Cross-Cultural Encounters:

The Early Reception of Charles Dickens in China

(1895-1915)

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Abstract

This thesis examines the early reception of Charles Dickens in China from 1895 to 1915, with the aim of exploring the extent to which the values and politics that are purportedly embedded in Dickensian texts were interpreted and re-rendered for a totally different readership in a new place and time. I shall first introduce the publication and circulation history of Dickens's works in China during this first phase of cross-cultural transfer, and outline the theoretical underpinning of my research by arguing that the early Chinese translation of Dickens's works was a distinctive form both of translation and of adaptation, and one which was conditioned by specific cultural and historic contexts. I shall then focus on three main case studies—the Chinese translations and adaptations of *Little Dorrit* (1855-57), *David Copperfield* (1849-50) and *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859)—to explore how different Dickensian features were re-enacted, or in cases subverted, during this cross-cultural encounter. In Chapter One, I shall examine how Dickens's use of space and place in *Little Dorrit* is adapted and transformed by the Chinese translators, to the extent that the labyrinthine cityscape that characterised the author's portrayal of London is replaced by a gridlike structure that embodies traditional Chinese architectural principles. I shall also investigate how the social value and ideology as inscribed in built structures in Victorian England was transformed, and undermined during this adaptive process. In Chapter Two, I argue that traditional Chinese life writing, which was often used to exemplify wider history and culture instead of articulating the 'difference' of a bourgeois subject found in Western autobiographical traditions, has influenced

the translation and adaptation of *David Copperfield.* I shall demonstrate the importance of examining these different traditions, and their impact on the way the text was adapted, against the two cultures' different conceptions of the self and of the individual at their respective historic moments. In Chapter Three, I shall first consider how in *A Tale of Two Cities* Dickens makes use of the French Revolution, and the antithesis between the individual and the collective, to comment on contemporary politics before proceeding to consider how the novel was adapted to serve specific political purposes when it was first published in China in an overtly political journal, *The Justice*, about a year and a half after the Chinese Revolution of 1911. I shall demonstrate the importance of reading the text in its original print contexts, and consider how the changes which the Chinese translator introduced to both the main text and the paratexts have transformed the politics of Dickens's original narrative. The influence of Chinese traditional historical writing on the adaptive text will also be explored. I shall conclude this thesis by situating it within the wider contexts of Victorian studies, arguing that my emphasis on cultural specificities and historical contingency challenges some of the methodologies and underlying assumptions pertaining to the 'global' turn of Dickens studies.

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I am grateful for the questions and suggestions made by two anonymous reviewers of an article due to be published in *English*, elements of which have been incorporated in Chapter One of this thesis. I also need to thank Alan Thwaits for his careful review, and editing, of my English translations of the Chinese translated passages of Dickens's works that are cited in this thesis. Thanks are also due to the following libraries and special collection sections for allowing me access to research materials: Cadbury Research Library, British Library, Bodleian Library, Hallward Library, School of Oriental and African Studies and University of Hong Kong libraries.

Explanatory Note on Translation

All the English translations of the Chinese-language versions of Charles Dickens's novels cited in this thesis are my own. For selected prefaces written by Lin Shu to his Chinese-language versions of Dickens's novels as cited in this thesis, I have used the English translations of that Chinese to be found in *Modern Chinese Literary Thought: Writings on Literature 1893-1945*, ed. Kirk Denton (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996); my use of this source material is clearly indicated in the relevant footnotes and bibliography. All other English translations of the cited passages that were originally written in Chinese, unless otherwise stated, are my own translation.

I have adopted the Mandarin pinyin system for this thesis, but have kept the original spelling of book titles, and of names that are cited in quotation. I have used *Italics* for those few Chinese words where I consider it necessary to use pinyin in order to highlight terms which are integral to the point that I make. The Chinese translations of Dickens's titles are accompanied by the original English titles when they are mentioned for the first time in the thesis. For the benefit of English-speaking readers, I have translated the titles of other Chinese materials. All Chinese materials are listed separately in the bibliography section.

Explanatory Note on the Text

I have used reprints of the first-edition texts for the Chinese translations of Dickens's works in this thesis. Details of the publication information of these texts are stated in the footnotes of subsequent chapters.

In this thesis, my use of the term 'original' mainly refers to the first publication of Dickens's works in book form in Victorian England. This takes account of the fact that early Chinese translators—and by extension, intellectuals—had they encountered the novels in their original, English language, would most likely have done so in book form, instead of their initial serialised format. However, an exception has been made for my discussion of *A Tale of Two Cities* in Chapter Three, when the term 'original' refers to its first, published serialised format in *All the Year Round*, a literary journal established by Dickens. The choice of such a textual embodiment in this last instance is because the Chinese-language text of *A Tale of Two Cities* also first appeared in serial form, thus providing an opportunity to examine the significance of 'equivalent' first English and first Chinese publication formats. I have used bound volumes of the reprints of the first-edition texts for both the original and the Chinese versions of *A Tale of Two Cities*. They are: Charles Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, in *All the Year Round*, Vols. 1&2 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1859); Charles Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, tran. Wei Yi, in *The Justice*, Vols. 1, 4-7, ed. Tang Zhijun (Beijing: Chunghwa Book Co., 2010). The Chinese title of *The Justice* is *Yong Yan*, and it was originally published by the *Yong Yan Press* in Tianjin between December 1912 and June 1914.

Content

Introduction

The Early Reception of Charles Dickens in China

Overview

> England might seem so strong and powerful that it has almost become the focus of attention from countries around the globe, and its conduct has been deemed worthy of serving as the world's model. How would anyone know that England still has thieves' dens if Dickens had not described them in his novel? And yet the reason for England's strength resides in its ability to accept good advice and reform itself accordingly [...] What I regret is that there is no one like Dickens who can cite age-old malpractices and dramatize them in novels in order to inform the government of their existence.[1]

Lin Shu's (1852-1924) preface to his translation of *Oliver Twist* (1838), which was published under the name of *Zei Shi* (literally 'a thief's history') in 1908, portrayed Charles Dickens (1812-1870) as a social reformer whose novels alerted the Victorian government to various problems in society.[2] Such a portrayal of Dickens would likely have won the endorsement of the Victorian author himself, a man who is widely seen as amongst the first literary

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[1] Shu Lin, 'Preface to *Oliver Twist*', tran. Yenna Wu, in *Modern Chinese Literary Thought: Writings on Literature 1893-1945*, ed. Kirk Denton (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp.82-83.

[2] I have followed Chinese conventions when naming Chinese writers, intellectuals and translators in the main body of the thesis, that is, the family name comes first (such as Lin Shu). However, for referencing consistency, I have used the standardised citation practice for footnotes and bibliography.

celebrities who succeeded in constructing his own public image as a leading writer and social commentator of his day. The Chinese translator's portrayal of Dickens, as I shall discuss in detail later, underpins the utilitarian function which Chinese intellectuals attached to prose fiction in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Since the first Chinese translations of *The Old Curiosity Shop* (1840-41) and *Nicholas Nickleby* (1838-39) appeared in 1907, a number of Dickens's novels have been translated and published in China in various editions and forms.[3] The years between 1907 and 1914, which marked the first phase of this cross-cultural transfer, saw the publication of seven works in total—*Nicholas Nickleby* and *The Old Curiosity Shop* in 1907, *David Copperfield* (1849-50) and *Oliver Twist* (1837-39) in 1908, *Dombey and Son* (1846-48) in 1909, *Little Dorrit* (1855-57) in 1910 and *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859) in 1913-14.[4] With the exception of *A Tale of Two Cities*, which was published in serial form in the periodical, *The Justice*, all these novels were first brought out by the Commercial Press in Shanghai. This thesis centres on investigating this first phase of the cross-cultural transfer; at the same time, it takes some account of the period preceding the first appearance of Dickensian texts in China on the grounds that it is only by having a grasp of the significant intellectual and historical events that happened prior to the publication of Dickens's novels in China that we can fully understand why they were first translated and published at that particular historic moment.

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[3] *Bibliography of Publications during the Republic Period (Foreign Literature) 1911-1949*, ed. Beijing Library (Beijing: Shumu Wenxian Publishing, 1987); *Bibliography of the Publication of Translated Western Classics 1949-1979* (Beijing: Chunghwa Book Co., 1980); Chen Tong, *Dickens and China* (Hunan: Xiangtan University, 2008).
[4] Ibid.

The thesis thus focuses on the years from 1895, when China was defeated by Japan in the Sino-Japanese War, up until 1915, when Chinese intellectuals' discontent with tradition gathered momentum and ultimately led to the nation-wide New Culture Movement during the broadly defined 'May Fourth Period'.[5] The period this thesis examines also marked the ending in 1911 of a 2,000-year period of dynastic rule, when the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) was overthrown by a revolution and a Republic was established on 1 January 1912.[6] The attempts by many intellectuals to search for new ways of expression while at the same time holding on to traditional beliefs and values amidst mounting concern over the country's future contributed to some of the most vibrant debates over the role and function of fiction in the literary arena. At the same time, the defeats which China suffered in its wars with foreign countries and its string of domestic problems led many intellectuals to look for new ideas and knowledge from the West in their bid to reform and modernise the country. One striking example of these various concerns, and sometimes

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[5] The term 'May Fourth Movement' is used by scholars and Chinese people in two senses. Narrowly defined, it refers to a large-scale student demonstration on 4 May 1919 in protest against what many perceived as an international humiliation which China suffered when the Western nations at Versailles decided to transfer the German concession in Shandong to Japan instead of returning its sovereignty to China. In a broader sense, it refers to the nation-wide cultural and literary movement as pushed forward by Chinese reformers before and after 1919, thus earning it the name 'New Culture Movement'.

[6] Sun Yat-sen was elected 'provisional president' of the Chinese Republic and he inaugurated its existence when assuming office in Nanjing on 1 January 1912. The Qing dynasty officially came to an end when the last Qing emperor, Puyi, was abdicated on 12 February 1912. A day after the abdication, Sun relinquished his claim to the presidency to Yuan Shikai, which was largely due to Yuan's military power. For this turbulent history, see Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York and London: Norton, 1999), pp.258-277. I shall discuss in detail of the interrelationship between Chinese historical development and the introduction of translated literature, especially that of Dickens, to China in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries in subsequent sections of this chapter. For an insightful discussion of the key social, cultural and political events during the period, see *The Cambridge History of China* (Late Ching, 1800-1911, Part 2), Vol.11, eds. John Fairbank and Kwang-Ching Liu (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); *The Cambridge History of China* (Republican China, 1912-1949, Part 1), Vol.12, ed. John Fairbank (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

tensions, is Lin's choice of using classical Chinese to translate over 200 Western European novels (most of them from the nineteenth century)—including, as I noted, those by Dickens—for a Chinese readership.[7] This period thus bore particular significance in the country's cultural development as it was a time when the interactions, as well as the tensions, between the two cultures were the most animated, and the translation processes were therefore most 'creative'; this is reflected by the very visible presence of Chinese culture and tradition in the translated Dickensian texts, one which demonstrates the attempt by Chinese intellectuals to find ways to express new ideas and concepts without entirely abandoning their own values and concerns, and their own sense of cultural identity. It is this dual ambition which sets this cultural moment apart from the subsequent May Fourth Period when Chinese intellectuals undertook more wholesale appropriations of Western frames of reference when discussing the nation's cultural and literary developments.

The fact that this thesis discusses Dickensian texts in both their original—that is, nineteenth-century English textual embodiments—and in early Chinese translations unavoidably raises issues much discussed in translation studies, including those to do with the translatability of one language to another.[8] However, and as I shall discuss in detail later, the 'translation' practices which Chinese translators were engaged with during this first-phase of Dickens's introduction to China defied conventional understandings of the notion of

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[7] Kirk Denton argues that while Lin's decision to use a classical prose was intended primarily to sustain the ancient-style prose and the traditional Confucian values that style was thought to embody, by introducing Western cultural values through these translations, 'Lin helped lay the groundwork for the iconoclasm of the May Fourth period and thus contributed to the collapse of the Confucian order he had wanted to restore'. See Denton, 'General Introduction', in *Modern Chinese Literary Thought*, ed. Kirk Denton, pp.1-61 (8-9).

[8] For my use of the term 'original', see the 'Explanatory Note on the Text' in this thesis.

translation and adaptation—particularly as they relate mainly to a formal linguistic analysis. One major concern in traditional translation study is the extent to which the translated text is 'faithful' to the original.[9] While a work of adaptation is often seen by critics as a form of refashioning or reworking of the original, one of the chief criteria of assessment remains about how a piece of adapted work may adhere to, or depart from, the essence of the original work, or what some describe as 'fidelity' arguments.[10] In other words, the whole notion of adaptation presupposes knowledge of both the original and the translated texts, such that they can be compared. However, Chinese readers' general lack of access in the early twentieth century to an 'original' text (that is, to any nineteenth-century English embodiment) raises questions as to the applicability of Western theorizations of adaptation and related cultural practices, which, as I noted, have long predicated the co-existence of, and readers' access to, both the source and the target texts. At the same time, the 'free' translations with which Chinese readers engaged clearly move away from traditional notions of translation, and, as I noted earlier, gesture towards a creative practice that perhaps can be more accurately described as a form of 'rewriting' in Andre Lefevere's sense.[11] This thesis argues that the specific

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[9] The notion of faithfulness is discussed by Jeremy Munday in 'Issues in Translation Studies', in *The Routledge Companion to Translation Studies*, ed. Jeremy Munday (London: Routledge, 2008), pp.1-19.

[10] Rachel Carroll argues that 'all adaptations express or address a desire to return to an "original" textual encounter', although such a 'return' often leads to a new interpretation, or transformation, and hence becoming 'an instance of textual infidelity'. See Carroll, 'Introduction: Textual Infidelities', in *Adaptation in Contemporary Culture: Textual Infidelities*, ed. Rachel Caroll (London: Continuum International Publishing, 2009), pp.1-7 (1).

[11] Andre Lefevere, 'Why Waste our Time on Rewrites? The Trouble with Interpretation and the Role of Rewriting in an Alternative Paradigm', in *The Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation*, ed. Theo Hermans (London & Sidney: Croom Helm, 1985), pp.215-243. John Milton points out that a number of countries, including Turkey, Japan and China, introduced adapted and simplified versions of the works of foreign authors during their initial

cultural practice which early Chinese translators carried out is best understood as a distinctive form both of translation and of adaptation, albeit one conditioned by specific cultural and historic contexts. My interchangeable use of the terms 'translation' and 'adaptation' in the three case studies that I examine reflects my attempt to indicate the co-existence of these two elements in the processes of cross-cultural-transfer—or more accurately, the difficulty, in these examples, formally to distinguish between the two. For example, I shall demonstrate in Chapter One that the Chinese translators' attempt to translate Dickensian spatiality for a Chinese readership becomes a form of adaptation because the translated spatiality no longer mirrors Victorian architecture or the labyrinthine cityscape of London; instead it enshrines Chinese architectural traditions. In a broad sense, then, this thesis concurs with Susan Bassnett's contention that a translator is a 'mediator' between cultures as well as her wider proposition that socio-cultural contexts should be taken into account in an examination of the translation processes.[12] That said, investigating the first phase of cross-cultural transfer from Britain and China I do not adopt any of the specific theoretical frameworks which translation and adaptation scholars have formulated to examine cross-cultural practices. Instead, I use a broadly historicist approach to examine the encounters between cultures in terms that would have been familiar to Dickens and his contemporaries in Victorian England, as well as to the Chinese translators and intellectuals in the early twentieth century respectively. The purpose of doing so is to avoid, as far as possible, imposing modern values and terms of

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contact with the West. See Milton, 'Between the cat and the devil: Adaptation Studies and Translation Studies', *Journal of Adaptation in Film & Performance*, 2:1 (2009): 47-64.

[12] Susan Bassnett, *Translation Studies* (London & New York: Routledge, 2002), p.6.

reference, or to borrow Lydia Liu's phrase—an 'absolute category of analysis'—when analysing cross-cultural interactions that had their own specific cultural conceptions and value systems.[13] This approach assumes that cross-cultural contact often involves efforts by both sides—I am especially interested in that of the translators in the present case—to find ways to express new ideas and concepts, and in such efforts those enacting the transfer may reveal their own values and traditions, as well as the way in which they interpret a particular text that comes from a very different historical and cultural context.

In this way, this thesis aims to fill a gap in current scholarship on the publication, circulation and reception of Dickens's works in China in the early twentieth century. Moreover, while it builds, as I have noted, on various theoretical expositions on the notion of translation and adaptation in Western scholarship in its analysis of the 'translated' text, at the same time it argues for the importance of examining translated texts and their embedded values at the specific moment of their circulation. To this end, this thesis investigates the way in which the politics, ideology and social values which Dickens's novels purportedly inscribed were reconstructed, reconfigured or even on occasions subverted through the initial process of cross-cultural transfer from Britain to China. It suggests that these manoeuvres took place either because of the influence of the broad values and conceptions of Chinese culture at the time and/or because of the translators' conscious efforts to adapt the texts for their specific readership. Such an approach thus sets this thesis apart from what can

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[13] Lydia Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity-China, 1900-1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), p.84.

be loosely termed the 'influence study' which Chinese critics commonly adopt in examining East-West interactions in the first half of the twentieth-century, and which often implies certain assumptions concerning the relative power positioning between source and target cultures.[14]

Publication and Circulation (1895-1915)

The publication and circulation of Dickens's novels in China in the early twentieth century has to be understood from two perspectives: on the one hand, there was a rising interest in translated literature and a growing conviction—at least held by some Chinese intellectuals and reformers—that prose fiction, rather than poetry and historical writings, which had long been held as 'high art' in the Chinese literary scene, could be used to educate the public and to advance the reformers' political and social causes. On the other hand, the blossoming of the Chinese publishing sector, and the proliferation of publishing companies and translation agencies in the early twentieth century, provided a fertile ground for the development and circulation of various periodicals, magazines, newspapers and books.

The year 1895 marked a watershed in Chinese history, in that China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese war came as a shock for many who had hitherto believed in the country's power despite the two Opium Wars with the British empire; defeat by the Japanese led many intellectuals to realise that a fully-

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[14] Influence study is one of the main approaches adopted by scholars in the field of comparative literature to examine the influence of a literary work or movement of one culture on another. It is a particularly popular approach used by Chinese scholars to examine the influence of foreign writers on Chinese writers, especially during the May Fourth Movement. See, for example, Leo Ou-fan Lee, *The Romantic Generation of Modern Chinese Writers* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1973); *Modern Chinese Literature in the May Fourth Era*, ed. Merle Goldman (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1977).

fledged reform and self-strengthening process was necessary if the nation was to survive.[15] That sense of urgency and crisis, as Kirk Denton puts it, was keenly felt by educated Chinese as 'the reality of their society's disintegration conflicted with their ideals of China's cultural grandeur'.[16] One of the popular approaches held by many intellectuals during the period was to follow the modernization path of Japan, the success of which was seen as having stemmed from its effort to carry out since 1860 a broad reform movement based on the Western model of modernity. A direct consequence of the growing call for Westernization in the late nineteenth century was that an increasing number of students were sent to Japan and other foreign countries to study, especially in the fields of science and technology. These overseas-educated students later emerged as the key players in the nation's 'literary revolution' and the reform movement generally.[17] One of the key major domestic political events in the late nineteenth century was the Hundred Days' Reform in 1898, a movement led by Emperor Guangxu and supported by Chinese reformers such as Kang Youwei (1858-1927) and Liang Qichao (1873-1929); yet it resulted in the house arrest of the Emperor by the Empress Dowager and the exile of the reformers.[18] This incident turned many reformers into revolutionaries, who believed that only by radically transforming the political system through revolution could China attain change and thereby be able to tackle effectively domestic problems and fend off foreign threats.

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[15] For an overview of Chinese history, see Spence, *The Search for Modern China.*
[16] Kirk Denton, 'General Introduction', in *Modern Chinese Literary Thought*, ed. Kirk Denton, p.5.
[17] Qichao Liang was one of the famous Chinese intellectuals who were heavily influenced by the Japanese reform agenda and modernization path. I shall discuss Liang's work in detail in Chapter Three.
[18] See Spence, pp.223-236.

The debates and the concerns in the literary and intellectual circles of the time have therefore to be seen within this wider context of political uncertainties and the anxiety felt by many Chinese intellectuals towards the future of China. As with other sectors of society, Chinese intellectuals had reached a conviction that changes were necessary in the literary arena, as they believed that the traditional style of writing had failed to cope with the challenges that the nation faced, in the sense that such writings were unable to fulfil the social role to which literary texts, or writings in general, were assigned. Chinese intellectuals had traditionally ascribed to literature a moral-political function, one which is conventionally seen as encapsulated in the maxim 'Literature conveys the *Dao* (Way)'. While the May Fourth critics treated *Dao* as merely political and moral ideology, Denton points out that the concept also carries with it broader cosmological and metaphysical connotations that were part of both the Daoist and the Confucian philosophical traditions.[19] The belief that fiction could play particular social and political roles was succinctly captured by Liang, who in the 'Foreword to the Publication of Political Novels in Translation' highlights the pervasiveness of novels in society as they were read by people from all walks of life. 'A newly published book could often influence and change the views and arguments of the whole nation', he wrote. 'Political novels', he contended, 'should be given the highest credit for being instrumental in the steady progress made in the political sphere in America, England, Germany, France, Austria, Italy and

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[19] Denton, p.29.

Japan.'[20] Liang's idea of political novels was based on the Japanese model that he encountered during his exile after the 1898 reform movement.[21] As Hiroko Willcock puts it, the political novel can be broadly defined as a novel which 'deals with political ideas, or which analyses political phenomena, or in which the political milieu is the dominant setting'.[22] Willcock proceeds to suggest that 'in a narrow sense it must at the same time express a positive direction towards the improvement of the existing social and political milieu'; it is the latter view with which Liang seemed to be primarily concerned and which he propagandised in China.[23] In Liang's opinion, the form of fiction was particularly effective in influencing people because of its 'profound power over the way of man' and the manner in which it 'infiltrates the entire society and made its effect felt in the morals and manners of society'.[24] Yet his belief in the political function of fiction should not be taken as his complete endorsement of this literary form; it is clear from his writings that his promotion of prose fiction was because of what he saw as its utilitarian value, rather than any intrinsic literary or aesthetic qualities; this view was shared by many of his contemporaries who had received classical training and who, as I have noted, had traditionally held prose fiction in disdain. Chinese

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[20] Qichao Liang, 'Foreword to the Publication of Political Novels in Translation', tran. Gek Nai Cheng, in *Modern Chinese Literary Thought*, ed. Kirk Denton, pp.71-73 (73). It was originally published in 1898 in *Qing Yi Bao*.

[21] Lawrence Wang-chi Wong, ' "The Sole Purpose is to Express My Political Views": Liang Qichao and the Translation and Writing of Political Novels in the Late Qing', in *Translation and Creation: Readings of Western Literature in Early Modern China 1840-1918*, ed. David Pollard (Philadelphia: John Benjamin Publishing Co., 1998), pp.105-126.

[22] Hiroko Willcock, 'Japanese Modernization and the Emergence of New Fiction in Early Twentieth Century China: A Study of Liang Qichao', *Modern Asian Studies*, 29:4(1995): 817-840 (817).

[23] Ibid.

[24] Qichao Liang, 'On the Relationship between Fiction and the Government of the People', tran. Gek Nai Cheng, in *Modern Chinese Literary Thought*, ed. Kirk Denton, pp.74-81. It was originally published in 1902 in *Xin Xiaoshuo*.

intellectuals' use and appropriation of prose fiction thus also reflects the tension between tradition and new forms of expression during the period; this also stood in contrast to the May Fourth Movement in the subsequent decade, when, as I also suggested above, Chinese intellectuals increasingly resorted to Western frameworks to discuss national problems and to distance themselves from traditional views. While there was a general call for the development of democracy and science during the Movement, in the literary arena some intellectuals and reformers, notably Hu Shi (1891-1962), advocated the use of vernacular language instead of classical prose, and the elimination of what he described as 'hackneyed and formal language' and the avoidance of the mere imitation of the ancients.[25]

Dickens's novels, as noted earlier, were mainly published in book form during the first phase of cross-cultural transfer, and the Commercial Press in Shanghai played a key role in this process. According to the *Bibliography of Publications during the Republic Period (Foreign Literature) 1911-1949*, a total of six of Dickens's novels—*Nicholas Nickleby*, *The Old Curiosity Shop*, *David Copperfield*, *Oliver Twist*, *Dombey and Son* and *Little Dorrit*—were published by the Commercial Press in Shanghai. Amongst them, five were

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[25] These ideas were famously expounded on by Hu Shi in his article 'Some Modest Proposals for the Reform of Literature', tran. Kirk Denton, in *Modern Chinese Literary Thought*, ed. Kirk Denton, pp.123-139. It was originally published in *Xin Qingnian* (*New Youth*), 2:5 (Jan. 1917). Although May Fourth campaigners advocated the use of vernacular Chinese, or *bai-hua*, for prose-writing so that they would be accessible to common readers, Pingyuan Chen has pointed out that their pursuit of the 'avant-garde' and their criticisms of popular literature suggested that their writing remained 'elitist' in nature. See Chen's 'Literature High and Low: "Popular Fiction" in twentieth-century China', in *The Literary Field of Twentieth-century China*, ed. Michel Hockx (Surrey: Curzon Press, 1999), pp.113-133. Perhaps a better way of putting it would be what C.T. Hsia termed as the May Fourth campaigners' attempt to assert the 'dignity' of vernacular Chinese and 'its importance as a literary medium'. See Hsia's *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999), p.7.

translated into Chinese by Lin; as I shall argue later, his method of translation, as with that of his contemporaries, challenges the traditional Western notion of translation and gestures towards a kind of adaptation process.[26] The Commercial Press played a key role in the publication and circulation of translated literature—and more broadly, the various new periodicals and literary journals which sprung out between 1904 and 1937; it also occupied the largest share of the textbook market and examination-oriented materials.[27] In *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876-1937*, Christopher Reed points out that Shanghai emerged as a leading base for major printing corporations, such as the Commercial Press, Zhonghua Books and World Books, and a hotbed for literary adventures and translation activities.[28] Shanghai's privileged cultural position stemmed mainly from the city's early interaction with the West through the development of the treaty port, the proliferation of missionary activities and the circulation of different ideas and thoughts.[29] The printing corporations' adoption of modern printing technologies led to a reduction in printing costs and resulted in the mass

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[26] Although the *Bibliography of Publications during the Republic Period (Foreign Literature) 1911-1949* stipulates that the collection encompassed the period between 1911 and 1949, it includes data relating to the publication of Dickens's works in China between 1907 and 1910.

[27] The Commercial Press played a major role in the publication of various magazines and literary journals that captured the latest literary and cultural trends of the day. These included *Short Story Monthly* (1910-32) under the editorship by famous writers such as Mao Dun, and *Educational Review* (1909-48). For details, See Christopher Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876-1937* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), pp. 203-256.

[28] In *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, Christopher Reed has demonstrated how the adoption of modern printing technologies shaped the print culture and reading habits of the Chinese readers in Shanghai, a city where major printing corporations converged. However, it has to be noted that the cost of traditional woodblock-printing was actually lower than the Western movable-type printing between 1400-1800, as Robert Hegel pointed out in *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), pp.72-163.

[29] Shanghai was one of the five coastal ports which were forced to open for foreign trades under the Treaty of Nanjing following China's defeat in the first Opium War (1839-42) by Britain in 1842. See Spence, pp.141-166.

production of different types of publications, such as books, magazines and newspapers, for an expanding readership, who were eager to obtain a large amount of timely news and new knowledge following the nation's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895. Originally relying on imported machinery, a few Chinese printers subsequently manufactured their own printing machines, and hence further reducing the cost of production. Corresponding with these technological changes was the rising interest in translation between 1902 and 1905 in Shanghai and the flourishing of translation centres there.[30]

The *Bibliography* is an important source which chronicles the publication history of translated Western literature from the formation of the Republic on 1 January 1912 until the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949. It was first published in 1987 as part of a series edited by Beijing Library in an attempt to draw a full picture of the country's publication scene during the Republican era, which was at a time when the country was yet to develop a systematic way of collecting, recording and regulating publication activities in China. As such, this national bibliography was based on the collections of Beijing Library, Shanghai Library and Chongqing Library. In explaining its methodologies, the editorial notes stipulate that the choice of these three libraries was made because Beijing, Shanghai and Chongqing were three main publishing centres during the period. They add that the editors had carried out surveys in places that were of historical significance at the time

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[30] Perry Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies: Popular Fiction in Early Twentieth-Century Chinese Cities* (California: University of California, 1981), pp.125-155.

such as Nanjing, Guangzhou and the Northeastern region, yet the information gained did not make any substantive difference to their findings.[31]

Whilst the *Bibliography* does not carry much information about the number of copies of each title published nor about their price, the fact that all of the thirteen titles by Dickens were published in several editions and in different forms between 1907 and 1949 suggests a healthy demand for his works. For example, *The Old Curiosity Shop*, first published as part of '*shuobu* series', was reprinted four times between 1907 and 1915 by the Commercial Press in Shanghai.[32] In February 1914, the novel was published in pocket size, followed by another edition which was part of Lin's translation series in June the same year. *Dombey and Son*, meanwhile, was also published under the '*shuobu* series' (which was subsequently brought out in three editions), 'small-pocket novels' (two editions) and 'Lin's translation series' (one edition) respectively between the years 1909 and 1914. During this early period of publication, Dickens's novels were issued in different forms that ranged from three volumes, two-part issues, four volumes to six-volume publications. For instance, *The Old Curiosity Shop* was published in three volumes when it made its debut in the Chinese book market in 1907, whilst *Nicholas Nickleby* was published in six volumes when it was released in the same year. In the subsequent year, *David Copperfield* was made available to readers in two parts, with each part comprising of two volumes. *Hard Times*, meanwhile, was

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[31] See the preface of the *Bibliography* for details of the editorial process and methodology.
[32] The '*shuobu* series' was one of the most important fiction series that the Commercial Press published from 1903 to 1924; this included both Chinese and translated Western novels. The Chinese term *shuobu* meant story or fiction.

published in a single volume in 1926, which is perhaps related to the fact that it is one of Dickens's shortest novels.

One major inadequacy of the *Bibliography* is the absence of the publication information on translated literature which was published in serial form; this information in a way can more clearly reflect the political and social functions which the editors—and Chinese intellectuals in general—attached to literature, especially when the type of the periodicals and the journals in which the translated literature, including that by Dickens, was published often carried a particular political agenda. A striking example is the choice by Liang, who was well-known for his anti-revolutionary stance after the Chinese Revolution of 1911, to publish *A Tale of Two Cities* in *The Justice*, a periodical which he founded on 1 December 1912.[33] The form in which Dickensian texts were published in China during this period departed markedly from the way in which those texts were originally published for a Victorian readership. The publication of prose fiction in Victorian England needs to be understood in terms of a rapidly expanding book market and growing consumerism, phenomena which in turn were driven by the accelerating pace of industrialization and capitalism. As Alexis Weedon points out, the economies of scale that the publishers adopted in Victorian England was both a response to, and a result of, the rising demands of the reading public and the development of a commodity culture from the mid-nineteenth century onwards; the prosperous publishing scene was further spurred on by the expansion of colonial book markets, such as those in India, Australia and America, which

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[33] I shall examine in detail of the politics of *The Justice* and its relationship with the translation and publication of *A Tale of Two Cities* in Chapter Three.

had in turn influenced the publishing industry at home.[34] The expansion of the publishing market, as Lee Erickson argues, had also influenced the production and reception of literary forms, as can be seen in the rise of periodical formats and the popularity of serialisation for the initial publication of literary works—especially prose fiction.[35] To succeed as a novelist in the Victorian period, then, one was often expected to be able to work with the serial format, which in turn required a writer to keep the readers' interest over a span of time.[36] All these changes led to rising concerns as to whether the literary value of such fiction had been compromised in view of the attempt by editors, publishers and arguably authors to meet the demands of popular taste. At the same time, the success of many Victorian authors, such as Dickens and Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-1894), was related to their ability to exploit these changes that were deemed worrying developments by the others.[37]

Most of Dickens's novels were first made available to English readers in monthly part issues, typically comprising 32 octavo pages with two illustrations inside a coloured paper wrapper, and sold at a shilling. This

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[34] Alexis Weedon, *Victorian Publishing: The Economics of Book Production for a Mass Market, 1836-1916* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

[35] Lee Erickson, *The Economy of Literary Form: English Literature and the Industrialisation of Publishing, 1800-1850* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1996). The rising number of books that were published and the diversity of subject matters were recorded in *The Publishers' Circular*, which was an important trade journal for major publishers in the nineteenth century as it contained advertisements of newly published books as well as important trade news. For a brief history of *The Publishers' Circular*, see Simon Eliot and John Sutherland's *The Publishers' Circular, 1837-1900: Guide to the Microfiche Edition* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1988). James Raven, meanwhile, has offered an alternative account of the publishing industry by chronicling the bookselling business from the early modern period to the nineteenth century in *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade 1450-1850* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007).

[36] John Butt and Kathleen Tillotson have examined in detail of Dickens's initial involvement with, and his process of composition for, the serial publication in *Dickens at Work* (London: Methuen & Co., 1957), pp.62-75.

[37] See Josephine Guy and Ian Small, *The Routledge Concise History of Nineteenth-Century Literature* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), pp.197-223.

fashion, as critics noted, was started by the 'unanticipated runaway success' of Dickens's *Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club*, published by Chapman and Hall between 1836-7.[38] While Dickens uses the genre of fiction to comment on various social problems and political issues of his day, his choice of the particular form in which his works were published was obviously an economic one. Issuing a novel in a monthly part-issue format could reduce the price which readers had to pay and made fiction more affordable to the lower middle class, or the 'common readers'. It could also attract a number of reviews instead of just one as was the case with the publication of a work in a single volume.[39] Yet as John Sutherland points out, the serial part-issue format remained an unusual form in the Victorian period; some authors and publishers attempted to cash in on Dickens's success by imitating this format in 1840s but many gave it up soon afterwards.[40] A more popular serial format in the Victorian period was to publish prose fiction in literary magazines; this, as well as monthly part-issues, was often followed by publication in book form.[41] While the Chinese translations of Dickens's novels were often published in book form without any illustration, most of his novels, as noted earlier, in their original, English print formats were accompanied by illustrations. Indeed, the initial success of his *Sketches by Boz*, a collection of his short pieces on London life which originally appeared separately in various magazines and

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[38] See, Graham Law, *Serializing Fiction in the Victorian Press* (Basingstoke and N.Y.: 2000), pp.3-38; Robert Patten, *Charles Dickens and His Publishers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), p.46.

[39] Linda Hughes and Michael Lund, *The Victorian Serial* (Charlotteville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1991), pp.1-14; John Sutherland, *Victorian Fiction: Writers, Publishers, Readers* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1995), pp.87-106.

[40] Sutherland, pp.87-106.

[41] Richard Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800-1900* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957); Hughes and Lund, pp.1-14.

newspapers under his pseudonym, Boz, has often been attributed largely to the fame of George Cruikshank, who was one of the most sought after illustrators of his day. By the 1830s, the very presence of Cruikshank's name on a title page was a guarantee of a sizeable sale.[42] While Cruikshank only illustrated two of Dickens novels (the other one was *Oliver Twist*), a bulk of Dickens's novels—10 out of 15—were illustrated by Hablot Browne, who was known as Phiz by many Victorian readers. Browne's illustrations, as Jane Cohen noted, also contributed significantly to the popularity of the author's works as they captured well the spirit of the narrative and essence of Dickens's characters.[43] Dickens's choice of publishing his works in periodicals which he edited also clearly indicated his economic considerations. He decided to serialise his own novel, *Hard Times*, between 1 April and 12 August, 1854, in *Household Words* (1850-1859), a periodical in which he was a partner, in order to boost its flagging sales. Likewise, he started serialising *A Tale of Two Cities* in the founding issue of *All the Year Round* (1859-1895) on 30 April 1859, a journal which he established and published immediately after the closure of *Household Words*, in order to beef up its sales. The novel was also issued in eight monthly parts commencing June 1859, with the final two parts being sold together as a double issue in December.[44] Dickens's marketing tactics and his keenness on fashioning himself as a literary celebrity were intertwined with a booming

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[42] Although Cruikshank only illustrated two of Dickens's works, his contribution to Dickens's initial literary success has been widely recognised. See Jane Cohen, *Charles Dickens and his Original Illustrators* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1980), pp.2-38.
[43] Cohen, pp.61-138.
[44] See 'Appendix A: The Serialization of *A Tale of Two Cities* in 1859', in Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, ed. Andrew Sanders (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp.363-364.

consumer culture and growing commercialism.[45] Such an image as a literary celebrity of his day was further perpetuated by *The Life of Charles Dickens* (1872-74), a biography written by his friend, John Forster, who is widely seen as one of the first professional literary biographers, and which was published shortly after Dickens's death in 1870. Although the biography is a sanitized version of the author's life, notable for the absence of Dickens's love affair with the actress Ellen Ternan and his failed marriage, it does hint at the fact that monetary considerations played an important part in Dickens's literary and public life. For example, Forster wrote that Dickens decided to accept invitations to carry out numerous public readings in England and America, despite his objection to what he deemed as the author's 'substitution of lower for higher aims' and that it had 'so much the character of a public exhibition for money'.[46]

The form in which Dickens's novels were published and circulated in Victorian London, then, reflects his—and the publishers'—responses to the changing literary and publication scene during the period. Of paramount importance for Dickens, in terms of the serial form, was a need to sustain readers' interests: on the one hand this made him alert to readers' reactions and sentiments, on the other hand it may well argue that his literary judgement

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[45] Josephine Guy, 'Authors and Authorship', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature 1830-1914*, ed. Joanne Shattock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp.9-29.

[46] John Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens,* Vol.3 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1874), p.165. Recent scholarship has attempted to give a more comprehensive picture of Dickens's life, especially paying much more attention to his love affair with Ellen Ternan and his unhappy marriage. See Claire Tomalin, *The Invisible Woman: The Story of Nelly Ternan and Charles Dickens* (London: Penguin, 1991); Tomalin, *Charles Dickens: A Life* (London: Penguin, 2011); Michael Slater, *Charles Dickens* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009). Robert Douglas-Fairhurst, meanwhile, focuses on the early stage of the writer's career in *Becoming Dickens: The Invention of a Novelist* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011).

might have been compromised by needing to accede to popular taste and market demands. In any case, while Dickens is credited with his sharp social observations and commentaries on the social and political conditions of his time, it has to be acknowledged that his literary success, and his image as a leading writer of his day, was intertwined with his sensibility to market conditions and his publicity skills. However, Chinese readers, translators and reformers' understandings of Dickens in the early twentieth century, as I noted earlier, were largely confined to the image of Dickens as a social reformer and commentator. This was probably due to the fact that their impression of Dickens primarily came from interpreters' prefaces and the translated texts themselves due to the limited information about the author and the cultural and historic conditions within which his works were first circulated. This detachment of the text from the Victorian contextual information surrounding it, including details about the author's biography and the literary culture of his time, made his fiction more susceptible to different interpretations, and even to manipulation, when it was transferred to another culture—in this case China—where there was a very different set of assumptions and conditions under which a literary work was read and published.

While Jerome McGann persuasively argues that the material embodiment of a book, including its visual appearance (such as layout and typeface), affect readers' interpretation and reception of a text, the primary focus of this thesis will be on the translation and adaptation of the linguistic text as well as some aspects of what Gerard Genette describes as the 'paratext'.[47] Genette coins the

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[47] Jerome McGann, *The Textual Condition* ((Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Donald McKenzie, meanwhile, argues that the material condition of a text also encompasses

term 'paratext' to refer to a 'threshold', or 'a zone between text and off-text'; these include titles, subtitles, prefaces and notes. [48] Paratext, he argues, plays the functional role of presenting, and in the process shaping, readers' interpretation of a literary text. His theorisation thus finds much resonance with McGann's materialist approach in considering the reception of a text. In *The Textual Condition of Nineteenth-Century Literature*, Josephine Guy and Ian Small contend that Genette's theorization of the interface between a literary text and a paratext exhibits a 'strong bias [...] towards emphasizing the difference of paratextual presentations of the same, stable text.'[49] While Guy and Small's critique of Genette's argument forms part of their wider discussion of the work/text dichotomy and its effect on judgements about literary value, they raise a crucial question as to the applicability of Genette's theorization (specifically his assumption of the existence of a stable, 'authorial' text) to situations where the 'text' has undergone changes, or where the way in which the readers engage with a text is different from what an authorial agent (or agents) originally envisaged. This issue is particularly pertinent in the situation of the early translation and adaptation of Dickensian texts when the intention of the author, as I shall demonstrate later, has often been displaced onto that of the translator who freely inserted, deleted or changed the narrative either under the influence of his own worldview or out of an attempt to make the text more relevant to a target readership. While I shall discuss in detail the issue of the

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the making, distribution and reception of the physical forms of the text—that is, the publishers, printer, bookseller and critics. See McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (London: British Library, 1986). pp.9-30.

[48] Gerard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, tran. Jane Lewein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp.1-15 (2).

[49] Josephine Guy and Ian Small, *The Textual Condition of Nineteenth-Century Literature* (New York and London: Routledge, 2012), p.28.

'paratext' in Chapter Three, it is sufficient to state here that the primary focus of my investigation into the changes that were introduced to the paratexts—which mainly comprises translators' prefaces, notes and the titles—by Chinese translators (and in the case of *A Tale of Two Cities* the editor) is to understand the translators' perception of the Dickensian text and the way in which they attempted to present those elements of the text which they deemed as the most relevant to, or useful for, Chinese readers—and the wider society at large—at that particular historic moment. Thus the fact that the original title of *The Old Curiosity Shop* was translated as *Xiao Nu Nai'er Chuan*, literally *The Story of Filial Daughter Nell*, by Lin Shu in the 1907 Chinese edition, with the words 'moral fiction' stated on its cover, says as much about the Chinese translator's understanding of the novel as the importance of filial piety in Chinese society. Likewise, the term 'social fiction' that was stated on the cover of *Oliver Twist*, translated as *Zei Shi* in the 1908 Chinese edition—which, as I noted, literally meant 'a thief's history'—clearly reflects the translator's attempt to boost the social significance of the text by foregrounding social problems in Victorian society. My investigation into the 'paratext' and its relations with the text, then, is chiefly to demonstrate how the translation and adaptations of both text and paratext (and their intricate relationship), as is most evident in the Chinese version of *A Tale of Two Cities*, have given the novel a new meaning both in cultural and political terms.

I earlier suggested that the establishment of large-scale publishing companies, notably the Commercial Press, were both a response to, and a result of, the booming literary and publishing scene at the turn of the century. Yet it has to be noted that the publication and circulation of translated foreign

literature remained restricted to a small number of readers; mainly those intellectuals who, as noted earlier, were keen on searching for a new mode of writing which they considered would better perform the social functions which they assigned to literary works. Thus although Lin's translations were 'popular' among intellectuals, they could only achieve circulations in the hundreds as contrasted with examination-oriented publications because of the country's civil examination system that lasted until 1905.[50] The different types of readers whom Dickens and the Chinese translators would have targeted—that is, the middle- and lower middle-class, or 'common' readers for the former and the intellectuals for the latter—already reveal a fundamental difference between the way Dickens's works, and his identity as an author, were perceived, and received in these two different cultures. While Dickens was widely considered as a popular author whose writings captured the contemporary sentiments of his day in Victorian England, in early twentieth-century China, as I noted earlier, he was often portrayed as a social reformer whose works succeeded in exposing the malpractices in Victorian society, and hence compelled the authorities to resolve them. In his memoir, Bao Tianxiao (1876-1973), who was one of the most famous Chinese writers of urban popular fiction in the early twentieth century, recalled that he could only read translated literature either through the collections of his friends or relatives or through the small bookshops close to his home where he could get the worn-

[50] This circulation information is cited in Perry Link's *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, which drew reference from Hu Shi's estimates of the circulation of those relatively successful novels, including the translations by Lin Shu, during the period. (pp.83-84). Hu's estimates were included in his 'Introduction' to *Zhong Guo Xin Wen Xue Da Xi* (Shanghai, 1935): 1:4.

out or dilapidated copies of the periodicals, magazines and novels.[51] A similar picture was painted by another famous Chinese writer, Shen Congwen (1902-1988), who in his autobiography recalled his encounter with Dickens's works in his youthful days:

> As I had a lot of spare time, the two chests of '*shuobu* series' as published by the Commercial Press in my relatives' home became my best friends. I remember Dickens's *Dombey and Son*, *Nicholas Nickleby* and *Oliver Twist* taking up around two months of my time. I love this kind of book, as what they told me was exactly what I wanted to know. Unlike other authors who only talked about moral lessons in their books, he just recorded some phenomenon. Perhaps his books still contained some very old-fashioned moral lessons, but he had the talent of incorporating them into the phenomenon that he portrayed.[52]

The 'elitist' nature of Dickens's readers in early twentieth-century China is not only reflected by the fact that the translations were mainly circulated amongst intellectuals but by the translators' choice of using *wen-yen*, or classical Chinese, instead of the vernacular in their translations. While some critics

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[51] Tianxiao Bao, *Chuan Ying Lou Hui Yi Lu* (Beijing: Encyclopaedia of China Publishing, 2009). Bao is considered as one of the leading authors within the 'Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies School', a term which is used disparagingly to refer to a group of small but widely-read writers of popular urban literature in the 1910s and 1920s, who often made use of the traditional symbols of mandarin ducks and butterflies for pairs of lovers. Bao's working experiences for newspapers and at translation agencies in Shanghai made his memoir a valuable source for those who are interested in the literary and print culture of the city in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In recent years, there have been some attempts to reassess the cultural significance of these novels. See Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, pp.40-78.

[52] Congwen Shen, *Congwen Zi Zhuan* (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 2005), p.93.

argue that the use of classical Chinese has the effect of transgressing the traditional boundary between elitist and popular forms of writing, hence raising the status of the novel, the target audience of the Dickensian texts in this first-phase of cross-cultural transfer obviously departs fundamentally from the implied readers (that is, the middle-class and 'common' readers) whom Dickens would have had in mind when he wrote the novels.[53] Shen's belief that Dickens's works mainly 'recorded some phenomenon'—implying they have a documentary character—was one of the major traits which Chinese readers associated with Dickens when they first encountered his works. Of course such a trust in Dickens's ability to depict the world as it 'really' is might at first glance fail to find much resonance with contemporary Western literary criticism, which typically commented on his penchant for grotesque and exaggerated characters. The term 'realism', as Marston Anderson points out, was introduced into China in two stages: first in the context of the Chinese intellectuals' effort to seek for national rejuvenation and later as part of the May Fourth campaign for 'enlightenment'. Anderson contends that the reason why realism was of particular appeal to Chinese intellectuals of the time was because it appeared to be 'the most progressive of Western aesthetic modes, in part because of its scientism, in part because realist works took as their subjects a far wider range of social phenomena than earlier, more aristocratic forms did'.[54] Coincidentally, realism was also associated with progressive, modernising forces in post-Revolutionary Russia, and where Dickens was also

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[53] See Lianfan Yang, 'Lin Shu and the Modernity of Chinese Literature', *Modern Chinese Literature Studies*, 4 (2002):1-28.
[54] Marston Anderson, *The Limits of Realism: Chinese Fiction in the Revolutionary Period* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California Press, 1990), pp.24-25.

read as a social reformer because of his penchant for depicting the lower class and the economically deprived.[55] Anderson's contention that realism was concerned with the wider 'social phenomena' underlines Chinese intellectuals' interest in Dickens; as I pointed out earlier, Chinese readers perceived the Dickensian texts as a realistic representation of Victorian society. Marxist critics, such as John Lucas, have argued that the novels written by mid-Victorian middle-class writers, such as George Eliot (1819-1880) and Elizabeth Gaskell (1810-1865), were a means to re-enact, or normalise, the power relations in bourgeois society as the moral judgements in such novels embody their middle-class perspective and conservative politics. This, as some critics argue, suggests why many mid-Victorian authors, including Dickens, failed to challenge the existing social order, albeit their novels—particularly the so-called 'social-problem novels'—sought to highlight the problems that existed in society. This trait is aptly put by Anderson, who argues that realism—in its British variant, at any rate—seemed to only lead to a 'private experience of reconciliation with inalterable realities'.[56] Yet perhaps it is this conservatism which was particularly suitable for Chinese society of the time, given that the chief goal of the leading translators of Dickensian texts (notably Lin Shu) in introducing Western literary works to the country was in order to reform the nation, rather than calling for a complete overhaul of the existing political and social structure.

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[55] Irina Gutkin, *The Cultural Origins of the Socialist Realist Aesthetic 1890-1934* (Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1999); S.H. Cross, 'Notes on Soviet Literary Criticism', *Slavonic Year-Book. American Series*, 1 (1941): 315-329.
[56] Anderson, p.19.

Translation and Adaptation

As I pointed out earlier, this thesis treats the specific cultural practice which early Chinese translators carried out in turning Dickensian texts into Chinese as a distinctive form both of translation and of adaptation. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Lin Shu was, as I noted earlier, one of the leading figures, who translated foreign literature—including Dickens's novels—into classical Chinese. His method of translating the novels departed in a fundamental way from modern understandings of translation practices, in that he had to rely on the oral renderings by his collaborators before turning them into written Chinese because he did not know other foreign languages. In the preface to *The Story of Filial Daughter Nell* (*The Old Curiosity Shop*), Lin openly admitted: 'I don't know any foreign languages. I have managed to struggle my way through to the field of translation through listening to the oral renderings of the original works by a few gentlemen and then writing them down. Each day [I] spent four hours on this.'[57] Lin's translation practices also have to be understood in terms of the wider cultural and historical context of his time: the primary goal of such translations was to introduce Western knowledge to China, and in the case of translating prose fiction, it also encompassed the act of making it appealing to the intellectuals whom, as noted earlier, traditionally despised this literary form. Thus as the Chinese scholar Perry Link puts it: 'Fidelity to originals was not nearly as important as the

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[57] Shu Lin, 'Preface' in *Xiao Nu Nai'er Chuan* [*The Story of Filial Daughter Nell*] (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1914), p.1. Although Lin had to rely on his collaborators for oral renderings of the original texts before turning them into classical Chinese, or *wen-yen*, Lin is often the one who has been credited with the translations of Western literature in modern scholarship.

stimulation they could provide, and Chinese author-translators freely embroidered stories with their own details, dialogues and moral observations.'[58] The 'moral observations' by the 'author-translators' and their attempt to provide their own details are of particular significance because such processes have contributed to our understanding of not only the differences—as well as the point of contacts—between the two cultures but they also help to reveal the way in which the Dickensian texts were understood, and even manipulated, in early twentieth-century China. The fact that Link uses the term 'author-translators' to describe early Chinese translators of foreign literature highlights the quasi-authorial role which they played during the process of cross-cultural transfer. The elegant prose style which Lin adopted in translating foreign literature, meanwhile, contributed to the popularity of his translation amongst the intellectuals.[59] His translation style in a way is similar to that of Yan Fu (1854-1921), who has been widely seen as the leading translator and commentator of foreign ideas. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Yan translated a number of seminal texts by western thinkers, including Thomas Huxley's (1825-1895) *Evolution and Ethics* (1893) in 1898, Adam Smith's (1723-1790) *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) in 1902 and John Stuart Mill's (1806-1873) *On Liberty* (1859) in 1903. As with Lin, Yan adopted a classical Chinese writing style in his translations. As Benjamin Schwartz puts it, the audience to which Yan appealed was (again) an intellectual elite, and that he had 'no illusions that the masses will immediately

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[58] Link, p.135.
[59] Uganda Sze Pui Kwan, 'Westernisation, Modernisation, and the Concept of Basing on the Source Text: A Study of the Transformation of Norm in Literary Translation from Late Qing to May Fourth with Lin Shu as a Case Study', *Journal of Chinese Studies*, 48 (2008): 343-372.

read his translations'. Schwartz contends that the elites were not only interested in the Western thought which Yan translated but also his writing style and his commentaries that were interwoven with the text.[60]

The writing style that early Chinese translators adopted and the socio-cultural and political situation under which such translations were produced and circulated, help explain why the act of 'translation' that they engaged with was a specific cultural practice that set it apart from traditional understandings of the notion of translation as well as some of the prevailing Western theoretical paradigms on cross-cultural transfer. In *Translation Studies*, Bassnett argues that translation is 'a process of negotiation between texts and between cultures, a process during which all kinds of transactions take place mediated by the figure of the translator'.[61] Central to Bassnett's contention is the emphasis she places on the creativity of translation processes and the 'mediating' role which the translator assumes. This focus on the 'cultural' aspect of translation activities moves away from a traditional concern in translation studies with exploring the extent to which the translated text is a 'faithful' version of the original.[62] Instead of treating translation as a mere technical transfer across linguistic boundaries, Bassnett, alongside critics including Lefevere, argues for the importance of situating translation activities within the wider cultural context and of treating the act of translation as having

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[60] Benjamin Schwartz, *Yen Fu and the West: In Search of Wealth and Power* (New York, Evanston and London: Harper & Row, 1964), p.92. Unlike Lin and other Chinese intellectuals whose understandings of Western ideas and knowledge were often obtained through Japanese translations, Yan studied in England between 1977 and 1979, during when he avidly studied the nation's political, economic and social conditions as well as contemporary Western thought. p.29.

[61] Bassnett, *Translation Studies*, p.6.

[62] For a brief introduction to the changing paradigms in translation studies, see Anthony Pym, *Exploring Translation* (London: Routledge, 2010).

the potential to reframe, or even manipulate, the original text.[63] In this view, the translator is not a passive intermediary but rather an active agent in the process of cross-cultural transfer. Lefevere famously asserts that all translations are a form of 'rewriting', although they are subjected to the 'constraints' of the original text and other factors such as patronage and the 'poetics', the latter of which is what he terms the literary devices and 'the concepts of what the role of literature is, or should be, in society at large'.[64] Translation, Lefevere further argues, 'can be called both subversion and transformation, depending on where the guardians of the dominant poetics, the dominant ideology stand.'[65] The possibility of subversion or transformation through translation is a popular theorisation in the context of postcolonial studies, with translation being seen as either an act of 'writing against' the dominant, Western culture, or as a tool used by translators of the recipient culture to enhance the status of the literature, culture and language of the target culture. For example, in a study that looks into Virahsawmy's translations of Shakespeare, Roshini Mooneeram asserts that the 'translator's self-conscious and visible role [is] as manipulator in his works of translation/language engineering', a move which she goes on to argue has boosted the status of Mauritian Creole and the local culture.[66] Underlying Mooneeram's argument, then, are the imbalanced power relations between the source and target cultures

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[63] See Susan Bassnett and Andre Lefevere, *Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation* (Trowbridge: Cromwell Press, 1998); *Translation, History and Culture*, eds. Susan Bassnett and Andre Lefevere (London and New York: Pinter Publishers, 1990).
[64] Lefevere, *The Manipulation of Literature*,pp.215-243 (234-235).
[65] Ibid., p.237.
[66] Roshni Mooneeram, *From Creole to Standard: Shakespeare, Language and Literature in a Postcolonial Context* (New York: Rodopi, 2009), p.134.

which is typical of the way postcolonial studies understand the process of translation.[67]

Lefevere's notion of 'rewriting' finds resonance with Lawrence Venuti's contention that translation 'always communicates an interpretation, a foreign text that is partial and altered.'[68] As with the idea of translation as a form of rewriting, Venuti's idea implies a process of adaptation that is set in place. The most powerful work of translation, Venuti argues, is one that can 'engage readers in domestic terms that have been defamiliarised to some extent, made fascinating by a revisionary encounter with a foreign text'.[69] What Venuti essentially argues is that a translation can neither be a complete replica of the original source, nor a totally foreign work; instead it can be seen as a hybrid product that is comprehensible in domestic terms yet at the same time its foreignness is retained.[70] Venuti's notion of hybridity can to a certain extent apply to the three case studies which I shall examine in detail in the subsequent chapters of this thesis. In examining the cross-cultural transfer of three major novels by Dickens—that is, *Little Dorrit*, *David Copperfield* and *A Tale of Two Cities*—from Britain to China, I shall demonstrate how Chinese cultural and literary tradition had impacted on the way in which the texts were translated

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[67] For a useful discussion of the relationship between language, texts and ideological constructions and the theoretical underpinnings of postcolonial studies in general, see Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back* (London & New York: Routledge, 2002). For a general overview of colonial and postcolonial studies, see Elleke Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature: Migrant Metaphors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[68] Lawrence Venuti, *Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference* (London: Routledge, 1998), p.1.

[69] Venuti, p.5.

[70] The idea of hybridity is famously expounded on by Hombi Bhabha, who in *The Location of Culture* argues that hybridity that emerged in the course of cultural interaction produces ambivalence, hence changing the authority of the colonial power. See *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp.94-120.

and adapted for the Chinese readership. This thesis acknowledges that the differences in the Chinese and English language systems had in some cases affected the interpretation and translation of a particular text, as was evident in the Chinese translation of *David Copperfield* which I shall examine in Chapter Two. In that chapter, I shall demonstrate how the lack of a tense morphology in the Chinese language has made it particularly difficult to reconstruct the double perspective in Dickens's original narrative, one which is pivotal to tracing the psychological development of Copperfield and the construction of the self in the narrative. However, the fact that English and Chinese languages (especially the classical Chinese which early Chinese translators used to translate Dickens's work) have very different syntactical structures and other linguistic features, such as the form of addressing the first-person and, as I noted above, the use (or absence of) tense, means that any comparison between the original and the translated texts made solely on linguistic grounds would produce an obvious conclusion, regarding the untranslatability of certain linguistic features. As such, while addressing some of the theoretical concerns of translation and adaptation studies and their applicability to my thesis, the main focus of my enquiry is on the extent to which the politics and values which the Dickensian texts purportedly embody could be transferred to another culture, one that had a very different value system and historical context. The co-existence of foreignness and the familiar in this context then, is not so much about the translation of foreign names, terms or any other linguistic expressions, but rather it is chiefly concerned with the way in which values and politics were understood, interpreted and adapted during the processes of a cross-cultural transfer at a particular historic moment. Thus in investigating the

changes that the Chinese translators introduced to Dickens's use of space and place in *Little Dorrit* in Chapter One, my chief concern is with the way in which the translators' reconfiguration of Dickensian spatiality challenges, or even unsettles, the Victorian social values—such as the bourgeois values of individuality and privacy—which Victorian architecture (notably the middle-class house in Victorian London) were inscribed with. Likewise, when examining the different publication avenues through which *A Tale of Two Cities* first appeared in Victorian England and early twentieth-century China respectively in Chapter Three, my focus of investigation will be on how the different medium of publication not only reflected but also reinforced the different political purposes which the novel was supposed to serve in the two cultures in their respective historic moments. Throughout this thesis the Chinese translations of Dickens's texts are my own. Given the diverse linguistic features between the two languages, it needs to be stated at the outset that my translations are intended simply to provide a point of reference for English-speaking readers; that is, I do not claim to give a literal linguistic translation as is clearly reflected by my adoption of a tense morphology which is integral to the English syntactical structure but absent in the original Chinese language, as noted above.

The blending of foreignness and the familiar is also a major characteristic of contemporary adaptations, an idea which is expounded on by critics such as Linda Hutcheon. In *A Theory of Adaptation* Hutcheon suggests that an 'adaptive faculty is the ability to repeat without copying, to embed

difference in similarity, to be at once both self and Other'.[71] Indeed, an adaptation, as Julie Sanders argues, can be an attempt to 'make texts "relevant" or easily comprehensible to new audiences and readerships via the processes of proximation and updating'.[72] The affinity between adaptation and translation is best reflected by the entry of 'adaptation' in the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, in which the term 'adaptation' is defined as 'a set of translative interventions which result in a text that is not generally accepted as a translation but is nevertheless recognized as representing a source text'.[73] There is a further exposition under the same entry which points out that some scholars prefer not to use the term 'adaptation' out of a belief that the concept of translation can cover all types of transformation or intervention.[74] Indeed, both the act of adaptation and translation can be seen as giving the original text an 'afterlife', a concept of which is explored by Walter Benjamin in his famous essay, 'The task of the translator'.[75] 'The life of the originals attains in them to its ever-renewed latest and most abundant flowering', Benjamin writes.[76] He argues that the task of the translator is to produce an 'echo' of the original work; this is achieved not by any attempt to reproduce the original work word-by-word, but by finding the 'intended effect' of the language which he is translating into, so as to convey the essence, or the 'sense', of the original work but at the same time fashioning something 'new'. This aligns Benjamin's

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[71] Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), p.174.
[72] Julie Sanders, *Adaptation and Appropriation* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), p.19.
[73] *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (2nd ed.), eds. Mona Baker and Gabriela Saldanha (London&New York: Routledge, 2009), p.5.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Walter Benjamin, 'The Task of the Translator', in *Illuminations*, tran. Harry Zorn, ed. Hannah Arendt (London: Pimlico, 1999), pp.70-82 (73).
[76] Benjamin, p.72.

idea with Derek Attridge's notion of creativity and its relations with originality as expounded on in *The Singularity of Literature,* in which Attridge argues that creativity is the process of 'making something new out of whatever materials one possesses' so as to create an experience—which he terms 'events'—that do not repeat.[77]

These theoretical explorations of the nature of translation and adaptation are closely associated with changing paradigms in the way one thinks about the relationship between the source and target texts in contemporary Western scholarship; they draw on specifically Western debates on the meaning of creativity, and more broadly, the value of a literary work (and hence the status of a translated text, and the translator).[78] This thesis concurs with these critics' basic premise that cultural considerations and the wider social and historical contexts should be taken into account when looking into the translation process. As I have stated earlier, I treat early translations of Dickensian texts in the first-phase of the cultural transfer from Britain to China as both a form of translation and adaptation. For although the Chinese text clearly stated that it is a translation of an original novel by Dickens, the way in which the Chinese translators freely inserted, deleted and altered materials in the text indicates that in some cases the changes were such that the 'essence' (such as, for example, Dickensian spatiality) of the original text had been totally transformed. Yet the notion of 'adaptation' as applied to this thesis is mainly used from the perspective of the translator because Chinese readers' restricted

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[77] Derek Attridge, *The Singularity of Literature* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), p.35.

[78] Attridge's discussion about 'originality' and 'creativity' is particularly relevant to this thesis. See Attridge, pp.35-53.

access to Western materials during the period suggests that few would have had any prior knowledge of the original, or source, text. In this way, I fundamentally depart from one of the major assumptions in adaptation studies, in that a full enjoyment of a work of adaptation can only be achieved through the readers or the audience having a prior knowledge of the work, or a source text, that is being adapted. Underlying this assumption is the existence of, and often a generally easy access to, both the original and the adapted text, a condition which was obviously absent at the time when Dickens's novels were first published and circulated in China. Such a restricted application of the idea of adaptation to this thesis thus highlights the difficulty, or appropriateness, of applying a particular theoretical framework when analysing artistic practices which are conducted outside the cultural arena upon which a particular paradigm was formulated and developed at its own historic moment. Indeed, while some of the alterations and deletions, as I shall discuss in detail in subsequent chapters, might have been due to the translators' conscious effort to bring the Dickensian texts closer to their implied readers' expectations and experiences, it would be too simple a statement to suggest that every change to the texts stems from the translators' intention to transform them so as to suit their political and social agenda. For it has to be recognised that the way in which the texts were translated during the first-phase of the cross-cultural transfer to a large extent reflected the translators' own worldview; it was especially so at a time when Chinese intellectuals only had limited interaction with Western materials.

Recent scholarship has attempted to provide an alternative paradigm when examining issues of cross-cultural interaction. In *Translingual Practice:*

Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900-1937, Liu coins the term 'translingual practice' which she uses to refer to the East-West interaction in early twentieth-century China:

> Broadly defined, the study of translingual practice examines the process by which new words, meanings, discourses, and modes of representation arise, circulate, and acquire legitimacy within the host language due to, or in spite of, the latter's contact/collision with the guest language [...] it becomes the very site of such struggles where the guest language is forced to encounter the host language, where the irreducible differences between them are fought out [...] until the new words and meanings emerge in the host language itself.[79]

Liu's study is concerned with the way in which new words, meanings, discourses or forms of representation become part of the host language itself through contact or 'collision' between the guest and host languages. One of her arguments centres on what she deemed as the general tendency by mainland scholars to 'dub the May Fourth conception of the individual "inauthentic" on the grounds of its incommensurability with the original'. Instead of resorting to one 'absolute' yardstick of analysis, she stresses the importance of looking into the 'translingual practice between East and West that has tried to give such a concept a name, an essence, or reality in modern Chinese'.[80] Although Liu's study is primarily concerned with language, it provides a useful alternative

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[79] Lydia Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900-1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), p.26.
[80] Liu, p.83.

paradigm when considering the broader forms of East-West cultural interaction, as it recognises the importance of resisting against any attempt to assess a cultural phenomenon based on the yardstick as formulated by another culture.

The focus of inquiry of this thesis also departs from most of the Chinese scholarship on the translation and circulation of foreign literature that traditionally seeks to investigate the extent to which Western literature 'influenced' Chinese literary developments.[81] This approach is commonly adopted by critics who looked into the May Fourth New Culture Movement, a time when Chinese writers were, as I noted, much influenced by Western literary movements such as Romanticism and Realism.[82] The influence of Dickens's writing style on Chinese writers has been examined by Yiu-nam Leung, who in *Charles Dickens and Lao She: A Study of Literary Influence and Parallels*, traces the influence of Dickens on the literary style of Lao She (1899-1966), who was one of the most significant Chinese novelists in the twentieth century.[83] Leung's study attempts to examine the parallels between the two authors' literary works, and to unravel the extent to which Lao 'imitated' the style and techniques of Dickens, especially that of *Nicholas Nickleby*, as well as to explore the relationship between imitation and

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[81] Charlotte Furth discusses the 'Response to the West' notion in Chinese intellectual history in 'Intellectual Change: From the Reform Movement to the May Fourth Movement, 1895-1920', in *An Intellectual History of Modern China*, eds. Merle Goldman and Leo Ou-fan lee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp.13-96.

[82] For the Western influence on China's literary development, see Hsia, *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction.*

[83] Yiu-nam Leung, *Charles Dickens and Lao She: A Study of Literary Influence and Parallels*, (Ann Arbor, Mich: University Microfilms International, 1992). Influence study is traditionally regarded as one of the approaches adopted by comparative literature critics in examining the influence and affinities between literatures across national (and often linguistic) boundaries. For a discussion of the approaches that are commonly adopted in comparative literature, see Francois Jost, *Introduction to Comparative Literature* (Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1974); Susan Bassnett, *Comparative Literature: A Critical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993).

creativity.[84] Dickens's influence on the work of Chinese writers, such as Lao and Zhang Tianyi (1906-1985), is also mentioned by Chen Tong in *Dickens and China*, which is the only monograph in Chinese on Dickens's presence in China published to date; its main contribution lies in its overview of the publication and translation of Dickens's works in China from 1907 up until recent times, as well as the types of the research and critical work that has been carried out on the subject by Mainland Chinese scholars as well as by foreign critics.[85] Yet despite its claim to provide a full picture of Dickens's presence in China during this long course of history, it does not contain any information on the initial publication of *A Tale of Two Cities* in China—that is, the serialization of the novel in *The Justice* which I have earlier mentioned and which will be the main focus of inquiry in Chapter Three of this thesis. This major oversight suggests that Tong's book should be treated more as a useful, if partial, work of reference rather than as a 'comprehensive' survey of the topic. Eva Hung's article, 'The Introduction of Dickens into China (1906-1960): A case study in target culture reception', is by far a major published English article investigating the reception of Dickens in China.[86] While exploring the introduction of his works in China from the perspective of translation studies, Hung also points out the Chinese perception of Dickens as a social critic persisted throughout his introduction to China. Other Chinese translation scholars have attempted to carry out a comparative study of

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[84] Zhen Tong and Baohua Hu, 'Zhang Tianyi and Dickens', *Journal of Hunan University (Social Sciences)*, 22: 4 (July 2008): 100-105.
[85] Zhen Tong, *Dickens and China* (Hunan: Xiangtan University, 2008).
[86] Eva Hung, 'The Introduction of Dickens into China (1906-1960): A case study in target culture reception', *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology*, 4:1 (1996): 29-41. Hung's article was subsequently collected in *Global Dickens*, eds. John Jordan and Nirshan Perera (London: Ashgate, 2012), pp.31-44. I shall discuss this collection and the concept of 'Global Dickens' in the Conclusion of this thesis.

different Chinese versions of Dickens's works (with *David Copperfield* being the most popular) along linguistic lines in order to unravel the ideology behind different translation practices.[87]

As I have repeatedly argued, cross-cultural interactions often encompass attempts by people from different cultures to find ways to understand new terms, concepts and forms of expression that belong to another culture. The major challenges that were posed to Chinese translators of Dickens, who were distanced from the culture of the original text both in terms of space and time, then, were to find ways to express the concepts and descriptions of Victorian society in Dickens's narrative as understood by them in terms which they, and their target readers, would have been familiar with. This in a sense echoes Venuti's contention that 'translation, like any cultural practice, entails the creative reproduction of values'.[88] It is important to highlight his use of the term 'creative', for while Venuti is concerned with the ethics of translation, his argument raises a very important question: Can value be translated, or reproduced, in its original form in the target culture? In her study on the translation of German theatre in English, Katja Krebs suggests that an act such as that of the reproduction of values can concern 'either values inherent in the target culture or the source culture as understood or constructed by the target culture.'[89] Yet perhaps a better way of putting it is that the reproduction of values involves interaction between the two kinds of 'values'

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[87] See, for example, Qiuxia Jiang, Guo Laifu and Ping Jin, 'The Influence of Ideology on Translation of Foreign Literature—A case study of three Chinese versions of *David Copperfield*', *Studies of Foreign Literature*, 28:4 (2006): 166-176.
[88] Lawrence Venuti, *Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference* (London: Routledge, 1998), p.1.
[89] Katja Krebs, *Cultural Dissemination and Translational Communities: German Drama in English Translation, 1900-1914* (Manchester and New York: St Jerome, 2007), p.82.

which Krebs discusses because the way in which the values in the source culture are understood and received in the target culture is often influenced by its own inherent values.

The following three chapters of this thesis adopt a case study approach to examine different aspects of Dickens's works against the specific socio-cultural and political contexts of Victorian society, and explore how these 'Dickensian' features were being translated and adapted for different readerships with different sets of cultural assumptions and historical understandings in early twentieth-century China. The importance of using three case studies—that is, the Chinese translations of *Little Dorrit* in 1910, *David Copperfield* in 1908 and *A Tale of Two Cities* in 1913-14—to examine the cross-cultural transfer from Britain to China reflects a major premise of this thesis that it is only through a close textual analysis against a specific cultural and historical backdrop that the complexities of the processes of cross-cultural transfer can be unravelled and the issues surrounding the possibility of value transfer be addressed. While Dickens's use of space and place, as I shall demonstrate in subsequent chapters, is one of the major themes that permeates the three novels, it is of particular importance in *Little Dorrit* because the social values and ideology of the mid-Victorian period were most aptly revealed by the spatial configuration of the Marshalsea Prison and the lifestyle the Dorrit family lead within it. The prison structures—whether it is the 'real' prison such as the Marshalsea or a self-imposed prison like Mrs Clennam's House—as well as their positioning in relation to the wider city, posed some of the biggest challenges to early Chinese translators who came from a culture that had a very different architectural tradition and topography. These

investigations in Chapter One raise some of the crucial issues which this thesis intends to address: To what extent is Dickens's portrayal of space and place culturally specific and historically contingent? By the same token, how far does the Chinese conception of space and place affect the early Chinese translation of Dickensian spatiality, and the reconstruction of values, as embodied in prison/prison-like structures in the original version, in the early twentieth-century Chinese context?

Chapter Two will investigate the influence of the Chinese tradition of autobiography and biography on the reception of Dickens's autobiographical fiction, *David Copperfield*, in early twentieth-century China. It will focus on exploring the possibility of transmitting Victorian values, as embedded in the autobiographical form, in a culture where biographies traditionally exemplify larger movements in history rather than being used to articulate difference in the construction of a unique bourgeois subject. My choice of *David Copperfield* stems from the fact that both the autobiographical form and the subject—that is, the self—embody some of the fundamental Victorian values, such as individualism, which Dickens articulates and examines in the novel. This thus raises one of the central issues which this thesis examines: To what extent can Victorian values be transferred and re-enacted in another culture? Specifically, how were the culturally-specific notions of the self and individualism—which were key elements of the autobiographical form in Victorian England—interpreted, or re-interpreted, in early twentieth-century China?

While the publication of *Little Dorrit* and *David Copperfield*, as I noted earlier, was made in the last few years of the Qing dynasty, the release of *A*

Tale of Two Cities came after the Chinese Revolution of 1911. In contrast to the other two novels, *A Tale of Two Cities* was published in serial form in an overtly political periodical, *The Justice*, which, as I shall discuss in detail in Chapter Three, was noted for its anti-revolutionary stance and its support for the newly established Chinese Republic. My choice of *A Tale of Two Cities* as the last case study in this thesis aims at examining the influence of the original print contexts on the way in which a novel was read, translated and adapted at a specific historic moment. The interrelationship between the historical contexts and the processes of translation and adaptation will be explored by three major aspects in this chapter. I shall first look into the medium through which *A Tale of Two Cities* was first made known to the Chinese readers—that is, the choice of publishing it in *The Justice*; I shall then proceed to look into how the changes to the main text of the novel, as well as the 'paratexts', may have changed the nature of Dickens's narrative, and hence transformed its politics. The influence of the Chinese tradition of historical writing will also be explored in these adaptive processes. I shall conclude this thesis by situating it within the wider context of the current 'global' turn in Dickens scholarship, and Victorian studies in general, by arguing for a more critical thinking on the way the concepts of the global and the local are used in investigating cross-cultural interactions and encounters.

Chapter One

Cross-Cultural Reconfiguration of Spatiality:

The Case of *Little Dorrit*

> "It is the first night," said Little Dorrit, "that I have ever been away from home. And London looks so large, so barren, and so wild." In Little Dorrit's eyes, its vastness under the black sky was awful; a tremor passed over her as she said the words.[1]

The image of London as a vast, impenetrable mystery, one which is a recurrent trope in Charles Dickens's *Little Dorrit* (1855-57), is illustrated by Little Dorrit's impression of the metropolis when she leaves her 'home' and ventures into the darkness in search for the theatre in which her sister, Fanny, works. For Little Dorrit, the city is a vast, 'barren' and 'wild' place which invokes her sense of fear; it is also a place which is beyond her comprehension. The contrast between the security and peace which a home provides and the turbulence of the outside world, the opposition of which underlines the Victorian ideal of the domestic, is succinctly captured in this description, despite the fact that Little Dorrit's home is a room behind bars. Beyond the domain of home lie the labyrinthine streets of London, which, together with the prison-like built structures in the narrative, have barred the protagonists from uncovering the truth of their identity and their past. London in Dickens's

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[1] Charles Dickens, *Little Dorrit* (London: Bradbury & Evan, 1857), p.123.

portrayal in *Little Dorrit*, then, on the one hand captures the changing perception of the urbanscape—and by extension modern life—as experienced by the Victorians, on the other hand it both stands for, and helps construct, a bewildering world where the truth is concealed. As Jeremy Tambling says of Dickens's depiction of the London cityscape in his works: 'One sees the space created in the novels as responding to London as a pre-given, social reality which, however intimidating, must be faced. The other is intrigued by the possibility of finding other spaces, not mappable, in that given space of the city.'[2] That idea of London as a 'pre-given, social reality' can be interpreted as referring to both the physical attributes of the city and the perception of it by those who inhabit it. At the same time, the metropolis is also characterised by the existence of other spaces that are 'not mappable', a phenomenon which is best understood by what Henri Lefebvre describes as the social space that is often marked, and formed, by particular social conventions and practices.[3] While I shall discuss in detail the social, or abstract, space which Dickens creates in order to critique some of the social phenomenon of his day later in this chapter, it is important to point out that the ability to understand the multifarious dimensions of Dickens's portrayal of London to a large extent is predicated on his readers having a certain level of knowledge and experience of local topography and architectural traditions. Questions thus arise as to the extent to which Dickens's representation of London—and more broadly, spatiality in his narrative—can be captured when the text is adapted and

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[2] Jeremy Tambling, *Going Astray: Dickens and London* (London: Pearson Longman, 2009), p.7.
[3] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, tran. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p.236.

transformed in another culture which has a very different architectural tradition and topography.

Little Dorrit was translated by Xue Yi'e and Chen Jialin and was published in 1910 by the Commercial Press in Shanghai. Just as Dickens's initial implied readers' reading of his novels are assumed to be influenced by their own knowledge and experiences of local topography and architecture, it is this chapter's contention that the implied Chinese readers' understanding of the text would also have been assumed to have been influenced by their own spatial conception and experience. What this chapter will explore, then, is how the Chinese spatial configuration and architectural traditions might have influenced the way in which the original text was translated and adapted for a Chinese readership; and how such a process of transformation might have unsettled the ideology and social values which are embedded in Dickens's original narrative. In carrying out this investigation, two aspects of spatiality will be considered: firstly, the physical attributes of built structures and the cityscape; secondly, there is the ideology, or social values, which are embodied in the architecture and reflect the prevailing social conditions of the time. These two aspects are inter-related, yet at times tension will also emerge between them, especially when the power relationship which the built architecture purportedly enshrines is destabilised by political uncertainties as was the case in early twentieth-century China when the imperial power was unsettled by domestic unrests and external threats. As I shall demonstrate later in the chapter, while the social space as created within the Marshalsea Prison in the original text reinforces the binding power of social conventions on individuals, the fact that the transformed Marshalsea in the Chinese context

turns the unspoken 'rules' into codified laws is a consequence of the power structure and authority that characterise traditional Chinese architecture, notably the space of the Chinese courtyard house and that of the city of Beijing.

Navigating the City

The image of London as an impenetrable mystery in *Little Dorrit* is reflected by the difficulties which the protagonists face in navigating the metropolis and by the sense of secrecy and concealment that prevail in the city. The London which Arthur Clennam encounters when he returns to England after a long-term overseas residence is one that is devoid of human activities:

> It was a Sunday evening in London, gloomy, close and stale. Maddening church bells of all degrees of dissonance, sharp and flat, cracked and clear, fast and slow, made the brick and mortar echoes hideous. Melancholy streets in a penitential garb of soot, steeped the souls of the people who were condemned to look at them out of windows, in dire despondency. In every thoroughfare, up almost every alley, and down almost every turning, some doleful bell was throbbing, jerking, tolling, as if the Plague were in the city and the dead-carts were going round. Everything was bolted and barred that could by possibility furnish relief to an overworked people. No pictures, no unfamiliar animals, no rare plants or flowers, no natural or artificial wonders of the ancient world—all *taboo* with that enlightened strictness, that the ugly South sea gods in the British Museum might have supposed themselves at home again. Nothing to

see but streets, streets, and streets. Nothing to breathe but streets, streets, and streets.[4]

The wider cityscape echoes life behind bars in the Marshalsea; this is vividly represented by a deserted city in a Sunday evening that saw everything 'bolted and barred', everything shut out from the public gaze. The references to the plague and the dead-carts running around all suggest the city is in a ruinous condition where institutions and customary practices are in decline, and where only the confined and the despondent city-dwellers can be found.[5] The way in which 'every thoroughfare, up almost every alley, and down almost every turning' re-enact that sense of the city as a labyrinth in Dickens's imagination; at the same time, the 'doleful bell' and the image of an 'overworked people' highlight the lower class's deprivation of their leisure and enjoyment at their only day-off in the week, which is apparently a veiled criticism by Dickens against the increase in Sabbatarian activities in the 1850s that led to the prohibition of many Sunday activities including public entertainment and transport.[6] The melancholic and penitential streets which Arthur encounters highlights the very essence of Dickens's urban writing, in that he often uses personification to describe inanimate objects and city scenes in order to blend people and place so as to reveal the innermost feelings of the protagonists, as well as hinting at their life trajectories that are to be unfolded. The penitential streets which Arthur treads on gesture towards his subsequent attempt to make

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[4] Dickens, *Little* Dorrit, p.21.
[5] The portrayal of the city as a ruin has been explored by Nancy Nycock Metz in ' "Little Dorrit's" London: Babylon Revisited', *Victorian Studies*, 33:3 (Spring, 1990): 465-486; and Tambling, *Going Astray*, pp.79-102.
[6] Trey Philpotts, *The Companion to Little Dorrit* (London: Helm Information, 2003), p.60.

amends for what he presumes to be the wrongs which his parents did to Amy Dorrit and her family. The difficulty which Arthur subsequently encounters in navigating the streets, and the various 'dark' scenes which he passes by before he can reach his mother's house, is thus part of Dickens's attempt to symbolise the forbidding nature of the path which he chose to pursue—that is, his effort in seeking the truth about Amy's identity and his father's past (and ultimately, his own identity).

Original:

> He crossed by Saint Paul's and went down, at a long angle, almost to the water's edge, through some of the crooked and descending streets which lie (and lay more crookedly and closely then) between the river and Cheapside. Passing, now the mouldy hall of some obsolete Worshipful Company, now the illuminated windows of a Congregationless Church that seemed to be waiting for some adventurous Belzoni to dig it out and discover its history; passing silent warehouses and wharves, and here and there a narrow alley leading to the river, where a wretched little bill, FOUND DROWNED, was weeping on the wet wall; he came at last to the house he sought.[7]

Translation:

> Arthur passed by a church and walked through a narrow alley, at the end of which was the River Thames. In the alley there was a notice

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[7] Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, p.23.

stating that a person drowned in the river yesterday, was pulled out this morning, and is now placed on the bank. The notice was soaked by the rain and blurred, like the image of the drowned man. Emerging from the alley, Arthur came to the very house he sought.

耶斯爾行過禮拜堂。穿一隘巷。巷盡處即至達迷塞河。巷內貼告白一紙。略謂河 中昨日溺斃一人。今早撈出。現置河干。告白。紙。經。雨。濡。溼。色極。慘。淡。宛如。溺。尸。肖。像。繼而耶斯爾自巷中出尋得一室此室。[8]

The 'crooked and descending streets' which Arthur has to pass through before coming to the river where a drowned bill 'was weeping on the wet wall' on the one hand contributes to the sense of disorientation in his navigation of the city; on the other hand they highlight the suppressed, and depressed, emotions which characterise both his and other protagonists' life trajectories. It is also significant that Arthur's journey to his mother's home takes place in those areas that mark London's historical geography stretching back to the medieval and the early modern period. Cheapside, for example, was in the early modern period both a marketplace and a thoroughfare.[9] The importance of cultural geography and history in Dickens's narrative is further demonstrated by his emphasis on archaeology and its relationship with the present-day London. He specifically highlights the famous archaeologist, Giovanni Battista Belzoni, a

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[8] Charles Dickens, *Ya Mei Nu Shi Bie Chuan*, Vol.1 (*Yan Qing Xiao Shuo*) [*The Story of Little Dorrit* (Sensational Novel)], trans. Xue Yi'e and Chen Jialin (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1915), p.25. This edition is a reprint of the first edition of the Chinese translation of the novel published in 1910 by the Commercial Press.

[9] Tracey Hill, *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture in Early Modern London 1580-1633* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp.1-18.

figure for whom, as Nancy Aycock Metz points out, the author has much respect. Belzoni was credited with the discovery of the buried temple of Abu Simbel, six royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings and the lost city of Berenice.[10] The cultural reference for Belzoni, then, not only highlights Dickens's—and in fact the Victorians'—fascination with antiquity, it also gestures towards that sense of a buried past that permeates the narrative and one which still haunts the 'present' life of the protagonists. This portrayal of the city also resonates with the contention by some critics, notably Peter Ackroyd, that London is a palimpsest of its own historical past. As Ackroyd demonstrates, fragments of the city's past, notably the Roman Wall, remained standing in the Victorian period and extended well into the present time.[11] The existence of these archaeological relics not only deepened the Victorians' sense of history, but it also heightened the tension between the city's historic past and its modernised present. Indeed, such a tension between the past and the present is one of the recurrent features in Dickens's novels; one of the most striking images to this effect is the demolition of residential buildings to make way for the construction of railways in Chapter VI of *Dombey and Son* (1847-48), in that the movement of the railway is described as 'the first shock of a great earthquake' and 'traces of its course were visible on every side'.[12] While the archaeological finds as depicted in *Little Dorrit* suggest the very presence of material culture in Victorian London that dates back to the classical period, what Dickens emphasises is a sense of corruption and decay that is evident in religious and spiritual terms: the hall where religion is practised is described as

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[10] Metz, p. 467.
[11] Peter Ackroyd, *London: The Biography* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2000), pp.20-37.
[12] Charles Dickens, *Dombey and Son* (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1848), p.46.

'mouldy', and the Worshipful Company becomes 'obsolete', while the church itself is 'congregationless'. The fact that these out-of-use venues are among the spots which Arthur passes by before reaching his mother's house points to the spiritual corruption of Mrs Clennam and the falsity of the 'faith' which she proclaims to practise.[13] The deletion of both the exact locales and the spiritual subtext of the journey—such as the removal of the descriptions on the 'obsolete Worshipful Company' and the 'Congregationless Church'—in the translated version thus takes away the veiled comments by Dickens on the decaying state of the spiritual health of the population and the strong historical resonance which he invokes in order to construct that sense of a past that still lingers to the present. Equally significant is the absence of the personification of inanimate objects in the translated version, such as the 'drowned bill' or 'penitential streets' in the original narrative. The English syntax in the original version deliberately conflates the message on the bill (that is, 'found drowned') with the bill itself, as if both bill and man are drowned—and this in turn gives a sense of animation to the architectural environment, thus enhancing that sense in which it can stand for, or be in sympathy with, the emotions of those who inhabit it. Yet in the translated version the bill only 'looks like a drowned man', hence the bill is no longer, as in the original, invested with human emotion. The shortened journey, and the changes introduced to the scenes and objects which Arthur encounters, thus hint at those aspects of Dickensian texts which the Chinese translators were most concerned with, or what they believed were of the most relevance to their target readers. It is small wonder that

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[13] Karl Ashley Smith, *Dickens and the Unreal City: Searching for Spiritual Significance in Nineteenth-Century London* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp.34-62.

attempts are made in the translated version to explain the darkness of London, which in the original text is used for enacting a sense of secrecy that hovers over the lives of the protagonists.

Original:

It was a Sunday evening in London, gloomy, close and stale.[14]

Translation:

It was a Sunday evening in the city of London. Electric lamps were yet to be invented; the city was in darkness.

倫敦。城。內。一日。值。禮。拜。夕。時電。燈。尚。未。發。明。城中。黯。黑。[15]

The darkness of London is attributed in the translated text to something pragmatic—to the fact that electric lamps had yet to be invented, although the truth is that by 1850, that is, five years before the novel was published, there were already 30,000 gas-lit street lamps in London.[16] The additional explanation that is inserted to the original text may be due to the Chinese translators' attempt to fill in the 'gap' which they believed was necessary for the text to be made comprehensible to Chinese readers; it may also be a result of their notion of Dickens as a 'realist' writer, hence their attempt to decode any aspects of his writings which they believed might have strayed away from

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[14] Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, p.21.
[15] *Ya Mei Nu Shi Bie Chuan*,Vol.1, p.21.
[16] Jerry White, *London in the Nineteenth Century: A Human Awful Wonder of God* (London: Vintage, 2008), p.60.

the 'realistic' representation of the city in their understanding.[17] In any case, the changes have obviously reduced the imaginary and metaphoric aspect of the original text.

In *Little Dorrit*, the protagonists' perception of the built environment which they inhabit often mirrors their experiences in the wider cityscape; at the same time, their impression of the places which they frequent, as I noted earlier, can be seen as an externalization of their innermost feelings and emotions. Thus Arthur's impression of his mother's house, as with the streets of London, gives an outsider a sense of disorientation. In Mrs Clennam's house, 'there was not one straight floor, from the foundation to the roof; the ceilings were so fantastically clouded by smoke and dust'.[18] The 'distorted' verticality of the house (a descriptor that was deleted in the translated version), and the way in which the position of the decaying furniture and fixtures remained the same despite the passage of years, have re-enacted the maze-like outlook of the wider cityscape and its accompanying aura of decay and oppression.

> Down in the cellars, as up in the bed-chambers, old objects that he well remembered were changed by age and decay, but were still in their old places; even to empty beer-casks hoary with cobwebs, and empty wine-bottles with fur and fungus choking up their throats.[19]

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[17] See the Introductory chapter of this thesis for my discussion of Chinese translators and readers' impression of Dickens as a realist writer and a social reformer.
[18] Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, p.40.
[19] Ibid.

The description of smoke and dust that clouded the ceilings symbolises the industrial pollution and the darkness—both literally and metaphorically speaking—in which London is constantly shrouded; it also hints at the concealment of truth. The personification of the fungus, that it is 'choking up' the 'throats' of empty wine-bottles, gestures towards the violent sentiment that is masked by the surface calmness. Such a relationship between built structures and the wider world echoes the contention made by geographer Yi-Fu Tuan that a building or architectural complex can present 'a view of reality'; it is also capable of affecting the people who live in it.[20] The 'reality' which Mrs Clennam's house presents, as with its crooked structure, is of course a distorted one. This description of the distorted verticality in the house, and its associated symbolism is, however, deleted in the translated version, and hence diluting that sense of confusion which the original text entails. Complicating this is the fact that Arthur's movement inside the house is configured according to a four cardinal-point principle that traditionally characterises Chinese architecture.

Original:

> In what had once been a drawing-room, there were a pair of meagre mirrors, with dismal processions of black figures carrying black garlands, walking around the frames [...] The room Arthur Clennam's deceased father had occupied for business purposes, when he first remembered him, was so unaltered that he might have been imagined still to keep it invisibly, as his visible relict kept her

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[20] Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (London, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), pp.102, 112.

room up-stairs; Jeremiah Flintwinch still going between them negotiating. His picture, dark and gloomy, earnestly speechless on the wall [...][21]

Translation:

Arthur walked towards the east to a hut where his father used to receive guests. Inside the door was a huge mirror standing erect like a monument. The glass was broken, but the frame remained, with a broken carving of flowers and trees. After this was his father's office, in which hung a huge picture of his father as he was in life.

耶斯。爾。面。東。行。至一。閒。寮。為其。父。宴。客。所。迎門。巨。鏡。矗立。如。碑。玻璃。碎。落。但存。其。楣。楣上。舊。刻。花。木。同時。彫。落。過此。則。其。父。治。事。室。室中。懸。一。巨。幅。為伊。父。生。前。肖。像。[22]

In simple terms, in Chinese cosmos man is put in the centre of a cosmic frame that is oriented to the four cardinal points, that is, North, East, South and West.[23] The specific reference to the eastward direction to which Arthur moves within the house thus implies a four-point cardinal principle that is set in place, and one which is given full manifestation in the depiction of the Marshalsea Prison in the translated version that I shall discuss in a moment. The Chinese

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[21] Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, p.40.
[22] *Ya Mei Nu Shi Bie Chuan*,Vol.1, p.41.
[23] See Tuan, pp.85-100.

word '*liao*' means a hut or a small house.[24] In this particular context, it probably refers to the traditional Chinese courtyard house, which is a walled enclosure comprising of one or more courtyards, each of which is flanked by the lower buildings on the eastern and the western sides. As Andrew Bloyd points out, a traditional courtyard house would see three main buildings surround the courtyard, with the principal rooms being in the higher building opposite the entrance.[25] Added to this spatial reconfiguration is the much reduced effect of personification which, as with the drowned bill which I noted earlier, has undermined the emotional effect of the original narrative. In the original text, the suppressed nature of his father's affairs, and the fact that secrecy on this subject persists into the present, is strikingly illustrated by his father's portrait that is 'earnestly speechless'—that is, it is as if his speechlessness has paradoxically been forced upon him. The darkness surrounding his father's past is further hinted at by the 'dismal processions of black figures carrying black garlands, walking around the frames', one which is reminiscent of a funeral procession. The translated version takes away the animated objects in the original narrative; instead it puts much emphasis on the image of a broken glass and the broken carving, enhancing that sense of a lack of unity and wholeness, thus symbolising, in a more simplistic manner, the breakup of the family.

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[24] See the definition of '*liao*' on the online dictionary of Lin Yutang's *Chinese-English Dictionary of Modern Usage* (http://humanum.arts.cuhk.edu.hk/Lexis/Lindict). [accessed on 10 May 2012].
[25] Andrew Boyd, *Chinese Architecture and Town Planning 1500-1911* (London: Holemsdale Press, 1962), pp.76-77.

The Marshalsea Prison

The Marshalsea Prison's towering presence in Southwark, an area in London which has long been associated with poverty, dilapidated-looking buildings and various vices, is one of the enduring images in *Little Dorrit*.[26] The prison plays multifarious thematic and structural roles in the novel: it is a miniature of the hierarchical relations in Victorian society and at the same time it is also a reflection of the wider cityscape which the protagonists are both confused by and attracted to. While Dickens's original implied readers would probably have had some ideas of the Marshalsea because of its role as a major debtors' prison in England until its closure in 1842, few, if any, Chinese readers who encountered the novel when it first appeared in China would have had any knowledge of the Western-style prison which Dickens depicts, let alone the Marshalsea. The first modern, European-style prison in China—Peking First Prison, or the Peking Model Prison—was only constructed in 1909 and opened in 1912, as part of the prison reforms which the Chinese government carried out in a bid to modernise its penal system.[27] Given that the translated version of *Little Dorrit* appeared in China in 1910, we cannot be sure that early Chinese readers would have any knowledge of the newly built prison, and so whether it had any impact on their reading of Dickens.

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[26] For an overview of the different characteristics in various parts of London in the nineteenth century, see White, *London in the Nineteenth Century*, pp.9-35.

[27] In a report by the Ministry of Justice in 1916, one of the main reasons behind their attempt to reform the penal system in China was due to the fact that 'our prison system and our system of administration of Justice are not to the standard of Western civilization, [and hence] Western nations decline to treat us upon an equal footing, and claim the right of extraterritorial jurisdiction over their subjects, a fact which is humiliating to the Republic'. See Ministry of Justice, *The First Peking Prison*, trans. Chen Chi, Chow Tsueichi, Lin Shuming, Woo Tsengyu (Peking: The First Peking Prison, 1916), pp.6-7.

The Marshalsea Prison had already closed by the time Dickens wrote the novel, so he was writing about an absence—or a bygone presence—and re-creating the prisoners' way of life in his own imagination rather than trying to reconstruct an authentic prison environment. The Marshalsea which Dickens wrote about was the 'new' Marshalsea which was built in 1811, replacing the 'old' one that was in a dilapidated state. In 1842 the prison was consolidated with the Queen's Bench and the Fleet prisons, with all the prisoners being lodged in the Queen's Bench. It was finally demolished in 1849.[28] This fictitious aspect of the prison was clearly stated by Dickens in his preface to the first edition of *Little Dorrit* published in 1857:[29]

> Some of my readers may have an interest in being informed whether or no any portions of the Marshalsea Prison are yet standing. I did not know, myself, until the sixth of this present month, when I went to look. I found the outer front courtyard, often mentioned in this story, metamorphosed into a butter-shop; and I then almost gave up every brick of the jail for lost. Wandering, however, down a certain adjacent "Angel Court, leading to Bermondsey," I came to "Marshalsea Place:" the houses in which I recognised, not only as

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[28] Philpotts, p.91.

[29] There have been various attempts to reconstruct what the Marshalsea Prison would have been like before its demolition and some have even tried to trace the rooms which Dickens wrote about in *Little Dorrit*. For example, George Young went in search of the garret where Little Dorrit supposedly lived. See Young, 'The Marshalsea Re-visited', *The Dickensian*, 28 (1932): 219-227.

> the great block of the former prison, but as preserving the rooms that arose in my mind's-eye when I became Little Dorrit's biographer.[30]

Dickens's preface has the effect of foregrounding both the presence and the absence of the Marshalsea; for it is the visual image of a past which he pictures in his mind that renders him able to imagine a fictitious, new environment for his protagonists.[31] At the same time, Dickens's familiarity with the Marshalsea due to his father's imprisonment there as an insolvent debtor under the provisions of the Insolvent Debtors' Act of 1813, and hence the nature of a debtor's prison, suggests his representation of the prison, while being fictitious, is also tinged with a sense of reality.[32] It is notable that, as with the fictional Marshalsea, debtors' prisons in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries also allowed inmates to live with their wives and children. Besides, there was also a culture of self-government within debtors' prison, in that an individual debtor's authority was often established according to his seniority—that is, the

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[30] Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, p.vi.

[31] John Plunkett contends that Victorians' fascination with visual culture was spurred on by a proliferation of new technologies for capturing and recording images; it also provided literary tropes for writers to work through the 'broader tensions between the material and the ideal, imagination and reality, the seen and the unseen'. See Plunkett, 'Visual Culture', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature 1830-1914*, ed. Joanne Shattock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp.222-247. The influence of photography on visual conventions as deployed by writers in their literary representations is explored by Nancy Armstrong in *Fiction in the Age of Photography: The Legacy of British Realism* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1999).

[32] In 1844, the Parliament abolished all imprisonment for debts under £20, though creditors still maintained the right to execute a new writ against the debtors' future assets. Imprisonment for debt was not abolished in Britain until 1869, though some debtors might still be imprisoned for up to sixty days for debts under £50 if they had money but refused to pay. For details, see Philpotts, p.463. The influence of John Dickens's imprisonment on Charles Dickens's subsequent life is detailed in John Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens*, Vol.1 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1872), pp.23-24.

length of time spent in prison.[33] This point of contact between the fictitious and the reality, however, does not mean that Dickens attempts to give an authentic depiction of the prison environment; on the contrary, as I shall discuss in detail later, he gives William Dorrit's room a middle-class outlook, one which stands a marked departure from the 'cramped and constricted' nature of the real Marshalsea.[34]

In *Little Dorrit*, verticality plays a particularly important role in enshrining the social and ideological values that prevail in the Marshalsea Prison and in a broader sense, in the society of Victorian England as a whole. The importance of verticality, especially in Western architecture, has been explored by Lefebvre, who in *The Production of Space* contends that altitude and verticality carry special significance in a society or culture as they often symbolize power.[35] As I noted earlier, Lefebvre suggests that space comprises not only physical space but also social space. He contends that space, which is at first empty, is subsequently 'filled by a social life and modified by it', hence space is conceived of as being transformed into 'lived experience' by a social 'subject'.[36] This theorisation is particularly useful in analysing the representation of the Dorrit family's special status within the Marshalsea Prison (William Dorrit is the father of the Marshalsea Prison because of his friendship with a turnkey and the fact that he is the longest-serving inmate there; his daughter, Little Dorrit, was born there, hence attaining special

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[33] Margot Finn, *The Character of Credit: Personal Debt in English Culture, 1740-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp.109-151; see also William Hooper, *The History of Newgate and the Old Bailey, and a Survey of the Fleet Prison and Fleet Marriages, the Marshalsea and other Old London Jails, etc.* (London: Underwood Press, 1935), p.153.
[34] Philpotts, p.92.
[35] Lefebvre, p.236.
[36] Lefebvre, p.190.

affection by both the turnkey and the collegians). The influence of verticality on the perception of the individuals has also been explored by Gaston Bacheloard in *The Poetics of Space*, in which he argues that different altitudes of a house exert various psychological impacts on the individuals who inhabit it. These two aspects of verticality—namely, its psychological effect on the individuals and the power relations it represents—will become clear in the subsequent discussion that will draw an analogy between the spatial dimension of the Marshalsea and that of a typical middle-class Victorian house in London.

The spatiality of the prison, as with the features of Mrs Clennam's house which I have commented upon earlier, enacts a sense of disorientation that permeates the novel through Dickens's use of both the horizontal and vertical dimensions of the fictional prison structure:

> Arthur followed him down a narrow entry, at the end of which a key was turned, and a strong door was opened from within. It admitted them into a lodge or lobby, across which they passed, and so through another door and a grating into the prison. The old man always plodding on before, turned round, in his slow, stiff, stooping manner [...]
>
> The night was dark; and the prison lamps in the yard, and the candles in the prison windows faintly shining behind many sorts of wry old curtain and blind, had not the air of making it lighter. A few people loitered about, but the greater part of the population was within doors. The old man taking the right-hand side of the yard, turned in at the third or fourth doorway, and began to ascend the stairs [...]

> He paused for a moment before opening a door on the second story [sic]. He had no sooner turned the handle, than the visitor saw Little Dorrit, and saw the reason of her setting so much store by dining alone.[37]

The translated version becomes:

> The old man led the way. When they entered, it was already totally dark. Except for a few sparsely lit windows, everywhere was completely dark. Those rooms with lights were places housing inmates. Thus the number of inmates could be gleaned from the number of lights. The old man pointed at the third room where the light was on, and said, 'Here is where my brother lives.' He immediately opened the door, revealing Little Dorrit with her back to the door.
>
> 老人道之。入時天已深黑。燈光透欞上者三五。餘則暗黑如漆。有。燈。之。皆。為。囚。人。所。居。觀。此。間。燈。光。疏。密。即。知。囚。人。之。數。老人指第三室有燈處曰。此吾兄居也。即推扉入。扉啟已見小道雷以背向戶。[38]

The original text has demonstrated in detail how Dickens makes use of both the horizontal and the vertical dimensions of the prison to create a disorienting effect on the individuals and to construct an image of a home in an otherwise institutional setting. The labyrinthine nature of the prison's interior to the

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[37] Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, pp.58-59.
[38] *Ya Mei Nu Shi Bie Chuan*,Vol.1, p.59.

outsider—the locked door, the darkness, the doorway and the staircase—is vividly depicted; most of these elements, however, are deleted in the translated version, thus largely eclipsing the disorienting effect that the space constructs. This change has also affected the way in which Dorrit's dwelling is perceived by the readers, as the original text has detailed the winding way through which his room could be reached, hence its position as a tucked-away place and a tranquil locality. The old man's heavy and tiring manner of walking—'always plodding on before, turned round, in his slow, stiff, stooping manner'—has been replaced by a more decisive and certain demeanour in the translated version, in that he 'pointed at' the third room where the light was on. If the way the old man walked previously reflected his physical weakness and his feeling of disorientation and strangeness, then the translated text has transformed his relationship with his surroundings—that is, from one that emphasises disorder and confusion to one that stresses clarity. Put into a wider context, this different portrayal also reveals the different spatial conception of the cities in the two cultures which I shall explore in detail later.

Dickens's depiction of life in the Marshalsea Prison and its positioning in relation to the outside world, as I noted in the beginning of this chapter, finds much resonance with the Victorians' prevailing conception of the opposition between private and public spaces, in that the domestic space was often seen by the Victorian middle class as a refuge against the hustle and bustle of the increasingly commercialized and competitive world. This, as Karen Chase and Michael Levenson point out, contrasts with the lower class in the Victorian period, who simply did not have the luxury to separate the public and private spaces as many of them had to live in cramped conditions, such as

the 'rookeries' which Dickens depicts in his novels.[39] As with the sense of disorientation within the Marshalsea Prison that is constructed through Dickens's use of both vertical and horizontal dimensions, William Dorrit's 'home' is also denoted in spatial terms. I argue that the architectural structure of the Marshalsea mirrors that of a typical middle-class Victorian house in London, while the lifestyle which the Dorrit family leads is a re-enactment of a middle-class household in Victorian England. As Bachelard suggests, 'a house is imagined as a vertical being' and that it 'appeals to our consciousness of centrality'.[40] Thus the higher one reaches in a house, the more one would feel a sense of tranquillity and solitude. While Bachelard's interpretation is useful in highlighting the interaction between individual perception and his surrounding environment in terms of verticality, his interpretation can only be applied to the current analysis of a Victorian house in a revised form. This is because in a typical middle-class Victorian house in London, the highest point, that is, the attic, was typically reserved for the servants because of its low ceiling, its comparative lack of space and its poor ventilation, all of which made it a place which was hot in summer and chilling in winter. Besides the attic, the house was normally comprised of three main storeys, a basement and an attic, with each of the levels being inscribed with different social and ideological values. The basement would be the kitchen, pantry and store rooms, laundry rooms as well as space for the servants to eat and relax. On the ground floor would be the dining room, with perhaps a library or a morning room. The first floor

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[39] Karen Chase and Michael Levenson, 'On the Parapets of Privacy', in *A Companion to Victorian Literature and Culture*, ed. Herbert Tucker (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp.425-437. Chase and Levenson are particularly interested in the way the arrangement of walls help articulate and delineate a social space for people who belong to different classes. (p.435).
[40] Bachelard, p.17.

would be the drawing room floor that often contained the most important and imposing room in the house; the next floor would be the master bedroom and the second bedroom. The top floor, or the attic, was often reserved for servants and children. Thus, where the inhabitants reside inside a Victorian house often reflects their respective position in society.[41] For example, the master bedroom is often on the second floor as it enjoys the greatest privacy and good lighting. The position of Dorrit's room, which is on the second floor in the Marshalsea, thus mirrors that of the master bedroom in a typical Victorian middle-class house.

The representation of the Marshalsea in the original text, as I have argued, on the one hand recaptures the disorienting effect which Victorians often felt at a time of change, and on the other hand recreates the hierarchical relations that characterized Victorian society. The transformed spatiality in the Chinese translated text, meanwhile, stems from a different spatial configuration to that which pertained in English nineteenth-century culture; this trait becomes clearest in the translated Marshalsea Prison, as it has been transformed from one that epitomizes the wider labyrinthine cityscape to one that reflects the gridlike city planning in China. Thus while the opening of the chapter, 'The Father of the Marshalsea', in the original version saw the towering presence of the Marshalsea, the translated version stresses its horizontality, and hence the Chinese conception of space.

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[41] For a discussion of Victorian home and house, see Jenni Calder, *Victorian Home* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1977); Judith Flanders, *The Victorian House: Domestic Life from Childbirth to Deathbed* (London: HarperCollinsPublishers, 2003).

Original:

> Thirty years ago there stood, a few doors short of the church of Saint George, in the Borough of Southwark, on the left hand side of the way going southward, the Marshalsea Prison. It had stood there many years before, and it remained there some years afterwards; but it is gone now, and the world is none the worse without it.
>
> It was an oblong pile of barrack building, partitioned into squalid houses standing back to back, so that there were no back rooms; environed by a narrow paved yard, hemmed in by high walls duly spiked at top. Itself a close and confined prison for debtors, it contained within it a much closer and more confined jail for smugglers. Offenders against the revenue laws, and defaulters to excise or customs, who had incurred fines which they were unable to pay, were supposed to be incarcerated behind an iron-plated door, closing up a second prison, consisting of a strong cell or two, and a blind alley some yard and a half wide, which formed the mysterious termination of the very limited skittle-ground in which the Marshalsea debtors bowled down their troubles.[42]

Translation:

> Before Arthur's return, about twenty years ago, there was a prison called the Marshalsea on Southwark Street on the western side of the long lane and close to the Church of Saint George. Later, in 1849,

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[42] Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, p.41.

the prison gradually fell into disuse and was turned into a charity establishment. Before being converted into a charity establishment, it had many square dwellings densely lined back to back like pigeon cages, surrounded by low walls, and beyond that, enclosed by a high barricade. Cast iron pikes lined the top of the barricade so as to prevent inmates from escaping. There were two types of prisoners, those on the western side being unscrupulous merchants guilty of tax evasion, and those on the eastern side being debtors who failed to repay debts over an extended period of time. They were separated by a narrow alley in the middle and faced each other, but were not allowed to cross over to the other side. At the northern end of the alley was the place where inmates played ball games or engaged in other leisure activities. After a considerable passage of time, the walls had collapsed, the narrow alleys became a courtyard, and the eastern and western sides blended into one.

距耶斯爾歸時前。二十年頃。紹斯窩克街中有監獄一所。名禡少士。獄在長衖之西。鄰近聖教居教堂。後於一千八百四十九年。此獄遂廢。改為善堂。當未改善堂時。房舍極夥。式皆正方。小屋相接。密如鴿籠。牆背相倚。繞以短垣。垣外以高壘衛之。鐵鑄蒺藜。排列牆上。防人跳越。其中所禁罪人。分兩種類。西為漏稅奸商。東則欠人債金歲久無償者。中隔隘巷。囚人東西相望。不能踰越。巷北有打球廠。為諸囚晏樂之所。

歲久。牆。圮。隘巷。變。為。廣。場。東。西。渾。而。為。一。[43]

Before proceeding to discuss the reconfiguration of spatiality in the text, it needs to be pointed out that the translated version has given a clear historical timeframe by spelling out the exact year when the prison was abolished, a change that would have enhanced the sense of authenticity in the Chinese imagination. Turning the prison into a charity establishment—which is a fictitious construct both in terms of the actual history of the area and the original narrative—has given the prison an 'afterlife' that is absent in the original text. For if the prison is a symbol of punishment, then charity follows naturally as the next stage of penitence. In spatial terms, the original Marshalsea, with its emphasis on verticality, is clearly transformed into one that stresses symmetrical and orthogonal structures, the changes of which mirror traditional Chinese built structures and the wider cityscape, such as those that could be found in Beijing. Indeed, the military connotation that the original text carries—evidenced by the use of the word 'barrack'—adds credence to my reference to Beijing in this discussion as the Chinese city is renowned for its defensive, walled structure. The translated version's explicit reference to the four directions of the prison, 'North', 'East', 'South' and 'West', as with Arthur's movement inside his mother's house which I noted earlier, enshrine the Chinese traditional architectural principle that was based on the Chinese cosmos that saw man being placed at the centre of a cosmic

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[43] *Ya Mei Nu Shi Bie Chuan*,Vol.1, p.43.

frame.[44] In practical terms, traditional Chinese architecture is often organised through connecting series of 'jian', which is a rectangular room or space defined by walls or columns, along longitudinal or horizontal axis; and a Chinese compound house often mirrors the spatial orientation of the cities, palaces and gardens.[45] As Michael Dutton points out:

> [...] in the compound house which opens to the south, the master's room would be to the north, opening out to the courtyard and dominating the view of all who enter the household [...] the rooms on the eastern and western sides were occupied by children, while those to the south—that is, those which were dark and gloomy—were occupied by servants.[46]

Such an arrangement foregrounds the power held by the family head because his living quarter is often filled with light and it dominates the internal space of the compound. Thus if the status of the family head in Victorian England was reflected by the level of privacy and solitude that he enjoyed in his house, then the status of his counterpart in early twentieth-century China was denoted by his 'centrality' in horizontal terms—that is, his ability to oversee the internal space of the compound house through its carefully structured horizontality.

Indeed, the additional image of the pigeon cage in the translated version has hinted at the caged-like existence under Panopticon, the prison building

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[44] See Tuan, *Space and Place*, pp.85-100.
[45] For a detailed explanation of the major characteristics of Chinese architecture, see Laurence Liu, *Chinese Architecture* (London: Academy Editions, 1989), pp. 27-39.
[46] Michael Dutton, *Policing and Punishment in China: From Patriarchy to 'the People'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p.99.

designed by the English philosopher and social theorist Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) in 1785, but one which was never put into practice in England.[47]

> The building circular—A cage, glazed—a glass lantern about the size of Ramelagh—The prisoners in their cells, occupying the circumference—The officers in the centre. By blinds and other contrivances, the inspectors concealed [...] from the observation of the prisoners: hence the sentiment of a sort of omnipresence—The whole circuit reviewable with little, or if necessary without any, change of place. One station in the inspection part affording the most perfect view of every cell.[48]

Bentham's idea was famously expounded on by Michel Foucault in his theory of 'Panopticism'.[49] Foucault uses the surveillance measures that were taken during a plague in France in the seventeenth century to examine the underlying principle of Panopticism. What characterises the surveillance measures, Foucault argues, is their omnipresence—which takes the form of patrolling and inspections by 'intendants, syndics and guards'—and the fixity of individuals' position in society. This is perpetuated by a system of 'permanent registration' that saw individuals' personal particulars recorded and passed on to officials who belong to different levels of hierarchy. Bentham's Panopticism, he

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[47] For a discussion of the design and debates surrounding the Panopticon, See Robin Evans, *The Fabrication of Virtue: English Prison Architecture, 1750-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp.195-235.
[48] From Jeremy Bentham, *Proposal for a New and Less Expensive mode of Employing and Reforming Convicts*, printed 1798, Bentham Mss., U.C.L., box 11(b), paper 653, quoted in Evans, *The Fabrication of Virtue*, p.195.
[49] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (London: Penguin, 1977), pp.195-228 (195).

suggests, is the architectural manifestation of such a surveillance mechanism. For the inmates, who are placed in individual cells, would always feel that they are being spied upon because of the tall outline of the central tower, where the supervisor is supposedly based. Yet at the same time, they will never know whether they are being looked at at any given moment. The effectiveness of the mechanism, then, hinges on what Foucault argues is the ability of the architectural apparatus to create and sustain a power relation 'independent of the person who exercises it'.[50] Indeed, the image of the pigeon cages in the Chinese translated text suggests both confinement and observance because whilst it restricts the movement of the pigeon, at the same time, the cage also provides a stage through which the pigeon can be observed.[51] Moreover, the implied power structure that is embedded with the transformed, clearly-demarcated horizontal spatiality, and the additional security measures (as denoted by the 'high barricade' and the 'cast iron pikes' that line on top of the barricade), all strengthen the sense of surveillance within the Marshalsea.

As I pointed out earlier, Dickens's depiction of the fictional Marshalsea is used to critique some of the social phenomena of his time; this is aptly demonstrated by the social hierarchy within the prison, one which is built on the tacit understandings of all those who reside in it. William Dorrit's standing as the father of Marshalsea is predicated on the acquiescence of the turnkey, the inmates, his family members and visitors. This, I argue, reflects Dickens's

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[50] Foucault, p.201.

[51] Yingjin Zhang points out that raising birds as well as other leisurely activities reflect the mentality of Beijing people, and one which is linked to the traditional Chinese gentry mentalities—that is, the pursuit of an 'aesthetic of life' and a 'cultivation of the self'. See Zhang, In *The City in Modern Chinese Literature and Film* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp.61-89 (84).

attempt to critique the pretentiousness of Society through recreating its operation in a totally different setting. In *The Best Circles: Society Etiquette and the Season*, Leonore Davidoff points out that Society can be seen as 'a system of quasi-kinship relationships which was used to "place" mobile individuals during the period of structural differentiation fostered by industrialisation and urbanisation'. More importantly, individuals accepted the rubrics of Society voluntarily because they were considered as the norms and the right thing to do.[52] Just like individuals in society, everybody in the Marshalsea abide by the various conventions which Dorrit—who is regarded as the father of Marshalsea—establishes, even though they are not official rules. For example, newcomers will be presented to him and collegians often offer him fiscal gifts as a token of his position. Coupled with this is the fact that the general atmosphere of the prison, the inmates' activities and the freedom that they enjoy in communicating with people from both inside and outside the prison defies the mechanism of individuated surveillance under Bentham's Panopticon. The turnkey, who is supposedly a figure of authority, turns out to be a caring person who is friendly with the inmates and who has a special affection towards Little Dorrit. A harmonious and peaceful atmosphere prevails in the prison, where long-term inmates console the new ones who have yet to overcome their initial feeling of embarrassment and guilt. In 'Prison-bound: Dickens and Foucault', Tambling argues that 'in the Panopticon, the knowledge of a person is both coloured and colouring, and to acquire knowledge, by entering into the dominant discourse, is to learn the

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[52] Leonore Davidoff, *The Best Circles: Society Etiquette and the Season* (London: Croom Helm, 1973), pp.13-19 (15).

language of oppression'.[53] The prison can control the language of a person and form 'structures of thought', a condition which, Tambling argues, also pertains to the worldview of Pip in *Great Expectations* (1860-61), one which is also shaped by, and steeped in, the 'Victorian dominant discourse'.[54] Yet while individuals accept Dorrit's special status, the Marshalsea in the original text is deprived of the sense of fear and oppression that prevail in the Panopticon, as everybody who lives in the Marshalsea enjoys peace and tranquility. This is best encapsulated from the comments that the doctor made to Dorrit when his daughter was born: 'Elsewhere, people are restless, worried, hurried about, anxious respecting one thing, anxious respecting another. Nothing of the kind here, sir [...] and what have we found? Peace.'[55] Coupled with this is the sense of privacy that the inmates enjoy. As I have argued earlier, the Dorrit family's special status is reflected by their high level of privacy as compared to other inmates. Yet even for the ordinary inmates, they also enjoy a certain level of privacy, as denoted by the general description of the general prison environment—'the candles in the prison windows faintly shining behind many sorts of wry old curtain and blind', where they can have curtain and blind to conceal themselves from the public gaze.[56] It is important to note that although Dickens's descriptions of the prison, as cited earlier, denote that it is a place of confinement, the way he phrases it hints at the discrepancy between the disciplinary nature of a prison and the actual, fictitious running of it in the narrative. This in turn suggests that the apparently 'free' world outside the

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[53] Jeremy Tambling, 'Prison-bound: Dickens and Foucault', *Essays in Criticism*, xxxvi:1 (1986): 11-31 (15).
[54] Ibid., p.17.
[55] Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, p.46.
[56] Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, p.58.

prison may in practice impose as many restrictions on its inhabitants—may be as much, if not more of a prison—than the Marshalsea. Offenders and defaulters 'who had incurred fines which they were unable to pay, were supposed to be incarcerated behind an iron-plated door';[57] in reality, inmates have developed their own sense of community and belonging in the prison and that they can maintain constant communications with the outside world through numerous 'go-betweens' and 'errand-bearers':

> There was a string of people already straggling in, whom it was not difficult to identify as the nondescript messengers, go-betweens, and errand-bearers of the place. Some of them had been lounging in the rain until the gate should open; others, who had timed their arrival with greater nicety, were coming up now, and passing in with damp whitey-brown paper bags from the grocers, loaves of bread, lumps of butter, eggs, milk and the like.[58]

Apart from supplying inmates with daily necessities and fresh food, the 'messengers, go-betweens and errand-bearers' have kept the inmates abreast of what is happening in the outside world. This every day, comparatively 'free' flow of information and goods when the prison gates open can be seen as an analogy with the horizontal spatial operations of the city, which, as I shall discuss further later in the chapter, often defies an officially imposed vertical

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[57] Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, p.41.
[58] Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, pp.65-66.

power structure.[59] These external communications also have the effect of destabilising the physical boundary between the prison and the outside world. The translated version, however, has transformed the social hierarchy in the prison into a rigid, official system. If the notion of 'individualising observation'—which is central to Panopticism—is largely absent from the 'English Marshalsea', then the 'Chinese Marshalsea' has at least partially resurrected the idea of individual subjects being put under observation. For Dorrit's position as the father of Marshalsea is no longer in name only, rather, it becomes a real, official position as he succeeds the turnkey upon his death. It is not the intention of this study to examine whether such a turn of events is logical or not in terms of the overall plot development, rather it tries to show how this transformation has further strengthened the sense of surveillance within the prison, altering Dickens's narrative in the process:

> The turnkey said, [...] 'I got here three years before you and will soon leave you. After my death, you will be the person-in-charge.' The turnkey passed away the next day. The prison government official was familiar with William's name, and so appointed him as the turnkey. For William, suddenly acquiring this post was like having won a national election. He became very arrogant, [and] redraft the prison regulations: all inmates had to appear before him and humble themselves to stay in the blocks, and newcomers had to present a gift of money, the amount of which depended on their

[59] This tension between horizontal spatial operations and the vertical power structure is evident in the location of popular theatres in London in the early modern period and the imperial city of Beijing respectively. I shall discuss this aspect later in the chapter.

wealth. [...] Later, the regulations became more complex: all inmates had to state the extent of their business operations and debts, and those with larger business operations and larger debts had to pay more.

獄隸曰.....我先君來此甫三年耳。今將辭君去矣。我逝後。君當為此間管理人矣。越日獄隸卒。獄官習知韋廉名。果以獄隸事委之。韋廉驟得此任。如得國民選舉。侈然自滿。重訂獄中規則。凡入獄者必往參見。始卑以居息所。初入獄者。必餽以贄金。視其家資厚薄。以定其數.....久之。又更易規則。日益縝密。凡入獄者。始祗註明商業鉅細。繼須并註債金多寡。業巨。者。固。多。納。資。債多。者。亦。重。其。贄。[60]

In the translated version, the various conventions—such as financial gifts—have become prison regulations; the inmates' compliance then is no longer a matter of choice or a result of peer pressure but a compulsory act. More importantly, just like the registration system under the Panopticon as discussed earlier, everybody's business operations and the amount of debts that they owed will be put on record in order to determine the level of financial contributions that they have to make to Dorrit. These measures have formalized the relationship between Dorrit and the other inmates, thus the resultant fixity and rigidity of individuals' position in the prison has the effect of undermining the social space which the original narrative creates, and one

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[60] *Ya Mei Nu Shi Bie Chuan*,Vol.1, p.49.

which is intended, as I noted, to mock the pretentiousness of Society and the imprisoning nature of contemporary social etiquette.

The sense of disorientation that is created by the spatial configuration in the Marshalsea Prison, as I argued earlier, mirrors the labyrinthine cityscape of Victorian London, the latter of which was a result of the city's rapid expansion and a lack of any comprehensive city planning at the time. Describing London as a 'scattered city', Roy Porter points out: 'London was not a coherent development, dictated by government, given form by a rational road grid. In the century of Darwin [...] it was likened to some natural phenomenon, evolving spontaneously.'[61] The city's drastic growth in the course of the nineteenth century is reflected by its population, a figure which soared from around a million in 1800 to 4.5 million by 1881.[62] The 'unplanned' nature of the city of London stands in a sharp contrast to the city of Beijing, which since its inception as the country's capital in the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) has long been noted for its embodiment of the imperial ideology until the overthrow of the Qing dynasty in the Chinese Revolution of 1911. As Jeffrey Meyer puts it, '[Beijing] created a world, from centre to circumference. It spoke, not in words, but in the language of architecture, mass, and space.'[63] Under this architectural principle, individuals who live in Beijing have a clear idea as to which part of the city they are 'forbidden' to venture into. The city is surrounded by four encircling walls, with each carrying specific ideological and social values; it also attests to the four cardinal-point

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[61] Roy Porter, *London: A Social History* (London: Penguin, 2000), p.252.
[62] Porter, p.249.
[63] Jeffrey Meyer, *The Dragons of Tiananmen: Beijing as a Sacred City* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1991), p.1.

principle which I have discussed earlier. [64] The space that extends from the centre to the outer area, and one which is reinforced by the strategic positioning of the walls and gates, represents the political and social hierarchy in society. For example, the Forbidden City—which is located in the middle of Beijing and which is at the centre of this spatial configuration—was a symbol of imperial and state power during the imperial era. The Inner City, which encloses the walls of the Imperial City, meanwhile, is divided into East, West and North cities or districts, further attesting to the four cardinal-point principle on which the city was built.[65] Yet as I briefly alluded to earlier, while the imperial power dictated the way in which the capital city was built, it has to be recognised that urban (and sometimes unwanted) activities could often exist at the 'margin' of the city. In *Chinese Spatial Strategies: Imperial Beijing 1420-1911*, Jianfei Zhu succinctly captures these different aspects of Beijing by arguing that the spatiality of the imperial city encompasses two dimensions: on the one hand, there is the overall layout of the city that conveys the idea of a 'legitimate throne under heaven'; on the other hand, there is the urban social space which is unmappable on the master plan. What Zhu effectively argues is that while the state 'fragmented and compartmentalized the population and urban space', in reality the urban society often 'fostered lateral encounters and associations across the divided parts of the population and space.'[66] However, it has to be noted that the location of various social activities during the

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[64] For details, see Yun Qiao, *Defence Structures: Ancient Chinese Architecture* (China: Springer-Verlag Wien, 2001), pp.118-123.
[65] The most renowned walled structure in China is of course the Great Wall of China, which was originally built to defend the northern border of the nation against intrusion from nomads. For the origin of the Great Wall, see Arthur Waldron, *The Great Wall of China: From History to Myth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
[66] Jianfei Zhu, *Chinese Spatial Strategies: Imperial Beijing 1420-1911* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), pp.88-89.

imperial period were still largely confined to the contours of the imperial spatial mapping, as is reflected by the fact that theatres and guildhalls were often located in the Outer City—that is, being far removed from the centre of the imperial power, the Forbidden City.[67] This 'horizontal' city planning, as Zhu points out, reflects the concentration of state power and the vertical hierarchical power structure that saw the Emperor sit on the top of the hierarchy, presumed to be 'all-seeing' from its central position. This, he adds, aligns it to the power configuration that underlines the Panopticon; at the same time, it could also be seen as an extension of the spatial configuration of a domestic, courtyard house which I have discussed earlier. In other words, as with the Victorian author's use of the spatiality of the built structures to image the wider cityscape, the Chinese translators' reconfiguration of spatiality also mirrors the wider city structure, albeit the politics and ideology that are inscribed with the Chinese cityscape and built structure differed markedly from that of their Victorian counterpart.

When *Little Dorrit* was published in 1910, it was a time when the imperial rule was destabilised by internal unrests and foreign threats, such as the anti-foreign, 'Boxer Rebellion' in 1900. This led to the invasion of 'Eight-power Allied Forces' to Beijing that resulted in the signing of a 'Boxer Protocol' in 1901, under which China was forced to assent to a series of foreign demands such as the imposition of a ban on the imports of arms to the nation for two years and the permission of permanent foreign guards and emplacements of defensive weapons to protect the legation quarter in

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[67] Ibid.

perpetuity.[68] At the same time, the failure of the Qing court to carry out a full-fledged reform—that is, the so-called Hundred Days' Reform in 1898 which I discussed in the Introductory chapter of this thesis—had weakened its political stature; this was further exacerbated by the house arrest of the Emperor by the Dowager and the exile of the leading intellectuals of the day. The political uncertainties destabilised the imperial power, albeit the physical manifestation of the 'ideal' power structure, as exemplified in the nation's city plan, remained intact until after the formation of the Republic in 1912—a period that saw the development of new transport networks and the city at large, and which led to the gradual demolition of city walls and traditional courtyard houses. This process of demolition gathered steam in the 1960s with the building of Beijing's underground railway, and during the Cultural Revolution between 1966 and 1976 when all things 'old' were treated with scorn by the Red Army.[69] In the translated version, while the reconfiguration of the Marshalsea Prison embodies the Chinese architectural tradition, and by extension the imperial ideology which was enshrined in the city planning of Beijing—in what might be a veiled comment on the gradual disintegration of the imperial power in the first decade of the twentieth century, the translated version overtly points out that 'after a considerable passage of time, the walls had collapsed, the narrow alleys became a courtyard, and the eastern and western sides blended into one.'[70] Such a change testifies to the fact that the

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[68] Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York, London: Norton, 1999), pp.215-242.
[69] Stephen Haw, *Beijing: A Concise History* (London: Routledge, 2008); Jun Wang, *Beijing Record: A Physical and Political Hutong of Planning* (Singapore, London: World Scientific, 2011).
[70] *Ya Mei Nu Shi Bie Chuan*,Vol.1, p.43.

adaptation of the Marshalsea in early twentieth-century China was intertwined with that specific historic moment. This is further glimpsed by the reference to the national election in the translated version, one which hints at the fact that many intellectuals intended to explore various different political systems—the most notable were constitutional monarchy as advocated by reformers such as Liang Qichao and the Chinese Republic as supported by Sun Yat-sen—in the first decade of the twentieth century.[71]

The translated text's transformation of the vertical internal space into one that emphasizes horizontality should not mask the fact that the translated text also carries a description of the external 'towering presence' of the prison as shown in the opening of chapter eight, 'The Lock'.

> Arthur, having been away from the British capital for a long time, was unfamiliar with many streets of London. When he saw the towering presence of the Marshalsea Prison, he thought that it might be the estate of a distinguished family and wondered how this female servant could reside in such a gorgeous residence. Thinking to enquire a passer-by about it, he suddenly saw an old man coming up. The old man was thin and small and dazed, as if sleep-walking [...] He wore an old shirt and long overcoat.
>
> 耶斯。爾。去。英。京。久。倫敦。途。徑。多。不。熟。習。見禡。少。士。獄。赫然。高。廈。疑為。巨。家。閥。

[71] For a general discussion of Chinese intellectuals' demand for change, see Charlotte Furth's 'Intellectual Change: From the Reform Movement to the May Fourth Movement, 1895-1920', in *An intellectual History of Modern China*, eds. Merle Goldman and Leo Ou-fan Lee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp.13-96. I shall discuss these political debates and their impact on the political development in China in detail in Chapter Three.

閱。意謂。此。女。傭。工。何得。有。此。富。麗。室。居欲詢之途人。忽見一老者。行近其處。老人。身。極。瘦。小。奄然。如。睡。中。魅。行。[...]身著。舊。衫。長被。[72]

This compares with the original version:

> Arthur Clennam stood in the street, waiting to ask some passer-by what place that was. He suffered a few people to pass him in whose faces there was no encouragement to make the enquiry, and still stood pausing in the street, when an old man came up and turned into the court-yard.
>
> He stooped a good deal, and plodded along in a slow preoccupied manner, which made the bustling London thoroughfares no very safe resort for him. He was dirtily and meanly dressed, in a threadbare coat, once blue, reaching to his ankles and buttoned to his chin, where it vanished in the pale ghost of a velvet collar.[73]

This discrepancy between the external physical attributes—that is, the image of a towering prison and the emphasis on the horizontality of the prison's internal space as discussed earlier—seems to be largely a result of the 'free translation' which early Chinese translators practiced.[74] Yet what is significant about this change is the way in which it undermines Dickens's attempt to construct a

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[72] *Ya Mei Nu Shi Bie Chuan*, Vol.1, p.57.
[73] Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, p.57.
[74] See the Introductory chapter of this thesis for my discussion on the translation methods which early translators of Dickensian texts adopted in China.

complex symbolic whole out of the various episodes and the wide array of characters that populate his narrative. Dickens's concern with the overall thematic and narrative structure of his novels under which plots develop is clearly spelt out in his preface to *Martin Chuzzlewit* (1843-44), in which he says: 'I have endeavoured in the progress of this Tale, to resist the temptation of the current Monthly Number, and to keep a steadier eye upon the general purpose and design'.[75] This attention to the general purpose and design, which is notable to his other novels, such as *Dombey and Son* (1846-1848), and *Little Dorrit*, underscores Western traditions of narrative fiction.[76] As N.J. Lowe points out, the 'classical' idea of plot (by classical Lowe meant a way of doing things that 'enshrined in certain canonical exemplars at the source and centre of the genre or tradition') is defined by Aristotle's (384-322BC) *Poetics* (335BCE);[77] one of the main criteria of an ideal plot which Aristotle outlined was that it should stand as a complete 'whole', and in Lowe's words, one which can act as a 'self-contained causal chain'.[78] The sense of 'wholeness' in *Little Dorrit* is not only achieved by a clear opening, development (as encapsulated by Dorrit's as well as Arthur's change of fortune) and closure but most importantly, it also stems from the symbols and motifs that Dickens uses in constructing a symbolic, thematic whole. The towering presence of the

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[75] Charles Dickens, 'Preface', in *Martin Chuzzlewit* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1844), p.vii-viii (viii).
[76] Dickens was said to have told Forster that his intention for *Dombey and Son* 'was to do with Pride what its predecessor [*Martin Chuzzlewit*] had done with Selfishness'. See Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens*, Vol. 2 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1873), p.309. See also, John Butt and Kathleen Tillotson, 'Dombey and Son: Design and Execution', in *Dickens at Work* (London: Methuen, 1968), pp.90-113.
[77] N.J. Lowe, *Classical Plot and the Invention of Western Narrative* (Port Chester, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.61; Aristotle, *Poetics*, tran. Malcolm Heath (London: Penguin, 1996), pp.13-17.
[78] Lowe, p.62; Aristotle, pp.13-17.

Marshalsea and its labyrinthine, winding internal, vertical structure, all work together to construct a sense of secrecy that permeate the novel, one which is further augmented by the forbidding nature of Mrs Clennam's house as I noted earlier.[79] This symbolic and narrative unity is disrupted in the Chinese translation because it is evident from the aforementioned discrepancy that the translators had not considered the novel from the perspective of a symbolic whole when they carried out translations of individual chapters. This explains why Arthur's impression of the Marshalsea as a 'gorgeous residence of a distinguished family' in the translated version appears to be incongruous with the other descriptive passages of the prison which I have discussed earlier.[80] It also departs from the original narrative that clearly suggests a negative impression which Arthur first formed of the Marshalsea, as he chose to direct his enquiry to an old man who was 'dirtily and meanly dressed', and who later emerges as Frederick Dorrit; this hints at the fact that he may have instinctively known that it is a place where only the poor and the outcast live.

Performative Space

William Dorrit's special position in the Marshalsea, as discussed earlier, is denoted in spatial terms; this is also signalled by the constantly burning fire and the range of material possessions in his room—for 'the window was curtained, and the floor carpeted; and there were shelves, and pegs, and other

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[79] Karl Ashley Smith discusses how Dickens makes use of the motif of a haunted castle in the gothic novel to portray a world that is characterised by the concealment of truths in *Little Dorrit* in *Dickens and the Unreal City*, pp.34-62.
[80] *Ya Mei Nu Shi Bie Chuan*,Vol.1, p.57.

such conveniences'.[81] As I shall discuss later in this section, his self-deception and his false sense of privilege are reinforced by his conscious act of 'performativity', notably the constant juxtaposition which he deliberately draws between himself and his frail brother, Frederick Dorrit, and his attempt to put up a middle-class appearance.[82] The depiction of the Dorrit family's domestic life stands in sharp contrast to the much reduced level of comfort of other prisoners, as can be glimpsed by the faint light behind the other inmates' windows that fail to light up the area. Yet despite this, the inmates' living conditions in the fictional Marshalsea are still better than that of the lower class in Victorian England, in that the depiction of the lights behind the curtains has constructed a sense of 'home' which would have been denied to the lower class and the underprivileged in Victorian society. The poor living and working conditions of the working and the lower classes in Victorian London had long been a subject of concern during the period. For example, Henry Mayhew (1812-1887) revealed that some cheap lodging houses became a shelter for the delinquent, prostitutes and labourers in *London Labour and the London Poor*, which were originally a series of articles published in the *Morning Chronicle* in 1849-50, and subsequently published in three volumes in 1851.[83] In his visit to one of the cheap lodging houses, Mayhew found that there were as many as 84 'bunks', each of which was about seven feet long,

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[81] Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, p.61.
[82] For a discussion of the concept of 'performativity', see James Loxley, *Performativity* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007)
[83] See Anne Humpherys' 'Introduction' in Henry Mayhew, *Voices of The Poor: Selections from the Morning Chronicle "Labour and the Poor"* (1849-1850), ed. Anne Humpherys (London: Frank Cass, 1971) for the publication history of the work. pp.ix-xx.

and one foot ten inches wide.[84] Thomas Beames's (1815-1864) *The Rookeries of London* (1850) was another work that contained detailed descriptions of the dismal living conditions in slums.[85] Later in the century, Charles Booth (1840-1916) in his twelve *Maps Descriptive of London Poverty 1898-9* revealed the extent of poverty in London and the various zones in the city that were based on the demography of the people who resided in different streets and districts.[86] Although the maps were drawn up after Dickens's time, they still provide a good reference point for getting a glimpse into the increasingly disparity between the rich and the poor over the course of the nineteenth century. In the maps, each street is coloured to indicate the income and social class of its inhabitants. Accompanied by a detailed record of the households living in individual streets, Booth showed that the composition of the poorest districts, such as Southwark, were more homogeneous than the comparatively well-off locations because the latter tended to attract both the working class and the middle class whilst only the poorest and the lower class would be willing to live in the former.[87] Booth's survey provided an insight into the living conditions of the poorest households, most notably their lack of privacy:

> In little rooms no more than 8 ft. square, would be found living father, mother and several children. Some of the rooms, from the peculiar build of the houses (shallow houses with double frontage)

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[84] Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, Vol.III (New York: Dover Publications, 1968), pp.314-315.
[85] Thomas Beames, *The Rookeries of London* (New York: Frank Cass, 1970).
[86] Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London. First Series: Poverty* (*Maps of London: Poverty, Districts and Streets*), 1891, 1902 Rev. ed. (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1969).
[87] Ibid.

> would be fairly large and have a recess 6 ft. wide for the bed, which in rare instances would be curtained off. If there was no curtain, anyone lying on the bed would perhaps be covered up and hidden, head and all, when a visitor was admitted, or perhaps no shyness would be felt.[88]

The cramped room that was free of any curtain as described by Booth gives a striking image of those who suffered from a lack of privacy, and in some circumstances even their dignity, as they could only either cover themselves up or forgo their sense of shyness in cases when a visitor was admitted when they were lying in bed.[89] The fact that the living condition of the inmates in the Marshalsea was much better than the dismal, real, living conditions of the working class and the poor of the time demonstrates Dickens's intention to use his imagined life in the Marshalsea to critique some of the prevailing social phenomena of his time, such as the pretentiousness of the middle class which I have discussed earlier. In *On Liberty* (1859), John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) asserted that privacy and individuality were key to the attainment of liberty; Mill's arguments, which were influential in the mid-Victorian period, were made at a time when many Victorians were concerned with what they deemed as the increasing tendency of the state to encroach on individuals' private

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[88] Booth, *First Series: Poverty* (*Streets and Population Classified*), p.47.

[89] One major consequence of the cramped living conditions which the poor had to endure and the resultant unhygienic conditions was a series of cholera outbreaks that occurred in the major cities of Britain during the nineteenth century. Anthony Wohl wrote that 'the cholera epidemic of 1832 killed over 6,000 in London, that of 1848-9 killed 15,000, and another 10,000 died in the epidemic of 1853-4'. See Wohl, 'Terra Incognita', in *The Eternal Slum: Housing and Social Policy in Victorian London* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), p.16.

life.[90] Yet despite the fact that the privacy that the inmates enjoy far exceeds that of the working classes living outside the confines of the prison, they are equally deprived of liberty because of their lack of individual identity. This, I argue, is not so much to do with the fact that they live in a prison (one has to remember that life in the Marshalsea in Dickens's marrative is a fictitious construct), but rather it is due to the 'sameness' that they display, a trait which Dickens foregrounds in the work. When trapped inside the Marshalsea upon his first visit there, Clennam thought that all the people inside the prison carried a 'weedy look', whilst there were hordes of 'nondescript messengers, go-betweens, and errand-bearers' that frequented the prison.[91] Such an impression is echoed by Little Dorrit, who could only see the 'faded crowd' and the 'listless crowd' when she looked around the place in which she grew up.[92] This homogeneity is ubiquitous, as it not only occurs in the poor areas but also at places, such as Harley Street in Cavendish Square, where the rich and the wealthy live.

> The expressionless uniform twenty houses, all to be knocked at and rung at in the same form, all approachable by the same dull steps, all fended off by the same pattern of railing, all with the same impracticable fire-escapes, the same inconvenient fixtures in their heads, and everything without exception to be taken at a high valuation—who has not dined with these?[93]

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[90] John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty* (London: John Parker & Son, 1859).
[91] Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, pp.63, 65.
[92] Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, p.50.
[93] Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, p.180.

The uniformity and 'expressionless' urban architecture and city planning were being occupied by those urban-dwellers who had the 'same dull steps'. Such a critique of homogeneity reflects Dickens's—and many of his contemporaries'—concerns over the influence of mass culture and mass production on their social values, especially the importance placed on individualism. This expressionless architecture stands in sharp contrast to the very expressive nature of the built environment, such as the personified 'penitent streets' which I alluded to earlier. This different treatment of the physical attributes of the architecture and the built environment in which the characters inhabit foregrounds the important role which people, or more precisely, city-dwellers, play in Dickens's imagination of the metropolis. In his narratives, it is often the human emotions and their life encounters that confer the external, physical environment with meanings. Thus the existence of the 'expressionless', 'uniform' houses tell us as much about the lack of creativity in urban planning as it does the loss of individuality of those who dwell in it.

By the same token, Dorrit's neatly-kept room can be seen to reflect prevailing Victorian social values; women's ability to keep a decent household was thought to be reflected in the respectability of the family head, and the family at large. The range of material possessions which Dorrit owns, meanwhile, underlines the importance which the Victorian middle-class households attached to their outward appearances. A classic satire on this is George Eliot's (1819-1880) portrayal of Rosamond Vincy in *Middlemarch* (1871-72), who overspends in order to keep up her middle-class appearance, even though her husband, Tertius Lydgate, in reality could not afford such an

extravagant lifestyle.[94] The depiction of Dorrit's room also attests to the two major aspects of 'home' for middle-class Victorians: on the one hand there was the sense of security, familiarity and intimacy that characterised the private domain of the family; on the other hand, there was the material possessions of the home—and in most cases these were reflected by the furniture, fixtures, decorations and design of a Victorian house—that were often used by middle-class households to display their wealth and standing, and hence their attempt to gain recognition in Society.[95] The Dorrit family's deliberate attempt to keep up their middle-class appearances is further demonstrated by the 'elaborate' preparation which Little Dorrit makes for her father's dinner:

> She had brought the meat home that she should have eaten herself, and was already warming it on a gridiron over the fire, for her father, clad in an old grey gown and a black cap, awaiting his supper at the table. A clean cloth was spread before him, with knife, fork, and spoon, salt-cellar, pepper-box, glass, and pewter ale-pot.[96]

The hypocritical nature of Dorrit is vividly captured in the passage. It is true that the full set of cutleries and utensils and the warming of a piece of meat on a gridiron over the fire all suggest the daily activities of a middle-class household, for only well-off households could afford to have meat every day

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[94] See, for example, the scene that portrays the difficulties which Lydgate faces when he tries to tell Rosamond of his financial difficulties and his reluctance to suggest to her that they should return some of her jewelleries to the sellers in order to reduce his debt. See, George Eliot, 'Chapter 58', in *Middlemarch* (London: Penguin, 1994), pp.581-598.
[95] Yi-Fu Tuan suggests that 'home is a place that offers security, familiarity and nurture'. See Tuan, 'Home', in *Patterned Ground: Entanglements of Nature and Culture*, eds. Stephan Harrison, Steve Pile and Nigel Thrift (London: Reaktion Books, 2004), pp.164-165.
[96] Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, p.59.

and keep the fire constantly burning.[97] Ironically, the meat that Dorrit eats is the piece that Little Dorrit should have eaten for lunch during her day-time job. In a typical middle-class Victorian household, it was often the wife, or the mistress of the house, who ensured a hot meal was provided for the family head (which was normally her husband) punctually and that his taste and convenience was taken good care of. Yet she mainly took on a supervisory role as it was the house servants who had to do the actual cooking and other dirty jobs. As Jenni Calder points out, no household without a servant could claim the status of the Victorian middle class.[98] Dorrit's pretentiousness is thus exposed through the multifarious roles that Little Dorrit plays: she is a filial daughter, the mistress of the house (in this case Dorrit's room), a servant to the family and the family's breadwinner. Indeed, her physical location has hinted at her position as a servant: she took a lodging at the turnkey's 'sky parlour', or what is commonly known as the garret, which as I noted earlier, was normally reserved for the servants.[99] In Victorian society, it would be a humiliation to a middle- or upper-class family if the wife or the daughter had to go out to work to make a living. It is thus little wonder that Dorrit pretends not to know his daughters earn his bread.

> [...] he would wipe away the tears that streamed over his cheeks if any reference were made to his daughters' earning their bread. So, over and above her other daily cares, the Child of the Marshalsea had

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[97] Flanders, pp.63-92.
[98] Calder, pp.28-44.
[99] Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, p.63.

always upon her, the care of preserving the genteel fiction that they were all idle beggars together.[100]

The attempt to preserve the 'genteel fiction that they were all idle beggars', one which is part of William's effort in constructing his own sense of dignity, has demonstrated the deep-seated aversion to women making a living in the Victorian period. This description further reveals the strict demarcation of gender roles in middle-class households, and the clear boundary between domestic and public spaces that are crucial to the Victorian idea of home and femininity.[101]

William's sense of personal identity is predicated on the other inmates' recognition, which is why he constantly seeks an audience to whom he can project his self-fashioned image, to the extent that he cannot even share his true thoughts with his daughter in order to avoid exposing his own weaknesses. This need to find a ready audience for his 'performances' is captured by the way in which he constantly juxtaposes himself with his brother, Frederick, in front of the other inmates in order to highlight his superiority, both in terms of his status and of his physical and mental fitness, over that of his sibling.

> The brothers William and Frederick Dorrit, walking up and down the College-yard [...] Frederick the free, was so humbled, bowed, withered, and faded; William the bond, was so courtly,

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[100] Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, p.53.
[101] Monica Cohen describes such a phenomenon as 'professional domesticity' in *Professional Domesticity in the Victorian Novel: Women, Work and Home* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp.100-124.

> condescending, and benevolently conscious of a position; that in this regard only, if in no other, the brothers were a spectacle to wonder at.[102]

The role of 'Frederick the free' and 'William the bond' is reversed in this narrative as the supposedly 'free' man appears to wither away whilst the 'bond' one adorns a 'courtly' and 'condescending' attitude that stems from his self-consciousness of his 'position'—that is, as the Father of Marshalsea. Such a sense of self-importance, as William well understands, could only be maintained with the presence of an audience and their wilful acquiescence in upholding his 'authority', hence he chose to 'walk up and down the college-yard' with his brother. Yet such a reliance on the others' recognition also made him vulnerable—and his over-sensitivity—over the other inmates' attitude towards him, and creates a huge sense of insecurity once he finds that they have not paid as close an attention to him as before:

> As she stood behind him, leaning over his chair so lovingly, he looked with downcast eyes at the fire. An uneasiness stole over him that was like a touch of shame; and when he spoke, as he presently did, it was in an unconnected and embarrassed manner.
> "Something, I—hem!—I don't know what, has gone wrong with Chivery. He is not—ha!—not nearly so obliging and attentive as usual to-night [...] "that—hem!—that in such a life as mine, I am

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[102] Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, p.161.

unfortunately dependent on these men for something, every hour in the day."

"[...] Why, good Heaven! if I was to lose the support and recognition of Chivery and his brother-officers, I might starve to death here."[103]

His admission of his precarious position—that is, that his existence depends on the support and recognition of the others—hints at his subsequent failure in life outside the prison upon his change of fortune. Tuan has argued that a man's perception towards his surrounding is often affected by his sense of a place, and more importantly, his involvement with it.[104] Building on Tuan's contentions, Tim Cresswell expounds on the notion of 'place' by arguing that it is 'a way of seeing, knowing and understanding the world [...] We see attachments and connections between people and place'.[105] Cresswell's argument is helpful in examining William's failure in life upon his release from prison, for his outlook on life has been shaped and coloured by the privilege which he enjoys in prison. It is only by stepping outside this 'secure' place that the perils of his pretentiousness are exposed: his fervent attempt to cast away his former prison life, and to distance himself from all those who were once close to him only increase his sense of shame and loneliness. Indeed, the difficulty of William in leading a life outside the prison is captured in the prophetic words of Little Dorrit, albeit that her remarks also reveal the fact that

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[103] Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, pp.164-165.
[104] Tuan, *Space and Place*, pp.8-18.
[105] Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), p.11.

her own worldview is bound by her experience in the prison; this is reflected by her idealistic portrayal of her father:

> " [...] I have often thought that if such a change could come, it might be anything but a service to him now. People might not think so well of him outside as they do there. He might not be so gently dealt with outside, as he is there. He might not be so fit himself for the life outside, as he is for that."[106]

Translated version:

> Ordinary people are afraid of going to prison, but my father had all of life's necessities there. If he were released today, he would have no food or accommodation the next day. Besides, my father lived there so long that he had grown accustomed to the prison. Outside the prison, he would have little in common with strangers. Leaving the prison would be like visiting a foreign country; that is, life would be extremely difficult [for him].
>
> 世人。以。獄。為。畏。途。吾父。生。計。乃全。繫。於。此。今日。出。獄。明日。即。無。食。宿。處。且吾。父。居。此。久。自成。一。種。習。慣。獄外。生。人。旨。趣。咸與。吾。父。不。合。一出。此。門。如適。異。國。狀。乃。至。苦。[107]

Underlying Little Dorrit's idealistic portrayal of his father, however, is her realisation that the 'respect' her father receives is confined to the prison space.

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[106] Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, p.71.
[107] *Ya Mei Nu Shi Bie Chuan*,Vol.1, pp.74-75.

The translated version, on the contrary, highlights the daily necessities that William receives within the prison, hence stressing the importance of satisfying his material wants; this also unsettles the idealistic image which Little Dorrit consciously upholds (thus her request to Arthur not to give her father any monetary 'gifts').

William's reliance on the presence of an audience to prove his value, I argue, finds much resonance with the way in which theatre operates. Indeed, the affinity between theatre and the Marshalsea in the narrative is foregrounded by the prison connotations which Dickens uses in his representation of the theatre and the life within it.

> Little Dorrit was almost as ignorant of the ways of theatres as of the ways of gold mines, and when she was directed to a furtive sort of door, with a curious up-all-night air about it, that appeared to be ashamed of itself and to be hiding in an alley, she hesitated to approach it; being further deterred by the sight of some half dozen close-shaved gentlemen, with their hats very strangely on, who were lounging about the door, looking not at all unlike Collegians.[108]

The 'furtive sort of door' that 'appeared to be ashamed of itself, the resemblance between the 'close-shaved gentleman' and 'collegians', help construct a sense of concealment, shame and guilt that prevails in the novel. The clandestine atmosphere in the theatre is captured by the way in which

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[108] Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, p.170.

people working in it are always lurking in the shadows, 'like a spider'.[109] The alignment of the architectural space of the theatre with that of the Marshalsea is further illustrated by Frederick's physical location and his perception of it. He was found to be 'at the bottom of the well, in an obscure corner by himself' and his movement was stealthy in nature, as he 'crept forth by some underground way which emitted a cellarous smell'.[110] 'The old man (Frederick) looked as if the remote high gallery windows, with their little strip of sky, might have been the point of his better fortunes [...].' This highly restricted view of the outside world is one that characterises prison architecture; the high gallery windows also allegorise the spiked roof of the Marshalsea Prison. These analogies, which demonstrate the influence of the vertical dimension on the construction of a personal, living space, are however largely lost in the translated version. Apart from the 'long corridor' which I cited earlier, there is little indication as regards the spatial dimension, especially that of verticality, of the theatre in the translated text. Besides, Frederick's attempt to seek concealment, as indicated by the 'obscure corner' that he occupied and the way he moved—'crept forth by some underground way which emitted a cellarous smell', is replaced by an emphasis on his infirmity and exhaustion. For example, instead of describing his location in an 'obscure corner', the translated text only mentions that he had 'found a place to sit shielded by a big case'. (佛思得坐處。以巨箱為障)[111]. He also had to seek support from Little Dorrit when walking out. 'Pressing down on her comely shoulder and using

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[109] Ibid.
[110] Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, p.173.
[111] *Ya Mei Nu Shi Bie Chuan*,Vol.2, p.31.

her as a walking stick, he staggered out.' (以手扶亞媚肩上。以之代杖。蹣跚自内出。)[112] While Frederick's retired and infirm manner in the original text can be partly attributed to his sense of inferiority which his brother, William, constantly made him believe in, it is his infirmity and exhaustion that stems from his real physical weakness that is being emphasized in the translated text.

The theatre which Little Dorrit visits is a popular theatre in the East End, one frequented by the working class in contrast to the theatres in the West End that were mainly attended by the middle and upper class.[113] In *Theatre in the Victorian Age*, Michael Booth points out that the surge in the working-class population in the early and mid-nineteenth century made the eighteenth-century practice of putting all classes under the same roof of two or three central playhouses impossible to sustain in London. In the 1820s to 1840s, there was therefore a blossoming of theatres in the East End, 'across the Thames on the Surrey side of the river, and on the northern fringes of the West End'. These theatres catered primarily to the local populations, which were largely working and lower middle classes.[114] The location of these theatres became not only an embodiment of the social space of a particular zone in the city, but it also helped shape the character of a particular locale. Indeed, this

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[112] *Ya Mei Nu Shi Bie Chuan*,Vol.2, p.32.

[113] It is a well-known fact that Dickens loved East End theatres. William Axton points out that East End theatres had much impact on his literary creation and imagination. 'Dickens's love for popular and classical drama continued undiminished throughout his lifetime, as evidenced by his heavy patronage of almost every kind of theatrical production and by his special fondness for the unlicensesd theatres "on the Surrey side" of London.' See Axton, *Circle of Fire: Dickens' Vision, Style and the Popular Victorian Theatre* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1966), p.4.

[114] Michael Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 1-26. Booth cites an 1851 Census as saying that the working class accounted for 79 percent of the population in London. He also points out that an increasing number of actors and actresses came from the middle-class background in the late Victorian period, though this phenomenon mainly occurred at theatres in West End.

'strategic' location of theatres dated back to the early modern period.[115] This also constituted one of the unmappable spaces, which, as I pointed out earlier in this chapter, often characterise the actual operation of urban spaces underneath a master plan by the ruling class. The social significance of popular theatres, and their association with issues of class, are used by Dickens to highlight the real social position of the Dorrit family in contrast to their self-portrayed middle-class image in the Marshalsea that I noted earlier. This contrast is highlighted by a conversation between Mrs Merdle, whose son fell in love with Fanny, and Little Dorrit. Explaining her decision to stop this affair, Mrs Merdle tells Little Dorrit:

> " [...] I pointed out to your sister the plain state of the case; the impossibility of the Society in which we moved, recognising the Society in which she moved—though charming, I have no doubt; the immense disadvantage at which she would consequently place the family she had so high an opinion of, upon which we should find ourselves compelled to look down with contempt, and from which (socially speaking) we should feel obliged to recoil with abhorrence [...]"[116]

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[115] As Steven Mullaney points out, in the early modern period popular theatres were often located outside the city walls or in Liberties, a position which reflects a 'contradiction between Court license and city prohibition'. For details of Mullaney's arguments, see *The Place of the Stage: License, Play, and Power in Renaissance England* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), p.8. See also Janette Dillon, *Theatre, Court and City, 1595-1610: Drama and Social Space in London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) for a discussion of the social space which early modern theatres helped create.
[116] Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, pp.176-177.

Mrs Merdle's remarks echoed many of the upper and the middle-class Victorians' views that actresses were often considered as unfit for marriage because they ran against the moral and domestic ideals for women, let alone the fact that theatres were considered places which vagabonds and rogues frequented.[117]

While the translated text, as I shall soon demonstrate, embodied many Chinese theatrical practices, the fact that popular theatres were traditionally located outside the city walls and that women were often barred from stage all suggest points of contact between the two cultures in the way theatres were conceived by the ruling classes in their respective historic moments. As I discussed earlier, up until the gradual collapse of the last dynasty, the layers of walls in Beijing enshrined the imperial ideology; the location of theatres then, reflects the state-imperial power in the city planning and the ruling class's attempt to eradicate the unwanted elements from the inner city. Colin Mackerras notes:

> The concentration of Peking's theatres outside the Front Gate was due in part to Ching law. Edicts of 1671, 1799 and later forbade the construction of *his-yuan* in the Inner City, where the Imperial Palaces were, and it was not until the very late years of the Ching period that the proscription fell into disuse.[118]

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[117] Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age*, pp.99-140.
[118] Colin Mackerras, *The Chinese Theatre in Modern Times: From 1840 to the Present Day* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975), p.85. For a general introduction of Chinese classical theatre, see Jack Chen, *The Chinese Theatre* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1949).

It has to be noted, however, that the concept of theatre in the late Qing period differs from that in Victorian England. As Mackerras points out, there were two main types of 'theatres' in Beijing during the nineteenth century.[119] The first type is called '*hsi-chuang*', which refers to places where the gentry got together to celebrate a birthday or entertain guests, thus the performing troupe was mainly hired privately for a small group of guests who were of comparatively high social status and wealth.[120] The second type—which is the focus of this study—is '*hsi-yuan*', one which targeted the general public and was mainly performed in a teahouse, hence earning its name 'teahouse theatre'.[121] Many *hsi-yuan* were destroyed during the Boxer Uprising in 1900, with dramatic performances being held for some time in any available restaurant or guild-hall both within and outside the Inner City until old 'theatres' were rebuilt.[122] As with theatres in Elizabethan England, the seating arrangement in these Chinese public 'theatres' often reflected the different social and economic status of theatre-goers.[123]

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[119] Mackerras points out that different regions in China have different theatrical traditions. My study focuses on the theatres in Beijing in the nineteenth century.

[120] '*hsi-chuang*' in Mandarin pinyin system should be spelt as *xi zhuang*, while that of '*his-yuan*' should be *xi yuan*. Here I stick to the author's spellings.

[121] Mackerras, pp.82-93.

[122] Mackerras, p.90.

[123] Mackerras describes the structure of the *hsi-yuan* as follows: 'They [*hsi-yuan*] were divided into various parts, each intended for people of different social and economic status. The auditorium was arranged in two layers and was built around three sides of the raised stage. The most expensive seats were the "official seats", reserved for rich people or officials. They were upstairs on a balcony to the right and left of the stage and near to it [...] Behind the 'official seats' were the 'tables', which constisted of rows of short tables leading away from the stage. They also were expensive [...] The seats for the poor were also divided into categories...downstairs, [the area to] the front on the left and right was called "scattered seats", that in the middle was called the "centre of the pond". See Mackerras, p.85. The social hierarchy that is inscribed with the theatrical space in the teahouse is examined in detail by Joshua Goldstein, 'From Teahouse to Playhouse: Theatres as Social Texts in Early Twentieth-Century China', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 62:3 (Aug. 2003): 753-779.

In the translated version, the use of the term '*ju-yuan*' indicates the Chinese theatrical influence on the Chinese translators' understanding of the theatre in the original text; this is further demonstrated by the description of Chinese instruments in the translation. 'The old woman led her [Little Dorrit] pass a long corridor, where the lights got dimmer and the smell of the air worsened, whilst the sound of *sheng* and *pipa* became closer and closer.' (嫗引之越一長廊。光線愈暗。空氣亦愈惡。而笙琶之聲乃愈近。)[124] Both *Sheng*, which is a wind instrument, and *pipa* (a four-stringed Chinese instrument), are commonly used in traditional Chinese theatre, especially *Kunqu* and Peking opera.[125] Apart from the depiction of Chinese instruments, there is a direct exposition on the Chinese theatrical convention that saw the most popular and famous actors and actresses taking to the stage near the end of the performance. This explains why Fanny is displeased with the fact that she would perform early:

> A person in a napped hat came in and told Fanny, 'Your play is listed as the second one to perform, so you should come here early.' Famous actors normally would not take to the stage early, as it is often the last play that is the pride of the day. Fanny looked displeased.

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[124] *Ya Mei Nu Shi Bie Chuan*,Vol.1, p.30.
[125] Music plays a key role in traditional Chinese theatre as part of the dialogue is sung; music is also used to accompany the acting, which is noted for its artistry and symbolism. See Tao-Ching Hsu, *The Chinese Conception of the Theatre* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1985), p.11.

著絨帽者自外入。囑樊芮曰。明日密斯劇列第二。宜早至。戲場例以壓奏為榮。名優多不早出。樊芮色似不豫。[126]

What the translated text demonstrates, then, is not a complete transformation of the Victorian popular theatre into a Chinese one; instead it reveals the interface between the two cultures in that particular artistic domain. As I pointed out earlier, one major point of similarity between Chinese theatre in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and their Victorian counterpart was the low social status of actresses. It was particularly the case in Chinese society in the late Qing period when, as Mackerras notes, none of the major public acting companies in Beijing had any actress, and all female roles were played by men or boys; this highlights the fact that no decent women would take to stage. While actresses could only be found in the very few all-women troupes that performed at private parties, mixed performing companies only started to emerge in the 1920s and 1930s.[127] There is no information indicating which performing troupe Fanny works for, and hence it is unclear the exact type of 'theatre' which the Chinese translators would have had in mind when they did the translation. Yet the presence of the Chinese theatrical elements (such as the use of Chinese instruments) once again highlights the influence of the Chinese traditions on the way the text was adapted for a readership that had very different experiences from the culture in which the Dickensian text was first published and circulated.

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[126] *Ya Mei Nu Shi Bie Chuan*,Vol.1, p.31.
[127] Mackerras points out that the first attempt to introduce a mixed company was made by the famous actor Yu Chen-ting, shortly after the establishment of the Republican government. p.70.

Conclusion

The adapted theatrical practices, and the transformed spatiality in the built structures in *Little Dorrit* during the cross-cultural transfer, testifies to my earlier assertion that contacts, and interactions, between cultures often involve attempts by both sides (and in this case, by Chinese translators) to find ways of expression that could both convey the essence of the original text, as well as making it more relevant to the specific historical and cultural contexts of their own culture. That the spatiality of the Marshalsea Prison is transformed from one that emphasises verticality and the disorienting effect it produces to one that stresses horizontality, boundaries and orderliness, reflects the different worldviews of Dickens and the Chinese translators, as well as those of their targeted readers. It also underpins my argument that the early Chinese translation of Dickensian texts was a specific cultural practice that involved elements both of translation and of adaptation. For the Chinese translators' very act of capturing, and re-rendering Dickensian spatiality for the Chinese audience has to a large extent become a creative practice that is steeped in their own cultural experiences and understandings of local architectural traditions, topography and symbolic values to which these built structures were attached. The influence of their own culture in the translated text also highlights the importance of understanding the recipient culture's terms of reference when examining the processes of cross-cultural transfer, especially at a time when their own experiences and cultural practices remained largely limited to their domestic culture. The differences in the perception of space and place between Victorian and Chinese readers become explicit when the spatial configuration

of the 'English Marshalsea' and London is juxtaposed with that of the translated Marshalsea and Beijing. The choice of using Beijing for this study was made not only on the basis of the military connotations underpinning the original text and the lack of a comparable prison building in China during the period, but it was also because the transformed interior spaces of the Marshalsea Prison, and that of Mrs Clennam's house, enshrine the four-cardinal point principles on which that city was originally planned and built under a centralized power. This principle of city planning in Beijing also differs fundamentally from that of London in the mid-nineteenth century, in that what characterised the development of London was its 'unplanned' and sprawling expansion due to the rapid expansion of the population, the railway mania in the 1840s and the authorities' attempt to develop it into a modern metropolis.[128] The intertwined relationship between the adaptations and the historical context in which the translated version was produced is further highlighted by the crumbling of the walls in the translated Marshalsea, one which collapses the clearly-defined boundaries that originally delineate its internal spatial structures; it also symbolises the destabilization of the Chinese imperial power towards the end of the Qing dynasty.

The transformations that were introduced to Dickens's representation of space and place, then, demonstrate that his articulation of spatiality is culturally specific and historically contingent. Once this literary representation of spatiality is removed from its original historic and cultural context, it

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[128] One of the main problems which the authorities had to deal with was to provide housing for the expanding population, including the large number of immigrants who came to the metropolis to pursue wealth and opportunities, though many ended up living in cramped conditions. For a general picture of this housing problem, see John Burnett, *A Social History of Housing, 1815-1970* (London: David and Charles, 1978), pp.3-29.

becomes subjected to reinterpretation, and at times, manipulation in another culture. This process of reconfiguration, as this chapter has demonstrated, has transformed, and at times undermined, the power relations and social values which Dickens's original spatial configuration purportedly embodied. What emerges from this cross-cultural interaction, then, is a new spatial conception and articulation that blends both the Chinese architectural tradition and Victorian built structure together, and in the process reveals both the worldview and the creativity of the Chinese translators—and by extension, their readers—in their (re) interpretation of Dickensian texts.

Chapter Two

Beyond the Self: *David Copperfield* and Autobiography

Introduction

> Whether I shall turn out to be the hero of my own life, or whether that station will be held by anybody else, these pages must show.[1]

The question that the narrator poses in the opening of *David Copperfield* (1849-50) encapsulates the essence of the autobiographical form which Dickens uses to articulate a unique bourgeois subject. While the construction of a unique self has long been the focus of Western autobiographical traditions, the narrator's emphasis on the attainment of the status of a hero echoes many Victorians' belief in the role of individual great men in historical developments.[2] At a time when there was a blossoming literary celebrity culture, autobiographical fiction played a pivotal role in Dickens's efforts to fashion his ideal public image, and in the process he attempts to win the public's endorsement for a gentlemanly status which he has long strived for.[3] The articulation of the self in Dickens's narrative, while being steeped in Western autobiographical tradition and the valorisation of the individual, should therefore be read within the wider contexts of society, as it

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[1] Charles Dickens, *David Copperfield* (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1850), p.1.
[2] A seminal text that expounds on this belief is Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1840). I shall discuss it further in the subsequent section of this chapter.
[3] I shall discuss the idea of a gentleman later in this chapter.

is the prevailing Victorian values that help shape the image of the 'hero' as represented in the narrative.[4] Dickens's attempt to negotiate between different expectations of society and his own aspirations has led him to not only make use of some of the commonly acknowledged qualities of a Victorian gentleman in his portrayal of the 'hero', but he also invokes the notion of a Romantic genius in order to strengthen his image as a leading writer of his day, and to give his own interpretation of the idea of a gentleman. This chapter will use this culturally and historically specific reading of *David Copperfield* to examine how different Victorian values and concerns, purportedly embedded in the autobiographical novel, were reinterpreted and re-rendered in relation to the specific cultural and historic contexts of early twentieth-century China when *David Copperfield* was first translated by Lin Shu in collaboration with Wei Yi in 1908, and was released under the title, *Kuai Rou Yu Sheng Shu*. While life writing in Chinese tradition was often used to exemplify larger moments in culture and history, this chapter will focus on a particular historic moment—that is, the early twentieth century—a time when translators' and intellectuals' understandings and formulation of the self and its relationship with society influenced their views towards this literary genre, and hence also

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[4] In situating the Victorian life-writing tradition within the broader context of Victorian England, David Amigoni points out: 'It has become a commonplace that the characteristic Victorian biography was not only about a story about a life, but also about the "times" which moulded the life, and which the life in turn shaped'. See Amigoni, *Victorian Biography: Intellectuals and the Ordering of Discourse* (New York and London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993), p.1. Amigoni has also argued for a rethinking of Victorian life writing 'in terms of complex, overlapping contested constituencies such as class, gender, familial and domestic relations'. The study of Victorian life writing, he contends, should include materials such as letters and diaries. See Amigoni, 'Introduction: Victorian Life Writing: Genres, Print, Constituencies', in *Life Writing and Victorian Culture*, ed. David Amigoni (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp.1-20 (2). While I take account of different forms of life writing which other critics have noted, it has to be stated at the outset that the focus of this chapter is on the Western tradition of autobiography (and biography) because of its subject matter, that is, the autobiographical fiction.

the way in which the text was translated and adapted. The personal trajectories of David Copperfield will be further examined in terms of the social and spiritual journeys which he undertakes; of particular importance in this investigation is the way in which Dickens makes use of specific locality to map out the rise of the hero, and his appropriation of the trope of physical wandering and self-imposed exile that have long characterised spiritual autobiography and the Romantic 'Grand Tour', and how these could be re-rendered in a Chinese context.[5]

The Autobiographical Form

The autobiographical nature of *David Copperfield* was highlighted by Dickens in his preface to the novel when it was first published in book form in 1850:

> It would concern the reader little, perhaps, to know, how sorrowfully the pen is laid down at the close of a two years' imaginative task; or how an Author feels as if he were dismissing some portion of himself into the shadowy world, when a crowd of the creatures of his brain are going from him forever.[6]

The trace of regret and emotional attachment to the novel, as is evident in this excerpt, was often taken by Dickens's contemporaries as a strong hint as to the work's autobiographical elements. In *The Life of Charles Dickens*, Dickens's

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[5] For the idea of 'Grand Tour', see Keith Hanley, 'Wordsworth's Grand Tour', in *Romantic Geographies: Discourses of Travel 1775-1844*, ed. Amanda Gilroy (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp.71-92. I shall discuss Romantic travel writing, and the Western tradition of spiritual autobiography later in the chapter.
[6] Dickens, 'Preface', in *David Copperfield.*

biographer and friend, John Forster, captured this public sentiment by writing that 'there was withal a suspicion, which though general and vague had sharpened interest not a little, that underneath the fiction lay something of the author's life. How much, was not known by the world until he had passed away.'[7] Forster, of course, played a key role in drawing a direct link between the author's personal experiences and the novel by highlighting in his biography, published shortly after Dickens's death in 1872-74, passages and characters which he claimed resembled Dickens's real life acquaintances and encounters.[8] Even before the publication of *The Life of Charles Dickens*, reviewers had already pointed out the autobiographical elements in *David Copperfield*. Whilst praising that novel as 'the best of all the author's fictions', and noting that 'there is no sickly sentiment, no prolix description, and scarcely a trace of exaggerated passion', an unsigned article in *Fraser's Magazine* published in December 1850 went on to say: 'This is the first time that the hero has been made to tell his own story [...] We have several reasons for suspecting that, here and there, under the name of David Copperfield, we

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[7] John Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens*, Vol. 3 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1874), p.1.

[8] One of the most striking examples is what Forster points out as the nearly word-to-word copy of Dickens's personal reflections of his time working at the Warren's Blacking factory at the age of twelve to the novel; Forster cited this in *The Life of Charles Dickens*,Vol.1 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1872), p.33.

'No words can express the secret of my soul as I sunk into this companionship; compared these every day associates with those of my happier childhood; and felt my early hopes of growing up to be a learned and distinguished man, crushed in my breast.'

Nearly the same wordings are used in the novel:

'No words can express the secret agony of my soul as I sunk into this companionship; compared these henceforth every-day associates with those of my happier childhood—not to say with Steerforth, Traddles, and the rest of those boys; and felt my hopes of growing up to be a learned and distinguished man, crushed in my bosom.' (Dickens, *David Copperfield*, p.112)

have been favoured with passages from the personal history, adventures, and experience, of Charles Dickens'.[9] The article further asserted:

> Indeed, this conclusion is in a manner forced upon us by the peculiar professions selected for the ideal character, who is first a newspaper reporter and then a famous novelist. There is, moreover, an air of reality pervading the whole book, to a degree never attained in any of his previous works [...][10]

At a time when readers were very curious about the life of public figures and their search for new 'heroes', it came as little surprise that *David Copperfield* enjoyed much public attention and interest.[11] Yet as Robert Patten points out, the sales figures of *David Copperfield* when it was first released in serial form failed to match its critical reception; they fell short of the enthusiastic reception of *Dombey and Son* (1846-1848) that had preceded it, although *Copperfield's* reputation led to a surge in the sales of *Bleak House* (1852-1853).[12]

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[9] The unsigned article, 'Charles Dickens and David Copperfield' was published in *Fraser's Magazine* in December, 1850. See *Fraser's Magazine*, Vol. 40 (1850), pp. 698-710.

[10] Ibid.

[11] The nineteenth century saw a surge of interest in biographies and autobiographies set against the backdrop of an expanding reading public and consumerism. The form of literary biography was particularly popular during the period as authors were increasingly aware of the importance of various literary marketing tactics, including the construction of their literary image, in boosting sales and enhancing their literary reputation. See Josephine Guy and Ian Small, *The Routledge Concise History of Nineteenth-Century Literature* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), pp.13-53, 197-223. Juliet John, meanwhile, explores the important influences readers exerted on Dickens in 'his imagination, his self-projection, his business practices and his cultural politics'; John also highlights Dickens's self-conscious effort in fashioning himself as a cultural icon of his age. See John, *Dickens and Mass Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.1-37 (9).

[12] Robert Patten notes that 'with the exception of Number I no initial printing order was exhausted during *Copperfield*'s publication, and as late as 1861, when Bradbury and Evans transferred their stock to Chapman and Hall, only Numbers I-V had been issued in more than 25,000 copies. At that time, the numbers of *Dombey* in print exceeded those of *Copperfield* by

Forster played a pivotal role in upholding the author's public image by offering a sanitized version of Dickens's life story through avoiding touching upon issues which might have had a negative impact on the author's image in the Victorian period, such as Dickens's failed marriage and his affair with Ellen Ternan.[13] This effort by Forster underpinned mid-Victorian biographers' attempt to establish heroism—which was often defined in terms of wealth and social status—in an age that was marked by a growing literary celebrity culture.[14] As I mentioned earlier, the Victorian period is marked by a common belief amongst the middle class in the role of individual great men in historical development, a sentiment which was famously expounded on by Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881), who in *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and The Heroic in History* (1841) also asserted that morality and sincerity were among the essential qualities of a hero.[15] This emphasis on the role of the individual resonates with the period's growing concern (especially amongst the middle class) with the importance of upholding individualism, a value which many in the mid-Victorian period believed was particularly important in the light of what they perceived as the overbearing power of the state. The notion of individualism, then, should be put within the wider contexts of the social and political environment—particularly that of British liberalism—of Victorian

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212,500, or over 10,000 complete copies'. See, Patten, *Charles Dickens and His Publishers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press,1978), pp.198-214.

[13] Modern scholarship has attempted to re-examine these aspects of Dickens's life. See, for example, Claire Tomalin, *The Invisible Woman: The Story of Nelly Ternan and Charles Dickens* (London: Penguin, 1990); Tomalin, *Charles Dickens: A Life* (London: Penguin, 2011); Michael Slater, *Charles Dickens* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009).

[14] A.O.J. Cockshut, *Truth to Life: The Art of Biography in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Collins, 1974); Elizabeth Landow, *Approaches to Victorian Autobiography* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1979).

[15] Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and The Heroic in History* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1897).

England. As modern historians point out, the notion of liberalism in the nineteenth century defied any 'monolithic discourse' or single political viewpoint, but can nonetheless be broadly seen as encompassing an emphasis on individuality, charity and self-government, while opposing any form of government intervention into people's lives.[16] Indeed, as Steven Lukes observes, the importance of individualism to the English character is reflected in Samuel Smiles's seminal work, *Self-Help* (1859), in which Smiles expounded on the role of self-reliance and perseverance in people's road to success.[17] This emphasis on individual agency and focus on 'the individual as a unit of analysis', reflected the worldview of many Victorians; as I shall demonstrate later, it departs in a fundamental way from the views of their Chinese counterparts in the early twentieth century, when individuals were often seen in relation to the wider society and their worthiness assessed by the extent of their contribution to society, or to state.[18]

While Forster wrote about the life of a figure with whom he was on friendly terms and for whom he had much respect, Dickens adopted the genre of autobiography in *David Copperfield* to write about his own past, and as I noted earlier, in the process fashioned an idealistic image of himself.[19] As

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[16] See, for example, Lauren Goodlad, *Victorian Literature and the Victorian State: Character and Governance in a Liberal Society* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), pp.1-31.

[17] Steven Lukes, *Individualism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1973), pp.32-39; Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help* (London: John Murray, 1859).

[18] Josephine Guy argues that this Victorian mind-set explains why even in the so-called social-problem novels in the Victorian period, the solutions which writers (Dickens included) advocated were often concerned with changes in individual actions rather than calling for any overhaul of social structures. See Guy, *The Victorian Social-Problem Novel* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp.67-116.

[19] Forster wrote that it was he who suggested that Dickens should write the story in first person. It was one of the many incidences in the biography that Forster claimed to have played a crucial part in shaping Dickens's literary creations. See Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens* ,Vol.2, p.429.

William Spengemann points out, the concern with the self that is central to the genre of autobiography is evident throughout the first fourteen chapters of the novel because Dickens wants to 'write about a period of his life that was so distasteful, even vaguely shameful to him'.[20] Yet it has to be remembered that most of the episodes, such as Dickens's experience of working at a blacking factory at the age of 12, and one which had received fictitious treatment in the novel, only came to public knowledge following the publication of Forster's biography after his death. Thus what is perhaps more significant for the purpose of this study is the way in which the mature narrator constantly revisits, and re-interprets his past. This concern, as I shall discuss in detail later, is achieved through Dickens's deployment of a double perspective; moreover, it is also a narrative technique that is particularly difficult to transfer to another culture that has a language system with a different concept of, and way of marking, tense.

As I have suggested in the previous chapter, a reinterpretation and reformulation of the cultural values embedded in a text often occurs when it is transferred to another society that has different cultural conceptions and value systems. In this particular instance, we can note that many critics have argued that western autobiography's valorization of a private, individuated self is, culturally contingent.[21] In examining the impact of the autobiographical form on the adaptation of *David Copperfield*, I shall therefore begin by examining traditions of life writing in China before proceeding to focus on their

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[20] William Spengemann, *The Forms of Autobiography: Episodes in the History of a Literary Genre* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980), pp.119-132.
[21] See, for example, James Fujii, *Complicit Fictions: The Subject in the Modern Japanese Prose Narrative* (Berkely, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1993). I shall discuss it further later in the section.

relationship with the Chinese intellectuals' articulation of the self and society in the nation's specific historic context around the time when the novel was published in 1908. In a ground-breaking study of the development of Chinese autobiography, Pei-Yi Wu argues that this form has long been subservient to biography because of the latter's close association with historiography and the didactic uses to which it had often been put in traditional Chinese culture.[22] Biographies were often seen as part of imperial history, as is illustrated by Sima Qian's (145-85 BC) *Records of the Historian*. As Janet Ng points out, the individual lives which he compiled for the twenty-five Standard Histories were categorised into different 'exemplary stock types', such as loyal officials, virtuous wives, filial sons and villains.[23] And in line with the convention of historiography, one which reigned supreme in traditional China, biographers tended to maintain what Wu describes as 'the convention of the impartial, invisible and unobtrusive narrator', and hence they often resorted to secondary accounts and reports to write their biographies instead of revealing their personal encounters with the subject that was being narrated. Moreover, the same style, as Wu notes, was also being used by writers of autobiography, who often adopted the 'tone, style, and narrative stance' of biographies and in many cases also shied away from self-revelation.[24] Book-length autobiographies in the modern, Western sense were literally non-existent, and most of the autobiographical elements could only be found in 'short necrologies, self-

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[22] Pei-Yi Wu, *The Confucian's Progress: Autobiographical Writings in Traditional China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).
[23] Janet Ng, *Experience of Modernity: Chinese Autobiography of the Early Twentieth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), p.5. For a detailed discussion of the Chinese traditional autobiographical writing, see Wu, *The Confucian's Progress*; David Nivison, *Aspects of Traditional Chinese Biography*, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 21:4 (Aug. 1962): 457-463.
[24] Wu, pp.3-14.

prefaces, and personal annals (*nianpu*), and they were often read more for their historical rather than for their literary value.[25] This explains why Sima Qian referred to himself as a Grand Historian even in his autobiographical notes, a role which, Stephen Durrant argues, often means that the 'individual repeatedly disappears into the patterns of tradition'. Durrant goes on: 'It is almost as if Ssu-ma Chi'ien could not locate himself, could not even interpret his most intense experiences, outside a network of historical relationships and precedents'. What Durrant effectively argues is that the worthiness of an individual, and his role in society, were often seen in terms of his relative position in tradition and history. In other words, it is historical precedents and tradition, rather than the uniqueness of an individual, which determine one's worth in history. Durrant contends that such a concern with the wider historical backdrop and networks contrasts sharply with the 'dominant self-conception' of modern Western autobiographical writing.[26]

The traditional Chinese autobiographical form aims, then, at providing a general picture of Chinese tradition and historical development; my argument is that it is necessary to appreciate this wider social ambition in order to understand fully the importance which both writers of autobiographies and biographies attached to the wider historical contexts in compiling their work. Yet it also has to be recognised that underneath this broad view of the Chinese life-writing tradition, there were still some occasions in the course of history where neo-Confucians and certain literary figures did write about their own, personal experiences; this, as Wu points out, was usually made in the form of

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[25] Ng, p.4.
[26] Stephen Durrant, 'Self as the Intersection of Traditions: The Autobiographical Writings of Ssu-ma Ch'ien', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 106: 1 (Sinological Studies): 33-40.

travel writing.[27] As I argued in the Introductory chapter, this thesis is primarily concerned with the period that witnessed vibrant interactions between Chinese and Western cultures because of rapid political and social changes; it also preceded the New Culture Movement in the late 1910s and 1920s, a time when a growing number of Chinese intellectuals were taking a keen interest in, and appropriation of, Western discourses in the development of new forms of literary and cultural expression. In the area of life writing, Chinese intellectuals' more frequent contact with the West had since the turn of the century led to increased instances where foreign figures became the subject of biographies, although such works were often politics-related. For example, in 1902 Liang wrote a biography of Madame Roland, portraying her as a tragic heroine who fought zealously for the ideal of liberty but ultimately became a victim of the destructive forces that were unleashed by that ideal.[28] A genre that was traditionally seen as a form of self-indulgence, autobiography attained increasing prominence during the New Culture Movement, when, as Ng puts it, autobiography became the most widely used literary form due to the belief held by many writers of autobiographies that their experiences were in some ways 'representative of their contemporaries', a reason which is very different from its rise in Victorian England, as I noted earlier.[29]

In one of the most famous treatises on biography in modern China, Liang Qichao coined the term '*zhuan zhuan*', which literally means specialised

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[27] Wu, pp.93-141. I shall discuss the Chinese tradition of travel writing later in the chapter.
[28] Hao Chang, *Liang Ch'i-chao and Intellectual Transition in China, 1890-1907* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), p.193. I shall examine Chinese intellectuals' understanding and appropriation of the French Revolution for their own political purposes in detail in Chapter Three.
[29] Ng, p.x.

biography, to advocate the compilation of biographies about individual great men instead of subsuming them under the broad stroke of history. In *Supplements to Methods of Historical Research in China*, which were originally a series of lectures Liang delivered at Tsinghua University in 1926, Liang put forward his idea of the ideal biography: 'My ideal *zhuan zhuan* is one that centres on a great figure who has a special relationship with a particular epoch and records all the facts that surround him in minute detail. For example, if we are to write about a writer's biography, we can also explain in detail the literary trend during, before and after his time.'[30] Liang's theorisation of biography, which came after the first appearance of *David Copperfield* in China, is widely seen as his attempt to introduce Western-style biography to China. His ideas, however, were clearly rooted in the Chinese tradition of biography—that is, using an individual life story to illustrate wider history and cultural movements. Thus while such a concern with the self's relationship with society is steeped in Chinese tradition, it had a particular historical resonance in early twentieth-century China when, as I discussed earlier, intellectuals increasingly attempted to formulate their notion of the self and the individual in their bid to reform the people so as to make them play a bigger part in national rejuvenation.

In *Individualism in Early China: Human Agency and the Self in Thought and Politics*, Erica Brindley argues that the notion of individualism does exist in China, albeit this concept should be understood within China's own cultural context. Brindley points out that her use of the term 'individual' is not so much

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[30] Qichao Liang, *Methods of Historical Research in China* (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Publishing, 1998), pp.182-183.

to do with the 'subjective, psychological sense of self' that is commonly understood in Western terms, but it is taken to mean 'the particular qualities of a person that make him or her a single entity capable of exerting agency from within a web of human, social and cosmic relationships'.[31] In other words, individual agency in the Chinese context should be understood as the ability of an individual to exert agency even though he or she is still situated within a wider network of 'human, social and cosmic relationships'. The same emphasis on cultural specificities and historical particularities is made by James Fujii, who argues for the importance of 'localising the subject' in his study of the self in modern Japanese prose narratives. [32] Fujii persuasively argues:

> If we are to study a phenomenon such as the subject in "modern Japanese prose narrative", we must account for that subject in terms that do not simply replicate a form fixed and given to us from regions far removed in both geographic and cultural space.[33]

While there have been increasing attempts by critics, such as Fujii and Brindley, to contest the imposition of any 'fixed' form of analysis on texts and concepts that have their own cultural and historical relevance, there is also a growing recognition of the problematic nature of any move to treat concepts

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[31] Erica Brindley, *Individualism in Early China: Human Agency and the Self in Thought and Politics* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010), p.xxx.
[32] Fujii, p.4.
[33] Fujii, p.xiv.

such as the individual as a generalised, or a transhistorical and universal.[34] For example, Lydia Liu in her study of the discourse of individualism within the context of Chinese literary modernity argues for the importance of treating the notion of the individual 'as a historical category rather than assuming it to be a superior, transcendental value'.[35] While the various theoretical and philosophical debates over the notion of individualism is outside the ambit of this thesis, my study concurs with the arguments made by these critics, as I have repeatedly argued that it is important to understand the notion of the self in the specific historic and cultural contexts of China. It is especially pertinent for the period which this study examines—that is, the late Qing and early Republic period—as the notion of the self attained increasing political currency at a time when Chinese intellectuals were keen on appropriating and shaping the discourse on the individual in their attempt to reform the nation. For example, when Liang put forward his notion of 'new citizen' in a widely read serial entitled *New Citizen* (which appeared from 1902 until he went to America in the early spring of 1903), he famously advocated the importance of developing Chinese people's 'public morality', by which he meant those moral values that helped promote the cohesion of a group. As Hao Chang points out, Liang's central contention was that traditional Chinese morality was well-developed in the realm of family ethics, yet it had proved to be inadequate in terms of social and state ethics; what Liang effectively argued, then, was the importance of developing Chinese people's civic virtue so that they could

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[34] For critics' different interpretation of the self in Chinese literature and culture, see the essays in *Expressions of Self in Chinese Literature*, eds. Robert Hegel and Richard Hessney (NY: Columbia University, 1985).
[35] Lydia Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900-1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), pp.77-99.

make a bigger contribution to the interests of the state as a whole.[36] Indeed, Liang's concerns with reforming people's morality and mentality were shared by many intellectuals of his time, such as Yan Fu, whose translation of John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty*, a work which as I noted in the previous chapter was influential in Victorian England, had much impact on Chinese intellectual and political thought in late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century China.[37] However, as Benjamin Schwartz argues, while liberty of the individual was often treated by Mill as an end in itself, in the writings of Yan it became a means to advance 'people's virtue and intellect', the purpose of which was to strengthen the nation.[38] By contrast one of Mill's main concerns was to limit state power, and to protect the individual from attempts, by the state, to encroach on private life. The close relationship between the way in which Chinese intellectuals interpreted the notion of the self and the nation's historical development is further highlighted by Du Yaquan, who in the article "Reforming the individual", which was published in the June 1914 number of the *Eastern Miscellany*, advocated the importance of reforming individuals, an aspect of which had long been overlooked by the state as it focused exclusively on issues such as politics and economy.[39] Liu points out that Du considers 'individualism is but a modern version of Confucianism that emphasizes the need for self-reform and at the same time articulates a version of socialism that

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[36] Chang, pp.149-219.
[37] According to Benjamin Schwartz, Yan Fu completed the translation before 1899, but the manuscript was lost alongside other papers during the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, when he fled to Shanghai. It was subsequently found by a Western friend, who returned to him in 1903, and in the same year he wrote an introduction and had the work published. See Schwartz, *In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West* (New York, Evanston and London: Harper & Row, 1964), p.142.
[38] Schwartz, pp.130-148.
[39] Liu, pp.77-99.

predicates the interest of the average members of society'.[40] His interpretation, Liu argues, aims at redefining the notion of individualism by breaking away from the 'negative' light in which it had been cast by Liang and his followers in the previous decade, and who had allowed the idea of the nation-state to take precedence over the individual.[41] These debates over the notion of the self and its relation with society point to the intricate nature of the relationship between history and representation of the self in political and literary discourses in early twentieth-century China; it also situates the autobiographical novel in a very different socio-cultural context from that in which it first appeared in the Victorian book market.

The Self and Society

As I noted earlier, the concern with the self is fundamental to the genre of autobiographical fiction in Western tradition. One important distinction between Chinese and Western life-writing traditions, as I discussed earlier, is the former's attempt to illustrate wider history while the latter focuses on articulating a unique individual, albeit that image is also conditioned by specific historic and cultural conditions. For Copperfield could only be seen as attaining the status of a hero if his credentials and personal attributes match that of the idea of a Victorian gentleman; at the same time, it was also because of the prejudices of the age (such as the debate surrounding whether a professional writer can be a gentleman which I noted earlier), and the cultural legacy of the previous epochs, that Dickens chose to invoke the Romantic ideal

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[40] Liu, p.89.
[41] Ibid.

of a creative genius in order to fashion his own version of the ideal gentleman. David Higgins points out that the notion of a creative genius in Romanticism emphasizes 'the creative powers of the human mind and made individual expression and originality the *sine qua non* of important art and literature'.[42] This emphasis on individuality, originality and creativity, started to attain prominence in the course of the eighteenth century and subsequently became a major yardstick to assess literary value in the Romantic period, a time when poets were widely seen as unique, creative individuals. Dickens's works, Donald Stone argues, also exhibit the author's 'Romantic impulse' that sometimes reveals his 'simplified and sentimentalised version of the Wordsworthian-Coleridgean trust in the spontaneous, untutored imagination.'[43] While it is debatable as to whether Dickens's interpretation of the Romantic poets were as simplified and as sentimentalised as Stone suggests, Dickens's depiction of young Copperfield does exhibit that sense of a 'spontaneous, untutored imagination' that is often associated with a youthful heart in Romantic terms:

> As I walked to and fro daily between Southwark and Blackfriars, and lounged about at meal-times in obscure streets, the stones of which may, for anything I know, be worn at this moment by my childish feet, I wonder how many of these people were wanting in the crowd that used to come filing before me in review again, to the echo of

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[42] David Higgins, *Romantic Genius and the Literary Magazine: Biography, Celebrity and Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p.2.
[43] Donald Stone, *The Romantic Impulse in Victorian Fiction* (Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press, 1980), pp. 249-283 (250).

> Captain Hopkins's voice! When my thoughts go back, now to that slow agony of my youth, I wonder how much of the histories I invented for such people hangs like a mist of fancy over well-remembered facts! When I tread the old ground, I do not wonder that I seem to see and pity, going on before me, an innocent romantic boy, making his imaginative world out of such strange experiences and sordid things![44]

This image of an 'innocent, romantic boy' treading the streets of London and imagining his own world finds much resonance with Romantic notions of childhood. As Judith Ann Plotz puts it, in Romanticism, 'every child can be seen in important ways already as a creative genius, a solitary idealist fashioning a visionary world of its own'.[45] This Romantic mythologizing of a creative genius was of particular importance for Dickens in his attempt to self-fashion a public image because, as I noted earlier, he shared many of the anxieties of the lower middle class in their effort at attaining gentlemanly status; this was not only because of his lower middle-class origin but it was also because of the assumptions held by some members of the Victorian upper and middle classes that a professional novelist was not, and could not be, a gentleman.[46] This image of a romantic boy wandering in the streets of London

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[44] Dickens, *David Copperfield*, p.122.
[45] Judith Ann Plotz, *Romanticism and the Vocation of Childhood* (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p.13.
[46] Dickens's own struggles in attaining the gentlemanly status is succinctly captured by G.K. Chesterton, who says: 'When people say that Dickens could not describe a gentleman, what they mean is [...] that Dickens could not describe a gentleman as gentlemen feel a gentleman. He described them in the way in which he described waiters, or railway guards[...]He described them, in short[...]from the outside, as he described any other oddity or special trade.'

also has particular echoes with Dickens's own life, as Dickens is known for his penchant for venturing into hidden parts of London and for his sharp observations of the society in which he dwelt. As a young boy himself, Dickens was said to have been used to carrying out excursions to various parts of London.[47] According to Forster, he would ponder over the looming dome of St Paul's, while revelling in the chance of being brought to areas such as Covent Garden or the Strand; at the same time, he was also attracted to the less salubrious areas such as the slums near St Giles and Seven Dials.[48] The narrator's attempt to foreground his creativity is captured by his self-critique at a meta-fictional level: he poses himself a crucial question—that is, to what extent the histories that he 'invented' during his youthful days were 'like a mist of fancy over well-remembered facts'. While his self-imposed question may at first glance appear to be an attempt by the narrator to cast doubt over the authenticity of his composition, it is in reality part of his effort to foreground his exceptional creative capabilities, and hence further contributing to his professional image as a creative writer and highlighting his distinctiveness amongst Victorian gentlemen. This emphasis on his creativity is further demonstrated through the juxtaposition which the narrator draws between himself and his friend, Tommy Traddles, who once confesses to him: 'I am not a bad compiler [...] but I have no invention at all; not a particle. I

Chesterton, *Criticisms and Appreciations of the Works of Charles Dickens* (London: Dent, 1911), p.125.

[47] Dickens has written about his various excursions into different parts of London in his essays. In the opening of *The Uncommercial Traveller*, he wrote: 'I am always wandering here and there from my rooms in Covent-garden, London—now about the city streets: now, about the country by-roads—seeing many little things, and some great things, which, because they interest me, I think may interest others.' See Dickens, *The Uncommercial Traveller* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), p.1.

[48] Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens*, Vol.1, p.19.

suppose there never was a young man with less originality than I have.'[49] By highlighting Traddles's ability to handle his legal business but his lack of creativity compared to Copperfield, Dickens foregrounds Copperfield's uniqueness in a capitalist society that was increasingly marked by efficiency and homogeneity.[50]

The multifarious roles this passage plays and its importance in highlighting Copperfield's stature as a creative genius, however, were totally lost in the translated version because this whole passage was deleted. This deletion might be due to the translators' attempt to keep the story of Micawber intact: after the deletion of this passage, the chapter ends with Micawber collecting signatures from a club at the prison where he stayed for a petition calling on the House of Commons to alter the current regulations; this was originally the second last paragraph in Chapter XI. In other words, by removing the passage that carries the narrator's self-interrogation of his creative practice, Micawber's petition to the parliament in Chapter XI directly links to the brief conclusion of his case that opens the next chapter, Chapter XII. The significance of this change lies in the fact that it underpins the emphasis which the Chinese translators placed on narrating episodes that were related to the social conditions of Victorian England instead of the individuated expression that characterised the deleted passage. This also points to the different notion of autobiographical writing in these two cultures at their

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[49] Dickens, *David Copperfield*, pp.393-394.
[50] Dickens's critique of homogeneity in different facets of society is evident in his other works. For example, he criticised the modern industrial society for reducing the working classes into mere 'hands' or faceless masses in *Hard Times* (1854).

particular historic moments. Such a difference is further demonstrated by the way the translated version highlighted the ill treatment of the poor by the state.

Original:

> [...] Mr Micawber, about this time, composed a petition to the House of Commons, praying for an alteration in the law of imprisonment for debt.[51]

Translation:

> The state treated poor people too cruel and too harsh, [thus] he planned to draft a petition to the House of Commons, calling for a change in law.
> 國家所以待窮人者過苛虐。擬上書下議院請易是律。[52]

The fact that the translated version highlights the draconian way in which the poor people were being treated by the Victorian government is, I argue, in line with Lin's main purpose of translating the novel, and one which was explicitly spelt out by him in his preface to the translated version:

> Dickens's *David Copperfield* [...] depicts lower-class society in various ways [...]The malpractices among the common folk during the time when England was half-civilized are clearly exposed to the

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[51] Dickens, *David Copperfield*, p.121.
[52] Charles Dickens, *Kuai Rou Yu Sheng Shu* [*David Copperfield*], Vol.1, trans. Lin Shu, Wei Yi (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1933), p.111.

> readers' eyes. When reading this novel, we Chinese should realize that society can be improved if a system of education is rigorously instituted. There is no need for us to be so enamoured with the West as to assume that all Europeans seem to be endowed with a sense of propriety and a potential for talent, and are superior to Asians. If readers of my translation reach a similar conclusion, I will not have translated this novel in vain.[53]

Lin's description of England as a 'half-civilized' nation would have been considered by most Victorians as a totally distorted picture, yet it served a particular political purpose at that specific historic moment in China. By drawing a contrast between England's 'half-civilised' past and its modern present, Lin attempted to use the example of Victorian England to alert the Chinese government to the importance of carrying out reforms if the country wanted to seek national rejuvenation. Britain had a particularly complex relationship with China from the mid-nineteenth century onwards: while British imperialism had forced open China's door to the West, many Chinese intellectuals found the British political structure—that is, constitutional monarchy—was a model which China could follow.[54] Many intellectuals of the time, such as Liang, were noted for their admiration for the British social and political systems.[55] Although Lin's description of Victorian England as

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[53] Lin, 'Preface to Part One of *David Copperfield*', in *Modern Chinese Literary Thought*, ed. Kirk Denton, pp.84-86 (86).
[54] *The Cambridge History of China* (Late Ching, 1800-1911, Part 2), Vol.11, eds. John Fairbank and Kwang-Ching Liu (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp.274-283.
[55] Philip Huang, *Liang Chi-chao and Modern Chinese Liberalism* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1972).

'half-civilized' might stem from his attempt to highlight the importance of reform in the country's modernization drive, it might also be due to his understanding of the novel as a realistic representation of the lower class in Victorian society.[56] One major emphasis in his preface was his advocacy for improving the country's educational system. When *David Copperfield* was released in China in 1908, it was only three years after the abolition of the civil examination (this was a centralised examination administered by the Qing government for the purpose of choosing officials), thus China faced a huge challenge of establishing an effective education system that could provide education to the general public as well as acting as a platform for nurturing potential officials. While I shall discuss the issue of education in the two cultures at their particular historic moments in more detail later in this chapter, it needs to be pointed out that Dickens's portrayal of the maltreatment which Copperfield received in Salem House might also contribute to the negative impression which Lin formed of the Victorian education system. Indeed, various malpractices, such as flogging, that often characterised mid-Victorian public schools, are among the recurrent themes in Dickens's works, such as *Nicholas Nickleby*. The different focus of the author's original preface and the translator's preface to the translated version highlights the vastly different readerly assumptions of the two narratives. While the original preface highlights the author's shadowy presence in the narrative, the translator's preface clearly directs the readers' attention to its social significance. Such a difference probably explains why the plight of the Micawbers and other lower-

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[56] For a detailed discussion of Chinese readers' understanding of Dickens's works during the period, see the Introductory chapter of this thesis.

class characters received a fuller consideration by the Chinese translators than the idiosyncratic expression pertaining to the wandering, young Copperfield.

The narrator's constant act of self-interrogation, as is evident in the above-cited passage on the romantic, sensitive youth, is achieved by Dickens's deployment of a double perspective—that is, the intermingling of the first-person narrator's childish and adult visions. This narrative technique is commonly adopted by writers in the nineteenth century, with Charlotte Brontë's (1816-1855) *Jane Eyre* (1847) and *Villette* (1853) as two notable examples during the period. As William Lankford points out, tenses play an important role in Dickens's construction of the double perspective in *David Copperfield*: 'He uses the present tense in the "Retrospect" chapters and at moments of intense feeling throughout because memory literally makes past and present simultaneous in his experience [...]'[57] A striking example of Dickens's deployment of such a narrative technique is when the mature narrator recalls the moment when he bid goodbye to Mrs Micawber upon her departure for London:

> I think, as Mrs Micawber sat at the back of the coach, with the children, and I stood in the road looking wistfully at them, a mist cleared from her eyes, and she saw what a little creature I really was. I think so, because she beckoned to me to climb up, with quite a new and motherly expression in her face, and put her arm round my neck,

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[57] William Lankford, ' "The Deep of Time": Narrative Order in *David Copperfield*', in *ELH*, 46: 3 (Autumn, 1979): 452-467 (453-454).

and gave me just such a kiss as she might have given to her own boy.[58]

This compares with the translated version:

(Mrs) Micawber, with two children in her arms, sat at the back of the coach. When she saw me standing at the centre of the street, she suddenly beckoned me to climb up, and kissed me in a way as she might have kissed her own boy.

密昔司抱兩兒坐於車後。見余立於街心。忽招手引余登車。密昔司與余親吻。如親其兒。[59]

In the original version, the mature narrator's attempt to reconcile regrets in his life is highlighted through his recurrent use of the term 'I think' when revisiting past episodes of his life; such a narrative style also denotes the tentative nature of his observations, and most importantly, his perceptions at that particular moment. For it hints at the possibility that his reinterpretation of the past may be more a result of a wistful imagining rather than an accurate memory of an actual occurrence. In the build-up to this departing scene, young David admits that he feels that life becomes 'unendurable' because of the imminent departure of the Micawber couple, whose company he gets so used to and feels comfortable with.[60] Yet this feeling only becomes self-evident and forceful when 'I stood in the road looking wistfully' at Mrs Micawber and her

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[58] Dickens, *David Copperfield*, p.170.
[59] *Kuai Rou Yu Sheng Shu*,Vol.1, p.115.
[60] Dickens, *David Copperfield*, p.168.

children because of the motherly love that he yearns for. Mrs Micawber, as if she understood his yearning for love and realized for the first time how 'little [a] creature' he really was, gave him a kiss as she might have given to her own boy.[61] Paradoxically, it is this uncertain, or sometimes wistful, thinking, which enhances the authenticity of the narrative and its emotional effect on the reader. For it would be difficult to believe that any human memory can reconstruct every detail of the past with complete accuracy; even if one can, his memory of what had happened is undoubtedly coloured by his own perception and beliefs. Thus in a sense, whether Mrs Micawber actually sees him in a different light at that departure scene does not really matter because it succeeds in vividly illustrating the extent to which Copperfield hopes to be loved (especially by his mother), a yearning which he still harbours despite all his achievements as the novel progresses. Another way of putting this might be to say that it is the authenticity of the young David's emotional state that is at stake, rather than the narrating of any actual events.

This narrative technique, which is pertinent in articulating the self and conveying a sense of immediacy in the narrative, is particularly difficult to transfer to a totally different language system which does not have tense morphology, as is the case with the Chinese language. While this chapter, and the thesis as a whole, intends to go beyond the usual topic of linguistic differences between the original and the target texts, it has to be acknowledged

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[61] Mrs Micawber's revelation of her motherly affection for David clearly defies E.M.Forster's critique that nearly all characters in Dickens's novels are caricatures or flat characters. Forster says of those flat characters: 'In their purest form, they are constructed round a single idea or quality [...] the really flat character can be expressed in one sentence such as "I never will desert Mr Micawber"', a quote which Mrs Micawber often recites. See Forster, *Aspects of the Novel*. 1927 (London: Penguin, 1990), p.73.

that different language systems have in some instances influenced the way in which the text is understood and interpreted. The syntactical differences between the Chinese and the English languages have further complicated the process of the cross-cultural transfer. In investigating the differences between the English and the Chinese languages, Jo-wang Lin explains that Chinese language is predominantly an 'aspect' language. This means that instead of changing the verb form to denote time as with the English language, the Chinese language uses other factors such as the information provided by default aspect, the tense-aspect particles and pragmatic reasoning to determine the temporal interpretation of sentences.[62] In other words, readers often have to rely on time indicators or other external hints to determine the temporal sequences of the sentences. As a result the nuances of the original text, one which relies heavily on the changing tense form in denoting not only temporality but also the psychological state and the shifting perspectives of the narrator, largely disappears from the translated text.[63]

Dickens's use of the present tense to capture the intensity of the narrator's feelings is also illustrated at the moment when he first set foot on Murdstone and Grinby's warehouse. 'They are all before me, just as they were in the evil hour when I went among them for the first time, with my trembling hand in Mr Quinion's.'[64] In this description, the narrator draws the readers' attention to his past's 'immediate presence' by suggesting that the scene that happened so long

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[62] Jo-wang Lin, 'Time in a language without Tense: The case of Chinese', *Journal of Semantics*, 23:1 (Feb 2006): 1-53 (1-2).
[63] As explained in the Introductory chapter, my English translation of the original passages has adopted the tense morphology that is pivotal to the English language.
[64] Dickens, *David Copperfield*, p.111.

ago appears 'all before me'.[65] His deep sense of emotional pain that still lingers in his adult life is captured by the word 'evil', while the image of an inexperienced and helpless child is vividly depicted by the description—'with my trembling hand in Mr Quinion's'. All these subtleties in capturing the sensibilities of the young Copperfield, and the mature narrator's attempt to come to terms with his past, disappear from the translated version with the deletion of this whole sentence, a move which was probably due to the free translation that early Chinese translators practised, and which as I noted in the Introductory chapter, was a specific cultural practice that sought to introduce the general thoughts and ideas of Western materials rather than aiming at achieving fidelity to originals.[66] The significance of the double perspective in Dickens's original narrative is further demonstrated by the narrator's remembrance of his family's church visits every Sunday:

> [...] I well remember the tremendous visages with which we used to go to church, and the changed air of the place. Again, the dreaded Sunday comes round, and I file into the old pew first, like a guarded captive brought to a condemned service. Again, Miss Murdstone, in a black velvet gown, that looks as if it had been made out of a pall, follows close upon me; then my mother; then her husband [...] Again I listen to Miss Murdstone mumbling the responses, and emphasising all the dread words

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[65] As William Spengemann points out, 'instead of standing his ground in the present and looking back over past times, the narrator remarks repeatedly that he is reliving them'. This literary technique, Spengemann suggests, can create suspense in the face of presumably foregone conclusions. Spengemann, pp.119-132 (125).

[66] For a detailed discussion of the 'free translation' which early Chinese translators adopted in rendering translated literature into Chinese, see the Introductory chapter of this thesis.

with a cruel relish. Again, I see her dark eyes roll round the church when she says "miserable sinners" [...] Again, I catch rare glimpses of my mother, moving her lips timidly between the two [...]Again, I wonder with a sudden fear whether it is likely that our good old clergyman can be wrong [...] Again, if I move a finger or relax a muscle of my face, Miss Murdstone pokes me with her prayer-book, and makes my side ache.[67]

The translated version:

One day it was a Sunday. I was treated as a prisoner and was surrounded by guards. Jane, who was adorned in black attire, followed me closely just like a prison patroller. She was followed by my mother, then Murdstone [...] whenever there were words like prison, kill and sinner, she muttered them repeatedly in cruel relish like dog barking. I was sandwiched between the Murdstones and could not get near to my mother. I often took glimpses of my mother and saw that she timidly recited the sermon beside these two [...] If I moved a finger or relaxed my limbs a bit, Jane poked me with her hard-cover prayer-book, made me feel very painful.

一日為禮拜日。舉家入禮拜堂。余身乃同小囚。前後均有監者。迦茵衣黑衣力隨吾後。如邏卒。迦茵之後。則為吾母。母後壓尾。則麥得斯東。壁各德屏跡不聽人。迦茵在禮拜中誦經。每遇。囚。殺。罪。人。等。字。則齩。齒。重。念。之。唁唁。作。狗。吠。余則。夾。於。迦。茵。之。間。不能。近。母。時時。引。目。

[67] Dickens, *David Copperfield*, pp.38-39.

視。母。母戰。兢。默。誦。其旁。伏。此。二。鷙。獸。厲。幾。欲。噬。人。余手。微。動。及支。體。少。懈。則迦茵以堅。皮。之。聖。經。觸。余。痛不。可。支。[68]

In the original version, the mature narrator 'well remembers' the unwanted church visits; this sense of dread is reflected by the repeated use of the word 'again' and more importantly, by the use of the present tense in conveying a double meaning: on the one hand, it implies the repeatability of these unpleasant church-going experiences during his youthful days as every Sunday he encounters the same torturing moments; on the other hand, it suggests that this image floats through the narrator's mind when he compiles the narrative. Thus David's feeling and observation can be read as both in the past and in the present. This passage has a particularly forceful emotional effect on readers because it uses David's senses of seeing, hearing, touching and feeling to reconstruct the moment when he felt himself like a 'guarded captive brought to a condemned service'. For he spots the timidity of his mother and the cruelness of Miss Murdstone through his observation of the timid movement of his mother's lips and the latter's dark facial expressions. He listens to the 'cruel relish' with which Miss Murdstone responds to the services and he feels a physical pain when Miss Murdstone pokes him with her prayer book whenever he 'move[s] a finger or relax[es] a muscle of his face'. All these observations and physical touch have led to his religious doubt: 'I wonder with a sudden fear whether it is likely that our good old clergyman can be wrong, and Mr and Miss Murdsone right, and that all the angels in Heaven can be destroying

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[68] *Kuai Rou Yu Sheng Shu*,Vol.1, p.30.

angels.'[69] The translated version has kept the main thrust of the original version, in terms of the demeanour and the relative positioning of the main protagonists in the novel, as reflected by the way they attend the church service. Yet by taking away the close—and self-conscious—scrutiny of the people around him through the use of the present tense and the repeated use of certain adverbs, such as 'again', the translated version has drastically changed the narrative style of the original text, and hence that sense of self-renegotiation which Dickens uses in articulating his self and in constructing his own public image.

Dickens's act of self-fashioning, as I noted earlier, should be seen within the wider contexts of Victorian society, especially that of a shift in traditional class boundaries against the backdrop of the accelerating pace of industrialisation and capitalism. In Victorian society, class was often understood in economic terms: that is, in terms of individuals' relations with the means of production and their access to basic resources on the one hand, and to their respective social status as defined by their accumulated wealth on the other. More importantly, people who were born or raised in a certain class had developed their own sense of class consciousness, which in turn reinforced their respective positions in society.[70] As David Cannadine points out, there remains a tension between this class-based society that was shaped by economic relationships, and the traditional notion of a hierarchical society that

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[69] Dickens, *David Copperfield*, p.49.

[70] Gareth Stedman Jones re-examines the conception of class and class relations in *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History 1832-1982* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983). Stedman Jones highlights the political and discursive conditions under which the languages of class were formulated and developed. Stephen Brook, meanwhile, points out that a person's access to the means of production is a common way to define his social position in the nineteenth century. See Brook, *Class: Knowing Your Place in Modern Britain* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1997), pp.1-20.

was built on ideas of natural order and birth.[71] The conflicting views between the traditional notion of right by birth and the newly developed social structure based on economic relationships contributed to what Robin Gilmour describes as mid-Victorians' ambiguous attitude towards the idea of gentleman, which as I noted earlier is pivotal to Dickens's fashioning of his ideal hero, and the aristocratic way of life. The importance of the concept of gentility, Gilmour suggests, rests on its 'uncertainty':

> The uncertainty was only relative, it was true: the man of noble birth, or of good family, was a gentleman by right [...] as was the Church of England clergyman, the army officer, the member of Parliament. But between these and other time-honoured ranks, and those who aspired to the status, lay the universal assumption that gentlemanliness was important and that its importance transcends rank because it was a moral and not a social category.[72]

These different views towards the idea of a gentleman—and by extension, the overall social structure of Victorian England—provide a backdrop against which the life trajectories of Copperfield, and that of the other characters, notably Traddles and James Steerforth, unfolded. In one of the most direct commentaries on class in *David Copperfield*, an unnamed 'gentleman' at a dinner gathering which Copperfield also attends asserts:

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[71] David Cannadine, *Class in Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), pp.57-105.
[72] Robin Gilmour, *The Idea of the Gentleman in the Victorian Novel* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981), pp.1-36.

> "Oh, you know, deuce take it," said this gentleman, looking round the board with an imbecile smile, "we can't forego Blood, you know. We must have Blood, you know. Some young fellows, you know, may be a little behind their station, perhaps, in point of education and behaviour, and may go a little wrong, you know, and get themselves and other people into a variety of fixes—and all that—but deuce take it, it's delightful to reflect that they've got Blood in'em! [...]'[73]

The capitalized 'Blood' foregrounds the significance of class origin in Victorian society and the emphasis which Society placed on it. However, a sense of irony prevails in his figure of speech: the blending of the formal and colloquial languages—the latter of which often characterise lower-class characters in Dickens's novels—and the repeated use of the phrase 'you know', mark a departure from the polished mannerism which the upper and the middle classes are supposed to possess. Indeed, such a portrayal of the gentleman by birth as a boorish character can often be found in other novels by Dickens, such as Bentley Drummel in *Great Expectations* (1860-61), and it is used by the author to critique the pretentiousness of Upper Society.[74] The tension that is evident in this passage, however, is particularly difficult to transfer to a culture, which, as I shall discuss later, has a very different social structure; it is also complicated by the fact that the Chinese translators appeared to fail to spot that the word 'Blood' in this context refers to a person's birth and his inherent

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[73] Dickens, *David Copperfield*, p.264.
[74] For a detailed discussion of Society etiquette, see Leonore Davidoff, *The Best Circles: Society Etiquette and The Season* (London: Croom Helm, 1973).

social standing, thus overlooking the significance of this passage. While in the original version, 'Mrs. Waterbrook repeatedly told us, that if she had a weakness, it was Blood',[75] the translated version treats it as a form of disease which she is inflicted with—'The hostess told everybody that she has never had any illnesses except for the blood'(女主人語眾謂生平無病所病在血).[76]

The tension between different ideas of class and gentility is manifested in the juxtaposition between Steerforth and Traddles, which I briefly alluded to earlier. Born in a wealthy family, Steerforth is educated at Oxford and has the resources to lead a life of a dandy, thus he is considered to be a gentleman by birth. His image stands in sharp contrast to Traddles, who epitomizes a generation of 'new gentleman' that emerged in nineteenth-century England. Coming from a lower middle-class background, Traddles, who is noted for his high moral grounds, succeeds in developing a respectable career through his hard work. Traddles's life is a striking example of the new, self-help figure in Samuel Smiles's terms. As I discussed earlier, the spirit of self-help which Smiles advocated had become one of the main qualities that was commonly associated with the English character, and with the notion of individualism, especially during the mid-Victorian period. In *Self-Help*, Smiles encouraged the working class that they could achieve success in life through education and persistence in self-improvement despite their humble origins. In the last chapter, 'Character: The True Gentleman', Smiles invoked contemporary debates on the quality of gentlemanliness by contending that it was the moral qualities—that is, truthfulness, integrity and goodness—which mark one out as

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[75] Dickens, *David Copperfield*, p.263.
[76] *Kuai Rou Yu Sheng Shu*,Vol.2, p.119.

a 'true gentleman'.[77] Yet Dickens's depiction of Traddles reveals his doubts over the idealistic portrayal by Smiles over this path to success. Although heaping praise on Traddles's integrity and morality, Dickens also highlights the difficulty he faces in gaining acceptance in the wider Society—as Mr Waterbrook, a middle-aged gentleman in the novel, bluntly puts it: 'I should say he [Traddles] would never, for example, be worth five hundred pound'.[78] Copperfield's acquaintance with the Waterbrooks and the like indicates his acceptance into the 'well-bred' circle of the society, yet Waterbrook's measurement of a person's worthiness in monetary terms encapsulates the distorted values in society.

Dickens's ambiguous attitude towards the different lifestyles which Traddles and Steerforth lead is further indicated by the juxtaposition of the two characters not only in moral, but also in materialist terms. Traddles's lack of material comforts, which was often associated with the lower middle class's way of life during the mid-Victorian period, is repeatedly highlighted in the narrative; this is reflected by the dirty and dismal-looking street in which Traddles's house is located. While his room is 'barely-furnished', his office only comprises 'the fourth of a room and a passage, and the fourth of a clerk'.[79] In contrast to a Victorian middle-class house in London, which, as I pointed out in Chapter One often comprised three main storeys on top of an attic and a basement, Traddles's house is only 'a story high above the ground floor'.[80] His humble living-style and his attempt to keep up a professional

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[77] See Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help* (London: John Murray, 1859), pp.314-334.
[78] Dickens, *David Copperfield*, p.263.
[79] Dickens, *David Copperfield*, p.283.
[80] Ibid.

image thus encapsulate the struggles which the lower middle class face in climbing the social ladder. In contrast, Dickens's detailed description of the luxurious life-style that Steerforth leads reveals the Victorians' fascination with dandyism and the aristocratic way of life. Thus it is no coincidence that Steerforth and Copperfield's reunion after their school days is in a hotel in Covent Garden, which was considered a fashionable place in the nineteenth century.[81] It is unclear where exactly the hotel is located, yet it is likely to be somewhere close to the Covent Garden Theatre in Bow Street, where Copperfield saw *Julius Caesar* and an unnamed pantomime. One of the largest theatres in Europe, Covent Garden had long been associated with the upper class's way of life.[82] While it was representative of the latest fashion and style, the nearby Covent Garden Market was by the mid-nineteenth century a famous produce and flower market. These different facets of the place were invoked by Dickens in *Little Dorrit*, where Covent Garden is described as a place where the rich and the poor—'richly dressed ladies and gentlemen' and 'miserable children in rags'—could be found.[83] While the various facets of the Covent Garden area provide a fitting setting for the reunion of Copperfield and Steerforth, given their vastly different backgrounds, the 'courtly ideas' of the Covent Garden Theatre also act as a suitable backdrop against which

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[81] As Julie Sanders points out, the 1630s witnessed the 'conception and construction' of the Covent Garden, which subsequently made a significant contribution to the expansion of the West End district in London. Sanders argues that the choice of plays that were being staged in the districts of the Strand and Covent Garden in turn 'became prime agents in the ways in which the emotional and physical geography of the Town figured for inhabitants and visitors'. See Sanders, *The Cultural Geography of Early Modern Drama, 1620-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp.213-235 (213).

[82] Roy Porter, *London: A Social History* (London: Penguin, 1994), pp.194-287; Charles Dickens Jr., *Dickens's Dictionary of London 1888: An Unconventional Handbook* (Devon: Old House Books, 1993), p.92.

[83] Charles Dickens, *Little Dorrit* (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1857), p.120.

Steerforth's extravagance and superiority is foregrounded. This is clearly denoted by the special treatment that Steerforth receives in the hotel in which both he and Copperfield stay:

> It was not in the coffee-room that I found Steerforth expecting me, but in a snug private apartment, red-curtained and Turkey-carpeted, where the fire burnt bright, and a fine hot breakfast was set forth on a table covered with a clean cloth; and a cheerful miniature of the room, the fire, the breakfast, Steerforth, and all, was shining in the little round mirror over the sideboard.[84]

That Steerforth could occupy a private space in a public venue and that it is decorated in an exotic style demonstrate his privileged social position. The increasingly elaborated decorations and display of objects in middle-class Victorian homes were a result of an emergent consumerist culture and the ideology of domesticity. The private apartment which Steerforth occupies invokes an image of a wealthy middle-class home. While only those who were well-off could afford to have a constant burning fire, the use of a Turkish carpet hinted at his life as a dandy, as from the mid-Victorian period onwards this kind of furnishing was often used by the middle class to demonstrate their aesthetic taste; these tastes are further augmented by the highlighting of a mirror that is placed inside the room.[85] While a red curtain could block out the

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[84] Dickens, *David Copperfield*, p.205.
[85] For a discussion of Victorians' use of objects and interior decorations, see Thad Logan, *The Victorian Parlour* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); for a discussion of the popularity of Turkish carpets in Victorian society, see Charlotte Gere and Lesley Hoskins, *The*

light, and hence was particularly suitable for a dandy, it was also a colour which was adopted by Victorian middle-class households because it gave a feeling of cosiness and luxury. The living style of Steerforth thus contrasts sharply with that of Traddles, whose humble financial means are clearly spelt out in spatial terms as noted earlier.

The important role which the juxtaposition of Steerforth and Traddles plays in the narrative is further foregrounded by the mature narrator's recalling of his 'happier childhood' as compared to the time when he was 'cast away' to the lower-class companions:

> No words can express the secret agony of my soul as I sunk into this companionship; compared these henceforth every-day associates with those of my happier childhood—not to say with Steerforth, Traddles, and the rest of those boys; and felt my hopes of growing up to be a learned and distinguished man, crushed in my bosom. The deep remembrance of the sense I had, of being utterly without hope now; of the shame I felt in my position; of the misery it was to my young heart to believe that day by day what I had learned, and thought, and delighted in, and raised my fancy and my emulation up by, would pass away from me, little by little, never to be brought back anymore; cannot be written.[86]

House Beautiful: Oscar Wilde and the Aesthetic Interior (London: Lund Humphries & Geffrye Museum, 2000), p.122.

[86] Dickens, *David Copperfield*, p.112.

The translated version:

> I was most humiliated by this relationship. Whenever [I] think about the fact that when [I] was at school, my companions were Steerforth and the others, but now they are vulgar types and common labourers, [I] regard this with great embarrassment. When [I] contemplate that once I sink into a cheap trade, [I] will never be proud of that fact, and at times [I] bow my head in utter shame. But what is past is past, and will gradually be forgotten. Having written this much, I cannot bear to write in greater detail.
>
> 余與。是。人。為。伴。所辱。至。矣。思及身在學堂時。有司蒂爾福司諸人為侶。今乃下儕傭保。為恥已極。自念一淪賤業。將永無伸眉之日。思極則愧不可仰。凡前此所業。至此悉無所用。且逐漸而忘。書至此。至於不忍詳書。[87]

Copperfield's sense of distress stems from his feeling of being 'thrown away' into the companionship of those youngsters belonging to the lower class (for example, Mike Walker's father was a bargeman, whilst the father of another boy who worked in the counting-house, Mealy, was a waterman) and into a trade that is despised by the middle class.[88] The image of a 'learned and distinguished man' which Copperfield aspires to attain attests to the idea of a gentleman in the Victorian period and the moral qualities which it, as I noted

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[87] *Kuai Rou Yu Sheng Shu*,Vol.1, p.102.

[88] In Victorian society, a man belonging to the middle class would not engage with manual work or paying 'too visible an attention to business'. (Gilmour, p. 7) Dickens himself was also subject to criticisms by his friend and biographer, John Forster, for giving up high art for the low when he appeared to be too keen on making money through his public readings. See Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens*,Vol.3, p.165.

earlier, purportedly entails. It also demonstrates the important role education plays in fostering a young man's identity and in helping him climb the social ladder. Dickens's concern with education is well-known, and as Goodlad points out, the Victorian author, alongside many of his contemporaries, was heavily influenced by James Kay-Shuttleworth's education agenda.[89] Kay-Shuttleworth advocated the importance of educating the poor and working-class children as it could 'separate' children 'from the contaminating influence of the street or lane in which [their] parents reside.'[90] Kay-Shuttleworth and his allies' education agenda, Goodlad argues, effectively 'artificially imposes a middle-class habitus on children who would otherwise be marked by the lowly influences of workhouse or working-class family'.[91] Kay-Shuttleworth's advocacy of providing education for the poor and for the lower classes came at a time when the English education system remained decentralised, and was dominated by a large number of private schools that were of varying standards.[92] These problems with the education system are manifested in the very different experiences which Copperfield underwent in Salem House and Dr Strong's school, albeit both followed a classical curriculum which was

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[89] Lauren Goodlad, *Victorian Literature and the Victorian State: Character and Governance in a Liberal Society* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2003), pp.159-191. For Dickens's views on education, see Philip Collins, *Dickens and Education* (London: Macmillan, 1963).

[90] From James Kay-Shuttleworth's *The Training of Pauper Children* (1838) cited in Goodlad, *Victorian Literature and the Victorian State*, p.168.

[91] Goodlad, p.175.

[92] David Allsobrook points out that the deficiencies of English secondary education in the nineteenth century are well known. 'A copse of seven or eight hundred endowed grammar schools was accompanied by a dense and ever-changing thicket of private schools, and a staid and limited plantation of more promising proprietary schools'. Allsobrook, *Schools for the Shires: The Reform of Middle-class Education in Mid-Victorian England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), pp.1-27 (3).

prevalent in Dickens's day.[93] Goodlad's contention that education could cultivate children's middle-class worldview, and hence their morality, in reality revealed a strong sense of superiority which the Victorian middle class held in relation to those who belonged to the lower echelons of society. Schooling in this mid-Victorian context thus often had the effect of strengthening the students' class consciousness, let alone the fact that by 1860s public school education was intertwined with the notion of gentility and was a hallmark of social status.[94] Indeed, Copperfield's class consciousness is much aroused and consolidated after having mingled with Steerforth and the like at Salem House, which is one of the public schools which Dickens writes about: 'Though perfectly familiar with them, my conduct and manner were different enough from theirs to place a space between us. They and the men generally spoke of me as "the little gent," or "the young Suffolker."[95] This class distinction is given further consideration by Dickens in *Great Expectations,* which sees Pip fail to enter the echelons of the upper society because of his humble origins, despite his adoption of genteel mannerisms, his education and his money. Likewise, Joe the blacksmith can never attain the status of a 'gentleman' in the eyes of the Society despite the fact that, morally speaking, he is much more of a gentleman than Pip or any of the other 'gentlemen' in the novel can ever aspire to be.

The fact that the translated version of David Copperfield has also highlighted the class differences that contribute to Copperfield's distress

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[93] For a discussion of the curriculum of Victorian public school, see Ivor Goodson, *School Subjects and Curriculum Change: Studies in Curriculum History* (London: Falmer Press, 1993).
[94] F.M.L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society* (London: Fontana, 1988).
[95] Dickens, *David Copperfield*, p.113.

highlights a point of contact between the two cultures, albeit their different social conditions at their respective historic moments. While the social structure in Victorian England was often understood in economic terms, in early twentieth-century China society remained rooted in a traditional hierarchy that saw gentry and 'scholar-officials' emerging at the top of the social ladder, followed by peasants, artisans and merchants.[96] 'Scholar-official' was a name that commonly referred to those scholars who succeeded in entering officialdom through the centralized civil examinations that lasted from the Tang dynasty (618-907AD) to its abolition in 1905. As Etienne Balazs puts it, 'scholar-officials' were 'the most conspicuous sign of officialdom in Chinese society' and they were instrumental to maintaining the status quo of Imperial China.[97] For the incorporation of elites into the ruling class through centralized examinations helped strengthen their control of that educated class. At the same time, the 'scholar-officials' were also seen as a manifestation of the notion of gentleman, or *junzi*, in Confucian teaching; *junzi* is regarded as one who is benevolent, courageous, knowledgeable, and one who is able and willing to assume his duties—that is, taking up an official position.[98] Although when *David Copperfield* was published in China, changes—such as the abolition of the civil examinations and the introduction of Western-style schools to China—started to take place, the traditional social hierarchy that had long dominated the period of Chinese imperial rule (which was officially

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[96] Robert Marsh, *The Mandarins: The Circulation of Elites in China, 1600-1900* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), pp. 33-70; Yi Li, *The Structure and Evolution of Chinese Social Stratification* (Lanham, Md: University Press of America, 2005).

[97] Etienne Balazs, *Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy: Variations on a Theme*, tran. H.M. Wright (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1964), pp.3-12 (6). Imperial China refers to the period from Qin dynasty (221BC-206BC) until the end of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911).

[98] Confucius, *The Analects*, tran. D.C. Lau (London: Penguin, 1979).

ended by the establishment of the Republic on 1 January 1912) remained strong in Chinese society and the top-tier of society remained dominated by gentry and scholar-officials. As I noted earlier, the publication of the novel came just three years after the abolition of the civil examination in 1905, thus China was still in the process of reforming its education system, including the introduction of a Western-style education system to the nation. Traditionally, '*Sishu*', an umbrella term that refers to family schools, village schools and the privately established schools, had dominated the Chinese education scene and was closely associated with the family's ability to provide for their children with good education. While the Qing emperors had issued edicts ordering the provision of free elementary education through community or charity schools, the actual provision was still at the discretion of local authorities and *Sishu* remained prevalent.[99] In the regulations of 1902 and 1904, the Qing government had requested local governments to establish schools of different levels. While the fact that these schools were largely fee-paying had deterred the poor from attending, they were still far from providing a mass education in modern sense. By 1909, only about 2.5 percent of school-age children in China were in school.[100] The fact that early twentieth-century China faced similar challenges to that of mid-Victorian governments, in terms of the provision of education to the population, may explain why, on this occasion, the translated version bears a close resemblance to the original text in its exposition of Copperfield's agonised sentiments. Yet, as with other parts of the novel, the reflexive elements in this passage still fail to carry through to the translated

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[99] Sally Borthwick, *Education and Social Change in China: The Beginnings of the Modern Era* (Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, 1983).
[100] Ibid, p.109.

version, albeit it is often such moments of re-visiting the past, as I noted earlier, that the ideal self is constructed. In the original version, a distinction is drawn between the belief of his immature, 'young heart', and the retrospective perspective of the mature narrator; this is encapsulated by his highlighting of the fact that what is being narrated is but his 'deep remembrance' of the past. This reflexivity highlights the irreconcilable gap between moral and social hierarchies that characterises *David Copperfield* as well as a number of Dickens's other works, notably *Great Expectations.* Instead of interrogating his past sentiments, the young Copperfield's feelings of humiliation lingers into the present through the narrator's confession that he could not bear to write about these past episodes in detail. By blurring the line between his past and present self, as I shall proceed to discuss, the translated version effectively undermines one major aspect of the narrative—that is, the moral improvement of Copperfield.

Social and Spiritual Journeys

The rise of the hero in *David Copperfield*, as well as his moral and emotional growth and maturity, is clearly mapped out in spatial terms. As I demonstrated in Chapter One, the cityscape of London plays a crucial role in Dickens's oeuvre and his depiction of its spatial configuration often carries particular symbolism or acts as an externalisation of the protagonists' emotional state. This intertwined relationship between the protagonists' emotions and the wider cityscape is evident in *David Copperfield*, although my focus of inquiry will take a different turn from the previous chapter, in that I shall examine issues of class and social values as inscribed within different zones in London (instead

of the built structures as I discussed there), as well as the 'spiritual' journey which he undertakes in Canterbury and Continental Europe. A metropolis that epitomizes the country's accelerating pace of industrialisation and capitalism, London emerges as a major setting against which Copperfield's rise up the social ladder is achieved. It thus comes as little surprise that as an aspiring young man, Copperfield's first impression of the metropolis is one which is full of possibilities and opportunities:

Original:

> What an amazing place London was to me when I saw it in the distance, and how I believed all the adventures of all my favourite heroes to be constantly enacting and re-enacting there, and how I vaguely made it out in my own mind to be fuller of wonders and wickedness than all the cities of the earth, I need not stop here to relate. We approached it by degrees, and got, in due time, to the inn in the Whitechapel district, for which we were bound.[101]

Translation:

> When I saw London in a distance, it looks very different. When thinking of the major events that are recorded in books, [I remember] all of them coming from London; there must be many happenings in this city than all the other places. Our coach gradually approaching London and arrived at a place called Whitechapel.

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[101] Dickens, *David Copperfield*, pp.52-53.

余遠遠見倫敦。則大異。計書中所紀大事。其人咸產自倫敦。意此城中事必較之天下為多。[102]

It is significant that his favourable impression of London is made 'in the distance', a remark that gestures towards a potential contrast between a panoramic view and a close-up of the metropolis, as it is often through the latter that hidden, unwanted, sights are discovered. Equally significant is the way in which Copperfield's first excursion into London reminds him of the adventures of all his 'favourite heroes', which appears to be a reference to the range of heroes and characters with whom he encountered while poring over the books that were left by his father in 'a little room up-stairs', and which have kept alive his 'fancy' all through his boyhood.[103] This again gestures towards the creative literary path which he ultimately pursues. In examining Dickens's use of space and place in his novels, Rosemarie Bodenhemimer contends that Dickens's portrayal of streets and his delineation of the protagonists' walking routes were a means to 'sew' different parts of London together.[104] However, I argue that his main purpose of chronicling their walking routes in reality delineates the boundaries of his own, imagined London; it is also a means through which the gap between the rich and the poor is clearly mapped out in spatial terms, hence chronicling his changed social status. Dickens's usage of specific place names to invoke his implied readers' familiarity with the places and the relative class and social positioning

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[102] *Kuai Rou Yu Sheng Shu*,Vol.1, p.43.
[103] Dickens, *David Copperfield*, pp.41-42.
[104] Rosemarie Bodenheimer, 'London in the Victorian novel', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of London*, pp.142-159 (145).

that are often inscribed in different districts in London can be gleaned from the first stop where he lands in London—that is, the Whitechapel district. Whitechapel, alongside places such as St Giles in the East End, were marked by poverty, dilapidated buildings and crime, hence hinting at Copperfield's initial suffering in the metropolis.[105] In fact, these parts of London had long been important constituents in the imagination of writers and artists alike, who often made use of their work to expose the suffering of the poor and the deprived. Thus Jacob's Island, which was a notorious rookery on the south bank of the River Thames, was given a particular prominence in *Oliver Twist* (1838), as it was a place in which the chief villain, Bill Sikes, met his nasty end.[106] One of the most famous visual renderings of the poor living conditions at the Whitechapel district, meanwhile, was by a French artist and illustrator, Gustave Doré (1832-1883), who in *London: A Pilgrimage* (1872) captured the plight of the people who dwelt in the district through his evocative illustrations.[107]

However, the specificities of the place names and their special functions in the narratives would hardly have struck any chord with Chinese readers who had little knowledge of the city of London, let alone specific localities in it. This probably explains why the Chinese translators often simplify some of the routes which the protagonists take in the city, or remove the specific references to place names in the process; this is demonstrated by

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[105] White, *London in the Nineteenth Century*, pp.9-98.
[106] Dickens, *Oliver Twist*, Vol.III (London: Richard Bentley, 1838), pp.238-261.
[107] Doré's illustrations were accompanied by sketches by the journalist, Blanchard Jerrold. *London: A Pilgrimage* was first published in 12 individual instalments before being published in 1872 as a single volume with 180 engravings. For a discussion of this work and other visual renderings of Victorian street scenes, see Shearer West, 'London in Victorian Visual Culture', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of London*, ed. Lawrence Manley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp.160-179.

the excursion made by Copperfield and his aunt to the city in search of Spenlow and Jorkins's office so as to article Copperfield with the proctor.

Original:

> We made a pause at the toy-shop in Fleet-street, to see the giants of Saint Dunstan's strike upon the bells—we had timed our going, so as to catch them at it, at twelve o'clock—and then went on towards Ludgate Hill, and Saint Paul's Churchyard. We were crossing to the former place, when I found that my aunt greatly accelerated her speed, and looked frightened.[108]

Translation:

> When walking passed St Paul's Cathedral, my aunt suddenly quickened her pace, and looked frightened.
> 剛行過聖保羅禮拜堂。而姨氏行步忽迅。如有所懾。[109]

Copperfield and his aunt's excursion takes place after Copperfield reclaimed his middle-class status. His change of fortune is underpinned by the places which he ventures into, such as Fleet Street, which in the course of the nineteenth century had developed a reputation as the literary part of London, and a district in which the press was located. Copperfield's entering this zone signals his entry into a more genteel way of life in contrast to his association with the lower-class community during his initial encounter with the city. The

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[108] Dickens, *David Copperfield*, p.245.
[109] *Kuai Rou Yu Sheng Shu*,Vol.2, p.102.

area surrounding Fleet Street, Ludgate Hill and Saint Paul's Cathedral, also had a particular relevance to Dickens: for prior to his full-fledged literary career, he had worked as a clerk at the solicitors' firm, Ellis and Blackmore, at Holborn Court, as well as at the office of Charles Molloy of New Square, Lincoln's Inn. He also had worked as a shorthand reporter at the Doctor's Commons that was close to Saint Paul's Cathedral.[110] This district was thus closely associated with the development of Dickens's own professional life. Yet by removing these specific place names in the translated version, the Chinese translators effectively undermine the carefully crafted locality in mapping and tracking the rise of the hero. Indeed, in Dickens's narrative, the specific buildings, especially St Paul's Cathedral, attained particular symbolism. One of the most conspicuous buildings in Victorian London, the towering dome has, since its completion in 1710, become a major landmark and occupied a significant place in the national identity of the country. In the words of Wren, who was the designer for the Cathedral, it was 'an ornament to His Majesty's most excellent reign, to the Church of England, and to the Great city'.[111] The towering presence of the Cathedral is often used by Dickens to symbolise the immensity, and the multifarious dimensions, of the metropolis. As I mentioned earlier, as a young boy, Dickens was said to have looked from some almshouses at the top of Bayham street at 'the cupola of St. Paul's looming through the smoke', which he regarded as 'a treat that served him for hours of vague reflection afterwards'.[112] In his works, the protagonists'

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[110] Michael Slater, *Charles Dickens* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), pp.14-58.
[111] Roy Porter, *London: A Social History* (London: Penguin, 2000), p.112.
[112] Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens*,Vol.1, p.19.

impressions of the cathedral often changes with their own life trajectories. In *Great Expectations*, on his first trip to London Pip saw 'the great black dome of Saint Paul's bulging at me from behind a grim stone building which a bystander said was Newgate Prison'.[113] The link between Saint Paul and the Newgate prison gestures towards Pip's entanglement with the escaped convict, Magwitch, in his life. For young Jo in *Bleak House* (1852-53), meanwhile, the Cathedral symbolises a prosperous, albeit confused, metropolitan life that will always be out of his reach: 'From the boy's face one might suppose that sacred emblem to be, in his eyes, the crowning confusion of the great, confused city; so golden, so high up, so far out of his reach.'[114] In Dickens's narratives, then, St Paul's Cathedral often becomes a physical and psychological boundary for a young male hero aspiring to a metropolitan, modern way of life. The trope of 'entering the great city' is commonly used in the *Bildungsroman*, a genre that originated in Germany and which often traces the male protagonist's development and maturity through undertaking various journeys. Patrick Parrinder contends that the journey of the *Bildungsroman* protagonist is often configured by the city's double boundaries: 'In crossing the outer boundary, the *Bildungsroman* hero experiences the promise of the inner boundary, which at once encloses the "heart of the city" and the individual goal of emotional fulfillment or "heart's desire"'.[115] The boundaries in Parrinder's discussion are self-determined by the male hero, which in turn shape his subsequent life

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[113] Dickens, *Great Expectations*, Vol. II (London: Chapman and Hall, 1861), p.7.
[114] Dickens, *Bleak House*, No.VI (Aug. 1852) (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1852), p.192.
[115] Patrick Parrinder, ' "Turn Again, Dick Whittington!": Dickens, Wordsworth, and the Boundaries of the City', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 32:2 (2004): 407-419 (407-408); see also Franco Moretti's discussion of the *Bildungsroman* in *The Way of the World: The "Bildungsroman" in European Culture* (London: Verso, 1987), pp.3-13.

trajectory. From his initial landing in Whitechapel, his reunion with Steerforth in Covent Garden and the near-genteel lifestyle that he leads in the district close to St Paul's Cathedral, Copperfield's changing social status is clearly mapped out in spatial terms. As if avoiding disrupting such a clear trajectory of the ascendance of the hero, the main tragedies in the novel—the death of Steerforth and Ham—occur outside London.[116] Steerforth drowns off Yarmouth, while Ham is swallowed by the raging sea in his attempt to save those on board a ship wreck, including his rival, Steerforth.

Interspersed with Copperfield's journey of upward social mobility is a spiritual journey that carries the novel into Canterbury and further afield to other countries. His physical wandering and his self-reflection during the journeys remind one of the tradition of spiritual autobiography, with Saint Augustin's (354-430 C.E.) *Confessions* (AD397-398) being an exemplary work. In his conclusion to a study that chronicles the development of the Chinese tradition of autobiography, Kawai Kozo argues that Western autobiographies are often used to trace the self's development and transformation from the past to the present. This, he contends, contrasts with that of Chinese autobiographies, in that the self often remains stable and is used to draw an antithesis with his contemporaries so as to express his disappointment either at the political system or at his failure to win official recognition.[117] The distinction which Kozo draws, however, appears to be too simple a conclusion; this is demonstrated by the fact that some travel writings

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[116] Jeremy Tambling also highlights the fact that the tragedies occurred outside London in *Going Astray: Dickens and London* (London: Longman, 2009), p.138.
[117] Kawai Kozo, *China's Biography Literature* (Beijing: Central Compilation & Translation Press, 1997), p.202.

by neo-Confucians, as I discussed earlier, also recorded the development of the self, even though some chose not to disclose fully of their innermost feelings or any 'demoralising' acts which they might have committed before their attainment of sagehood.[118] More importantly for the purpose of this section, I argue that the personal journey of Copperfield is far from a transformation per se. For the novel is not about any act of conversion by the male hero, but rather it is about the processes by which his 'undisciplined heart' is corrected by his ultimate marriage with Agnes, and hence fulfilling the ideal domesticity in Victorian terms. Indeed, the kind of tortured self-revelations that characterised Thomas De Quincey's (1785-1859) *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* (1822) are totally absent, nor is there any sinful act which Copperfield has committed. The moral improvement which Copperfield achieves (that is, the way his 'undisciplined heart' is corrected) is also a far cry from the journey of conversion in traditional spiritual autobiographies such as that of *The Confessions*, as I noted earlier. [119] Ironically it takes place despite the fact that Copperfield's physical wandering in Canterbury, a place which has long been regarded as the spiritual capital in Britain, and the inward-turning gaze that characterised the narrative, obviously find much resonance with the Western tradition of spiritual autobiography:

Original:

> Coming into Canterbury, I loitered through the old streets with a sober pleasure that calmed my spirits, and eased my heart. There

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[118] Wu, pp.93-141.
[119] For a discussion of spiritual autobiography, and the genre of autobiography in general, see Linda Anderson, *Autobiography* (London: Routledge, 2001).

were the old signs, the old names over the shops, the old people serving in them. It appeared so long, since I had been a schoolboy there, that I wondered the place was so little changed, until I reflected how little I was changed myself. Strange to say, that quiet influence which was inseparable in my mind from Agnes, seemed to pervade even the city where she dwelt. The venerable cathedral towers, and the old jackdaws and rooks whose airy voices made them more retired than perfect silence would have done; the battered gateways, once stuck full with statutes, long thrown down, and crumbled away, like the reverential pilgrims who had gazed upon them; the still nooks, where the ivied growth of centuries crept over gable ends and ruined walls; the ancient houses, the pastoral landscape of field, orchard, and garden; everywhere—on everything—I felt the same serener air, the same calm, thoughtful, softening spirit.'[120]

The translated version:

Tomorrow [I] started off to Canterbury. It was early winter, with the westerly wind blowing, one felt refreshed. Coming into Canterbury, the scene was just like what it used to be, and the shops remained the same, with the same owners. It has been so long since I had been a school boy there, I wondered to see the place so little changed, until I reflected how little I was changed myself.

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[120] Dickens, *David Copperfield*, p.398.

明日即赴坎忒白雷。時又。冬。初。西風。振。衣。人意。高。爽。至坎忒白雷時景物如故。店肆咸如前狀。主人亦無改。余憶讀書是間。為時。已。久。胡乃。一。如。故。狀。既而。思。之。己身。亦。未。嘗。有。變。何怪。物。象。[121]

Copperfield's walking around the 'old streets' of Canterbury carries with it the religious connotation of a pilgrimage; the experiences of pilgrims who visited Canterbury had famously been captured by Geoffrey Chaucer (c.1343-1400) in *The Canterbury Tales*, which was published at the end of the fourteenth century.[122] Indeed, the religious subtext of the original passage is overtly spelt out through the series of analogies which the narrator draws: for example, the 'battered gateways' are described as looking like 'the reverential pilgrims who had gazed upon' the 'venerable cathedral towers'. Yet more significant is the way in which the calmness of the place and its sense of permanence, as represented by the perennial existence of the ruined walls, ancient houses and pastoral landscape, are used to foreground the influence of Agnes on Copperfield's spiritual calmness and peace. Such a portrayal is in line with the representation of women as 'natural priests' in Dickens's oeuvre: for Agnes is portrayed as an angelic figure, who often steers Copperfield away from bad influences and worldly temptations.[123] The narrator's emotional maturity is demonstrated by his ability to see how little he has changed himself; his

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[121] *Kuai Rou Yu Sheng Shu*,Vol.3, p.100.
[122] Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, tran. Nevill Coghill (London: Penguin: 2003). For the religious significance of Canterbury, see *A History of Canterbury*, eds. Patrick Collinson, Nigel Ramsay, and Margaret Sparks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).
[123] See, Michael Slater, *Dickens and Women* (London, Melbourne and Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1983), pp.301-372.

'unchangeability' also echoes the permanency of his surroundings. That Copperfield's moral standing remains stable all through his personal journey reflects Dickens's middle-class perspective, as it underpins the mid-Victorian middle class's belief in individual morality and self-reliance on overcoming difficulties which I have discussed earlier. What is lost in the translated version is exactly the spiritual subtext which underpins the original passage and which complicates our understanding of the nature of Copperfield's path to emotional and moral maturity. The translated version has deleted the descriptions of the cathedral and removed the use of personification to describe 'old jackdaws and rooks'; what remains is a general reference to the scenery and to the shops that remain standing. The shift of focus from the celestial world to the mundane, everyday life (as denoted by the reference to the shops) points to the Chinese translator's—and by extension, his readers'—emphasis on the social conditions which the text is assumed to portray rather than the spiritual undertone that often characterises the development of the Western bourgeois subject.

The important role which his journey in Canterbury plays in helping him attain moral enhancement and spiritual enrichment is further foregrounded by his wanderings overseas, in countries such as Switzerland and Italy.[124]

Original:

> Some blind reasons that I had for not returning home—reasons then struggling within me, vainly, for more distinct expression—kept me

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[124] Perhaps it is no coincidence that Italy and Switzerland were amongst the countries which Dickens himself had travelled prior to the writing of *David Copperfield*, see Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens*,Vol.2.

on my pilgrimage. Sometimes, I had proceeded restlessly from place to place, stopping nowhere; sometimes, I had lingered long in one spot. I had had no purpose, no sustaining soul within me, anywhere. I was in Switzerland. I had come out of Italy, over one of the great passes of the Alps, and had since wandered with a guide among the bye-ways [sic] of the mountains. If those awful solitudes had spoken to my heart, I did not know it. I had found sublimity and wonder in the dread heights and precipices, in the roaring torrents, and the wastes of ice and snow; but as yet, they had taught me nothing else.[125]

Translation:

I did not examine why I dreaded returning home. Rather, [I] drifted like a cloud, stopping here and there [...] After traipsing all over Italy and passing through the Alps, [I] stayed for a while in Switzerland, enticed by the landscape. Looking back on the matter, I didn't analyse why I was attracted by the landscape. [I] was like a drifting duckweed, stopping when meeting something to detain me. [I] saw precipices reaching up to the heavens and waterfalls plunging down sheer drops. Though [I] have taken in all the rare sights that the world has to offer, after a while, all [I] remember is how unusual and sheer they were.

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[125] Dickens, *David Copperfield*, p.578.

...亦不審胡以憚歸。但飄忽如雲。隨方而止。...徧行意大利。過愛而迫司山。及瑞士。乃淹留極久。似為山水勾留。顧余亦不計其何者為山水。但一身如萍。遇滯即止。及見石壁插天。飛瀑千尋。雖極天下奇觀。亦但。等。閒。過。之。識其。奇。險。而。已。

By referring to his overseas trip as a 'pilgrimage', as with his trip to Canterbury, the narrator highlights his quest for something beyond the mundane; such a self-imposed exile also helps construct his image as an epic hero.[126] The destinations of Italy and Switzerland, especially the Alps, found much resonance with the 'Grand Tour', which as Keith Hanley points out, had by the eighteenth century come to 'represent the process of cultural maturation and the attainment of political authority in England.'[127] A Grand Tour in this specific cultural context often involved a male, solitary traveller touring around Continental Europe; one of the most famous examples of such journey was that carried out by William Wordsworth (1770-1850) in 1790. Accompanied by Robert Jones, Wordsworth walked over fifteen hundred miles through France, Switzerland the north of Italy, the experience of which he later recorded in Book VI of *The Prelude* (1805).[128] The 'crossing the Alps' trope, as Hanley notes, often entailed not only an aesthetic, but also a political significance in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, although it is the former which

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[126] One of the most famous epic heroes is Roman poet Ovid, who was sent to Black Sea by Augustus, an experience which he narrated in *Sorrows of an Exile: Tristia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).
[127] Keith Hanley, 'Wordsworth's Grand Tour', in *Romantic Geographies: Discourses of Travel 1775-1844*, ed. Amanda Gilroy (Manchester and N.Y.: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp.71-92 (74)
[128] Ibid; William Wordsworth, *The Prelude, or Growth of a Poet's Mind*, ed. Ernest De Selincourt (Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press, 1970).

this chapter is primarily concerned with. John Dennis (1658-1734) is widely regarded by modern critics as one of the first English travellers who had expressed a 'positive enjoyment' of the Alps that often led to spiritual enhancement. However, as Nicola Trott points out, the traveller's ability to appreciate, and experience, the sublime is dependent upon 'a nobility of soul or character'. In other words, to be able to appreciate nature (more specifically, the sublime), one needs to possess the requisite qualities; nature in turn could lead to a revelation of one's innate qualities, and hence contribute to moral progress.[129] This notion of the sublime underlines Edmund Burke's (1729-1797) *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757), in which he argued that the sublime often generates fear, terror and awe, in contrast to the notion of beauty that induces pleasure.[130] The fact that in *David Copperfield* the mature narrator 'found sublimity and wonder in the dread heights and precipices, in the roaring torrents, and the wastes of ice and snow', thus attests to the Romantic tradition of linking the sublime with a vast, and often untamed, rugged nature. But more importantly, he confesses that 'if those awful solitudes had spoken to my heart, I did not know it', and that the sublimity and wonder 'had taught me nothing else'. The failure of nature in bringing about his moral improvement stands in sharp contrast to the Romantic tradition, and this, as I discussed earlier, stems from Dickens's—and by extension, mid-Victorians'—belief in individual agency in

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[129] Nichola Trott, 'The Picturesque, the Beautiful and the Sublime', in *A Companion to Romanticism*, ed. Duncan Wu (London: Blackwell, 1999), pp.72-90 (78); for a discussion of the development of the notion of the sublime, see James Boulton's 'Editor's Introduction', in Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, ed. James Boulton (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), pp.xv-cxxx.
[130] Burke, pp.1-177.

bringing about change and improvement instead of resorting to the external environment (such as the forces of nature) for inspiration and strength.[131] It is thus little wonder that it is Agnes, rather than nature, who is able to inspire him and to help him attain the status of a Victorian gentleman. The emphasis on Agnes's role in Copperfield's ultimate success, both in terms of his spiritual maturity and his social status, underscores the Victorians' idealisation of the domestic and the idea of women as 'priest-like figures'. His final marriage with Agnes demonstrates that the life of a creative genius is still bound by social conventions and his success is still judged according to the yardstick as set by Victorian society.

In contrast to the other aspects of the narrative which I have discussed earlier, the translated version has largely retained the essence of the original passage, though a greater emphasis is placed on the descriptive details of the landscape. For example, the precipices are depicted as 'reaching up to the heavens', while waters are described as 'plunging down sheer drops'. These detailed descriptions encapsulate traditional Chinese travel writing, as Leo Ou-fan puts it:

> In a typical piece of *yu-chi* [travel writing], as in a landscape painting, descriptive attention is focused above all on nature—its beauty and its perennial presence—and secondarily on the journey but least of all on the traveller. Of course, this does not rule out the expression of

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[131] An exemplary character in Dickens's oeuvre that testifies to this ideal of individual agency is Sidney Carton in *A Tale of Two Cities* which I shall examine in detail in Chapter Three.

personal feelings and thoughts, which are conveyed through natural description.[132]

Lee also notes that from the late Ming period onwards, there has been a general tendency toward investigations of the self, such as personal essays from the Ming dynasty and, subsequently, Qing fiction. One of the most notable examples is *The Travels of Lao Ts'an* by T'ieh-yun Liu (1857-1909), in which Lao Ts'an's travelling entails his personal journey of self-discovery and self-revelation.[133]As Wu argues, the travails one encounters during journeys, such as extreme cold, heat, height, and unexpected occurrences, often become a means through which neo-Confucian and Buddhist followers can attain illumination and truth. This also underpins the traditional pursuit of *dao*, literally a 'road, or 'way' by Chinese intellectuals who attempt to find meaning in life.[134] The fact that both the original text and the translated version highlight that sense of purposeless wandering demonstrates the importance of travelling in men's attempt to seek self-revelation and improvement in both cultures. Yet in the translated version the translators used a common literary trope in Chinese literature—a drifting duckweed—to describe the vagabond; the presence of this image thus again highlights the influence of Chinese culture on the adapted text.[135]

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[132] Leo Ou-fan Lee, 'The Solitary Traveller: Images of the Self in Modern Chinese Literature', in *Expressions of Self in Chinese Literature*, eds. Robert Hegel and Richard Hessney (N.Y: Columbia University Press, 1985), pp.282-307 (282).
[133] T'ieh-yun Liu, *The Travels of Lao Ts'an*, tran. Harold Shadick (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990).
[134] Wu, *The Confucian's Progress*, p.96.
[135] See, for example, Robert Henricks, *The Poetry of Han-Shan: A Complete Annotated Translation of Cold Mountain* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990). Henricks points out that Han-Shan, literally meant 'cold mountain', is a name that the Tang dynasty

While London is generally associated with the hero's rise up the social ladder, his different impression of London upon his return from his wandering overseas and his trip to Canterbury hints at the fact that the metropolis also witnesses his spiritual maturity:

Original:

> I landed in London on a wintry autumn evening. It was dark and raining, and I saw more fog and mud in a minute than I had seen in a year. I walked from the Custom House to the Monument before I found a coach; and although the very house-fronts, looking on the swollen gutters, were like old friends to me, I could not but admit that they were very dingy friends.
>
> I have often remarked—I suppose everybody has—that one's going away from a familiar place, would seem to be the signal for change in it. As I looked out of the coach-window, and observed that an old house on Fish-street Hill, which had stood untouched by painter, carpenter, or bricklayer, for a century, had been pulled down in my absence; and that a neighbouring street, of time-honoured insalubrity and inconvenience, was being drained and widened; I half expected to find Saint Paul's Cathedral looking older.[136]

(618-907) recluse, who was a follower of the *Zen* school of Buddhism, adopted from the place that he lived. In one of his poems (No.148), he wrote: 'Always drifting, like floating duckweed;/Never resting, like blown-about bramble./You ask, this is what type or sort?/His surname is Poor, his name Impoverished.' p.216.

[136] Dickens, *David Copperfield*, p.582.

Translation:

> When I landed in London, it was a cold autumn day with evening drizzle and heavy fog all around. Initially, [I] could not get a coach at the wharf, but after walking for some time, I finally got one. Seeing the narrow lane and the old house was like encountering old friends. In general, when a traveller has been away from home for a long time, he immediately finds the scenery changed when he returns home. My coach passed by the fish market. Looking out of the carriage, [I] felt that all the old stalls of the market had been renovated, with shops here and there in their midst. The former familiar alleys, which were narrow and foul, were now wide streets. Wondering whether the old tower of Saint Paul's might have changed, [I] looked and saw that it was still as stately as before.
> 余登岸時。正當秋行冬令之日。黃昏微雨。濃霧四塞。石步上初無一車。余行久始一得之。見夾。道。舊。樓。即如。逢。故。友。大抵旅行人離家久。歸時景物頓異。余車行經魚市。自軒中外盼。覺此市均老屋。今乃。一。新。...平日道狹而臭惡。今亦。易。為。大。路。因思。聖。保。羅。舊。塔。或。改。舊。觀。乎。視之。仍。巋。然。如。故。

The dark, rainy and foggy London aligns it more to the metropolis in Dickens's later novels, such as *Bleak House*, and highlights those sights of the city that were hidden under the panorama of the London cityscape that formed Copperfield's first impression of the metropolis. Instead of seeing the total disappearance of the old buildings and structures, what he sees upon his return is that traces of the past remain discernible despite various new developments

have been set in place. The rapid changes to society during his absence is evident in the way in which 'an old house on Fish-street Hill' that had stood unscathed 'for a century' had been pulled down in his absence, and a neighbouring street, 'of time-honoured insalubrity and inconvenience', had been drained and widened. The areas around Fish-street Hill were what was—and still is—the London Docklands, a district which underwent much change and development in the course of the nineteenth century in the wake of England's expanding overseas trade, especially at the peak of imperialism. All these changes stand in antithesis to those sites and landmarks that bear historic significance, notably the Monument, a place that commemorates the London Great Fire of 1666. In other words, it is the tension between change and unchangeability, in both spatial and psychological terms, that is foregrounded in the narrator's return to London after his wandering overseas. This sentiment is hinted at by the self-reflection of the narrator: 'I have often remarked—I suppose everybody has—that one's going away from a familiar place, would seem to be the signal for change in it'. Indeed, the narrator's ability to spot subtle changes (as testified by a single house in Fish-street Hill) highlights his familiarity with the area that contains much of his memory; it is also his sharp observation that revealed to the reader that the city is at a moment of change and transformation. Yet while in the original text the narrator spots that 'an old house on Fish-street Hill' had been torn down in his absence, in the translated version he saw that 'all the old houses in this city had been replaced by new ones'. Places of historic significance, such as the Monument, have also been removed from the translated version. By replacing the sharp observation of the narrator with his comparatively general comment on the changes to the

cityscape as a whole, and by removing those places that are of much historic significance, the translated version has effectively diluted the tension between the old and the new in the original work, as well as undermining the narrator's sense of familiarity with the place that has carried his childhood memories. Complicating these is the fact that the specific locale—Fish-street Hill—was literally translated as a fish market by the Chinese translators, a change which probably stemmed from their comparative lack of knowledge of the streets of London.

While it is his familiarity with the place that contributes to his ability to detect the changes in the cityscape, it is notable that his observations are mainly focused on the external, actual changes that were made to the cityscape during his absence. In contrast to his depiction of inanimate objects in Canterbury, the only time when he injects inanimate objects with human emotions is when he describes those objects that are associated with his memories, such as his description of the 'swollen gutters' as his 'dingy', 'old friends'; this differs markedly from his lack of emotional attachment to all the new changes that are introduced to the place. This ability to keep a distance from the scene that he is describing, as is clearly indicated by his use of the word 'observed', once again attests to his emotional maturity and growth.

Conclusion

The spiritual and social journeys which Copperfield undertakes finally lead to his ultimate attainment of the status of a Victorian gentleman in Dickens's terms. The autobiographical nature of Dickens's portrayal of Copperfield, as this chapter has argued, is reflected both by his appropriation of the Romantic

discourse of a creative genius, and by his responding to prevailing Victorian values and ideology, in his formulation of the ideal 'hero'. This attempt at self-fashioning attests to the key contention of this chapter, and the thesis as a whole, that various cultural conceptions, such as the self and the individual, are culturally specific and contingent upon particular historic conditions. While it is this chapter's central argument that the Chinese tradition of autobiography and biography is often used to illustrate wider history and culture, in contrast to the Western tradition that is often used to articulate difference in a bourgeois subject, it is important to situate these distinctions within the specific cultural and historical conditions upon which this literary form is understood and interpreted. I have argued in this chapter that the fact that the translated version puts much more emphasis on the social significance of the work rather than the individuated expression which is pivotal to the autobiographical novel has demonstrated the influence of traditional Chinese life writing on the way the novel was adapted. This explains why the idiosyncratic expression of Copperfield, which is crucial to the construction of the hero in Dickens's terms, often fails to carry through in the translated version, while the depiction of lower-class characters, such as the Micawbers, has often remained intact.

Dickens's articulation of the self, as I have argued, was shaped by the prevailing social values, notably the idea of a gentleman and the ideology of individualism, in a society that witnessed a shift in traditional class boundaries. The fact that early twentieth-century Chinese society had a different social structure, and more importantly, different cultural conceptions and values, thus posed a particular challenge to the Chinese translators in their effort in re-rendering this text to their readers. This circumstance in turn reinforces one of

the central contentions of this thesis: that values often underwent changes, or reinterpretations, when they were transferred from one culture to another. Therefore it is important to consider the processes of cross-cultural transfer from the perspectives of the respective cultures' value systems and cultural conceptions so that a deeper understanding of their interactions can be obtained.

Chapter Three

Reading and Reframing: History, Politics and *A Tale of Two Cities*

When the first instalment of *A Tale of Two Cities* was published in China on 1 June 1913 in *The Justice*, a bi-monthly political journal established by one of the most influential Chinese intellectuals of the day, Liang Qichao (1873-1929), it was only one and a half years after the Chinese Republic had been established following the Revolution of 1911 that overthrew the last dynasty in China, Qing.[1] The country was therefore still in an early stage of formulating its governing structure and its political system. The decision to publish *A Tale of Two Cities* in a political journal which had its own agenda at this historical juncture bore a particular significance in Chinese politics; this differed markedly from the socio-political context in Victorian England when *A Tale of Two Cities* was first published in 31 instalments in *All the Year Round*, a weekly literary magazine founded by Charles Dickens, on 30 April 1859.[2] This chapter will consider the political significance of the novel in the

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[1] *The Justice* is the official English title of the periodical. Its Chinese title is *Yong Yan*. See the 'Explanatory Note on the Text' of this thesis for details of its original publication.
The Chinese Republic was established on 1 January 1912 when Sun Yat-sen assumed the office of 'provisional president' in Nanjing. For a discussion of the publication and circulation of Dickens's works against the wider historical contexts during the period, see the Introductory chapter of this thesis. I shall focus on discussing the socio-political contexts against which *The Justice* was published, the 1911 Revolution and the debates amongst the Chinese intellectuals over the adoption of revolution or reform for the country's modernization drive later in this chapter. For a general introduction of the political situation in China in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Chien-nung Li's *The Political History of China 1840-1928*, trans. Ssu-yu Teng and Jeremy Ingalls (Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1956).
[2] Richard Maxwell points out that the serialization of *A Tale of Two Cities* in *All the Year Round* boosted the sales of the new two-penny periodical, as it sold 100,000 copies per issue during *A Tale of Two Cities*' running from 30 April to 26 November 1859. See Maxwell's 'A

context of historical developments in China and Victorian Britain respectively, paying particular attention to the influence of the French Revolution of 1789 on the intellectual scenes in the two societies across time and space. It will then examine how the Chinese editors' and translator's specific political concerns and understandings of the idea of revolution, and their own socio-cultural traditions, might have influenced the way in which the text was adapted for Chinese readers; these topics will be investigated through exploring the politics of *The Justice*, the changes in *A Tale of Two Cities*' 'paratexts', which in Gerard Genette's definition refers to those elements that 'surround' and 'extend' a text, as well as the translation and adaptations of the original text—that is, the first published text of *A Tale of Two Cities* in Victorian England— and the influence of Chinese history writing in this process. [3]

The French Revolution

Before proceeding to examine Chinese understandings of the general concept of revolution and their use of the French Revolution for specific political purposes, I shall first consider the historical and social contexts in which *A Tale of Two Cities* was originally written in order to better understand the politics of the novel as they might have appeared to a Victorian reader. One of the recurrent scenes in the novel is mob violence, an image which has long

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Note on the Text' in *A Tale of Two Cities* (London: Penguin, 2000), p.xlviii. The novel was also published in eight monthly parts starting June 1859, with the final parts being sold as a double issue in December. They were illustrated by 'Phiz' (H.K. Browne), and published by Chapman and Hall. See 'Appendix A: The Serialization of *A Tale of Two Cities* in 1859', in Charles Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, ed. Andrew Sanders (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp.363-364.

[3] Gerard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, tran. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p.1.

been associated with the French Revolution, and which, as David Lodge suggests, had become a constant source of imagination by mid-Victorian writers of that turbulent period.[4] The emphasis which Dickens places on describing the mob, and the antithesis between the individual and the collective that he draws in the novel, were a means by which to comment on contemporary politics, notably the Chartist movement and the debates in the run-up to the Second Reform Bill of 1867.[5] In *A Tale of Two Cities*, shortly before the storming of the Bastille, everybody in Saint Antoine, an area where poverty prevails, has been turned into die-hard revolutionaries, which in the novel is akin to being members of a violent mob:

> Saint Antoine had been, that morning, a vast dusky mass of scarecrows heaving to and fro, with frequent gleams of light above the billowy heads, where steel blades and bayonets shone in the sun. A tremendous roar arose from the throat of Saint Antoine, and a forest of naked arms struggled in the air like shrivelled branches of trees in a winter wind: all the fingers convulsively clutching at every weapon or semblance of a weapon that was thrown up from the depths below, no matter how far off.[6]

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[4] David Lodge, 'The French Revolution and the Condition of England: Crowds and Power in Early Victorian Novel', in *The French Revolution and British Culture*, eds. Ceri Crossley and Ian Small (Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp.123-140.
[5] Details of the Chartist movement and the 1867 Reform Bill will be discussed later in the chapter.
[6] Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, *All the Year Round*, 18 (27 Aug 1859) [from Vol.1], p.411. For a full citation of the bound volumes of *All the Year Round*, see the 'Explanatory Note on the Text' of this thesis.

The figurative representation of human-beings as 'a vast dusky mass of scarecrows' highlights the loss of individual identity under a collective; it also hints at the deprivation of reasoning and thought in the context of mass action. At the same time, the image of scarecrows points to the dire poverty that the people suffer, hence their gradual loss of flesh and blood, one which is further illustrated by the way their naked arms 'struggled in the air like shrivelled branches of trees in a winter wind'. Yet their otherwise weak fingers seize on what they believe to be their last chance of survival—revolution—by 'convulsively clutching' at any weapon that is up for grabs. Their desperation for revenge and survival that stems from their long-term suffering, as vividly depicted in this passage, thus constitutes the most threatening force that ultimately topples the French aristocratic regime. This portrayal of mob violence echoes Victorian middle class's concerns about working-class militancy and doubts over the ability of that class to exercise rational judgment, a topic of particular urgency in debates in Britain about the proposed extension to the franchise, and a sentiment famously expounded on by Thomas Carlyle in *Chartism* (1839). It also stands in marked contrast to the individualism which is exhibited in bourgeois characters in Dickens's oeuvre, such as David Copperfied which I discussed in the previous chapter, and Sidney Carton, who is a major protagonist in *A Tale of Two Cities,* and one whom I shall examine in detail later in this chapter. *Chartism* was written during the heyday of the Chartist Movement in Britain, which is widely understood to have formally begun in 1838, when the Chartists carried out various protests and campaigns—including violent ones—in order to achieve the demands under the 'People's Charter'. These included calls for enfranchising all male adults

over 21 years old and the cancellation of the property requirement for members of Parliament. In 1848 the movement lost much of its momentum and its unifying force.[7] In *Chartism*, Carlyle coins the phrase the 'Condition of England' by drawing readers' attention to the divisions in society and the grievances of the working-class people. Describing the working class as possessing the 'wrong disposition', Carlyle asserts: 'Chartism means the bitter discontent grown fierce and mad, the wrong condition therefore or the wrong disposition of the Working Classes of England'; hence, he argues, they should be 'guided and governed'.[8] Carlyle's position on the mob aligns him to the conservatism of Edmund Burke, who argues in *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) that the revolution spearheaded by the mob in France, and the subsequent political structures set up in the name of revolution, was no more than an attempt by the unscrupulous and uneducated masses to usurp the power of the state, thereby subverting the natural order and the constitutional foundation upon which the nation was built and sustained.[9] Burke's views were famously refuted at the time by Thomas Paine (1737-1809), who asserted the legitimacy of the National Assembly of France—and by extension, the will of the people—in the *Rights of Man* (1791). Paine argues for the people's 'inherent rights'—that is, their right of election, representation and participation—by highlighting the dictatorial nature of a monarchy, an institution that is established by conquest, as contrasted with an elected assembly that truly represents the will of the people. In other words, Paine is

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[7] J.T. Ward, *Chartism* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1973).
[8] Thomas Carlyle, *Chartism* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1842), p.3.
[9] Edmund Burke, *Reflections on The Revolution in France* (London: Penguin, 1986), pp.275-276.

deeply critical of the way English critics—and particularly Burke—attempted to deny the legitimacy of the political goals of the revolutionaries.[10] While Dickens's depiction of the violent mob in *A Tale of Two Cities* suggests an element of political conservatism, one which is reminiscent of that of both Burke and Carlyle, his highlighting of the plight of the poor, which, for example, is demonstrated by his use of the metaphor 'scarecrows', reflects his sympathy with the lower classes, hence in this way setting his work apart from that of Carlyle, albeit that he is in part still indebted to *The French Revolution* (1837).[11]

Under the broad canvas of the French Revolution, Dickens not only draws an opposition between a French society that is marred by an acute class antagonism and an English society which respects privacy and individuality and is characterised by its comparative lack of class consciousness, but he also addresses contemporary debates about social mobility through examining the life trajectories of individual characters, notably Charles Darnay.[12] The self-reliant life-style which Darnay pursues, as I shall discuss in detail later, also

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[10] Thomas Paine, *Rights of Man* (London: Penguin, 1988), pp.39-115.

[11] Dickens's indebtedness to Carlyle, especially his depiction of women, has been noted by various scholars. See, for example, Andrew Sanders, *The Companion to A Tale of Two Cities* (London: HarperCollins Publishers Ltd., 1988); *Charles Dickens's A Tale of Two Cities: A Sourcebook*, ed. Ruth Glancy (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), pp.31-37,97-101. While noting the influence of Carlyle's depiction of women on Dickens, Glancy argues that 'Carlyle is probably more accurate in depicting their role as limited at this time', in contrast to Dickens's portrayal that places Madame Defarge at the head of a group of armed women. See footnote 17 to excerpt of Carlyle's *The French Revolution*, as cited in *Charles Dickens's A Tale of Two Cities: A Sourcebook*, pp.31-37 (33). See also Charles Dickens, 'Appendix III: Dickens and His sources', in *A Tale of Two Cities*, ed. Richard Maxwell (London: Penguin, 2000), pp.399-443 (399-406).

[12] In general terms, class consciousness refers to one's awareness of social class. In Marxism, class consciousness is often used to denote the proletariats' awareness of their exploitation by the bourgeoisie, hence leading to their class struggle. For a discussion of the notion of class consciousness, see George Lukacs, 'Class Consciousness', in *History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics*, tran. Rodney Livingstone (London: Merlin Press, 1971), pp.46-82. I shall examine the issues of class and social mobility in detail later in the chapter.

attests to mid-Victorian middle-class's valorisation of the attributes of self-help and self-realisation, which were amongst the subjects of discussion in the previous chapter. For Dickens, society was increasingly divided in both economic and political terms, a situation exacerbated by the accelerating pace of industrialisation and the sense of political exclusion of the still disenfranchised majority after the 1832 Reform Bill. The interrelationship between political and economic demands is succinctly captured by Gareth Steadman-Jones, who argues that the Chartists' political demand for universal suffrage stemmed from their belief that the economic deprivation that they suffered originated from an unfair political system that favoured the upper and the middle classes.[13] As critics such as John Gardiner point out, it is significant that Dickens dedicated *A Tale of Two Cities* to Lord John Russell, a Whig statesman who played a key role in pushing through the 1832 Reform Act, and who later made various failed attempts to further open up the franchise in the 1850s and 60s prior to the passage of the 1867 Reform Bill.[14] It is important to note, however, that what Dickens and Russell supported, as with most of the politicians and middle-class writers at the time, was granting the vote to those who were 'fitted' to exercise their voting power—that is, the lower middle class—instead of giving it to all male adults (including the working class)

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[13] Gareth Stedman-Jones also points out that unlike the agitation prior to the 1832 Reform Bill, the Chartist movement failed to rally the support of the majority of the middle class as the latter became part of the legislative classes after the first Reform Bill, hence they were also the subject of the working class's criticisms and complaints. This contributed to the movement's ultimate failure. See Stedman-Jones, *Studies in English Working Class History 1832-1982* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp.90-178.

[14] John Gardiner, 'Dickens and the Uses of History', in *A Companion to Charles Dickens*, ed. David Paroissien (London: Blackwell, 2008), pp.31-59. For Lord John Russell's role in the constitutional debates in Britain during the 1830s to 1860s, see Robert Saunders, 'Lord John Russell & Parliamentary Reform 1848-67', *English Historical Review*, 120:489 (Dec. 2005): 1289-1315.

indiscriminately.[15] Such an attitude permeated the political circles of the time; it thus perhaps came as little surprise that despite the fact that the Second Reform Act had doubled the size of the electorate, voting entitlement remained based on property qualifications, hence a large number of poorest working and labouring classes were still excluded from the franchise.[16] Dickens's depiction of the mob and of revolutionary Paris was thus a response to the specific political situation in England, especially that relating to the condition of the working classes and their potential destructive power at the height of the Chartist agitation.

The political situation in early twentieth-century China was, by contrast, very different from that in Victorian England; it should therefore not be surprising to find that the French Revolution had been used in that country for quite distinct political purposes. From the outset, the nature of the 1911 Revolution in China differed fundamentally from that of the 1789 Revolution, in terms both of its organization and the underlying causes that led to the overthrow of the existing regime. The French Revolution was widely understood as a result of acute class antagonism between the callous aristocratic ruling class and the exploited masses (mainly the peasants), the latter of which became the most powerful and destructive forces that led to the ultimate toppling of the aristocratic regime. The Chinese Revolution of 1911, in contrast, was mainly led by overseas educated Chinese intellectuals who had

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[15] Saunders: 1289-1315.

[16] The 1867 Reform Act granted the vote to all householders in the boroughs as well as lodgers who paid rent of £10 a year or more. It also reduced the property threshold in the counties. For details of the debates surrounding the reform, see Robert Saunders, *Democracy and the Vote in British Politics, 1848-1867: The Making of the Second Reform Act* (London: Ashgate, 2011); Keith McClelland, 'England's Greatness, the Working Man', in *Defining the Victorian Nation: Class, Race, Gender and The Reform Act of 1867*, eds. Catherine Hall, Keith McClelland and Jane Rendall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp.71-118.

witnessed first-hand the successes of the modernisation drive by countries such as Japan, a neighbouring nation which for many surprisingly defeated China in the Sino-Japanese war of 1895.[17] This defeat, which many Chinese people deemed a national humiliation, made many Chinese intellectuals realise that change was necessary if the country was to survive. The Hundred Days' Reform movement in 1898 headed by Emperor Guangxu and supported by Chinese reformers such as Kang Youwei and his student, Liang, was one such attempt to reform the country; yet its failure, which resulted, as I noted in the Introductory chapter, in the house arrest of the Emperor by Empress Dowager and the exiles of Kang and Liang as well as their fellow reformers—also made many realise the half-heartedness of the Qing court in carrying out reforms. This in turn led many to pursue a more radical means of achieving change and transformation—that is, a revolution.

This debate between reform and revolution had long dominated Chinese intellectual and political discussions at the turn of the century and in the run-up to the Revolution of 1911.[18] As Xiaobing Tang notes, as early as the summer of 1898, right before the Hundred Days' Reform, Kang had compiled a brief history of the French Revolution and submitted it to the Guangxu Emperor as a warning of what would happen if no serious and systematic reforms were carried out from above.[19] In their debates over whether revolution was the way ahead for China, both the reformists, or what are called the constitutionalists, and the revolutionaries had made use of the French

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[17] *China's Republican Revolution*, eds. Eto Shinkichi and Harold Schiffrin (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1994).
[18] Xiaobing Tang, *Global Space and the Nationalist Discourse of Modernity: The Historical Thinking of Liang Qichao* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp.80-116.
[19] Ibid.

Revolution to launch their respective propaganda wars.[20] Such a phenomenon was demonstrated by the heated exchanges between the two camps between 1905 and 1907 through the newspapers that they established: respectively, the *New Citizen Journal* (1902-1907), founded by Liang, and *Citizens Journal* (or *Min Pao*) (1905-08), founded by Tongmenghui (united League), which was a revolutionary organization formed by Dr Sun Yat-sen, who had been credited with the success of the 1911 Revolution alongside a few other revolutionary leaders. While the revolutionaries, led by Sun, propagandised the use of revolution to achieve a republican state, Liang and other reformers argued that a revolution would only lead to bloodshed and induce foreign intervention, and ultimately, the disintegration of China by foreign forces.[21] As contrasted with their English counterparts, the key issue that was being considered by the Chinese reformers and the revolutionaries was not whether class antagonism could be eliminated through revolution, or whether the people's will could be asserted through a more democratic system; instead the key question was whether revolution was the best means for China to seek national rejuvenation and modernization. This distinction is important for our understanding of why certain aspects of *A Tale of Two Cities* were highlighted while the others were downplayed, adapted or even deleted in the Chinese translation.

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[20] In early nineteenth-century England, parties of different political stance also found different meanings from the French Revolution. While radicals such as Thomas Paine, as earlier noted, saw in the French Revolution a model for the complete overthrow of the state, conservative historians, such as James Mackintosh, considered the French Revolution as an aberrant kind of revolution. For them, the 'true' meaning of revolution was embodied in the 1688 Glorious Revolution, which restored the English Parliament, hence attesting to the tradition of reform in the country's historical development. See, George Woodcock, 'The Meaning of Revolution in Britain 1770-1800', in *The French Revolution and British Culture*, eds. Ceri Crossley and Ian Small, pp.1-30.

[21] The arguments by both sides are summarised in Pengyuan Zhang, *Liang Qichao and Qing Ji Ge Ming* (Jilin: Jilin Publishing, 1999), pp.137-167.

Original Print Contexts

This chapter argues that the significance of the publication of the Chinese translated version of *A Tale of Two Cities* in the aftermath of the Chinese Revolution of 1911 should be understood within its original print contexts, especially the politics of the journal in which the novel was first made known to the Chinese readers. This is because the agenda of a political journal often has the effect of framing readers' understanding and perception of particular incidents or texts. This proposition to a large extent concurs with Laurel Brake's argument that nineteenth-century prose works should be read in terms of their original print contexts. While she argues for this point most strongly in the case of critical writing published in British periodicals, her analyses can also apply to literary works more generally.[22] *The Justice* was established by Liang upon his return from his 14-year exile in Japan following the failure of the 1898 reform movement; Japan had much impact on forging his political views as well as providing an environment in which he could continue exerting his influence through his journalistic writings and other political activities, such as his visits to America and Australia.[23] This Japanese influence on Liang can be gleaned from his adoption of both the Chinese Republican and the Japanese calendar on the cover of *The Justice.* In a preface that seeks to explain the reprint of *The Justice* in 2010, the editor, Tang Zhijun, suggests that

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[22] Laurel Brake, *Print in Transition, 1850-1910: Studies in Media and Book History* (Gordonsville: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), pp.1-83.

[23] Liang's overseas activities and their impact on his political views are widely recorded by critics. See, for example, Joseph Levenson, *Liang Chi-chao and The Mind of Modern China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967); Philip Huang, *Liang Chi-chao and Modern Chinese Liberalism* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1972).

the periodical was a means by which Liang could propagate the political views of *Jin Bu Dang*, or the Progressive Party, which was formally founded in May 1913 through the merger of three political parties, including *Gong He Dang*, of which Liang was a member. Liang was appointed as the Progressive Party's secretary and subsequently the minister of justice for its shadow cabinet.[24] Although little publication information is available, such as the number of copies that were made and sold at the time, various accounts of the warm reception that Liang received upon his return to China from Japan testify to his reputation as one of the most influential intellectuals of the day. It is thus probably fair to suggest that the journal would have had much appeal to fellow intellectuals and followers of the political principles that Liang advocated.[25]

While Brake argues that named contributors to a periodical could threaten its 'collective identity' because of what she describes as the way this editorial practice foregrounds the individual, I argue that such a proposition is not applicable to the Chinese context—specifically in regard to *The Justice* journal.[26] For despite the fact that the journal contained signed articles by individual contributors, its reputation was mainly—if not solely—determined by the social standing of Liang, and by the political principles which he put forward. Given that the journal had a clear political stance, it would also be logical to assume that its contributors would have shared similar political

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[24] Zhijun Tang, 'Explanation to the Reprint', *The Justice*, 1:1 (1 Dec. 1912) [from Vol.1] (Beijing: Chunghwa Book Co., 2010), pp.1-4. Originally a bi-monthly periodical, *The Justice* became a monthly publication in 1914, just a few months before it ceased publication in June the same year. (p.1) For a full citation of the bound volumes of *The Justice*, see 'Explanatory Note on the Text' of this thesis.

[25] In his letter to his eldest daughter, Liang recalled that during his 12-day stay in Beijing after his exile, he was invited to give speech every day and was the centre of attention in the city. See *The Biography of Liang Qichao*, eds. Yao Li and Li Jing (Jiangsu: Jiangsu Literature and Art Publishing House, 2012), p. 63.

[26] Brake, p.16.

views with its founder and editor. Indeed, the emphasis that was placed on Liang's role in the promotion of the periodical is evident from the layout of its founding issue. While his name and his role as the chief editor of the periodical was highlighted on its cover page, on the second page was a 'Liang Qichao's Notice', in which he stated that he assumed direct responsibility for all the articles which were written and signed by him, as well as 'the related responsibilities' that stemmed from the other published articles as all of them had been read and edited by him. His name was also printed in a bigger font size than all the other contributors in the editorial page.[27] Having an understanding of Liang's politics and his views on journalism are thus pivotal to our understanding of the politics of *The Justice* and the reason behind *A Tale of Two Cities*' publication in the periodical.

One of the most influential Chinese intellectuals of the time, Liang's belief in the use of journalism to educate the public and to propagate his ideas had led him to establish numerous periodicals and journals including *Zhongwai Gongbao*, *Shiwu Bao*, *Qing Yi Bao*, *New Citizen* and *New Fiction* (which published translated literature alongside that written by local writers) during his exile in Japan.[28] Although Liang is widely seen as one of the leaders of the reformists, and as noted earlier played a crucial role in engaging with the debates with the revolutionaries on the applicability of revolution to China's historical development, his political views were not static. In his earlier political career, he had shown a preference for a republican revolution, as

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[27] Qichao Liang, 'Liang Qichao's Notes', *The Justice*, 1:1(1 Dec. 1912) [from Vol.1], pp.1-3.
[28] Various studies have highlighted Liang's engagement with journalism in order to propagate his political ideas. See, for example, Levenson, *Liang Chi-chao and The Mind of Modern China*, and Huang, *Liang Chi-chao and Modern Chinese Liberalism.*

demonstrated by his short-lived co-operation with Sun, although from 1903 onwards he increasingly believed that only by adopting a constitutional monarchy that was modelled on the successful examples of countries like England, Germany and Japan, could China maintain stability and move towards modernity; and as critics have long noted, he particularly admired the English political system.[29] Yet with the downfall of the Qing dynasty, Liang changed his politics again and gave full backing to the Republic. In a speech delivered to a delegation of journalists on 22 October 1912 (which was subsequently published in the founding issue of *The Justice* on 1 December 1912), Liang defended his new political orientation by drawing a distinction between *guoti* (polity) and *zhengti* (regime). He pointed out that the reformists' goal had often been to impose constitutional constraints on the government so that people's civil rights could be protected rather than seeking an overthrow of the existing polity.[30] 'The constitutionalists have never wavered in their support of the polity, thus it's just natural that they now support the Republican polity under a constitutional regime', he said.[31] He further asserted that the purpose of his journalism was to develop and to nurture people's wisdom, morality and strength, so that they would become 'qualified' Republican nationals. In other words, Liang—and by extension, many of the intellectuals of his time—considered the education and development of the individual as a means through which the people can acquire the necessary attributes that would allow them to better serve the nation. In an article entitled, 'The reasons

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[29] Ibid.
[30] Qichao Liang, 'My views on the past and the future of the press', *The Justice*, 1:1 (1 Dec. 1912):1-7 [from Vol.1], pp.73-79.
[31] Ibid.

behind the continuity of revolutions and their dire consequences', which was published in *The Justice* on 16 June 1913, Liang highlights the various uprisings that still occurred in different parts of China following the formation of the Republic in a bid to warn his fellow countrymen of the perils of indulging in revolutionary activities, the negative consequences of which, he says, were evident in the frequent changes of the ruling regimes and the revolutionary activities in the 80 years that followed the first French Revolution as well as other similar occurrences in countries such as Mexico and Portugal.[32] He asserts that 'revolutions will only breed revolutions but they will not lead to improved politics'; by 'improved politics' he meant the establishment of formal institutions and mechanisms that would limit the power of those individuals who had dictatorial tendencies. He contends that the power, wealth and status which the revolutionaries attain overnight would only increase their yearning for more power and privileges, while the destruction the revolution caused to the country's economy and society would only generate further discontent, hence providing causes for further revolutions. His concerns about the relationship between the individual and the state, particularly the way in which the former could better serve the latter, can be further gleaned from his understanding of Western thinkers, notably Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill, and Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), through Chinese and Japanese translations of their works.[33] As Philip Huang asserts, Liang's

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[32] Qichao Liang, 'The reasons behind the continuity of revolutions and their dire consequences', *The Justice*, 1:14 (16 June 1913) [from Vol.4], pp.2531-2540.

[33] While it is widely recorded that Liang had read a number of Japanese translations of works by major Western thinkers during his exile, he would also have read the Chinese translated versions of these works, especially those by acclaimed translator and thinker Yan Fu, with whom he had corresponded. Yan later became one of the contributors to *The Justice*. For Yan's

understanding of the notion of liberty differed fundamentally from that of Mill: Liang never treats individuality as an end in itself because the purpose of every individual act, in his view, is to serve the state. Thus, in contrast to Mill's juxtaposition between the individual and society in *On Liberty*, Liang speaks mainly of the 'people' and the 'government'.[34] This concern is further expounded by Hao Chang, who contends that while Liang placed morality into two categories, into what he termed 'public morality' and 'private morality', the latter was never simply an individual concern as 'its primary value still lay in its serviceability to the collective interest of the group.'[35] This emphasis on developing individual virtues in order to serve the interest of the state, as I noted in the previous chapter, had its specific political reasons pertaining to a particular historic period; as I shall discuss later, it has also contributed to the way in which certain traits of the characters in *A Tale of Two Cities* are stressed in the translated text. It also has to be remembered that this understanding is distinct from their nineteenth-century British traditions of liberty which strongly influenced Dickens, in which the state is typically criticised for its intrusions into individual freedoms and the individual is thought to be in need of protection from overbearing state interference.[36]

Such a specific anti-revolutionary political agenda which the Chinese translation of *A Tale of Two Cities* helped promulgate in the aftermath of the 1911 revolution, I argue, underlines some of the changes that were made to the

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role in translating major Western works in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see the Introductory chapter of this thesis.

[34] Huang, *Liang Chi-chao and Modern Chinese Liberalism*, pp.68-83.

[35] Hao Chang, *Liang Chi-chao and Intellectual Transition in China, 1890-1907* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp.149-219.

[36] See, John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty* (London: John Parker and Son, 1859).

original 'paratexts'. It has to be stated at the outset that while the material embodiment of a text, as Donald Mckenzie argues, influences the way it is read, this chapter's chief concern is on the way the linguistic paratexts—such as the preface, dedication and notes—are deleted, adapted or introduced by the Chinese translator and the editor in their attempt to situate the text in particular historical and political contexts.[37] Paratexts play a particular pertinent role in the process of cross-cultural transfer from Britain to China in the early twentieth century because they perform the function of making the text more accessible to early Chinese readers; by foregrounding certain elements of the text, such as its portrayal of the revolutionary activities, the translator and editor could also make the text more relevant to the contemporary politics of China. These functions are particularly noticeable with the extensive use in the Chinese translation of *A Tale of Two Cities* of notes, especially those chapters which are related to French revolutionary activities, a topic which I shall discuss in detail later. As Gerard Genette observes, elements such as the original preface and the dedication are often deployed to convey the authorial intention of a particular work and its implied context.[38] A preface may become what Genette describes as an 'advance commentary' on a text that the reader has not yet become familiar with, hence directing the way in which a particular text is read or understood.[39] As Josephine Guy and Ian Small have noted, Genette's theorization of 'paratexts' is predicated on the assumption of the

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[37] Donald Mckenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of the Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp.9-30.
[38] Genette, p.237.
[39] Ibid.

existence of a stable, 'authorial' text.[40] This is particularly problematic in the case of the Chinese version of *A Tale of Two Cities*, in that the various changes that were introduced to the original text had transformed it, to the extent that it might well be argued that it became another 'work' derived from the original text.[41] While taking into consideration the theoretical debates over Genette's theorization, the subsequent discussion of the chapter will focus on the way in which the changes to the 'paratexts' had influenced the Chinese audience's reading of the text, and how they also reflected the translator's—and by extension, the readers'—understanding of the adapted text, as well as their own worldview.

While Dickens did not write any preface or dedication when *A Tale of Two Cities* first appeared in *All the Year Round*, he compiled a 'Dedication and Preface to the First Volume Edition' when it was published in a book form in 1859 following the novel's serialization. As noted earlier, Dickens's dedication to Lord Russell reflects his politics; meanwhile, Dickens wrote in the preface that he first got the idea of composing the story when he acted in Wilkie Collins's (1824-1889) play, *The Frozen Deep* (1857). In the play, Dickens acted the role of Richard Wardour, who initially wanted to murder his rival, Frank Aldersley, for the love of Clara Burnham, but in the end Wardour chose to save him for Clara's happiness. The victim substitution in *A Tale of Two Cities*, as critics point out, is reminiscent of this episode, one which Dickens's

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[40] Josephine Guy and Ian Small, *The Textual Condition of Nineteenth-Century Literature* (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), p.28.
[41] Guy and Small examine in detail of the work/text dichotomy in *The Textual Condition of Nineteenth-Century Literature*. See, for example, their discussion of different publishing formats of prose fiction in their discussion of this dichotomy. pp. 21-58.

readers would probably have been aware of.[42] This reference, however, would have been opaque to the early twentieth-century Chinese readers. Dickens claimed that his portrayal of 'the condition of the French people before or during the Revolution was made 'on the faith of the most trustworthy witnesses'.[43] His indebtedness to Carlyle's *French Revolution*, which is claimed to be based on eye-witnesses' account during the period, was also overtly spelt out: 'It has been one of my hopes to add something to the popular and the picturesque means of understanding that terrible time, though no one can hope to add anything to the philosophy of Mr Carlyle's wonderful book.'[44] As critics point out, in practice Dickens drew on a range of sources, including the works of well-known commenters on the condition of pre-revolutionary France, such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-79) and Louis-Sebastien Mercier (1740-1814).[45] The dedication and the preface in the first book edition of *A Tale of Two Cities*, then, provide the contexts not only of the circumstances in which the novel was written but they also hint at the contemporary political situation of Dickens's time as well as his purpose in writing. As with the first appearance of *A Tale of Two Cities* in England, the Chinese translation of the

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[42] The role of Frank Aldersley was played by Wilkie Collins. *The Frozen Deep* was initially performed for a select audience at Dickens's home in London, Tavistock House, in January 1857. It was so successful that the cast performed it privately for Queen Victoria in July and then staged several public performances, with professional actresses (including Ellen Ternan, an actress with whom Dickens fell in love) taking over the roles that were originally played by the amateurs, including Dickens's daughters. For details of the play and its impact on Dickens, see '*The Frozen Deep* and Other Biographical Influences', in *Charles Dickens's A Tale of Two Cities: A Sourcebook*, ed. Ruth Glancy (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), pp.14-16; see also 'Appendix III: Dickens and His Sources', in Dickens, *A Tale of Two* Cities, ed. Richard Maxwell, pp.399-443 (431-440).

[43] Charles Dickens, 'Dedication and Preface to First Volume Edition', reprinted in Appendix II, *A Tale of Two Cities*, ed. Richard Maxwell (London: Penguin Books, 2003), p.397.

[44] Ibid., pp.397-398.

[45] See, for example, *Charles Dickens's A Tale of Two Cities: A Sourcebook*, ed. Ruth Glancy, p.12; and Richard Maxwell, 'Appendix III: Dickens and His Sources' in *A Tale of Two Cities*, pp.399-443.

novel as it appeared in *The Justice* did not have any preface or dedication. However, it is unlikely that the translator would have read, or encountered, the original, serialised edition of the novel. It is more likely that the translator made a conscious choice by not translating Dickens's preface and dedication, as they might not have contributed to the reading experience of the Chinese readers in contrast to the Victorian readers, who would have been familiar with the names of Collins and Carlyle, alongside the popular theatrical performances of the day. Unlike other translators, notably his usual collaborator Lin Shu, who compiled a preface in order to comment on the social significance of Dickens's novels and the literary techniques that he adopted, Wei Yi did not write any preface for *A Tale of Two Cities*. The question about how the novel was to be read, then, was no longer framed by either Dickens (as indicated in the preface and dedication) or the translator; instead the readers' first impression of the novel was more likely to be influenced by the political stance of the journal.

As I noted earlier, there was an extensive use of notes in the Chinese translation of *A Tale of Two Cities*. It is unknown whether the notes were inserted by the editor or the translator, though I would venture to suggest that the notes would most likely to have been added to the text by Liang, both because of his role as the chief editor and also because of the limited use of notes in other translated Dickensian novels which this thesis examines, and which involved Wei Yi, who, as mentioned earlier, is most famous for his role in collaborating with Lin for the translation of Dickens's novels and other foreign literature. Unlike mid-nineteenth-century publishing conventions, the notes in the Chinese translated text of *A Tale of Two Cities* were inserted into

the main text, albeit they were written in a smaller-sized font so as to distinguish them from the main text.[46] The notes can roughly be divided into four main categories: historical context, western traditions or cultural practices, geographical locations of the key events depicted in the novel and the explanation or interpretation of the plotline. In some instances, the 'notes' are actually part of Dickens narrative; this probably stems from the editor's, or the translator's intention of separating what they believed to be supplementary or explanatory information from the main narrative. The notes are particularly extensive in the first few chapters when the revolutionaries, notably the Defarges, and the historical setting of the novel, are introduced to Chinese readers. For example, the appearance of the Defarges and other revolutionaries in Chapter Four, 'The Wine Shop' (which is Chapter Five in the original version because of the Chinese translator's deletion of the whole Chapter Three, 'The Night Shadow'), is accompanied by notes explaining their demeanour and their role in the revolutionary movement.

Original version:

> Her knitting was before her, but she had laid it down to pick her teeth with a toothpick. Thus engaged, with her right elbow supported by her left hand, Madame Defarge said nothing when her lord came in, but coughed just one grain of cough. This, in combination with the lifting of her darkly defined eyebrows over her toothpick by the breadth of a line, suggested to her husband that he would do well to look round the

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[46] See Appendix I for a photocopy of an original page of *The Justice* for the position of notes in the Chinese translated version.

shop among the customers, for any new customer who had dropped in while he stepped over the way.[47]

Translated version (the words in smaller font size were the notes that were inserted to the main text; I have reproduced them here in a position which is similar to that of the translated text):

[She] usually knitted wool to make various clothing and socks everyday, [but] she now placed her needlework on the top of the counter and picked her teeth with a toothpick. When her husband entered, she pretended not to see him and did not exchange a word with him, but coughed slightly. She initially was looking down, but now she looked up a tad, as if to suggest to his husband to look around to see if there were any new customers among the drinkers. The Defarge couple was both revolutionaries, and they often drank here. In fact it was a secret agency; this woman was the shrewdest one, whose every cough had special meanings.

常日惟編羊毛線作衣襪。此時置活計於櫃上。以小鐵剔其牙。方其夫自外入時。婦人佯為不見。亦不與交一語。但作微嗽。其目本下視。此時略舉一二分。意似欲其夫徧視飲酒人中。有無新至之客。德勿打士夫婦皆為革黨之人亦時就飲於此實一秘密機關部也此婦人最有心機磬欬之間皆含意義[48]

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[47] Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, *All The Year Round*, 3 (14 May 1859) [from Vol.1], p.51.
[48] Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, tran. Wei Yi, *The Justice*, 1:13 (1 June 1913): 15 [from Vol.4], p.2459.

The notes are clearly an attempt by the editor or the translator to interpret the text for the reader, hence eliminating any possible 'ambiguity' which the text may have generated for their intended readers. The emphasis that is placed on explaining the revolutionary activities with which the Defarges and others are engaged and their 'secret' actions points to the Chinese editors' attempt to foreground the politics of the novel, and hence the sense of secrecy and destruction that often pertain to revolutionary activities. While there is a note explaining that 'Defarge's nickname is Jacques number four, a name which is commonly adopted by revolutionaries at the time' (德弗拉士之別名曰雅格第四當時革黨以此命名者甚多也)[49], there is another one which highlights the significance of Madame Defarge's knitting: 'Whenever Madame Defarge knitted, she often made the other revolutionaries pay attention to its signal' (馬丹治活計時必為令其同黨中人注意之符號).[50] The act of knitting plays a key thematic and structural role in the novel; this is not only reflected by the recurrent portrayal of it in the main text but it is also adopted as chapter titles, or what Genette terms as 'intertitles or internal titles'.[51] The titles of Chapter XV 'Knitting', Chapter XVI 'Still Knitting', and Chapter XIV 'The Knitting Done', in the original version play on the symbolic meanings of knitting in the novel and foregrounds Madame Defarge's position as a female leader in the revolution, who is instrumental to the creation of a world of terror. The emphasis on what is supposed to be a domestic activity—knitting—in the chapter titles suggests the transgression of public and private domains in a

[49] Ibid., p.2459.
[50] Ibid., p.2460.
[51] Genette, p.294.

revolutionary era and the subversion of gender stereotypes in the Victorian imagination.[52] While knitting becomes a tool of revenge as it is used to record the names of enemies, who would subsequently be sent to the guillotine, knitting as used in the chapter titles also symbolises the fate of Madame Defarge— her ultimate demise is metaphorically spelt out by the title, 'The Knitting Done'. The cruelty and the unnaturalness of the act of knitting, in terms of the way the feminine craftsmanship has been turned into a public tool of condemnation, is vividly depicted in the scene at the end of the Chapter XVI 'Still Knitting', in which women who sit knitting at 'the corners of vile streets and courts' are gradually shrouded in darkness when night dawns; this is set against the backdrop of the 'ringing of church bells and the distant beating of the military drums' that are sounding from afar:

> Darkness closed around, and then came the ringing of church bells and the distant beating of the drums of the Royal Guard, as the women sat knitting, knitting. Darkness encompassed them. Another darkness was closing in as surely, when the church bells, then ringing pleasantly in many an airy steeple over France, should be melted into thundering cannon; when the drums should be beating to drown a wretched voice [...] So much was closing in about the women who sat knitting, knitting, that they their very selves were closing in around a structure

[52] I shall discuss in detail Dickens's use of spatiality and the transgression of domestic and public spaces later in the chapter.

yet unbuilt, where they were to sit knitting, knitting, counting dropping heads.[53]

Translated version:

At that time, the weather was wretchedly hot. Every evening during sunset, the villagers would always sit outdoors taking in the cool air, and all the women would embroider. Every evening Madame Defarge would show the other women the patterns that she had embroidered, and she had them copy her. Alas, what they embroidered were the names of those who would later be sent to the guillotine. Every day a village woman thus recorded the names of her enemies. No wonder that during the French Revolution people were slaughtered like grass.
是時天氣酷熱。村人每至夕陽將下之時。輒坐門外納涼。婦人咸手治活計。馬丹每晚。必就眾婦人示以己所刺花樣。令諸婦人倣而刺之。嗟夫。凡此所刺者。均異日斷頭人之姓名耳。一村婦人。日日登記仇家姓名。無怪法國革命時殺人如草也。[54]

The blending of the darkness with the women and their knitting points to the lack of a lit domestic space where they can carry out their craft as well as the secret nature of their activities. More importantly, the crumbling of the moral values and domestic virtues which women are supposed to uphold is metaphorically captured by the prophetic description of the melting of the

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[53] Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, *All the Year Round*, 15 (6 Aug. 1859) [from Vol.1], p. 341.
[54] Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, tran. Wei Yi, *The Justice*, 1:19 (1 Sept. 1913): 15 [from Vol.5], p.3675.

church bells into 'thundering cannon' and the drowning of a 'wretched voice'—which is a reference to the execution of Louis XVI—by military drums that are ringing in the background; and the horror surrounding the act of knitting and the active role women played in the Reign of Terror is encapsulated by the yet 'unbuilt' guillotine that is looming large in the shadow of the darkness in which the women are shrouded. The intermingling of the act of knitting with military connotations and symbols transforms the nature of this otherwise feminine activity into one that denotes masculinity, war and terror. Yet all this rich symbolism is lost in the translation as it is replaced by pragmatic explanations as to why knitting has to be carried out outdoors; in the translation it says it is the hot weather that caused this to happen. By eliminating the symbolism associated with the encroaching darkness and the military connotations, the translation has partly normalised the otherwise 'unnaturalness' of women, and that sense of cruelty and secrecy that is prevalent in the original description. In the previous chapter, I pointed out the influence of historiography on traditional Chinese writing, and specifically, on the development of life writing in China, in that an impersonal, third-person narrative was often adopted to recount autobiographical fragments because of the writer's attempt to convey a sense of objectivity and impartiality even though he was writing his own personal story. This attempt to imitate historical narrative also occurred in traditional Chinese fiction, while historians often strived for achieving a ' "dispassionate" arrangement of historical materials' so as to demonstrates their impartiality. [55] However, the moral, didactic function

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[55] Qingxin Lin, *Brushing History Against the Grain: Reading the Chinese New Historical Fiction, 1986-1999* (Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Press, 2004), p.8.

to which history writing (or writings in general), was traditionally put also generated a particular writing style—that is, Chinese historians often inserted their personal observations and commentaries in the narrative. This 'structural feature' was also widely used in traditional Chinese fiction, to the extent that Qingxin Lin argues that most of these fictions were historical fictions because of their 'mimicry of history writing'.[56] The influence of Chinese history writing is evident in the passage as cited above, in that the original passage is divided into the main narrative and a commentary (which begins with the word 'alas'), the latter of which is clearly indicated by the subjective writing style and substance ('No wonder that during the French Revolution people were slaughtered like grass'). This writing style also suggests that *A Tale of Two Cities* was understood by the Chinese translator as a historical fiction, something which, as I shall demonstrate later, might have contributed to the faithful translation of Dickens's use of spatiality in the original narrative as compared to that in *Little Dorrit* as I discussed in Chapter One. I shall further discuss this use of commentary in the last section of this chapter, when the translator adopts a special form of self-referencing—'Historian of the Strange'—when recounting the final, prophetic words by Carton about the future of the key protagonists in the novel and the future of France.

In *A Tale of Two* Cities, the Chinese translator's, or the editor's, prioritization of the 'logical' and pragmatic development of the plotline over the figurative and metaphoric descriptions in Dickens's texts can further be gleaned from the way he made up his own chapter titles instead of directly

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[56] Ibid., p.9.

translating the Dickensian ones which are, as I noted, often metaphorical in nature. For example, the titles, 'Knitting' and 'Still Knitting', have been turned into 'Secret Talk' (秘談) and 'Secret Agent' (暗探) respectively. The function of the chapter titles, which in the original text serves a form of literary device deployed by Dickens to highlight the metaphoric credentials of his descriptions, in the translation becomes a means of summarising the plot that is to follow rather than being used to invoke the symbolic connotations of the activities named in the titles. Ironically, by spelling out the secretive nature of the activities with which the revolutionaries are engaged, they cease to be secret. Complicating these changes is the inconsistent translation of the word 'knitting'; the translator used different verbs to describe the act of knitting, many of which carried a different cultural connotation from that of the original version. As noted earlier, the translator has expounded on Madame Defarge's act of knitting when she first appears in the novel by explaining in detail her use of wool yarn to make clothing and socks, yet it is important to note that in the Chinese text the term *huoji* —which literally means 'needlework' in English—is used most of the time when knitting is mentioned. In traditional Chinese literature, the term *huoji* is commonly associated with embroidery, which is a traditional handicraft that enshrines women's virtues.[57] The

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[57] Images of women learning or making embroideries are recurrent in traditional Chinese literature. See, for example, *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, Vol.2, eds. William Nienhauser, Charles Hartman and Scott Galer (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1998), pp.58-60; and *The Cambridge History of Chinese Literature*, Vol.2, eds. Kang-I Sun Chang and Stephen Owen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p.350.The making of embroidery was also one of the handicrafts which women could engage with to make a living. Thus when Zhang Jian, an industrial and educational reformer who proposed to establish a women's school in Jiangsu province, he made it clear that it was to help women 'improve their livelihoods' by providing instruction in 'silkworm breeding, basket-weaving, cotton spinning, embroidery and culinary techniques'. For details, see Paul Bailey, *Gender and*

influence of the Chinese cultural tradition on the processes of translation is even more obvious when the translator on numerous occasions uses the verb '*ci*'—which is often used to describe the act of making embroidery stitches—when referring to knitting. Such an interchangeable use of verbs and descriptions, I argue, has the effect of conflating the different social statuses that were traditionally attached to embroidery and knitting in the nineteenth century. For embroidery was traditionally regarded as a cultured pursuit by the upper and the leisured class in the Elizabethan era, though by the mid-nineteenth century it became a domestic activity that was widely practised by middle-class women.[58] Knitting, meanwhile, was often associated with working-class women because they could make extra income for their family; this could also be gleaned from the fact that knitting, alongside writing, arithmetic, grammar, spelling and sewing, were amongst the subjects that were being taught at the night schools for the manufacturing poor in the mid-nineteenth century.[59] The changes introduced to the translated text thus undermined the social symbolism which such domestic practices embodied in Dickens's time.

The pragmatic function which the editor and the translator attached to literature and their attempt to contextualise the text for their Chinese readers, as I pointed out earlier, is further demonstrated by the way in which the notes

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Education in China: Gender Discourses and Women's Schooling in the Early Twentieth Century (London: Routledge, 2012), p.54.

[58] Barbara Morris, *Victorian Embroidery: An Authoritative Guide* (New York: Dover Publications, 2003).

[59] The education provided for young people who lived in the industrial areas was discussed in an unnamed article, entitled 'The Manufacturing Poor' in *Fraser's Magazine* in February, 1849. It was stated in the article that female students were taught with sewing and knitting, and other 'arts of housewifery' at night schools. See *Fraser's Magazine*, Vol.39 (1849) (London: John Parker, 1849), pp. 127-143.

are used to explain key geographical positions and architectural attributes in both Paris and London for their readers. For instance, the significance of Dover is explained in Chapter Two, 'The Mail': 'Dover is the name of a port, from where people can get on board of a ferry to travel from England to France'(度佛爾海埠之名凡英赴法均由此登船).[60] Similar treatment is also found in Chapter three, when there is a note explaining the place of Calais—'A port in France opposite Dover' (法海埠名與度佛爾相對).[61] The name 'Old Bailey' is explained in Chapter II, Book II 'A Sight' (which in the translated version is entitled 'The Trial' (庭審)), in which it states: 'Old Bailey is the location of the prison in London' (老貝婁者倫敦監獄 所在也).[62] Perhaps even more significant is the fact that the notes are also being used to highlight the living conditions of the poor in Paris, as reflected by their positioning in built structures. In Chapter IX, 'The Wine Shop', there is a note explaining the function of cellars —'It refers to the underground dwelling for the poor' (指地下之房窮人所居). There is another note in the same chapter that explains that 'in the West only the poorest would live on the top floor' (西人極窮之人始居高樓).[63] In contrast to other aspects of the novel, which will be discussed later, and which have been drastically changed or transformed, the Chinese translation of the architectural attributes in *A Tale of Two Cities* is largely faithful to the original, in the sense that it does to a large extent capture the

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[60] Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, tran. Wei Yi, *The Justice*, 1:13 (1 June 1913): 3 [from Vol.4], p.2447.
[61] Ibid., p.2450.
[62] Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, tran. Wei Yi, *The Justice*, 1:14 (16 June 1913): 5 [from Vol.4], p.2665.
[63] Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, tran. Wei Yi, *The Justice*, 1:13 (1 June 1913):13 [from Vol.4], p.2457.

vertical dimensions that are recurrent in Dickens's portrayal of built structures and which are often related to the French revolutionary activities—and here we see a marked contrast with the translation of architectural space in *Little Dorrit*. One such example is his depiction of the way that leads to the garret of the Defarges' wine shop, where Doctor Manette had stayed for a short time before he went to England with his daughter, Lucie, and clerk, Jarvis Lorry:

> Such a staircase, with its accessories, in the older and more crowded parts of Paris, would be bad enough now; but, at that time, it was vile indeed to unaccustomed and unhardened senses. Every little habitation within the great foul nest of one high building—that is to say, the room or rooms within every door that opened on the general staircase—left its own heap of refuse on its own landing, besides flinging other refuse from its own windows. [...] Through the rusted bars, tastes, rather than glimpses, were caught of the jumbled neighbourhood; and nothing within range, nearer or lower than the summits of the two great towers of Notre-Dame had any promise on it of healthy life or wholesome aspirations.
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> At last, the top of the staircase was gained, and they stopped for the third time. There was yet an upper staircase, of a steeper inclination and of contracted dimensions, to be ascended, before the garret story was reached.[64]

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[64] Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities, All the Year Round*, 3 (14 May 1859) [from Vol.1], p.52.

Translated version:

> The staircase was exceptionally long and winding, and was broken into several sections. All those who lived in the building were poor people. The refuse left on either side of the staircase generated a foul smell when rotting. All that remained was a narrow pathway sufficient to accommodate the feet. Ascending the stairs, Lorry became unbearably tired and stopped frequently along the way. [...] When he came to the third storey, he saw there was an even steeper and narrower staircase leading to the top floor.
>
> 特其梯甚長曲。折分為數段。樓居者皆窮民。穢物梯之兩旁。蘊釀作奇臭。但餘狹縫一綫。可以容足。洛里拾級上登。不堪其憊。中途屢次停頓...行至第三層。見尚有極巉之梯。一盡此梯後始登最高一層。[65]

The staircase leading to the garret reveals the loathsome condition in which the poor people live. Every habitation inside the high building is a 'great foul nest'; the isolation of the garret is indicated by an upper staircase of a 'steeper inclination and of contracted dimensions', a description which finds much resonance with the condition of Doctor Manette—that is, for eighteen years he had been locked up in the Bastille and was far removed from other human-beings. The overcrowded living conditions are vividly depicted as a 'jumbled neighbourhood', while its height is indicated by the reference to 'the summits of the two great towers of Notre-Dame'. While the translated version does not capture the complexity of Dickens's metaphors, such as the 'great foul nest'

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[65] Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities,* tran. Wei Yi, *The Justice,* 1:13 (1 June 1913):17 [from Vol.4], p.2461.

and the 'rusted bars' through which the 'jumbled neighbourhood' can be glimpsed, and the reference of the locale, Notre-Dame, it is nonetheless important to note that, as with the original version, the translated version puts equal stress on the verticality of the building in describing people's living conditions and the position of the garret, albeit the depiction is much more straightforward and is deprived of the figurative language that is prevalent in the original version.

Transgression of Boundaries

I argued in Chapter One that the Chinese translators' knowledge and experience of local architecture and topography influenced the way in which the built structures as depicted in *Little Dorrit* were translated and adapted for Chinese readers when it first released in China in 1910; one striking example is the replacement of the original version's emphasis on the vertical dimensions of the Marshalsea Prison with a stress on horizontality in the translated version. While it is possible that the different translation practices are due to the translators' different level of understandings of Western architectural attributes, as *Little Dorrit* was translated by Xue Yi'e and Chen Jialin, while *A Tale of Two Cities* was translated by Wei Yi, it is important to note that in *A Tale of Two Cities* the verticality of a building is often associated with poverty in Paris, as poor people were known to live crowded together in cellars or the upper storeys (four or five floors up in Paris) in lodging houses, a condition which the Chinese translator and the editor would have wanted to highlight in the

translated version because of its political value.[66] The explicit link which Dickens draws between a building's vertical dimensions and the living conditions of the poor, I argue, has also reduced the need of the translator to acquire prior knowledge of the architectural attributes that the novel depicts and their embedded ideology. This contrasts with the use of spatiality in *Little Dorrit*, when the privileged position of the Dorrit family, in spatial terms, is only evident if one understands the ideology that is attached to the verticality of built structures, especially the class positions that are pertaining to different levels of a typical middle-class Victorian house in London.[67] If the laxity of control in the Marshalsea Prison in *Little Dorrit* runs against the Chinese translators' expectations of what a prison should have been like, hence their attempt to strengthen the security measures in the translated version, then the strict security control that is imposed on the Bastille and the hideous cell in which Doctor Manette once stayed would have appeared more authentic in their imagination. The maintenance of the spatial configuration of the built structures in the original text of *A Tale of Two Cities*, as I briefly noted earlier, might also be due to the fact that the prose fiction was understood by the Chinese translator as a historical novel, the status of which would have made a particular appeal to Chinese intellectuals and journal readers and one which also denoted a sense of authenticity. Efforts thus have been made to reconstruct, as well as explain, the stringent prison environment in Paris instead of attempting to change or transform its structures as is the case with the

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[66] William Doyle, *The Oxford History of the French Revolution* (London: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp.1-43.

[67] For details of the use of spatiality in *Little Dorrit* and the characteristics of a typical middle-class Victorian house in London, see Chapter One of this thesis.

Marshalsea Prison. Thus there is a note accompanying the description in Chapter VI 'The Shoemaker' (which is Chapter V in the translated version), in which Doctor Manette 'instinctively altered his tread, as being in expectation of a drawbridge' when reaching the courtyard, that says every large prison has a drawbridge in front of it, just like ancient castles' (大獄門首必有弔橋如古城堡). [68] And the 'small, heavily-grated' window of the cell where Manette once stayed, and the 'heavily-barred, small chimney', as well as the 'rusted iron ring' in one of the 'four blackened walls', have all been translated faithfully in the Chinese text.[69]

Dickens's portrayal of the spatiality of built structures, as noted earlier, is instrumental to creating the sense of confinement and horror which is associated with the unlawful confinement that the ruling class used in curbing dissidents. His manipulation of spatiality also plays a crucial role in constructing an antithesis between a distorted French society that is gripped by revolutionary zeal and a comparatively stable English society that respects individualism and privacy. Thus on the one hand, he foregrounds the existence of a domestic space in London where the Manette family can seek refuge from the turbulence of the outside world; on the other hand, he uses the breakdown of the boundary between public and private spaces in Paris to highlight the failure of the ruling class to maintain law and order and to preserve people's normal way of life (when 'normal' for Dickens implies bourgeois notions of individualism).

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[68] Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, *All the Year Round*, 4 (21 May 1859) [from Vol.1], p.76; Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, tran. Wei Yi, *The Justice*, 1:13 (1 June 1913): 24 [from Vol.4], p.2468.
[69] Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, tran. Wei Yi, *The Justice*, 1:20 (16 Sept. 1913): 12-13 [from Vol.6], pp.3868-3869.

> Headlong, mad, and dangerous footsteps to force their way into anybody's life, footsteps not easily made clean again if once stained red, the footsteps raging in Saint Antoine afar off, as the little circle sat in the dark London window.[70]

The movement of the 'mad, dangerous footsteps' that are to stain the streets of Paris with blood, stand in sharp contrast with the stillness of the 'little circle' who sit in the dark London window. The 'dark' London window hints at the ultimate encroachment of the revolutionary fervour into the life of the Manette family as the dangerous footsteps are able to 'force their way into anybody's life', although such an intrusion only occurs when the family moves to Paris in their attempt to save Darnay from his imprisonment in La Force. While the raging footsteps in the streets of Paris reflect the ubiquitous, violent collective action, in London what Lucie hears from that 'wonderful corner for echoes [...] that corner where the Doctor lived' are all 'friendly and soothing' echoes that include the tread of her daughter's 'tiny feet' and her husband's 'strong and prosperous' steps, as well as her father's 'firm and equal' treads.[71] These individual footsteps, however, are only discernible within a private space; outside the private domain are the 'other echoes, from a distance, that rumbled menacingly in the corner all through this space of time'.[72] These juxtapositions, which reflect the thematic and structural role that echoing footsteps plays in

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[70] Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, *All the Year Round*, 18 (27 Aug. 1859) [from Vol.1], pp.410-411.
[71] Ibid., p.409.
[72] Ibid., p.410.

the novel, is further demonstrated by Dickens's adoption of this image in the chapter titles. While Chapter XXI 'Echoing Footsteps' paints a picture of the contrasting lives in Paris and London as noted earlier, the last Chapter, 'The Footsteps Die out For Ever', narrates the sacrifice of Sidney Carton and portrays a world that goes beyond the immediate present—that is, a world that is ruled by the terror of the guillotine. Dickens's depiction of life in London in *A Tale of Two Cities*, then, hinges on the physical delineation of boundaries and thresholds, as is illustrated by the depiction of the 'corner' and the 'window' as noted earlier. Yet the policing of such boundaries can only succeed if society is ruled by law and order instead of by individual whims or collective irrationality. The translated text, however, removes not only the metaphor of echoing steps but also the physical delineation of domesticity—that is, the 'corner', through which a private world is created and preserved. Instead of opening Chapter XXI with the 'wonderful corner for echoes', it starts off with an introduction to Lucie's married life: 'Since her marriage to Darnay, Lucie had been a filial daughter and a virtuous wife. She also managed the household. Everyone in the household lived in harmony.' (露西自歸達爾尼後事父相夫極盡孝女賢妻之道又綜理家政一門上下翕然無閒).[73] The transformed text has foregrounded the women's virtues according to Chinese cultural values; yet by doing so, and by eliminating the juxtaposition between the encroaching footsteps and the secure domestic space as highlighted in the original version, the translation has unsettled the underlying politics of the narrative by Dickens in spatial terms.

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[73] Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, tran. Wei Yi, *The Justice*, 1:20 (16 Sept. 1913):9 [from Vol.6], p.3865.

In contrast to his depiction of life in London, Dickens's manipulation of spatiality in Paris in *A Tale of Two Cities* is best understood through the notion of the dialectics of inside and outside. Gaston Bachelard draws attention to related matters in *The Poetics of Space*, when he highlights the difficulty of drawing a clear, geometrical boundary between these two domains, the thresholds of which are often determined by individual perception rather than by a strict demarcation of physical boundaries.[74] These dynamics, as is evident in Dickens's portrayal of life in Paris, can be understood from two perspectives. On the one hand, he uses the breakdown of the boundary to symbolise the crumbling of individual, domestic life, because of the failure of the ruling class to govern the society properly. On the other hand, he foregrounds the humanity of the revolutionaries by detailing their performance of domestic activities in communal areas, hence demonstrating individual virtues even though physical space can no longer be clearly defined. Two contrasting images of the mob members before and after their purge of their common enemy, Foulon (a fictional representation of the Counsellor of State to Louis XVI), are presented in Chapter XXII 'The Sea Still Rises':

> The men were terrible, in the bloody-minded anger with which they looked from windows, caught up what arms they had, and came pouring down into the streets; but, the women were a sight to chill the boldest. From such household occupations as their bare poverty yielded, from their children, from their aged and their sick crouching

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[74] Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, tran. Maria Jolas (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994), pp.211-231 (215-216).

> on the bare ground famished and naked, they ran out with streaming hair, urging one another, and themselves, to madness with the wildest cries and actions.[75]

The demeanour of the 'mob' undergoes a drastic change when they finish daytime revolutionary activity and return to their loved ones in the evening:

> Not before dark night did the men and women come back to the children, wailing and breadless. Then, the miserable bakers' shops were beset by long files of them, patiently waiting to buy bad bread; and while they waited with stomachs faint and empty, they beguiled the time by embracing one another on the triumphs of the day, and achieving them again in gossip. Gradually, these strings of ragged people shortened and frayed away; and then poor lights began to shine in high windows, and slender fires were made in the streets, at which neighbours cooked in common, afterwards supping at their doors. Scanty and insufficient suppers those, and innocent of meat, as of most other sauce to wretched bread. Yet, human fellowship infused some nourishment into the flinty viands, and struck some sparks of cheerfulness out of them. Fathers and mothers who had had their full share in the worst of the day, played gently with their meagre children;

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[75] Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, *All the Year Round*, 19 (3 Sept. 1859) [from Vol.1], pp.433-434.

and lovers, with such a world around them and before them, loved and hoped. [76]

Translated version:

Not before nightfall did people start to return to their village. As dinner was not yet ready, a crowd lined up in front of the bakery waiting to buy bread. Although everybody was starving and weak, they still embraced and congratulated each other on killing the enemy and gaining the victory, and found amusing the description of the deaths of old-man Foulon and his son-in-law. After getting the bread, they lit fires, and each warmed up his food in the fire. Although the food they ate was crude, their stories on the killing of enemies made the food more palpable. Women played with their children on their knees, and lovers whispered sweet nothings. But each one thought that though the current situation was not rosy, in the future the government of France would be under their control. Hence, there was no need to fear poverty, since the future held out hope for them.

至天已昏黑。眾始歸村。晚饍猶未具。乃群集於餅師門首。輪候購餅。雖人人腹枵力竭。然猶互相 抱持。賀今日殺敵勝利。描述富而登翁壻死狀以為樂。眾既得餅。則就街上舉火。各以所食之物 向火熱之。然食雖麤糲。而互談殺敵事。則亦可以下飯。故亦津津有味。婦人置兒膝上。相

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[76] Ibid., pp.434-435.

與戲弄。少年男女。喁喁道情話。各以為現狀雖不佳。然將來法國宰制由己。何患貧苦希望之心油然而生。[77]

The bloodthirsty image of the mob in the original version is clearly a rendition of the contemporary idea of revolutionary change, which since the 1789 Revolution had become largely associated with violence and a breakaway from the past.[78] Women's participation in the revolution becomes 'a sight to chill the boldest' because of their double transgression: by entering the public sphere they have transgressed the 'natural' role which women have to assume—that is, as the guardian of morality and domesticity.[79] Yet the human rapport and fellowship which the revolutionaries exhibit when they resume their domestic chores in the evening demonstrates that their monstrous actions during the daytime are more a result of their abject despair rather than any intrinsic quality. Humanity is demonstrated through the performance of domestic activities, such as child-care, cooking and communal meals; it is also reflected in the crowd's patience in queuing for 'bad bread' even though their stomachs are 'faint and empty'. Their humane face is further emphasised by Dickens in his description of their demeanour during supper, as he paints a picture of love and hope through the interaction and support between family members, albeit the meagre material comforts that they have to live with. 'Fathers and mothers

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[77] Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, tran. Wei Yi, *The Justice*, 1:20 (16 Sept. 1913):16 [from Vol.6], p.3872.
[78] George Woodcock, 'The Meaning of Revolution in Britain 1770-1800', in *The French Revolution and British Culture*, eds. Ceri Crossley and Ian Small, pp.1-30.
[79] For a discussion of the role of women as depicted in Victorian literature, see Christopher Parker, *Gender Roles and Sexuality in Victorian Literature* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1995); Monica Cohen, *Professional Domesticity in the Victorian Novel: Women, Work and Home* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

who had had their full share in the worst of the day, played gently with their meagre children; and lovers, with such a world around them and before them, loved and hoped.' It is clear from this portrayal that people who live in the revolutionary era have no choice but to have 'their full share in the worst of the day' out of despair, thus implying that it is a world that is forced upon them. While domestic activities, such as cooking, have to be carried out on the streets because of the scarcity of resources, as denoted by the 'slender fires', and the lack of domestic comfort ('bare poverty'), the fact that they are forced to do so does not diminish their value—that is, morality and virtues are preserved by their very act of engaging with these domestic activities. The distinction between public and private, then, is not so much about the actual space in which the activities take place, but rather the symbolic values that are attached to the act that is being described. What is lost in the translation is exactly this subtle demarcation between public and private; for what is being stressed in the description of the domestic activities remains the killing of the enemies, to the extent that their reminiscences of the death image of Foulon could make the bad food more 'palpable'. The revolutionaries' monstrous demeanour during the day-time thus is extending to the night-time and to the domestic activities which they carry out. There is little sense of that 'forced' foray into the revolutionary activities in the original version as discussed earlier; instead they are seen as relishing the killing of their enemies and the death scene that stems from it. The morality that is embedded in domestic activities, and their pivotal role in presenting the humane side of the mob, are thus drastically reduced in the translated version. The changes, I argue, are probably due to the failure of the translator to decode the subtlety of the original text and the

political message which Dickens tries to put forward; it might also be due to the fact that the priority of the translator was to foreground the perils of the revolution and the irrational mob behaviour instead of trying to explore the deeper meanings behind their show of humanity in their private moments so as to strengthen the anti-revolutionary message which they intended to project to their Chinese readers.

The Tragedy of Madame Defarge

The intricacy between public and private, and the transgression of gender stereotypes, is manifested in the character of Madame Defarge, who is the leader of the female revolutionaries, and her zealous revenge is metaphorically captured by her constant act of knitting. Her loss of femininity and her cruelty, as strikingly demonstrated by her brutality in hewing off the head of the last governor of Bastille before its downfall, make her a monster in the novel; she also contrasts sharply with the image of Lucie Manette, whose constancy and femininity make her a perfect embodiment of the angelic domestic goddess in the Victorian —and particularly in Dickens's—imagination.[80] This character also carries a special significance in Dickens's oeuvre because she contests the gender stereotype that is often associated with the leading female characters in his works, such as Little Dorrit in *Little Dorrit* and Little Nell in *The Old Curiosity Shop* (1840-1), women whose constancy, perseverance and piety encapsulate the female ideal in Victorian society. Madam Defarge's revenge is both public and private, for her hatred stems from the destruction of her family

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[80] Michael Slater, *Dickens and Women* (London: J.M. Dent, 1983).

at the hands of the Evrémonde brothers (as her sister was raped and her brother killed by them, whilst her father died of grief because of the tragedy) yet the revolutionary activities that she engages with is a public one—for it has led to the downfall of the aristocratic regime. Madame Defarge thus epitomises the tension between the public and private course of actions, one which is a major theme in *A Tale of Two Cities*. At the same time, her 'unnaturalness' and her ultimate demise at the hands of Miss Pross, reflect the difficulty which Dickens has in attributing agency to women, especially in relation to their participation in public events. The final standoff between Madame Defarge and Miss Pross, the latter of whom is one of the most apolitical characters in the novel, has illustrated the inherent conflicts of the character of Madame Defarge—and by extension, the conflicted nature of the novel. The blurring of the various boundaries and stereotypes in revolutionary France, which I mentioned earlier, highlighted the difficulty one encounters in making sense of a turbulent world that is no longer defined by clear-cut boundaries or one which is based on conventional understandings. Thus while it is significant that the ultimate fall of Madame Defarge occurs within a domestic space guarded by Miss Pross, the descriptions of her final moments preceding the standoff are tinged with a sense of sympathy and raise deeper questions behind her monstrosity. Madame Defarge's demise at the hands of Miss Pross suggests that the former's loss of femininity has rendered her powerless in front of the 'true' guardian of domesticity and morality, albeit both belong to the same gender.

> "You might, from your appearance, be the wife of Lucifer," said Miss Pross, in her breathing. "Nevertheless, you shall not get the

better of me. I am an Englishwoman.'

...

"I am a Briton," said Miss Pross, "I am desperate. I don't care an English Twopence for myself. I know that the longer I keep you here, the greater hope there is for my Ladybird.[81]

Miss Pross's self-referencing as an Englishwoman demonstrates her strong sense of national identity, hence foregrounding the superiority of English values over those of her neighbouring country in Dickens's narrative. It is also clear that it is her moral strength—that is, her virtue and loyalty towards her 'Ladybird' Lucie—that makes her triumph over Madame Defarge, whom she describes as 'the wife of Lucifer'. Yet it has to be noted that instead of giving Miss Pross a clear-cut success, she has to pay a huge price for it: she becomes deaf after killing Madame Defarge accidentally. Equally ambiguous in Dickens's attitude towards Madame Defarge is his depiction of her final 'walk' towards Miss Pross's apartment shortly before their scuffle, the narration of which centres on her past and what she might have been had she not grown up in hatred:

Of a strong and fearless character, of shrewd sense and readiness, of great determination, of that kind of beauty which not only seems to impart to its possessor firmness and animosity [...] the troubled time would have heaved her up, under any circumstances. But, imbued from

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[81] Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, *All the Year Round*, 30 (19 Nov. 1859) [from Vol.2], p.72.

her childhood with a brooding sense of wrong, and an inveterate hatred of a class, opportunity had developed her into a tigress. She was absolutely without pity. If she had ever had the virtue in her, it had quite gone out of her.

It was nothing to her, that an innocent man was to die for the sins of his forefathers; she saw, not him, but them.[82]

By highlighting that 'brooding sense of wrong' since her childhood and her 'inveterate hatred' towards the ruling class, Dickens suggests that her brutality is not innate, rather it is nurtured and developed because of the wrongs that the ruling class did to her family and the way they exploited the public at large. The 'opportunity' of making her into a 'tigress', meanwhile, could only occur in a society where law and order is replaced by violence; and where people's survival relies on irrational mass action on the spur of the moment. Equally important, or perhaps even more so, is the failure of Madame Defarge to realise the difference between individuals and the class to which they belong. Thus what she sees in an innocent man who is to die for 'the sins of his forefathers' is 'not him, but them'; and in her attempt to seek revenge against the 'class', she forgets about the existence of the individuals and the possibility of difference under this broad category.

As one who is often surrounded by fellow revolutionaries and her husband, it is significant that Madame Defarge is alone in her final moments. When approaching the apartment where Lucie is supposed to live, her tread is

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[82] Ibid., p.70.

no longer subsumed under the echoing footsteps that reverberate the poverty-stricken Saint Antoine, instead it is distinguishable because it is a 'confident tread' that illustrates the 'supple freedom of a woman who had habitually walked in her girlhood, bare-foot and bare-legged, on the brown sea-sand'.[83]

Original:

> Such a heart Madame Defarge carried under her rough robe. Carelessly worn, it was a becoming robe enough, in a certain weird way, and her dark hair looked rich under her coarse red cap. Lying hidden in her bosom, was a loaded pistol. Lying hidden at her waist, was a sharpened dagger. Thus accoutred, and walking with the confident tread of such a character, and with the supple freedom of a woman who had habitually walked in her girlhood, bare-foot and bare-legged, on the brown sea-sand, Madame Defarge took her way along the streets.[84]

Translation:

> With a pistol in her bosom and a dagger in her waist, Madame Defarge walked into the city with her head held high. Everybody who saw her felt startled and scared.
>
> 馬丹行時。胸懷短槍。腰插匕首。昂昂行市中。見之者無不震悚。[85]

The image of a girl walking on the brown sea-sand bare-foot and bare-legged

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[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, tran. Wei Yi, *The Justice*, 2:1&2 (15 Feb. 1914): 21 [from Vol.7], p.4863.

illustrates the difficult conditions under which she has lived ever since her childhood; at the same time, it invokes a sense of sympathy towards a woman who has never experienced true love and care. The nature-urban contrast, which is foregrounded in this passage, also points to an innocent, pure past that can never be retrieved. Such a victimised, helpless image of a member of the exploited class thus stands in sharp contrast to her public image as a revolutionary fighter, the portrayal of which is highlighted by her attire; her carelessly-worn robe, her coarse red cap and the weapons that she holds suggests that Dickens may have appropriated the image of the goddess-like figure of liberty in the famous painting, 'La Liberté Guidant le peuple' (Liberty Leading the People) by Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863), which was a commemoration of the July Revolution in 1830. In the painting, Liberty is personified by a bare-breasted female militant fighter, who wears a red Phrygian cap and is dressed in a loosely-worn robe; holding the French tricolour flag in one hand and a bayonetted musket with the other, she leads the people forward over piles of corpses.[86] The contrasting representations of Madame Defarge at the final moments of her life thus bring to the fore the central question that *A Tale of Two Cities* raises: Who is to blame for the monstrous actions of Madame Defarge, and by extension—the mob? The translated version, however, reduces the complexity of her portrayal and

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[86] Richard Wrigley, 'Transformations of a Revolutionary Emblem: The Liberty Cap in the French Revolution', *French History*, 11:2 (1997): 131-169. Roy Howard Brown suggests that the sexuality of Liberty has been toned down in the final version of the painting, though it is still evident from the portrayal and from the wounded rebel on the left that looks up in 'worshipful adoration'. See Brown, 'The Formation of Delacroix's Hero between 1822 and 1831', *The Art Bulletin*, 66: 2 (June 1984): 237-254. For a succinct introduction of Delacroix's art in representing the historical moments in his paintings, see Peter Brooks, *History Painting and Narrative: Delacroix's 'Moments'* (Oxford: European Humanities Research Centre, 1998).

eliminates completely the tension between her public image as a revolutionary fighter and that of a victimised, helpless member of the exploited class. For it only retains those descriptions that point to her masculinity and her violence—that is, the pistol and the dagger that she carries and the confidence that she demonstrates in her walking in the city; these changes thus take away that sense of sympathy which is evident in the original narrative, hence further dehumanising her in the process. By doing so, the Chinese translator has greatly reduced, or even eliminated, the inherent contradictions in her character, and hence too the deeper questions which the novel raises.

Individualism and Society

In *A Tale of Two Cities*, Dickens uses the life trajectories of Charles Darnay and Doctor Manette in London and Paris to foreground the differences between the values and ideologies in the two societies. Both Darnay and Manette are forced to stand in antagonistic class positions in Paris, albeit they are able to lead a private, self-reliant life in London. In Paris, Darnay is known as Charles Evrémonde, who is regarded by the masses as a public enemy because of his aristocratic origin, even though he has renounced his inheritance. In contrast, he succeeds in assuming a new identity in London and leads a self-reliant and private life as a French tutor. Likewise, Doctor Manette, who is able to lead a peaceful life with his daughter and friends in London after his unlawful imprisonment by the Evrémonde brothers, is forced to play the role as the figure-head of the victimised masses in Paris in order to rescue Darnay, although ironically, it is his note, which he wrote in prison and which is later read out in public, that emerges as the strongest condemnation against his son-

in-law. While their respective life paths in the two cities reflect the fundamental differences in the values that the two societies enshrine, Dickens also uses the life of Darnay to explore wider social issues in Victorian society, notably the possibility of social mobility in a society that underwent rapid change and transformation. By fashioning Darnay as a kind of 'self-help' man in London, Dickens is invoking the ideas of Samuel Smiles, who, as I noted in Chapter Two, propagated the notion of self-realisation and self-improvement in his seminal book, *Self-Help*, in a bid to encourage working-class men to pursue higher goals in life despite their humble origins.[87] Yet as with Dickens's other works, such as *David Copperfield* and *Great Expectations* which I discussed in the previous chapter, social mobility can only be achieved if existing social orders are not threatened. While David Copperfield can only achieve success through reclaiming his middle-class title, Pip realises at the end of the novel that his dream of becoming a gentleman can never come true because he can never change the fact that he is born into a lower-class family, thus he is constrained by the confines of social hierarchy from the very beginning.

In *A Tale of Two Cities*, the freedom which Darnay enjoys is also constrained by class: had he not received a privileged education as a member of the aristocracy in France, he would not have been able to pursue a teaching and translation career in London. In other words, the freedom which he enjoys in choosing his own profession and pursuing his preferred way of life is only possible because of his aristocratic origin. Thus while the life trajectory of

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[87] Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help* (London: John Murray, 1859).

Darnay underlines some of the fundamental values in Victorian society, notably individualism and self-reliance, it remains conditioned by the existing class structure, in that people who belong to certain classes—notably the upper and the middle classes—have more choices in life than those belonging to the lower class. More fundamentally, it also underscores one of the recurrent, implied assumptions in Dickens's works, notably *Oliver Twist* (1837-9), in that the 'goodness' as exhibited by those characters who come from a middle class origin is innate, and one which is often further developed and reinforced through education. Indeed it is this inborn goodness that helps Oliver escape from the snares of the thieves and subsequently assumes a genteel way of life, a life trajectory that stands in sharp contrast with Dodger in the novel. In *A Tale of Two Cities*, the life trajectory of Darnay in London attests to Mill's contention that individuality—which is the prerequisite to liberty—means that individuals should be free to pursue their own course of life so long as other people's interests would not be compromised in the process.[88] Such a focus on individual freedom represented a marked departure from the Chinese conception of individuals in the early twentieth century, when individual development and education was seen by Chinese reformers as a means for the people to acquire certain attributes so that they could better serve the state. In other words, while the focus of individual pursuit in Victorian society attests to the period's concern with what they perceived as the danger posed by an overbearing state power, individual lives in that specific Chinese context were often seen in terms of their relationship with the wider society to which they

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[88] Mill, *On Liberty*.

were expected to make a certain contribution. Seen in this context, then, it comes as little surprise that the notion of self-help and perseverance are also highlighted in the Chinese translation:

Original:

> In London, he had expected neither to walk on pavements of gold, nor to lie on beds of roses; if he had had any such exalted expectation, he would not have prospered. He had expected labour, and he found it, and did it, and made the best of it. In this, his prosperity consisted.[89]

Translation:

> Other than when he taught at university, Darnay lived in London and diligently earned money at anything within his capabilities. For England had a very limited speculative financial sector. Hence, while in other countries some might be able to attain wealth through luck, in England only by hard work and perseverance could one establish oneself.
> 達爾尼於大學授課之餘。輒居倫敦。凡力所能為之事。無不孳孳求益。蓋英國絶少投機營業。他國或有以僥倖致富者。若在英國。則惟勤懇耐勞之人。始有立足之地。[90]

By foregrounding those national characteristics of England which were different from other countries, the translator highlights those personal

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[89] Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, *All the Year Round*, 11 (9 July 1859) [from Vol.1], p.241.
[90] Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, tran. Wei Yi, *The Justice*, 1:18 (16 Aug. 1913):8 [from Vol.5], p.3468.

attributes which he considers as beneficial to the development of the nation as a whole, and which probably would be of much relevance to the social conditions in early twentieth-century China.

As I noted earlier, the juxtaposition between French and English societies does not imply any absence of class positions in Victorian society; rather, it is used to highlight the importance of illustrating those social conditions in which people who belong to different classes can co-exist peacefully (when it comes to class-based nature of society, Dickens is broadly speaking conservative). This aspect is further illustrated by Dickens's portrayal of probably the poorest English character in the novel, Jerry Cruncher:

> Mr Cruncher's apartments were not in a savoury neighbourhood, and were but two in number, even if a closet with a single pane of glass in it might be counted as one. But, they were very decently kept. Early as it was, on the windy March morning, the room in which he lay a-bed was already scrubbed throughout; and between the cups and saucers arranged for breakfast, and the lumbering deal table, a very clean white cloth was spread.[91]

Cruncher is a messenger of Tellson's Bank and an assistant to Lorry during daytime; and in the evening he digs out corpses from graves so as to sell them to medical schools in order to make ends meet. Although Cruncher is depicted in a comical light, has a volatile temperament and is involved with a

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[91] Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, *All the Year Round*, 5 (28 May 1859) [from Vol.1], p.98.

disreputable trade, he can still lead a self-reliant life through hard work. The tiny living space and the 'un-savoury' neighbourhood point to his limited means of living, yet the fact that it is 'very decently kept' with the availability of utensils has given the domestic space a sense of security and peace that testifies the Victorian ideal of domesticity. For a well-kept house by a virtuous wife can provide a refuge for men and children against the harshness of the world, without which a home will only crumble as is the case with revolutionary France.[92] The depiction of Cruncher thus demonstrates that the most effective way of supporting the less well-off members of society is to provide an environment in which they can lead a self-sufficient and a self-reliant life; by doing so it will not only reduce the chances of the lower class developing an acute awareness of class consciousness but it will also direct their energy to pursue a self-subsistent life instead of attempting any drastic move to challenge the existing ruling regime. The notion of self-reliance in Cruncher's case, as with that of Darnay, then, does not extend to aspirations for class mobility; this also attests to the fact that self-reliance in Dickens's works often refers to one's ability to support oneself in a given social order.

Putting the juxtaposition between the social and political conditions in the two cities into a broader perspective, what Dickens attempts to do is to warn the Victorian government of the importance of addressing the burning issues of the day and of responding to the grievances of the lower class, as the failure to do so would lead to dire consequences as had been evident in France. His awareness of the people's discontent in a society marked by class

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[92] Judith Flanders, *The Victorian House: Domestic Life from Childbirth to Deathbed* (London: Harper Perennial, 2003), pp.xix-lii.

antagonism and the danger it poses to the government was evident in his letter to Austen Layard 1855, in which he expressed his concerns about the lack of willpower by the government to carry out serious reforms and their failure in detecting the growing discontents of the people:

> [...] I believe the discontent to be so much the worse for smouldering instead of blazing openly, that it is extremely like the general mind of France before the breaking out of the first Revolution, and is in danger of being turned by any one of a thousand accidents—a bad harvest—the last straw too much of aristocratic insolence or incapacity—a defeat abroad—a mere chance at home—into such a Devil of a conflagration as has never been beheld since.[93]

Dickens's reference to the French Revolution not only reflects his anxiety over the 'smouldering' discontents under the surface calmness in Victorian England, but it also highlights the influence of the revolution on his political sensitivity. The image of a 'conflagration', which, as Dickens described, could be set off by the insolence or incapacity of the ruling class or by other chance occurrences, points to the irreversibility of the tide of events once the lower class's violence is aroused. Such an anxiety over the latent, destructive power of the exploited lower class is evident in *A Tale of Two Cities*:

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[93] Dickens, *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, Vol.1, eds. Georgina Hogarth & Mary Dickens (London: Chapman & Hall, 1880), p.392.

> In the hunted air of the people there was yet some wild-beast thought of the possibility of turning at bay. Depressed and slinking though they were, eyes of fire were not wanting among them; nor compressed lips, white with what they suppressed; nor foreheads knitted into the likeness of the gallows-rope they mused about enduring, or inflicting.[94]

Their 'eyes of fire', their 'wild-beast thought' and their 'hunted air' highlight the fact that they are waiting for the moment when they can seek their revenge and hunt down those who have long exploited them. The simile of the 'gallows-rope' once again foregrounds the class opposition in Paris, as the people can either 'endure' it or 'inflict' it on their enemies. The failure of the ruling class to detect the warning signs in society, as Dickens points out in the letter, is recurrent in *A Tale of Two Cities* and is directly commented on in the chapter, 'The Wine-Shop', in that it describes every wind blowing over France 'shook the rags of the scarecrows in vain, for the birds, fine of song and feather, took no warning.'[95] Yet in line with the pragmatic translation practices that have been explained earlier, such a figurative, yet politically-loaded, passage is deleted in the Chinese translation, as is the metaphor of the scarecrows, and hence, too, the political significance that is attached to them.

The bloodthirsty thought and demeanour of the lower class, as depicted in this passage, stand in sharp contrast with the representation of the English middle-class characters, such as Lorry, who embody the English values that Dickens supports; this contrast reflects the type of people Dickens believes

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[94] Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, *All the Year Round*, 3 (14 May 1859) [from Vol.1], p.50.
[95] Ibid.

should be given political rights—that is, the vote. Lorry is a respectable, trustworthy and diligent clerk at Tellson's Bank—which in *A Tale of Two Cities* symbolises Britain's traditional laws and customs; his allegiance to the bank—and by extension, the English way of life—is reflected by his commitment to protect its reputation and by his devotion to exercise his duty. Such a commitment is demonstrated by his decision to take a risky journey to Paris in order to bring back the documents from the Paris branch of Tellson's Bank to England during the turbulent period. Explaining his decision to Darnay, Lorry says:

> The Lord above knows what the compromising consequences would be to numbers of people, if some of our documents were seized or destroyed [...] Now, a judicious selection from these with the least possible delay, and the burying of them, or otherwise getting of them out of harm's way, is within the power (without loss of precious time) of scarcely any one but myself, if any one.[96]

Lorry's ability to get the documents 'out of harm's way' and the fact that he is entrusted with the mission highlights his reliability and trustworthiness. This emphasis on middle-class values, which permeates the three novels which I discuss in this thesis, is further illustrated by Carton's sacrifice for Lucie, a woman whom he loves but whose heart he can never win over. Carton, just like Miss Pross, is quintessentially English and an apolitical figure in the novel. He

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[96] Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities, All the Year Round*, 20 (10 Sept. 1859) [from Vol.1], p.458

succeeds in rescuing Darnay from the blade of the guillotine by carrying out his plan in private, one that involves his swapping identity with Darnay in prison; this thus demonstrates that only by pursuing a private and an individual act can Carton succeed in changing the course of events that is to be unfolded in public.[97] The power of this individual moral act, which arguably is the essence of the middle-class values which Dickens propagates, even has the effect of temporarily softening the heart of Barsad (who is a turncoat English con-man and spy and who later emerges to be Miss Pross's long-lost brother Solomon); this is reflected by the conversation between Barsad and a man standing behind him when they witness the passing of the tumbrils, in which the supposed Charles Evrémonde is there:

> "Which is Evrémonde?" says a man behind him.
>
> "That. At the back there."
>
> "With his hand in the girl's?"
>
> "Yes."
>
> The man cries, "Down, Evrémonde! To the Guillotine all aristocrats! Down Evrémonde!"
>
> "Hush, hush!" the Spy entreats him, timidly.
>
> "And why not, citizen?"
>
> "He is going to pay the forfeit: it will be paid in five minutes more. Let him at peace."[98]

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[97] Richard Maxwell also points out that Carton's atonement for the sin of the Evrémonde family and for his wasted life can only be effective if it is carried out in secret. See his 'Introduction' in *A Tale of Two Cities*, ed. Richard Maxwell, pp.ix-xxxiii.
[98] Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, *All the Year Round*, 31 (26 Nov. 1859) [from Vol.2], pp.93-94.

Barsad's appeal for the man to give Carton peace at the last moments of his life reflects his realisation of, and his sympathy with, the sacrifice that he is going to make. Carton's moral power is manifested in the last moment of his life, when he is able to create a private space for himself and for the innocent, unnamed young seamstress despite the fact that they are at the centre of the public spectacle—the guillotine. Such a representation finds much resonance with Charles Kingsley's contention that history is determined by great individuals instead of the masses.[99] When they are being sent to the venue, Carton 'has no curiosity or care for the scene about him, and always speaks to the girl'; and when the two are at the scene of the execution, Carton calls on the seamstress not to mind any other subject when they are awaiting their turn to be executed.[100]

Original:

> The supposed Evrémonde descends, and the seamstress is lifted out next after him. He has not relinquished her patient hand in getting out, but still holds it as he promised. He gently places her with her back to the crashing engine that constantly whirrs up and falls, and she looks into his face and thanks him.
>
> "But for you, dear stranger, I should not be so composed, for I am naturally a poor little thing, faint of heart; nor should I have been able to raise my thoughts to Him who was put to death, that we might have

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[99] Charles Kingsley, *The Limits of Exact Science as Applied to History* (Cambridge: Macmillan, 1860), pp.42-44.
[100] Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, *All the Year Round*, 31 (26 Nov. 1859) [from Vol.2], p.93.

hope and comfort here to-day. I think you were sent to me by Heaven".[101]

Translation:

Although Carton and the seamstress already stepped up onto the guillotine, they were still hand in hand. The seamstress said, "Because of your encouragement, I have been able to stay fearless and focus on Jesus, who sacrificed himself for the masses. Had you not been with me, ask yourself if I would have such determination. Probably because Heaven pities such a weak woman as me, it sends you to console me in the hour of my death." Carton said, "We both will soon escape from this vale of tears."

卡登及縫紉之婦。雖已登斷頭台。猶握手不釋。婦曰。吾得。君。勗。我。嘉。言。得以。至。今。無。恐。吾此。時。一。心。專。注。於。為。萬。眾。捨。身。之。耶。穌。然。君。不。在。吾。側。君。自。問。無。此。堅。決。之。心。也。意者。上天。憐。我。弱女。子。故臨。命。之。時。遣君。以。慰。我。耳。卡登曰。爾我。二。人。脫。離。苦。海。不。遠。矣。[102]

The private space that is created and the humanity that is enshrined through their mutual trust and consolation amidst the terror of execution and the cruelty of the female knitting spectators once again blurs the line between public and private spaces in the turbulent world to which Carton and the seamstress

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[101] Ibid., p.94.
[102] Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, tran. Wei Yi, *The Justice*, 2:1 &2 (15 Feb. 1914):27 [from Vol.7], p.4869.

belong. The translated version has largely retained the descriptions in the original text, yet it is significant that in Carton's reply to encourage the seamstress, he uses the term '*ku hai*', which is commonly translated as 'a vale of tears' in English, and one which is a key concept in Buddhism. Since its introduction to China from India in the first century A.D., Buddhism had attained increasing popularity, and by the Song dynasty (960-1279), it had assimilated with Chinese culture and became part of it.[103] In Buddhism, the world is seen as a place of suffering and sorrow, and followers believed 'there is joy in shedding this burden'.[104] While the use of this metaphor indicates the presence of Chinese culture in the adaptation, this trait is further demonstrated by the insertion of a commentary as narrated by the 'Historian of the Strange', which is a combination of Chinese traditional history writing (as discussed earlier) and that of the recording of strange in Chinese literary tradition.

Original:

> They said of him, about the city that night, that it was the peacefullest man's face ever beheld there. Many added that he looked sublime and prophetic.
>
> One of the most remarkable sufferers by the same axe—a woman—had asked at the foot of the same scaffold, not long before, to be allowed to write down the thoughts that were inspiring her. If he had given any utterance to his, and they were prophetic, they would have been these:

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[103] Yijie, Tang, 'Appendix III: The Entry of Indian Buddhism into China: The Merger of Two Cultures: An Outline' (tran. Hou Mingjun), in *Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism, Christianity, and Chinese Culture* (Washington: The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 1991)
[104] Edward Conze, *Buddhism: Its Essence and Development* (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1951), p.21.

"I see Barsad, and Cly, Defarge, The Vengeance, the Juryman, the Judge, long ranks of the new oppressors who have risen on the destruction of the old, perishing by this retributive instrument, before it shall cease out of its present use. I see a beautiful city and a brilliant people rising from this abyss, and, in their struggles to be truly free, in their triumphs and defeats, through long long years to come, I see the evil of this time and of the previous time of which this is the natural birth, gradually making expiation for itself and wearing out.'[105]

Translation:

That evening in Paris, those who had watched the execution said that before his execution, Evrémonde stood upright and stern on the stage like a god, just as in the Bible, where it is recorded that when the prophet met his fate, etc. The Historian of the Strange said, "When the ancient prophets prophesized the future, there was always someone to record the prophecy." We can easily find such passages by flipping through the pages [of the Bible]. Before his execution, Carton did indeed have prophetic power. If somebody had recorded his words, they would have been as follows: "I foresee that Barsad, Cly, Defarge, the Vengeance, and the other revolutionary leaders who use the guillotine to purge their enemies sooner or later will end up also being killed beneath its blade. I foresee that in France there will be real

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[105] Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, *All the Year Round*, 31 (26 Nov. 1859) [from Vol.2], pp.94-.95.

patriots who will restore order out of chaos and make it a prosperous country for all."

是晚巴黎市人之往觀行刑者。咸謂。愛。佛。雷。孟。臨。死。之。時。直立。台。上。凜凜。若。天。神。一如。二。約。書。中。所。載。先。知。人。就。義。時。情。狀。云。云。異史氏曰。古先知人對於未來之預言。曾有人為之紀載。吾人翻卷即得。卡登臨命之時。碓有先知之能事。果有人為之紀載者。大致必應如下所云。吾見巴爾沙特。克列。德勿拉士。温敬司。及他。革。命。首。義。之。人。創為。此。斷。頭。台。以。戮。其。仇。人。者。旦晚。亦。將。駢。死。於。此。斧。下。吾見。法。國。有。真。正。愛。國。之。人。興。起。撥亂。反。正。蔚為。全。盛。之。大。國。[106]

The fact that the hypothetical prophetic power of Carton becomes a real, supernatural power in the translation might stem from the fact that the Chinese translators did not fully grasp the grammatical structure of the sentence, 'if somebody had recorded his words, they would have been as follows [...],' and hence its meanings. It might also due to the fact that the translator tried to imitate the style of Pu Songling (1640-1715), who in *Liaozhai Zhiyi* (widely known as *Strange Tales from a Chinese Studio* in English), which is a collection of nearly five hundred mostly supernatural tales written in classical Chinese, referred to himself as the 'Historian of the Strange'. The collection, according to the author's preface, was completed in 1679, yet it was not until

[106] Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, tran. Wei Yi, *The Justice*, 2:1&2 (15 Feb. 1914):27 [from Vol.7], p.4869.

1740 that the collection was published for the public posthumously.[107] Pu used the title of the 'Historian of the Strange' in his interpretative comments to some of the tales, which, as Judith Zeiltlin argues, enables him to 'cross the boundaries between the factual and the fantastic, the historical and the esoteric, and subsumed them under the broader rubric of lived and imaginary human experience'. [108] By self-referencing as the 'Historian of the Strange', Pu is seen by critics as appropriating the title of 'Grand Historian' used by Sima Qian when he commented on his historical narratives, and hence suggesting the work is deeply influenced by the Chinese historical narrative style. Discussing the various interpretative paradigms that have been used to assess *Liaozhai Zhiyi*, Zeiltin points out that the act of recording the 'strange' has long been a constituent in Chinese literary history; she also notes that efforts have been made by Chinese critics to legitimizing the strange, so as to expound on its moral and didactic value, as well as treating it as the author's attempt for self-expression.[109] By giving Carton a prophetic power that is absent from the original narrative, and by inserting a 'Historian of the Strange' in the narrative, the translator has turned the narrative into one that imitates the style of a classical work that has long become a household name within the Chinese community since its inception.

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[107] See Victoria Cass's 'Introduction' in Pu Song Ling, *Strange Tales from a Chinese Studio*, tran. Herbert Giles (Singapore, Tokyo and Vermont: Tuttle Publishing, 2010), pp.18-26.
[108] Judith Zeitlin, *Historian of the Strange: Pu Songling and the Chinese Classical Tale* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993).
[109] Zeitlin, pp.15-42

Conclusion

The series of contradictions and contrasts which Dickens draws in *A Tale of Two Cities*, as this chapter has shown, were targeted at specific political issues in an increasingly divided society in Victorian England in both economic and political terms. The complexity of the novel is reflected by the intricate relationship between public and private, and the antithesis between the individual and the collective, which Dickens depicts, and is manifested most clearly, perhaps, in the tragic character of Madame Defarge. Yet instead of offering any definitive comment on the choices that she made, Dickens chooses to use the conflicted nature of Defarge's representation to highlight not only the potential destructive power of the working-class militancy, but more importantly, to alert the ruling class to the perils of turning a blind eye to people's sufferings, and of failing to respond to their demands. When *A Tale of Two Cities* was transferred from Britain to China, the specific historical condition in early twentieth-century China, and the particular publication avenue—that is, the political journal, *The Justice*—in which the prose fiction was first presented to Chinese readers, conferred on it a new political meaning, thus setting it apart from the politics that underline the original text, as well as contributing to the changes and transformations which the Chinese translator and editor introduced to the original text. The importance of examining these cross-cultural interactions at their respective historic moments, as with the previous chapters, also demonstrated the difficulty of transferring Victorian values to another cultural context that is removed from time and space. Complicating this is the fact that writers, intellectuals and politicians of the two societies at their respective historic juncture had different understandings

(or perhaps more accurately, different uses) of the Revolution and of its relationship with their respective historical development. This in turn led to changes in the way certain scenes, notably the demeanour of the mob when they resume domestic chores after day-time killing, were depicted in the translated version, and hence transforming the original politics that belied the original description.

This chapter argues for the importance of considering the original print contexts of a literary text; this is demonstrated not only by the influence which the political stance of a journal exerted on its targeted readers, but it is also reflected by the way in which changes in the 'paratexts', such as notes and subtitles, could affect—or in cases transform—the original narrative. The changes which the translator introduced to the original paratexts, as this chapter demonstrates, were in line with the pragmatic function which Dickens's works were often associated with in early twentieth-century China; this explains why there was an extensive use of notes in order to explain the revolutionary activities in France, or the geographical locations of specific places in London and Paris respectively. The metaphorical nature of the original subtitles had also been transformed into ones that captured, or summarised, what were to follow in the respective chapters. That *A Tale of Two Cities* is seen as a historical novel by the translator was illustrated by the extensive use of notes, yet it was the insertion of commentaries (especially one that was narrated by the 'Historian of the Strange') that most strikingly illustrated the presence of the elements of Chinese historical writing in the translated work.

Conclusion

I argued at the beginning of this thesis that it is important to examine the first phase of the cross-cultural transfer of Dickens's novels from Britain to China in its specific historic contexts, and in terms that would have been familiar to Dickens and his contemporaries in Victorian England, as well as to the Chinese translators and intellectuals in the early twentieth century respectively. The importance of doing so was demonstrated by the three case studies, each of which looked at the way in which different aspects of Dickens's works were re-rendered for Chinese readers by the Chinese translators; these processes of translating and adapting revealed not only the interactions between the two cultures but also highlighted the different social and political functions which Dickensian texts were expected to assume at that particular historic moment in China. The fact that Dickens was seen as a social reformer by Chinese translators and intellectuals in the early twentieth century made his novels, which often contained critiques of various social problems and phenomena of his day, a logical choice for translation at a time when prose fiction—especially translated novels—were seen by intellectuals as possessing certain social and political functions. The utilitarian value which intellectual communities attached to Dickens's works was reflected in the way in which the introductory prefaces written by translators to the translated versions, as well as the changes and transformations which they introduced to the texts, often became an act of foregrounding what they perceived as the 'documentary' nature of the works. Thus while Lin Shu's description of mid-nineteenth-century England as 'half-civilized' in his preface to the translated

version of *David Copperfield* would have been seen by Victorians as a totally distorted picture, it was in practice a means for Lin to advocate the need for reform in Chinese society, and to affirm the role of prose fiction in this process (he memorably argued in his preface to *Oliver Twist* that it was Dickens who, in his novels, had alerted the Victorian government to some of the social problems in society).

The influence of Chinese tradition and culture on Chinese adaptations of Dickens's works in the early twentieth century, as I discussed in Chapter One, is demonstrated by the displacement in the translated version of *Little Dorrit* of the vertical spatial configuration of the Marshalsea Prison, a built structure which plays key thematic and structural roles in the novel, by an emphasis on horizontality that attests to Chinese traditional architectural attributes. These changes have the effect of subverting the social values and ideologies which the built structures in Dickens's narrative purportedly embody. Such a reconfiguration of space in the translated version also demonstrates that Dickens's representation of space and place is culturally specific and historically contingent; the social values which he interrogates through his spatial configuration would only become clear if his readers had a certain knowledge of the specificities of the architectural attributes of built structures and the topography of the wider cityscape which he depicts. That the adapted Marshalsea Prison no longer images the labyrinthine city of London, but mirrors instead the gridlike structure of the city of Beijing, testifies to the difficulty of re-enacting the cityscape of Dickens's imagination in another culture where the cultural and historic contexts against which his works were read were no longer the same. These changes also highlight the fact that the

'translation' that early Chinese translators engaged with gestured towards an act of adaptation, in that the translated version was no longer a mere product of re-rendering the original in linguistic terms; instead it became an act of 'updating' that brought the original version closer to the target audience's frame of reference, but in such a way that some of the meaning of the original was changed or subverted. The intertwined relationship in early twentieth-century China between the practices of translation and adaptation—which in modern scholarship tend to remain two separate, albeit related, fields—suggests that early Chinese translations of Dickens's works were to a certain extent creative practices; moreover, one can only fully appreciate the nature (and indeed, on occasion, the politics) of that creativity by examining such cultural practices within their specific historic and cultural contexts. It was the Chinese intellectuals' (including translators') keenness on acquiring new ideas that led to their growing interest in translated literature, yet it was also because of their limited knowledge of Western culture and society—and in many cases, its languages—that they were required to use their own mode of expression in turning Western materials into a form that was both accessible and relevant to their targeted Chinese readership.

The visible presence of Chinese culture and traditions in the translated Dickens's novels was also illustrated in the Chinese translation of *David Copperfield*, as discussed in Chapter Two. I argued that the different traditions of life writing in the two cultures at their respective historic moments had contributed to some of the major changes that were made by the Chinese translators to the original text, especially those pertaining to the articulation of the self. These changes underpin the different cultural conceptions of the

relationship between the self and society in early twentieth-century China and Victorian England respectively. The emphasis on the self and the individual in Dickens's narratives, one which was a key element of inquiry in this thesis, attests to the Victorian period's concern over what many Victorians perceived as overbearing state power and its possible intrusion into individual lives; this also stood in contrast to the early twentieth-century Chinese conception of the self, where the individual was often seen in terms of his relationship with, and his contribution to, the wider society. Such a different cultural conception, as I discussed in Chapter Two, contributed to the fact that Chinese life writing was often used to illustrate wider history and cultural movements instead of articulating 'difference', as was the case with the writing of autobiography and biography in nineteenth-century Britain. Dickens's attempt to fashion his ideal image through appropriating the autobiographical form was made against the wider backdrop of a growing literary celebrity culture which, in the course of the nineteenth century, saw writers become increasingly aware of the importance of exploiting literary consumerism so as to boost their public image and the sales of their works. The fact that Chinese translators and readers had very limited access to Western materials (let alone the biographical details of Dickens's life), as noted earlier, made the novel more prone to different interpretations and framing; this was demonstrated by Lin's attempt to direct readers' attention to the social significance of *David Copperfield* in his preface to the translated version, in contrast to Dickens's original preface which hinted at its autobiographical elements.

The importance of considering the early Chinese translations of Dickens's novels against the specific political and historical contexts of China

became apparent in my discussion of the publication of *A Tale of Two Cities* in 1913-14 in a political journal, *The Justice*, in the aftermath of the Revolution of 1911. In Chapter Three, I argued for the importance of reading the translated *A Tale of Two Cities* in its original print contexts because of my contention that the politics of the adapted novel in that specific historic moment could only be fully understood if one was to take into account the politics of the medium through which the novel was first made known to the Chinese readership. The anti-revolutionary stance of the journal made its choice of publishing *A Tale of Two Cities*, which contains various images of mob violence that characterised the French Revolution in mid-Victorian writers' imaginations, a logical one. Yet it was precisely the journal's distinctive political agenda, as well as the translator's own worldview and understanding of the novel, which set the politics of the translated version apart from that of Dickens's original composition. Dickens uses a series of contrasts and conflicts in the novel to comment on contemporary politics, notably working-class conditions and the debates in the run-up to the Second Reform Bill of 1867. While he expresses concerns over the potentially destructive power of the working class, he also shows his sympathy towards their plight; the interactions, and often tension, between the two positions in the original narrative, however, was replaced by a much more straight-forward condemnation of the mob in the translated version through the removal of the various contradictions that characterise the original version. These changes, as I argued in Chapter Three, were largely influenced by the different political purposes for which the translated novel was used in early twentieth-century China. In discussing the Chinese adaptation of *A Tale of Two Cities*, I also examined the Chinese translators' transformation and

usage of 'paratexts' because of the instrumental role they played in enhancing the novel's relevance to the Chinese readers; this formed part of my wider contention that paratexts, as well as the medium through which a literary work was presented to the readers, all contributed to the way in which a particular work was understood and interpreted.

The three case studies which I discuss in this thesis all demonstrate the difficulty of transferring Victorian values, which were purportedly embedded in Dickens's novels, to another culture which had a different set of cultural conceptions and value system. Thus the key features of the Dickensian texts—such as his spatial configuration—often underwent changes, or were subjected to new interpretations, during the processes of cross-cultural transfer. This attests to this thesis's major premise that only by examining cross-cultural transfer within its specific historic contexts can we fully understand how and why the politics and values of the original texts were reinterpreted, transformed or even subverted.

The writing of this thesis coincided with the bicentenary of Dickens's birth year. Amidst all the celebratory events in Britain and abroad a surging interest in exploring the Victorian author's presence, as well as influence, in different parts of the world was notable. Corresponding with this is the growing popularity of the concept of 'Global Dickens' both within and outside academia.[1] The idea of the 'global' is closely related to globalisation, which, as

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[1] A striking example of putting the concept of 'Global Dickens' into practice was a 'Global Read-a-thon' organised by the British Council to mark the bicentenary of Dickens's birth on 7 February, 2012. During the Read-a-thon, people from 24 countries read extracts of a Dickens's novel in its original, English language, in 24 hours. For details and a short video featuring the event, see British Council's website: http://literature.britishcouncil.org/projects/2011/dickens-2012/readathon [accessed on 9 Aug. 2012].

critics point out, has as a concept been used to examine various socio-cultural and political phenomena. The term 'globalisation' has often been deployed to refer to the enhanced mobility of commodities, people, influences and ideas (a movement which often flows from the capitalist, urban centres in the West to the 'peripheral' developing world). It has attained particular prominence since the early 1970s in the light of a series of broad socio-economic changes that started to occur after the Cold War, though critics have argued that the very phenomenon has roots dating back much earlier than that.[2] Paul Jay, for example, argues that globalisation dates back to at least the sixteenth century, and encompasses the long history of 'imperialism, colonization, decolonization, and postcolonialism'.[3] Others have contended that nineteenth-century Britain stood at the centre of the new global order (and hence at the forefront of the globalisation force) because of its imperialist rule spanning over a few continents, its expansionist trade policy, and its 'civilising mission',

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While I shall discuss in detail of the academic work that invokes the concept of 'Global Dickens' later, the popularity of the concept of the global in Victorian Studies can be gleaned from the way it has been deployed in a number of high-profile conferences in 2012. For example, a conference, 'The global meaning of Dickens and "Dickensian" today' was organised in London on 8 Feb. 2012 as part of a travelling conference that commemorated the bicentenary of Dickens's birth. One of the panels in this conference was entitled, 'Global Dickens'. At the annual conference of the British Association for Victorian Studies 2012 (with the theme 'Victorian Value: Economics, Ethics and Aesthetics), a panel was named 'Global Value'. Meanwhile, a joint conference organised by the North American Victorian Studies Association, the British Association of Victorian Studies and the Australiasian Victorian Studies Association, to be held from 3 June to 6 June 2013, has explicitly chosen 'The Global and the Local' as its theme. I also need to acknowledge here that I had previously appropriated the term 'Global Dickens' for a paper which I gave at the travelling conference in London, a conference which has led me to reflect on my own methodologies and approaches, and my work's relationship with the 'global' turn in Dickens studies.

[2] For a discussion of the different meanings attached to the term 'globalisaion', see the 'Introduction' in *Literature and Globalisation: A Reader*, eds. Liam Connell and Nicky Marsh (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), pp.xiii-xvi.

[3] Paul Jay, *Global Matters: The Transnational Turn in Literary Studies* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2010), p.3.

particularly in the distant, colonial areas.[4] These expansionist and imperialist policies were spurred on by advancement in communications and transport, such as the 'new generation of inter-oceanic canals, steamships, and postage and telegraphic communications'.[5] While globalisation has been viewed by some as producing 'a form of homogenizing integration', others point out that it is but a utopian vision, not least because of the fact that recipient cultures are often able to retain at least part of their *differences* despite the force of globalisation. [6] It is beyond the scope of this thesis to engage in detail with the various debates about the notion of globalisation, yet its focus on the topic of cultural transfer across different continents clearly has implications for the current controversies and concerns surrounding a term which is closely associated with the 'global' turn in Dickens scholarship, and Victorian studies in general.

According to the OED definition, the word 'global' means 'relating to the whole world', or 'worldwide'; the very idea, then, implies a certain sense of universality. Tracing the circulation of a particular author who is seen as attaining a 'global' status implies that the author has a certain 'universal'

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[4] Duncan Bell, 'The Victorian idea of a global state', in *Victorian Visions of Global Order: Empire and International Relations in Nineteenth-Century Political Thought*, ed. Duncan Bell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp.159-185 (177); Anthony Howe, 'Free Trade and Global Order: the Rise and Fall of a Victorian Vision', in *Victorian Visions of Global Order*, pp.26-46.

[5] Howe, p.36.

[6] See 'Introduction', in *Literature and Globalisation*, eds. Liam Connell and Nicky Marsh, pp.xiii-xvi; Stan Smith, 'Introduction: Globalisation and Its Discontents', in *Globalisation and its Discontents* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), pp.1-23. Meanwhile, in examining the 'local' (Africa) responses to the forces of global mass culture, Ulf Hannerz writes: 'Local cultural entrepreneurs have gradually mastered the alien cultural forms which reach them through the transnational commodity flow and in other ways, taking them apart, tampering and tinkering with them in such a way that the resulting new forms are more responsive to, and at the same time in part outgrowths of, local everyday life'. See Hannerz, 'Scenarios for Peripheral Cultures', in *Culture, Globalization and the World-System* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), pp.107-128 (124).

qualities that have made him appealing to the recipient cultures. While there is certainly some foundation to this assumption, the findings of this thesis suggests that readers from recipient cultures tend to concentrate on those aspects of a work which are most amenable or adaptable to their own particular traditions, needs, or interests at a particular moment in time. In other words, when attending to the concept of the global in the processes of examining cross-cultural transfer, we should not lose sight of the *differences* between individual cultures. What is particularly problematic in the current 'global' turn in Victorian studies, and Dickens studies in particular, is exactly the tendency of subsuming individual cultures under broadly-defined geographical boundaries.

To date one of the most high-profile projects that seek to map out the global circulation of key authors is the 'Global Circulation Project'; its editor-in-chief, Regenia Gagnier, writes in the 'Introduction and Call for Papers':

> The Global Circulation Project is a global map and dialogue on how key Anglophone works, authors, genres, and literary movements have been translated, received, imitated/mimicked, adapted, or syncretised outside Britain, Europe, and North America, and, conversely, how key works from outside these areas have been translated, received, imitated/mimicked, adapted, or syncretised within Anglophone literary traditions. It asks, what forms of intertextuality, reception, etc. are generated through cultural contact?[7]

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[7] For more details of the 'Global Circulation Project', see http://literature-compass.com/global-circulation-project/ [accessed on 19 Aug. 2012].

This ambitious project seeks to provide a 'global map', as well as aiming to carry out a 'dialogue' between Anglophone and non-Anglophone literary traditions. Its intention of examining the various forms of 'intertextuality' and 'reception' can offer valuable information on the circulation of key literary texts in different parts of the world, yet it also raises some thematic and methodological problems, not least the potential of enacting two opposite worlds along broadly defined geographical lines that I have noted earlier. Methodologically speaking, one may well ask if a truly complete, global picture can ever be attained?[8] A closely-related question is that if any such kind of study could not help but involve selections and omissions, then under what circumstances can we claim the findings to be 'global'? More crucially, how are we to achieve a balance between the attempt to get an overall picture and the need to attend to cultural specificities and differences?[9] By raising these questions, I do not dispute the importance of what Jay describes as the need for literary scholars to take account of the 'transnational forces' that have impacted on the production and circulation of English literature. Nor do I want to diminish the value of various studies which scholars have undertaken to shed light on the publication, circulation and reception of literary works in different parts of the world (I myself, for example, am also involved with this kind of attempt to explore the reception of an English author in another

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[8] Juliet John also raises issues of completeness in global literary studies in her response to John Jordan's article 'Global Dickens'. See Jordan, 'Global Dickens', in *Literature Compass* 6:6 (2009): 1211-1223; John, 'Global Dickens: A Response to John Jordan', in *Literature Compass* 9:7 (2012): 502-507 (503). I shall discuss the two articles in detail later in this Conclusion.

[9] Issues surrounding attempts to obtain a systematic, overall picture, versus the examination of specific cultures, have been explored by scholars working in the fields of Globalisation and Postcolonialism. See, for example, Simon During, 'Postcolonialism, and Globalization: Towards a Historicization of their Inter-Relation'. *Cultural Studies* 14, No.3-4 (2000): 385-404; and the essays collected in Fredrick James and Masao Miyoshi (eds.), *The Cultures of Globalisation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998).

country). What I wish rather to argue, and to raise awareness of, is the tendency of the current 'global' turn of Dickens studies to focus on mapping out *general* patterns without paying sufficient attention to some of the intricacies and complexities in specific cross-cultural encounters, the understandings of which often require in-depth investigations into the very point of contacts underneath some of the conventional master narratives that often characterise East-West cultural interactions. A good example of exactly this latter kind of research is Priya Joshi's acclaimed study, *In Another Country: Colonalism, Culture, and the English Novel in India.* [10] One of the most frequently-cited books on the topic of the circulation of nineteenth-century British literature in India, Joshi's study is widely praised for her empirical research, and for her 'methodological clarity'.[11] What is most valuable about her work is the way in which she succeeds through her use of empirical research in providing an alternative narrative that sets her findings apart from the conventional, grand narrative about the success of British culture in India at the height of British imperialism; this research in turn centres on recovering details of the circulation of British fiction in Indian libraries and examining the way Indian writers 'claimed the English novel and produced it to their own ends'.[12] In other words, it is this culturally specific investigation undertaken against wider cultural and historic contexts that enables her to provide a convincing account of the influence of Indian readers'

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[10] Prija Joshi, *In Another Country: Colonialism, Culture, and the English Novel in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).
[11] Jordan, 1217.
[12] Joshi, p.xvii.

own tastes and interests on the circulation of British fiction in the Indian book market.

The increasing importance attached to the idea of the 'global' in Dickens studies is reflected by the publication in this bicentenary of Dickens's birth-year of the first book-length collection of essays under the title, *Global Dickens*. In the introductory remark to the volume, its editors, John Jordan and Nirshan Perera, argue that 'Dickens needs to be seen as a writer of global stature, substance and impact'.[13] These projected qualities of Dickens are explored by essays that deal with one of what the editors define as four aspects of his works' relationship with the idea of the global; these include the reception of Dickens in (mainly) non-European countries, his impact on writers from other countries, his role as an international traveller, and his handling of 'worldly matters'—such as the issue of race and empire. The editors clearly state that the reason the section on the reception of Dickens centres on non-European countries is because of the existence of a forthcoming two-volume edition on *The Reception of Charles Dickens in Europe*, edited by Michael Hollington. While this may be an understandably pragmatic decision, it is nonetheless striking that the editors describe the perspectives which the book seeks to offer as deriving from 'outsiders':

> The contributors themselves come from many different cultures, national origins and geographical locations, often from outside what one might think of as the Anglo-American critical mainstream. The

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[13] John Jordan and Nirshan Perera (eds), *Global Dickens* (London: Ashgate, 2012), pp.xv-xxix (xxi).

'outsider' perspective on Dickens that many of them bring is an important feature of this book.[14]

What this book appears to set out to do, then, is to recuperate what they perceive as the 'marginal', or the 'Other' voices in relation to Dickens's studies. Yet it is exactly this differentiation between 'outsider' and 'insider' perspectives, especially that between Anglo-American and non-European critical traditions, which raise some of the fundamental issues concerning both the purposes, and methodologies, in relation to the 'global' turn in Dickens's—and by extension, Victorian studies. I would suggest that the 'insider' and 'outsider' distinction is too narrow and simplistic a line to be drawn, given that in modern academia scholars from different cultures often learn from, as well as appropriate, different research paradigms and approaches for their own use. And if the distinction between mainstream and non-mainstream is mainly made along broadly defined geographical boundaries, it can potentially recreate the very antithesis between the 'Self' and the 'Other' in literary studies which such research aims to overcome, and one which, as I have also touched upon in the Introductory chapter of this thesis, has characterised the power relationship that has long been explored in Postcolonial Studies. It also risks subsuming the specificities of individual cultures under the broad totalising concept, that is, the 'global'.

The growing interest in the *general* pattern of Dickens's 'global' circulation can be gleaned from the focus of the essays that are organised under

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[14] Ibid., p.15.

the ambit of 'Reception' in *Global Dickens*. The majority of the essays have in one way or another sought to provide a general introduction to Dickens's reception in places ranging from Russia, Australia, China, Japan to France. Of course the restrictions on length have limited both the amount of details that can be put in to each piece, as well as the number of reception countries that are covered. However, it is important to remember that any volume that seeks to offer an overview, or which attempts to provide a 'bigger' picture of the circulation of works by a particular author, should be understood as providing provisional hints and information for further investigation rather than being treated as offering completeness. The problems that may arise with this over-emphasis on the global picture can be illustrated by two articles recently published in *Literature Compass*, both of which touched upon methodological issues relating to global literary studies. In his article 'Global Dickens' (which was also included in *Global Dickens*), and which helped launch the 'Global Circulation Project' in 2009, Jordan concluded by calling for a 'more systematic documentation and analysis' of Dickens's worldwide impact and circulation; in the same piece he also attempted to record some of the studies and work-in-progress projects pertaining to the theme, albeit he acknowledged that his list was 'incomplete'. [15] In response to the article, Juliet John argues that a better understanding of the global impact and circulation of authors 'depends on an acceptance of localised, relatively undisciplined knowledge'.[16] This, John further suggests, may require the academic to 'let go of a model of professional academic discipline' that often strives for the systematic and the

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[15] Jordan, 'Global Dickens', 1211-1223.
[16] John, 'Global Dickens: A Response to John Jordan', 503.

complete. [17] I am not sure whether the antithesis which John draws between the 'localised, relatively undisciplined knowledge', and academic discipline and practices, is really as stark as she suggests, or what kind of knowledge can be categorised as 'undisciplined'. In fact, I would argue that 'localised' knowledge in reality is integral to the academic discipline of literary studies, as Joshi's work clearly demonstrates. Yet more crucially, John's comments, and that of Jordan's article, have highlighted the potential danger of treating the concepts of the global and the local, and the types of research that are carried out under these ambits, as two separate, or even opposing, entities.

The idea of the 'local', I argue, should not be treated as a closed system that is immune to outside influences and practices. For cultures often influence one another, and it would be the exception rather than the rule to find any culture that can be isolated from the outside world. The cross-cultural transfer of Dickens from Britain to China in the early twentieth century has demonstrated that while the processes of translation and adaptation were influenced by Chinese cultural practices and traditions, it was Chinese translators and intellectuals' keenness on looking for Western ideas and knowledge to reform their country that made the initial circulation (and most importantly, translation) of his works possible. My emphasis on cultural specificities against a wider historical backdrop thus in a broad sense concurs with Sonia Massai's argument that the idea of the 'local' can be interpreted in terms of 'positions'. Calling for a rethinking of the global/local dichotomy, Massai contends that the 'global' is in reality 'a product of specific,

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[17] Ibid.

historically and culturally determined localities'.[18] What Massai argues in essence is that attending to local particularities is integral, rather than in opposition, to the 'global'. While her arguments are mainly made in response to various 'local' appropriations of Shakespearean plays, her call for a rethinking of the global/local opposition provides a useful reference for the emerging field of 'Global Dickens' studies. Instead of following the traditional East-West, centre-margin geographical boundaries, which, as I noted earlier, are implicit to 'Global Dickens' studies, she has opted for 'a mixed range of geographical locations' for the volume of collected essays entitled *World-Wide Shakespeares: Local Appropriations in Film and Performance*. The decision to put appropriations of Shakespeare from familiar locations in the field, such as England and America, alongside areas which are traditionally regarded as situating at the margins or the 'periphery', she explains, is intended to show that the 'instability, dissonance and oppositional negotiations over Shakespeare's work are a common phenomenon throughout the field, and not only at its margins.'[19] By invoking Massai's arguments in the current 'global' turn of Dickens studies, I aim to point out that cross-cultural investigations can be undertaken in various forms, and it would be conducive to a deeper understanding of such cultural encounters and interactions if one is willing to think beyond the confines of traditional boundaries. In fact, some scholars have proposed alternatives to consider cross-cultural relations. For example, Jennifer Birkett contends that one can consider 'humane globalisation' as

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[18] Sonia Massai, 'Defining Local Shakespeares', in *World-Wide Shakespeares: Local Appropriations in Film and Performance*, ed. Sonia Massai (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), pp.3-11.
[19] Ibid., p.9.

coming from 'imaginations wedded not to the monolithic, dominating blocs of old continents, but to the concept of the archipelago, loose-linked islands in an open sea.'[20] Of course Birkett's arguments may raise other issues, such as the destabilising of the idea of the nation-state and national identities, yet it is undeniable that views like these can generate different sets of dialogues, and hence contribute to the debates surrounding the idea of the 'global', and the meaning of globalisation in broadest terms.

One aim of this thesis, then, is to generate more critical thinking on the concepts of the global and the local in Dickens scholarship, and Victorian studies in general. The fact that the early phase of the transfer of Dickens's works from Britain to China occurred at a moment when the country suffered various defeats by foreign countries, including Britain, could easily be taken as another testimony of the susceptibility of the East to Western influences and power at that particular historic juncture. However, as this thesis demonstrates, while the wider socio-political and historical conditions played a crucial role in the early introduction of Dickens to China, a cross-cultural transfer is never a one-way transmission. For any transfer often involves an active participation by readers—and in this case translators— in the recipient culture to interpret, re-interpret and adapt the work (and the values that it purportedly embodied) under specific cultural and historic conditions. It is also important to recognise that the publication and circulation of Dickens's works in China was a conscious choice made by Chinese intellectuals at a time when they aimed to search for new ideas and knowledge to find a way out for the country. While in

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[20] Jennifer Birkett, '(En)countering Globalisation: Resistances in the System', in *Globalisation and its Discontents*, ed. Stan Smith (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), pp.47-69 (48).

some specific contexts cross-cultural transfer may take the form of dominance and resistance, in most cases, I would argue, cross-cultural interactions often involve constant negotiations and renegotiations between cultures. In the case of a transfer of a literary text, it often requires that people from the recipient culture find new forms of expressions so as to understand new concepts or ideas, and in the process producing their own meanings from the texts (and as my thesis demonstrates, certain aspects of the work might be transformed as a result). The early translation and adaptation of Dickensian texts in China is a specific cultural practice at a particular moment in China which sets it apart from some of the underlying assumptions of the idea of the 'global' that I have discussed earlier. At the same time, the fact that the Chinese versions of the translated texts neither erase totally the original, Victorian elements, nor make them into a complete replica of the original work, testify to my earlier assertion that a 'localised' practice could still in one way or another interact with outside influences and contacts. In this sense, then, the early Chinese translation and adaptation of Dickens's works contest any arbitrarily attempt to categorise them as either a 'localised' product that is detached from the outside world, or a broadly-defined, *general* 'global' phenomenon. This thesis, hopefully, can contribute not only to the current debates surrounding the 'global' turn in Dickens studies, but it can also lead to a deeper reflection as to how we can have a better understanding of the various cross-cultural interactions that have been—and continue to—take place.

於危地耶。此係公家贓璧。且此字尤不宜書之於此。至爲官中人所疑。汝何不思至此。此二人均係革黨語已自歸。店主人者名德勿拉士。年約三十。大有武人氣概。時雖嚴寒。但着半臂。髮卷曲而黑。亦不戴冠。膚作紫色。目光炯炯。似胸有成府。不易爲外物所動搖者。其妻曰馬丹德勿拉士。時方坐於櫃臺之後。年與其夫相若。目光四射。無論至微之物。皆不能逃其明燊。容色甚鎮靜。五官位置各得其所。其人雖安坐椅上。而飲者飲酒若干。應納值若干。瞭如指掌。又似極畏寒。故以重裘。頭裹艷色巾。耳上綴巨環。手上指環亦甚巨。常日惟編羊毛線作各種衣襪。此時置其活計於櫃上。以小籤剔其牙。方其夫自外入時。婦人佯爲不見。亦不與交一語。但作微嗽。其目本下視。此時略舉一二分。意似欲其夫徧視飲酒人中。有無新至之客。德勿拉士夫婦皆爲革黨其同黨之人亦時就飲於此實一秘密機關部也此婦人最有心機謦欬之間皆含意義德弗拉士會意。即四矚座客。見屋隅有二人對坐。一爲老叟。一爲少婦。餘尚有五人。二人據一案方鬭葉子戲。餘三人則倚櫃臺且飲且拍多密奴。亦博名類吾國麻雀牌　老叟見德勿拉士。即以目示意少婦。似謂吾等所欲見者即此人也。德勿拉士亦竊訝此二人不倫不類。何以至此。然佯若無睹。忽飲於櫃臺中之一人語肆主人曰。雅格。德弗拉士之別名曰雅格第四當時革黨以此命名者甚多也適酒筩傾潑於地。想地上餘瀝都爲若輩吸盡矣。德勿拉士曰。雅格然也。此人亦名雅格馬丹德勿拉士以後簡稱馬丹聞其夫與雅格互稱其名。又作微嗽。舉其目較前稍高。似戒其夫須注意者。乃德勿拉士未之覺。此時三人中之第二人又語德勿拉士曰。此間人窮困已極久。已不知酒味。彼等每日所啖者。黑饅首與窮病

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