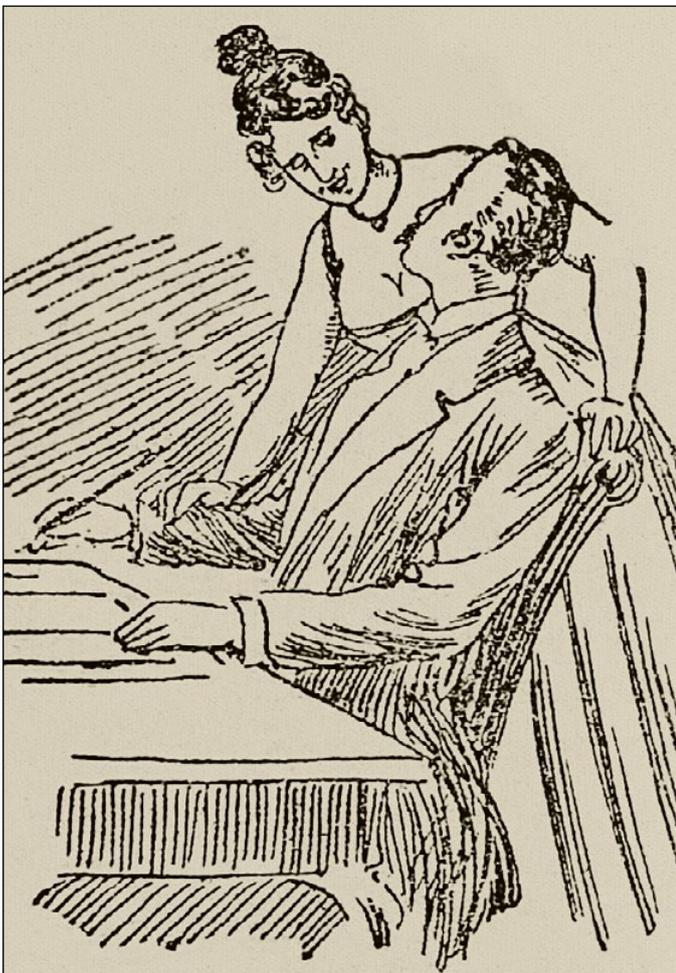
<sup>53</sup> Their second encounter ends with her words "Och *akta er, akta er, akta er!*" ("And beware of him, beware of him, beware of him!") [51].



Princess Eugenie of Sweden and Norway (1830-1889)



Jung-Stilling's *Theorie der Geisterkunde* (1808)



The blonde girl visiting Harker, illustration from *Dagen* variant



Perchta (Bertha) von Rosenberg

## D. JUNG-STILLING AND *MÖRKRETS MAKTER*

While in *Dracula*, Van Helsing believes that the Count's survival of death may be due to unknown chemical, electrical or magnetic phenomena and to the Count's exceptionally high personal qualities,<sup>54</sup> in *Mörkrets makter*, he follows the theory presented by Jung-Stilling. According to the latter, the interaction of ghosts with the living are the manifestations of a spirit unwilling to let go of bodily life – either because some duty has not been fulfilled, some debt not been paid, or because the only pleasure this person knew during life was the pleasure of the senses:

The real torment felt in Hades, is the longing after the things of this world, from which the soul has parted for ever. Think of a man, who has lived entirely in sensual lusts and pleasures, and has been unacquainted with the superior felicity of those spiritual enjoyments, which religion affords (...). What must he feel in that obscure and entirely empty region, which is so utterly destitute of every object which could act upon a single sense! (...)

Persons who die in their carnally-minded state, still cleave with great affection to their bodies; (...).<sup>55</sup>

To Vilma, Professor van Helsing explains the vampire as a creature not willing or able to separate from its body:

This creature dies – that is, it undergoes the transformation, the ending of the activities of the body's organs, which we call death. But this creature, which is bound to earthly life by its passions, is not able – or not willing – to be released from the body which is its link to earthly life. It still hesitates to go ahead with it – and as a result of some law that we do not know, it eventually succeeds in taking possession of the body again, injecting a kind of new life into it and once again using it as a tool for the unholy pleasures that have been its highest happiness – those passions and desires which now more than ever, like a furious fire, consume it from within and constantly demand new nutrition. But in order to maintain this pseudo-life, this spook existence, it must constantly renew its vitality with fresh human blood – the warm pulsating stream that is the mysterious source of life.<sup>56</sup>

While in Jung-Stilling's theory, the unhappy soul has no possibility to re-unite with the body again, in *Mörkrets makter* the vampire is a full-blown revenant. Both the Swedish version of *Dracula* and Jung-Stilling agree, though, that a person's *lower* qualities (greed, grudges, sensualism, materialism), are responsible for *post mortem* interactions with the living, not the *higher* ones (iron nerve, intelligence, courage) as mentioned by Van Helsing in Stoker's *Dracula*.

Another intriguing element of Jung-Stilling's book are the two noble ladies believed to appear as white women: the widowed Countess who in her unbridled new passion committed an unforgivable sin and was locked up for the rest of her life, and the daughter of a Bohemian castellan who suffered under the "unbeschreibliche Drangsalen" (undescribable hardships) inflicted upon her by her husband. Both elements, combined with still others (adultery, jealousy), can be found back in *Mörkret makter's* story of the remarried Countess who entertained a young lover, only to be locked up in the tower room and be assaulted by her husband night after night:

"Who knows, what happened there; but since then he visited her – at least, so it is told – every night at the same time. In his way, these were probably pleasurable hours for him – perhaps less for her," he said, smiling his cynical smile. (...)<sup>57</sup>

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54 "With this one, all the forces of nature that are occult and deep and strong must have worked together in some wondrous way. The very place, where he have been alive, Undead for all these centuries, is full of strangeness of the geologic and chemical world. There are deep caverns and fissures that reach none know whither. There have been volcanoes, some of whose openings still send out waters of strange properties, and gases that kill or make to vivify. Doubtless, there is something magnetic or electric in some of these combinations of occult forces which work for physical life in strange way, and in himself were from the first some great qualities. In a hard and warlike time he was celebrate that he have more iron nerve, more subtle brain, more braver heart, than any man. In him some vital principle have in strange way found their utmost." *Dracula*, Mina Harker's Journal, 5 October, 5 P.M.

55 Jackson (transl.) and Bush (ed.), *Theory of Pneumatology*, 304 and 358. Translated from §. 212 and §. 243 in Jung-Stilling's original German text of 1808.

56 My translation. Swedish: "Denna varelse dör — det vill säga undergår den förvandling, det upphörande av de kroppsliga organens verksamhet som vi kalla död. Men den av sina lidelser jordbundna varelsen förmår icke — eller vill icke — frigöra sig från den kropp hvilken är dess föreningslänk med jordelivet. Den dröjer fortfarande vid densamma — och till följd av någon lag som vi icke känna, lyckas den äfven efter någon tid återtaga densamma i besittning, ingjuta ett slags nytt liv i den och ännu en gång bruka den som verktyg för de oheliga njutningar, hvilka varit dess högsta lycka — de lidelser och drifter hvilka nu mer än någonsin som en rasande eld förtära dess inre och ständigt kräva ny näring. Men för att kunna vidmakthålla detta skenlif, denna spöktillvaro, måste den ständigt ånyo förstärka sin livskraft med levande människoblod — den varma pulserande ström som är lifvets hemlighetsfulla källa." [*Dagen* serialization, 500. See also the shorter explanation in the *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-upplaga* serialization, 241].

57 My translation. Swedish: "Ingen vet, vad som tilldrog sig där; men sedan besökte han henne — efter vad det påstås — varje kväll vid samma tid. Det var troligen ljuva stunder för honom på sitt sätt - - - kanske mindre för henne", han log ett cyniskt leende ( ...) [64-65].

## 6. CONCLUSIONS FROM CHAPTERS 3-5

While the connection between the last part of *Mörkrets makter*'s preface and Wadström's essay on ghost apparitions in Volume 2 of his memoirs seems irrefutable to me, I will be the first to admit that all parallels between *Mörkrets makter* on the one hand, Volume 1 of these memoirs and Jung-Stilling's book on the other hand, may have been the result of coincidence, or of other underlying causes, such as the conventions of horror-story-telling during this period or the prevailing theories on life after death and on supernatural apparitions. In *Dracula*, Stoker addresses the topic of the wandering white lady himself when Mina reports on "a legend that a white lady is seen in one of the windows" of Whitby Abbey; Lucy's wandering around as the "Bloofer Lady" relates to the same kind of myth.

Still, the similarities between Wadström's "»Hvita frun» på Stockholms slott" and *Mörkrets makter* are striking in my opinion – especially the combination of encountering a white-clad lady with an excursion to a large gallery on a higher floor of the castle (with a servant and the Count respectively going up first to light the candles) and with watching a fire (or fiery sunset) from there that is both terrifying and magnificent.

As we already know from Volume 2 of his memoirs that Wadström either had copied from *Mörkrets makter*, or had *been* copied by "A-e," such similarities between Volume 1 and *Mörkrets makter* have an increased significance, compared to a case in which such a close and obvious link cannot be established. In my eyes, it is very well possible that "A-e" was familiar with *both* volumes of Wadström's *Ur Minnet och Dagboken*, even *before* Volume 2 was officially released in December 1899. Wadström, by contrast, in his first volume, printed in 1897-1898, hardly can have put phrases from *Mörkrets makter* into the mouth of Princess Eugenie.<sup>58</sup>

Furthermore, there is the possibility that "A-e" consulted Jung-Stilling's *Theorie der Geisterkunde* himself, just like Bram Stoker consulted a great number of books while writing *Dracula*. But these parallels are weaker than the ones to Wadström's "»Hvita frun» på Stockholms slott" – Van Helsing's theories on revenants and the Count's narrative on his passionate first cousin as featured in *Mörkrets makter* may just as well have been derived from other sources.

If we are willing to accept the idea that "A-e" copied from Wadström's memoirs, to which he may have had access *before* June 1899 through professional or personal ties, the chances that Bram Stoker personally participated in the Swedish modification and publication of his vampire story seem to be dwindling; if he did not write the preface alone, he may not have written it at all, and the whole Swedish project may turn out to have been an artful piracy.

And in case we are prepared to believe that Andersson-Edenberg actually was "A-e," more research would be needed to find out how exactly he was connected to Bernhard Wadström. The same applies to other possible "A-e" candidates.

Whatever the truth may be, I saw it as my task to point out the discussed parallels, once I had perceived them, and to provide a first analysis; other scholars may come to different conclusions based on the ground work presented here.

Written on Bantayan Island, 4-21 May 2018

## 7. P.S.: A SOLUTION

The Devil, they say, hides in detail. After checking the spelling and the footnotes of this essay, I looked through my clippings of Swedish newspaper articles again, searching for additional illustrations. I found something worthwhile, indeed: a detail I had overseen in the newspaper advertisements promoting the sale of Wadström's memoirs – a detail that promised to solve the time frame problem addressed in Chapter 5 and the riddle, "who copied from whom?" Instead of rewriting my complete article, I decided to add my findings as a postscript, trusting that the reader will understand how this most recent discovery affects the argumentation of the previous chapters.

The second volume of Wadström's memoirs had been advertised in *Svenska Dagbladet* of 10 December, *Eskestunakuriren* of 11 December and *Aftonbladet* of 12 December 1899, just days after the epilogue to Volume 2 had been signed. But a closer look showed that these advertisements did not promote the complete second volume, but only a *part* of it – the *third* part or "häfte", to be precise. What did this mean for parts 1 and 2 of Volume 2?

<sup>58</sup> Even if Wadström had been able to travel through time, it would not have made much sense for him to borrow a scene from a made-up vampire story and use it in an account reportedly given by Princess Eugenie. **For printing date of Vol. 1, see also fn. 39 and Chapter 7.**

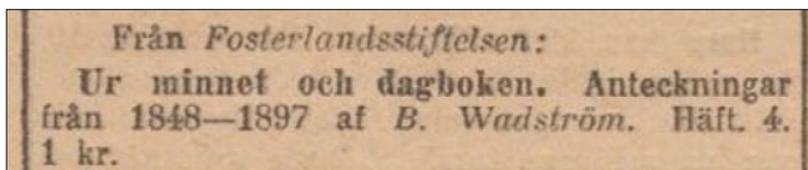


*Svenska Dagbladet* of 10 December 1899, p. 4

I soon found out that Volume 1 of the memoirs had been published in four separate booklets *before* the complete first volume had been produced as a hardcover book. Advertisements for the first booklet appeared in *Stockholmsidningen* and *Svenska Dagbladet* of 11 December, *Aftonbladet* of 15 December and *Reformatorn* of 16 December 1897. Advertisements for the second part of Volume 1 (including the chapter with Princess Eugenie’s account on the “white lady”) appeared in *Aftonbladet* of 28 March, *Dalpilen* of 29 March and *Svenska Dagbladet* of 31 March 1898. On 9 November 1898, an advertisement for booklet Nr. 4 was published in *Svenska Dagbladet*.



*Svenska Dagbladet* of 11 December 1897, p. 8



*Svenska Dagbladet* of 9 November 1898, p. 6

On 8 December 1898, the complete Volume 1 was offered as cloth-bound book, while Volume 2 was announced to appear in four parts, too.



*Reformatorn* of 8 December 1898, p. 3



*Aftonbladet* of 28 March 1898, p. 4

As the epilogue to Volume 2 is dated 9 December 1899, just one day before the third booklet of Volume 2 was advertised, I assume that this volume had been released in only *three* booklets, instead of *four*, as initially announced. Wadström’s essay on ghost apparitions appears on pages 105-122 of the hardcover edition of Volume 2, which has 515 printed pages. The discussed essay thus must have been published in the *first* booklet of Volume 2. I found an advertisement for this booklet in *Stockholmsidningen* of 30 March 1899 (see reproduction on next page). This means that “A-e” was able to read Wadström’s text on ghost apparitions more than two months *before* the preface of the Swedish version of *Dracula* appeared, and that he (or she) must have copied/adapted the discussed lines from the pastor’s text, not *vice versa*. A personal contact between “A-e” and Wadström is no longer needed now to explain the parallels – although there is no reason either to exclude such a personal connection. A review of Wadström’s memoirs I found in a Swedish press archive even suggests that Wadström’s personal attitude may have played a certain role in the decision to insert a hidden reference to his work; “A-e” certainly did not lack the writing skills to create the preface without any help, should he/she have wanted to do so.

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*Ledstjärnan.*

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*Stockholms Dagblad.*

*Stockholmstidningen* of 30 March 1899, p. 4. The advertisement states that booklet 1 of Volume 2 is available in bookshops now.

## 8. COPYING WADSTRÖM'S WORDS BY WAY OF A PRACTICAL JOKE?

Just like *Makt myrkranna*, Wadström's memoirs seem to have received only *one* newspaper review<sup>59</sup> – and like in the case of the Icelandic version of *Dracula*, it was negative. In *Aftonbladet* of 26 January 1899, Volume 1 of *Ur Minnet och Dagboken* was harshly criticized for factual errors and for being stuffed (“fullproppade,” “sammanhopadt”) with tattle (“skvallerhistorier,” “skvaller”) adding little to the understanding of the actual tasks and events of the era. The reviewer also criticized that Wadström portrayed a series of his pious allies as being persecuted (“förföljda”), although they now controlled important institutions within the church and played an influential role in the “Riksdag”; in some cases, the persecuted had turned into persecutors themselves. The review was signed “Författare,” meaning “author,” “writer” or “editor.” I am not familiar enough with the journalistic conventions in Sweden around 1900 to say with certainty what this term refers to, but I suspect it stood for the newspaper's chief editor, Harald Sohlman. If so, this opens up a new possibility how some of Wadström's phrases may have ended up in the preface to *Mörkrrets makter*: perhaps – but this is pure speculation now – copying Wadström's words of wisdom on supernatural phenomena into the foreword of a vampire novel was meant as a practical joke poking fun at the priest with his “holier than thou” attitude and his failing memory.<sup>60</sup> We know that Stoker's 1897 text contained a number of in-jokes aiming at the novelist's personal friends; we cannot exclude the possibility that “A-e” – with or without Sohlman's express support – allowed himself to smuggle some hidden irony into the allegedly veracious spook tale he was adapting.

<h3>Konst och literatur.</h3> <p>Ur minnet och dagboken af B. Wadström. Anteckningar från åren 1848—1897. Stockholm. Fosterlandsstiftelsens förlagsexpedition, 1:a delen 1898.</p> <p>Store män, t. ex. Louis de Geer och biskop Martensen, hafva genom så till form som innehåll utmärkta arbeten skänkt samtid och efterverld skildringar ur sin för stat eller kyrka rika och betydelsefulla lefnad, och med den rätt, som den verkliga storheten eger, hafva de anspråk på, att allmänheten skall värdera och taga lärdom af deras själfbiografiska arbeten. Pastor Wadström har trots sig höra följa sådana mäns exempel genom att utgifva ofvanstående arbete, hvilket skall omfatta tre delar, hvarders om fyra häften. Af de två första har redan en ny upplaga blifvit nödvändig. På grund af sådan framgång kunde man vara böjd att tro, att man här har att göra med ett alldeles ovanligt framstående arbete.</p> <p>Detta är åtminstone enligt undertecknads mening visst icke händelsen. Det skall icke förnekas, att flere enskilda skildringar, t. ex. drag från C. O. Rosenii hem och offentliga verksamhet eller de första begynnelseerna till Evangeliska fosterlandsstiftelsen, äro intressanta och icke utan sitt värde, men man torde dock göra klokt i att ej allt för mycket lita på författarens rent faktiska uppgifter, ännu mindre på hans omdömen om personer och händelser. Hvad nämligen de förra angår, så har förf. själf nodgats erkänna, att man ej skall taga det allt för noga med faktiska uttalanden af personer och händelser han omtalar (s. 318 f.). I författarens dagböcker förekommer signaturer L. C.; denna betecknar vanligen en viss person, men emellanåt helt andra, och så har det hänt, att förf. i minnesslöhet låtit en person figurera, där han ej alls spelat någon roll, nämligen vid en s. k.</p>	<p>bibelförklaring på Hasselbacken. Ett stort nummer gör förf. af denna tilldragelse. Enligt en hufvudperson's vittnesbörd har denna bibelförklaring emellertid aldrig egt rum, utan existerar endast (genom någon förväxling?) i författarens fantasi. På ett annat ställe förtäljer författaren, att han vid 9 års ålder besökt österrikiske ministern greve Woyna, hvilken var bekant som frenolog.</p> <p>Vissa andans män i vårt land äro ej längre riktigt fromma, efter förf:s åsigt, då de ej förfärdiga sina fromhetskläder efter 1850- och 1860-talets mönster, utan något litet vågat följa med sin tid. I motsats mot förf. skall jag ej nämna några namn. Allt visar, att pastor W. blifvit efter sin tid. De fordom med orätt — det skall gerna erkännas — förföljda »läsarna», »pietisterna», »Guds barn» etc. hafva nu fått sådan vind i seglen, att de mer eller mindre beherrska prestvalen, biskopvalen och de teologiska fakulteterna, ja, t. o. m. i riksdagen spela en ganska inflytelserik roll.</p> <p>Man har verkligen litet svårt att tro, att förf. i minnet bevarat den mängd franska ord, med hvilka sändebudet karakteriserade gossen Wadström efter en undersökning af hans hufvudskål, hvars form visserligen ej utgör något »noch nie dagewesenes», men som i alla fall, enligt hvad som uppgifves, endast har sin like hos en fredsdomare i England, som lefde på 1600-talet (s. 301).</p> <p>Säkerligen har pastor Wadström aldrig afsett att skapa en historisk primärkälla af fullt tillförlitlig karaktär. Ändamålet har tydligen varit det att åt vissa fromhetskretsar, där pastor Wadström har en stor auktoritet, skänka en passande lektyr, ett lämpligt urval af de otaliga skvallerhistorier (och därtill hörande porträtt),</p>	<p>af hvilka författarens minne och dagböcker äro fullproppade. På ett nära nog oförsynt sätt framdragas här lefvande och döda personer, deras bref och yttranden citeras (äro citaten verkligen riktiga?), deras handlingar, ej blott deras offentliga, utan äfven deras allra intimaste, skärskådas och omtalas, berömmas som helgonaförtjenster eller stämpas som satans verk, allt eftersom de öfverensstämma eller icke med pastor Wadströms tillskurna mönster efter yrkesläseriets modejournal. Denna är dock just icke af allra färskaste datum.</p> <p>Det må vara dem förunnadt, men hvarför de altfort i pastor Wadströms bok skola figurera som martyrer och förföljda, det förstå vi ej; närmare sanningen torde det vara att säga, att dessa, som fordom förföljdes, nu ofta intagit förföljarnas plats. <i>Tempora mutantur!</i> Och härmed har jag antydt och motiverat, hvarför man skall akta sig för att skänka pastor Wadströms många omdömen om personer från kungahusets medlemmar till restaurantuppasserskorna altför högt värde, vare sig omdömena utfalla i god eller dålig riktning.</p> <p>Oss synes det, som om pastor Wadström illa missbrukat många, äfven mycket högt ständes förtroende, och vi antaga, att mer än en af bokens läsare skall känna sig mycket pinsamt berörd af den massa skvaller, prat och förtal, som här är sammanhopadt. Men det värsta af allsammans är, att vi förgäfvets sökt undertrycka den känslan, att »minnets och dagbokens» historietter väsentligen tyckas vara egnade att med lämplig fördelning af skuggor och dagrar apoteosera författaren själf.</p> <p>I vissa fromhetsriktningar gäller ordet: »ändamålet helgar medlen». Författare.</p>
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*Aftonbladet* of 26 January 1899, p. 4. For better readability, I have re-arranged the single-column text in three columns.

59 Apart from a few lines in *Göteborgs Aftonblad* of 10 December 1898, 2, equally announcing four parts to appear for Volume 2 in 1899.

60 On 30 June 1900, *Aftonbladet* reported that “the old pastor B. Wadström of Klara parish” had forgotten to proclaim the third notice of intended wedding for four couples, causing chaos at a wedding ceremony where guests from Finland had been invited. See next page.



Bernhard Wadström with his collection of portrait prints, by an anonymous Swedish photographer. Source: Swedish Wikipedia.



The abolitionist Carl Bernhard Wadström (1746-1799), the brother of Bernhard Wadström's grandfather, with Peter Panah, the son of the king of Mezurado, who was bought free by Wadström after being sold as a slave in Sierra Leone. Painting in Nordiska Museet.

**Presten glömde bort lysningarna.** Den 17 juni i år gjorde ett streck i räkningen för kanske mer än en bröllopskara. Den gamle komminister B. Wadström i Klara församling glömde nämligen då, enligt D. N., bort att förrätta tredje lysningen för ej mindre än fyra brudpar. Ett åtminstone blef tvunget att uppskjuta sitt bröllop i allra sista stund. Brudgummen, sinne till börden, reste hit öfver särskildt för högtidlighetens skull. Bruden stammar från Sundsvall, men bröllopet skulle hållas här i Stockholm, där bruden nu var bosatt. Bröllopet var utsatt att ega rum torsdagen den 21 juni och från alla håll i Sverige samt äfven från Finland voro gäster inbjudna till en splendid bröllopsmiddag å Hasselbacken.

Men bröllopsfolket hade gjort upp räkningen utan presten. Tredje lysningen hade, som sagdt, blifvit alldeles bortglömd. Mellan 30 och 40 gäster hade infunnit sig, och man kan förstå, att förstämningen blef stor. Lysning måste ju förrättas på tre på hvarandra följande söndagar, därför måste nu alla tre lysningarna göras om på nytt och bröllopet blir uppskjutat en rätt afsevärd tidslängd.

Brudparet har nu begärt ny lysning och öfverflyttat till Finland för att där hålla sitt försenade bröllop under gladare auspiciër än här.

Article in *Afionbladet* of 30 June 1900, p. 2, reporting that "the old pastor B. Wadström of Klara parish" had forgotten to proclaim a last announcement of intended marriage; to be valid, such a notice had to be made public on three Sundays in a row.