

## FATHERS AND SONS

IVAN SERGEYEVICH TURGENEV was born in 1818 in the province of Oryol, and suffered during childhood from his tyrannical mother. After the family had moved to Moscow in 1827 he entered St Petersburg University, where he studied philosophy. When he was nineteen he published his first poems and, convinced that Europe contained the source of real knowledge, went to the University of Berlin. After two years he returned to Russia and took his degree at the University of Moscow. In 1843 he fell in love with Pauline Garcia-Viardot, a young Spanish singer, who was to influence the rest of his life. He followed her on singing tours in Europe and spent long periods in the French house of herself and her husband, both of whom accepted him as a family friend. He sent his daughter by a sempstress to be brought up among the Viardot children. After 1856 he lived mostly abroad, and became the first Russian writer to gain a wide literary reputation in Europe; he was a well-known figure in Parisian literary circles, where his friends included Flaubert and the Goncourt brothers, and an honorary degree was conferred on him at Oxford. His series of six novels, which reflects a period of Russian life from the 1830s to the 1870s, are *Rudin* (1856), *Home of the Gentry* (1859), *On the Eve* (1860), *Fathers and Sons* (1862), *Smoke* (1867) and *Virgin Soil* (1877); and he wrote a further novel, *Spring Torrents* (1872). He also wrote plays, including the comedy *A Month in the Country*, short stories and *Sketches from a Hunter's Album* (1852), as well as literary essays and memoirs. He died in Paris in 1883 after being ill for a year and was buried in Russia.

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IVAN TURGENEV

**Fathers and Sons**

*Translated by* PETER CARSON

*with an Introduction by* ROSAMUND BARTLETT

*and an Afterword by* TATYANA TOLSTAYA

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## Chronology

(Unattributed works are Turgenev's own.)

**1818** 28 October (O.S.) Ivan Sergeyevich Turgenev born in Oryol, the second son of Colonel Sergey Nikolayevich Turgenev and Varvara Petrovna Lutovinova

**1825** Alexander I dies and is succeeded as Tsar by his younger brother as Nicholas I; 14 December (O.S.): Decembrist uprising

**1825–31** Publication of Pushkin's verse novel *Eugene Onegin*

**1834ff.** At Universities of Moscow and St Petersburg

**1836** *Sovremennik* (*The Contemporary*) journal founded by Pushkin

**1837** Death of Pushkin

**1838** At University of Berlin, where he studies philosophy; friendships with many Russian radical intellectuals, notably Bakunin

**1839–41** Travels in Europe

**1842** Birth of illegitimate daughter Pelageya (Paulinette) by a serf girl  
Gogol's *Dead Souls* (Part I)

**1843** Meets the singer Pauline Garcia-Viardot (1821–1910), the central relationship of his life; friendship with the critic Belinsky

**1843–5** Brief career as a civil servant in the Ministry of the Interior

**1847–50** Abroad, mainly in France, often with the Viardots, to whom he entrusts his daughter's education; friendship with Herzen

**1850** His best-known play, *A Month in the Country*, completed; death of autocratic mother; inherits family estate of Spasskoye

**1852** *Sketches from a Hunter's Album* and obituary of Gogol lead to a short prison sentence and exile to Spasskoye for almost two years

- 1852–6 Tolstoy's autobiographical novels *Childhood*, *Boyhood* and *Youth*.
- 1853–6 Crimean War between Russia and an alliance of Great Britain, France, Sardinia and the Ottoman Empire
- 1855 Nicholas I dies and is succeeded by his son, Alexander II
- 1856 *Rudin*
- Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*
- 1856–61 Travels in Germany, England, France, Italy, Austria
- 1857–67 Herzen's journal *Kolokol* (*The Bell*) published from London
- 1859 *Home of the Gentry*
- Goncharov's *Oblomov*; Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*.
- 1860 *On the Eve*; the novella *First Love*; maps out characters of *Fathers and Sons* while staying on the Isle of Wight George Eliot's *Mill on the Floss*
- 1860–61 Dickens's *Great Expectations*
- 1861 Quarrel between Turgenev and Tolstoy Emancipation of the Serfs
- 1861–5 American Civil War
- 1862 *Fathers and Sons*
- Dostoyevsky's *The House of the Dead*; Verdi's *La Forza del Destino* launched in St Petersburg
- 1863 Viardots settle in Baden-Baden; Turgenev follows them and eventually builds a house there (1868)
- Chernyshevsky's *What Is to Be Done?*
- 1865 Leskov's *Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk*
- 1867 *Smoke*; quarrel with Dostoyevsky Zola's *Thérèse Raquin*
- 1868 Saltykov-Shchedrin's *Golovlyov Family*
- 1869 Tolstoy's *War and Peace*
- 1870–71 Franco-Prussian War; the Viardots and Turgenev leave Baden-Baden for London
- 1871–83 The Viardots and Turgenev return to France, living in Paris and Bougival; friendships with Flaubert, George Sand, Zola
- 1877 *Virgin Soil*
- 1878 Reconciliation with Tolstoy
- 1879 Oxford honorary degree, the first ever conferred on a novelist;

passionate friendship with the actress Maria Savina Tchaikovsky's opera  
*Eugene Onegin*

**1880** Dostoyevsky's famous speech in Turgenev's presence about the  
universality of Pushkin's poetry reconciles him with Turgenev

**1881** Last visit to Russia and Spasskoye

**1883** 3 September: dies aged sixty-five from cancer, at Bougival, near Paris,  
and later buried in the Volkovo cemetery, St Petersburg

## Introduction

‘Never was a writer so profoundly, so whole-souledly national’

Joseph Conrad

Turgenev was forty-four years old when he published *Fathers and Sons*. He had already penned three slim novels and would write two more over the next two decades, but from the moment *Fathers and Sons* appeared in 1862, this was the work with which his name was primarily and irrevocably associated. The sensation it caused was unprecedented in the history of Russian letters, both in terms of the intensity of the reactions it provoked and the longevity of the ensuing arguments. Certainly no other Russian novel in the nineteenth century was surrounded by greater controversy. All this is somewhat ironic given how shy and retiring Turgenev was in his private life, as recorded in numerous affectionate memoirs written by contemporaries such as Guy de Maupassant, for whom the writer’s imposing physical stature was utterly at odds with his gentle nature. But however self-effacing Turgenev was, he was also a brave man who did not shrink from setting his fiction in present-day Russia and creating characters who responded to and reflected its rapidly changing social and political reality. What is more, Turgenev had the courage to acknowledge that his own generation was essentially a spent force. In a country whose rulers had invested so much for so long in preserving a barbaric social system which depended on the connivance of the gentry, sympathizing intellectually with those members of Russia’s younger generation whose very existence posed a threat to the survival of his own unfairly privileged class was a noble – and foolhardy – undertaking. Combining an interest in the contemporary political scene with an essentially poetic vision almost guaranteed that Turgenev’s work would be criticized and

misunderstood. His unshakeable artistic integrity obliged him to obey laws of nature on the creative level and thus remain open to unpredictable narrative outcomes – but it also produced fiction of the highest order. *Fathers and Sons* contains a remarkably balanced treatment of topical themes, but it is first and foremost a work of art. Turgenev's unshakeable artistic integrity obliged him to obey laws of nature and thus remain open to unpredictable narrative outcomes, producing fiction of the highest order.

Turgenev had been in the public eye ever since making his literary debut with the self-financed publication of a narrative poem called *Parasha* in 1843. As the populist critic Nikolay Mikhailovsky (1828–1905) was later to comment, the 'unforgettable' decade of the 1840s was a dark and difficult time in which to begin a literary career in Russia.<sup>1</sup> Born in 1818, Turgenev grew up during the oppressive, militaristic regime of Nicholas I, which was characterized by police surveillance, censorship, a vast centralized bureaucracy and a policy of nationalism predicated on the glorification of Russian autocracy, personified by the Tsar himself. Having had to contend with the Decembrist uprising immediately upon assuming the throne in 1825, Nicholas was determined to stamp out all forms of subversive activity, and his repressive measures only intensified as a wave of revolutions spread across Europe in 1848. It was just at this time that Turgenev began publicly to nail his political colours to the mast, having published the previous year 'Khor and Kalinych', which would later become the first of twenty-five *Sketches from a Hunter's Album* (as the pithy title *Zapiski okhotnika* ('Notes of a Hunter') is often translated into English). His transition from poetry to prose indicates the shift taking place at this time in Russian literature from Romanticism to realism, but for all the verisimilitude of his descriptions, this did not mean his writing became any less poetic. It was these richly detailed, and often intensely lyrical, sketches of Russian rural life which made Turgenev's reputation.

Turgenev himself was an avid huntsman (of mostly woodcock, quail and partridge, but occasionally bears) and was fortunate enough to come from a wealthy noble background which enabled him to indulge in such pursuits. His

position also gave him the opportunity to travel. He spent his early childhood on his family's spacious country estate, located several hundred miles southwest of Moscow, near the town of Mtsensk, but he had lived for six months in Paris even before he was five years old and for the rest of his life he was something of a nomad. First he moved with his family to Moscow for his education; then he took a degree at the University of St Petersburg, after which he spent three years studying at the University of Berlin. In 1856, he decided to base himself in Western Europe, not least because he wanted to be near Pauline Viardot, the celebrated but married opera singer with whom he had fallen hopelessly in love in 1843. From now on his habit was to come back regularly to Russia in the summer months. He would probably have moved abroad earlier but for the fact he was exiled to his estate for a year and a half in 1852 – nominally for his obituary of Gogol, but in reality for the implicit social criticism contained in his *Sketches from a Hunter's Album*, first published in book form just at that time.

A key role in Turgenev's intellectual evolution at this stage in his career was played by Vissarion Belinsky (1811–48), who was Russia's first professional critic and his close friend. Belinsky was the guiding spirit behind *Sketches from a Hunter's Album*, and Turgenev's dedication of *Fathers and Sons* to his friend's memory says a lot about his importance to the novel's conception. It was an unlikely friendship, as the urbane, cosmopolitan and aristocratic Turgenev and the plebeian, radical and ascetic Belinsky had vastly different backgrounds and temperaments, but, as committed 'Westernizers', they were united by their opposition to the Slavophile thinkers whose rejection of the Europeanist reforms of Peter the Great had steadily been gaining currency in certain intelligentsia circles of Moscow and St Petersburg. And their friendship certainly ran more smoothly than Turgenev's close but fraught relationship with his neighbour and literary rival Count Tolstoy, which almost degenerated into a duel during the writing of *Fathers and Sons*. Belinsky was more than just a literary critic to his contemporaries, most of whom revered him regardless of their political views. In Isaiah Berlin's words he was one of the 'greatest of heroes of the heroic 1840s, when the organised

struggle for full social as well as political freedom, economic as well as civic equality, was held to have begun in the Russian Empire'.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps in another age Belinsky would have been less uncompromising, but, as he saw it, as long as the horror of serfdom existed in Russia, the first duty of writers was to expose it. Thus he had little time for art which was not politically engaged – and none at all for art that was politically engaged in the wrong direction. Turgenev never abandoned the pursuit of artistic goals in his writing, as is particularly apparent in the short stories and novellas he continued to write, but he was also a writer with a strong social conscience and love of his country, who devoted himself to finding ways in his longer fictional works to express and understand the turbulent times in which he lived. *Fathers and Sons*, his best novel, represents the culmination of a journey he embarked on some twenty years earlier under the tutelage of Belinsky, who had clearly endorsed it.

Turgenev came into Belinsky's orbit in 1843 (the momentous year of Pauline Viardot's debut on the Petersburg stage, and his own literary debut), when the latter published several of his poems and an early drama as chief critic of the influential journal *Notes of the Fatherland* (*Otechestvennye zapiski*). Belinsky then joined the staff of *The Contemporary* (*Sovremennik*) under the new editorship of Nikolay Nekrasov, and it was on the pages of this journal, which immediately became Russia's leading progressive periodical, that Turgenev's 'Khor and Kalinych' appeared in 1847. In his survey of Russian literature for that year, Belinsky praised Turgenev for having approached the people in a way no one had ever approached them. Turgenev, indeed, for the first time in Russian literature had provided realistic portraits of peasants, about whose lives next to nothing was really known (Nicholas I was so squeamish about Russian society being placed under the microscope that he even censored statistical research). Perhaps more importantly, Turgenev also treated the peasants in his fiction as dignified human beings, equal to their masters. Turgenev's hatred of serfdom had originated with his tyrannical mother, whose despotic treatment of her serfs instilled in him a deep hatred of violence and social injustice. He justified living abroad, where he wrote

most of his sketches and much of his subsequent fiction, by reasoning that he could attack his great 'enemy' (the institution of serfdom) more effectively at a distance. By the time he came of age, the 'landowning and serf-owning stratum of society' to which he belonged by birth aroused in him feelings of such 'embarrassment and indignation, and finally disgust' that he simply could no longer 'breathe the same air' as those who stood for the things he hated so much, as he later explained in the preface to his memoirs (by the end of Nicholas I's reign in 1855 the atmosphere in Russia was so suffocating that barely anyone could breathe).<sup>3</sup>

Since he was abroad, Turgenev was one of the first to be able to read the incendiary letter Belinsky addressed to Gogol in the last months of his life, castigating him for his reactionary views in defence of serfdom and the autocracy. Written in 1847 in Germany, where Belinsky had gone in a futile attempt to improve his failing health (he was dying of tuberculosis), the letter circulated widely in *samizdat* in Russia via handwritten copies, but there was no question of the censor passing it for publication. Belinsky's untimely death a few months later was a huge blow to Turgenev, and also a setback to the Russian government, who had been hoping to arrest him. The Tsarist authorities were more successful with Turgenev a few years later, using the publication of his obituary of Gogol as a convenient pretext to arrest him in March 1852. It was no coincidence, however, that *Sketches from a Hunter's Album* had just been approved for publication in book form by the censor (who was subsequently sacked). Turgenev was released from exile on his estate at the end of 1853 through the intercession of Crown Prince Alexander, upon whom *Sketches from a Hunter's Album* had made a deep impression. That Alexander's resolve to abolish serfdom was hardened after reading these stories was a matter of great pride to Turgenev, and it is telling that it was soon after Nicholas I died that he began his first novel, *Rudin*. He now began to cast his gaze more widely over contemporary Russian society. Alexander II's accession, and the end of the Crimean War, were greeted with relief and a feeling of optimism about the future. The immediate liberalization of Russian society was reflected in the relaxation in censorship and the arrival in St

Petersburg of Johann Strauss, Jr, whose waltzes brought some much-needed *joie de vivre* to Russian life. Dostoyevsky was finally allowed to return from exile (having been arrested and almost executed in 1849 for reading an illicit copy of Belinsky's letter to Gogol), and the Tsar's liberal-minded younger brother, Grand Duke Konstantin, was now able to send a group of young writers on a remarkable expedition down the Volga to study the lives of those involved in its navigation. A direct result was Ostrovsky's play *The Storm*, first performed in 1859 and perceived by radical critics to be a thrilling allegory of social protest that could never have been allowed under Nicholas I. It was also in 1859 that Turgenev began work on his third novel, the title of which, *On the Eve*, is emblematic of the state of anticipation Russia found itself in before Alexander II launched the 'Great Reforms' of the 1860s. But it was his fourth novel, *Fathers and Sons*, begun in the months leading up to the Emancipation of the Serfs and completed in its immediate aftermath, that caught the *Zeitgeist* more than any other artistic work of the period.

Turgenev began *Fathers and Sons* in a spell of bad weather during a stay in Ventnor on the Isle of Wight in August 1860. He did not find it an easy novel to write and was apparently evicted by his first landlady for smoking too much. Nevertheless, perhaps with the help of the sea view from his new lodgings on the Esplanade, he made progress. When he left three weeks later, he had made notes on his central protagonists, including physical characteristics and precise ages, and resolved that the action would take place in 1859. This was how his novels always began in his creative imagination: character before plot. Back in Paris that autumn, he sketched out the complete storyline. Then began the task of fleshing it out, which took place in fits and starts, between games of chess at the Café de la Regence. It is understandable why Turgenev should have only completed the first half before he left for Russia in April 1861. All that spring Turgenev and other liberals among the expatriates had been anxiously awaiting the long-expected Emancipation of the Serfs to be made official, and in his distracted state it must have been hard sometimes to concentrate on fiction. As soon as the Manifesto was published, Turgenev and others organized a service of

thanksgiving in the Embassy church in Paris, and he wrote to friends that he had been reduced to tears by the ‘very clever and moving’ address given by the priest.<sup>4</sup> Once back at his estate in Russia in May, Turgenev was able to focus again, and the first draft of *Fathers and Sons* was complete by the end of the summer. Next came the process of making revisions to the manuscript, on the recommendations of close friends like Pavel Annenkov and, more controversially, the editor of the journal where it would first appear – which was not *The Contemporary*.

The Russian literary scene had changed significantly since Alexander II had become Tsar. As a result of the general loosening up of Russian intellectual life, Nekrasov had been able to appoint the radical critic Nikolay Chernyshevsky (1828–89) to the editorial board of *The Contemporary*. Both he and Alexander Dobrolyubov (1836–61), who joined the journal the following year, came from the same stock as Belinsky: they were *raznochintsy*, that is to say, educated members of the intelligentsia who came from non-noble stock, often being children of clergy (as in their case) or, like Belinsky, of doctors, who also occupied a low position in Russian society. They were much more extreme and dogmatic about the need for art to serve a political purpose, however. As ‘men of the sixties’ (*shestidesyatniki*), as they came to be referred to, they were people who had come into the public arena with an expectation of being able to act. Thus they came from a new and very different generation from that of the liberal Turgenev and his contemporaries, whom they associated with the stagnant 1840s and aristocratic values, and dismissed as ineffectual idealists. The clash between these two generations is essentially the theme of *Fathers and Sons* and is most graphically represented in the relationship between Pavel Kirsanov and Bazarov. As a result of Nekrasov’s support of his radical younger colleagues, the left-wing political agenda of *The Contemporary* was now placed to the fore, at the expense of artistic criteria, and in 1858 the journal lost writers such as Turgenev, Tolstoy, Goncharov and Ostrovsky to the Moscow-based and still mildly liberal *Russian Messenger* (*Russky vestnik*). It was thus to its editor Mikhail Katkov that Turgenev submitted *Fathers and Sons* for its first publication in journal form, as he had

already done with his most recent novel, *On the Eve*. When *Fathers and Sons* was finally published in early 1862 it filled pages 473 to 663 – Russian literary periodicals were not called ‘fat journals’ for nothing – of the February issue of *Russian Messenger*. Criticism from those who espoused the ideology of *The Contemporary* was an inevitability, but Turgenev had no idea quite how vicious it would be.

From the beginning, Turgenev had conceived a novel which would be about modern Russia – not just about people from his own patrician milieu living in present-day Russia, as in his previous novels, but about the single-minded new social types now able to thrive in the new Russia of Alexander II. In his young country doctor Bazarov, on whom all the post-publication controversy centred, Turgenev created the first fictional *raznochinets*. Bazarov is typical of his class in finding the old nobility irrelevant, and has no compunction about showing his lack of respect for those senior to him. Breathing life into a character whose beliefs (about the value of art, for example) were sometimes antithetical to his own was a courageous endeavour on Turgenev’s part. It is striking, for example, that the *raznochintsy* were of no artistic interest to the aristocratic and egocentric Tolstoy, who had entered the literary arena some ten years earlier, nearly a decade after Turgenev, and who continued to focus on gentry and peasants in his fiction. The barriers between social classes in Russia’s highly segregated society were now beginning to break down, but Turgenev was in the vanguard where the depiction of this process in literature was concerned. Even more courageous was his desire to turn Bazarov into a real hero, which went against the grain of the profiles of the flawed male protagonists of previous Russian novels (such as Pushkin’s *Eugene Onegin*, Lermontov’s *A Hero of Our Time* and Goncharov’s *Oblomov*). With a nod to the ironic title of Lermontov’s earlier masterpiece, Turgenev declared Bazarov to be truly ‘a hero of our time’, behind whom it is hard not to see the shadow of the inspirational Belinsky (who was, of course, also a humble doctor’s son). But creating his character proved fiendishly difficult, and involved keeping a diary in his name and imagining his reactions to various contemporary issues. The ‘men of the

1860s' would in time become instantly recognizable, but at the beginning of the decade it is understandable that Turgenev could only intuitively feel the contours of this new personality. With hindsight it is difficult to appreciate the challenge he faced in creating a three-dimensional character proud to call himself a 'nihilist': Bazarov, after all, is still really only a prototype. As Turgenev wrote to the poet Sluchevsky in April 1862, while the furore about the novel was at its height, 'I dreamed of a tall, dark, wild figure, half grown out of the ground, who was strong, angry, and honest, but still doomed to perish because of standing only on the threshold of the future'. It is not surprising that Turgenev should mention in the same breath that he imagined Bazarov as a 'strange offshoot of Pugachev', the leader of the Cossack uprising against Catherine the Great, for, as he explains earlier in the letter, 'if he is called a nihilist, you should read that as revolutionary'.<sup>5</sup> This is certainly how the great anarchist Mikhail Bakunin (a friend to Turgenev during his milder student days in Berlin) understood Bazarov, exhorting Alexander Herzen in 1866 to appreciate the energy and strong will of the radical Russian youth. As a pronounced Anglomane, Turgenev's editor Mikhail Katkov may well have bridled at the portrayal of Bazarov's foppish opponent Pavel Kirsanov but he was truly shocked by Bazarov's 'force, power, superiority over the crowd'.<sup>6</sup> Katkov's relations with Chernyshevsky and the editorial team at *The Contemporary* had become increasingly antagonistic since the late 1850s, and now here was Turgenev seemingly wanting to celebrate the enemy! 'Even if Bazarov has not been raised to an apotheosis,' Katkov wrote to Turgenev, 'you have to admit, he has somehow managed to end up on a very high pedestal. He really does crush everything around him. Every thing before him is either worn out rags, or feeble and green.'<sup>7</sup> Katkov insisted Turgenev introduce revisions to the novel's manuscript to render Bazarov's portrait less positive, but in so doing probably only fomented the critical storm which greeted the novel upon its publication.

The terms of the Emancipation Act the previous year had dissatisfied all sections of Russian society, leading to a wave of demonstrations and arrests. Simultaneously, the introduction of ill-conceived university reforms prompted

widespread student protests in October 1861, particularly among those *raznochintsy* who could not afford to pay the new obligatory fees and objected to compulsory attendance at lectures. The twenty-four-year-old Dobrolyubov had entitled his review of *On the Eve* for *The Contemporary* the previous year ‘When Will the Real Day Come?’, and there were huge expectations among the revolutionary youth that Turgenev’s new novel would finally deliver an unequivocal positive hero on whom they could project their hopes and dreams. By March 1862, when the novel was published, Dobrolyubov was no longer around to express their sense of betrayal at Bazarov dying, since he himself had died of tuberculosis a few months earlier. (Interestingly, Turgenev’s character notes from the Isle of Wight reveal that Bazarov was in fact partly modelled on Dobrolyubov, whom he respected.) In his stead, another critic wrote a withering review, claiming that Turgenev had ridiculed Russian youth through his character of Bazarov. The young generation certainly felt that the portrait of Bazarov was, in Turgenev’s words, ‘an insulting caricature, a slanderous lampoon’.<sup>8</sup> Chernyshevsky, meanwhile, had been put under police surveillance for writing illegal anti-government tracts and inciting the peasants to revolt. In July 1862, a few weeks after the government had succeeded in shutting down *The Contemporary*, he was arrested and imprisoned in the St Peter and Paul Fortress. Instead of reviewing *Fathers and Sons*, he wrote an inflammatory riposte in the form of his revolutionary novel *What Is to Be Done?*, which was smuggled out of prison and published in 1863.

The American scholar and diplomat Eugene Schuyler, who produced the first English translation of *Fathers and Sons* in 1867 (and met Turgenev later that year en route to become US consul in Moscow), summarized well the general reaction to the novel in his foreword:

A tempest was raised in Russia by its appearance; passionate criticisms, calumnies, and virulent attacks abounded... Each generation found the picture of the other very life-like, but their own very badly drawn. The fathers protested, and the sons were enraged to see themselves personified in the positive Bazarof... Of course the more the book was abused, the more it was read. Its success has been greater than that of any other Russian book.<sup>9</sup>

The publication of *Fathers and Sons* was indeed a sensation, and not just in the Russian literary world. The novel was discussed all over the country, and according to one of Turgenev's contemporaries even caused a stir in sleepy provincial towns like Lenin's home town of Simbirsk, where no book had apparently ever made any kind of impact. As Avdotya Panayeva records in her memoirs, it was read even by those who had not picked up a book since leaving school. Daughters threatened their parents they would become nihilists if they were not bought new frocks and taken to balls, while the government condemned the doctrine of 'nihilism' as seditious. It was recommended that young men should be forbidden from appearing in public with long hair and dark-blue spectacles, while young women should be prohibited from appearing in public with short hair, and without chignons and crinolines.

In his 1917 study of Turgenev, Edward Garnett describes the novelist's many critics as a 'crowd of critical gnats dancing airily around the great master and eagerly driving their little stings into his flesh'.<sup>10</sup> Turgenev definitely was stung by the vehemence of the attacks, so much so that when *Fathers and Sons* came to be published as a separate book (by an old-believer merchant and philanthropist who had set up his own company in Moscow, every other publisher having shied away), he thought at first he should add a foreword to try and explain what he had set out to do. In the end he explained in his brief introduction that he had resolved the novel should speak for itself and declared that he had not changed his views. As he wrote to Sluchevsky in April 1862, 'My entire tale is directed against the nobility as the leading class.'<sup>11</sup> Thus he could in 'clear conscience' place on the title page the name of his 'unforgettable' friend Belinsky. Towards the end of the 1860s, however, Turgenev wrote a short essay on his novel as part of his *Literary Reminiscences*, in which he recounted the experience of being attacked on all sides – and was criticized on all sides for that too.

In truth, because Turgenev was an artist and not a pamphleteer, Bazarov emerges as a contradictory and ambivalent figure, but this is of course precisely why he succeeds as a literary character, and why his creator

exhorted readers to love him despite his ‘coarseness, heartlessness, pitiless dryness and sharpness’.<sup>12</sup> As Turgenev later conceded in a letter to Annenkov, it was likely ‘no author really understands what he is doing. There is a sort of contradiction here, which you *yourself* can never resolve, however you approach it.’<sup>13</sup>

Rosamund Bartlett

## NOTES

- 1 Nikolay Mikhailovsky, ‘Iz “Pisem postoronnyago” (stat’ya po povodu smerti Turgeneva)’, in P. Pertsov, ed., *O Turgeneve: russkaya i inostrannaya kritika 1818–1918* (Moscow: Kooperativnoe izdatel’stvo, 1918), p. 61.
- 2 Isaiah Berlin, ‘Vissarion Belinsky’, *Russian Thinkers* (Harmonds-worth: Penguin, 1979), p. 152.
- 3 Ivan Turgenev, ‘Instead of an Introduction’, *Turgenev’s Literary Reminiscences and Autobiographical Fragments*, tr. David Magarshack, with an essay by Edmund Wilson (London: Faber and Faber, 1984), pp. 92–3.
- 4 Letter to Pavel Annenkov, 22 March (3 April) 1861, I. S. Turgenev, *Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy i pisem v tridsati tomakh. Pis’ma v vosemnadtsati tomakh*, 2nd revised edition, vol. 4, ed. I. A. Bituygova and S. A. Reiser (Moscow: Nauka, 1987), p. 309.
- 5 Letter to Konstantin Sluchevsky, 14 (26) April 1862, cited in *Roman I. S. Turgeneva ‘Ottsy i deti’ v russkoy kritike*, ed. I. I. Sukhikh (Leningrad: izdatel’stvo Leningradskogo universiteta, 1986), p. 29.
- 6 Description of Katkov’s response in letter from Pavel Annenkov to Turgenev, 26 September 1861, cited in V. Y. Troitsky, *Kniga pokoleniy: o romane I. S. Turgeneva ‘Ottsy i deti’* (Moscow: Kniga, 1979), p. 21.
- 7 Ivan Turgenev, ‘Po povodu “Otysov i detey”’, *Roman I. S. Turgeneva ‘Ottsy i deti’ v russkoy kritike*, p. 37
- 8 Letter to Ludwig Pietsch, 22 May (3 June) 1869, *Polnoye sobraniye*