



SEXUALIZING POWER IN NATURALISM: THEODORE DREISER AND FREDERICK PHILIP GROVE

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Naturalism's History of Sexuality

Drawing on Foucault's *History of Sexuality*, this chapter traces the roots of naturalist conceptions of sexuality and power to the eighteenth century, to pre-Revolutionary French literature, philosophy, and science. While the birth of naturalism is most commonly associated with the nineteenth century, Foucault's version of the Western "history of sexuality" identifies the eighteenth century as a birthplace of modern conceptions of sexuality: "There was a steady proliferation of discourses concerned with sex – specific discourses, different from one another both by their form and by their object: a discursive ferment that gathered momentum from the eighteenth century onward."¹ Indeed, the examples of Marquis de Sade, Restif de la Bretonne, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau show that modern naturalism finds its roots in the very discursive ferment Foucault describes. Writing in a transitional period, the three authors

1 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage, 1980), 18. Further references to this work will be abbreviated *HS* and will appear in the text.

interweave sexuality with conceptions of power that set the stage for the sexualization of power that is to become a characteristic feature of French naturalist fiction one century later.

According to Foucault, Marquis de Sade's eighteenth-century fiction of libertinage presents an extreme example of a sexualization of power in literature: "In Sade, sex is without any norm or intrinsic rule that might be formulated from its own nature; but it is subject to the unrestricted law of a power which itself knows no other law but its own" (HS 149). In the eighteenth century, however, Sade's role was a transitional one: Sade associated sexuality with the blood of the nobility, but sex was in the process of becoming the preoccupation of the newly emerging bourgeoisie, which saw sexuality as a field of pleasure that had to be regulated and kept healthy. Naturalism's predilection for excess, for associating sexuality with pain and death, then, can be said to have its roots in this Sadeian tradition, while naturalism's ideological concern with sexuality has developed in opposition to Sade. Naturalist fiction, I will argue, rejected Sade's anarchic vision of sexuality and power by inscribing normative standards in its conventions, regularly "punishing" and ritually exorcizing the sexual transgressors. Since naturalist fiction is committed to a "regulation" of sexuality, it finds its ideological roots and generic conventions less in Sade's sexual excesses than in the fictional and philosophical writings of his contemporaries, who were intent on classifying, regulating, and "normalizing" sexuality in socially responsible forms: in the sexual pedagogy of Rousseau, in the scientific approach to sexuality of the *encyclopédistes*, and in Restif de La Bretonne's focus on the life of French prostitutes.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Émile, ou de l'éducation* (1762) introduces an orthopedics of sexuality (that exerted a deep influence on F. P. Grove).² Indeed, Rousseau's pedagogical theory anticipates the rules and laws of literary determinism: he puts his fictional character Émile through an experiment – the very method that Zola used a century later. Moreover, Rousseau's pedagogical discourse emphasizes the relationship of "forces" that determine the young pupil Émile's health and well-being at each stage of his life. Rousseau cuts the child's evolution into segments, classifying each stage as needing a particular set of pedagogical directives to protect him both from "the dangers without" (the corrupted social institutions) and from "the dangers within" (the awakening sexual

2 See Margaret Stobie, *Frederick Philip Grove* (New York: Twayne, 1973), especially the chapter "Rousseau as Educator," 36–41.

passions that upset the pupil's equilibrium and make him "weak"). (These principles can be seen as direct forerunners of Zola's external and internal determinism.) At each stage, Rousseau's pedagogy suggests techniques of counteracting these dangers by advocating a technology of self that involves the pupil's internalization of the pedagogue's authority.

Often called "*le Rousseau du ruisseau*," Restif de la Bretonne (1734–1806) translated many of Rousseau's insights on the corruptive influence of the city into social realism, and thus became a clear forerunner of nineteenth- and twentieth-century naturalism, shaping its conventions, themes, settings, and rhetorical devices in his mostly autobiographical fiction. Not only is the sheer volume of Restif's manuscripts (one is over two thousand pages long) indicative of the often-cited naturalistic emphasis on descriptive detail, but his fictional projects also have a characteristically naturalistic agenda, as the following title of his most famous work suggests: *Le Paysan perversi, ou les dangers de la ville, histoire récente, mise au jour d'après les véritables lettres des personnages* (1776).

Several typically naturalistic features can be identified in this novel. First, Restif's emphasis is on documentary, realistic authenticity, and readers from Rousseau to Friedrich Schiller have credited Restif with his invaluable documentary representation of the social reality on the eve of the French Revolution. Also, Restif's treatment of sexuality reflects the naturalistic predilection for male fetishism and the "galleries" of sexualized women that populate nineteenth- and twentieth-century naturalist fiction. Moreover, Restif presents the city as a seductive force that shapes (and corrupts) the youth arriving from the country, the favourite motif of social realism in Balzac, Flaubert, Zola, and Dreiser; but above all, the city allows Restif to introduce a broad range of characters, including the typically naturalistic marginal figures, such as prostitutes and servants. Restif's treatment of sexuality and desire shows some striking parallels with Dreiser's: like Dreiser, Restif not only demands the right to a realistic portrayal of sexual behaviour that is freed from the shackles of moral codes, but is also interested in maximizing desire, in multiplying moments of sexual titillation by inscribing desire and sexuality in a pornographic epistemology, in a utopian project that regulates and normalizes what many contemporaries rejected as a devious sexuality.

Thus Restif does more than just fictionalize the prostitute in a realistic context: he proposes a project of regulating prostitution as a social institution. In a work entitled "*Le Pornographe ou idées d'un honnête homme sur un projet de règlement pour les prostituées*" (1769), the primary focus is not on graphic pornographic descriptions; on the con-

trary, Restif literally focuses on “règlement,” discussing in a detached, matter of fact – bourgeois – tone the institutionalization, policing, and “normalization” of female prostitution. Restif’s theoretical project details plans on how to administrate a state-run brothel, an institution not much different in organization from a nineteenth-century factory. Restif’s *projet de règlement* for prostitutes is characterized by the highest degree of order, and includes the spatial and remunerative classification of women according to age and beauty; a timetabling of their “work,” meals, and “toilette”; and an apparatus of practical rules detailing the daily management of this institution. The reason behind Restif’s pornographic utopia is to reduce “les inconvénients de la prostitution,” above all, venereal disease: “On aura la plus grande attention à préserver les filles de l’horrible maladie qui rend cet établissement si désirable.”³ The prostitute becomes the object of the medical gaze (very much like her male customer, who is also subjected to medical examinations and a payment of a fine when found infected), but is simultaneously kept invisible in society, no longer walking the streets but sequestered within the walls of an officially sanctioned and medically controlled municipal institution.⁴

Restif’s pornographic utopia is not a freak fantasy, but is the logical extension of a larger discursive phenomenon that Foucault describes as follows: “Toward the beginning of the eighteenth century, there emerged a political, economic, and technical incitement to talk about sex.” In fact, sex was taken charge of “in the form of analysis, stocktaking, classification, and specification,” so that sexuality was not simply repressed or condemned by the emerging bourgeoisie, it was “inserted into systems of utility, regulated for the greater good of all, made to function according to an optimum” (HS 23–24). The modern “policing” of sex takes a particular form, namely: “not the rigor of a taboo, but the necessity of regulating sex through useful and public discourses” (HS 25). The desire for such a “policing” of sexuality is, I argue, the “other” side of a naturalism that focuses on sexual crises, excess, disease, and the breaking of boundaries. Sexuality in naturalism is shown to erupt in the social network as a destabilizing force, but it is as often contained in social institutions, such as the family, the department store in *Au Bonheur des*

3 “Le Pornographe,” *Oeuvres*, vol. 3 (Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1978) 27.

4 For a discussion of prostitution in Restif de la Bretonne, see also Charles Bernheimer, *Figures of Ill Repute: Representing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1989) 17–22.

Dames, or the theatre in *Sister Carrie*. Sexual excess is controlled through bodily punishment, whereby the Sadean pains are appropriated as a technique of containment: Restif's *paysan perversi* not only loses his arm but also one eye in the course of his sexual misadventures, very much like the sexually notorious Mme de Merteuil in Laclos' *Les Liaisons dangereuses* (1782), who, "affreusement défigurée," is left with only one eye as a result of her syphilitic pox. These endings anticipate the demise of Zola's Nana, who is first disfigured and then ritually destroyed, so that the texts exorcise the threat of sexual and venereal contagion that these sexualized figures carry with them. However precarious, (male) order is re-established through such textual acts of symbolic retribution.

According to Foucault's account of the Western history of sexuality, the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century brought with it a significant rupture. The concept of "sexual instinct" made its appearance in nineteenth-century medical discourse, along with a "medico-psychological" interest in perversions (*HS* 118). With the isolation of the "sexual drive," sexuality assumed its place in the domain of biology and medicine. What the Middle Ages considered to be religious "sins of the flesh" now became medical problems to be located deep down in the anatomy of the physical body. From the domain of a spiritual morality, devious sexuality shifted to the realm of scientific perversions, a shift that is reflected, for example, in Heinrich Kaan's *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1846). Even more important for a study of naturalism, however, is the nineteenth-century emergence of heredity as a privileged object of knowledge (particularly in the study of sexual relationships and matrimonial alliances). "The medicine of perversions and the programs of eugenics were the two great innovations in the technology of sex of the second half of the nineteenth century," writes Foucault (*HS* 118), arguing that this emphasis on perversion, heredity, and degenerescence influenced the social practices and led to a "coherent form of a state-directed racism" (*HS* 119).

Émile Zola's fiction is deeply steeped in the nineteenth-century history of sexuality, as he appropriated and further disseminated in his best-selling naturalist fiction what Foucault calls the "heredity-degenerescence" theory of the contemporary social, medical, and biological sciences. Creating "l'histoire naturelle et sociale d'une famille sous le Second Empire," Zola chose to show the workings of heredity in a line of degeneration, exposing the "fatality" of sexual (and generational) reproduction: the Rougon family (respectable middle class) is joined with the Macquart (lower class), the latter endowed with negative genetic material (Macquart is an alcoholic). These negative genetic traces resurface according to the logic of deterministic laws in later generations,

whenever a character finds him- or herself in a negative environment that triggers the emergence of a genetic "weakness" and thus provokes his or her fall.

This dominant degenerescence model also explains the strong sense of (negative) teleology in Zola's writing: "J'ai un but auquel je vais," he writes in the preface to *L'Assommoir*. "J'ai voulu peindre la déchéance fatale d'une famille ouvrière, dans le milieu empesté de nos faubourgs."⁵ The author's note of social criticism with its implicit demand for social change is thus in uneasy contradiction with his genetic determinism and the eugenic implications of the heredity-degenerescence theory. Indeed, the social criticism is somewhat undermined in the novel by the fact that Gervaise Macquart and her husband Coupeau have a genetic disposition to sensual weakness and alcoholism respectively, and these inevitably cause their downfall as soon as their good fortune leaves them. In the Rougon-Macquart cycle, the original "contamination" is sexually transmitted from generation to generation through the blood line. As a result, the sexual act is a site of danger that conjures up fears and the need for control and effective policing, generally represented in Zola's fiction in its "exorcising" of the lower-class brute (and best encapsulated in Coupeau's *delirium tremens* and subsequent death). Despite Zola's vehement social engagement and his spectacular anti-racist "J'accuse" in the Dreyfus affair, Foucault's point on the racist implications of the degenerescence theory applies to Zola's writing: it exudes a paranoia of proletarianization and sexual contagion, conjured up in powerful images of a diseased social body.

Dissociating his naturalism from the religious and moralistic notions of sexuality and anchoring his characterization firmly in a genetically predetermined body, Zola deliberately renounced his characters' "libre arbitre." In the preface to *Thérèse Raquin* (1867), he describes his protagonists as "[des personnages] dépourvus de libre arbitre, entraînés à chaque acte de leur vie par les fatalités de leur chair."⁶ This theory, however, creates an unresolved contradiction: there is a tension in Zola's writing between a genetic determinism (with its eugenic implications) and his social determinism (with its implicit demand for social change). While Zola's theory glosses over this contradiction by categorically privileging a physiological-biological determinism, this antinomy developed into a crisis point in twentieth-century American naturalism.

5 Émile Zola, préface, *L'Assommoir*, Livre de Poche 97 (Paris: Fasquelle, 1983) 7.

6 "Préface de la deuxième édition," *Thérèse Raquin*, Livre de Poche 34 (Paris: Fasquelle, n.d.) 8.

American naturalism defies Zola's renunciation of "libre arbitre," reinscribing moments of choice and acts of free will within its textual conventions. In fact, many North American critics have complained of modern naturalism's "inconsistency," its oscillation between determinism and free will, without ever privileging one or the other. More recently, however, June Howard has theorized this inconsistency as the typical American version of naturalism, arguing that the antinomies between determinism and free will, between beast and human, are its constitutive element. Similarly, John Conder has discovered an oxymoron – a "free will determinism" – at the heart of American naturalism.⁷

Apart from the cultural differences, this growing emphasis on "free will" in twentieth-century American naturalism was prompted by another rupture in the historical deployment of sexuality: the advent of psychoanalysis. According to Foucault, psychoanalysis displaced the biological degenerescence theory as the dominant discourse at the turn of the century:

And the strange position of psychiatry at the end of the nineteenth century would be hard to comprehend if one did not see the rupture it brought about in the great system of degenerescence: it resumed the project of a medical technology appropriate for dealing with the sexual instinct; but it sought to free it from its ties with heredity, and hence from eugenics and the various racisms. (*HS* 119)

Sigmund Freud's emphasis on sexuality lent itself to an appropriation by naturalists, since Freud himself had appropriated the term determinism in his "Three Essays on Sexuality" (1905) for his explication of psychical processes. In fact, he warned his readers not to "ignore the realms of determinism in our mental life. Here, as in still other spheres, determinism reaches farther than we suppose."⁸ This emphasis on determinism and logical causality in psychical reactions created a new anchorage point for naturalism and prompted its significant shift from hereditary to psychological causality, with the determining forces shifting from the genetic realm to the unconscious. Despite his strong critique of Freudian psycho-analysis, Foucault gives Sigmund Freud credit for opposing

7 For a detailed discussion of this issue, see June Howard's chapter "The Antinomies in American Naturalism," in her *Form and History in American Naturalism* (Chapel Hill & London: U of Carolina P, 1985); and John Conder, *Naturalism in American Fiction* (Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1984).

8 Sigmund Freud, "Determinism – Chance – And Superstitious Beliefs," *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud*, trans. and ed. A. A. Brill (New York: Modern Library, 1938) 150.

the political and institutional effects of the perversion-heredity-degenerescence system and making it somewhat obsolete in the twentieth century.

Thus the rupture from Zola's naturalism to Dreiser and Grove's social realism is marked not only by a cultural shift from French to American or from German to Canadian naturalism, but also corresponds to the rupture in the scientific formations by the end of the nineteenth century. With the exception of Frank Norris, the major North American naturalists – and particularly Dreiser and Grove – did not see themselves as following Zola's tradition. When Grove turned his creative attention to prose fiction between 1903 and 1904, naturalism *à la* Zola was firmly established and institutionalized in the European literary tradition, presenting a challenge for a new generation of social realists to move beyond; and it was above all Zola's scientific emphasis on the degenerescence theory that was increasingly rejected.

These ideological changes were reflected and debated, for example, in the widely publicized "Naturalismusdebatte" during the convention of the Social Democratic Party in Siebleben, Germany, in October 1896 (an event that was bound to influence Grove's social realism barely ten years later). Here, the majority of the social democratic delegates openly protested against the tendency in naturalism to emphasize the biological, instinctive, and pathological as their version of a truthful representation of human nature.⁹ As a result of such widely publicized debates, traditional German naturalism that had followed the degenerescence model in the 1880s was to be replaced by the psychological novel at the turn of the century. Indeed, those who equated naturalism exclusively with Zola's biological determinism marked the nineties as the death of German naturalism, as Hermann Bahr did with the telling title *Die Überwindung des Naturalismus* (1891).¹⁰ When in 1929 the Canadian Grove polemically disqualified Zola's naturalistic theories as "pseudo-science" based on the "current aberrations of the day," he articulated this rupture by situating himself in a tradition with Flaubert's social realism. Indeed, as a translator of Flaubert's letters, Grove appropriated in his theory Flaubert's earlier ideological opposition to Zola.¹¹

9 See Ursula Münchow, *Deutscher Naturalismus* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1968) 159.

10 Rpt. in Hermann Bahr, *Zur Überwindung des Naturalismus, Theoretische Schriften 1887–1904*, ed. Gotthart Wunberg (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1968) 33–102.

11 Frederick Philip Grove, *It Needs to Be Said ...* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1929), 58, 64. For a discussion of Flaubert's opposition to Zola, see Baguley, *NF* 22. Although Flaubert was a "figure tutélaire" for Zola and the contemporary French naturalist circle, he did not hide his disdain for Zola's scientific emphasis.

Thus naturalism was not "dead" at the turn of the century, but rather assumed a new shape within the scientific deployment of sexuality. The rupture, then, from the nineteenth-century Zolaesque naturalism to the twentieth-century expression of naturalism shifted radically from an interest in heredity and degenerescence to psychology; from physical (animal) need to (human) desire; from genetic bloodlines to parental authority; from venereal diseases to psychological problems; from a genetic body to a psychologized body; from an instinctive body to a body constructed through clothing and social practices. As a result, the boundaries between naturalism, the psychological novel, and decadent writing became rather fluid, especially in their presentation of characters: "Determiniert und präformiert, zerrissen und oft leidenschaftlich egoistisch bildet [der naturalistische Charakter] die Vorstufe zum Nervenmenschen der *décadence*, zum Hypersensiblen des *fin de siècle*."¹² Determinism continued to be a characteristic element of twentieth-century naturalistic discourse, as Lee Clark Mitchell has pointed out in her study on American naturalism,¹³ but the determining factors have clearly shifted to psychological influences and social practices (what Hippolyte Taine had introduced as "le milieu").

In his discussion of the new psychoanalysis at the *fin-de-siècle*, Peter Heller has argued that Sigmund Freud, Wilhelm Fliess, and Otto Weininger opened up a new inner domain "as symbolic territory for the enactment of social themes of domination/subjection," translating power relations between men and women into a psychical *Innenwelt*.¹⁴ External – social – relationships of power were interiorized, relegated to a microscopic, personal psychical structure, just as in the nineteenth century they had been relegated into individualized genetic structures. What is more, with its spectacular claim of a fundamental bisexuality, psychoanalysis revived the gender issue of "incubus-succubus" in new terms: "the quarrel is about who is to be on top, that is, (in the parlance of a pervasive myth equating active superiority with the male, passive inferiority with the female), who is to be the man, who the woman."¹⁵

12 Günther Mahal, *Naturalismus* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1975) 93. "Determined and pre-formed, ripped-apart and often passionately egotistical, [the naturalistic character] is the forerunner of the decadent neurotic and the hypersensitive character of the *fin de siècle*" (my translation).

13 *Determined Fictions: American Literary Naturalism* (New York: Columbia UP, 1989).

14 Peter Heller, "A Quarrel Over Bisexuality," *The Turn of the Century: German Literature and Art, 1890–1915*, ed. Gerald Chapple and Hans Schulte (Bonn: Bouvier Verlag, 1981) 111.

15 Heller 98.

Thus psychoanalysis formulated the question of engendered power in new terms, by raising the question of who would play the role of "man" or "woman," and it is in these terms that it re-enters twentieth-century naturalistic fiction.

At the same time, however, it also has to be remembered that these naturalist changes from physiological-biological to psychological determinism did not occur in a sudden shift, but as a gradual movement with significant overlappings. Thus Dreiser's and Grove's twentieth-century naturalism has more in common with Flaubert's emphasis on desire in *Madame Bovary* (1857) than with Zola's genetic determinism in *L'Assommoir*; more with Zola's exploration of consumer pleasures in *Au Bonheur des Dames* than with his emphasis on fundamental "needs" in *Germinal* (1885). Conversely, Zola, Guy de Maupassant, and others have to be credited with anticipating in French naturalist fiction many of the psychological findings of Freud: their novels provide significant examples of the psychiatrization of perversions, reflected especially in their predilection for fetishism, "which, from at least as early as 1877, served as the guiding thread for analyzing all the other deviations."¹⁶ Examples of psychologized perversions abound in nineteenth-century naturalism, ranging from the female kleptomaniac in Zola's *Au Bonheur des Dames*, through the female fetishistic obsession with sentimental keepsakes in Maupassant's *Une Vie* (1883), to scopophilia and sado-masochism in *Nana*. Also, the figure of the *femme fatale*, so typical of *fin-de-siècle* literature, is anticipated by nineteenth-century naturalistic characters, most notably by Zola's *Nana*. Zola clearly displaces the psychological onto the physiological, but the reverse transition is not difficult to make, as the psychological interest in Zola's *Thérèse Raquin* and *La Bête humaine* (1890) suggests.

The transition from physiology to psychology in French fiction is probably best illustrated by Huysmans's *A Rebours* (1884), and in Germany by Thomas Mann's first novel *Buddenbrooks: Verfall einer Familie* (1900). With its radical challenge of the heredity-degenerescence theory within *fin-de-siècle* naturalism, this novel occupies a pivotal position in the development of European naturalism, and strongly influenced F. P. Greve. Although Mann labelled his novel "für Deutschland der vielleicht erste

16 Foucault, *HS* 154. For a detailed discussion of fetishism in nineteenth-century French realism, see Emily Apter's *Feminizing the Fetish: Psychoanalysis and Narrative Obsession in Turn-of-the-Century France* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1991).

und einzige naturalistische Roman,"¹⁷ critics have been reluctant to follow the author's categorization because the novel differs radically from the nineteenth-century naturalist tradition. "While an implicit belief in heredity forms the backbone of *Buddenbrooks*," as Lilian Furst has observed,¹⁸ the novel's juxtaposition of hereditary degenerescence with the "emergence of artistic sensibility" thoroughly subverts the very notion of hereditary degeneration that usually involves the sinking of humanity to the level of brutish existence. Tracing the Buddenbrooks family through three generations, Mann's novel is characterized by Zola's structural teleology towards generational disintegration. The family, however, is doomed because of the features that elevate them above the common middle class: the hypersensibilities and hypochondria of the young family members are connected with their penchant for art. Endowed with superior sensitivities, they cannot survive in the real world. The novel's emphasis on the Buddenbrooks' physical diseases – Tony's stomach troubles, Thomas' bad teeth, Hanno's death by typhus – are bodily symptoms of, and symbols for, the characters' deeper mental and emotional states that are out of sync with the demands of a competitive world. While the money-grabbing bourgeois world establishes itself in a robust body, the "spiritual aristocracy" in *Buddenbrooks* is doomed to die.

Exploring the nature of naturalism in an essay of the same name, David Baguley has pointed out that nineteenth-century European naturalism is characterized by two different kinds of plots: the Goncourtian type with its tragic fall inspired by biological fate, and the Flaubertian type with its "plots of resignation that take the character steadily nowhere."¹⁹ Twentieth-century naturalism clearly tends towards the second, Flaubertian type, one that reveals constant disillusionment and the insufficiency of life itself. Thus, despite the growing rejection of the heredity-degenerescence model in the twentieth century, the plot of decline remains prominent in twentieth-century social realism. The reason for this may be found in the turn-of-the-century philosophical emergence and popularity of Friedrich Nietzsche, whose philosophy deeply

17 "Perhaps Germany's first and only naturalist novel" (my translation). Thomas Mann, *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*, *Gesammelte Werke in Einzelbänden* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1983) 88.

18 Lilian R. Furst, "Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks*: 'The First and Only Naturalist Novel in Germany,'" *Naturalism in the European Novel: New Critical Perspectives*, ed. Brian Nelson (New York & Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1992) 232.

19 Baguley, "The Nature of Naturalism," Nelson 22.

influenced Dreiser and Grove's version of naturalism.²⁰ The plot of decline in twentieth-century naturalism is, however, less an expression of biological decay than naturalism's way of echoing what Gustav Mahler at the time called the *fin-de-siècle* experience of "panic terror," the loss of objectivity, of certainty and of value (that simultaneously gave birth to modernist art forms and more radical formalist experimentations).²¹ Thus, in the world of naturalism, biological pessimism was replaced with twentieth-century skepticism, while enthusiasm about new sexual freedoms was followed by the realization that the new forms of sexuality created new forms of domination and subjection.

20 For Nietzsche's influence on Grove, see Axel Knönagel, *Nietzschean Philosophy in the Works of Frederick Philip Grove* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1990).

21 Quoted in William Brazill, "Art and 'The Panic Terror,'" Chapple and Schulte 533.