TESS AND L'ABBE MOURET:
A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF HARDY AND ZOLA

by

D.G. MASON
B.A., University of Victoria, 1988

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT

OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

ACCEPTED [redacted]

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department

of

English

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

[redacted]

(N.C. Smith)

(M.K. Louis)

(D.J. Turton)

(W.T. Wooley)

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA

CONTENTS

Supervisor: Professor Nelson C. Smith

ABSTRACT

The question of Zola's influence on the later novels of Thomas Hardy stands, as William Newton points out in his important essay, "Hardy and the Naturalists," "in a state of considerable confusion, owing in the main to the great number of fragmentary and unsupported assertions already on record." The following thesis attempts to deal with many of the misconceptions, errors and prejudices that have, to a large degree, coloured the critical history of this question.

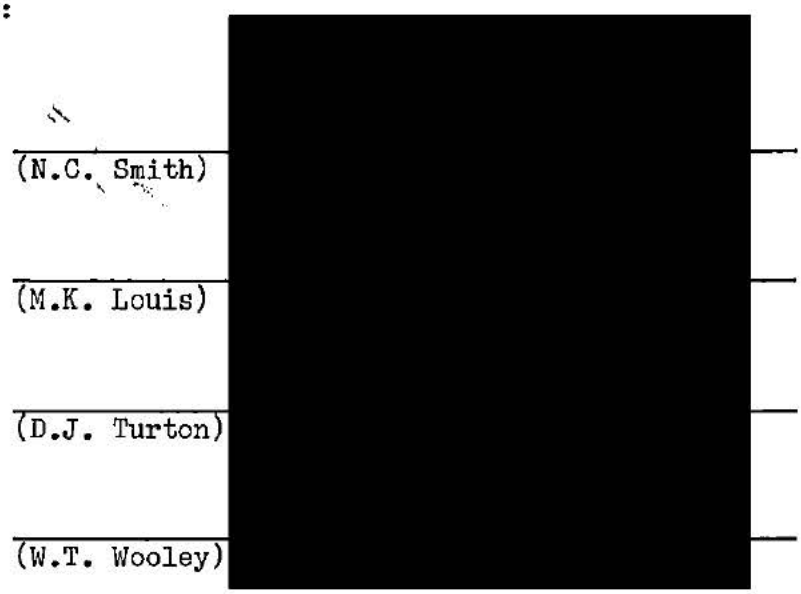
The first chapter, "Hardy, Zola, and England: To 1885," deals first with Zola's early literary reception in Victorian England, and then attempts to describe something of Hardy's own development to 1885, when, as the evidence suggests, he first came to read the novels of his famous French contemporary.

The second chapter, "The Doll of English Fiction," continues through to about 1891, and discusses at some length the problems posed by literary censorship in the England of the 1880s and 90s, with specific reference to the trials of Henry Vizetelly, Zola's English translator. The primary concern in these first two chapters is on determining, so far as is possible, the nature of Hardy's understanding of and reaction to both the theoretical and the fictional writings of Émile Zola. Much of the commentary is therefore based on the critical writings of Hardy and his contemporaries, rather than on the later perceptions of modern criticism. The emphasis is on determining a factual basis for a study of influence, and is consistently centred around such basic questions as "what Hardy read and when he read it." Much reference is made throughout to Hardy's letters and notebooks, as well as to his two critical essays, "Candour in English Fiction" (1890) and "The Science of Fiction" (1891).

The third chapter, "Tess and l'Abbé Mouret," provides a detailed analysis based on specific comparisons of scenes and characters within the two novels, before moving on to a more open consideration of the two authors' common use of symbolic imagery in Tess of the d'Urbervilles and La Faute de l'Abbé Mouret.

Finally, as is suggested by the title of this thesis, some further questions are raised which still need to be addressed, allowing for the future development of this thesis into a more extensive study of the relationship between the novels of these two important authors.

Examiners:



Chaos, Cosmos! Cosmos, Chaos! once again the sickening game . . .

Authors--essayist, atheist, novelist, realist, rhymester, play your part,
Paint the mortal shame of nature with the living hues of Art.

Rip your brothers' vices open, strip your own foul passions bare;
Down with Reticence, down with Reverence--forward--naked--
    let them stare.

Feed the budding rose of boyhood with the drainage of your sewer;
Send the drain into the fountain, lest the stream should issue pure.

Set the maiden fancies wallowing in the troughs of Zolaism,--
Forward, forward, ay and backward, downward too into the abysm.

Do your best to charm the worst, to lower the rising race of men;
Have we risen from out the beast, then back into the beast again?

--Tennyson, "Locksley Hall Sixty
Years After"

CHAPTER ONE:
HARDY, ZOLA, AND ENGLAND: TO 1885

The year 1840 bears a double significance in the literary annals of France and England. In that year, on opposite sides of the English channel, Émile Zola and Thomas Hardy were born. And, as William Newton notes, the question of Hardy's relation to naturalism in general, and to Zola in particular, "takes on an added interest if we recall that Hardy's career as a novelist was almost exactly contemporaneous with the rise, flowering, and fading of French naturalism. The year 1871 saw the publication of both Desperate Remedies and La Fortune des Rougon,"[1] the opening book of the Rougon-Macquart series. Zola completed his twenty-volume series in 1893; two years later, in 1895, Hardy finished work on his final novel, Jude the Obscure.[2]

Almost from the beginning, a strong relationship between the two men's work has been suggested. Contemporary reviewers of Hardy's later novels were especially adept at drawing attention to their "Zolaesque flavour." An early review of Tess of the d'Urbervilles remarks that Hardy's novel is "coloured throughout with

[1]William Newton, "Hardy and the Naturalists: Their Use of Physiology," Modern Philology August, 1951: 29.

[2]Florence Emily Hardy, The Later Years of Thomas Hardy (London: MacMillan and Co., Limited, 1930) 37-8.

Zolaism"[3] and a contemporary review of Jude notes that "Mr. Hardy has long been creeping nearer and nearer to the fruit which has been so profitable to the French novelist."[4] His biographer Robert Gittings relates that even the first Mrs. Hardy did not wish "T.H. to be hand-in-glove with Zola." Gittings continues, "to Emma, Hardy himself in Jude was both irreligious and immoral, and in both like Zola."[5]

Modern criticism has to varying degrees carried on the tradition of suggesting some vague kind of common bond between the two authors, though scholarly attempts to analyze the evidence for such a comparison have been strangely lacking. In The Human Pair in the Work of Thomas Hardy, Pierre d'Exideuil refers to Hardy's "indebtedness to Zola,"[6] and in Good Little Thomas Hardy, C.H. Salter writes,

[3]Guardian (London) 27 January, 1892: 134.

[4]Robert Yelverton Tyrrell, Fortnightly Review June, 1896: 858. For additional contemporary reviews comparing Hardy to Zola see D.F. Hannigan, Westminster Review December 1892: 655-9; Mrs. Oliphant, Blackwood's Magazine March 1892: 464-74; D.F. Hannigan, Westminster Review January, 1896: 136-9; Edmund Gosse, Cosmopolis January, 1896: 60-9; and Dorothy Leighton, The Daily Chronicle 13 January 1896: 3.

[5]Robert Gittings, The Older Hardy (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1980) 116-7.

[6]Pierre d'Exideuil, The Human Pair in the Work of Thomas Hardy, trans. Felix W. Crosse (London: Humphrey Toulmin, n.d.) 29.

"There is a bluntness or coarseness in Hardy which becomes much more obvious in Tess and Jude, and this may be the effect of Zola and not only of a late recklessness or determination to be understood."[7] Perhaps the single article to approach the question with a high degree of scholarly analysis has been Newton's "Hardy and the Naturalists." Newton writes, "it is evident that the problem of Hardy's relation to French naturalism now stands in a state of considerable confusion, owing in the main to the great number of fragmentary and unsupported assertions already on record."[8] Newton's article, an extremely valuable comparative analysis of the use of physiology in Hardy and Zola, in many ways adds to the confusion by assuming Hardy's unlimited knowledge of Zola's novels in the original French texts, and by broadening his subject in an attempt to embrace literary naturalism as a whole, rather than by limiting it to a more specific discussion of Hardy and Zola.

In the pages that follow I will argue that a distinction between Zola and naturalism is essential to a true understanding of Hardy's perception of Zola's work. But first, in order to arrive at a clear understanding of Hardy's relation to Zola, it will be necessary to sketch the history of Zola's reception in the England of

[7]C.H. Salter, Good Little Thomas Hardy (London and Basingstoke: The MacMillan Press Ltd., 1981) 130.

[8]Newton 28.

the 1880s, as well as to establish something of Hardy's own development to 1885, when, as the evidence suggests, he first came into contact with the novels of his famous French contemporary.

Zola's impact on the English literary scene should not be underestimated. In 1896, Havelock Ellis writes:

> Zola's name--a barbarous, explosive name, like an anarchist's bomb--has been tossed about amid hoots and yells for a quarter of a century. In every civilised country we have heard of the man who has dragged literature into the gutter, who has gone down to pick up the filth of the streets, and has put it into books for the filthy to read. And in every civilised country his books have been read by the hundred thousand, whatever judgement must be passed on the millions who have drunk of this moral sewage.[9]

As Ellis goes on to suggest, the effect of Zola's literary reception in England was to spear-head a moral division within the Victorian reading public: on the one hand, Zola was decried as a "pornographer"[10] and an offender "against public morals;"[11] on the other hand, he was vigorously applauded for having "enlarged the field of the novel" and for having "brought the modern material world into fiction in a more

[9]Havelock Ellis, "Zola: The Man and his Work," The Savoy January 1896: 67.

[10]In The Older Hardy, Robert Gittings refers to Zola as "the stock pornographic symbol of the English 1890s." (116)

[11]The Times (London) 1 November 1888: 9.

definite and thorough manner than it [had] ever been brought before."[12] How far-reaching was the effect of Zola upon the Victorian sensibility is suggested by Tennyson's "Locksley Hall Sixty Years After." When the aging Tennyson wrote his poem in 1886, he was not simply "the dying actor" mouthing "his last upon the stage,"[13] but was, to a certain extent, utilizing his representative status as Poet Laureate to give voice to the outrage of an entire aging era.

In France, the outcry against "Zolaism" had been sounding steadily since the publication of L'Assommoir in 1876. In England, despite a relative unavailability of English translations, Zola's reputation as a novelist who "simply wallowed in immorality"[14] was firmly established by the early 1880s. In 1882, Andrew Lang wrote in The Fortnightly Review:

> Our country is left behind in what M. Zola calls the march of the great literary movement. The Russians have composed volumes on M. Zola. The Italians have produced, so M. Paul Alexis informs us in his recent biography of M. Zola, no less than fifteen works consecrated to his genius. He is relished in Denmark and Norway. M. de Sanctis has lectured on his novels in Naples. In Holland,

[12]Ellis 74-5.

[13]Lord Alfred Tennyson, "Locksley Hall Sixty Years After," The Poems of Tennyson, ed. Christopher Ricks, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (1886; Harlow, Essex: Longman Group UK Limited, 1987) 3: 155.

[14]Clarence R. Decker, "Zola's Literary Reputation in England," PMLA December 1934: 1145.

> Dutch professors have written volumes on M. Zola; and learned Germany has contributed freely to the new science of Zolaology. Spain is not altogether inert; America has purchased 100,000 volumes of a crude translation of Nana. England alone stands aloof from this vast movement. The cause of our isolation is only too obvious. Our unfortunate Puritanism, alas![15]

The first English translation of Zola, The Ladies' Paradise (Au Bonheur des Dames), was published by Tinsley Brothers in 1883.[16] Previous to this the only translated editions of Zola's works available in England were those of American origin. E.A. Vizetelly, the son of Zola's early English publisher, writes:

> Some American translations are ably done--that is well known--but the particular ones referred to were for the most part ridiculous, full of errors, and so defaced by excisions and alterations as to give no idea of what the books might be like in French.[17]

[15]Andrew Lang, "Émile Zola," The Fortnightly Review March 1, 1882: 439. For additional early English reviews of Zola see H. Schutz Wilson, "L'Assommoir," The Gentleman's Magazine December 1878: 737-49; Henry Norman, "Theories and Practice in Modern Fiction," The Fortnightly Review 1 December 1883: 870-86; and "Zola's Parisian Middle Class," The Scottish Review September 1883: 301-34. For a complete bibliography of writings on Zola see David Baguley, Bibliographie de la critique sur Émile Zola (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1976)

[16]Tinsley Brothers were also responsible for the publication of Desperate Remedies, Hardy's first published novel.

[17]Ernest Alfred Vizetelly, Émile Zola (1904; New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971) 242-3.

The following year, in 1884, Vizetelly & Co., the London-based publishing house founded by Henry Vizetelly, translated and issued editions of Zola's L'Assommoir and Nana. In response to the highly successful early sales of these two books, Vizetelly continued to issue further translations of Zola's novels over the next four years. By 1888, Vizetelly was able to list eighteen titles by Zola, capitalizing on the growing demand for cheap, reliable translations of the "Realistic Novels" of Émile Zola.[18] But coupled with the increasing demand for Zola's new brand of realism was a growing sense of outrage at the sordid brutality portrayed in such novels as L'Assommoir, Nana and Germinal. The English Puritanism referred to by Andrew Lang in 1882 soon surfaced in a series of reactionary reviews and essays meant to counter the increasing availability of the Vizetelly translations. For instance, W.S. Lilly writes in The Fortnightly Review in 1885:

> [Zola's] royal robes cover a cancer at the heart. M. Zola is wholly eaten up by that cancerous taint. Above the mud he never rises; it is his native element.[19]

A few pages later Lilly adds:

[18] For histories of the English translations of Zola see Graham King's Garden of Zola (London: Barrie and Jenkins Ltd., 1978) 370-415 and Angus Wilson's Émile Zola (London: Secker & Warburg, Ltd., 1952) 130-44.

[19] W.S. Lilly, "The New Naturalism," The Fortnightly Review August 1, 1885: 248.

> The New Naturalism . . . eliminates from man all but the ape and tiger. It leaves nothing but the bête humaine.[20]

Zola had "arrived" on the English literary scene. Like all forbidden fruit, Zola's novels were being consumed at a prodigious rate. Not only did Vizetelly & Co. issue editions of seventeen novels and a volume of short stories in four brief years, but, as Leon Edel points out, "the popularity of Zola's novels in England led to numerous reprintings within a few months of original publication."[21]

Henry James, though not without his reservations concerning Zola's achievements, nevertheless manages to give a clear indication of the type of literary "revolution" that Zola was spear-heading in England and America:

> A novelist with a system, a passionate conviction, a great plan--incontestable attributes of M. Zola--is not now to be easily found in England or the United States, where the story-teller's art is almost exclusively feminine, is mainly in the hands of timid (even when very accomplished) women, whose acquaintance with life is severely restricted, and who are not conspicuous for general views. The novel, among ourselves, is almost always addressed to young unmarried ladies, or at least always assumes them to be a large part of the novelist's public.
>
> This fact, to a French story-teller, appears, of course, a damnable restriction, and M. Zola would probably decline to take au sérieux any work produced

[20] Lilly 252.

[21] Leon Edel and Dan H. Laurence, ed., A Bibliography of Henry James (1957; Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1982) 205.

> under such unnatural conditions. Half of life is a sealed book to young unmarried ladies, and how can a novel be worth anything that deals only with half of life? How can a portrait be painted (in any way to be recognizable) of half a face? . . . These objections are perfectly valid, and it may be said that our English system is a good thing for virgins and boys, and a bad thing for the novel itself.[22]

Many of the restrictions placed upon the novelist were to a large degree the result of the old lending library system that directed the "moral scope" of the novel in Victorian England. In 1880, the circulating libraries held what amounted to a virtual monopoly on the booksellers' trade: what the libraries would not stock, the publishers would be hesitant to publish. A decade later the system was still firmly in place, though its hold on Victorian morality was beginning to lessen. The coming age of the single-volume "cheap" edition marked a new phase in the evolution of the novel, and, to a large degree, released the individual author from the moral constraints prescribed by the hitherto all-powerful libraries. E.A Vizetelly writes:

> Mr. George Moore, the novelist [for whom "Zola was accepted as the inspired teacher and guide"[23]], having found the circulating libraries opposed to some of his books,

[22]Henry James, "A review of Zola's novel Nana," The Parisian February 26, 1880: 6-7.

[23]Joseph Hone, The Life of George Moore (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1936) 74.

> protested vigorously against the three-volume system which placed English fiction at the libraries mercy. He held that all novels ought to be sold direct to the public, and many other writers agreed with him. Mr. Moore became one of Vizetelly & Co.'s authors, and the firm thereupon put the theory of direct sale to the public into practice. They abandoned the three-volume system altogether, issuing their new novels in one volume only; and it was Henry Vizetelly who fixed the price at six shillings, to be lowered, after the earlier editions, to three shillings and six pence--those being the figures which still prevail today [1904]. Doubtless the one volume system has not done all that was predicted for it, but it has certainly been an improvement on the old one, and it may be fairly claimed that Mr. George Moore and Henry Vizetelly were its pioneers.[24]

Vizetelly and Moore, determined to denounce "the irresponsible censorship exercised over literature,"[25] and largely influenced by Zola's expressed desire to "produire des œuvres fortes,"[26] set out to transform the moral restrictions dictated by the three-decker economy of the circulating libraries. After making a vigorous attack on "the narrow limits"[27] prescribed by "the custodian of national virtue"[28] in "A New Censorship of Literature,"[29] Moore

[24]Vizetelly, EZ 249-50.

[25]George Moore, Literature at Nurse, or Circulating Morals (London: Vizetelly & Co., 1885) 4.

[26]Émile Zola, Préface de la deuxième édition, Thérèse Raquin (1867; Paris: Fasquelle, n.d.) 13.

[27]Moore, Literature at Nurse 17. [28]Ibid 16.

[29]George Moore, "A New Censorship of Literature," Pall Mall Gazette December 10, 1884: 1.

wrote to Zola, "Selon vos conseils, j'ai attaqué notre système de librairie."[30] Zola's L'Assommoir and Nana were both issued in single volume form by Vizetelly in 1884, followed by Moore's A Mummer's Wife in 1885.

Hardy, as yet silent on the whole question of literary censorship, later added his voice to the mounting cry to release literature from the moral grasp of the "select" lending libraries. He writes in 1890, "The magazine in particular and the circulating library in general do not foster the growth of the novel which reflects and reveals life."[31] If Hardy's assessment of the state of publication, circulation and censorship as it existed in 1890 was "in part an outgrowth of the difficulties he had been having with Tess of the d'Urbervilles,"[32] it was also more deeply rooted in his long-standing struggle to portray human society with a greater degree of frankness than the contemporary system of publication and circulation would allow.

By 1890, Hardy had acquired a long history of confrontations with overscrupulous editors and still more fastidious critics.

[30]George Moore, "To Émile Zola," 12 January 1884, quoted in Guinevere L. Griest's Mudie's Circulating Library (Indiana: Indiana UP, 1970) 149.

[31]Thomas Hardy, "The Candour of English Fiction," Thomas Hardy's Personal Writings, ed. Harold Orel (1890; Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1966) 128.

[32]Harold Orel, ed., Thomas Hardy's Personal Writings 133.

As early on as The Poor Man and the Lady (1867-9), George Meredith had described the tendency of Hardy's writing as "being socialistic, not to say revolutionary,"[33] even "overtly hostile,"[34] "the author's views, in fact, being obviously those of a young man with a passion for reforming the world."[35] Hardy's first published poem, "The Fire at Tranter Sweatley's,"[36] had to be extensively bowdlerized by Hardy for its inclusion in The Gentleman's Magazine in 1875. Alexander MacMillan had rejected Desperate Remedies in 1871 on the grounds that it was "of far too sensational an order for us to think of publishing." MacMillan went on to say that "the book shows power --at present of a violent and undisciplined kind."[37] The Athenæum later reported that Hardy's novel contained "certain expressions . . . so remarkably coarse as to render it impossible that it should have come from the pen of an English lady." The reviewer concluded "that if the author will purge himself of this . . . occasional

[33]Florence Emily Hardy, The Early Life of Thomas Hardy (London: MacMillan and Co. Limited, 1928) 81.

[34]Michael Millgate, Thomas Hardy (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1982) 111.

[35]Hardy, EL 81.

[36]The Gentleman's Magazine November, 1875: 552-555, later republished as "The Bride-Night Fire."

[37]Quoted in Millgate, TH 126.

coarseness . . . we see no reason why he should not write novels only a little, if at all, inferior to the best of the present generation."[38] From these and other instances it would seem that Hardy was quite familiar with the various means by which literary "censorship" was at work within Victorian society, and that he was equally aware of the "immoral" tendencies that had been repeatedly criticized in his own work.

Hardy's early unschooled tendencies toward sensationalism, hostile social criticism and coarse terms of expression, so evident in the private and public notices of his early work, were soon to be schooled into suitable reserve, shaped into a form more palatable to his Victorian audience. Tracing the course of Hardy's evolution into respectability--and this is to suggest that his initial literary inclinations were slightly outside the moral limits of his contemporary reading public--is a complex and difficult task. He received instruction, such as it was, on his future choices of subject matter and on the acceptable standards of description and narration, from a variety of sources. Much of this advice came through the public and private notices of his work, as we have already seen. Probably the single most important early critic of Hardy's work, following Horace Moule, was Leslie Stephen. As the editor of Far from the

[38] The Athenæum April 1, 1871: 399. Note: Hardy's novel had been published anonymously.

Madding Crowd (1874), Stephen was largely responsible for suggesting to Hardy ways of shaping his narrative into a well-balanced piece of art. But Stephen, "the man whose philosophy was to influence [Hardy's] own for many years, indeed, more than that of any other contemporary,"[39] did not stop short of "purging" Hardy's work of the "occasional coarseness" and the touches of "sensationalism" and "hostility" that had coloured his earlier work. Robert Gittings writes:

> Even in this brave new world, there were pitfalls for the unsophisticated author, of a most unexpected and contradictory kind. Stephen, though agnostic and progressive, was deeply imbued with his Evangelical upbringing in one direction. This was sex. He had a puritan obsession, which he attempted as an editor to disguise by blaming it on the prejudices of the reading public. In March, Hardy had an ominous little note suggesting that Troy's seduction of Fanny Robin would have to be treated 'gingerly'. Stephen added, 'Excuse this wretched shred of concession to popular stupidity; but I am a slave'.[40]

At a later meeting in April of 1874, Stephen went on at some length concerning an "unexpected Grundian cloud"[41] that was gathering in reference to some subscriber reactions to the first installment of Madding Crowd. Robert Gittings adds, "The whole exhibition was clearly designed to warn Hardy against any dangerous frankness in

[39]Hardy, EL 132.

[40]Robert Gittings, Young Thomas Hardy (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1978) 276-77.

[41]Hardy, EL 130.

the ticklish later stages of the book."[42] Concluding their meeting, Stephen added, "'I spoke as an editor, not as a man. You have no more consciousness of these things than a child.'"[43] This schooling into respectability at a relatively innocent stage of Hardy's development, both as a man and as a novelist, was to have far-reaching effects in the years to come. As Hugh Kingsmill suggests in After Puritanism, it was not until Tess and Jude that "an attempt to return to a reasonable frankness was [made] by Thomas Hardy, whom the confusing atmosphere of the age sometimes compelled to write like Hall Caine and sometimes allowed to write like Shakespeare."[44]

The resounding popular and critical success of Far from the Madding Crowd firmly established Hardy on the treadmill of periodical publication. From 1875 to 1883 he produced five full-length novels, of which perhaps only one was remarkable for its strength and unity of mood and expression. While The Hand of Ethelberta (1876), The Trumpet-Major (1880), A Laodicean (1881) and Two on a Tower (1883) all contained passages of exceptional power and insight, only in The Return of the Native (1878) could Hardy be truly said to have "striven more deliberately than ever before to make the book an unmistakable work of art, not just another run-of-the-mill serial."[45]

[42]Gittings, YTH 277. [43]Hardy, EL 131.

[44]Hugh Kingsmill, After Puritanism (London: Duckworth, 1929) 116-7.

[45]Millgate, TH 198.

The constant demands of periodical publication began to take their toll on Hardy as early as 1878. Robert Gittings writes, "throughout their three-year lease [1878-1881], Hardy was clearly suffering from growing physical malaise, with lassitude and nervous fears, confirmed in autumn 1880 by a severe internal haemorrhage."[46] Much of A Laodicean was written while Hardy was "in considerable pain,"[47] or was dictated to Mrs. Hardy "from the awkward position he occupied,"[48] unable to move for fear of internal bleeding. Two on a Tower showed a marked improvement over A Laodicean, but, as Hardy himself admitted, "though the plan of the story was carefully thought out, the actual writing was lamentably hurried . . . It would have been rewritten for the book form if I had not played truant & gone off to Paris."[49]

What continually re-emerges from the Hardy biographies and letters of this important developmental period is a mounting inward sense of anxiety and disillusionment. Hardy's marriage of 1874 was already showing signs of serious failure. The rejection of Hardy's and J.W. Comyns Carr's dramatic adaptation of Madding Crowd in 1881,

[46]Gittings, OH 32. The Hardys leased their house on Arundel Terrace, near Wandsworth Common, from 1878 to 1881.

[47]Hardy, EL 188. [48]Ibid 188.

[49]Thomas Hardy, "To Edmund Gosse," 21 Jan. 1883, The Collected Letters of Thomas Hardy, ed. Richard Little Purdy and Michael Millgate, 6 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1978) 1: 114.

followed by its highly successful re-adaptation as The Squire by Arthur Pinero a few months later, drew Hardy into a "great newspaper controversy,"[50] which was to become the source of his serious annoyance. Michael Millgate explains, "the whole affair became increasingly distasteful to Hardy, not just because it had thrown up some uncomfortable plausible counter-charges of plagiarism against The Trumpet-Major and A Laodicean but because it made the entire business of authorship seem as abrasively and sordidly competitive as any other walk of life."[51]

Finally, a few months later, in 1882, "some wretched ungrammatical verses"[52] appeared in the London Society monthly, signed by "Thomas Hardy." The verses, of poor quality, were published complete with a forgery of Hardy's signature, and were an additional source of irritation and annoyance to Hardy, still recovering from his serious illness of the previous year. In reference to this incident, Hardy concludes a letter to W. Moy Thomas, "I seem doomed to squabbles this year!"[53]

Outwardly successful, Hardy was becoming inwardly torn by repression, resentment and a growing sense of rootlessness. In commencing to write The Mayor of Casterbridge in 1884, Hardy had

[50]Gittings, OH 60. [51]Millgate, TH 227.

[52]Thomas Hardy, "To W. Moy Thomas," 12 Aug. 1882, CL 1: 108.

[53]Ibid 108.

"realized the light-weight quality of his last three novels and was in the grip of one of his periodic wishes to improve his work, and to surpass himself as a writer."[54] He had "somehow lost his way"[55] and felt the need to "return to the material which he best knew and understood."[56] For Hardy, the return to Dorchester in 1883 marked not only a need to re-settle himself in a stable, familiar environment, away from the shifting life of London and its environs, but also underlined Hardy's need to re-define his literary goals, to re-affirm himself as a writer of great artistic merit, and not simply as "a good hand at a serial."[57]

[54]Gittings, OH 60. [55]Millgate, TH 234. [56]Ibid 234.

[57]Hardy, EL 131.

CHAPTER TWO:
THE DOLL OF ENGLISH FICTION

On December 31, 1891, Hardy wrote to H.W. Massingham, then literary editor of the Daily Chronicle[1]:

> Ever since I began to write--certainly ever since I wrote Two on a Tower in 1881--I have felt that the doll of English fiction must be demolished, if England is to have a school of fiction at all: & I think great honour is due to the D: Chronicle for frankly recognizing that the development of a more virile type of novel is not incompatible with sound morality.[2]

That Hardy should date his intentions to demolish "the doll of English fiction" from 1881 may in part result from a retrospective desire to advance his advent into "modernism" by a deft sleight-of-hand. In April 1883, an anonymous article had appeared in the Westminster Review, commending Hardy for his "vivid freshness"[3] and comparing the hero of A Pair of Blue Eyes with Goethe's Wilhelm Meister and Eliot's Daniel Deronda. Hardy later wrote to Havelock Ellis, the contributor of the article, thanking him for his praise, and writing:

[1] DNB 1922-1930: 566-568.

[2] Thomas Hardy, "To H.W. Massingham," 31 Dec. 1891, CL 1: 250.

[3] Havelock Ellis, "Thomas Hardy's Novels," Westminster Review April, 1883, rptd. in Thomas Hardy, The Critical Heritage, ed. R.G. Cox (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970) 104.

> The keen appreciativeness which the article discloses sets me thinking . . . in speaking of men of the Wilhelm Meister & Daniel Deronda class as being my favourite heroes, you are only saying in another way that these men are the modern men--the type to which the great mass of educated modern men of ordinary capacity are assimilating more or less.[4]

Ellis' early appreciation and defense of Hardy's work, coming as it did at a time when Hardy was beset with difficulties and doubts as to the current direction of his writings, may have been in part responsible in helping Hardy to define his own early perception of literary "modernism."[5] In any event, it seems safe to say that by 1883 Hardy was actively beginning to define his own perception of the "modern" novel, and that his sustained efforts to enlarge the intensity and depth of his art were soon to bear fruit in one of the major novels of his time.

The Mayor of Casterbridge (1886), issued in the same year as Tennyson's "Locksley Hall Sixty Years After," strikingly reflects

[4]Thomas Hardy, "To Havelock Ellis," 29 Apr. 1883, CL 1: 117-18.

[5]It is important to remember that Ellis was also a strong supporter of Zola in England. In addition to his article, "Zola: The Man and his Work" of 1896, Ellis also translated Zola's Germinal for the Lutetian Society in 1894. That the author of The Psychology of Sex should choose to applaud the works of both Hardy and Zola is hardly the result of coincidence. Ellis, in addition to being a major force in the changing perceptions of human sexuality and morality, was also an insightful and innovative literary critic with a keen eye for the "vigorous" and the "true." What Ellis seems to have admired most in his two fellow-writers was the "freshness" and the "vividness" of their impressions, and their relative abilities to approach a subject from a perspective not wholly bound by the conventions of the day.

its author's objective to produce "a more virile type of novel," a statement perhaps comparable to Zola's desire to "produire des œuvres fortes," while retaining a moral framework unmistakable in its tragic implications. In his introduction to the Penguin edition of The Mayor of Casterbridge, Martin Seymour-Smith compares the intent and effect of Hardy's novel with those of Zola and the naturalists:

> Naturalism, in its literary senses--which is too often confused with its philosophical, artistic, theatrical and theological usages--was the name given to a type of fiction which emphasized human brutality, cruelty, gloom, oppression and misfortune. It was a narrowing down of realism. Zola (whom Hardy met) was the leading naturalist, and even wrote a book setting out a programme for a 'scientific' fiction.[6] But he admitted that he did not wholly believe in this programme, and was, at heart, a novelist who gained his finest effects by creating vivid illusions of

[6]Seymour-Smith is referring to Zola's Le Roman Expérimental (1880), a collection of essays in which the novelist set forth his views on the experimental novel, morality in literature, and literary naturalism, as well as on a variety of other subjects. In an essay entitled, "Le naturalisme au theâtre," included in Le Roman Expérimental, Zola defines naturalism as follows: "Le naturalisme, c'est le retour à la nature, c'est cette opération que les savants ont faite le jour où ils se sont avisés de partir de l'étude des corps et des phénomènes, de se baser sur l'expérience, de procéder par l'analyse. Le naturalisme, dans les lettres, c'est également le retour à la nature et à l'homme, l'observation directe, l'anatomie exacte, l'acceptation et la peinture de ce qui est." [Émile Zola, Le Roman Expérimental (Paris: Bibliothèque-Charpentier, 1923) 114-5.] The return to nature, the return to "truth" in nature

Note continued on the following page

> 'reality' and buttressing them not only with accurate factual detail but also with a symbolism which is imbued with romanticism (often decadent in spirit) and a perfervid sexuality. Hardy's alleged gloom and his refusal to ignore 'animal passions' looked and look 'naturalist', especially to literal-minded critics who specialize in 'movements' rather than individual authors. But his impulses were never scientific. He may seem to want to show that the Fates are indifferent; but, significantly, he is very superstitious about the Fates --and he is really looking for a pattern, for meaning.[7]

Seymour-Smith rightly hints at one of the major problems in any comparative discussion of Zola and Hardy: the tendency to equate Zola directly with literary naturalism, with the common effect of seeming to portray Hardy as a type of latter-day English naturalist. In "The Science of Fiction," his lengthy reaction to Zola and to the whole phenomenon of literary naturalism, Hardy writes:

> The most devoted apostle of realism, the sheerest naturalist, cannot escape, any more than the withered old gossip over her fire, the exercise of Art in his labour of telling a tale.[8]

[6](cont'd) and in man, forms the crux of Zola's theoretical argument. His insistence on strict observation and anatomical analysis, on what Hardy termed, "Scientific Realism," (see page 27 of the present study) drew severe criticism from many of his contemporaries. Le Roman Expérimental may well have been written partly in defense of Nana (1880) which had drawn cries of immorality and obscenity against the author earlier that year and partly as a form of self-advertisement, to which Zola was certainly not adverse (see Vizetelly, EZ 163-165).

[7]Martin Seymour-Smith, introduction, The Mayor of Casterbridge by Thomas Hardy (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1978) 17.

[8]Hardy, "The Science of Fiction," PW 134.

As Lennart Björk remarks in his edition of the Hardy notebooks:

> Hardy does not seem to make any distinctions between 'naturalism' and 'realism' . . . for instance, the 'most devoted apostle of realism' and 'the sheerest naturalist' appear to be synonymous concepts, equally applicable to Zola, who, however, also is a romancer.[9]

Hardy's seemingly synonymous use of the terms "realism" and "naturalism," and his description of Zola as a "romancer" in "The Science of Fiction," may at first seem odd to the modern reader, especially to those only familiar with Zola's novels through the English translations of his works, but to Hardy and his contemporaries, the leading writer of the French naturalist school was often simply a romantic with a strong bent for realism, and an equally strong, though unfortunately misguided, bent for literary theory.[10] As Henry James noted as early as 1884, "M. Zola . . . reasons less powerfully than he represents."[11] Even George Moore, quite possibly that "most devoted apostle of realism"

[9]Lennart A. Björk, ed., The Literary Notebooks of Thomas Hardy 2 vols. (London and Basingstoke: The MacMillan Press Ltd., 1985) 1: 385.

[10]In addition to Le Roman Expérimental (1880), Zola also wrote a number of other critical and theoretical works, of which Mes Haines (1866), Une Campagne (1880-1881), Les Romanciers Naturalistes (1881) and Nouvelle Campagne (1896) are perhaps the most important collections.

[11]Henry James, "The Art of Fiction," Partial Portraits (1884; London: MacMillan and Co., Limited, 1899) 399.

referred to by Hardy, once wrote:

> Zola's novels are poems, and have nothing to do with realism. If you seek a synthesis, you pass from observation into poetry and philosophy, and Zola's work is as obviously and as wholly synthetical as Victor Hugo's.[12]

Moore concludes:

> Midnight is dark outside, and the sleepers do not yet know that it is M. Zola who knocks at their doors with the lamp of Romance.[13]

Moore's view of Zola as a romantic was certainly not unique. Guy de Maupassant, whose early relations with Zola[14] give his comments on the author of Les Rougon-Macquart an added interest, writes of Zola in Les Célébrités Contemporaines:

> Fils des romantiques, romantique lui-même dans tous ses procédés, il porte en lui une tendance au poème, un besoin de grandir, de grossir, de faire des symboles avec les êtres et les choses . . . Ses enseignements et ses œuvres sont éternellement en désaccord.[15]

[12]George Moore, "Le Rêve," Impressions and Opinions (London: David Nutt, 1891) 122-3.

[13]Ibid 129.

[14]Maupassant's first published short story, "Boule de Suif," was written for inclusion in Les Soirées de Médan (1880), a collection of tales written by Zola and five of his younger "disciples" with the common theme of being set during the Franco-Prussian war.

[15]Guy de Maupassant, Études, Chroniques et Correspondance (Paris: Librairie de France, 1938) 82.

Even Zola himself, in L'Œuvre, the most autobiographical of his novels,[16] argues:

> Our generation has been soaked up to the stomach in romanticism, and we have remained impregnated with it. It is in vain that we wash ourselves and take baths of reality, the stain is obstinate, and all the scrubbing in the world won't take its smell away.[17]

That Zola himself recognized the romantic strain that coloured much of his work is only too obvious. The author of La Faute de l'Abbé Mouret, Le Rêve and Une Page d'Amour knew well the meaning of romance, and though he preferred "reality," his books were rarely free from the "taint" of romanticism. After all, Zola had been raised on Victor Hugo and Alfred de Musset[18] as much as Hardy had been on Shelley and Keats.[19]

Hardy himself, again in "The Science of Fiction," clearly recognized the inadequacy of attempting to apply a strict definition to the body of Zola's work:

[16]Robert Sherard, the earliest of Zola's English biographers, writes: "L'Œuvre : . . is of especial interest to the admirers of this author by reason of the fact that in Sandoz Zola gives a portrait by himself of himself." [Robert Sherard, Émile Zola (London: Chatto & Windus, 1893) 224.]

[17]Émile Zola, His Masterpiece (London: Vizetelly & Co., 1886) 365. Note: All references to the novels of Zola are, where applicable, to the translated editions used by Hardy.

[18]See Vizetelly, EZ 43-4 and Zola, His Masterpiece 39.

[19]See Hardy, EL 171-2, 248, etc.

> Realism is an unfortunate, an ambiguous word, which has been taken up by literary society like a view-halloo, and has been assumed in some places to mean copyism, and in others pruriency, and has led to two classes of delineators being included in one condemnation.
>
> Just as bad a word is one used to express a consequence of this development, namely 'brutality,' a term which, first applied by French critics, has since spread over the English school like the other. It aptly hits off the immediate impression of the thing meant; but it has the disadvantage of defining impartiality as a passion, and a plan as a caprice. It certainly is very far from truly expressing the aims and methods of conscientious and well-intentioned authors who, notwithstanding their excesses, errors, and rickety theories, attempt to narrate the 'vérité vraie.'
>
> To return for a moment to the theories of the scientific realists. Every friend to the novel should and must be in sympathy with their error, even while distinctly perceiving it. Though not true, it is well founded. To advance realism as complete copyism, to call the idle trade of story-telling a science, is the hyperbolic flight of an admirable enthusiasm, the exaggerated cry of an honest reaction from the false, in which the truth has been impetuously approached and overleapt in fault of lighted on.[20]

In keeping with Seymour-Smith's view that we too often tend to "specialize in 'movements' rather than individual authors," modern literary criticism, especially in the English-speaking world, has tended to consider Zola almost exclusively as the founder and the main proponent and practitioner of literary naturalism. As Harold Orel, editor of Hardy's Personal Writings, notes, one of the main interests of "The Science of Fiction" lies in "the fact that Hardy took direct notice of the disparity between theory and practice in

[20]Hardy, "The Science of Fiction," PW 136.

Zola's case."[21] Naturalism, and the experimental novel, as defined by Zola (see note p. 22-3) were, to Hardy, "the exaggerated cry of an honest reaction from the false." It is quite clear that he opposed a literal acceptance of what he regarded as Zola's "rickety" theoretical position, but it is equally clear that he sympathized with and applauded his fellow-author for his good intentions, his conscientiousness, and for his attempts to narrate the "vérité vraie."

A keen example of Hardy's sympathy for Zola is instanced by an item recorded in Hardy's "1867" notebook. Under the heading, "[Examp . . . of more-true-than-truth:-]," Hardy quotes a passage from Zola's Germinal:[22] "A warm odour of woman arose from the trodden grass."[23] Again, in "The Science of Fiction," Hardy asserts that to achieve the "more truthful than truth," the "vérité vraie," is "the just aim of Art."[24]

Hardy's strong sympathy for Zola's fiction then counter-balanced his incontrovertible scepticism concerning the theoretical basis of what he termed "scientific realism." In a further instance from the

[21]Orel, ed., PW 138.

[22]Lennart Björk makes this point in LN 2: xxiv.

[23]Björk, LN 2: 475.

[24]Hardy, PW 134. Note: Although the terms "vérité vraie" and "more-true-than-truth" are not completely synonymous, both are applied by Hardy to Zola's writings in such a way as to appear that Hardy used the terms interchangably.

notebooks, Hardy quotes at length from an article by Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé, entitled, "De la littérature réaliste, à propos du roman russe," in the Revue des Deux Mondes (15 May 1886):

> If M. Zola impresses us with indisputable power, it is owing to epic qualities which he cannot do away with in himself. In his novels the realist part is frail: he subjugates us by the old means of romanticism, in creating a synthetic monster, animated with formidable instincts, who feeds its own life upon the real--a garden, a hall, a cabaret, a mine. I was going to add, a cathedral, (in Notre Dame) so much is this work of idealization identical with that of V. Hugo. The realistic apparel seems rather to hamper the epic poet, to be a concession to the tastes of the epoch.[25]

Finally, again in "The Science of Fiction," Hardy writes:

> As this theory of the need for the exercise of the Dædalian faculty for selection and cunning manipulation has been disputed, it may be worth while to examine the contrary position. That it should ever have been maintained by such a romancer as M. Zola, in his work on the Roman Expérimental, seems to reveal an obtuseness to the disproof conveyed in his own novels . . . but to maintain in theory what he abandons in practice, to subscribe to rules and to work by instinct, is a proceeding not confined to the author of Germinal and La Faute de l'Abbé Mouret.[26]

There is clearly a need, especially when speaking of Zola in connection with Hardy, to dissociate the fiction from the theoretical

[25]Björk, LN 1: 221-2. The above translation is Hardy's own.

[26]Hardy, PW 134-5.

writings, and to approach the novels anew, in an attempt to evaluate, so far as is possible, Hardy's own understanding of Zola's work. To simply label Zola as the leader of the French naturalist school is clearly inadequate, given the romantic context in which Hardy clearly placed Zola's Germinal and l'Abbé Mouret. Even Seymour-Smith, while distinguishing between Zola and naturalism, fails to fully grasp the significance of Hardy's evident sympathy with his fellow-author. Moreover, Seymour-Smith describes Zola's novels in terms that are inconsistent with the views of either man by implying that Zola "admitted" that his work was "imbued" with a "decadent romanticism" and a "perfervid sexuality."

Zola admitted no such thing. In fact, he was always emphatic in his insistence that his novels maintained a strong moral outlook, in much the same manner that Hardy was insistent that "the development of a more virile type of novel was not incompatible with sound morality." For instance, Zola wrote in his original preface to L'Assommoir:

> C'est de la morale en action, simplement . . . Ah! si l'on savait combien mes amis s'égayent de la légende stupéfiante dont on amuse la foule! Si l'on savait combien le buveur de sang, le romancier féroce, est un digne bourgeois, un homme d'étude et d'art, vivant sagement dans son coin, et dont l'unique ambition est de laisser une œuvre aussi large et aussi vivante qu'il pourra![27]

[27]Émile Zola, préface, L'Assommoir (1877; Paris: Charpentier, 1928) vi-vii.

In an interview with Robert Sherard in 1893, following the completion of Le Docteur Pascal, the final volume of the Rougon-Macquart series, Zola gave a clear rebuttal to the charges of "immorality," "indecency," and "depravity" which had by now become stock bywords for both Zola and literary Zolaism:

> I don't suppose that the public in England will understand this, but it amuses me because I am able to defend myself in [Le Docteur Pascal] against all the accusations which have been brought against me. Pascal's work on the members of his family is, in small, what I have attempted to do on humanity, 'to show all so that all may be cured' . . . with Dr. Pascal as a mouthpiece, I am able to vindicate and to justify myself . . . People, especially in England, have accused me of being a pornographer. This I shall refute through Pascal. It has been said that all my characters are rascals--people of bad lives. Pascal will explain that this is not so. I have been charged with a lack of tender-heartedness . . . Pascal will show that this is not so.[28]

Hardy, like Zola, was extremely defensive in his insistence on the high moral grounding of his works. When the scandal over Jude the Obscure broke in 1896, following the incident where "the Bishop of Wakefield announced in a letter to the papers that he had thrown Thomas Hardy's novel into the fire,"[29] Hardy simply reflected that "the ethical teaching of the novel, even if somewhat

[28]Émile Zola, interview, quoted by E.A. Vizetelly, preface, Doctor Pascal by Émile Zola (London: Chatto & Windus, 1893) xi-xii.

[29]Hardy, LY 48.

crudely put, was as high as that of any of the Bishop's sermons--."[30] Hardy could only conclude by referring to Macaulay's remark in his essay on Byron: "'We know of no spectacle so ridiculous as the British public in one of its periodic fits of morality.'"[31]

It is clear that neither man saw his work as either immoral or decadent in whole or in part, and it seems equally evident from a close reading of "The Science of Fiction" that Hardy, at least in the early 1890s, in no way regarded his fellow-author in such unsympathetic terms as Seymour-Smith would seem to suggest. It is now necessary to determine a clearer understanding of Hardy's perception of Zola, seen in the context of Hardy's own development, and to further determine the nature of his response.

Where Seymour-Smith errs, and he errs seriously on at least two accounts, is first in even attempting to discuss Zola and naturalism in relation to The Mayor of Casterbridge. As we have already seen, Hardy's growing sense of disillusionment and resentment throughout the early years of the 1880s, marked by his serious illness of 1881, his lacklustre performances in The Trumpet-Major and A Laodicean, and the general "cooling off" of his critical reputation throughout these years, prompted him to embark on one of his periodic bouts "to improve his work, and to surpass himself

[30]Ibid 48. [31]Ibid 39.

as a writer."[32] The resulting novel, The Mayor of Casterbridge, as Robert Gittings remarks, is astounding for its "leap forward in power, purpose and construction."[33]

Hardy had begun work on his novel early in 1884 and finished it on April 17, 1885.[34] Periodical publication began on January 2, 1886, and the novel was finally issued complete in book form in May of that year.[35] The evidence suggested by the catalogued holdings of Hardy's personal library, and by the quotations from Zola recorded in Hardy's notebooks, lead Lennart Björk to surmise that Hardy began reading Zola no earlier than 1885. The chance of Hardy's initial reading of the French author having a major effect on his near-completed novel is unlikely, even in the equally unlikely chance that he had obtained and read either La Faute de l'Abbé Mouret or Germinal before completing his novel in April of that year.[36] Furthermore, as we have already seen, the English translations of Zola had only begun to appear in 1883 and 1884. In January of 1885, there were still only three English translations of Zola's novels available in England, Au Bonheur des Dames, L'Assommoir and Nana. The

[32]Gittings, OH 60. [33]Ibid 65. [34]Hardy, EL 219-23.

[35]Ibid 231-5.

[36]I have been unable as yet to ascertain the exact date of publication of the translated editions of either l'Abbé Mouret or Germinal. If both were issued after April 1885, it would be possible to draw a more conclusive argument against any influence of Zola on The Mayor of Casterbridge.

comparatively late availability of the English translations in relation to the French originals meant that Hardy was most probably unfamiliar with Zola's work (except through secondary sources) until a later date than has perhaps been commonly assumed.

It should be noted that, although Hardy chose to read Zola in English, he was fairly well-versed in his reading of the French language. Having begun his study of French at the age of fifteen,[37] Hardy maintained a lifelong interest in French language and literature, but it is apparent from his library holdings that, at least in his reading of Zola, given a choice between a French text and an English translation, he was more likely to choose the translated text. This is an important point, not only because Hardy's familiarity with Zola's novels was delayed because of the early unavailability of translations, but also because the little critical work that has been done in this area has tended to assume that Hardy read Zola exclusively in French.[38] This false assumption makes a radical difference in the way we view the question of Zola's influence.

It is perhaps now appropriate to discuss the evidence for

[37]Hardy, EL 32.

[38]Besides Björk's comments on Zola in the Hardy notebooks, William Newton's article, "Hardy and the Naturalists" (1951), is perhaps the only serious scholarly work that directly addresses the question of Hardy's relation to Zola at any length. Newton, by quoting randomly from the French editions of Zola implies not only that Hardy read Zola in French, but also that he had read more extensively in the French author's works than the contents of his library would seem to suggest.

determining what novels of Zola Hardy read, as first suggested by Lennart Björk. The novels catalogued in Hardy's library, either in the translated editions of Vizetelly & Co. or in the later Chatto & Windus editions, translated by Henry Vizetelly's son, E.A. Vizetelly,[39] include Germinal (1885), Abbé Mouret's Transgression (1885), His Masterpiece (1886), The Dream (1893), The Downfall (1896) and Rome (1896).[40] In addition, Hardy also quotes at length from the French edition of La Terre[41] and refers both to Le Roman Expérimental and to contemporary criticism of

[39]Vizetelly & Co., under the editorship of Henry Vizetelly, issued editions of Zola's novels between 1884 and 1888, as has been discussed in the opening chapter. There was a three-year hiatus in further translations between 1888 and 1891 following Vizetelly's conviction on a charge of obscene libel in connection with the Zola translations, after which E.A. Vizetelly, Henry Vizetelly's son, re-edited and re-issued many of the earlier texts and recommenced the translation of Zola's later novels for Chatto & Windus. Between 1891 and Zola's death in 1902, Vizetelly continued to translate each new novel concurrently with its French publication, so that the date of the English releases more or less directly corresponds with those of the French originals for those novels translated after 1891.

[40]Björk, LN 1: 385. The corresponding French titles are Germinal, La Faute de l'Abbé Mouret, L'Œuvre, Le Rêve, La Débâcle, and Rome. Rome is the second book of the "Trois Villes" series, and hence is different in nature from the others, which are all from the "Rougon-Macquart" series.

[41]Ibid 208. If Hardy did read La Terre in the original French text, and the instance of his lengthy quotation from that work makes this seem likely, it was probably because the Vizetelly edition, The Soil, had been completely withdrawn from sale in Britain almost immediately after its publication in 1888, and all the remaining stock had been destroyed as a result of the first Vizetelly trial. La Terre was not re-issued in an English translation in Britain during Hardy's lifetime. See Graham King, The Garden of Zola 402.

L'Assommoir, though Hardy's copies of these works are unidentified. He also owned a copy of Vizetelly's biography of Zola, published in 1904.[42]

So far as the evidence can suggest, such is the extent of Hardy's reading in Zola, though it is of course always possible that he read more than the catalogued holdings of his library show, or, indeed, it is also possible than he may not have read all that his library contained. The catalogued holdings do at least provide a basic framework of reference for Hardy's reading of Zola, which in turn allows the present argument to proceed with a fair degree of conviction, if not with a full degree of certainty.

Seymour-Smith's second error, more serious than the first, is to state uncategorically that Hardy met Zola. The only indication of such a meeting appears in Hardy's letter of September 22, 1893 to Florence Henniker. Hardy writes:

> My address will be here [Max Gate] till Wedny, possibly Thursday, morng when we go to London, I to meet Zola.[43]

In recognition of the completion of the Rougon-Macquart series the Authors' Club gave a complimentary dinner for Zola in the

[42]J. Stevens Cox, ed., The Library of Thomas Hardy (Guernsey: The Touchan Press, 1969) 13.

[43]Thomas Hardy, "To Florence Henniker," 22 Sept. 1893, CL 2: 34.

Whitehall Rooms at the Hotel Metropole, London, on Thursday, Sept. 28, 1893. The Purdy/Millgate edition of Hardy's letters bears the following note in reference to the above meeting: "TH did not in fact attend the Authors' Club dinner in honour of Émile Zola."[44] A note in The World, 4 Oct. 1893, "regretted TH's failure to appear at the Zola dinner in that he 'thus deprived his fellow-writers of a fine opportunity of mentally comparing the author of Tess with the author of Nana.'"[45]

Zola's only other visit to Britain was in 1898-99, when he spent eleven months in exile following his default before arrest for his part in the Dreyfus affair.[46] E.A. Vizetelly's almost day-by-day, book-length account of Zola's year in hiding, With Zola in England, is extremely conscientious in noting those with whom Zola came into contact, and no mention is made of Hardy. In accounts of Hardy's own continental excursions, again no mention of any such meeting appears. Clearly, Seymour-Smith has taken his information from Hardy's letter of Sept. 22, 1893, and has not followed up his investigations by checking to ensure that the meeting actually took place. Such errors and presumptions have to a large degree coloured the critical history of the question of Hardy's relation

[44]R.L. Purdy and M. Millgate, ed., CL 2: 34. [45]Ibid 2: 36.

[46]For a full history of Zola's role in the Dreyfus affair see Jean-Denis Bredin's The Affair, The Case of Alfred Dreyfus, trans. Jeffrey Mehlman (New York: George Braziller, 1986).

to Zola.

In returning to what Hardy read and when he read it, it is possible to date his reading of Germinal and l'Abbé Mouret, in all likelihood the two books that introduced him to Zola, with a fair degree of accuracy. Both novels were issued by Vizetelly & Co. in 1885, and both are later mentioned by Hardy in "The Science of Fiction" (1891). Between these two dates, Hardy recorded a series of quotations from the Vizetelly editions of Germinal and l'Abbé Mouret in his "1867" notebook.[47] It is furthermore almost certain that he had read both before 1889, for in that year he signed a memorial petitioning for the release of Henry Vizetelly, following his conviction and imprisonment in connection with his translations of Zola and Maupassant. Lennart Björk dates Hardy's reading of these two novels in 1886 or 1887, and notes that "he started writing Tess in the autumn of 1888."[48]

In October of 1888, Henry Vizetelly had been ordered to appear before the Central Criminal Court on a charge of obscene libel in connection with his publications of Zola's La Terre, Pot Bouille

[47]It should be explained that the "1867" notebook, though commonly known by that name, extends well beyond the year 1867, as is instanced by the quotations from l'Abbé Mouret and Germinal. Hardy's entries from Zola, numbering twenty-two in all, are reproduced in the appendix.

[48]Björk, LN 2: 571.

and Nana. The charge against Vizetelly was brought about by the National Vigilance Association (NVA), whose members, as Donald Thomas relates in his fine history of literary censorship, A Long Time Burning, "believed themselves to be the private guardians of public morality."[49] The NVA, founded in 1886, viewed Vizetelly as "one of the natural enemies" of their association, which was founded with "the purity of literature as one of its aims."[50] In publicly attacking Vizetelly, the NVA issued a booklet entitled, Pernicious Literature, which quoted some remarks earlier printed in the Methodist Times:

> We have never been able to believe in the moral intentions of Zola, and it has always been a marvel to us that such a critic as Mr. James should seriously contend for them. Zolaism is a disease. It is a study of the putrid . . . No one can read Zola without moral contamination.[51]

In his defense, Vizetelly issued a remarkable document entitled, Extracts Principally from English Classics: Showing that the Legal Suppression of M. Zola's Novels would Logically Involve the Bowdlerization of some of the Greatest works in English Literature. In a

[49]Donald Thomas, A Long Time Burning (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969) 258.

[50]Ibid 258.

[51]Pernicious Literature (1888) 24; rptd. in Thomas 267.

letter addressed to the "Solicitor to the Treasury," affixed to the Extracts as a type of preface, Vizetelly argues:

> As the Treasury, after a lapse of four years since the first appearance of the translations of M. Zola's novels, has taken upon itself the prosecution instituted for the suppression of these books, I beg leave to submit to your notice some hundreds of Extracts, chiefly from English classics, and to ask you if in the event of M. Zola's novels being pronounced 'obscene libels,' publishers will be allowed to continue issuing in their present form the plays of Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, Massinger and other old dramatists, and the works of Defoe, Dryden, Swift, Prior, Sterne, Fielding, Smollett, and a score of writers--all containing passages far more objectionable than any that can be picked out from the Zola translations published by me.[52]

After relating some of the circumstances of his case and asserting that the number of Extracts "could be multiplied almost a hundred-fold,"[53] Vizetelly continues:

> A great writer who has exercised the wide influence on contemporary literature which M. Zola has done, whose works have been rendered into all the principal European languages, and who commands a larger audience than any previous author has ever before secured, is not to be extinguished by having recourse to the old form of legal condemnation, and especially at the bidding of a fanatical party . . . Is life as it really exists--with the vice and degradation current among the lower classes, and the greed, the selfishness,

[52] Extracts Principally from English Classics (London: 1888) 1. Printed for private circulation only by Henry Vizetelly. Both the author and the publisher of the Extracts remain anonymous on the title page.

[53] Ibid 2.

> and the veiled sensuality prevalent in the classes above--to be in future ignored by the novelist who, in the case of M. Zola, really holds the historian's pen? Is 'actual' life to be no longer described in fiction, simply because the withdrawing of the veil that shrouds it displays a state of things unadapted to the contemplation--not of grown-up men and women, but of 'the young person of fifteen,' who has the works of all of Mr. Mudie's novelists to feast upon? This certainly was not the law in the days of Defoe, Swift, and Fielding, and it needed a canting age, that can gloat over the filthiest Divorce cases, while pretending to be greatly shocked at M. Zola's bluntness; but above all, it required a weak-kneed Government, with one who was once a literary man himself at its head, to strain the law in a way that an educated alderman refused to do the other day in reference to Boccaccio's Decameron.[54]

Some seventy-five pages of extracts then follow. What is perhaps more remarkable about Vizetelly's document in relation to the present study is that Hardy himself should adopt exactly the same argument just a year and a half later, in January of 1890. Hardy writes in "The Candour of English Fiction":

> To say that few of the old dramatic masterpieces, if newly published as a novel (the form which, experts tell us, they would have taken in modern conditions), would be tolerated in English magazines and libraries is a ludicrous understatement. Fancy a brazen young Shakespeare of our time--Othello, Hamlet, or Anthony and Cleopatra never having yet appeared--sending up one of those creations in narrative form to the editor of a London magazine . . . One can imagine the answer that young William would get . . . [55]

[54]Ibid 3. The reference to Boccaccio's Decameron relates to another, this time unsuccessful, prosecution brought about by the NVA in 1888.

[55]Hardy, "Candour in English Fiction," PW 130.

Hardy continues:

> Why the ancient classic and old English tragedy can be regarded thus deeply, both by young people in their teens and by old people in their moralities, and the modern novel cannot be so regarded; why the honest and uncompromising delineation which makes the old stories and dramas lessons in life must make of the modern novel, following humbly on the same lines, a lesson in iniquity, is to some thinkers a mystery inadequately accounted for by the difference between old and new.[56]

In "echoing" Vizetelly's argument, Hardy indirectly relates his current difficulties with Tess to those of Zola and Vizetelly.[57]

After pleading guilty as charged, paying a fine of £100, and withdrawing the novels in question from circulation, Vizetelly returned to the business of publication, little suspecting the possibility of further attacks. In this, Vizetelly was blinded by his own sense of justice and morality. In summing up an account of the trial, a report in The Times related:

> After all, there is such a thing as public decency,

[56]Ibid 131.

[57]Hardy's article, "Candour in English Fiction," was, as Harold Orel notes, "in part an outgrowth of the difficulties [he] had been having with Tess of the d'Urbervilles" (Orel, PW 133). Hardy's argument, like Vizetelly's, was not totally original, but was, in part, something of a stock anti-censorship argument during the 1880s and 90s. Swinburne had argued along similar lines in his public letter on the Society for the Suppression of Vice in 1875 [see Cecil Y. Lang, ed., The Swinburne Letters (New Haven: Yale UP, 1960) 3: 30-2]. However, the short interval between Vizetelly's Extracts and Hardy's article makes Vizetelly a likely source for suggesting to Hardy the basis of his argument.

> and unquestionably the publication of a cheap English translation of La Terre is an outrage upon it. We cannot but rejoice, therefore, that Mr. Vizetelly has acknowledged his offense and been punished for it. In future, as the Solicitor-General intimated, any one who publishes translations of Zola's novels and works of a similar character will do so at his peril, and must not expect to escape so easily as Mr. Vizetelly.[58]

Unfortunately for Vizetelly, the National Vigilance Association was not content to let the matter rest, and in May 1889, a further charge was brought about against the courageous and unrepentant translator and publisher, this time in relation to his editions of La Joie de Vivre, Le Ventre de Paris, La Curée, Son Excellence Eugène Rougon, and La Faute de l'Abbé Mouret, as well as to his editions of Maupassant's Une Vie and Bel-Ami. Though seventy years old, and "in a condition little short of actual physical collapse,"[59] Henry Vizetelly was now sentenced to three months imprisonment, first at Newgate, then at Pentonville, and finally in the infirmary at Holloway. Henry Vizetelly died a broken man on January 1, 1894, "after a final distressing illness."[60]

After Vizetelly's imprisonment in 1889, E.A. Vizetelly had petitioned to the Home Secretary for his father's release. In signing

[58] The Times (London) 1 Nov. 1888: 9.

[59] Vizetelly, EZ 292.

[60] Ibid 299. For a more extensive study of the Vizetelly trials see Thomas 267-9, 472-484; and Vizetelly, EZ 242-99.

the petition along with Havelock Ellis, George Moore, Edmund Gosse, William Archer and others,[61] Hardy displayed a rare show of active commitment to a quasi-political cause. As Michael Millgate observes, Hardy was always anxious "to avoid the appearance of adopting or advocating any particular political viewpoint."[62] Hardy himself once wrote, "the pursuit of what people are pleased to call Art so as to win unbiased attention to it as such, absolutely forbids political action."[63] Though his signing of the Vizetelly petition did not constitute a strictly political act, for one so reticent as Hardy to commit himself within the larger political realm, his signature carried with it a sincere and strong conviction of the righteousness and extremity of the case.

In turning to write Tess of the d'Urbervilles in 1888/9, Hardy was now no longer willing to bow humbly before the "doll of English fiction," but was prepared, if not quite to smash the "doll," at least to trip her up. Again, in "Candour in English fiction," Hardy writes:

> In a ramification of the profounder passion the treatment of which makes the great style, something

[61] See Vizetelly, EZ 297-8. The signatures numbered from one hundred to one hundred and fifty in all.

[62] Millgate, TH 236.

[63] TH, "To Robert Pearce Edgcumbe," 23 Apr. 1891, CL 1: 234.

> 'unsuitable' is sure to arise; and then comes the struggle with the literary conscience . . . The dilemma then confronts [the author], he must either whip and scourge those characters into doing something contrary to their natures, to produce the spurious effect of their being in harmony with social forms and ordinances, or, by leaving them alone to act as they will, he must bring down the thunders of respectability upon his head, not to say ruin his editor, his publisher, and himself.[64]
>
> What he does, indeed can scarcely help doing in such a strait, is, belie his literary conscience, do despite to his imaginative instincts by arranging a 'dénouement' which he knows to be indescribably unreal and meretricious, but dear to Grundyist and subscriber. If the true artist ever weeps it probably is then, when he first discovers the fearful price that he has to pay for the privilege of writing in the English language--no less a price than the complete extinction, in the mind of every mature and penetrating reader, of sympathetic belief in his personages.[65]

The "fearful price" of writing in the English language, so dearly paid, so often the cause of Hardy's bewilderment and pain, was no longer to be extracted. Unwilling to continue to compromise his "literary conscience," and spurred on by a gathering sense of persecution and repression, Hardy was now prepared to confront his conscience, and to write in a manner that was destined to "bring down the thunders of respectability upon his head." His reading of Zola, his still naive understanding of the powers of public morality,

[64]The above comment could be seen as a direct allusion to the Vizetelly trials.

[65]Hardy, "Candour in English Fiction," PW 129-30.

and above all, his growing ideal of the "vérité vraie," the "more-true-than-truth," were to have a profound effect on the novel that was to come. The fate of Tess was not simply the tragedy of "a pure woman," but was also the triumph of Hardy's own tormented need "to intensify the expression of things . . . ."[66]

[66] Hardy, EL 231-2.

CHAPTER THREE:
TESS & L'ABBÉ MOURET

Lennart Björk writes in his edition of the Hardy notebooks:

> Zola's strongly symbolic description of the garden Le Paradou is part of a potentially significant overall similarity between Abbé Mouret's Transgression and Tess of the d'Urbervilles. Like Talbothays Dairy, Le Paradou is a place of pastoral innocence and natural emotions shielded from Christian morality. In addition to the affinity of the concepts of settings, the main characters of the novels are remarkably alike. Two girls of Nature, Albine and Tess, fall deeply and unreservedly in love with men who are emotionally frigid and under profound religious influences. In Serge, Albine discovers too late that 'a flame was lacking in the depth of his grey eyes' (p. 134), just as Tess is 'appalled by the determination revealed in the depths of this gentle being she has married--the will to subdue the grosser to the subtler emotion, the substance to the conception, the flesh to the spirit' (Tess, ch. 36; p. 313). Although Serge and Angel develop differently, their desertion and consequent ruin of their girls are similar and similarly motivated: Angel leaves Tess because of his Christian notions of morality and Serge Albine in order to serve in the Church. Their actions dramatize the perhaps major theme of the two novels: (in Hardy's words) the 'unnatural sacrifice of humanity to mysticism' (Tess, ch. 40; p. 339).
>
> The similarities may not be far-reaching enough to indicate influence, but the possibility cannot be disregarded. Hardy read Abbé Mouret's Transgression in 1886 or 1887; he started writing Tess in the autumn of 1888.[1]

As stimulus for a discussion of an overall plot influence on Tess of the d'Urbervilles, Björk's argument is intriguing. Since

[1] Björk, LN 2: 571.

publication in 1974, his comments have gained the passing attention of at least two critics of Hardy's work. In Good Little Thomas Hardy, C.H. Salter writes:

> It is particularly interesting to find that Hardy had just been reading Zola--Germinal and Abbé Mouret's Transgressions--in English. The heroes of Tess and Mouret are both lacking in passion: Angel had 'less fire than radiance', while in Zola's Serge 'a flame was lacking'. Zola's 'sun . . . gazing inward on his soul' may have suggested Hardy's sun's 'curious sentient, personal look'; Zola's 'trees which are no longer trees', Tess's 'trees with inquisitive eyes'; Zola's 'room with its hothouse atmosphere', Hardy's 'air of the sleeping-chamber which seemed to palpitate with the hopeless passion'; Zola's dust from the dancing-floor, Hardy's 'cloud of dust' at the Chaseborough dance. 'A tide of impassioned emotion stirred the garden to its depths', writes Zola of his Le Paradou, and this may have suggested not only the uncultivated garden of Chapter XIX of Tess through which the heroine walks, but the connection between heat, external nature, and passion which is made at the beginnings of Chapters XXIII and XXIV.[2]

And in discussing Brunetière's account of the Symbolist treatment of landscape as recorded in Hardy's notebook, J.B. Bullen writes:

> In Tess of the d'Urbervilles [Hardy] frequently draws analogies between the physical properties of a landscape and the human drama enacted within it.[3]

In a footnote to the above observation, Bullen refers to Björk's

[2]Salter 129-30.

[3]J.B. Bullen, The Expressive Eye (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1986) 196.

commentary and adds, "Hardy may . . . have been encouraged by the example of Zola."[4]

But while Björk's comments are well-considered and provocative, they are of far too general a nature to be taken as a key for a study of influence, as Björk himself seems to admit. As editor of the notebooks his argument is necessarily limited by the convention of annotation. Nevertheless, his brief discussion provides much of the groundwork needed for a more in-depth study of the relationship between Tess and l'Abbé Mouret.

The similarities between the two novels exist on various levels. Björk has suggested the possibility of an overall plot influence, which Salter has in turn attempted (somewhat unconvincingly) to ground in specific details, particularly of landscape and imagery. Unfortunately, not only does Salter add to the Abbé's original transgression by referring to the novel as Abbé Mouret's Transgressions instead of Transgression, so too does he fail to give the appropriate references or to place into an overall context the significance of his comparisons.

To begin with, La Faute de l'Abbé Mouret is unique within the body of Zola's work. Most importantly, l'Abbé Mouret is almost anti-naturalistic in the conventional Zolaesque meaning of the word.

[4]Ibid 196n.

It certainly is anti-realistic. While Zola did write other novels that may be easily considered "romances," notably Le Rêve and Une Page d'Amour, and while most of his books contain elements of "poetry-in-prose," l'Abbé Mouret is by far his most lyrical book. It is also his only novel that is firmly based on a Biblical source, namely on the story of the Fall. Perhaps for these two reasons alone, l'Abbé Mouret is less overtly concerned with direct social criticism than is the bulk of Zola's work. It is also, in some ways, one of his most experimental and "excessive" books. While Zola's narrative style is often noted for its sweeping "cinematic" quality, for its powerful, almost heavy-handed use of symbolic description, and for its acute attention to elemental details of physiology and colouring, l'Abbé Mouret seems to reveal an almost obsessive preoccupation with colouration and symbolic details of natural growth and decay. The result is a remarkably beautiful book, and the descriptions of the untamed natural profuseness of the garden of Le Paradou, as well as the intriguing, highly-experimental use of the three-part structure, are perhaps unmatched in the whole of Zola's canon. L'Abbé Mouret, it may be said, is primarily the work of the poet, and it is important to remember that Zola, like Hardy, began his career, not as a novelist, but as a poet, much in

the manner of a modern Hugo or de Musset.[5]

The novel, as has been suggested, is divided into three distinct books. The first and third take place in the small, southern village of Les Artaud, where Serge is employed as the village priest; the second takes place solely within the walled confines of Le Paradou, a once-stately garden, now abandoned and left to run riot, where Serge has been brought to convalesce from a near-fatal fever, brought on by the excessive ardency of his spiritual life. The whole of this second book is the story of Serge's recovery from illness, nursed by Albine, the "untamed innocent" of the garden, and of their growing love amidst the exaggerated "natural" splendours of Le Paradou.

Zola's method throughout this second book is to heap description upon description, with the effect of verging more and more towards an "untended unreality." The garden of Le Paradou, like that of Eden, is the uncultivated garden, or the garden returned to nature from the hand of cultivation. And, like Eden, Le Paradou is only half-real, and half-imaginary. Reality has been heightened by the poetic

[5]Between 1858 and 1862, Zola was chiefly occupied in the conception and creation of two long poetic trilogies: the first, L'Amoureuse Comédie, was completed in 1861; the second, La Genèse, was never completed, although many of the ideas were probably later incorporated into La Faute de l'Abbé Mouret. See E.A. Vizetelly, introduction, Abbé Mouret's Transgression, by Émile Zola (London: Chatto & Windus, 1900) vi. For accounts of Zola's poetic "apprenticeship," see Sherard, EZ 27-40 and Vizetelly, EZ 42-58.

imagination, and the descriptions of the garden abound in images of profuseness and riotous sensuality. As Graham King observes, "The pages and pages of notes on varieties of plants and trees were wholly subjugated by Zola's poetic invention, distorted, reshaped and romanticised."[6] And yet, despite the seemingly unrestrained, fantastic quality that dominates this middle section of the book, "Zola wisely designed a tight, almost frugal, framework to contain the wilder effusions of his lyrical prose."[7] The effect is to disarm the complexity of the description by the very simplicity of the story. The excessive use of poetic imagery in book two is bound in turn by the firmly-based reality of books one and three, providing a perfect vehicle for a portrait of the "more-true-than-truth," giving a heightened sense of the larger truth behind the more common reality.

As far as the present study is concerned, having charted the history of Hardy's relation and reaction to both the theoretical and fictional writings of Émile Zola, and having placed into context the entries from l'Abbé Mouret as recorded from Hardy's notebooks, it is now possible to suggest that Zola's novel had a profound effect on Hardy's literary and imaginative consciousness. In order to demonstrate the effect of Hardy's reading of Zola's novel on

[6]Graham King, The Garden of Zola 96.

[7]Ibid 95.

his writing of Tess of the d'Urbervilles, it is necessary to attempt a clear, comparative analysis of specific scenes, before moving to a comparison of characters and a discussion of the common use of symbolic imagery in l'Abbé Mouret and Tess. Considered singularly, many of the details may seem insignificant; considered collectively, these comparisons form a body of intertextual similarities and common points of reference that are quite remarkable, both in their specificity, and in their very number.

In l'Abbé Mouret, Serge's "initiation" into the garden, guided by Albine, the uncultivated, "natural" girl of the garden, bears a close resemblance to Tess's "initiation" into the garden on the grounds of "The Slope," guided by her pseudo-cousin, Alec Stoke-d'Urberville. Albine attempts to awaken Serge's repressed but feverous sensibilities by introducing him to the luxuriant "natural" beauties that crowd, in untamed disarray, the parterre of Le Paradou. The darkening depth of the garden looms forbiddingly in the background, unnerving Serge's still delicate sensibilities with the overpowering sensuality of its untamed growth. Though this initial visit to the garden does not extend beyond the limits of the once-formal rose-garden, what follows is a veritable "feast of the senses," as page after page is dedicated to detailing the sight and the smell of a riotous "shower of roses."[8] The following extract will serve as

[8] Émile Zola, Abbé Mouret's Transgression (London: Vizetelly & Co., 1885) 138. All further citations are to this edition and will be placed in the text.

a small sampling of the sensual barrage that ensues:

> Around them bloomed the roses with a mad, amorous blossoming, full of crimson and rosy and white laughter . . . Yellow roses were there, scattered like the golden skins of barbarous maidens, straw-coloured roses, lemon-coloured roses, sun-coloured roses--every shade of necks ambered by the glowing skies. Further on, the flesh grew tenderer of texture, the tea-roses looked bewitchingly moist and cool, displaying the secrets of their modesty, hidden parts not often seen, fine as silk and faintly tinged with the blue network of veins . . . roses dusky as the lees of passion's wounds . . . The cup-like roses offered their perfume as in a precious crystal; the drooping, urn-shaped roses let it drip drop by drop; the round, cabbage-like roses exhaled it with the even breathing of slumbering flowers. (138-9)

On their next visit to the garden Albine leads Serge further afield, to the old orchard, now vastly overgrown and laden with the fruits reclaimed from previous cultivation.

> At every step their progress was barred by goose-berry bushes, gemmed over with their limpid fruit. Hedges of raspberry canes shot up like wild brambles, while the ground was quite carpeted with strawberry plants teeming with ripe berries which exhaled a slight odour of vanilla. (161)

At one point Albine offers Serge some strawberries, saying that she will halve them so that both will taste each berry. Serge refuses, and Albine throws the berries away.

The effect of Zola's descriptions of the flower and fruit gardens, only briefly suggested here, is to overpower the reader

with a seemingly endless but ever-changing and engaging variety of colours and smells. The dominance of the "flesh-and-blood" hues of the roses, some delicate, some crudely impassioned, and the sexual imagery apparent in each blossoming bud, make the reader constantly aware that each flower, each new cluster of fruit, bears its counterpart in the corresponding seduction of the young pair. The garden is the seducer; Serge and Albine the as-yet still innocent Adam and Eve. Albine, like Eve, is the first to be seduced; and Serge, like Adam, is in turn seduced by Albine.

Comparing these two scenes to that of Tess's first meeting with Alec, the resemblance is remarkable. What Hardy does is to condense the effect of Zola's descriptions. The elements of the storyline remain relatively unchanged, though the descriptions have been limited to one flower and one fruit: the rose and the strawberry.

> [Alec] conducted [Tess] about the lawns, and flower-beds, and conservatories; and thence to the fruit-garden and green-houses, where he asked if she liked strawberries.
>
> 'Yes,' said Tess, 'when they come.'
>
> 'They are already here.' D'Urberville began gathering specimens of the fruit for her, handing them back to her as he stooped; and, presently, selecting a specially fine product of the 'British Queen' variety, he stood up and held it by the stem to her mouth.
>
> 'No--no!' she said quickly, putting her fingers between his hand and her lips. 'I would rather take it in my own hand.'
>
> 'Nonsense!' he insisted; and in a slight distress she parted her lips and took it in.

> They had spent some time wandering desultorily thus, Tess eating in a half-pleased, half-reluctant state whatever d'Urberville offered her. When she could consume no more of the strawberries he filled her little basket with them; and then the two passed round to the rose trees, whence he gathered blossoms and gave her to put into her bosom. She obeyed like one in a dream, and when she could affix no more he himself tucked a bud or two into her hat, and heaped her basket with others in the prodigality of his bounty.[9]

The highly-cultivated garden and grounds of "The Slope" are in direct contrast to the wild, untamed grounds of Le Paradou, and Alec, himself the product of a highly-cultivated and "unnnatural" section of English society, acts as the intermediary between the "natural" girl and the "unnatural" naturalism of the garden, just as Albine is herself the "natural" intermediary between untamed nature and the unnaturally sensitive Serge. The situation has been reversed, but the seduction remains the same.

Another series of parallel scenes occurs when, at several points throughout their rambles in the garden, Serge carries Albine across the various streams that block their path. The situation, and Albine's reluctance to be carried, are both highly reminiscent of the scene in Tess where Angel carries the four stranded milkmaids across the stream. In l'Abbé Mouret, the scene is described as follows:

[9]Thomas Hardy, Tess of the d'Urbervilles (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1982) 80-81. All further citations are to this edition and will be placed in the text.

> When they reached the stream which ran through the garden at the end of the flower-beds, she halted in great distress. The water was swollen with the late rains.
>
> 'We shall never be able to get across,' she murmured. 'I can generally manage it by taking off my shoes and stockings and tucking up my skirts; but, to-day, the water would come up to our waists.'
>
> They walked for a moment or two along the edge, hoping to find some fordable point; but the young girl said it was hopeless; she knew the stream quite well . . .
>
> 'Get on to my back,' said Serge.
>
> 'No, no; I'd rather not. If you were to slip, we should both of us get a famous wetting. You don't know how treacherous those stones are.'
>
> 'Get on to my back,' repeated Serge, 'you had really much better.' (158-9)

In Tess, the scene runs as follows:

> When the girls reached the most depressed spot they found that the result of the rain had been to flood the lane over-shoe to a distance of some fifty yards. This would have been no serious hindrance on a week-day; they would have clicked through it in their high pattens and boots quite unconcerned; but on this day of vanity . . . on this occasion for wearing their white stockings and thin shoes, and their pink, white, and lilac gowns, on which every mud spot would be visible, the pool was an awkward impediment . . .
>
> 'Who would have expected such a rise in the river in the summer-time!' said Marian, from the top of the roadside-bank on which they had climbed, and were maintaining a precarious footing in the hope of creeping along its slope till they were past the pool . . .
>
> While they stood clinging to the bank they heard a splashing round the bend of the road, and presently appeared Angel Clare, advancing along the lane towards them through the water . . .
>
> 'I'll carry you through the pool--every Jill of you' . . . (199-201)

The scene concludes as Tess, the final girl to be carried across,

tries to climb along the bank.

> Tess could see over the hedge the distant three in a group, standing as he had placed them on the next rising ground. It was now her turn . . .
>
> 'I may be able to clim' along the bank perhaps--I can clim' better than they. You must be so tired, Mr. Clare!'
>
> 'No, no, Tess,' said he quickly. And almost before she was aware she was seated in his arms and resting against his shoulder.
>
> 'Three Leahs to get one Rachel,' he whispered. (202)

In l'Abbé Mouret, a further scene reflects and enlarges upon the impression of the first. Zola writes:

> The first [stream] flowed over a bed of pebbles, between two rows of willows, which so closely joined each other that the two children thought they would be able to clamber across upon the branches. Serge, however, having speedily tumbled into the water, which did not rise higher than his knees, took Albine in his arms and carried her across to the opposite bank, and so saved her from the least wetting. (173)

The combined details of these two scenes from l'Abbé Mouret, with Albine's reluctance to be carried, her assertion that she could "generally manage it by taking off [her] shoes and stockings and tucking up [her] skirts" in the first scene, and by the pair's thinking that "they would be able to clamber across upon the branches" in the second, are clearly echoed in Tess in the girls' concern for their Sunday apparel, their attempts to creep along the slope, and in their general timidity, especially Tess's, to

be carried across the stream. In both Tess and in the one scene from l'Abbé Mouret a heavy rainfall is the cause of the swollen stream.

When the English magazine publishers objected to this scene in Tess, Hardy agreed to revise it so that Angel was made "to carry the milkmaids across the flooded lane not in his arms but in a wheelbarrow."[10] Hardy's decision to do so could well be explained when we realize that he was fully aware that two similar scenes had occurred in l'Abbé Mouret, published just six years before Tess. In addition, he was also aware that Zola's novel had been one of the books charged with obscenity in the second Vizetelly trial, the result of which had been the imprisonment of Henry Vizetelly just two years before, in 1889.

Another particularly suggestive and unusual incident appears in l'Abbé Mouret which would seem to have a strong resemblance to a scene in Tess. In the crumbling old mansion that Albine and her uncle inhabit there are some old, eighteenth-century paintings that bear, like the portraits in the ancestral mansion where Tess and Angel spend their honeymoon, an uncanny resemblance to the heroine of the story. In l'Abbé Mouret the scene is as follows:

'You haven't noticed,' said Serge one morning

[10]Millgate, TH 307.

during these uneasy intervals, 'that painting of a woman over the door there, have you? It is like you.'

He laughed noisily as he finished speaking. They both turned to the paintings and dragged out the table once more alongside the wall, nervously desirous of occupying themselves.

'Oh! no,' murmured Albine. 'She is much stouter that I am. But one can't see her very well; she is lying in such a queer position, with her head downwards.'

Then they gazed at the painting in silence. It was stained and decayed with age, and they had not noticed it before. (198)

Later on, as Serge and Albine begin to grow more anxious, troubled by the stirrings of their unconsummated love, Albine chances to remark, "It is those paintings which make us unhappy. They distress us by always looking at us and watching us" (205).

In Tess the following scene provides a close parallel:

'What's the matter?' said Angel .

'Those horrid women!' Tess answered, with a smile. 'How they frightened me.'

He looked up, and perceived two life-size portraits on panels built into the masonry . . .

'Whose portraits are those?' asked Clare of the charwoman.

'I have been told by old folk that they were ladies of the d'Urberville family, the ancient lords of this manor,' she said. 'Owing to their being builded into the wall they can't be moved away.'

The unpleasantness of the matter was that, in addition to their effect upon Tess, her fine features were unquestionably traceable in these exaggerated forms. He said nothing of this however, and, regretting that he had gone out of his way to choose the house for their bridal time, went on into the adjoining room. (283-4)

Angel later remarks to Tess, "Those harridans on the panels upstairs have unsettled you. I am sorry I brought you here" (285). Disturbed by the "unpleasantness" of the portraits, and by their unflattering reflections upon her own features, Tess follows Angel into the adjoining room. Here a single basin has been placed for washing their hands. Hardy writes:

> Clare touched hers under the water.
> 'Which are my fingers and which are yours?' he said, looking up. 'They are very much mixed.'
> 'They are all yours,' said she. (284)

In a similar scene in l'Abbé Mouret, Albine says to Serge:

> 'You remember the day when I first took you in and said, 'Good day, my dear lord!' But that wasn't all, was it? You kissed my hands when the door was closed. There they are again, my hands. They are yours.' (201)

Later on, the young Tess proclaims her absolute submission to the will of Angel:

> 'I shan't do anything,' says Tess, 'unless you order me to; and if you go away from me I shall not follow 'ee; and if you never speak to me any more I shall not ask why, unless you tell me I may.'
> 'And if I do order you to do anything?'
> 'I will obey you like your wretched slave, even if it is to lie down and die.' (300)

In a similar scene Albine prostrates herself before Serge, declaring:

> 'All that you tell me shall be a truth which I will listen to on my knees. Have I ever had a thought that was not your own? . . . you shall teach me, and make of me whatever you will.' (281)

In both scenes, in the giving of the hands, and in the declared submission of the woman to the man, the acts are not merely gestures of humble submission and obedience, or resignation to an accepted authority--though they are that--but are largely symbolic acts intended to convey the sense of the pureness and completeness of the respective unions. The material act symbolizes the spiritual union, ephemeral, as is life, and eternal, as is the spirit. Tess's "'I will obey you . . . even if it is to lie down and die,'" and Albine's "'make of me whatever you will'" are not simply the stock phrases of literary convention, but are largely symbolic statements that reverberate in tones far beyond the dimensions of conventional literary romanticism.

In much the same way, the ever-changing landscape in Tess and l'Abbé Mouret provides a symbolic backdrop to the changing emotions of the two sets of lovers. In l'Abbé Mouret, each new "discovery" in the garden marks a new stage in the evolution of their love. So closely interrelated are the lovers and their landscape that, like the landscape in Hardy's Tess, "there is no separation between what the characters feel and the setting in which they feel it."[11]

[11]A. Alvarez, introduction, Tess of the d'Urbervilles by Thomas Hardy (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1982) 13.

The landscape in a sense "belongs" to the lovers: they often seem to be its sole inhabitants; it often seems to exist solely for themselves. Zola writes:

> The orchard provided them with food, piling up Albine's skirts with its sweet ripe fruits, and spreading over them the protecting shade of its perfumed boughs, as they sat at their happy breakfasts in the early morning. Away in the meadows, the grass and the streams were all theirs. (193)

In comparison, Hardy writes:

> Being so often--possibly not always by chance--the first two persons to get up at the dairy-house, they seemed to themselves the first persons up of all the world. In these early days of her residence here Tess did not skim, but went out of doors at once after rising, where he was generally awaiting her. The spectral, half-compounded, aqueous light which pervaded the open mead, impressed them with a feeling of isolation, as if they were Adam and Eve. (186)

Seen in such moments Tess seems to "exhibit a dignified largeness . . . an almost regnant power . . . She was no longer the milkmaid, but a visionary essence of woman--a whole sex condensed into one typical form" (186-7). E.A. Vizetelly writes in his introduction to l'Abbé Mouret: "Albine, if more or less unreal, a phantasm, the spirit as it were of nature incarnate in womanhood, is the ideal, the very quintessence of woman."[12]

[12]E.A. Vizetelly, introduction, Abbé Mouret's Transgression (London: Chatto & Windus, 1900) ix.

Even when there is no direct parallel between portions of Tess and l'Abbe Mouret, the two heroines seem to share a "oneness of being" that allows Albine to seem at times more like Tess than Tess herself, for the simple reason that Zola develops his character in ways that Hardy only takes time to suggest. The following description of Albine's emotional state throughout the uncertain period of her courtship seems to enlarge upon Tess's growing sense of her own tragedy.

> Sometimes she seemed overwhelmed with melancholy, and she went about with sad countenance and dragging steps, like one who had no longer any pleasure in living. At other times she was wreathed with perpetual smiles, and her face shone with an expression of triumphant hope. Then the next day she would sink again into an abyss of desperation, to soar up afresh on the morrow on the pinions of renewed hope. But she could not conceal from Serge that she was suffering from great weakness, and was overwhelmed with a lassitude that seemed to deprive her of all strength and energy . . .
>
> Serge had ceased to question her, recognizing that she was unwilling to reply to him; and, when she entered his room, he contented himself with merely casting an anxious glance at her . . . What was the struggle perpetually going on within her that brought about these alterations of joy and despair? . . . She seemed to have grown taller and graver, mellowed and matured by her solitary rambles. (202-204)

Following her seduction by Alec, and the birth and death of her child, Tess "changed from [a] simple girl to [a] complex woman. Symbols of reflectiveness passed into her face, and a note of

tragedy at times into her voice" (150). Later, in describing Tess's emotional state during the uncertain and anxious time following Angel's declaration of love and before the formal declaration of their coming marriage, Hardy writes:

> Tess had never before known a time in which the thread of her life was so distinctly twisted of two strands, positive pleasure and positive pain. (239)

Some pages later Hardy adds:

> A spiritual forgetfulness co-existed with an intellectual remembrance. She walked in brightness, but she knew that in the background those shapes of darkness were always spread. They might be receding, or they might be approaching, one or the other, a little every day. (260)

So closely attuned are the developments of Tess and Albine--their emotions oscillating between "positive pleasure and positive pain," their "forgetfulness" and their overwhelming passivity and feeling of "lassitude," as well as their unwillingness to commit themselves in answer to the questioning presence of their lovers--that it seems more and more likely that Hardy's Tess owes something of her development to the portrait of Zola's Albine.

In addition to the similarity of their respective situations, the two women share a number of common physical traits which are in turn symbolic of their deeper emotional and psychological

compositions. Both share a common "strawberries-and-cream," as opposed to "peaches-and-cream," complexion, which is constantly reinforced in the two texts by the surrounding images of milk and by the dominance of the pink and flesh-hued colours noted previously, as in the example of the strawberries and roses. In both women, the blood is always just beneath the surface. The "real" sexual woman is always in conflict with the "ideal" asexual virgin.

In l'Abbé Mouret, this conflict is actually personified in Serge's transference of his ideal, spiritual love for the Virgin Mary to his very real, physical love for Albine. The image of the Virgin becomes for Serge an obsession with the female ideal.

> Her countenance was rosy, with clear eyes, upturned to Heaven; her hands were clasped--rosy, child-like hands . . . A tender smile wreathed her lips, marked by a dash of crimson . . . (109)

In Albine, Serge discovers the ideal embodied in reality, and, though Albine is very much of flesh-and-blood, like Tess, she is constantly regarded in the eyes of her lover as a physical embodiment of the virginal ideal. Zola writes:

> [Albine] was sixteen; how strange she looked, with her slightly elongated face . . . so accurate was his recollection of her that he could see a scratch upon one of her supple wrists, a rosy scar upon the white skin. (107-8)

> Albine's skin . . . was milky white, and faintly gilded by the sunny sheen. The shower of roses round her, on her, steeped her in rosy pink . . . She showed her stainless skin blooming unabashed as a flower, musky with a goodly fragrance. Her frame was slender, not too tall, and supple as a snake's, with softly rounded and voluptuously expanding outlines, instinct with the grace of a budding puberty. Her oval face, with its narrow brow and rather full mouth, beamed smilingly with the tender, living light of her blue eyes. (138)

The "rosy scar upon the white skin," the "rather full mouth," and the fluctuating tones of pink and white, coupled with the Virgin's "dash of crimson," are reproduced in Tess, who is described as having a "peony mouth" (51), a "pouted-up deep red mouth" (52) and "holmberry lips" (96), and whom Angel first describes as "a fresh and virginal daughter of nature" (176). The young milkmaid's complexion fluctuates between "pink and flawless" (157) and "pale and tragical" (157). When she yawns, Angel observes "the red interior of her mouth as if it had been a snake's" (231). Again, both women are continually immersed in images of fruitfulness and milk: Albine is seen in the midst of "the milky sap of plants untouched by the sun" (112) and amongst "the colossal bronze-green nettles, calmly exuding their blistering poison" (145) while Tess is seen moving stealthily through a "profusion of growth, gathering cuckoo-spittle on her skirts . . . staining her hands with thistle-milk and slug-slime, and rubbing off upon her naked arms sticky blights which, though snow-white . . .

made madder stains on her skin" (179). Again Tess is seen, "her arm . . . dabbling in the curds . . . her pulse . . . accelerated [by Angel's touch] . . . her blood driven to her finger-ends, and the cool arms flushed hot" (239). Pink and white, fruit, flower and milk surround the two young women as if they were "steeped in a milk of youth, and flooded with a golden halo" (AM 131). The blood is always rising to the snow-white skin; the real and the ideal, the woman and the virgin, are ever seen in conflict, and in both cases the male mistakes the virginal ideal for the real woman.

In his intriguing study of the emergence of the modern character in the late nineteenth-century novel, Characters in the Twilight, Anthony Winner writes:

> Like Hardy, Zola narrates the collapse of traditional structures of values and insists on the human toll any rebuilding must exact.[13]

In the case of l'Abbé Mouret, the toll exacted for Serge Mouret's transgression from his traditional role as priest is the death of Albine, and the death of her unborn child. In Tess's words, Albine is fated to "lie down and die" (300). For Tess, as for Albine, death is the result of having loved too well one who allowed himself to be persuaded into repressing his "natural" instincts, and who

[13]Anthony Winner, Characters in the Twilight (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981) 73.

further allowed himself to become the victim of his own unswerving sense of conventional morality. In both cases, it is the woman who pays.

In describing the characters of Serge and Albine it may be said that both are, in a strong sense, puritans, idealists, men who balk at the slightest suggestion of an impure reality. For both, the ideal has gained a tyrannical hold upon their concepts of reality, and they both in turn become the unwilling but immovable instruments of their tyrannical ideal. In Serge's adoration of the Virgin is seen a close parallel to Angel's mystical adoration of the virginal Tess.

Serge forsakes reality for the spiritual ideal. To his sister, Désirée, who thrives on "the fatness of the soil and the open air" (60), and who gorges herself with "the odour and warmth of life" (61), he denies the fullness of his love, and, instead, seeks in his worship of the Virgin to deny his bodily existence for the sake of his spiritual love. In a vision he sees the Virgin surrounded by innocent children, who love with "pure hands, unsullied lips, tender limbs, without a stain, as if come forth from a bath of milk" (111).

> 'In later years,' Serge asserts, 'our mouth gets tainted and reeks of our passions . . . Everything is stained by this defect. Everywhere its universal stench is tainted love, the bridal chamber, the cradle of the new-born babe, and even the flowers expanding in the sun and the trees bursting into bud. Earth is

> steeped in this impurity, whose slightest drops spring forth again in growths of shame.' (111-12)

Serge's idealized love of the Virgin is later transferred to the physical reality of Albine, and yet, like Angel, his deeply-rooted vision of the ideal will later re-surface in reaction against the "impurity" of her sexual reality.

Angel, like Serge, is yet "the slave to custom and conventionality when surprised back into his early teaching" (338). Following his time in London, and before the advent of Tess at Talbothays, Angel lives an "outwardly-sainted" life, giving himself up to his studies, his harp, and being "ever in the habit of neglecting the particulars . . . for the general impression" (175). His love of the pastoral ideal he too transfers to the charming reality of the "bewitching" Tess. She becomes the ideal whose hands are quite literally "bathed in milk." Tess is constantly referred to by her virginal qualities, "as if she were merely a soul at large" (187).

For Angel, as for Serge, there is a movement from the spiritual ideal to an idealized reality; for both, the shock of the natural imperfection in reality leads them to desert that reality, in an attempt to return, disillusioned, to the now hollow ideal. For Angel, Brazil becomes the ideal; for Serge, the church and the virgin provide a refuge from imperfect reality. As Angel later says to Tess, "'Here I was thinking you a new-sprung child of nature . . .

the woman I have been loving is not you" (299;302). The woman that Angel had loved was only in part the real Tess, just as with Serge, Albine was only an "imitation" of the ideal. Unable to distinguish between ideality and reality, both are bound to disillusionment, and to the final shattering of their "realized ideal."

When forced to make a final choice, in Angel's case, to save Tess from the forces of the law, and in Serge's, to save Albine and himself from the social scorn that threatens them if they remain, both men react in a similar manner. Both must assess their situation practically and devise a plan of escape that will secure their release from the bounds of conventional society. Zola writes:

> [Serge] began to be a little uneasy as to their manner of life together. It would be difficult for them to remain in the neighbourhood; they would have to go away somewhere, without anyone knowing about it . . . the practical side of the situation alarmed him, and thrust him, in all his weakness, face to face with a complicated problem with which he was totally unable to grapple.
>
> Where were they to get horses for their escape? And if they went away on foot, would they not be stopped and detained as vagabonds? Was he capable of getting any employment, by which he could earn bread for his wife? He had never been taught any kind of trade. He was quite ignorant of actual life. (316)

Angel, if not quite so indecisive as Serge, is hardly a "knight in shining armour." He is in reality as incapable of engineering their escape as he would be of slaying a fiery dragon. His, "'I will not desert you!'" (475) may be momentarily comforting, but, like Serge,

Angel's ignorance of actual life greatly hinders their chances of escape. Serge asks the questions that Angel should be asking, and Angel acts where Serge remains inert. Hardy writes:

> With an instinct as to possibilities he did not now, as he had intended, make for the first station beyond the town, but plunged still further under the firs, which here abounded for miles . . . Thus they proceeded for several miles till Tess, arousing herself, looked about her, and said, timidly--
>
> 'Are we going anywhere in particular?'
>
> 'I don't know, dearest. Why?'
>
> 'I don't know.'
>
> 'Well, we might walk a few miles further, and when it is evening find lodgings somewhere or other --in a lonely cottage, perhaps' . . .
>
> Upon the whole it seemed a good thing to do. Thereupon they quickened their pace, avoiding high roads, and following obscure paths tending more or less northward. But there was an unpractical vagueness in their movements throughout the day; neither one of them seemed to consider any question of effectual escape, disguise, or long concealment. Their every idea was temporary and unforefending, like the plans of two children. (476)

The situation is much the same in both accounts. Both men react to their situation similarly, but as the threat to Tess is imminent, Angel manages at least to act, where Serge fails to act, perhaps because he does not fully realize the gravity of Albine's situation. Perhaps too, he is more fully entrenched in the "customs and conventions" of Christian morality, where Angel has at long last managed to overcome his controlling sense of moral exactitude in the presence of actual peril.

Two further parallels between the plots of the two novels should be mentioned in the context of these comparisons. In the dénouement of L'Abbé Mouret a series of events is described in quick succession which would seem to bear a strong relation to similar events in Tess. Albine's death is accompanied by the death of an infant in the village--the child of an illegitimate union. Albine's body is nearly denied a Christian burial on the grounds of her suspected suicide. In the midst of the village gossip concerning the two deaths, two of the villagers add:

> 'I've heard say that she killed herself,' said old mother Brichet.
> 'Yes, I know,' interrupted La Rousse. 'The brother didn't want to have her buried amongst the christian folks, but his reverence [i.e. Serge] said that eternity was for everybody.' (348)

Though these two incidents are but briefly described, the death of the illegitimate child--closely associated here with Albine's own unborn child, also illegitimate--and the question of a Christian burial, are clearly meant to be read in conjunction with each other, and may have suggested the scene of Sorrow's death and the question of his burial in Chapter XIV of Tess.

But perhaps the most important affinity between the two novels lies not in the similarity of specific scenes or in the likeness of the main characters, but in the authors' common use of symbolic imagery. F.B. Pinion writes:

> Darwinian thought filled Hardy with a sense of Nature's 'passioned plans for bloom and beauty marred' (HS 'Discouragement', 1863-7), and it was for this reason that the imagery of Hamlet's world, as 'an unweeded garden' possessed by 'things rank and gross in nature', and that of Shelley's 'A Sensitive Plant' acquired a special and lasting significance.[14]

Pinion quite rightly goes on to ascribe Hardy's use of the imagery of the "unweeded garden" to the influence of Shelley by comparing passages from Hardy's "The Mother Mourns" (Poems of the Past and the Present), Desperate Remedies, Far from the Madding Crowd, The Return of the Native, The Woodlanders and Tess of the d'Urbervilles with a single passage from the Shelley poem mentioned. Pinion's point, as much as to relate Hardy to Shelley and to the more general influence of Darwinian thought, is to demonstrate how the imagery of natural decay and corruption runs throughout Hardy's work, from his first published novel to the poems published in his later life. But what Pinion does not point out, and what is of primary importance here, is how Hardy's use of the symbolic imagery of the garden increased dramatically, particularly in Tess, but also in Jude and The Woodlanders, throughout the novels that followed The Mayor of Casterbridge (i.e.--after Hardy began to read Zola). For instance, where Pinion must have had some difficulty in finding a suitable

[14]F.B. Pinion, A Hardy Companion (London: MacMillan and Co., Ltd., 1968) 165.

example from Madding Crowd, a suitable passage from Tess could have been found with comparative ease.

What A. Alvarez refers to as the "intense eroticism of the writing"[15] in Tess is very often directly associated with the imagery of the "unweeded garden," which, it could be argued, would seem to be in turn related to the garden of Le Paradou. As Alvarez goes on to say, "It is as though the vegetation itself contained all the secret smells and juices of physical passion."[16] And if Hardy turns time and time again to the "rank luxuriance" (AM 146) of the garden for his central imagery of fecundity and decay, the garden of Zola's l'Abbé Mouret may be fairly described as one long, intoxicated exercise in "things rank and gross in nature."

Here it is not so much a question of direct parallels between the two novels as a whole framework of natural images of regeneration and decay that have been wholly absorbed into Hardy's literary consciousness. The broadening sensuality, the bolder use of colouring, and the images of lushness, fatness and secretion in Tess are all, to a large extent, the result of Hardy's constant use of the garden imagery. In his continuing search "to intensify the expression of things,"[17] Zola's l'Abbé Mouret seems to have provided

[15]A. Alvarez, introduction, Tess 17. [16]Ibid 17.

[17]Hardy, EL 231-2.

Hardy with a major source of natural description.

In l'Abbé Mouret, as Serge first approaches the garden of Le Paradou, Zola writes:

> He could taste it coming, with a savour more and more marked, bringing him the healthful bitterness of the open air, holding to his lips a feast of sugared aromatics, acrid fruits, and milky shoots. He could inhale it, coming with the perfumes it had culled upon its way--the scent of the earth, the scent of the shady woods, the scent of heated plants, the scent of living animals, a whole posy of scents powerful to dizziness. (131)

Hardy writes of the atmosphere about Talbothays:

> Its heavy scents weighed upon them and at mid-day the landscape seemed lying in a swoon. (207)
>
> . . . the atmosphere grew heavier; the languid perfume of the summer fruits, the mists, the hay, the flowers, formed therein a vast pool of odour which at this hour seemed to make the animals, the very bees and butterflies, drowsy. (230)

Finally, moving more or less randomly through the various flower varieties that crowd the garden of Le Paradou, "where intoxicated nature had hiccups of verbena and pinks" (144), the method of this mad intoxication becomes strikingly evident:

> Nasturtiums, bare and green of skin, gaped their mouths of ruddy gold . . . scarlet-runners, tough as whip-cord, lit up scattered spots with the glow of their gleaming sparks; bind-weeds expanded their heart-shaped leaves and with their thousand of little bells rang a silent peal of exquisite colours . . .

> wood-ruffs, with their soft musky perfume; brazen-throated mimuluses, blotched with bright vermilion; lofty phloxes, crimson ones and white ones, shooting up their distaffs of flowers for the breeze to spin . . . Marigolds buried beneath their choking foliage their writhing starry flowers, that already reeked of putrefaction. (145-9)

Intensify, exaggerate, invigorate, make bold the minutest detail, paint in the strongest colours the subtle works of nature: such are Zola's methods.

In turning to Tess, A. Alvarez writes that "Hardy's version of the Paradise Garden was closer to Gauguin's than to that of the Book of Genesis."[18] Intensify, exaggerate, invigorate: such are Hardy's methods:

> . . . tall blooming weeds emitted offensive smells--weeds whose red and yellow and purple hues formed a polychrome as dazzling as that of any cultivated flowers . . . the rank-smelling weed-flowers glowed as if they would not close for intentness, and the waves of colour mixed with the waves of sound. (178-9)

> Rays from the sunlight drew forth the buds and stretched them into long stalks, lifted up sap in noiseless streams, opened petals, and sucked out scents in invisible jets and breathings. (185)

Sap and milk, scents and shoots, images of rankness and lush, unbridled growth dominate the natural descriptions of Talbothays and Le Paradou. "Now they were treading under foot a foul-odoured growth," writes Zola, "worm-wood with its bitter penetrating smell; dew that reeked

[18]Alvarez, introduction, Tess 17.

like putrid flesh; and the hot valerian, all clammy with its aphrodisical exudations" (188). Hardy writes: "Amid the oozing fatness and warm ferments of the Var Vale, at a season when the rush of juices could almost be heard below the hiss of fertilization . . . " (207). Hardy's garden, like that of Zola, is the garden of Eden intensified, made brilliant with "a hum of vivifying warmth" (AM 26), "patches of rank herbage" (AM 25), "damp and rank with juicy grass" (Tess 178) and "the odour of a newly mown meadow" (AM 107). Outside of the garden pheasants are slaughtered, "their rich plummage dabbled with blood" (Tess 352), just as pigs are slaughtered, the gash from the knife "still quite fresh, and . . . beaded with little drops of blood" (AM 345). Outside, death awaits, and society, with its conventions and institutions, seeks to order the everyday passing of life. The pre-Christian garden is the garden of innocence, just as the morality of Christian society is a morality based on the deepest, dark experience. For Tess, and for Albine, the garden is the key.

* * *

Having now established what would seem to be an incontrovertible argument that there is indeed a strong, more or less direct relationship between Tess and l'Abbé Mouret, it seems not only possible, but necessary, to further assert that there is a strong case for a more open discussion of influence between the two authors. Hardy's

later comments that he was "read in Zola very little"[19] and that he thought Zola "no artist, & too material"[20] need to be called into question in the light of the above findings and in the light of Hardy's own development throughout the years following Jude the Obscure. In addition to Zola's influence on Tess of the d'Urbervilles there is a need to consider the possibility of his influence on Hardy's other writings between 1885 and 1895, that is, on The Woodlanders (1887), Wessex Tales (1888), A Group of Noble Dames (1891), The Well-Beloved (wr. 1887; pub. 1897), and, of course, most importantly, on Jude the Obscure (1896). These works need to be discussed in the context of Hardy's continual struggle with form, again, in the context of his expressed desire to "intensify the expression of things."[21] Also in need of consideration is the increased importance of heredity and environment in Hardy's later prose writings, particularly in the cases of The Well-Beloved and A Group of Noble Dames. Finally, it seems now possible to confirm Lennart Björk's suggestion that "Hardy's appreciation of [Zola] may well have been more pronounced than he cared to confide"[22]

[19]Thomas Hardy, "To Edmund Gosse," 20 Nov. 1895, CL 2: 99.

[20]Thomas Hardy, "To Florence Henniker," 31 Mar. 1897, CL 2: 157.

[21]Hardy, EL 231-2.

[22]Björk, LN 1: 385.

and to controvert Harvey Webster's statement that "we cannot say that [Zola] exercised a specific influence upon [Hardy]."[23] Indeed, it now seems possible to assert that there is a good case for a wholesale re-evaluation of the entire question of Zola's specific influence on the later novels of Thomas Hardy.

[23]Harvey Curtis Webster, On a Darkling Plain (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947) 197.

APPENDIX

Extracts from Zola's Abbé Mouret's Transgression (London: Vizetelly & Co., 1885) and Germinal (London: Vizetelly & Co., 1885) as recorded in Hardy's "1867" notebook. (Bjork, LN 2: 473-5).

Entry No.

180 The landscape . . . was (dying of thirst, &) flying away in clouds of dust at the least breath of wind. (AM)

181 For years he had never seen the sun . . . gazing inwards on his soul. (AM)

182 If you live all alone you get to see things queerly. The trees are no longer trees, the earth puts on the ways of a living being, the stones seem to tell you tales. (AM)

183 That fearful land, utterly consumed with ardent passions . . . (AM)

184 The Artauds, even when asleep, resting with aching backs, shrouded in shadow, disturbed him with their slumber; he could recognize their breath in the air he breathed . . . The hamlet was not dead enough; the thatched roofs bulged like bosoms; through the gaping cracks in the doors came sighs, faint creaks, & hums of living silence. (AM)

185 Her laughter . . . resounded from every atom of his flesh. (AM)

186 All the hues, all the emotions of the sky. (AM)

187 The very by-paths entreated their presence from afar . . . A tide of impassioned emotion stirred the garden to its depths . . . the old flower-garden escorted them. (AM)

188 The whole parterre was a riotous mob . . . where intoxicated Nature had hiccups of verbenas & pinks. (AM)

189 He beheld the rude plants of the plain--the dreadful-looking growths that had become iron-hard amid the arid rocks, of close-grained fibre & knotted like snakes & bossed over with muscle--set themselves to work. (AM)

190 The rust-hued lichens gnawed away at the rough plaster like a fiery leprosy. The thyme followed on, & thrust their roots between the bricks like so many iron wedges. (AM)

191 ~~On-the-edge-of-the-horizon,-the-hills,-(still-hot-with-the s)-seemed-all-tremulous~~

192 Far off, one the edge of the horizon, the hills, still hot with the setting luminary's farewell kiss, seemed all tremulous & quivering, as though shaken by the steps of some invisible army. Nearer . . . all the pebbles in the valley seemed animated with a throbbing life. (AM)

193 The human beings that one felt to be lying there [in dark chamber] (Germinal)

194 The shaft swallowed the men by mouthfuls of twenty & thirty at one time (Germinal)

195 She walked among them, grotesquely perturbing, with her lumps of flesh exaggerated almost to infirmity. (Germinal)

196 [Examp . . . of more-true-than-truth:-]
A warm odour of woman arose from the trodden grass: the loud shout of the men's voices was deadened as it were by the draperies of the room & the hot-house atmosphere. (Germinal)

197 Etienne was alone with La Maheude in the room downstairs . . . Crouching over the miserable fire she was suckling Estelle . . . 'Is it good news?' she asked. 'Are they going to send us money?' Et.ne shook his head . . . She became absorbed by her recollections, droned out in a mournful voice, her eyes fixed on vacancy, her breast uncovered, while her daughter Estelle fell asleep on her lap. And Etienne, absorbed also, [in their trouble] sat staring at that enormous breast, the soft whiteness of wh. contrasted with the yellow & weatherbeaten hue of her face. (Germinal)

198 The dust rose from the floor--the dust accumulated by the various dancing-bouts [some time earlier], & poisoned the atmosphere with a strong odour of tram-girls & boys [i.e. the dancers]. (Germinal)

199 The Voreux pit . . . panting louder & louder with its thick & heavy breath, as if obstructed in its painful digestion of human flesh & blood. (Germinal)

200 The cage . . . The monster was still there, gobbling its ration of human flesh . . . without a pause, without an effort, with the facile voracity of an ogre. (Germinal)

201 Some giant belly, capable of digesting a whole people . . . Voracious silence. (Germinal)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Altick, Richard D. Lives and Letters. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1965.

Alvarez, A. Introduction. Tess of the d'Urbervilles. By Thomas Hardy. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1982.

Archer, William. "The Boycotted Book." The Daily Chronicle 4 May 1894: 3.

Baguley, David, ed. Bibliographie de la critique sur Émile Zola. 2 vols. Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1976.

Björk, Lennart A., ed. The Literary Notebooks of Thomas Hardy. 2 vols. London and Basingstoke: The MacMillan Press Ltd., 1985.

Bloom, Harold. The Anxiety of Influence. New York: Oxford UP, 1973.

Blunden, Edmund. Thomas Hardy. London: MacMillan and Company Limited, 1942.

Bornecque, J.H. and P. Cogny, eds. Réalisme et Naturalisme. Paris: Hachette, 1958.

Bredin, Jean-Denis. The Affair: The Case of Alfred Dreyfus. Trans. Jeffrey Mehlman. New York: George Braziller, 1986.

Bullen, J.B. The Expressive Eye. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1986.

Chase, Mary Ellen. Thomas Hardy from Serial to Novel. New York: Russell & Russell Ltd., 1964.

Cox, J. Stevens, ed. The Library of Thomas Hardy. Guernsey: The Touchan Press, 1969.

Decker, Clarence R. "Zola's Literary Reputation in England." PMLA 49 (1934): 1140-1153.

d'Exideuil, Pierre. The Human Pair in the Work of Thomas Hardy. Trans. Felix W. Crosse. London: Humphrey Toulmin, n.d.

Edel, Leon and Dan H. Laurence, eds. A Bibliography of Henry James. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1982.

Ellis, Havelock. "Thomas Hardy's Novels." Thomas Hardy: The Critical Heritage. Ed. R.G. Cox. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970.

---. "Zola: The Man and his Work." The Savoy 1 (1896): 67-82.

Extracts from English Classics. London: n.p., 1888.

Gerber, Helmut E. and W. Eugene Davis, eds. Thomas Hardy: an Annotated Bibliography. De Kalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois UP, 1973-1983.

Gittings, Robert. The Older Hardy. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1980.

---. Young Thomas Hardy. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1978.

Gosse, Edmund William. "Mr. Hardy's New Novel." Cosmopolis 1 (1896): 60-69.

Griest, Guinevere L. Mudie's Circulating Library. Indiana: Indiana UP, 1970.

Hannigan, D.F. "The Latest Development of English Fiction." Westminster Review 138 (1892): 655-59.

---. "Mr. Thomas Hardy's Latest Novel." Westminster Review 142 (1896): 136-39.

Hardy, Florence Emily. The Early Life of Thomas Hardy. London: MacMillan and Co., Limited, 1928.

---. The Later Years of Thomas Hardy. London: MacMillan and Co., Limited, 1930.

Hardy, Thomas. A Laodicean. 1881. London: MacMillan and Co., Limited, 1926.

---. "Candour in English Fiction." 1890. Thomas Hardy's Personal Writings. Ed. Harold Orel. Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1966.

---. Far from the Madding Crowd. 1874. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1976.

---. Jude the Obscure. 1895. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1977.

---. Tess of the d'Urbervilles. 1891. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1982.

---. "The Fire at Tranter Sweatley's." Gentleman's Magazine 239 (1875): 552-5.

---. The Mayor of Casterbridge. 1886. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1978.

---. "The Science of Fiction." 1891. Thomas Hardy's Personal Writings. Ed. Harold Orel. Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1966.

---. The Trumpet-Major. 1880. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1985.

Hone, Joseph. The Life of George Moore. London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1936.

James, Henry. "The Art of Fiction." 1884. Partial Portraits. London: MacMillan and Co. Limited, 1899.

---. "A Review of Zola's novel Nana." The Parisian 48 (1880): 6-7.

Josephson, Matthew. Zola and his Time. New York: Garden City Publishing Co., 1928.

King, Graham. The Garden of Zola. London: Barrie and Jenkins Ltd., 1978.

Kingsmill, Hugh. After Puritanism. London: Duckworth, 1929.

Knapp, Bettina L. Émile Zola. New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1980.

Lang, Andrew. "Émile Zola." Fortnightly Review 37 (1882): 439-52.

Leighton, Dorothy. "Literary Freedom." Daily Chronicle 13 Jan. 1894: 3.

Lilly, W.S. "The New Naturalism." Fortnightly Review 44 (1885): 240-56.

"London, Thursday, November 1, 1888." Times (London) 1 Nov. 1888: 9.

Maupassant, Guy de. "Émile Zola." 1883. Études, Chroniques et Correspondance. Paris: Librairie de France, 1938.

Millgate, Michael. Thomas Hardy. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1982.

Moore, George. "Le Rêve." 1889. Impressions and Opinions. London: David Nutt, 1891.

---. Literature at Nurse, or Circulating Morals. London: Vizetelly & Co., 1885.

---. "A New Censorship of Literature." Pall Mall Gazette (10 Dec. 1884): 1.

Morrell, Roy. Thomas Hardy: The Will and the Way. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1965.

Newton, William. "Hardy and the Naturalists: Their Use of Physiology." Modern Philology 49 (1951): 28-41.

Norman, Henry. "Theories and Practice of Modern Fiction." Fortnightly Review 34 (1883): 870-76.

"Novels." Guardian (London) 27 Jan. 1892: 134.

"Novels of the Week." Athenæum 1 Apr. 1871: 399.

Oliphant, M.O.W. "The Old Saloon: Tess of the d'Urbervilles." Blackwood's Magazine 151 (1892): 464-74.

Orel, Harold. The Unknown Thomas Hardy. Brighton: The Harvestor Press Limited, 1987.

Pinion, F.B. A Hardy Companion. London: MacMillan and Co. Ltd., 1968.

Purdy, Richard Little and Michael Millgate, eds. The Collected Letters of Thomas Hardy. 6 vols. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1978.

Salter, C.H. Good Little Thomas Hardy. London and Basingstoke: The MacMillan Press Ltd., 1981.

Selby, Thomas G. The Theology of Fiction. London: Charles H. Kelly, 1897.

Seymour-Smith, Martin. Introduction. The Mayor of Casterbridge. By Thomas Hardy. Penguin Books Ltd., 1978.

Sherard, Robert. Émile Zola. London: Chatto & Windus, 1893.

Stephens, Leslie and Sidney Lee, eds. The Dictionary of National Biography. London: Oxford UP, 1938.

Swinburne, A.C. "Note on the Question of the Hour." Athenæum 2590 (1877): 768.

Tennyson, Lord Alfred. "Locksley Hall Sixty Years After." 1886. The Poems of Tennyson. Ed. Christopher Ricks. 3 vols. Harlow, Essex: Longman Group UK Limited, 1987.

Thomas, Donald. A Long Time Burning. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969.

Tindall, William York. Forces in Modern British Literature. New York: Vintage Books, 1956.

Tyrrell, Robert Yelverton. "Jude the Obscure." Fortnightly Review 65 (1896): 859-64,

Vizetelly, E.A. Introduction. Abbé Mouret's Transgression. By Émile Zola. London: Chatto & Windus, 1900. v-x.

---. Émile Zola. 1904. New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971.

---. Preface. Dr. Pascal. By Émile Zola. London: Chatto & Windus, 1893. vii-xviii.

---. With Zola in England. London: Chatto & Windus, 1899.

Webster, Harvey Curtis. On a Darkling Plain. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947.

Wilson, Angus. Émile Zola. London: Secker & Warburg, 1952.

Wilson, H. Schutz. "L'Assommoir." Gentleman's Magazine 243 (1878): 737-49.

Winner, Anthony. Characters in the Twilight. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981.

Zola, Émile. Abbé Mouret's Transgression. London: Vizetelly & Co., 1885. Trans. of La Faute de l'Abbé Mouret.

---. Préface. L'Assommoir. 1877. Paris: Charpentier, 1928. v-vii.

---. Au Bonheur des Dames. 1883. Paris: Charpentier, 1922.

---. Une Campagne. 1880-1881. Paris: Charpentier, 1926.

---. The Downfall. 1891. Trans. E.A. Vizetelly. London: Chatto & Windus, 1896.

---. The Dream. Trans. Eliza E. Chase. London: Chatto & Windus, 1893. Trans. of Le Rêve.

---. Germinal. London: Vizetelly & Co., 1885.

---. His Masterpiece. London: Vizetelly & Co., 1886. Trans. of L'Œuvre.

---. A Love Episode. Trans. E.A. Vizetelly. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1895. Trans. of Une Page d'Amour.

---. Nouvelle Campagne. 1896. Paris: Charpentier, 1923.

---. Le Roman Expérimental. 1880. Paris: Charpentier, 1923.

---. Les Romanciers Naturalistes. 1881. Paris: Charpentier, 1903.

---. Rome. Trans. E.A. Vizetelly. London: Chatto & Windus, 1896.

---. The Soil. London: Vizetelly & Co., 1888. Trans. of La Terre.

---. Préface de la deuxième édition. Thérèse Raquin. 1867. Paris: Fasquelle, n.d. 7-13.

"Zola's Parisian Middle Classes." Scottish Review (Sept. 1883): 301-34.

VITA

Surname: Mason Given Names: Donald George

Place of Birth: Victoria, B.C. Date of Birth: January 29, 1957

Educational Institutions Attended, with Dates of Entering and Leaving:

Camosun College, Victoria	1976	TO	1977
University of Victoria	1978	TO	1980
University of Victoria	1988	TO	1989

Degrees, Diplomas, Etc., Awarded, with Dates and Names of Institutions:

B.A. 1988 University of Victoria

Honors and Awards:

MacMaster University Scholarship, 1989/90

Publications:

PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENSE

I hereby grant the right to lend my thesis (the title of which is shown below) to users of the University of Victoria Library, and to make single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the Library of any other university, or similar institution, on its behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or a member of the University designated by me. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Title of Thesis

(Towards a more extensive study of) Hardy and Zola

Author [redacted]

DON MASON
(Name in block letters)

Aug 28, 1979
(Date)

ISBN 0-315-53740-X