Notes

Preface and Acknowledgements

1. *The Animal that therefore I Am*, trans. David Willis (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008), 7.
2. The term is that of Charles James Hett, in his *Dictionary of Bird Notes* (Brigg: Jackson, 1898).
3. For a vivid account of Charles Darwin's experience of the species concept in crisis among naturalists in the 1830's, see Julia Voss, *Darwin's Pictures: Views of Evolutionary Theory*, trans. Lori Lantz (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 67–70.
4. Michel Foucault, *"Society Must Be Defended": Lectures at the Collège de France 1975–76*, trans. David Macey (New York: Picador, 2003), 239.

Introduction: Method and Field

1. Nicole Shukin, *Animal Capital: Rendering Life in Biopolitical Times* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 6–11.
2. Jacques Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, trans. David Willis (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008), 7.
3. Michel Foucault, *"Society Must Be Defended": Lectures at the Collège de France 1975–76*, trans. David Macey (New York: Picador, 2003), 245.
4. Foucault, *Society*, 243.
5. On Malthus, political economy, and biopolitics in nineteenth-century fiction, see Catherine Gallagher, *The Body Economic: Life, Death, and Sensation in Political Economy and the Victorian Novel* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006).
6. Foucault, *Society*, 255.
7. See Roberto Esposito, *Bios: Biopolitics and Philosophy*, trans. Timothy Campbell (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), whose central topic is "Why does biopolitics continually threaten to be reversed into thanatopolitics?" (39).

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8. Foucault, *Society*, 254–5.
9. Alexander Weheliye, *Habeas Viscus: Racializing Assemblages, Biopolitics, and Black Feminist Theories of the Human* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 38. See pages 56–63 for Weheliye's extended critique of the Eurocentric account of race in Foucault's 1975–6 lectures; as he notes, the topics of racism and colonialism are largely absent elsewhere from Foucault's extensive work on taxonomy, knowledge systems, and power.
10. For a defense of Foucault's work on race in contrast to the prevailing tendency in postcolonial studies of "suturing . . . race to the hierarchical colonizer–colonized relation," see Rey Chow, "Foucault, Race, and Racism," in *After Foucault: Culture, Theory, and Criticism in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Lisa Downing (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 107–21.
11. Reprinted in Achille Mbembe, *Biopolitics: A Reader*, ed. Timothy Campbell and Adam Sitze (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013), 161–92.
12. Besides Jackson, cited in note 13, see Claire Jean Kim's argument that we need "to engage with two taxonomies of power, race and species, at once – *and to understand their connectedness*." Claire Jean Kim, *Dangerous Crossings: Race, Species, and Nature in a Multicultural Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 15. On the relation of postcolonial studies and animal studies, see Suvadip Sinha and Amit R. Baishya, eds., *Postcolonial Animalities* (New York: Routledge, 2019), where Sinha and Baishya's introduction (pages 1–25) gives a valuable literature survey and critiques the "monohumanism" even of avowed posthumanists such as Cary Wolfe.
13. Zakiyyah Iman Jackson, *Becoming Human: Matter and Meaning in an Antiblack World* (New York: New York University Press, 2020), 12.
14. Jackson, *Becoming Human*, 15.
15. The peculiarity of Foucault's lack of interest in other species in his discussion of biopolitics is heightened by the fact that his history of "governmentality" argues that it is a development of the Christian pastorate, whose basis in the practice of sheepherding he discusses at length. He sums up the paradox of his lectures in 1977–8: "Of all civilizations, the Christian West has undoubtedly been, at the same time, the most creative, the most conquering, the most arrogant, and doubtless the most bloody . . . But, at the same time, . . . over millennia Western man has learned to see himself as a sheep in a flock, something that assuredly no Greek would have been prepared to accept." Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France 1977–78*, trans. Graham Burchell (New York: Picador, 2007), 130.
16. On Robert Bakewell's breeding practices and the commodification of animal pedigrees to which they gave rise, see Harriet Ritvo, "Possessing Mother Nature: Genetic Capital in Eighteenth-Century Britain," in *Noble Cows*

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and Hybrid Zebras: Essays on Animals and History (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 156–76.

17. Donna Haraway, *The Companion Species Manifesto: Dogs, People, and Significant Otherness* (Chicago, IL: Prickly Paradigm, 2003), 36.
18. Matthew Holmes's blog *Thinking Like a Mountain* has a page on the Scottish history of the capercaillie; it gives the circumstances under which the last two recorded birds from the native population were shot in 1785 in Deeside (https://bit.ly/3Pmvb7d). Their extinction was the result of hunting and loss of forest habitat. The forced depopulation of the Highlands in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, however, led to rewilding, and owners of the newly cleared estates hoped to increase their rental value by promoting game-bird hunting. Hence the reintroduction of the capercaillie, which finally succeeded in 1837. The species was hunted in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but renewed habitat loss has again put it at risk of extinction in Scotland. I am indebted to Julia Saville for pointing me towards the wood-grouse's history.
19. Other writers, working with different archives, have come to the opposite conclusion. Thomas C. Gannon, *Skylark Meets Meadowlark: Reimagining the Bird in British Romantic and Contemporary Native American Literature* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 302–20, gives a survey of criticism arguing that literature effects "a positive change in eco-awareness" in works where "other species really *speak back*." More recently, Mario Ortiz-Robles argues that we can "make animals count" if we "perceive literature anew"; see his *Literature and Animal Studies* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 145. David Rothenberg 's *Why Birds Sing: A Journey into the Mystery of Bird Song*, 2nd ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2006) makes a sustained argument that by playing music with birds, we can feel what it is like to be one.
20. For divergent views of the relation between the conceptualization of aesthetic and organic form in Romantic-era philosophy, science, and poetry, see Denise Gigante, *Life: Organic Form and Romanticism*(New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009) and Amanda Jo Goldstein, *Sweet Science: Romantic Materialism and the New Logics of Life* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2017).

Chapter 1 Species Lyric

1. Sarah Waring, *The Minstrelsy of the Woods; or, Sketches and Songs Connected with the Natural History of Some of the Most Interesting British and Foreign Birds* (London: Harvey & Darton, Gracechurch Street, 1832). Though this work was published anonymously, the title page identifies it as "by the author of *The Wild Garland* &c." This refers to *The Wild Garland, or, Prose and*

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Poetry Connected with English Wild Flowers and Forest Trees (London: Harvey & Darton, Gracechurch Street, 1827). A second edition of *The Wild Garland* appeared in 1837, with the author's name given as S. Waring, and with a reference to her authorship of *Minstrelsy*. Unlike *The Wild Garland*, *Minstrelsy* did not have more than one edition. Nor am I aware of any reviews. Nonetheless, it does seem to have been plagiarized: four years after Waring's book, there appeared Nevill Wood's *British Song Birds: Being Popular Descriptions and Anecdotes of the Choristers of the Grove* (London: John Parker, 1836); as its title suggests, this work is something of a compendium and includes many extracts, usually with attributions. Many of Wood's chapter epigraphs, however, are drawn without attribution from Waring's poems in *Minstrelsy*.

2. Waring *Minstrelsy*, 27.
3. *Minstrelsy* treats both native birds and birds foreign to Britain, like the whippoorwill. The wood-grouse, (otherwise known as the capercaillie or capercailzie) is an intermediate case, and of interest as a nineteenth-century example of a managed wild animal population. Waring's chapter on the wood-grouse begins by stating that it was "once abundant in the Highlands of Scotland," but has now become rare (181). In fact, it had been extinct in Scotland since the eighteenth century, as other writers of the period knew – Charlotte Smith among them, who notes the extinction in her 1807 *Natural History of Birds, Intended Chiefly for Young Persons*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London: John Arliss, 1819), 2:18. The wood-grouse remained numerous in northern Europe, and attempts to reintroduce it from Sweden began in late 1828 or early 1829 and continued into the 1830s – for a contemporary account of these, see William Jardine, *The Natural History of Game Birds* (Edinburgh: W. H. Lizars, Stirling, and Kenney, 1834), 109–14.

   On the authority of a writer on field sports, Jardine gives "Peller, peller, peller" as a transcript of the male wood-grouse's call (115) and "Gock-gock, gock" for the female. Approximately the same renditions appear in Charles Louis Hett, *A Dictionary of Bird Notes* (Brigg, Lincolnshire: Jackson, 1898), 67.
4. Waring, *Minstrelsy*, 184.
5. See Rudyard Kipling, "Road-Song of the Bandar-Log," 1–8, 17–25, in *The Jungle Book* (London: Macmillan, 1965), 84.
6. Langston Hughes, *The Collected Poems of Langston Hughes*, ed. Arnold Rampersad and David Roessel (New York: Vintage, 1994), 23.
7. Hallam Tennyson, *Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir by His Son*, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1898), 1:305. James Knowles reported that the poet made a similar remark to him about the speaker of *In Memoriam* in a conversation during the 1870s.

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8. In an important reading of *In Memoriam*, Devin R. Garofalo discusses the "speciating" power of lyric subjectivity, though she differs from me in concentrating on earlier moments in the poem, where lyric subjectivity is posited in "collective and even distinctly nonhuman terms." See Devin R. Garofalo, "Victorian Lyric in the Anthropocene," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 47, no. 4 (2019): 753–83, at 755.
9. Robert Martin, *Tennyson: The Unquiet Heart* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 459.
10. Lord Mansfield of course said, "I thought so then, and I think so still," in objecting to MPs' use of parliamentary privilege to avoid criminal prosecution. See Sara Lodge, *Inventing Edward Lear* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), 290.
11. The question whether there can be natural selection of groups is currently a topic of intense controversy. In Darwin's own work, with rare exceptions, he theorizes selection as affecting individual living organisms, favouring those that possess a variant trait giving them a reproductive advantage. After the twentieth-century rediscovery of genetics, which was linked with Darwin's work in the 1920s to produce what Julian Huxley termed the modern synthesis, natural selection could be understood as operating on advantageous genetically transmitted traits propagated within a kin group, which led to the study of kin selection, in which individual members of a group, without reproducing themselves, could act altruistically in ways favouring the group as a whole, which is thus said to undergo selection. More recent versions of natural selection have viewed selection as operating on the gene itself, disaggregating the kin group and indeed the individual organism into mere bearers of pieces of genetic code. The question whether natural selection can be understood as operating on collectives – biological populations or social groups – independently of its effects on the individuals they comprise is currently the subject of intense research and debate. For an overview of the controversy over group selection, see Jean Gayon, "From Darwin to Today in Evolutionary Biology," in *The Cambridge Companion to Darwin*, ed. Jonathan Hodge and Gregory Radick, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 277–301, at 292–3. A crux in the debate took place after this overview, when in 2010, Martin Nowak, C. E. Tarnita, and E. O. Wilson published a paper in *Nature* advocating a multilevel theory of selection that included groups, which prompted a negative response signed by 137 other evolutionary biologists. The canonical statement of the case for the gene as the primary object of selection is Richard Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976).
12. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality Volume 1: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage, 1978), 142.
13. Foucault, *Society*, 255.

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14. I cite the text of "Itylus" as it appears in Algernon Swinburne, *Poems and Ballads and Atalanta in Calydon*, ed. Kenneth Haynes (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2000), 45–7.
15. Margot K. Louis, "Family Secrets, Family Silences: The Language of the Heart in Swinburne's 'Itylus.'" *Victorian Poetry*, 37, no. 4 (Winter, 1999): 453–64, at 460.
16. Charlotte Smith's treatment of the swallow thus closes with a poem "To the Swallow," in which the poet wishes she could "learn, fleet bird, from thee, / All our vain systems only guess, / And know from what wide wilderness / You come across the sea" (*Natural History of Birds*, 2:102).
17. Peter Bircham, *A History of Ornithology* (London: Harper Collins, 2007), 134.
18. I am grateful to Julia Saville for drawing this and other Hardy bird poems to my attention in her paper "Genre and Experiment in Thomas Hardy's Ecopoetics." Conference of the North American Victorian Studies Association, Columbus, OH, Friday, October 18, 2019.

Chapter 2 "How Can You Talk with a Person if They Always Say the Same Thing?" Species Poetics, Onomatopoeia, and Birdsong

1. An example from a field guide to hand represents the yellow-billed cuckoo's song as follows: "*Kakakakaka-kow-kow-kow-kow-kowp-kowp-kowp*, guttural call; starting fast, slowing at end." See Jack Griggs, *American Bird Conservancy's Field Guide to All the Birds of North America* (New York: Harper Collins, 1997), 104.
2. The paradigm for this literature is a nursery rhyme:

> Bow, wow, says the dog;
> Mew, mew, says the cat;
> Grunt, grunt, goes the hog;
> And squeak goes the rat.
> Tu whu, says the owl;
> Caw, caw, says the crow;
> Quack, quack, says the duck;
> And what sparrows say, you know.

The earliest publication of this rhyme I know is in James Burns, *Nursery Rhymes, Tales, and Jingles* (London, 1844), 66. Dickens refers to it in 1865 in Book 3, Chapter 15 of *Our Mutual Friend*.

3. Waring, *Minstrelsy*, ii and v. As noted in Chapter 1, the volume was published anonymously; it is attributed to S. Waring on the title page of another work, *The Wild Garland*. Internal evidence in *Minstrelsy*, which is dated from Wyards (a farm near Alton in Hampshire) and addressed to the family of

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a brother living in Glamorganshire, enables us to identify its author. She was Sarah Waring, daughter of Jeremiah Waring, a wool dealer in Alton. She lived until 1871 and is described in the 1841 census as a teacher. Her other publications include *A Sketch of the Life of Linnæus, in a Series of Letters Designed for Young Persons* (1827) and *The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and Its Consequences to the Protestant Churches of France and Italy* (1833). Her brother Samuel and her niece Anna Letitia Waring both published volumes of hymns; the latter's *Hymns and Meditations* (1850) was republished sixteen times before her death in 1910.

4. Gilbert White, *The Natural History of Selborne* (London: Penguin, 1977), 136.
5. White, *Natural History of Selborne*, 216.
6. White, *Natural History of Selborne*, 217.
7. White, *Natural History of Selborne*, 134–5.
8. For a representative example, see Gilbert White, *The Natural History of Selborne: With Notes by Capt. Thomas Brown* (Edinburgh: James Chambers, 1833). On page 62, the notes identify the bird White has discussed – the sedge bird – and give its call as beginning "chit, chit, chiddy, chiddy, chiddy, chit, chit, chit."
9. Waring, *Minstrelsy*, 174–5.
10. Waring, *Minstrelsy*, 219.
11. Waring, *Minstrelsy*, 172.
12. *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. "Owl" (https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/3033140581) and "Cuckoo" (https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/4321521575).
13. *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. "'Whip-poor'-will" (https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/4010392451).
14. Charles Waterton, *Wanderings in South America, the North-West of the United States, and the Antilles, in the Years 1812, 1816, 1820, and 1824* (London: J. Mawman, 1825), 140–1; quoted in Waring, *Minstrelsy*, 99–100. "Whippoorwill" is today the common name of *caprimulgus vociferous*, whose range is largely confined to the continental mass of the Americas, though it may include Jamaica. The whippoorwill's literary associations with the Caribbean and with slavery are perpetuated in literature by Elizabeth Barrett Browning's "The Runaway Slave at Pilgrim's Point," a poem ostensibly set in the United States, but whose flora and fauna come from Jamaica. There are many species of *caprimulgus* (goatsucker) native to the Caribbean; it may be that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the name "whippoorwill" was used for one or more of these. The name "willy-come-go," for which Waterton's book seems to be the first print source, has dropped out of use.
15. Waterton, *Wanderings*, 17.
16. In 1826, Sydney Smith reviewed Waterton's book in the *Edinburgh Review* and made a joke of his transcriptions of bird calls; after quoting him on the

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whippoorwill and the willy-come-go, he comments, "It is very flattering to us that they should all speak *English!*" See Sydney Smith, "Review of Charles Waterton's Wanderings in North America," in *Essays Reprinted from the "Edinburgh Review"* (London: George Routledge, 1847), 448–58, at 453.

17. Waring, *Minstrelsy*, 103.
18. Wood, *British Song Birds*, 97.
19. Wood, *British Song Birds*, 55. A somewhat different version of Johann Matthaus Bechstein's transcription appears in the introduction to an 1853 translation of his *Cage and Chamber Birds: Their Natural History, Food, Diseases, Management, and Mode of Capture* (London: H. Bohn, 1853), 11. Bechstein's work became a standard reference in Victorian Britain, appearing in many editions and at least two translations.
20. David Rothenburg, *Why Birds Sing: A Journey into the Mystery of Bird Song*, 2nd ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 235.
21. Musical transcriptions of birdsong have a history that runs parallel to that of onomatopoeia. Analogies between birdsong and human music are very ancient; in the early nineteenth century, theorists begin to ask whether each species has its own music. William Gardiner in 1832 gives a musical transcription of the blackbird's song in his *The Music of Nature: or, An Attempt to Prove That What Is Passionate in the Art of Singing, Speaking, and Performing upon Musical Instruments, Is Derived from the Sounds of the Animated World*, reprint (Boston, MA: Wilkins and Carter, 1837), 222. He also observes of birdsong in general, however, that not "every one of the same species sings the same song; . . . although there is a general resemblance, many varieties may be noticed" (224). While poetry is most vexed about its relation to birdsong in the nineteenth century, the twentieth century sees this question come to the fore in musicology; on this history, see Rothenburg, *Why Birds Sing*. For an account of the history of the relation of birdsong and music with attention to the histories of evolutionary science and of the technology of acoustic recording, see Rachel Mundy, *Animal Musicalities: Birds, Beasts, and Evolutionary Listening* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2018).
22. Edward Blyth, "On the Fen Reedling (Salicania Arundinacea, Selby), Reed Wren, or Reed Warbler," *The Naturalist* 1 (1837): 33–7, at 33.
23. See William MacGillivray, *A History of British Birds, Indigenous and Migratory*, vol. 1 (London: Scott, Webster, and Geary, 1837), 332–3.
24. In Canada, the sparrow is said to sing "Oh sweet Canada, Canada."
25. John Burroughs, *Fresh Fields*, 2nd ed. (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1885), 147.
26. Burroughs, *Fresh Fields*, 18.
27. Hett, *A Dictionary of Bird Notes*, 67.
28. Hett, *A Dictionary of Bird Notes*, 67.

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29. Samuel Beeton, *Beeton's Book of Birds: Showing How to Rear and Manage Them in Sickness and in Health* (London: S. O. Beeton, n.d.), 77
30. Bechstein, *Chamber Birds*, 185.
31. Bechstein, *Chamber Birds*, 289.
32. Bechstein, *Chamber Birds*, 251.
33. Bechstein, *Chamber Birds*, 320.
34. Beeton, *Beeton's Book of Birds*, 119.
35. Beeton, *Beeton's Book of Birds*, 109.
36. Beeton, *Beeton's Book of Birds*, 111.
37. Beeton, *Beeton's Book of Birds*, 138.
38. Beeton, *Beeton's Book of Birds*, 149.
39. Bechstein, *Chamber Birds*, 7.
40. Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex*, ed. Adrian Desmond and James R. Moore. London: Penguin, 2004. On the current science of birdsong and mimicry, see Rothenburg, *Why Birds Sing*, 93–115; see also the discussion of the mockingbird's song at 180–3.
41. Marcus Fabius Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, trans. Harold Edgeworth Butler (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920), 6. 6. 31.
42. George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (London: Constable and Company, 1906; facsimile ed., Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1970), 192.
43. Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, 192.
44. White, *Natural History of Selborne*, 216.
45. I will also later in this chapter discuss onomatopoeias of what the nineteenth-century classicist Harry Thurston Peck termed a "higher type," where lines of verse imitate a sound without necessarily directly naming it. "Onomatopoeia of a higher type than mere wordmaking is found in literature, where the poets, especially, often make the sound of their lines harmonize with the sense most effectively. Homer is rich in such verses." Peck goes on to give examples where the *Iliad* imitates the falling of the sea (1. 34) and the galloping of horses (10. 535). This effect is, he claims, surpassed by Virgil in the *Aeneid* (8. 596); Virgil also imitates the sound of Cyclopes at the forge in *Georgics* 4, 174. See Harry Thurston Peck, "Onomatopoeia," in *Harper's Dictionary of Classical Antiquities* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1898), accessed via Perseus Collection: Greek and Roman Materials (https://bit.ly/3Zza0U9).

    Effects of this kind became fashionable in English poetry in the eighteenth century, perhaps as a result of Alexander Pope's dictum in the *Essay on Criticism* that in poetry, "The sound must seem an echo to the sense" (2. 365). The *Essay* itself goes on to give examples: "But when loud surges lash the sounding shore, / The hoarse, rough verse should like the torrent roar" (2. 368–9). Poets later in the century used the technique to mimic animal

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sounds, as in Collins's "Ode to Evening," where "The beetle winds / His small but sullen Horn" (11–12) and Gray's "Elegy in a Country Churchyard," where "From yonder ivy-mantled tow'r / The mopeing owl does to the moon complain" (9–10). The critique of this technique mounted in Keats's "To Autumn" will be discussed later in this chapter.

46. Giorgio Agamben, *The Open: Man and Animal*, trans. Kevin Attell (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004), 24.
47. Examples include Anna Barbauld's "The Mouse's Petition," Robert Burns's "Death and Dying Words of Poor Mailie, the Author's Only Pet Yowe," and the chorus of swine in Percy Shelley's *Swellfoot the Tyrant*. All of these are in different ways anomalous. On the contrast between animals' silence and the speech of inanimate nature in Wordsworth, see Christine Kenyon-Jones, *Kindred Brutes: Animals in Romantic-Period Writing* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 144–7.
48. Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, 8.
49. Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, 8.
50. René Descartes, *A Discourse on the Method of Correctly Conducting One's Reason and Seeking Truth in the Sciences*, trans. Ian Maclean (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 47–8.
51. René Descartes, *Philosophical Letters*, trans. Anthony Kenny (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981), 207.
52. For the swallow, see *Pervigilium Veneris*, 90. The bees' labour and the conversation of cranes in flight provide matter for epic similes in both the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid*; for the bees, see *Iliad* 2. 87 and *Aeneid* 1. 430–6, and for the crane, see *Iliad* 3. 2–6 and *Aeneid* 10. 264–9. Virgil treats the natural history of bees at length in *Georgics* 4. 149–314.
53. See George F. R. S. Ellis, ed., *Specimens of the Early English Poets: To Which Is Prefixed an Historical Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the English Poetry and Language* . . . 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London: G. & W. Nicol; J. Wright, 1801), 1:112.
54. William Shakespeare, *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1974).
55. William Wordsworth, *The Major Works*, ed. Stephen Gill (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
56. Paul de Man, "Autobiography As De-facement," in *The Rhetoric of Romanticism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 67–81, at 73.
57. For a reading of how "in 'The Idiot Boy,' Wordsworth leverages onomatopoeia to complicate the categories of the human and the animal, the normative and the disabled," see Megan Quinn, "'His Lips with Joy They Burr': Onomatopoeia in Wordsworth's 'The Idiot Boy,'" *Studies in Romanticism* 60, no. 1 (2021): 27–52. Quinn focuses on Wordsworth's representation of Johnny's utterance as a "burr" to show his interest in the materiality of language. On Johnny's summing up and its transposition of night and day as an exemplary work of the imagination, see

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Karen Guendel, "Johnny Foy: Wordsworth's Imaginative Hero," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 56, no. 1 (2014): 66–89, at 81.

58. Wordsworth links the two poems when he describes this period in *The Prelude*; in the 1805 version, see 13. 398–402.
59. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *The Complete Poems*, ed. William Keach (London: Penguin, 1997).
60. Scott heard "Christabel" recited sometime between 1800 and 1802, when *Minstrelsy* appeared. John Sutherland, *The Life of Walter Scott* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 100–1.
61. I quote Clare's poetry in the text established by Eric Robinson and David Powell in *John Clare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984). Their text, based on Clare's manuscripts, differs significantly from the published text of 1831. Clare's poems of the 1820s and 1830s include many closely observed syllabic transcriptions of bird sounds. "The March Nightingale," where the quotation of a stock version of a bird's song begins a comedy of errors, is not typical of his poetry in this genre and should be contrasted with the particularity of the nightingale's song in "The Progress of Ryhme" discussed earlier in this chapter.
62. John Keats, *The Letters of John Keats, 1814–1821*, ed. Hyder E. Rollins, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), 2:80–1.
63. John Keats, *The Poems of John Keats*, ed. Jack Stillinger (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978).
64. For discussion of the relation between "To Autumn" and Hunt's September 9, 1819, "Calendar of Nature," see William Keach, "Cockney Couplets: Keats and the Politics of Style," *Studies in Romanticism* 25 (1986): 182–96; also see Nicholas Roe, "Keats's Commonwealth," in *Keats and History*, ed. Nicholas Roe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 194–211, at 201–5; and Alan Bewell, *Romanticism and Colonial Disease* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 178.
65. White, *Natural History of Selborne*, 44.
66. Helen Vendler, *The Odes of John Keats* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 248.
67. Vendler, *Odes of John Keats*, 251.
68. To be exact: in September of 1819. The three previous autumns had been very cold, under the influence of the eruption of Mt. Tambora in April 1815. On this eruption and the historicity of climate in poetry, see Jonathan Bate, "Living with the Weather," *Studies in Romanticism* 35, no. 3 (1996): 227–50.
69. Among many English poetic representations of robins in winter, Keats would have remembered Coleridge's "Frost at Midnight," 67–9. White mentions the robin's over-wintering in *Natural History of Selborne* (117), while the migration of the swallow is in this work something of an obsession, as

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White disbelieved in it and for years sought evidence that at least some swallows buried themselves in sandbanks rather than leave England.

70. Helen Vendler finds Keats in this line yielding to pathos; to represent sheep as "full-grown lambs," she writes, is "the equivalent of calling human beings in some context 'full-grown infants'" (*Odes of John Keats*, 254). Terry Eagleton, in "The Politics of the Image," *Critical Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (2012): 26–34 at 26, wonders whether the phase is an oxymoron: "It seems to be, since lambs are by definition not fully grown. Full-grown lambs are sheep."
71. I am indebted to Sasha Torres for explaining the seasonal routine of sheepherding in wool and dairy flocks.
72. On full-grown lamb as an object of consumption: "We supped plentifully upon milk, yucca-root, honey, and a full-grown lamb, roasted entire." (John Parish Robertson and William Parish Robertson, *Letters on Paraguay*, 2 vols. [London: John Murray, 1838], 1:265). A later reference to a different mode of consumption further establishes the particularity of "full-grown lamb": "The material used in the manufacture of gloves is almost exclusively lambskin, the skins coming in three different sizes only – first, second, and third grades. The skin of the young lamb slaughtered when but a few weeks old is called first grade; the skin of the more mature lamb, which, however, is not full grown, is called second grade; and the skin of the full grown lamb is called third grade." ("Extracts from Diplomatic and Consular Reports: Glove Leather Industry in Austria." *Journal of the Society of Chemical Industry* 12 [1893]: 386–7, at 386).

The distinction between full-grown and spring lamb also signifies in Christian typology. An article from 1867 takes up a dispute having at its heart the question whether Christ is to be identified with the spring lamb sacrificed at Passover (the Paschal lamb – from *pesach*, passover), or with the ram [*krios*] given by God to redeem Isaac on Mt. Moriah in Genesis 22. From a discussion of the view of Melito, a second-century bishop of Sardis:

> In the fourth fragment, he explains why the lxx. [Septuagint] in the passage of Genesis which he quotes, reads κριός [*krios*] instead of αμνός [*amnos*]. It was in order to denote not a young offering like Isaac, but the full-grown, the perfect Lord. . . . Nothing can well be more certain than the conclusion to which such language leads, that Melito beheld in Jesus "the Lamb of God," for it is not simply Christ's offering that he beholds typified on Mount Moriah, but it is that offering as the offering of a lamb, and he sets himself to explain why the Greek translator of the Hebrew should have used the word κριός instead of αμνός; it is not that that translator would convey a different idea, but that he would bring out more perfectly the true idea of Jesus as the full-grown lamb. (William Milligan, "The Easter Controversies of the Second Century, in Their Relation to the Gospel of St. John," *Contemporary Review* 6 [1867], 102–18, at 110)

Keats could not have encountered the idea of Jesus as full-grown lamb here; eighteenth- and nineteenth-century biblical lexicons, however, regularly use the

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distinction between spring and full-grown lamb to illustrate what they termed the Greek amplificative; see, for instance, John Parkhurst, *A Greek and English Lexicon to the New Testament in which the Words and Phrases Occurring in Those Sacred Books Are Clearly Explained*, 7th ed. (London: F. C. and J. Rivington et al., 1817), 14.

73. On this question in Heidegger, see Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I am*, 154. For a comparative study of grief and mourning in human and non-human animals, see Barbara King, *How Animals Grieve* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2013).
74. On the relation between eating and speaking in the *Alice* books, see Gilles Deleuze, *Logic of Sense*, trans. Charles Stivale and Mark Lester (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 23–7. For Deleuze's discussion of language and loss more generally, and the fashioning of "speaking . . . out of eating and shitting," see 186–95. On "sacrificial logic" of the subject and its connection to "carnivorous virility," see Jacques Derrida, "'Eating Well,' or the Calculation of the Subject," in *Who Comes after the Subject?*, ed. Peter Connor, Eduardo Cadava, and Jean-Luc Nancy (New York and London: Routledge, 1991), 112–16.
75. Keats, *Letters of John Keats*, 2.225.
76. The Gnat himself is something like an animated word. His smallness is represented on the page by small type, and he disappears at the moment when Alice enters the wood with no names, where she and everyone else forget what they are called. The implication is that the Gnat is a name (Nat?). On animals and names in Genesis, see Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, 15–21. Later in the same text, Derrida suggests that naming the animals was a stage in making them "sacrificial flesh" (42). Derrida's reading of Genesis here responds to that of Walter Benjamin, who writes that "to be named – even when the namer is godlike and blissful – perhaps always remains an intimation of mourning." See Walter Benjamin, "On Language As Such and the Language of Man," in *Selected Writings Vol. 1 1913–26*, ed. Marcus Bullock and Michael W. Jennings (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 62–74, at 73.
77. On this topic, see Timothy Morton, *Cultures of Taste/Theories of Appetite: Eating Romanticism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), and David Perkins, *Romanticism and Animal Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
78. The Romantic species poetics traced in this chapter might be seen as complementing the species discourse of Romantic poetry discussed by Maureen McLane in *Romanticism and the Human Sciences: Poetry, Population, and the Discourse of the Species*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). For McLane, British Romanticism grounds poetry on a conception of the human as a species; here I argue that the animal must be banished or eaten to make this possible.

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Chapter 3 Onomatopoeia, Nonsense, and Naming: Species Poetics after Darwin's *Origin*

1. Lacan's references to this anecdote are to be found in "In Memory of Ernest Jones: On His Theory of Symbolism" and in his seminar for 1958–9. See Jacques Lacan, *Écrits*, trans. Bruce Fink (New York: Norton, 2006), 593, and *Desire and Its Interpretation: The Seminar of Jacques Lacan, Book VI*, ed. Jacques-Alain Miller, trans. Bruce Fink (Cambridge: Polity, 2019), 166.
2. George G. Romanes, *Mental Evolution in Man* (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench and Company, 1888), 283. Ernest Jones refers to the anecdote as "oft-quoted" when he discusses it in "The Theory of Symbolism," in *Papers on Psychoanalysis*, 5th ed. (Baltimore, MD: Williams and Wilkins, 1948), 107.
3. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language* (London: Longmans, 1861), 14.
4. Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, 342.
5. Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, 352.
6. Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, 355.
7. Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, 352.
8. Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, 340.
9. Romanes, *Mental Evolution in Man*, 290.
10. Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, 119–40.
11. Lacan, *Écrits*, 77.
12. Lacan, *Écrits*, 683.
13. Lacan, *Desire and Its Interpretation*, 163.
14. Jacques Lacan, *Le séminaire de Jacques Lacan livre VI: Le désir et son interprétation* ed. Jacques-Alain Miller (Paris: Champ Freudien, 2013), 198. On the difficulty of translating the French "bête" and "bêtise," see David Wills's note in his translation of Derrida's *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, 162–3.
15. Lacan, *Écrits*, 682.
16. Lacan, *Seminar VI*, 165. Lacan's understanding of metaphor here may be compared with that of Aristotle in the *Poetics*, which is based on the chiasmatic substitution of attributes. The wine cup is to Dionysus as the shield is to Achilles; "the cup may, therefore, be called 'the shield of Dionysus,' and the shield 'the cup of Ares.'" Metaphor, Aristotle goes on to say, can be used to supply a term for something that otherwise has no name. See Aristotle, *On the Art of Poetry*, trans. Samuel H. Butcher (Indianapolis, IN: Library of the Liberal Arts, 1948), chapter 21, 1457b1–30.
17. John Powell Ward, *Wordsworth's Language of Man* (Sussex: Harvester Press), 106.
18. Lacan, *Seminar VI*, 165; *Séminaire VI*, 202.

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19. Constance W. Hassett makes this connection in her chapter on *Sing-Song* in *Christina Rossetti: The Patience of Style* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005).
20. James Williams, *Edward Lear, Writers and Their Work* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2018), 52.
21. On Lear and Darwin, and on Lear's work as a zoological illustrator, see Lodge, *Inventing Edward Lear*, 141–53.
22. Matthew Bevis, "Edward Lear's Lines of Flight," *Journal of the British Academy* 1 (2013), 31–69, at 41.
23. Lodge, *Inventing Edward Lear*, 114, 147.
24. Bevis, "Edward Lear's Lines of Flight," 42–5.
25. In the titles of Aesop's fables, the definite articles refer to classes – defined, however, not by conspecificity, but by conformity to a type. The protagonists of "The Fox and the Grapes" and "The Ant and the Grasshopper" represent moral types; Lear's poems parody this usage as well as the use of "the" to refer to a species.
26. On sexual relations between different species of birds see Darwin, *Descent of Man*, 465–7. And for an account of sexual selection as "an attraction to difference, rather than sameness" which necessarily leads to cross-species relations and hybridity, see Nancy Armstrong, "Do Wasps Just Want to Have Fun? Darwin and the Question of Variation," *differences* 27, no. 3 (2016): 1–19.
27. Bevis, "Edward Lear's Lines of Flight," 41.
28. On the connection between animals and alphabets, see Seth Lerer, *Children's Literature: A Readers' History from Aesop to Harry Potter* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 185.
29. Though not necessarily with Darwin himself. See David Stamos, *Darwin and the Nature of Species* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), 14, for an explanation of why Darwin's readers were predisposed to see him as a species nominalist.
30. Lear also draws on *Great Expectations* for the name of a character in "The Courtship of the Yonghy-Bonghy-Bò," where the protagonist's successful rival shares another of Pip's names, Handel, as well as his line of business in overseas trade.
31. Sara Lodge discusses the relation between the nonsense choruses in Lear's late songs and those of traditional folk music, and then adds, "in Lear's nonsense these choruses frequently explore the debatable land between human and animal language" (*Inventing Edward Lear*, 50).
32. Williams, *Edward Lear, Writers and Their Work*, 91–9.
33. See Williams, *Edward Lear, Writers and Their Work*, 94, where Lear's *Journal* is quoted and discussed.

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34. Lear adopts "scroobious" as a favourite adjective in the same way as he "often referred to himself as a 'damned dirty landscape painter,' a wounding comment made by two young Englishmen that he overheard in Calabria in 1847, whose power to upset him he overturned by making it a running joke" (Lodge, *Inventing Edward Lear*, 334).
35. Martin Dubois has a full account of the source words for these two poems, which he reads as artifacts of the colonial "contact zone." See his "Edward Lear's India and the Colonial Production of Nonsense," *Victorian Studies* 61, no. 1 (2018): 35–59.
36. Williams, *Edward Lear, Writers and Their Work*, 132.
37. Williams, *Edward Lear, Writers and Their Work*, 133. Williams notes that the Oxford English Dictionary records uses of "ding dong" going back to 1659; there are no onomatopoeic uses of "dong" by itself until 1890.
38. The equation of nose and phallus is a running joke in *Tristram Shandy*; in a chapter on the association of the nose and the genitals in nineteenth-century embryology, in racist science, and in the work of Freud's associate Wilhelm Fliess, Sander Gilman refers to it as a "traditional folkloric association." See *The Case of Sigmund Freud: Medicine and Identity at the Fin de Siècle* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 96.

    The word "dong" did not become slang for "penis" until the twentieth century. Given the phallic jokes in Lear's poem, it may have influenced the change. Today, the idea of a dong without a ding conveys in a nutshell Lacan's theory of the phallus.
39. Daniel Karlin, *The Figure of the Singer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 67.
40. Anna West discusses these poems in *Thomas Hardy and Animals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 105–6, noting that only "in his poetry does Hardy directly imagine the voices of animals."

Chapter 4 Darwin's Unconscious: History, the Work of the Negative, and Natural Selection

1. For Freud's account of this history, see section 3 of *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (18:18–23). For analysis of the transference, see also in "The Question of Lay Analysis" (20:226–7).
2. Darwin's interest in Elspeth may have been related to her anxiety-dispelling revelation that the hero's birth had *not* been incestuous. Emma Wedgwood, whom Darwin married in January 1839, was his first cousin; later, Darwin worried about the effect on his children of their parents' consanguinity. The effects of inbreeding were a central topic in his researches into heredity; for its connection to his own life, see Janet Browne, *Charles Darwin: Voyaging,*

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a Biography (New York: Knopf, 1995), 282. For a discussion of Darwin's marriage and his views on heredity in the broader context of Victorian marital conventions and ideas about incest, see Adam Kuper, *Incest & Influence: The Private Life of Bourgeois England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 83–103.

3. Walter Scott, *The Antiquary*, ed. David Hewitt (London: Penguin, 1998), 214.
4. Scott, *Antiquary*, 214.
5. Scott, *Antiquary*, 228.
6. Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species: A Variorum Text*, ed. Morse Peckham (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1959), 382.
7. For a history of the idea of progress in the Victorian era in which Darwin's theory is understood as presenting a broadly non-progressive and non-teleological view of evolution, see Peter J. Bowler, *The Invention of Progress: The Victorians and the Past* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1989). The contrary view of Darwin is maintained by Robert J. Richards, especially in *The Romantic Conception of Life: Science and Philosophy in the Age of Goethe* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2002).
8. This entry must have been made before the end of September 1838. The entries cited from Notebooks M and N also belong to the second half of 1838.
9. Darwin's attention to the problem of the eye is an implicit response to its use as a principal exhibit in the argument for design mounted in William Paley 's *Natural Theology* (London: R. Faulder, 1802), 19–41.
10. Voss, *Darwin's Pictures*, 151–9, contrasts Darwin's book with luxury illustrated books of the 1850s and 1860s depicting birds as works of art. She argues that these depictions provided implicit support to the idea of a divine creator.
11. When he adopts a hierarchical classification of groups under groups, Darwin distinguishes his theory of classification from that of Lamarck. For the latter, the classification of organic forms was made by human beings and has no basis in nature: "La nature n'a rien fait de semblable; et au lieu de nous abuser en confondant nos oeuvres avec les siennes, nous devons reconnoitre que les *classes*, les *ordres,* les *familles, les genres*, et les *nomenclatures* a leur égard, sons des moyens de notre invention, dont nous ne saurions nous passer, mais qu'il faut employer avec discretion." ("Nature has not made anything of the kind, and instead of deceiving ourselves by confusing our work with hers, we should recognize that classes, orders, families, and genera, together with their nomenclatures, are tools of our invention, which we could not manage without, but which must be used with discretion.") Jean Baptiste Lamarck, *Philosophie Zoologique, Ou Exposition Des Considérations Relatives a L'histoire Naturelle Des Animaux* (Paris: Dentu, 1809), 20. Lamarck's classification, moreover, does not use groups under groups, but rather consists of a single series of organic life arranged in order from lower to higher forms.

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12. Darwin's vague assertion that the figure of a tree has "sometimes" been used to represent the affinities between different forms of life obscures its specific reference to idealist and anti-Lamarckian theories of life's ascent current in Britain during the 1840s. For an account of these, see Adrian J. Desmond, *The Politics of Evolution: Morphology, Medicine, and Reform in Radical London* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 276–372. To compare with Darwin's figure, here is a passage from the anatomist and follower of Coleridge J. H. Green's 1840 Hunterian Oration, *Vital Dynamics*:

> We might perhaps venture to symbolize the system of the animal creation as some monarch of the forest, whose roots, firmly planted in the vivifying soil, spread beyond our ken; whose trunk, proudly erected, points its summit to a region of purer light, and whose wide-spreading branches, twigs, sprays, and leaflets, infinitely diversified, manifest the energy of the life within. In the great march of nature nothing is left behind, and every former step contains the promise and prophecy of that which is to follow. (Qtd. Desmond, *Politics of Evolution*, 369–70)

13. As part of their argument against the Darwinian concept of natural selection, Jerry Fodor and Massimo Piattelli-Palmarini have argued that Darwin cannot get rid of the language of agency from his account because the idea of selection is incoherent without the idea of a selector – so that the idea of selection itself must be rejected. See *What Darwin Got Wrong* (London: Profile Books, 2011), 95–138. For an account of Darwin that takes his personifications seriously as evidence for an idealist reading of natural selection, see Richards, *Romantic Conception of Life*, chapter 14. In *Darwin's Plots: Evolutionary Narrative in Darwin, George Eliot, and Nineteenth-Century Fiction* (London: Routledge & Paul, 1983), 53–4, 67–73, Gillian Beer argues that attributions of agency in Darwin's argument arise from the necessarily metaphysical language in which it is expressed.
14. Showing his conviction that the relations among different expressions of the archetype are ideal rather than genealogical, Owen suggests that modifications of the type unknown on earth might exist on other planets. See Richard Owen, *On the Nature of Limbs: A Discourse*, ed. Ron Amundsen (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 83–4.
15. Owen, *On the Nature of Limbs*, 86.
16. Quoted in Dov Ospovat, *The Development of Darwin's Theory: Natural History, Natural Theology, and Natural Selection, 1838–1859* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 146.
17. For an account of how Darwin's theory was shaped by developments in morphology and taxonomy during the 1830s and 1840s, see Ospovat, *Development of Darwin's Theory*, 115–200.
18. Owen's review was published anonymously in the *Edinburgh Review* in April 1860. For a narrative of his relations with Darwin and of the break following the publication of *The Origin*, see Janet Browne, *Charles Darwin:*

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The Power of Place, Volume Two of a Biography (New York: Knopf, 2002), 97–9 and 110–12.

19. Marx produced a theory of fetishism to explain his relation to bourgeois political economy. Darwin produced no such historical metatheory. For discussion of the historical problem of Marx's relation to the labour theory of value as it was formulated in classical political economy, see Matthew Rowlinson, *Real Money and Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 100–16.
20. The irony is further deepened by Darwin's own blindness, and that of European settlers, to the history of agriculture in the lands they conquered. For example, see the overview of current knowledge about farming in southern Africa in the last millennium, in Simon Hall's chapter "Farming Communities of the Second Millennium: Internal Frontiers, Identity, Continuity and Change," in *The Cambridge History of South Africa*, ed. Carolyn Hamilton, Bernard K. Mbenga, and Robert Ross, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 1:112–67. See especially pages 142–3 on the geographical limits of sorghum and millet cultivation and their southward expansion in the seventeenth century, and 148 on the introduction of maize from the sixteenth century. Of a large literature on crop varieties under cultivation in southern Africa before the arrival of European settlers, see Bianca Steyn and Alexander Antonites, "Plant Use in Southern Africa's Middle Iron Age: The Archaeobotany of Mutamba," *Azania: Archaeological Research in Africa* 54, no. 3 (2019): 350–68. Writing admittedly about areas north of the Cape, Steyn and Antonites document archaeobotanical evidence from the thirteenth century of cultivars not only of the staples sorghum and millet, but also of many species of fruits, beans, and peas.
21. The most striking and frequently discussed feature of this passage is the personification of Nature. But its reference to natural selection's object as a "being" whom Nature "tends" also poses a problem: what is this "being"? The idea of a beneficent nature that cares for all individual living creatures is one that Darwin in *The Origin* frequently rejects; the improvement of most species occurs only because many of its members die without producing offspring. It seems possible that Darwin's "being" is a species, since it is to the "improvement" and "perfection" of species, by a process that requires the destruction of its individual members, that Darwin generally represents natural selection as aiming. In this sense, the "being" in this passage, like the animal speakers of the poems discussed in Chapter 1, is the personification of a species. But to read more rigorously, we should note that Darwin's understanding of the dependence of life on death operates at every scale: of species, just as much as of individuals, he argues that most become extinct and in the long run leave no descendants.

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When Darwin refers to a "being" for whose benefit natural selection acts, his language is thus fully as figurative as when he personifies Nature. This being favoured by nature returns in *The Origin*'s penultimate paragraph: "as natural selection works solely by and for the good of each being, all corporeal and mental endowments will tend to progress towards perfection" (360). With reference both to the agency of natural selection and to its object, Darwin's seeming personifications could more accurately be termed hypotyposes, in that they constitute their objects.

Chapter 5 Foreign Bodies: The Human Species and Its Symptom

1. For a prior discussion of this analogy, see Jacques Derrida, "Geopsychoanalysis: '. . . And the Rest of the World,'" trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith, in *The Psychoanalysis of Race*, ed. Christopher Lane (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 64–90, at 68.
2. My argument develops a suggestion of Adam Phillips, who writes in a discussion of the relations between Darwin's term "habit" and the Freudian symptom that "Freud's word for habits was symptoms." See his *Darwin's Worms* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 131.
3. Freud's narrative extends a comparison of Copernicus and Darwin that had already become commonplace. For its history, see Lucille B. Ritvo, *Darwin's Influence on Freud: A Tale of Two Sciences* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 22.
4. Ritvo, *Darwin's Influence on Freud*, 23.
5. Ernest Jones, *Sigmund Freud: Life and Work*, 3 vols. (London: Hogarth Press, 1953), 3:304.
6. Jones, *Sigmund Freud*, 3:310.
7. Developments in epigenetics today have made the position less certain. A standard textbook proposes that, in "a strange twist of fate, Lamarck may have the last laugh. Epigenetics, an emerging field of genetics, has shown that Lamarck may have been at least partially correct all along." Joseph Tucker Springer and Dennis Holley, *An Introduction to Zoology: Investigating the Animal World* (Boston, MA: Jones & Bartlett Learning, 2013), 94. For an account of Romantic-era epigenetic theories, with reference to William Blake and Erasmus Darwin, as well as to Lamarck, see Goldstein, *Sweet Science*, 35–71. Goldstein traces the historical antinomy between "evolution" (literally, the unrolling of an already existing design) and "epigenesis" (a formative process that takes place during the life of the organism). She concludes by discussing the current revival of epigenetics: "From quarters as diverse as developmental psychology, experimental embryology, immunology, ethology, ecology, 'evo-devo,' biological philosophy, and feminist science studies, a once-heretical

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consensus is gaining ground: patterns of gene expression can indeed be modified by environments . . . and even by learned behaviors. Such modifications are even *heritable*."

8. See, for instance, a 1988 article by Robert Wright in the *New Republic*, cited by Ritvo, *Darwin's Influence on Freud*, 194, or, more recently, Maud Ellman's introduction to a 2005 translation of *Totem und Tabu* in Adam Phillips, ed., *On Murder, Mourning and Melancholia*, trans. Shaun Whiteside (London: Penguin, 2005), xv.
9. Jones, *Sigmund Freud*, 3:310–11.
10. Ritvo, *Darwin's Influence on Freud*, 53–4, 72–3.
11. For an argument that Darwin was able to maintain his difference from Lamarck only by wilfully misreading the latter, see Robert J. Richards, *Darwin and the Emergence of Evolutionary Theories of Mind and Behavior* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 90–4. Richards's reading of Darwin as a Lamarckian *malgré lui* is presented in the service of his larger claim that Darwin viewed natural section as having a progressive and moral tendency. This is no longer the received reading of Darwin's theory, though it was so in the late nineteenth century. Epigenesis lurks in the intellectual history of natural selection as a foreign body that cannot be fully deactivated, like the evolutionary remainder in the living organism.
12. Darwin's emphasis on the importance of maladapted and residual structures in understanding evolution was taken up in the late twentieth century by Stephen Jay Gould and Richard Lewontin in their argument against biologists and cognitive psychologists who make natural selection a totalizing theory, a tendency the former termed "Darwinian fundamentalism." See Stephen J. Gould, "Darwinian Fundamentalism, Part 1," *New York Review of Books* 44, no. 10 (1997): 34–7, "Evolution: The Pleasures of Pluralism, Part 2," *New York Review of Books* 44, no. 11 (1997): 47–52, and, with Richard Lewontin, "The Spandrels of San Marco and the Panglossian Paradigm: A Critique of the Adaptationist Programme," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London, Series B* 205, no. 1161 (1979): 581–98.
13. Beer, *Darwin's Plots*, 75.
14. In the sixth and final edition Darwin published of *The Origin of Species*, he included a new chapter with responses to the major published criticisms of natural selection. Here, as part of a refutation of St. George Mivart's view that evolution must take place by the sudden and providentially directed appearance of new species, Darwin defends the gradualism of his own theory. In so doing, he does attribute the gradual appearance of some beneficial structures to habit. See Darwin's discussion of placement of the eyes in flatfish and the development of monkeys' prehensile tails in *Origin of Species: A Variorum Text*, 250–3.

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15. "A small dinner-party was given in honour of an extremely shy man, who, when he rose to return thanks, rehearsed the speech, which he had evidently learnt by heart, in absolute silence, and did not utter a single word; but he acted as if he was speaking with much emphasis. His friends, perceiving how the case stood, loudly applauded the imaginary bursts of eloquence, whenever his gestures indicated a pause, and the man never discovered that he had remained the whole time completely silent" (Darwin, *Expression*, 321).
16. For an account of the technical innovations made by Darwin and his collaborators in the production of the *Expression*, see Phillip Prodger, "Photography and *The Expression of the Emotions*," in Paul Ekman, ed., *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 399–410. On Darwin's use of Duchenne's photographs, see Voss, *Darwin's Pictures*, 203–4.
17. On hysterical mimicry in Victorian psychology, see, for instance, John Connolly's 1833 article on hysteria in *The Cyclopedia of Practical Medicine*, excerpted in Jenny Bourne Taylor and Sally Shuttleworth, *Embodied Selves: An Anthology of Psychological Texts 1830–1890* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 184–6. Connolly describes Mrs. Siddons's representation of emotion on the stage inducing hysterical paroxysms among "the female part of the spectators." According to Bourne and Shuttleworth, mimicry provides the basis for an entire theory of hysteria in Frederic Carpenter Skey's 1867 book *Hysteria: Six Lectures* (193). Mimicry is an important part of Freud's understanding of hysteria, as in his question to Dora concerning a new symptom: "Whom are you copying now?" (7:38).
18. Zakiyyah Iman Jackson gives a scathing critique of this move in liberal discourse: "Universal humanity, a specific 'genre of the human,' is produced by the constitutive abjection of black humanity" (*Becoming Human*, 23).
19. On the self-reflexivity of Darwin's writing on human behaviour, especially in *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*, see George Levine, *Darwin and the Novelists: Patterns of Science in Victorian Fiction* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 217–19.
20. On Darwin's personification of "nature" and "natural selection," see Beer, *Darwin's Plots*, 68–72, and Levine, *Darwin and the Novelists*, 99–100. On the political and scientific context of his work, see Adrian J. Desmond and James R. Moore, *Darwin* (London: Michael Joseph, 1991). On the racial politics of his work, especially the *Descent* and the *Origin*, see the same authors' *Darwin's Sacred Cause: How a Hatred of Slavery Shaped Darwin's Views on Human Evolution* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2009). For a critical response to Desmond and Moore's work before 1995 and to Beer as overemphasizing the culturally specific origin of the theory of natural selection, see Ted Benton, "Science, Ideology and Culture: Malthus and

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The Origin of Species," in *Charles Darwin's The Origin of Species: New Interdisciplinary Essays*, ed. David Amigioni and Jeff Wallace (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 68–94.

21. Desmond and Moore, *Darwin's Sacred Cause*, 139–41.
22. Elizabeth Grosz discusses Darwin's views on the role of sexual selection in racial differentiation and their political significance. As she writes, "Darwin stands in stark contrast both to the racist and imperialist assumptions his work was manipulated to confirm" (*The Nick of Time: Politics, Evolution, and the Untimely* [Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004], 85).
23. George W. Stocking, *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology*, 2nd ed. (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 44–51, 126–7.
24. For a survey of differing positions on this issue, see Malte B. Andersson, *Sexual Selection* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 96–118. One paradigm for the integration of the theories of natural and sexual selection is Amotz and Avitag Zahavi's "handicap principle," which provides the basis for the view of sexual selection in William Flesch, *Comeuppance: Costly Signaling, Altruistic Punishment, and Other Biological Components of Fiction* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 52–62. In this principle, behaviour that lessens an organism's fitness for survival can be sexually selected because such behaviour functions to *signal* fitness. The organism expends resources on display to show that it has resources to spare. The concept of fitness at work in this understanding of natural selection has come to be divided against itself, as able to encompass both adaptive and counter-adaptive traits.

    For much of the century after *The Descent of Man* was published, the conflict between natural selection and sexual selection was resolved simply by the dismissal of the latter. As Helena Cronin noted, sexual selection remained largely inactive as a field of study after Darwin until the 1970s; see *The Ant and the Peacock: Altruism and Sexual Selection from Darwin to Today* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 114–265. In the past decade, however, interest in Darwinian sexual selection as a basis for aesthetic theory has sparked renewed interest; see, for instance, Richard O. Prum, *The Evolution of Beauty: How Darwin's Forgotten Theory of Mate Choice Shapes the Animal World – and Us* (New York: Anchor, 2018), which follows Darwin in arguing for sexual selection's independence from natural selection, and George Levine, "Victorian Excess and the Darwinian Aesthetic," *Victorian Studies* 62, no. 1 (2019): 9–34.
25. For a general argument that this kind of feedback loop can endow "superabundant variations" with the power to "disrupt, subsume, and subordinate the logic of competitive elimination to a quite different account of speciation," see Armstrong, "Do Wasps Just Want to Have Fun?" 10.

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26. George Levine, *Darwin Loves You: Natural Selection and the Re-enchantment of the World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 176.
27. Desmond and Moore, *Darwin's Sacred Cause*, 141.
28. Ian Duncan also reads Darwin's theory of sexual selection as an instance of recursivity in his work. See his essay on Darwin as the most important Victorian heir of Friedrich Schiller's account of the aesthetic as originating in a biological drive that exceeds function, "Natural Histories of Form: Charles Darwin's Aesthetic Science," *Representations* 151 (2020): 51–73.
29. Nancy Armstrong compares sexual selection to Dickensian bureaucracy as a taxonomical agency. See "The Victorian Archive and Its Secret," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 34, no. 5 (Dec. 2012): 1–18, at 12.
30. Levine, *Darwin and the Novelists*, 98. Levine's reading of Darwin was the normal one in the nineteenth century, both among opponents like Louis Agassiz and supporters like George Henry Lewes. Agassiz thus complained, "If species do not exist at all, as the supporters of the transmutation theory maintain, how can they vary?" (qtd Stamos, *Darwin and the Nature of Species*, 12); Lewes cheerfully viewed Darwin as arguing that "Species is a subjective creation having no objective existence"; "Mr. Darwin's Hypotheses," *Fortnightly Review* n.s. 9 (April 1868): 353–73 at 359. A reassessment of Darwin's view has been ongoing since the late twentieth century; for an overview, see Stamos, *Darwin and the Nature of Species*, 19–20, who gives Darwin's response to Agassiz from a letter to Asa Gray: "I am surprised that Agassiz did not succeed in writing something better. How absurd that logical quibble; – 'if species do not exist how can they vary?' As if anyone doubted their temporary existence."
31. For a use of Freud's "The Uncanny" to understand Darwin's representation of racial difference in the absence of "an original type or essence," see Ian Duncan, "Darwin and the Savages," *Yale Journal of Criticism* 4, no. 2 (1991): 13–45, at 27.
32. Resting on the shaky foundation of the species concept, Darwin's critique of racism is always divided against itself. For a reading of his monogenism as complementing rather than contradicting animalized depictions of Blackness and on the connection of "race" and "species" in his work, see Jackson, *Becoming Human*, 22, 171.
33. For a political reading of what he names "creaturely life" as a way of thinking human species-being, see Eric Santner, *On Creaturely Life: Rilke, Benjamin, Sebald* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2006): "Human beings are not just creatures among other creatures but are in some sense *more creaturely* than other creatures by virtue of an excess that is produced in the space of the political and that, paradoxically, accounts for their 'humanity'" (26). This excess that both qualifies and disqualifies the human as a creature is closely related to the Freudian symptom. Although it distinguishes the human,

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Santner describes how creaturely life can also emerge in non-human creatures "that have been 'deterritorialized,' removed from their natural habitat" (144), and whose behaviour when confined and put on display is marked by excesses, such as a compulsion to repeat, otherwise characteristic of humans.

34. Hence Karl Kraus's enduring criticism of psychoanalysis as itself the disease it purports to cure. Freud himself came to recognize that analysis necessarily produces transference neuroses as "new editions" of the patient's original symptoms (7:116).

Chapter 6 "Whose Blood Is It?" Economies of Blood in Mid-Victorian Poetry and Medicine

1. Gallagher, *The Body Economic*.
2. Telegony was generally accepted by Victorian breeders of animals and by scientists including Darwin. Harriet Ritvo defines it as "the notion that the first male to impregnate a female left some permanent, heritable trace of himself behind" to be transmitted to all of her subsequent offspring, even those with other fathers (*Noble Cows*, 129).
3. Darwin's theory appeared in chapter 27, the final substantive chapter of *The Variation of Plants and Animals under Domestication* as a "provisional hypothesis." For recent discussions, see Ritvo *Noble Cows*, 130, and Devin Griffiths *The Age of Analogy: Science and Literature between the Darwins* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016), 206–7.
4. Browne, *Charles Darwin: The Power of Place*, 291.
5. Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 124.
6. Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 147.
7. Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 124–5.
8. Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 147.
9. The date is deducible from Blundell's account of the operation in "Some Account of a Case of Obstinate Vomiting, in Which an Attempt Was Made to Prolong Life by the Injection of Blood into the Veins," *Medico-Chirurgical Transactions* 10 (1819): 296–311, at 304. For more on Blundell's work on transfusion, see my "On the First Medical Blood Transfusion between Human Subjects, 1818," in *BRANCH: Britain, Representation and Nineteenth-Century History*, ed. Dino Franco Felluga, 2012 (www.branchcollective.org/?ps_articles=matthew-rowlinson-on-the-first-medical-blood-transfusion-between-human-subjects-1818). For an overview of writing on transfusion after the seventeenth-century experiments but before Blundell's work, see Ann Kibbie, *Transfusion, Blood and Sympathy in the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2019), 4–5.

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10. Noble S. R. Maluf, "History of Blood Transfusion," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 9 (1954): 59–107, at 63–7.
11. The best available account of this history is found in Kim Pelis, "Blood Clots: The Nineteenth-Century Debate over the Substance and Means of Transfusion in Britain, *Annals of Science* 54 (1997): 331–60.
12. Kibbie, *Transfusion*, 15.
13. For other discussion of these illustrations, see my "First Medical Blood Transfusion" and Kibbie, *Transfusion*, 18–20.
14. Maluf, "History of Blood Transfusion," 73–4; Kibbie, *Transfusion*, 5.
15. Quoted in Peter H. Niebyl, "The English Bloodletting Revolution, or Modern Medicine before 1850," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 51 (1977): 464–83, at 473.
16. James Wardrop, *On Blood-Letting* (London: J. D. Bailliere, 1835) 71, 119.
17. K. Codell Carter, *The Decline of Therapeutic Bloodletting and the Collapse of Traditional Medicine* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2012), 11.
18. Stokes, *Clinical Lectures on Fever*, qtd. John Harley Warner, "Therapeutic Explanation and the Edinburgh Bloodletting Controversy: Two Perspectives on Medical Meaning in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Medical History* 24 (1980): 241–58, at 243.
19. Peter Brain, *Galen on Bloodletting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 21–2.
20. Thomas Watson, *Lectures on the Principle and Practice of Physic; Delivered at King's College*. 2 vols. (London: John Parker, 1843), 1:253.
21. Perceval B. Lord, *Popular Physiology: Being a Familiar Explanation of the Most Interesting Facts Connected with the Structure and Functions of Animals, and Particularly of Man, Adapted for General Readers* (London: John W. Parker, 1834), 195–6.
22. Robert Liston, *Lectures on the Operation of Surgery* (Philadelphia, PA: Lea and Blanchard, 1846), 386.
23. Henry Clutterbuck, *On the Proper Administration of Blood-Letting for the Prevention and Cure of Disease* (London: S. Highley, 1840), 119; Clutterbuck argues that the benefit of occasional bleedings outweighs the risk of its becoming habitual. Wardrop, *On Blood-Letting*, 147, denies that bleeding can be habit-forming, but allows that many practitioners believe so.
24. It is sometimes stated that bloodletting was abandoned as a result of Pierre Louis's statistical analysis of its effects on pneumonia, published at Paris in 1828 and translated into English in the United States in 1836. Louis's work was little known in Britain, if the absence of citations can be taken as evidence; moreover, as Alfredo Morabia shows, though Louis was an important precursor of statistical epidemiology, his results did not make an unambiguous case against bloodletting. "Pierre-Charles-Alexandre Louis

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and the Evaluation of Bloodletting," *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 99, no. 3 (March 2006): 158–60.

25. William O. Markham, *Bleeding and the Change of Type of Disease, Being the Gulstonian Lectures for 1864* (London: John Churchill, 1866), 49.
26. William Stokes, "The Address in Medicine," *British Medical Journal* 2, no. 241 (August 1865): 133–42, at 134.
27. Quoted in Carter, *Decline of Therapeutic Bloodletting*, 73–4.
28. Stokes, "The Address in Medicine," 135.
29. Bennett's 1856 reply to Alison, qtd. in Carter, *Decline of Therapeutic Bloodletting*, 71.
30. Carter, *Decline of Therapeutic Bloodletting*, 74.
31. William O. Markham, Remarks on the Inflammation and Bloodletting Controversy," *The Lancet* (British edition) 70, no. 1783 (1857): 439–41, at 440.
32. Carter, *Decline of Therapeutic Bloodletting*, 75.
33. Thomas Laycock, "Contributions to a New Chapter in the Physiology and the Pathology of the Nervous System." *British Medical Journal* 1, no. 374 (February 1868): 187–9, at 188.
34. Samuel Dickson, *Fallacies of the Faculty: Being the Spirit of the Chrono-thermal System in a Series of Lectures* (London: H. Bailliere, 1839), 87, 170–3. Dickson appears as a character in Charles Reade's novel *Hard Cash* (1864), under the name of Dr. Sampson. Far more than Dickson's own writing, Reade's version of him expresses the new economic view of blood. From *Hard Cash*, chapter 5, here is Sampson's outraged response to a servant's suggestion that the novel's heroine should be bled

> To put it economikly, and then you must understand it, been a housekeeper: "Whatever the Disease, its form or Essence, / Expenditure goes on, and income lessens." To this sick and therefore weak man, enter a Docker [doctor] purblind with cinturies of Cant, Pricident, Blood, and Goose Grease; . . . gashes him with a lancet, spills out the great liquid material of all repair by the gallon, and fells this weak man, wounded now, and pale, and fainting, with Dith stamped on his face, to th' earth, like a bayoneted soldier or a slaughtered ox.

35. "Review of Maximilian Simon, *Medical Deontology*," *British and Foreign Medical Review* 21 (April 1846): 438–52, at 450.
36. John Langley, "On the Treatment of Unhealthy Inflammations: [Strictures on the Observations of Mr Broke Gallwey]," *The Lancet* (British edition) 54, no. 1367 (1849): 506–7, at 506.
37. John Langley, "The Surgical Treatment of the Late Sir Robert Peel," *The Lancet* (British edition) 56, no. 1402 (1850): 63.
38. In this respect as in others, Galenic medicine recognized only one sex. For the one-sex model of the body in ancient, medieval, and early modern medicine, see Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender From the Greeks to Freud*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990).

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39. Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness, and English Culture, 1830–1980* (New York: Random House, 1985), 124–6.
40. For this analogy in *Dracula*, see Franco Moretti, *Signs Taken for Wonders: Essays in the Sociology of Literary Forms*, trans. Susan Fischer, David Forgacs, and David Miller (London: Verso, 1983), 90–8.
41. Dracula eats only one thing; living human beings eat foods of many different kinds, as Jonathan Harker's diary documents with an ethnographer's relish. The pioneer of British transfusion, James Blundell, understood blood as nutriment; his first transfusion was of a patient whose cancer prevented him from eating. Later in the century, Lewes, in *The Physiology of Common Life* (1859), treats blood as a conveyance for nutrition, rather than nutritive in itself. See my "First Medical Blood Transfusion."
42. For a discussion of this connection in conjunction with John Ferguson McLellan's theory of primitive matriarchy, see Kathy Alexis Psomiades, "Heterosexual Exchange and Other Victorian Fictions: The Eustace Diamonds and Victorian Anthropology," *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 33, no. 1 (1999): 109–10. In the heterosexual economy of Trollope's *Eustace Diamonds*, Psomiades argues, the blood relation of mother and daughter is a scandal to the circulation of female bodies between men that drives the novel's kinship plot.
43. Charles Dickens, *Our Mutual Friend*, ed. Michael Cotsell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 129.
44. Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 47–8.
45. The radical unreadability of blood in the period under discussion contrasts with the normative view earlier in the century that the outward appearance of the blush is a sure index of internal feeling. This view was given authoritative medical expression in Dr. Thomas Burgess 's *The Physiology or Mechanism of Blushing* (London: John Churchill, 1839). Burgess held that the blush was evidence of providential design in human physiology, since by it "internal emotions" exhibit themselves on the bodily exterior, thus providing a "check on the conscience" of individuals who might otherwise violate moral law (24–5).

    Mary Ann O'Farrell in *Telling Complexions: The Nineteenth-Century English Novel and the Blush* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), views representations of the blush throughout the century as torn between viewing it as an infallible indicator of a character's true nature and viewing it as a mechanical response to circumstance. I owe to the later chapters of O'Farrell's book the idea that late Victorian preoccupation with the communicability of the blush is related to the period's fascination with the transmissibility of vampirism.
46. Pamela Gilbert, *Victorian Skin: Surface, Self, History* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019), 98.

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47. I have made this argument at more length in "The Thing in the Poem: *Maud*'s Hymen," *differences* 12, no. 3 (Fall 2001): 128–65, at 144–5.
48. The geological sense of the term "fault" dates from the late eighteenth century. It was popularized by Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology* (1830–3), which Tennyson knew well. On geology in "Maud," see Isobel Armstrong, *Victorian Poetry: Poetry, Poetics, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1994), 249, 264.
49. Herbert F. Tucker, *Tennyson and the Doom of Romanticism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 421.
50. Parenthetical citations of "The Defence of Guinevere" refer to the text as it appears in *The Broadview Anthology of Victorian Poetry and Poetic Theory*, ed. Thomas J. Collins and Vivienne Rundle (Peterborough, ON: Broadview, 2005), 438–43.
51. On dilation, deferral, and figures of the feminine in the long history of romance, see Patricia Parker, *Literary Fat Ladies: Rhetoric, Gender, Property* (London: Methuen, 1987), 8–17.
52. Blood and bleeding were also hugely important in Freud's own hysteria and in his practice in the late 1890s as he developed the theories of the unconscious, of repression, and of the Oedipus complex. Along with much else, these topics are obscured in his published work because they involve Wilhelm Fliess, the Berlin ear, eye, and nose specialist and quack whose friendship with Freud provided him with an indispensable forum for his ideas in the 1890s, but thereafter became an embarrassment. In brief:
    1) Fleiss viewed the nose and genitals as homologous organs and treated neurosis by nasal surgery. In early 1895, he operated on the nose of a patient of Freud's, Emma Eckstein, who suffered from anxiety and nosebleeds. He botched the operation, leaving gauze in the nasal cavity. Freud attributed Eckstein's subsequent discomfort to neurosis, until in March the gauze was discovered and she suffered a near-fatal haemorrhage. His self-reproaches form part of the subject of the "specimen-dream" of *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900), the "dream of Irma's Injection." For a fuller account, see Lisa Appignanesi and John Forrester, *Freud's Women* (London: Basic Books, 1992), 119–20, 134–41.
    2) Fliess believed in a male menstrual cycle, which could manifest itself in periodic nosebleeds. During 1897 and 1898, we find Freud writing to Fliess about the periodicity of his own nosebleeds and those of his son Martin. See Jeffrey M. Masson, ed., *The Complete Letters of Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fliess, 1897–1904* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985). Correspondence regarding Emma Eckstein appears on pages 106–23; Freud discusses his own nosebleeds and those of his son Martin on pages 256 and 317. Fliess's belief was a belated version of the Galenic theory of male bleeding discussed earlier; though Laqueur does not discuss male menstruation with reference to Freud, he does suggest that psychoanalysis preserves aspects of the premodern one-sex theory of the body (Laqueur, *Making Sex*, 233–43).
53. Parenthetical citations of "Jenny" refer to the text as it appears in Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Collected Poetry and Prose*, ed. Jerome McGann (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press), 2003.

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54. As Adela Pinch shows, poetry of this period takes up the implications of this kind of recursive loop of thinking about other people's thoughts. *Thinking about Other People in Nineteenth-Century British Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 112–32.
55. For a full discussion of Darwin's work on blushing in the context of precursors like Charles Bell and Thomas Burgess and of subsequent writers including Cesare Lombroso, Harry Campbell, and Havelock Ellis, see Gilbert, *Victorian Skin*, 70–91. Gilbert discusses late Victorian writers who view compulsive blushing as a pathology; in his 1890 *Flushing and Morbid Blushing: Their Pathology and Treatment*, Campbell recommends treatment by bleeding with leeches on the cervix, groin, or anus.
56. Foucault, *Society*, 252.
57. Foucault, *Society*, 258.
58. The *OED* (s.v. "Type" 6 c) dates the first use of "type" in this sense to 1934: "He was not her 'type.'" George Eliot's *The Mill on the Floss* (1880), however, has the smooth and fashionable Stephen say of Maggie Tulliver, "She is not my type of woman you know" (book 6, chapter 2). *The Mill on the Floss* is concerned from the outset with the trouble that comes from "the crossing o' breeds" (book 1, chapter 2). Its courtship plots are structured by the contrast between a fair heroine and a dark one; Stephen's remark refers to that contrast. In Walter Scott, to whose use of the fair/dark contrast Eliot is responding, it is a device for contrasting racial types, as in *Ivanhoe*.

Chapter 7 The Totem and the Vampire: Species-Identity in Anthropology, Literature, and Psychoanalysis

1. Reprinted in John Ferguson McLennan, "The Worship of Animals and Plants," in *Studies in Ancient History*, ed. Eleanora McLennan and Arthur Platt, 2nd Series (London: Macmillan, 1896), 491–569, at 493.
2. On the "comparative method" in anthropology, see George Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 170.
3. Robert Alun Jones, *The Secret of the Totem: Religion and Society from McLennan to Freud* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 20.
4. Jones, *Secret of the Totem*, 299.
5. Jones, *Secret of the Totem*, 291–3.
6. Claude Levi-Strauss, *Totemism*, trans. Rodney Needham (Boston, MA: Beacon, 1963), 1.
7. Levi-Strauss, *Totemism*, 104.
8. See Amy Woodson-Boulton's "Totems, Cannibals, and Other Blood Relations: Animals and the Rise of Social Evolutionary Theory," *Victorian Review* 46, no. 2 (Fall 2020): 211–33, for another view of late Victorian writing

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on the totem in relation to the problematics of diet and primitivism; this essay also takes Levi-Strauss's book as a point of departure.

9. Quoted in Jones, *Secret of the Totem*, 55.
10. James G. Frazer, *Totemism* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1887), 2.
11. Frazer, *Totemism*, 49.
12. Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 142.
13. Previous study of McLennan's work in the context of literature has focused on its naturalization of Victorian norms regarding gender and sexuality. See Anita Levy, *Other Women: The Writing of Class, Race, and Gender, 1832–1898* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 60–8; Psomiades, "Heterosexual Exchange"; Supritha Rajan, *A Tale of Two Capitalisms: Sacred Economics in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2015), 168–71. Levy and Psomiades both discuss blood relations and kinship systems in McLennan's *Primitive Marriage*, while Rajan discusses totemism to show an affinity in totem discourse between women and sacred things.
14. In today's Anishinaabemowin, the term is written as "doodem," and means "clan." For the history of its entry into European languages, see Frazer, *Totemism*, 1–2.
15. McLennan, "The Worship of Animals and Plants," 505–6.
16. McLennan, "The Worship of Animals and Plants," 518.
17. Frazer, *Totemism*, 85.
18. William Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites, First Series: The Fundamental Institutions* (New York: Appleton, 1889), 51.
19. Robertson Smith, *Lectures*, 5.
20. Robertson Smith, *Lectures*, 6–7.
21. Robertson Smith, *Lectures*, 45.
22. Robertson Smith, *Lectures*, 296.
23. Robertson Smith, *Lectures*, 304–6.
24. Under the influence of E. B. Tylor, and ultimately of Darwin, Victorian anthropologists worked with a less totalizing theory of historical eras than their Enlightenment precursors. Using the term "survival," Tylor adapted Darwin's theory of the value of rudimentary and abortive structures for understanding the history of living organisms into a tool for understanding the history of human societies. "When in the process of time there has come general change in the condition of a people," Tylor wrote in his 1871 *Primitive Culture*, "it is usual, notwithstanding, to find much that has manifestly not had its origin in the new state of things, but has simply lasted on into it. On the strength of these survivals, it becomes possible to declare that the civilization of the people they are observed among must have been derived from an earlier state, in which [their] proper home and meaning . . . are to be found" (*Primitive Culture*, ed. Paul Radin. 2 vols. [New York: Harper and

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Row, 1958] 1:71). Robertson Smith's view of religious observances as holding a historical meaning misrecognized by those who participate in them derives from Tylor; Tylor himself however wrote little on totemism, and ultimately became sceptical of claims about its universality.

25. Robertson Smith, *Lectures*, 271.
26. Robertson Smith, *Lectures*, 266. On Robertson Smith's disagreement with Frazer's view of sacrifice as a form of exchange, and how his account of sacrifice as based in kinship paved the way for functionalist theories in the twentieth century, see Rajan, *A Tale of Two Capitalisms*, 49–56.
27. Robertson Smith, *Lectures*, 295.
28. Robertson Smith, *Lectures*, 263.
29. Robertson Smith, *Lectures*, 41.
30. Robertson Smith, *Lectures*, 271.
31. Totemism as a sense of kinship to a species rather than an individual resembles the affinity animal fanciers and breeders, and owners of companion animals, can have to breeds and species. Such relations become an ordinary part of bourgeois life in the second half of the nineteenth century, especially as concerns dogs. The Kennel Club, founded in 1871, normalized showing dogs by breed and established breed standards and a stud book. On this history, see Margaret E. Derry, *Bred for Perfection: Shorthorn Cattle, Collies, and Arabian Horses since 1800* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 48–57. On dog people and love "for a *kind* of dog, of a breed," see Haraway, *Companion Species Manifesto*, 36.
32. See Tess Cosslett, *Talking Animals in British Children's Fiction, 1786–1914* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 149–50, and Jessica Straley, *Evolution and Imagination in Victorian Children's Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 136–8.
33. Rudyard Kipling, *The Jungle Book* (London: Macmillan, 1965), 45–83.
34. Mowgli's education reprises motifs discussed in Derrida's *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, 20. It is on the basis of his fault, or lack, that man is made a subject who becomes "master of nature and of the animal." Derrida cites the story of man's creation in Plato's *Protagoras* 320c–322a. There Epimetheus equips every species of animal with a suitable covering, weapons, and means of locomotion, such as fins, hoofs, or wings. But in an oversight, he leaves only man "naked, unshod, unbedded, and unarmed." To preserve man, Epimetheus' brother Prometheus steals for him *techne* (skill in the arts) together with fire. Man, Derrida writes, thus "claims in a single stroke *his property* . . . ([which is] not to have anything that is proper to him), and his *superiority* to what is called animal life." On Mowgli's arrival among the animals, he is a "naked cub" (Kipling, *Jungle Book*, 21). Baloo the bear undertakes his education, teaching him all the "Master Words" (except that of the snakes, for which he goes to Hathi

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the elephant, as Baloo cannot pronounce it), to give him the means to seek protection in his weakness. Eventually, it is his command of fire that enables him to defeat his adversary the tiger Shere Khan. Christie Harner reads Mowgli's education through Deleuze as an instance of becoming animal ("The 'Animality' of Speech and Translation in The Jungle Books," in *Victorians and Their Animals: Beasts on a Leash*, ed. Brenda Ayres [New York: Routledge, 2018], 188–206, at 194–6). Tess Cosslett writes that "Human and animal are related, but knowing the words is also a kind of trick, by which Mowgli compels the animals to do his will" (*Talking Animals in British Children's Fiction, 134*).

35. Jessica Straley writes of Mowgli as "an encyclopedia of the animal kingdom, [who] can be every animal at once" (*Evolution and Imagination in Victorian Children's Literature*, 125). For discussion of this conception of the human in Romantic-era writing by Rousseau and Herder, see Ian Duncan, *Human Forms: The Novel in the Age of Evolution* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019), 44–5. See also Agamben on the "anthropological machine . . .an ironic apparatus that verifies the absence of a nature proper to *homo*" (*The Open*, 29).
36. Mario Ortiz-Robles, "Liminanimal: The Monster in Late Victorian Gothic Fiction," *European Journal of Victorian Studies* 19, no. 1 (2015): 10–23. The animality of the monster is nonetheless not a wholly new motif in late Victorian Gothic. As Maureen McLane notes, Frankenstein finds materials in the slaughterhouse as well as the dissecting room, implying that his creature is a chimera whose parts come from animals of more than one species (*Romanticism and the Human Sciences*, 87). And Bertha Mason, the monster of *Jane Eyre* (1847), is also animalized, not least by being deprived of speech.
37. Christopher Craft, "'Kiss Me with Those Red Lips': Gender and Inversion in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*," *Representations* 8 (1984), 107–33.
38. Talia Schaffer, "'A Wilde Desire Took Me': The Homoerotic History of *Dracula*," *English Literary History* 61, no. 2 (1994): 381–425, at 412.
39. As J. Halberstam and Jules Zanger have shown, aspects of Dracula's character and appearance echo anti-Semitic stereotypes. See Jules Zanger, "A Sympathetic Vibration: Dracula and the Jews," *English Literature in Transition* 34, no. 1 (1991): 33–44, on *Dracula* and the blood libel, and J. Halberstam, "Technologies of Monstrosity: Bram Stoker's *Dracula*," *Victorian Studies* 36, no. 3 (1993): 332–52, for a Foucauldian reading closer to my own. In my view, however, Dracula does not stand only for Jews, but rather for the more general concept of an invading population.
40. Franco Moretti writes, "Dracula is at once the final product of the bourgeois century and its negation" (*Signs Taken for Wonders*, 93).
41. Dracula is literally the whitest man in the novel.
42. On the late Victorian figure of the typewriter girl, see Christopher Keep, "The Cultural Work of the Type-Writer Girl," *Victorian Studies* 40, no. 3 (1997):

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401–26. On *Dracula*, typewriting, and consumer capitalism, see Jennifer Wicke, "Vampiric Typewriting: *Dracula* and Its Media," *English Literary History* 59, no. 2 (1992): 467–93.

43. Schaffer, "'A Wilde Desire Took Me,'" 419, reads the boy as conceived by the mingling of fluids throughout the novel that culminates in Dracula and Quincy's simultaneous deaths.
44. Jules Law discusses the bedroom scene in *Dracula* as part of his argument that the figure of vampirism haunts breastfeeding in the Victorian period; see *The Social Life of Fluids: Blood, Milk, and Water in the Victorian Novel* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), 164.
45. Emily Steinlight, *Populating the Novel: Literary Form and the Politics of Surplus Life* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018), 221.
46. Catherine Gallagher argues that modernism (including Freud) "assimilated from comparative anthropology . . . the Malthusian obsession with fertility metamorphosed into a theory of the symbolic" (*The Body Economic*, 172).
47. In this second model, the distinction between conscious, unconscious, and preconscious ideas is supplemented by the differentiation of the psychic agencies of the ego, id, and superego.
48. Frank Sulloway, *Freud, Biologist of the Mind* (New York: Basic Books, 1979), 254, identifies two passages in Freud's early writing where he refers to "the problem of Malthusianism" as a term for attempts to limit family size.
49. Freud's use of evidence about the organization of so-called primitive societies in Australia, the South Pacific, and North America to explain clinical evidence in case histories of children and neurotics is made possible by the belief generally held among late nineteenth-century scientists that ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny. This idea was introduced in biology by Ernst Haekel, who proposed that the foetal development of individual organisms recapitulates the evolutionary history of the species to which they belong. Darwin did not accept Haekel's theory as a necessary law of development, but it nonetheless became an axiom in late nineteenth-century biology, and subsequently for the emerging sciences of anthropology and sociology that made biological evolution a paradigm for the historical study of human societies. For the idea's history, see Stephen Jay Gould, *Ontogeny and Phylogeny* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977). Recapitulation theory was omnipresent in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century science, and it is the basis of Freud's argument in *Totem and Taboo*, which he presents as "a comparison between the psychology of primitive people, as it is taught by social anthropology, and the psychology of neurotics" (13:1) – which in Freud's view, was invariably formed by fixation of the libido on an object-choice from childhood.
50. In a discussion of Darwin and Freud as theorists of desire, Robert Azzarello writes of *Totem and Taboo* as "an analysis of species differentiation" and "a

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meditation on species interaction" in which "the totem animal for Freud reveals a human desire for other species" ("Desiring Species with Darwin and Freud," in *Affective Ecocriticism: Emotion, Embodiment, Environment*, ed. Kyle Bladow and Jennifer Ladino (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2018), 177–93, at 189.

51. For Lacan, the animal can leave a false trace, but cannot lie by feigning to leave a false trace.
52. Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, 54. For a reading of *Dracula* through Freud's *Totem and Taboo*, in which the vampire is an avatar of Freud's primal father, see Laurence Rickels, *The Vampire Lectures* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 32, 40–5.
53. See, for instance, Freud's remark at the end of the Schreber case history on the "striking conformity" between Schreber's paranoid delusions and his own libido theory (12:78–9).
54. For discussion of these images, see Whitney Davis, "Sigmund Freud's Drawing of the Dream of the Wolves," *Oxford Art Journal* 15, no. 2 (1992): 70–87. Davis connects their representations of trees to the branching schema of phylogeny in Darwin's *Origin* and subsequent works by Ernst Haekel and George Romanes.
55. The parents, Freud writes, were "half undressed"; in a note he adds, "in white underclothes: the *white* wolves" (17:37). On the ambiguous nudity of animals, who are both nude and incapable of nudity, see Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, 4–5. The parents in Freud's construction of the primal scene who are neither covered nor undressed share this ambiguity with the wolves that stand in for them.
56. The moments in Freud's work when he has recourse to foreign languages to discuss matters he expects his readers will find shocking comprise a bestiary in themselves. In the case history of Dora, for instance, Freud explains that he calls sexual acts and parts of the body by their common names – and shifts into French: "J'appelle un chat un chat" (7:48). Though the cat in this commonplace is itself presumably a euphemism, the animal here as so often in Freud blinks into view both as that which cannot properly be named and as that which can be named only as a stand-in for something else.
57. Freud quotes Darwin's discussion in chapter 20 of *The Descent of Man*, 659. "Horde" is Freud's own term – Darwin refers only to "small communities."

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