The Reception of Jane Austen in China

Shuo Sun

Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

December 2016

Abstract

In China, Jane Austen is today widely acknowledged as one of the greatest English writers. Yet her literary reputation has altered greatly since her works were first introduced to Chinese readers in the early decades of the twentieth century. This thesis will examine and explain the major changes in the Chinese reception of Austen in light of the political, social, and cultural upheavals experienced by the country over the last century. The introduction will provide a historical overview of Chinese translation and criticism of Austen's novels. During the first half of the twentieth century, Austen was generally disapproved of by Chinese critics for restricting her writing to a limited social sphere and her fame therefore grew slowly. I will discuss the influence of Chinese political history on critical assessments regarding Austen's conservatism and realism. Following the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, Marxism came to dominate the literary and cultural scenes. As a consequence, some Chinese translators attempted to incorporate Austen's works into a Marxist canon, but failed. I will investigate the profound impact of the Communist Party's political campaigns on the translation and reception of Western literature in China from the 1950s to the 1970s.

However, since the 1980s Austen has enjoyed a rapid rise in critical reputation and popularity in China, with her six major novels all appearing in Chinese. However, there are presently significant differences in the reception of each of these novels. The six main chapters of this thesis will examine the reasons behind the popularity of *Pride and Prejudice*, *Sense and Sensibility*, and *Emma* and the relative obscurity of *Mansfield Park*, *Northanger Abbey*, and *Persuasion*. In doing so, I will explore Chinese critics' views of Austen's connection to feminism, conservatism, and romanticism as well as areas of literary debate in her time. I will demonstrate the radical changes in Chinese approaches to Austen's works in recent decades. This thesis also aims to compare the reception of Austen in China to that in Britain, and contains questionnaire and interview surveys that were conducted among undergraduate students at the University of Nottingham's China and UK campuses.

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I am truly and deeply indebted to Professor Josephine Guy and Professor Lynda Pratt for their constant guidance, patience, and continuous encouragement over the years. They have provided valuable and inspiring suggestions at every stage of my study, and I have been extremely lucky to have two excellent supervisors to support me. I am also grateful to Dr. Jonathan Roberts for introducing me to the reception study of British authors.

I would like to thank the University of Nottingham for awarding me a Vice-Chancellor's Scholarship for Research Excellence. This award has encouraged me to pursue my doctoral studies. I would also like to extend my gratitude to China Scholarship Council for their financial support.

My sincere thanks go to all the survey participants for sharing with me their experiences of reading Jane Austen. In the course of collecting the data, I received invaluable help from Professor Geoff Hall, Professor Leena Kore-Schröder, Professor Adam Rounce, Professor Nathan Waddell, and Dr. Simon Harrison. Without their help, the reader surveys in this thesis could not have been carried out.

I also want to say a big thank you to all my friends for the great times cooking, talking, laughing, and having fun together. Special mention must go to Pan Qiongyu, Lucy Fox, Cui Yaxiao, Xu Xiaofan, and Chen Yaoyao.

Last but not least, I wish to thank my parents for all their love, encouragement, and tolerance. Without their support, I could not have followed my passion for English literature. A special word of thanks also goes to my beloved grandfather, Feng Naigong, whose memories have inspired me throughout my graduate studies.

A Note on Translation

The English translations of Chinese sources contained in this thesis are my own, unless stated otherwise. The aim is to provide a literal translation of those sources, and occasionally some words, which appear in square brackets, are added to the translated texts in order to make them more complete and comprehensive. For ease of comprehension, when referring to Chinese books, chapters, articles, and films, I have translated all their titles into English. The names of Chinese people in this thesis appear in the Pinyin transliteration system, with the family name being regularly put in front of the given names. For English works that have been published in China, the translated Chinese titles are also given in Mandarin pinyin in brackets, following their original titles, in the relevant footnotes and bibliography.

Contents

Abstract i

Acknowledgements ii

A Note on Translation iii

Contents iv

Introduction:

An Overview of the Reception of Jane Austen in China 1

0.1 The Age of 'Global Jane Austen' 1

0.2 The Early Reception of Jane Austen in China before 1949 8

0.3 The Reception of Jane Austen in China from 1949 to 1976 42

0.4 The Reception of Jane Austen in China from 1977 to the Present 55

Chapter One

Jane Austen and Feminism: *Pride and Prejudice* in China 69

1.1 The Publication of *Pride and Prejudice* in Britain 69

1.2 The Early Reception of *Pride and Prejudice* in China 72

1.3 A 'Marxist' Translation of *Pride and Prejudice* by Wang Keyi 77

1.4 Chinese Interpretations of Austen's Feminism 83

Chapter Two

Jane Austen and the Reason-Feeling Debate: *Sense and Sensibility* in China 96

2.1 The Publication of *Sense and Sensibility* in Britain 96

2.2 The Metaphor Title of *Sense and Sensibility* and its Chinese Translation 98

2.3 Austen and Feminist Rationality 107

2.4 Money and Economic Realism in *Sense and Sensibility* 113

Chapter Three

Jane Austen in Translation: *Emma* in China 118

3.1 The Publication of *Emma* in Britain 118

3.2 The Early Reception of *Emma* in China 122

3.3 Literal Translation vs. Free Translation 133

3.4 Interview Survey.....142

Chapter Four

Jane Austen and Conservatism: *Mansfield Park* in China.....146

4.1 The Publication of *Mansfield Park* in Britain 146

4.2 The Significance of Space in *Mansfield Park* and the Novel's Early Reception in China.....156

4.3 A Conservative Austen: *Mansfield Park*'s Contemporary Reception in China 163

4.4 Slavery and Lord Macartney's Embassy to China in *Mansfield Park*.....170

Chapter Five

Jane Austen and Gothic Fiction: *Northanger Abbey* in China.....179

5.1 The Publication of *Northanger Abbey* in Britain.....179

5.2 The Early Reception of *Northanger Abbey* in China 185

5.3 Ma Qiaozhi and A 'Bourgeois' Austen.....188

5.4 The Contemporary Reception of *Northanger Abbey* and Gothic Fiction.....192

Chapter Six

Romanticism and Female Power: *Persuasion* in China 202

6.1 The Publication of *Persuasion* in Britain 202

6.2 A Comparison of the Early Reception of *Persuasion* in Europe and China 206

6.3 *Persuasion* and Romanticism.....210

6.4 *Persuasion* and Female Power.....217

Conclusion 225

Appendix One: Images.....233

Appendix Two: Questionnaire.....247

Appendix Three: Major Chinese Translations of Jane Austen's Six Completed Novels 261

Bibliography 266

Introduction:

An Overview of the Reception of Jane Austen in China

0.1 The Age of 'Global Jane Austen'

Today Jane Austen is celebrated around the world as one of the greatest writers in the English language. In China, she has enjoyed increasing popularity over the past three decades. All of her major novels have been translated into Chinese, and presently there are more than thirty different translations of *Pride and Prejudice*, which is one of the most widely-read English novels in the country.[1] Austen's contribution to the English literary canon is now commonly recognised among Chinese scholars, and consequently a large number of critical reviews have been devoted to exploring her life and work. In 2014, for example, around five hundred articles on Austen appeared in Chinese journals, covering a variety of issues relating to the depiction of manners, morality, marriage, education, gender, and class in her novels.[2] As will be explored at a later stage in this introduction, a considerable amount of critical attention has been paid to Austen's use of irony, and her novels are widely viewed as being critical of the prevailing values of her society. Recent years have also seen a rapidly growing interest among Chinese critics in interpreting Austen's works from a feminist perspective, and her representation of female characters has been extensively discussed.[3]

While literary scholars show the complexity of Austen's fictional worlds, various film and television adaptations have brought her to the attention of the wider public in China. Among the most popular adaptations are the 1995 film of *Sense and Sensibility*, the 1995 BBC production and 2005 film of *Pride and Prejudice*, and the 2009 BBC production of *Emma*.[4] Contemporary Austen-inspired books have also aroused great interest among

[1] The publication of Austen's works in Chinese translation will be discussed later in the introduction.
[2] This data comes from China Academic Journals (CAJ), which is the most comprehensive, full-text database of Chinese journals, providing access to over 7200 journals starting from 1915.
[3] See, for example, Qiu Yin, 'Jane Austen and British Women's Literature', *Journal of Shanghai University*, 6 (1996), 28-33; Pan Weixin, 'Austen's Portrayal of Female Characters', *Journal of Southwest China Normal University*, 4 (1989), 89-96.
[4] For ratings and reviews of books, translations, films, and television serials on Austen, see *Douban* website <http://www.douban.com/> [accessed 18 July 2016]. *Douban* is one of China's largest social media platforms that allow users to share book, film, television, and music reviews. It has more than 100

the Chinese reading public. Seth Grahame-Smith's *Pride and Prejudice and Zombies* (2009), for instance, appeared in a Chinese edition in 2010 and was well received.[5] It was the first 'mash-up' novel, which combines a classic text with elements of a fashionable genre, to be brought to China (see Fig. 3.1).[6]

Austen's growing international fame has significantly shaped recent criticism of her work, with cross-cultural assessment of her literary influence coming to be recognised as an increasingly important area of research in many regions across the world. The cross-cultural impact of Austen's novels received scholarly attention in Europe and North America much earlier than in China. *The Reception of Jane Austen in Europe* (2007), for example, aimed to offer a wide-ranging account of translations and criticism of Austen's novels in over fifteen countries across Europe.[7] Fast-growing interest in the cross-cultural influence of British authors in Europe during the 2000s helped forward the study of Austen's European reception. The book was published as part of a research project on the reception of major British and Irish authors in Europe, including volumes on Virginia Woolf (2003), Lord Byron (2005), Walter Scott (2007), and Charles Dickens (2013). According to one contributor, Isabelle Bour, the first complete French translations of *Sense and Sensibility*, *Emma* and *Mansfield Park* were published in Paris during Austen's lifetime, in 1815-1816, and her other three major novels were also translated into French during the following ten years.[8] The first German editions of *Persuasion* (1822) and *Pride and Prejudice* (1830), Swedish editions of *Persuasion* (1836) and *Emma* (1857), and a Danish edition of *Sense and Sensibility* (1855) also appeared during the nineteenth century.[9] Nonetheless Austen's literary reputation was established slowly in Europe during this period, with only a small number of critical reviews noting those translations, mainly in

---

million registered users with a large number of special interest groups involved. An online community of Janeites was launched by Chinese Austen fans on *Douban* in 2006 to share and discuss Austen related content.

[5] For ratings and reviews of the Chinese translation of *Pride and Prejudice and Zombies*, see *Douban*.

[6] See the front cover of Seth Grahame-Smith, *Pride and Prejudice and Zombies* (*Aoman Yu Pianjian – Jiangshi Niandai*), trans. by Yang Xiaohui (Hubei: Hubei Changjiang Publishing Group, 2010).

[7] *The Reception of Jane Austen in Europe*, ed. by Anthony Mandal and Brian Southam (London: Continuum, 2007), pp. 1-11.

[8] Isabelle Bour, 'The Reception of Jane Austen's Novels in France and Switzerland: The Early Years, 1813-1828', in *The Reception of Jane Austen in Europe*, pp. 12-33.

[9] See 'Timeline' in *The Reception of Jane Austen in Europe*, xxi-xxxvi.

the French and German language.[10]

In America, Austen's six major novels were all published in the first half of the nineteenth century. The first American edition of *Emma* appeared in Philadelphia immediately after its London publication in 1816. *Pride and Prejudice*, *Mansfield Park*, and *Persuasion* were first issued in 1832, followed by the publication of *Northanger Abbey* and *Sense and Sensibility* in 1833. However, Austen failed to attract much scholarly attention from American critics for many years after the first publication of her novels. In 1853, J. F. Kirk declared that Austen's works had not acquired popularity with American readers because of their 'narrow limits'.[11] Kirk, however, admired the humorous wit of her novels, which gave readers 'only such characters and scenes as faithfully represent the manners of the society in which she lived'.[12] In 1870, James Edward Austen-Leigh's *A Memoir of Jane Austen*, the first full-length biography of Austen, was published in London, and it brought the author to wider public attention both in Britain and America. Although Henry Austen wrote a short biographical notice of Austen when *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* were published posthumously in 1818, he only provided some basic information about her life.[13] *A Memoir*, by contrast, offered a more detailed description of the elegance and simplicity of Austen's domestic life. Austen-Leigh stressed that the novelist's mind was 'well balanced on a basis of good sense, sweetened by an affectionate heart, and regulated by fixed principles'.[14] The biography, as Kathryn Sutherland suggests, succeeded in connecting Austen 'with a notion of Englishness as with her art'.[15]

It is therefore not surprising that the last few decades of the century saw a notable increase in the amount of critical attention paid to Austen. In 1870 Richard Simpson, for example, noted Austen's ability to be 'an ironical censurer of her contemporaries'.[16] He

---

[10] Ibid.
[11] J. F. Kirk (unsigned), 'Thackeray As A Novelist', *North American Review*, 77 (1853), 200-3.
[12] Ibid.
[13] See Henry Austen's biographical notice in Austen, *Northanger Abbey and Persuasion*, ed. by R.W. Chapman, 3rd edn (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. 8. Although being published together, each novel uses different page numbers; further references to the text of *Northanger Abbey* will be placed within this thesis and abbreviated as *NA*, and *Persuasion* as *P*.
[14] J. E. Austen-Leigh, *A Memoir of Jane Austen* (London: Richard Bentley, 1870; repr. 1871), p. 196.
[15] Kathryn Sutherland, *Jane Austen's Textual Lives: from Aeschylus to Bollywood* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 66.
[16] Richard Simpson (unsigned), 'Review of *A Memoir*', *North British Review*, 52 (1870), 129-52.

compared Austen's writing to that of Shakespeare, declaring that 'within her range her characterization is truly Shakespearian'.[17] Margaret Oliphant also commented in the same year that 'it is impossible to conceive a more perfect piece of village geography, a scene more absolutely real' than that created by Austen.[18] She considered Austen's writing to be 'full of power, keenness, fitness, and self-restraint'.[19] In 1883, George Pellew's Harvard Prize dissertation was published under the title *Jane Austen's Novels* in Boston. Pellew declared that although Austen had 'no irresistible power to extort tears' in comparison with authors such as George Eliot, the former's humour and naturalness were admirable.[20] He also suggested that Austen 'anticipated the scientific precision that the spirit of the age is now demanding in literature and art'.[21] Henry James described Pellew's book as an interesting attempt at 'scientific criticism of the delightful Jane'.[22] James, on the other hand, admired 'the extraordinary vividness' of Austen's descriptive power and her 'unconscious perfection of form'.[23] William Dean Howells also held Austen in high esteem, claiming in 1891 that she 'was the first and the last of the English novelists to treat material with entire truthfulness'.[24] In 1892, J. M. Dent published the first collected edition of Austen's works in ten volumes in London, and later that year, a collected edition from Roberts Brothers, in twelve illustrated volumes, appeared in Boston, including also *Lady Susan*, *The Watsons*, and some of Austen's surviving letters. Austen's increasing popularity in Britain and America certainly had a positive impact on her reception in Europe. Reviews of Austen's novels began to appear in Denmark, Norway, Italy, and Spain during the 1910s and 1920s, and readers from a number of European countries, including Belgium, Finland, Hungary, and Serbia, could read translations of Austen's works by the late 1950s.[25]

---

[17] Ibid.
[18] Margaret Oliphant (unsigned), 'Miss Austen and Miss Mitford', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 107 (1870), 290-313.
[19] Ibid.
[20] George Pellew, 'Jane Austen's Novels' (Boston: Cupples, Upham, and Company, 1883), reprinted in *Jane Austen: The Critical Heritage Volume 2 1870-1940*, ed. by B. C. Southam (London: Routledge, 1987), pp. 176-79. Cited below as *The Critical Heritage 1870-1940*.
[21] Ibid.
[22] See Henry James's letter to George Pellew of 23 June 1883 in *Henry James: Selected Letters*, ed. by Leon Edel (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1987), pp. 189-90.
[23] Ibid.
[24] William Dean Howells, *Criticism and Fiction* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1891), p. 77.
[25] *The Reception of Jane Austen in Europe*, xxiv-xxxviii.

In 1940, the first feature-length film of *Pride and Prejudice* came out in Hollywood and was well received. However, most of Austen's novels were not adapted into films or television until the 1970s. In Britain, seven TV mini-series were produced based on Austen's work during the 1970s and 1980s, including two adaptations of *Sense and Sensibility* and one each of *Persuasion*, *Mansfield Park*, *Emma*, *Northanger Abbey*, and *Pride and Prejudice*. The 1990s saw a boom in film adaptations of Austen's novels, mainly in Hollywood, and some films also took their plots to the modern world, such as *Clueless* (1995), a modern American adaptation of *Emma*. These film and television adaptations played a most important role in Austen's rise to global fame in the late twentieth century. After the 2000s, Austen's life and work continued to inspire screen adaptations, which aroused great interest among Chinese audiences, notably the 2005 film adaptation of *Pride and Prejudice* and the 2007 film *Becoming Jane*.[26]

As a result of rapidly growing international interest in Austen's life and work over the past several decades, a large number of Austen societies and reading groups have appeared around the world to celebrate her enduring popularity. The Jane Austen Society of North America (JASNA), founded in 1979, is one of the largest and most notable groups of Austen aficionados, with over 70 regional groups across America and Canada. In the spring of 2008, JASNA's electronic journal, *Persuasions: The Jane Austen Journal On-Line*, took 'Global Jane Austen' as its theme, offering a great opportunity to examine her works in a variety of global contexts. Austen's critical reputation and literary influence in a number of countries, including America, Germany, Spain, Turkey, and India, were discussed. Her 'global inheritance' was also explored by several researchers, in response to her supposed limitations of subject matter. Susan Allen Ford, for instance, paid particular attention to Austen's reference to Lord Macartney's embassy to China in *Mansfield Park* – a topic that has aroused increasing interest among recent critics – which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four. However, the reception of Austen's novels in China is not mentioned in this volume. This might be because Austen's literary reputation, as will be explored in the following sections of the

[26] The influence of Austen-related film and television adaptations on the general Chinese public will be discussed further in the following chapters relating the reception of each of her major novels.

introduction, was not secured among the general reading public until the early 1980s. Research into the translation and criticism of Austen's novels in China, therefore, started later than that into the European and North American reception.

In recent years, a number of local Austen reading groups and book clubs for Chinese readers have appeared, mainly online, such as the 'Chengdu & Austen book club' on *Douban*.[27] However, national societies or associations have not yet been founded to advance the study of Austen's life and work in China, either for academic scholars or the general public. The most notable Chinese national association for the promotion of English writers is the Shakespeare Association of China (SAC), which was founded in 1984 and organises a wide range of Shakespeare festivals and stage performances.[28] It is therefore not surprising that the study of Shakespeare's reception in China has received more critical attention than Austen's. As early as 1996, Zhang Xiaoyang published *Shakespeare in China: A Comparative Study of Two Traditions and Cultures*, aiming at examining the adaptation of Shakespeare's plays into traditional Chinese drama.[29] In 2010, Sun Yanna published *Shakespeare in China* following further research into the Chinese translation and literary criticism of Shakespeare's work from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. Like Zhang, Sun took a positive view of the performance of Shakespeare's plays in Chinese theaters, which on many occasions have combined the original character and plot with the style of Chinese opera.[30]

An increasing number of books have been published over the last decade exploring the reception of various British authors in China, notably Tong Zhen's *Dickens and China* (2008), Ni Zhengfang's *Byron and China* (2008), and Yang Lixin's *Virginia Woolf in China* (2009). However, book-length critical studies of Austen's Chinese reception have not yet appeared. This is surprising considering that today the enduring and universal appeal of Austen's writing is often viewed as equal to that of Shakespeare in a variety of Chinese sources, including journal articles, newspaper articles, and blog posts. Western critics'

---

[27] The 'Chengdu & Austen book club' on *Douban* has 56 members at present.

[28] For more information on SAC, refer to *The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. by Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 497.

[29] Zhang Xiaoyang, *Shakespeare in China*: *A Comparative Study of Two Traditions and Cultures* (London: Associated University Presses, 1996), pp. 21-40.

[30] Sun Yanna, *Shakespeare in China* (Henan: Henan University Publishing House, 2010), pp. 45-71.

comparisons of Shakespeare and Austen have been frequently cited in those articles along with posts describing Austen's literary reputation in the history of English literature, which will be discussed in more detail at a later stage in the introduction.

The rapid increase in Austen's popularity and critical standing among the Chinese reading public in recent years has certainly played an important role in promoting research into her historical and contemporary influence in China. In 2011, Zhang Helong published 'Jane Austen's One Hundred Years in China' in the above-mentioned JASNA's journal, *Persuasions*. This article represents a first attempt at exploring the changing nature of Austen's reception in China in the past century. Zhang noted a lack of a thorough study of her Chinese reception but expects 'a burgeoning of Jane Austen criticism in the coming two decades'.[31] In 2012, Huang Mei published 'An Analytical Review on the Studies of Jane Austen's Novels in China', which gives a brief review of the translation and criticism of Austen's works in China after the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949.[32] Huang noted the 'rapid progress' Austen studies have made in China since the 1990s, suggesting that there are two main reasons for this: 'Partly due to the growing importance of doing research to teachers and postgraduate students in universities, partly due to the expanding influence of Western contemporary theories.'[33] He also discussed the influence of Western feminist and gender studies on Austen criticism in China in recent decades.[34] In 2013, Ye Xin published 'Wu Mi and His Teaching of *Pride and Prejudice*', which aims to explore Austen's early reception in China. He declared that Wu Mi, who studied English literature at Harvard University in the late 1910s, might have taught Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* in an undergraduate course on English novels at Southeast University from 1921 to 1923.[35] Ye also considered Wu's fondness for Austen's novels to have had an important influence on his student, Yang Bin, who produced the first Chinese translation

[31] Zhang Helong, 'Jane Austen's One Hundred Years in China', *Persuasions*, 33 (2011), 103-14.
[32] Huang Mei, 'An Analytical Review on the Studies of Jane Austen's Novels in China: 1949-2009', *Journal of Zhejiang University*, 42 (2012), 157-65.
[33] Ibid. Quoted in the English Abstract.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ye Xin, 'Wu Mi and His Teaching of *Pride and Prejudice*', *China Reading Weekly*, 17 (2013), 1-5.

of *Pride and Prejudice* in 1935 (see Fig. 2.1).[36]

However, most Chinese critics have not yet paid much attention to the study of Austen's reception in China. As noted above, recent research has mainly appeared in the form of journal articles, which either presented a brief overview or were limited to a certain period. In other words, the Chinese reception of Austen, both scholarly and popular, has not yet been examined in any systematic or large-scale way. For this reason, the aim of this introduction, and one of the most important purposes of this thesis, is to provide a historical consideration of the reception of Austen's novels within Chinese cultural and social contexts from the early twentieth century to the present day, through translations, adaptations, and critical responses to her novels. I will examine three major changes in the critical approaches taken by Chinese scholars in interpreting Austen's works, and consider closely the reasons behind these changes in light of the political and social upheavals. I will then explore, in the following six chapters, the differences in the Chinese reception of Austen's major novels.

0.2 The Early Reception of Jane Austen in China before 1949

As noted above, Austen's novels had been translated into several European languages by the 1890s. However, she had not been mentioned in any Chinese sources at that time. Austen, as Zhang Helong declares, 'remained completely unknown to Chinese readers for more than one hundred years after she published *Sense and Sensibility* in 1811'.[37] This is closely related to the social and cultural milieu of nineteenth-century China. There was hardly any cultural exchange between China and Britain before the early nineteenth century, mainly because China was largely self-sufficient in food production and the rulers of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912) had little interest in Western civilization or its advancement of science and technology. Many restrictions were imposed on foreign merchants and traders in China during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, notably the Canton System, which was established in 1760 to limit foreign trade to the single port of Canton. However, Britain and several other Western

[36] Ibid.
[37] Zhang, 103-14.

countries were keen to gain access to the Chinese market during this period because of the rapid growth in demand for Chinese products, particularly silk and tea. In 1792, therefore, Macartney was appointed the first British ambassador to visit the Chinese court with the purpose of negotiating additional trade rights for Britain. The Macartney Embassy attracted wide public attention in Britain, and as noted earlier, was mentioned by Austen in *Mansfield Park*. However, Macartney's trade negotiations failed; and in 1839, warships were sent by the British government into the harbour of Canton to legalise opium trading, which marked the start of the first Opium War (1839-42). China's defeat in the first Opium War led to the collapse of the Canton system and five treaty ports were forced to open up to foreign trade and residence.

However, trade disputes between China and Western nations were still not completely settled, and in 1856, Britain and France, supported by Russia and America, launched the second Opium War to gain more trading rights in China. In 1860, the year George Eliot published *The Mill on the Floss* and Charles Dickens published *Great Expectations*, China was thoroughly defeated. It then opened ten additional treaty ports to Western merchants, and Britain, along with the other three countries, was allowed to establish embassies in Beijing. 'Opium,' it has been argued, 'entered China on the back of a camel…It ended up breaking the back of an entire nation.'[38] The first and second Opium Wars are by common consent regarded as marking the beginning of modern Chinese history. China's military defeats in the wars not only forced the country to open its markets, but more importantly, forced Chinese intellectuals to face the fact that China had fallen from the proud position of one of the most advanced countries in the world.

Consequently, many progressively-minded intellectuals and young officers in China started learning to appreciate Western science and technology. In 1843, for example, Wei Yuan (1794-1857) wrote his *Illustrated Treatise on the Maritime Kingdoms*, aiming to provide a systematic description of the geography and history of more than eighty countries around the world. In 1867, the translation department of the Jiangnan Arsenal was established in Shanghai, and a number of Western books in the fields of chemistry,

[38] W. Travis Hanes and Frank Sanello, *The Opium Wars: The Addiction of One Empire and the Corruption of Another* (Naperville: Sourcebooks, 2002), xii.

mathematics, physics, and engineering, such as Isaac Newton's *Principia* (1687) and Richard Burchett's *Practical Geometry* (1855), were subsequently translated into Chinese in the following decades.[39] Western missionaries, such as John Fryer, played an important role in helping translate books and train translators for the Jiangnan Arsenal.[40] After the Opium Wars, Christian missionaries were granted the right to live and work in China, and as a consequence, several Chinese versions of the New Testament, translated by Western missionaries such as Josiah Goddard, began to be circulated around the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1856, Thomas Milner's *The History of England* (1853) was also translated into Chinese by William Muirhead, a British Protestant missionary.[41] The book was commonly considered 'the earliest Chinese version of a Western literary work', in which Shakespeare was introduced as a great dramatist.[42] However, book translation during this period was largely restricted to geographic, scientific, and religious themes. The literary works of Shakespeare and other major English writers failed to attract attention.

After the 1870s, several groups of Chinese students, sponsored by the Qing government, were sent to Europe to learn modern naval technologies. Studying abroad enabled those young Chinese to develop a better understanding of Western notions of political democracy and social equality, and some of them, notably Yan Fu (1854-1921), later became influential social reformers. In 1896, Yan translated T. H. Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics* (1893), introducing Charles Darwin's theory of evolution into China for the first time.[43] Darwin's ideas provided a persuasive ideological argument for Chinese revolutionaries' ambition to subvert the despotic Qing government. It also played a crucial role in paving the way for the introduction of Communism into China.[44] A

---

[39] The Jiangnan Arsenal (Jiangnan Machine Manufacturing General Bureau in full) was founded in 1865 with the support of several progressively-minded Chinese officials, notably Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang. It became China's leading manufacturer of modern weapons and military equipment in the nineteenth century.

[40] Alexander Wylie, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1867), p. 262.

[41] Samuel Isett Woodbridge, *Fifty years in China* (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee Of Publication, 1919), pp. 35-36.

[42] Quoted in Zhang, 103-14.

[43] Yan Fu studied naval expertise at the Old Royal Naval College in London in 1877-9. His other translated works include Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) and John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* (1859).

[44] James Reeve Pusey, *China and Charles Darwin* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 447-58.

number of Chinese scholars who made great contributions by promoting Darwin's evolutionary theory, such as Chen Duxiu (1879-1942), also became the main founders of the Chinese Communist Party in the 1920s.

The first wave of translation activities surrounding Western literature in China began in the late nineteenth century. Education abroad became increasingly available for young Chinese from the upper-middle class during this period. A number of Christian schools were also built in China by Western missionaries to teach foreign languages and cultures. A Western-style education began to be widely endorsed by enlightened Chinese intellectuals, and there appeared to be an increasingly strong desire among the general reading public for better acquaintance with Western culture and literature. Book translation, therefore, was extended to cover a wider range of interests at the turn of the century, with Western novels drawing particular interest from Chinese translators. In 1899, Lin Shu (1852-1924), along with Wang Taochang (1864-1926), translated *The Lady of the Camellias* (1848) by Alexandre Dumas and it gained immediate popularity among Chinese readers.[45] The book is commonly regarded as the first Western novel to be brought to China.

Lin Shu was one of the most prominent Chinese translators during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Although having no knowledge of foreign languages, he worked in close collaboration with several oral translators, including Wei Yi (1880-1930), Wang Qingji (1882-1941), and Chen Jialin (1874-?), to translate around 180 foreign literary works. Lin played a significant role in the high rate of literary translation during this time. Responding to China's rapidly growing mass market for books at the turn of the century, large-scale publishing houses also began to emerge, notably the Commercial Press. The Commercial Press was founded in Shanghai in 1897 and became a major publisher of foreign literature in the early twentieth century.[46] Lin and his

[45] Wang Shouchang studied French and international law in Paris in the early 1890s, and he was an oral translator. For more information on Lin Shu's life and translated works, see, for example, Li Lu, *Translation and Nation: Negotiating 'China' in the Translations of Lin Shu, Yan Fu, and Liang Qichao* (unpublished doctoral thesis, UMass Amhers, 2007), pp.35-36; Ying Liang, 'The Translation of and Chinese Popular Culture in the 1890s', *The AALITRA Review*, 5 (2012), 31-38.

[46] The Commercial Press was one of the earliest modern publishing houses in China. The Press's major initiative was to promote cultural enhancement and intellectual enlightenment, and by 1931, over 8000 titles had been published, including university textbooks, Chinese-foreign language dictionaries,

collaborators' translated works were mainly published for commercial purposes, and a large number of them were therefore brought out by the Commercial Press. The great commercial success achieved by those books was important in promoting the first wave of translation activities in Western literature in China.

The published works of Lin were mainly translated from English and French. A great number of British novels and plays, therefore, were included, such as Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), translated in 1905, Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) in 1906, Walter Scott's *The Betrothed* (1825) in 1907, Charles Dickens's *Oliver Twist* (1837-9) in 1908, Arthur Conan Doyle's *The White Company* (1891) in 1909, Henry Rider Haggard's *Benita* (1906) in 1912, William Shakespeare's *Henry VI* (1594-5) in 1916, and Henry Fielding's *A Journey from This World to The Next* (1743) in 1921. However, none of Austen's novels succeeded in attracting the attention of Lin and his collaborators. This is surprising, given that in 1917 Austen was mentioned by one of Lin's main collaborators, Wei Yi, in his *Brief Profiles of Famous Western Novelists*. Wei introduced the English titles of Austen's six major novels, noting that *Pride and Prejudice* and *Sense and Sensibility* were her best-known works.[47] The novelist's name appeared in this pamphlet as *Jiayin Aoshiding* – *Jiayin* is a transliteration of 'Jane' and *Aoshiding* of 'Austen'.[48] *Jiayin Aoshiding* closely resembles the author's name in its English pronunciation and was adopted by some later Chinese critics, such as Chen Quan, whose 1935 review of Austen will be discussed later in this chapter.

Wei translated around fifty works together with Lin, notably Dickens's *The Old Curiosity Shop* (1840-1), *Nicholas Nickleby* (1838-9), *David Copperfield* (1849-50), *Oliver Twist*, and *Dombey and Son* (1846-8). It is therefore likely that Austen was known to those early translators. Wei wrote in *Brief Profiles* that Austen, like her contemporary Scott, opened up a new path in fiction and a number of later writers attempted to imitate her literary style.[49] In spite of those positive comments, neither Wei nor Lin showed any interest in

---

translated Western classics, and various magazines. The Commercial Press had profound and far-reaching effects on modern education in China.

47 Wei Yi, *Brief Profiles of Famous Western Novelists* (Beijing: Popular Education Research Press, 1917), pp. 74-75.

48 Ibid.

49 Ibid.

translating her works. The early reception of Austen in China has not been much discussed by critics, most of whom have largely ignored her absence from the first major wave of literary translation before the 1930s. Zhang Helong is among the few modern critics to assess the reasons for the early Chinese translators' lack of interest in Austen, which he suggests might be because most of them were not specialists in English literature:

> Their choice of authors to be translated was usually made on condition that these authors were either long-established in English literature, or had just achieved great success at the moment of their translation. As Jane Austen was neither the former nor the latter, those translators and scholars paid no attention to her and failed to recognise the particular significance of her works.[50]

Indeed, an author's popularity around the time of translation seems have played the most important role in influencing Lin and his collaborators' choice of literary works. They were strongly interested in Haggard's adventure novels, which became popular in the late Victorian era, and translated around 25 works by him – the largest number of titles translated by Lin from a single Western writer. Doyle's detective novels, a staple of popular entertainment in the early twentieth century, also attracted much interest from the translators, with 7 titles having appeared in Chinese by the early 1920s. This might be because Lin's translated novels were published for commercial purposes and popular writers' novels were more likely to sell. An author's literary fame was another major factor in Lin and his collaborators' assessment of Western literary works. They published 5 works by Dickens, 4 by Shakespeare, 3 by Scott, 2 by Defoe, and 1 by Fielding and Swift, authors who had certainly secured a stable position in the English literary canon by the early twentieth century.

However, Austen started to be recognised as a 'classic' author in Britain, at least from the middle of the nineteenth century. A number of nineteenth-century British critics, including Thomas Babington Macaulay, George H. Lewes, and Richard Simpson, compared her literary genius to that of Shakespeare. Macaulay, for example, claimed in 1843 that Austen was 'fairly entitled to a distinguished and permanent rank among

[50] Zhang, 103-14.

classics'.[51] Margaret Oliphant commented, in 1870, that Austen's novels were 'of the class… which charms the critical and literary mind, and…have become classic'.[52] The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw a rapid rise in Austen's popularity. In 1890, John Mackinnon Robertson pointed out that at least three new editions of Austen's novels had appeared over the past ten years and that her reputation was 'steadily on the increase'.[53] From the 1990s onward, a growing number of Austen's novels appeared in Britain and America. In 1923, R. W. Chapman produced the first scholarly editions of Austen's major novels, which were significant in promoting 'the professionalization of Austen studies'.[54] I therefore argue that there are several other important factors contributing to the early Chinese translators' disregard for Austen.

Firstly, Lin and his collaborators' assessment of Austen's novels could have been influenced by the gender of the author. They seemed to be much more interested in male rather than female writers. In 'Recasting Lin Shu: A Cultural Approach to Literary Translation' (2003), Gao Wanlong offers an overview of the main publications of translated literary works in early twentieth-century China: as noted above, Lin was the most prolific translator, introducing around 180 titles into Chinese; Bao Tianxiao (1876-1973) translated around 80 works, Zhou Shoujuan (1895-1968) 30 works, Zhou Guisheng (1873-1936) 21 works, Wu Tao (?-1912) 20 works, and Wu Jianguang (1866-1943) 8 works.[55] As shown above, all of the major literary translators at that time were male. As a result of male privilege in higher education in China during this period, translated books also mainly targeted male readers. Moreover, fiction had been the territory of men in China up until the twentieth century, with female novelists being rarely known. It would be unsurprising, therefore, for the major translators to have held female authors in contempt. Lin's 'endorsement of the constitutional Qing monarchy and his conservative attitude to the New Culture Movement' also indicates that he most likely adopted a

[51] Thomas Babington Macaulay, 'The Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay', *Edinburgh Review*, 76 (1843), 523-70 (p. 561).
[52] Oliphant, 290-313.
[53] John Mackinnon Robertson, 'Jane Austen' (1890), quoted in *Criticism*, 1 (1902), 21-27; reprinted in *The Critical Heritage 1870-1940*, pp. 191-98.
[54] Sutherland, p. 23.
[55] Gao Wanlong, 'Recasting Lin Shu: A Cultural Approach to Literary Translation' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Griffith University, 2003), p. 153.

conventional attitude towards female authorship and gender issues.[56] Almost all major women novelists in English, including Fanny Burney, Maria Edgeworth, Mary Shelley, Elizabeth Gaskell, Charlotte Brontë, George Eliot, and Virginia Woolf, were excluded from the first wave of translation activities before the 1920s.

Only a few of the novels by female authors succeeded in stimulating the interest of Lin and his collaborators, out of which Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) was the most famous among Chinese readers. This book, however, concerns itself more closely with the harsh life of enslaved African Americans rather than women in the nineteenth century. The anti-slavery theme in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* played a crucial role in Lin's preference for it. He translated it in 1901, the year China was defeated again by Western powers and signed the humiliating Treaty of 1901. Lin declared in his translator's note that the suffering of black slaves depicted in the novel reminded him of the present threat faced by the 'yellow race' from Western imperialism.[57] He also rendered the novel's title in Chinese as *Heinu Yutian Lu* (*Record of the Unjust Treatments of Slaves*) to highlight its political significance.

By contrast, Austen rarely made explicit mention of the political and historical events of her time, notably the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars. Austen famously spoke of her own fiction as fine brushwork on that 'little bit (two Inches wide) of Ivory'.[58] Her life, as previously mentioned, was also described by Austen-Leigh in *A Memoir* as being 'domestic' and 'uneventful', with the opening paragraph of this biography stating: 'Of events her life was singularly barren: few changes and no great crisis ever broke the smooth current of its course.'[59] It is therefore unsurprising that the view of Austen as a conservative advocate of the existing orthodoxies, as will be shown below, was dominant in Britain for a long period since her novels first appeared. I argue that we can gain some insight into early twentieth-century Chinese translators' disregard

[56] Gao, ii. The New Culture Movement and its influence on literary translation in China will be discussed later in the introduction.
[57] Xia Xiaohong, 'Ms. Picha and Mrs. Stowe', in *Translation and Creation: Readings of Western Literature in Early Modern China, 1840-1918*, ed. by David E. Pollard (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1998), pp. 241-51.
[58] See Austen's letter to Austen-Leigh of 16 December 1816, in *Jane Austen's Letters to Her Sister Cassandra and Others*, ed. by R. W. Chapman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 469. Cited below as *Austen's Letters*.
[59] Austen-Leigh, p. 1.

for Austen by looking at her critical reception in nineteenth-century Britain and America, which most likely had a great influence on her early reputation in China.

As Claudia L. Johnson suggests, although fiction writing was no longer the sole territory of men in nineteenth-century Britain, critics still made 'a fairly rigid distinction between the "male" and the "female" novel'.[60] As a consequence, Austen's 'conservatism' received both praise and criticism during the nineteenth century. Walter Scott's 1816 assessment of *Emma* for the *Quarterly Review,* the leading Tory journal, was the first major critical review of Austen's novels. Scott distinguished Austen's fiction from 'the old romances' and celebrated her capability in presenting human feelings and relationships.[61] He praised her writing as 'the art of copying from nature as she really exists in the common walks of life'.[62] Yet Scott also pointed out the restricted scope of Austen's works: 'Her most distinguished characters do not rise greatly above well-bred country gentlemen and ladies.'[63] In July of that year, the *British Critic*, another influential conservative journal, described *Emma* as 'an amusing, inoffensive and well principled novel'.[64] The reviewer claimed that 'of fanatical novels and fanatical authoresses we are already sick', and *Emma* was praised for not dabbling in religion.[65] 'Fanatical authoresses' alluded to women authors who were keenly interested in social and political issues. They were severely criticised by conservative writers at that time, and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Two. The *British Critic* certainly regarded Austen's work as belonging to the 'conservative' group.

In 1821, Richard Whately praised Austen for being a modest and subtle Christian writer.[66] He had a high opinion of Austen's novels, commenting that she conducted conversations with 'a regard to character hardly exceeded even by Shakspeare [sic] himself'.[67] Whately was one of the earliest critics to link Austen's name with

---

[60] Claudia L. Johnson, *Jane Austen: Women, Politics, and the Novel* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), xiv.
[61] Walter Scott (unsigned), 'Review of *Emma*', *Quarterly Review*, 14 (1816), 188–201.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.
[64] [Notice of *Emma*], *British Critic*, 6 (1816), 96-98.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Richard Whately (unsigned), 'Review of *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion*', *Quarterly Review*, 24 (1821), 352-76.
[67] Ibid.

Shakespeare's. He also admired Austen's works for providing an insight into 'the mysteries of womanhood'.[68] However, Whately certainly made a clear distinction between men's and women's fiction, noting that the greatest merit of Austen's work was a concentration on entertainment rather than social and political issues.[69] According to Whately, the moral teachings of Austen's novels were 'not offensively put forward', and therefore could 'safely be recommended'.[70] Whately started 'a tradition of praising Austen for what she does not do'.[71] Two years later, in 1823, an anonymous reviewer in the *Retrospective Review* praised Austen for having 'no ambition of being amazingly facetious, or remarkably brilliant,—laboriously witty, or profoundly sentimental', and imagined her to be 'a fragile, delicate, feeble, and most feminine woman'.[72] In 1830, Thomas Henry Lister expressed admiration for Austen's subtle ironic style: 'She…seldom launched the shafts of direct satire; but she made us equally sensible of the absurdity or unreasonableness which she wished to expose.'[73] Lister also noted 'the purest morality, and most undeviating good sense' in her fiction.[74] In 1833, Allan Cunningham's review of Austen in the *Athenaeum* echoed Whately's remarks on the novelist's prudence and her rejection of 'romantic attachments and sentimental associations'.[75]

Thomas Babington Macaulay and George Henry Lewes are among the best-known nineteenth-century critics who have ranked Austen with Shakespeare. In 1843, Macaulay claimed that Austen 'approached nearest to the manner of' Shakespeare's characterization.[76] 'She has given us a multitude of characters,' Macaulay wrote, 'all in a certain sense, common place…Yet they are all as perfectly discriminated from each other as if they were the most eccentric of human beings.'[77] Four years later, in 1847, Macaulay's comparison between Austen and Shakespeare was noted in Lewes's 'Recent

---

[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Johnson, xv.
[72] 'Review of *Life and Adventure of Peter Wilkins*', *Retrospective Review*, 7 (1823), 131-35.
[73] Thomas Henry Lister (unsigned), 'Review of *Women as they are*', *Edinburgh Review*, 53 (1830), 448-51.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Allan Cunningham (unsigned), 'Biographical and Critical History of the Literature of the Last Fifty Years', *Athenaeum*, 313 (1833), 713-894.
[76] Macaulay, 523-70.
[77] Ibid.

Novels: French and English'. Lewes called Austen 'a prose Shakespeare', declaring that 'her marvellous dramatic power, seems more than anything in Scott akin to the greatest quality in Shakespeare'.[78] In 1852, Lewes discussed Austen's fiction again in 'The Lady Novelists' and referred to the limitation of her range – 'There are worlds of passionate existence in which she has never set foot'.[79] However, he insisted on considering Austen 'the greatest artist that has ever written', describing her fictional world as 'a perfect orb'.[80] 'Life,' he wrote, 'as it presents itself to an English gentlewoman peacefully yet actively engaged in her quiet village, is mirrored in her works with a purity and fidelity that must endow them with interest for all time.'[81] Lewes' reviews certainly played an important role in helping establish Austen's literary reputation during the nineteenth century, but the terms he adopted to describe Austen, such as 'perfect', 'peaceful', and 'purity', are essentially feminine and passive. It is therefore less surprising that when he recommended Austen's novels to Charlotte Brontë, the latter replied in a letter of 1848: 'I should hardly like to live with her ladies and gentlemen, in their elegant but confined houses.'[82]

The nineteenth century saw a significant increase in the rate of female literacy, and as a consequence, many female novelists became prominent contributors to the literary canon, notably the Brontë sisters, Elizabeth Gaskell, and George Eliot. Compared to Austen's comedy of provincial middle-class life, these later female authors tended to explore human experiences in a broader social and historical context. Among them, Charlotte Brontë is known for her particularly critical attitude towards Austen, describing her as a 'shrewd and observant' middle-class woman whose view remained largely limited by her 'mild eyes'.[83] After reading *Pride and Prejudice*, Brontë criticised its lack of 'open country' and 'fresh air', concluding that Austen could not be a great artist.[84] In 1866, a comparison between Austen and Brontë was made in the *Englishwoman's*

[78] George Henry Lewes (unsigned), 'Recent Novels: French and English', *Fraser's Magazine*, 36 (1847), 686-95.
[79] George Henry Lewes (unsigned), 'The Lady Novelists', *Westminster Review*, 58 (1852), 129-40.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.
[82] See Charlotte Brontë's letter to Lewes of 12 January 1848, in *Selected Letters of Charlotte Brontë*, ed. by Margaret Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 98-99.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.

Domestic Magazine, in which Brontë's fiction was described as being 'rough, and strong, and passionate' while Austen's was 'refined, genteel, and little given to the exhibition of emotion'.[85] The anonymous reviewer criticised Austen's 'genteel comedy' for failing to 'call forth the display of strong mental struggles with passion and religion ending in the triumph of virtue'.[86] Yet the reviewer also pointed out that her art was 'almost perfect in its development' within her range, noting Scott and Lewes' praise of her.[87] Emma S. Dallas compared Austen and George Eliot in the same year, suggesting that Eliot should be placed in a higher position among women novelists because she aimed 'to set forth the issues of a more tumultuous life, to work out deeper problems, and to play with torrents where Miss Austen played with rills'.[88] According to Dallas, Austen could hardly ever get beyond 'the humdrum of easy-going respectable life'.[89]

Austen's image as 'the inculcator of an elegant morality' was strengthened by the publication of Austen-Leigh's *A Memoir* in 1870.[90] As noted earlier, Austen-Leigh's description of the conventional domestic life of 'dear Aunt Jane' in his biography did succeed in protecting her reputation as a lady-like author. However, it also confirmed the Victorian readers' prevailing view about her isolation from the revolutionary era she lived in. Therefore, five years later, when Austen Dobson published *The Civil Service Handbook of English Literature* (1874), he described Austen's life as making 'more wonderful the genius of the quiet and placid clergyman's daughter, who, [lived] in the retirement of a secluded rural parsonage and a remote rural home'.[91] In 1891, W. B. Shubrick Clymer suggested that although being 'provincial' was Austen's limitation, her greatest merit lay in the recognition of that limitation.[92] According to Clymer, it was exactly because of Austen's concentration on the social world she lived in that she became 'the finest artist'.[93] However, for Arnold Bennett, Austen 'did not know enough

---

[85] 'Miss Austen', *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, 3rd series, 2 (1866), 238–9, 278–82.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.
[88] E. S. Dallas (unsigned), 'Review of George Eliot's *Felix Holt, the Radical*', *The Times*, 26 June 1866, p. 6.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Austen Dobson, *The Civil Service Handbook of English Literature* (London: Lockwood & Company, 1874), p. 184.
[92] W. B. Shubrick Clymer, 'A Note on Jane Austen', *Scribner's Magazine*, 9 (1891), 377-85.
[93] Ibid.

of the world to be a great novelist'.[94] 'Her world is a tiny world,' he wrote in 1927, 'and even of that tiny world she ignores, consciously or unconsciously, the fundamental factors.'[95] Bennett argued that Austen 'knew her place' and did not have 'the ambition to be a great novelist'.[96]

These various critical assessments of Austen's 'conservatism' help to explain why Virginia Woolf considered her to be 'the most difficult to catch in the act of greatness' of all great writers.[97] Yet Woolf, unlike Charlotte Brontë, had admiration and sympathy for Austen. In *A Room of One's Own* (1929), Woolf wrote: 'Here was a woman about the year 1800 writing without hate, without bitterness, without fear, without protest, without preaching. That was how Shakespeare wrote.'[98] That is high praise indeed for Austen. Woolf also suggested that the limited scope of Austen's works was a result of the narrow range of female life during the eighteenth century: 'It was impossible for a woman to go about alone. She never travelled; she never drove through London in an omnibus or had luncheon in a shop by herself.'[99] However, the following sentence — 'but perhaps it was the nature of Jane Austen not to want what she had not' — suggests that Woolf's reading of Austen was not much different from that of Lewes.[100] Although Woolf admired 'the imagination, the penetration, the insight, the courage, the sincerity' of Austen, she considered the novelist's writing to rarely extend beyond the scope of a 'placid clergyman's daughter'.[101] It therefore seems unlikely that she would associate Austen with terms such as 'subversive', 'rebellious', or 'feminist', as modern critics have done.

The critical reception of Austen in Britain and America during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries certainly had a powerful influence on her early reputation in China. As mentioned above, assessments regarding Austen's limited sphere of writing and conservative social attitudes tended to convince early Chinese translators of her

---

[94] Arnold Bennett, *Arnold Bennett: The 'Evening Standard' Years: 'Books and Persons' 1926-1931*, ed. by Andrew Mylett (Hamden: Archon, 1974), p. 68.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Patrice Hannon, *Dear Jane Austen: A Heroine's Guide to Life and Love* (New York: Penguin, 2006), xiii.
[98] Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own and Three Guineas*, ed. by Anna Snaith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 51.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid.

inability to produce first-rate novels, as her male contemporaries did. Although a number of British critics, such as Scott, Macaulay, and Lewes, held a high view of her writing, their praise mainly focused on her fidelity to everyday life. It would thus be unsurprising for Lin and his collaborators to consider her fictional worlds unexciting and confined. In *Brief Profiles* (1917), Wei also introduced Austen as being best-known for depicting the 'trivia of everyday life'.[102] Wei's comments are regarded by some modern critics, such as Zhang Helong, as the first known mention of Austen in Chinese sources.

In 2013, however, Ye Xin published 'Wu Mi and His Teaching of *Pride and Prejudice*', which suggests that Austen and her novel *Emma* might have been referred to as early as 1908 in Lin Ruyao's *A Guide to Studying Abroad in Scotland*.[103] In his book, Lin Ruyao shared his experiences of studying in Scotland and also offered an overview of UK undergraduate degree courses.[104] He wrote that students who wanted to take part in the preliminary examination in English Literature at the Scottish universities (i.e. in 1907) were required to read Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream* [sic], Miss Fusten's *Emma* [sic], Palgrave's *Golden Treasury* [sic], and Carlyle's *Hero and Hero Worship* [sic]'.[105] Ye argued that 'Fusten' was a spelling mistake for 'Austen' because there was no other known literary work entitled *Emma* appearing in Britain in this period.[106] It is now difficult to confirm the exact reading list more than one hundred years after the publication of *A Guide*, but Ye's opinion certainly seems reasonable considering Austen's fame and popularity in Britain by the 1910s. For example, Margaret Oliphant observed in 1870 that 'it is now the duty of every student of recent English literature to be more or less acquainted with' Austen's novels.[107] Moreover, it is common to find spelling mistakes of foreign authors' names and book titles in Chinese books of this period. As shown above, the English titles of the other three works in *A Guide* were not totally accurate. There were also some spelling errors in the titles of Austen's novels in Wei's *Brief Profiles*, with *Pride and Prejudice* appearing as *Pride Prejudice* and *Mansfield Park* as

[102] Ye, 1-5 (p. 2). The original Chinese term is '家常琐事'.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid. Lin Ruyao studied at the University of Glasgow in the 1910s.
[105] Lin Ruyao, *A Guide to Studying Abroad in Scotland* (Hunan: Yuelu Press, 2008), p. 614.
[106] Ye, 1-5.
[107] Oliphant, 290-313.

Mansfied Park.[108]

The first wave of translation activities surrounding Western literature continued to flourish in China during the first half of the twentieth century. As a consequence, the history of English literature began to arouse great interest among the general reading public. Following the publication of Wei's *Brief Profiles* in 1917, a few more Chinese-language introductory books on English literature appeared during the 1920s. In 1920, for example, Wang Jing published *Introduction to English Literature*, which provides a brief historical account of English literature from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries, including around fifty British writers, such as Shakespeare, John Milton, Scott, Percy Shelley, Thomas De Quincey, Alfred Tennyson, Dickens, and Carlyle.[109] Austen, however, was not mentioned in this book. Wang most likely ignored Austen for similar reasons to the early Chinese translators mentioned. Unlike British Tory reviewers (also mentioned above), Chinese scholars tended to interpret Austen's 'conservatism' in a particularly negative way due to the social and political changes taking place during this period.

The first half of the twentieth century was one of the most eventful and transitional periods in Chinese history. The Qing Dynasty, which was China's last imperial dynasty, came to an end in 1911, primarily because of its military defeats in a series of wars against foreign powers and the eruption of massive nationwide uprisings against the traditional despotic system, notably the Xinhai Revolution (1911). On 1 January 1912, Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925) proclaimed the establishment of the Republic of China (1912-1949), marking the end of two thousand years of China's feudal monarchy system. This also signified the beginning of a series of political and cultural movements towards modernity in the country. The May Fourth Movement is commonly considered to have had the most profound impact on Chinese society during this period. It began with a large-scale student demonstration in Beijing, on 4 May 1919, to protest against the 1919 Treaty of Versailles which transferred German rights in Shandong Province to Japan. The demonstration gradually developed into a nationwide cultural movement, also referred

[108] Ye, 1-5 (p.3).
[109] Wang Jing, *Introduction to English Literature* (Shanghai: Shanghai Eastern Publishing House, 1920; repr. 1927), pp. 1-5.

to as the New Culture Movement, which attacked traditional Chinese ideologies, particularly Confucianism, and supported a Western-style democratic political system.[110]

As a consequence, literary works concerning the theme of social revolution received great attention from Chinese intellectuals at this time, while writers who were seen as 'conservative' were severely criticised for being limited in their understanding of social development. In the late 1910s and early 1920s, this cultural movement led to a literary revolution in China, known as the New Literature Movement, which aimed to replace the classical literary Chinese – *wenyanwen* – with a new vernacular-based style of writing.[111] Western literature and culture became more widely accepted during this movement, and many influential Chinese writers of this period, such as Hu Shi (1891-1962) and Xu Zhimo (1897-1931), became well acquainted with the works of British writers such as Byron, Scott, Dickens, and Hardy. However, Austen's 'conservatism' made it extremely difficult for these progressively-minded intellectuals to identify the value, for them, of her writing. It is therefore not surprising that they paid little attention to her.

Over the next two decades, Austen started to receive serious critical attention with an increasing number of introductory books on English literature appearing in China. Of particular importance were Ouyang Lan's *A Short History of English History* (1927), Zheng Zhenduo's *The Outline of Literature* (1927), Xu Mingji's *English Literature* (1933), and Jin Donglei's *An Outline History of English Literature* (1937).[112] Ouyang Lan's *A Short History of English History* was published by Peking University's Publications Department in 1927.[113] His introduction to Austen states:

奥斯但 (Jane Austen 1775-1817) ——奥斯但小姐和斯可脱同是这个时期的超卓的小

[110] For more information on the May Fourth Movement, see, for example, Klaudia Hiu Yen Lee, 'Cross-Cultural Encounters: The Early Reception of Charles Dickens in China, 1895-1915' (unpublished doctoral thesis, the University of Nottingham, 2012), p. 3.

[111] For more information on the New Literature Movement, see, for example, Chen Ping, 'Language Reform in Modern China', in *The Oxford Handbook of Chinese Linguistics*, ed. by William S-Y. Wang and Sun Chaofen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 531-40.

[112] See Fig. 1.1 – Fig. 1.4 in the first part of Appendix One for images of Ouyang, Zheng, Xu, and Jin's books.

[113] Peking University's Publications Department was established in 1917 and mainly published textbooks and academic references. Its predecessor was the Translation Bureau and Compiling Division of Imperial University of Capital, founded in 1902. It was disbanded in 1952 and after the Cultural Revolution, in 1979, the Ministry of Education approved the establishment of Peking University Press.

> 说家。他的小说，颇有写实的倾向。他的目的，是在表现真实的生命，她不主张用小说的掩眼法把真实生命丢弃。她的小说，共有六篇，其最著名者，为"*Pride and Prejudice*"，"*Mansfield Park*"，和"*Emma*"三种。这三篇小说，都是描写社会生活，或记述乡村见闻的伟著。她的小说，不及斯可脱之能运转迅速，但她对于人性的分析，却比斯可脱更加机巧；并且如斯可脱自己所说，她所叙述的意外的事变，就是最简单的，亦常有一种更秀美的感觉，使我们读了更能娱心夺目。
>
> 奥斯但小姐是一个教士的女儿，她差不多整个的生命，都是住在赫姆蒲下 Hampshire 的斯梯文同 Steventon，这个地方，便是她的生长之地。她的小说虽常用匿名发表，但谁都知道她是一个有名的女作家。[114]

Translation:

> *Aosidan* (Jane Austen 1775-1817) – Miss Austen and Scott were both outstanding novelists of this period. Her novels had a strong realist tendency. Her aim was to represent real life, and she did not advocate using fiction to cover up real life. Austen wrote six novels, among which *Pride and Prejudice*, *Mansfield Park*, and *Emma* are the most famous works. These three great novels all depict the social life of country villages. Her novels are inward-looking and limited in scope, in contrast to those of Scott, but her sketches of human nature were more subtle; as Scott declared, her stories are simple representation of common incidents, but we perused them with particular pleasure.
>
> Miss Austen was the daughter of a clergyman. She lived most of her life at Steventon, Hampshire, where she was born. Although her novels were generally published anonymously, everyone knew she was a famous female author.

Austen's name appeared in Chinese as *Aosidan* – a direct transliteration of 'Austen' – with *Ao* representing the sound of 'Au' and *si* of 's'. As there is no Chinese character with the exact pronunciation 'ten', Ouyang took a similar-sounding character, *dan*. Ouyang did not translate 'Jane'. He compared Austen with Scott, and the latter writer's remarks on Austen's faithful depiction of commonplace things seem to have had a great influence on his idea of the 'realistic tendency' in Austen's work. Although for British critics and biographers of Austen, Scott's review is commonly considered to mark an important point in the establishment of Austen's critical reputation, it tends, as will be discussed

[114] Ouyang Lan, *A Short History of English History* (Beijing: Peking University Press, 1927), p. 152.

below, to have been given even more prominence among Chinese scholars.

In the same year, Zheng Zhenduo's *The Outline of Literature* was issued in Shanghai by the Commercial Press. Zheng offers a more detailed overview of Austen's six major novels, and he is also among the first to render their titles into Chinese:

Original:

> 奥斯丁 (Jane Austen, 1775-1817) 是史格得同时代的一个最大的小说家；她是一个女作家，生前几乎没有什么人知道她。直到了她死后，才为大家所知。她做了六部小说，即诺山格寺(*Northanger Abbey*)，劝服 (*Persuasion*)，感觉和感觉性 (*Sense and Sensibility*)，骄傲和自私 (*Pride and Prejudice*)，曼斯菲尔公园 (*Mansfield Park*) 及依玛 (*Emma*)。每部都是完美的；凡是喜欢她的宁静的讽刺，她的简朴而秀美的人物分析的，对于这六部书都可不必有拣选。她的小说里，都是平常的人，平常的生活，没有英雄的热情，也没有惊人的奇遇。她是以后描写不重要的中产阶级人民的小说的创始者。她的风份额是平易而不见斧凿之力，却细腻，深入儿动人。史格得极称许她的作品，以为她所写的日常生活是她以前未曾遇到过的。[115]

Translation:

> *Aosiding* (Jane Austen, 1775-1817) was the greatest novelist among Scott's contemporaries; she was a female writer, who gained little personal fame during her lifetime. Her authorship did not become widely known until after her death. She wrote six novels – *Nuoshange Si* (*Northanger Abbey*), *Quanfu* (*Persuasion*), *Ganjue He Ganjuexing* (*Sense and Sensibility*), *Jiaoao He Zisi* (*Pride and Prejudice*), *Mansifei'er Gongyuan* (*Mansfield Park*), and *Yima* (*Emma*). Each novel is perfect; for those who like her mild irony as well as her simple and delicate portrayal of characters, these six novels are all suitable. Her novels concern commonplace characters and lives with a lack of heroic passions and surprising adventures. She was the founder of fiction depicting middle-class people who became less important [to later writers]. Her writing style is easy and natural, but very delicate and penetrating. Scott held a high opinion of her, claiming that he never came across any depicted scenes of daily life like those of Austen.

Zheng's transliteration of 'Austen' – *Aosiding* – was slightly different from Ouyang's, with *dan* being changed into *ding* to imitate the English sound of 'ten'. *Aosiding* has become one of the most widely approved translations of the novelist's name in China.

[115] Zheng Zhenduo, *The Outline of Literature* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1927), pp. 58-59.

Yet 'Jane' was still left untranslated. His renderings of the titles of Austen's six major novels are relatively accurate, and played an important role in introducing the works' central themes to the Chinese reading public. I will discuss this in more detail in the following six chapters, which concern the reception of individual works. He emphasises the naturalness and delicacy of Austen's writing style, seemingly aiming to distinguish her work from the Gothic and sentimental fiction of her day.

Like Ouyang, Zheng also notes Scott's praise of Austen, but the opinions of other nineteenth- and early twentieth-century British critics are not directly mentioned in his book. This is most likely because Scott had become one of the most famous British writers in China by the 1920s, following the publication of Lin's translations of his *Ivanhoe* (1820) in 1905, and *The Betrothed* and *The Talisman* (1825) in 1907. Scott's literary achievement was frequently discussed in Chinese-language books on English literature published at that time. Ouyang, for example, noted three main literary merits of Scott's writing – 'abundant imagination, precise observation of the natural world, and beautiful language'.[116] He also commented that Scott's characters were interesting and unique.[117] In 1930, Lin Huiyuan translated F. Sefton Delmer's *English Literature from 'Beowulf' to 'Bernard Shaw'* (1921), in which he describes Scott as having had a profound influence on the development of nineteenth-century English literature.[118] Scott's followers and imitators in Britain and continental Europe, such as Edward Bulwer-Lytton and Victor Hugo, are also introduced in this book.[119] In 1937, Jin Donglei introduced Scott as a central figure in helping to popularise historical romance in early-nineteenth-century Britain.[120]

Zheng's comments on Austen not only had an important influence on her early reception among the general Chinese public, but also on his contemporary critics' assessment of the author. In *English Literature*, for example, Xu Mingji echoed many of

---

[116] Ouyang, p. 152. The original text in Chinese: '一想像极丰富，二对于自然界的观察很精密，三具有美丽的描写的能力.'

[117] Ibid.

[118] F. Sefton Delmer, *English Literature from 'Beowulf' to 'Bernard Shaw'* (*Yingguo Wenxue Shi*), trans. by Lin Huiyuan (Beijing: Beixin Press, 1930), p. 304.

[119] Ibid., pp. 304-6.

[120] Jin Donglei, *An Outline History of English Literature* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1937), p. 300. The original text in Chinese: '中古时代浪漫化的小说盛极一时， 便促成历史小说的重兴...司各特 (Scott) 是当时的中心人物.'

Zheng's views of Austen. This may have been because this literary guide was also published by the Commercial Press. Xu divided his book into four main chapters: Poems, Novels, Plays, and Essays. 'Novels' is the longest of all the chapters, in which Austen is introduced as below:

> [奥斯丁] 奥斯丁 (J. Austen 1775-1817) 是和史各脱同时的最大的女小说家，生于贫苦的家庭里，父亲是一个牧师。为要忙着助理家务，所以从事文学的生活很短。她在生前很少人知道，到了近代后被人推重。她平日所接触的大概都是中产阶级，所以她所描写的对象也是中产阶级的人物。
>
> 奥斯丁的小说没有英雄的热情和惊人的奇遇，她所写的只是平常人的生活。她作品的风格也是很平易的，但是细腻深入却是她的长处。史各脱很称许他，说她所写的日常生活，是她以前所未曾遇到过的。她开始创作在一七九六年，到了次年便完成了骄傲和自私 (*Pride and Prejudice*)。 一七九七到九八年她继续创作了感觉和感觉性 (*Sense and Sensibility*) 一七九八年又作了与诺山格寺 (*Northanger Abbey*)，此后在一八一一年到一八一六年她又继续做了三部小说；曼斯菲尔公园 (*Mansfield Park*)，依玛 (*Emma*) 和劝服 (*Persuasion*)。这六部都是完美的小说，有朴素而秀美的文笔，深刻的人物分析和宁静的讽刺。她虽仅仅有六篇小说，但她已是替小说开辟新园地的人，她抛弃了中世纪英雄神话的传说，而从事于现实生活的描写，是后来描写中产阶级人物的传始者。
>
> 傲慢和自私是她最著名的杰作。这是一篇喜剧，其中的情节是一个骄傲的求婚者的长久的屈辱。在这小说所呈现的技巧和美妙的滑稽能力使它成为伟大的英国名著之一。[121]

Translation:

> [*Aosiding*] *Aosiding* (J. Austen 1775-1817) was the greatest female author among Scott's contemporaries. She was born to a poor family and her father was a clergyman. Austen was busy with household duties and only spent a short time on literary writing. Few people knew her name during her life time, but she became highly admired by the modern reader. She mainly came into contact with middle-class people, and hence the characters she portrayed were also from the middle class.
>
> There is a lack of heroic passions and surprising adventures in Austen's novels. She only depicted the life of common people. Her writing style was also very modest, but she had the advantage of delicacy. Scott held a high opinion of her, claiming that he never came across any depicted scenes of daily life like those in Austen's

[121] Xu Mingji, *English Literature*, ed. by Wang Yunwu (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1933), pp. 54-55.

> works. Austen started to write novels in 1796 and finished *Jiaoao He Zisi* (*Pride and Prejudice*) the following year. She went on to write *Ganjue He Ganjuexing* (*Sense and Sensibility*) from 1797 to 1798, and *Nuoshange Si* (*Northanger Abbey*) was also written in 1798. Three more novels were composed between 1811 and 1816: *Mansifei'er Gongyuan* (*Mansfield Park*), *Yima* (*Emma*), and *Quanfu* (*Persuasion*). Those six novels are all perfect works with a delicate style of writing, deep perception of characters, and mild irony. She wrote only six novels but opened up a new world; she gave up historical romance and turned to sketches of real life; she was the founder of novels depicting the life of middle-class people.
>
> *Pride and Prejudice* was her best-known work. It is a comedy, the plot of which shows the long humiliation of a haughty wooer. The technique and exquisite comic power displayed in this novel make it one of the English classics.

Xu adopted Zheng's renderings of the titles of Austen's novels, and also introduced the time of their composition. His positive view of *Pride and Prejudice* – 'one of the most enduring classics in English literature' – may well have prompted the publication of the first Chinese translation of the novel two years later, in 1935.

Scott's review of Austen is highlighted in Xu's book, with other nineteenth-century accounts of the author being largely ignored. I argue that an examination of the differences between Chinese and British critical traditions can be helpful in gaining further insight into those Chinese scholars' high regard for Scott's comments. In Britain, the early nineteenth century witnessed a rapid growth in journals and literary magazines; the era, therefore, was regarded by *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, an influential periodical publication, as 'the most critical age ever the world produced'.[122] Priscilla Gilman, for example, examined the development of British literary criticism in 2000, declaring that around the time of the publication of Austen's novels:

> Critical reading had become professionalised and institutionalised in major review journals as the system of determining the value of literary works. In addition, the now vast reading public begins to read criticism along with, and even instead of, literature, and critics increasingly mediate between writers and readers. They direct

[122] Quoted in Priscilla Gilman, '"Disarming Reproof": *Pride and Prejudice* and the Power of Criticism', *Persuasion*, 22 (2000), 218-29.

the reading process. They influence purchasing decisions.[123]

In contrast, although novels became popular in China from the sixteenth century onward, the development of a commercial publishing industry remained far behind that of Britain until the twentieth century. Novels were mainly circulated in the form of manuscript copies, and individuals' comments on literary works were not officially allowed to be published until the end of the Qing Dynasty, in the early 1910s.

China's delay in the development of a book publishing industry and the appearance of literary periodicals (comparable to those of nineteenth-century Britain) was largely due to the literary inquisition of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). The literary inquisition refers to the imprisonment or persecution of Chinese intellectuals for expressing views critical of imperial rule. It reached its peak during the reign of Emperor Qianlong (1736-1795), during which over 2000 Chinese literary works were banned or destroyed. For example, in 1935, Luther Carrington Goodrich criticised the mass burning of books and the torture of intellectuals by the order of Emperor Qianlong.[124] He considered the emperor 'a despot', and attacked 'his open interference with the independence of the scholars of his day'.[125] One of the most famous cases in the literary inquisition was the persecution of Lü Liuliang, as was recounted by Teng Ssu-yu and John K. Fairbank in 1954:

> Lü…wrote commentaries on Sung philosophy in which he openly deplored the plight into which China had fallen and the inability of the Chinese people to check the disaster of the Manchu invasion. His expression of anti-Manchu sentiment was quite influential and…led a certain Tseng Ching, chü-jen (provincial graduate) of Human, and his disciples to attempt to overthrow the Manchu government…This was reported to the court and ruthless punishment was dealt to the partisans, descendants, relatives and disciples of all the persons involved. Most of the writings of Lü and Tseng were destroyed.[126]

The dangers of the literary inquisition were well known to Chinese intellectuals of the

[123] Ibid.
[124] Luther Carrington Goodrich, *The Literary Inquisition of Ch'ien-lung* (Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1935), p. 6.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ssu-yü Teng and John K. Fairbank, *China's Response to the West: A Documentary Survey, 1839-1923* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), p. 11.

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Novels of this period were therefore generally circulated under a variety of titles due to the terror inspired by the inquisition. For instance, Cao Xueqin's *Dream of the Red Chamber*, one of the greatest Chinese novels, circulated under several different titles, including most notably 'The Story of the Stone', after its appearance in the mid-eighteenth century.

However, as I have noted above, the ideological differences between China and the West started to be recognised by Chinese intellectuals in the early twentieth century, many of whom were attempting to modernise the country. As a result, literary journals resembling those of Britain started to appear in China from the 1920s onward, notably *The Crescent Moon* and *The Sprout*. These monthly periodicals devoted to literary works, translations, and reviews were founded and edited mainly by prominent writers and translators of the time. *The Crescent Moon* was founded by Xu Zhimo and his contemporaries in 1928. Xu was a famous poet. He studied at King's College, Cambridge in the early 1920s, and his poem, 'Taking Leaving of Cambridge Again' (1928), which was published in the first volume of the *Crescent Moon*, remains extremely popular in China today. Xu was also a great admirer of Hardy and after Hardy's death in 1928 wrote an article on the novelist to pay tribute to him, which also appeared in the first volume of the journal.[127]

The Sprout was another influential journal of this time. Founded by Lu Xun in 1930, it mainly published modern Chinese literary works depicting the lives of the working class. Lu is one of the most notable modern Chinese writers and his best-known novels include *Wandering* (1926) and *Dawn Blossoms Plucked at Dusk* (1927). These Chinese poets and novelists' critical engagements with literary journals and reviews led them to become leading authorities in literary criticism. For example, Lu's praise of Wu Jingzi's *The Scholars* – '[A work that] drew public attention towards contemporary social problems' – is still frequently cited today.[128] Such a critical tradition helps to explain why the opinions of Scott, whose novels also became well known to Chinese readers at this time,

[127] For more information on Xu Zhimo's works, see, for example, *A Selective Guide to Chinese Literature 1900-1949: The Poem,* ed. by Lloyd Haft (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989), pp. 246-51.

[128] Lu Xun, *A Brief History of Chinese Novels* (Beijing: People's Literature Press, 1981), p. 220. The original text in Chinese: '秉持公心，指摘时弊.' Wu Jingzi's *The Scholars* will be discussed later in this introduction.

were given much more prominence than other British critics in early twentieth-century China.

Scott's positive responses to Austen's novels were enormously important in shaping and establishing her early reputation in China. In 1937, when Jin Donglei published *An Outline History*, Scott's praise of Austen was unsurprisingly referred to again. Jin's introduction to Austen is as follows:

Original:

> 真 爱慈丁——真 爱慈丁 (Jane Austen)， 一七七五年生，一八一七年死。她是因了一七九七年完稿的一部伟大的小说傲慢与偏见 (*Pride and Prejudice*) 而著名的。她和雷克立夫夫人 (Radcliffe) 的作风恰恰相反，是写实派的好手，专描写英国那时乡村社会的真实状况，而不是学浪漫派的。（注四四）因为，她自二十六岁以后，跟她的父亲住在一对小的乡村里；父亲做传教师，她便把静默的生活与风景做小说。法国的革命与拿破仑 (Napoleon) 的战争虽是闹得天翻地覆，但她毫不留心，只管习静著文而已。
>
> 她的作风，十足代表一个牧师的女儿写的文字。一次野游，一回跳舞，她写来都亲切有味，又都能代表女子的见解与性情。在她的小说里，写人物常是发现一对妇人，不常见一个妇人来的，这也是她特具的作风。识见与感觉 (*Sense and Sensibility*)，爱玛 (*Emma*)，孟斯费特公园(*Mansfield Park*) 与诺三杰寺院 (*Northanger* [sic]) 也是她的名作，各有各的长处。司格脱 (Scott) 很赞美她的作品，甚至与为少见；而她死得这样年青，他又异常悼惜。[129]

Translation:

> *Zhen Aiciding* – *Zhen Aiciding* (Jane Austen) was born in 1775 and died in 1817. She gained fame for the publication of the great novel, *Aoman Yu Pianjian* (*Pride and Prejudice*), completed in 1797. Her writing style was the exact opposite of Mrs. Radcliffe's. She was a great realist writer and focused on describing the reality of English country life during the period, rather than imitating the Romantic School. This is because she lived with her father in a couple of small rural villages since she was 26 years old; her father was a clergyman, and she wrote on quiet life and scenery. Although the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars turned the world upside down, Austen paid no attention to them and quietly focused on her writing.

[129] Jin, p. 302.

> Her writing style was exactly what we expect from a clergyman's daughter. Even a picnic and dance was fascinating and well-presented from her female feelings and views. In her novels, she often wrote about the conduct of two female characters rather than one, which represented her uniqueness. *Shijian Yu Ganjue* (*Sense and Sensibility*), *Aima* (*Emma*), *Mansifeite Gongyuan* (*Mansfield Park*), and *Nuosanjie Siyuan* (*Northanger* [sic]) were her best-known works and all had their specialties. Scott highly praised her works, which was rare [during that time]; she died young and he was extremely grieved.

Both the first and last names of Austen were translated by Jin according to the sound, with 'Jane' appearing as *Zhen* and Austen as *Aiciding*, but his renderings were not very accurate and were therefore rarely used by later critics. Some of the facts about Austen's life given by Jin were also not precise. For example, Austen moved to Bath rather than to a small village with her parents when she was twenty-six years old, and she did not return to the rural countryside until her mid-thirties.

Jin, like the former three critics, recognised the conservative nature of Austen's writing, noting in particular her disregard for the social transformations taking place during her time. He, however, considered her portrayal of women's lives in her society to be 'fascinating', and suggested that she wrote from a woman's point of view, which may have had a great influence on later Chinese critics' keen interest in the author's representation of female identity. He also distinguished her novels from the Gothic romances represented by Ann Radcliffe that became immensely popular among female writers of the late eighteenth century. Austen lived and wrote during the time which is today generally regarded as the Romantic period, largely because literature in this era was highly characterised by an interest in romantic feelings and imagination. She, by contrast, is more interested in commonplace life rather than the supernatural, and one of her early novels, *Northanger Abbey*, is commonly regarded as a parody of the Gothic genre.[130] Therefore, Jin seems to use the term 'realist' to draw a distinction between Austen's writing style and the Romantic tradition of her day.

The idea of Austen as a realist writer found in Chinese-language literature guides

[130] The anti-Gothic elements of *Northanger Abbey* and the reception of Gothic fiction in China will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

above also has strong echoes of literary criticism in nineteenth-century Britain and America. Scott and Macaulay, for example, both noted her great powers of exhibiting human nature in commonplace life.[131] Lewes praised Austen for her 'truest representation' of the social world of the landed gentry.[132] For Lewes, 'incidents however wonderful, adventures however perilous, are almost as naught when compared with the deep and lasting interest excited by anything like a correct representation of life', and he viewed Henry Fielding and Austen as 'the greatest novelists' of the English language.[133] J. F. Kirk also compared Austen with Fielding and Thackeray, and considered the characters and scenes of her novels to 'faithfully represent the manners of the society in which she lived'.[134] It seems that Austen's 'realism' was noted by those critics largely because of the similarities between her novels and Fielding's in aspects such as their ironic spirit, representation of character, and narrative skills.[135] Lewes and Kirk's arguments for the 'truthfulness' in Austen's representation of life were important in distinguishing her works from contemporary sentimental and Gothic fiction, and placed her in the greater literary tradition of Fielding and Smollett.[136] Unlike Radcliffe and Matthew Lewis's Gothic romances, Fielding's *Tom Jones* was also mentioned approvingly by Austen in *Northanger Abbey*. In 1891, William Dean Howells directly associated Austen's novels with literary realism, declaring: 'Realism is nothing more and nothing less than the truthful treatment of material, and Jane Austen was the first and the last of the English novelists to treat material with entire truthfulness'.[137] As noted above, nineteenth-century English-language critics' assessments of Austen are important in influencing her early reception in China, and this helps to explain why the above Chinese scholars stressed the novelist's 'realistic tendency'.

I argue that another major reason for Chinese scholars' particular interest in Austen's 'realism' may be that the realist novel was highly valued in the literary history

---

131 Scott, 188–201; Macaulay, 523-70.
132 George Henry Lewes, 'The Novels of Jane Austen', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 86 (1859), 99-113.
133 Lewes, 'Recent Novels: French and English', 686-95.
134 Kirk, 201-3.
135 For a more detailed comparison of Fielding and Austen, see, for example, Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel* (London: Pimlico, 1957), pp. 296-301.
136 Recent Chinese critics commonly consider Austen as an heir of the literary tradition of Henry Fielding, which will be discussed further in later chapters.
137 William Dean Howells, *Criticism and Fiction* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1891), p. 77.

of China. One of the main functions of Chinese novels during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was to represent the harsh realities of social and political life. For example, the above-mentioned *Dream of the Red Chamber* has remained one of the most widely admired Chinese classical novels representing the climax of 'a long, realistic tradition in Chinese storytelling'.[138] The novel tells the story of the wealthy, aristocratic Jia Family. Within the Jia family are a number of intelligent young females, among which the protagonist, Lin Daiyu, is described as being free-spirited and wittily sarcastic. Although she and the hero, Jia Baoyu, have shared a strong mutual affection since their youth, Baoyu's parents disapprove of their match because of her independent mind, disobedient nature, and ill health. The novel ends tragically as Baoyu descends into madness; his family arrange for him to marry another woman, and Daiyu dies on his wedding day.

Cao gave a vivid portrayal of the rebellion of progressively-minded young characters against parental authority in education, morality, and marriage in China's feudal system at that time. Although details about the author's life are little known to modern readers, it is commonly considered that Cao had a similar social status to Baoyu and that the novel was based largely on his personal experiences. *Dream of the Red Chamber* plays a significant role in representing the culture and daily life of eighteenth-century Chinese aristocrats. Like Cao, Austen also depicted a society she was familiar with, and their novels, as will be further discussed in Chapter One, are viewed among recent Chinese critics as sharing similar thematic concerns with manners, morality, and marriage. Chinese scholars of the early twentieth century might also have noted these similarities in praising Austen's 'realist' writing style, the earliest positive view of the author in China.

In order to achieve a critical representation of the existing social norms, Chinese novelists tended to use irony as a literary device to highlight moral and social hypocrisy. For example, Wu Jingzi's *The Scholars*, which first appeared in print in 1803, is a well-known satire directed at the exam-based bureaucracy of the Qing Dynasty. It presents a number of hypocritical and pedantic Confucian scholars who devote their

[138] Liu Wuchi, *An Introduction to Chinese Literature* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1966), p. 244.

lives to studying for and taking the civil service examination in the hope of becoming government officials. Their strong desire for material wealth and the vanity of worldly happiness are vividly revealed by Wu in the novel in order to satirise the corrupt nature of this examination system in imperial China. As noted above, Lu Xun highly valued the irony and satire of this novel.[139] In Britain, Austen's ironic wit also recommended her to a number of nineteenth-century critics. In 1852, for example, a reviewer from *New Monthly Magazine* stated that 'Mr. Thackeray himself is not more sarcastic against snobbism' when compared with Austen.[140] In 1870, Richard Simpson commented on Austen's remarkable power of 'the manifest irony'.[141] However, the humorous and satirical nature of Austen's work received little attention from Chinese critics during this period. Ouyang and Jin failed to mention Austen's irony. Xu noted Austen's talent for comic satire, but like Zheng, he identified it as 'mild irony'.[142]

I argue that the reason Austen's use of irony seems to have been much less perceptible to these Chinese scholars is largely because her novels seem to show little interest in the reform of social conventions, with the heroes and heroines instead all succeeding in finding their way to happy endings. By contrast, Chinese classical novels such as *Dream of the Red Chamber* and *The Scholars* are much more explicit in their resentment of China's feudal customs and call for political and social reforms. *Dream of the Red Chamber* not only deals with parentally arranged marriage, but also covers a wide range of subjects from corruption in political institutions to the harsh reality of servant life. However, Austen's ironic depictions focus on the foibles of individual characters rather than a particular political system. Her irony, in that way, may have appeared to early twentieth-century Chinese critics excessively mild and subtle.[143] Their disregard for Austen's masterful use of irony helps to explain why translations of her novels did not appear in China until the mid-1930s.

Pride and Prejudice was the first of Austen's novels to be translated into Chinese. This

---

[139] Lu, p. 220.
[140] 'Female Novelists', *New Monthly Magazine*, 95 (1852), 157-68.
[141] Simpson, 129-52.
[142] Xu, p. 54.
[143] The late twentieth century saw a rapidly growing interest in Austen's use of irony among Chinese which will be discussed in more detail at a later stage of this introduction.

is unsurprising considering that Ouyang, Zheng, Xu, and Jin all considered it her best-known work. Their accounts of Austen's life and works certainly played a significant role in introducing the author to the general reading public. In early June 1935, two Chinese translations of *Pride and Prejudice* appeared in China – one, by Yang Bin, was published by the Commercial Press in Shanghai and the other, by Dong Zhongchi, was published by University Press in Beijing. Yang Bin started translating the novel while studying at Yenching University around 1928.[144] As noted above, her university lecturer, Wu Mi, was among the earliest of Chinese university teachers who were interested in teaching Austen and therefore played an important role in arousing Yang's interest in translating *Pride and Prejudice*.[145] Wu also helped Yang revise her translation of the novel, and the latter expressed her gratitude in the postscript.[146] Dong Zhongchi, on the other hand, began to translate *Pride and Prejudice* around 1933, and he invited Liang Shiqiu, a prominent Chinese essayist and translator of this period, to write the preface for his translation. In his preface, Liang compared Austen with William Wordsworth, declaring that both writers had talents in depicting commonplace life.[147]

As discussed earlier, the New Culture Movement, which spread across China during the 1920s, played an important role in promoting the publication of the earliest translations of *Pride and Prejudice*. The main leaders of this movement, including Chen Duxiu and Cai Yuanpei, were ardent advocates for political democracy and social equality, and they also aroused public concern about the oppression of women. As a consequence, several influential literary magazines, notably *The New Youth*, encouraged female writers to actively explore issues surrounding 'the woman question' in China.[148] The 1920s saw a growing number of Chinese women pursuing higher education and entering universities like Yang Bin, and this greatly increased women's literary influence.

---

144 Yenching University was a notable Christian university in Beijing founded by British and American missionaries in 1916. It played an important role in cultural exchange between China and Western countries in the first half of the twentieth century. After the establishment of PRC, it was closed in 1952 due to its Christian background.

145 Wu Mi's teaching of Austen will be discussed later in the introduction.

146 Ye, 1-5.

147 Liang Shiqiu's preface was reprinted in *Life in An Elegant Home* (Jiangsu: Jiangsu Literature and Art Publishing House; repr. 2010), pp. 136-37.

148 For more details, see, for example, Jiang Meihua, 'Changes in the Role of Women during the May 4th Movement', *Collection of Women's Studies*, 4 (2006), 40-6; Shao Ziling, 'The Sociality between Men and Women at New Cultural Movement Period', *Journal of Harbin Teachers College*, 11 (2005), 105-9.

In the following two decades, the works of English women writers also began to attract increased attention from Chinese translators. For instance, Charlotte Brontë*'s Jane Eyre* (1847) was translated by Li Jiye in 1933 and published in *World Literature* in 1935, the same year as the appearance of the first Chinese translations of *Pride and Prejudice*. Two years later, in 1937, Liang Shiqiu published his translation of Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* (1847). George Eliot's *The Mill on the Floss* (1860) was also translated into Chinese by Zhu Jijun and first published in 1939.

In 1935, Chen Quan published 'The Comic Elements in Jane Austen's Works', the earliest major review of Austen in China. Chen explored the crucial role of the 'laughable elements' in the novelist's works, praising her highly-developed powers of observation into the improper behaviour and the moral mistakes of human beings.[149] Austen, according to Chen, declared her artistic goal in the words of Elizabeth Bennet in *Pride and Prejudice*: 'I hope I never ridicule what is wise or good. Follies and nonsense, whims and inconsistencies do divert me, I own, and I laugh at them whenever I can.'[150] He argued that Austen became one of the greatest masters in comedy because of the 'high-class comic elements' in her novels.[151] Chen suggested that a common source of comic effect in fiction is the disproportion or deformation of features, such as the gigantic nose of Fagin in Dickens's *Oliver Twist*, but Austen's comic element in his view mainly focused on a lack of elasticity of sense and intelligence in character, which gives the reader a deeper insight into human nature.[152] Chen also compared Austen's novels with Greek epic poems and Shakespeare's comedies.[153] As noted above, among Chinese scholars of 1920s-30s Austen's literary merit was commonly regarded to be her faithful depiction of the daily lives of the middle class. Chen, however, presented her fiction as containing a sarcastic account of the prevailing customs, manners and traditions in her society.[154] His remarks on Austen's ironic treatment of her characters marked a significant development of the study of her novels in China, and also paved the way for radical changes in

[149] Chen Quan, 'The Comic Elements in Jane Austen's Novels', *Journal of Tsinghua University*, 2 (1935), 359-408.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Ibid., p. 385.
[152] Ibid.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Ibid.

Chinese critics' reception of her in the latter half of the century.

As noted above, Austen's use of irony was widely discussed in nineteenth-century Britain. However, the idea that there might be conflict between her own views and the orthodox values of her society was not paid much attention until the middle part of the twentieth century. In 1940, D. W. Harding wrote 'Regulated Hatred: An Aspect of the Work of Jane Austen', reversing the commonly received image of Austen as an amiable and unthreatening lady novelist.[155] Harding considered Austen a 'desperate' and 'subversive' writer who attacked her community from within, noting that her novels were, 'as she meant them to be, read and enjoyed by precisely the sort of people whom she disliked'.[156] Nonetheless, the 'ungentle' Austen was not Harding's discovery. As early as 1862, Julia Kavanagh noted the novelist's 'cold views of life', claiming that in her novels, 'an elopement, a death, seduction, are related as placidly as a dinner or ball'.[157] Harding, however, was one of the most determined critics to challenge, to use his own words, 'a seriously misleading impression' of Austen.[158] According to Harding, Austen experienced an inner conflict with many prevailing values of the social community she deeply relied on, and therefore her intention in writing was 'to find the means for unobtrusive spiritual survival'.[159] He also suggested that rather than entertaining her civilised community, Austen's fiction was an 'eruption of fear and hatred into the relationships of everyday social life'.[160]

It seems that both Chen and Harding were keenly interested in the motive and intention behind Austen's use of irony. Yet they had different understandings of her artistic goal. For Harding, Austen's goal was 'the more desperate one of merely finding some mode of existence for her critical attitudes'.[161] He also considered Austen to have exaggerated the faults of her characters, such as those of Lady Catherine, in order to

---

155 D. W. Harding, 'Regulated Hatred: An Aspect of the Work of Jane Austen', in *Regulated Hatred and Other Essays on Jane Austen*, ed. by Monica Lawlor (London: Athlone Press, 1998), pp. 5-25.
156 Ibid., p. 6.
157 Julia Kavanagh, 'Miss Austen's Six Novels', in *English Women of Letters: Biographical Sketches*, 2vols (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1863), II, p. 235.
158 Harding, p. 6.
159 Ibid., p. 10.
160 Ibid.
161 Ibid., p. 11.

encourage the reader to laugh at the kinds of people she detested in real life.[162] Harding refused to call Austen's work 'satire' because he regarded her as having 'none of the underlying didactic intention ordinarily attributed to the satirist'.[163] In contrast to Harding's arguments for Austen's escape from threatening realities, Chen suggested that the aim of her comedy was to criticise and correct human follies. According to him, novel writing for Austen was an artistic attempt to improve the social order.[164] Harding also seems to strongly disapprove of Austen's sharp tone.[165] Chen, on the contrary, argued that Austen's 'cold' viewpoint was crucial to accomplish her goal of showing life in the truest sense.[166] Chen started his article with Horatio Walpole's words – 'This world is a comedy to those that think, a tragedy to those that feel' – and he suggested that the greatest comedy writers were those whose justifications rely on reason rather than emotions.[167] Chen's idea of Austen's 'trueness' echoed that of several nineteenth-century British critics. For example, Julia Kavanagh, while noting Austen's 'coldness', had previously declared: 'To be true, to show life in its everyday aspect, was her ambition…Of the thousands who take up a pen to write a story meant to amuse, how many are there who can, or who dare, be true, like Jane Austen?'[168] In 1870, Margaret Oliphant also described Austen's portrayal of characters as being 'so remorselessly true';[169] and in 1928, Rebecca West claimed: 'Her [Austen's] determination not to be confused by emotion…was never a sign of limitation. It was a sign that she lived in the same world as Hume and Gibbon'.[170] West's argument, as B. C. Southam suggests, seems to respond to H. W. Garrod's view of Austen as being 'intolerably sensible' and 'tearless' in his piece 'Jane Austen: A Depreciation' which appeared earlier that year.[171]

Harding's arguments stressed the complexity of Austen as an artist and person. He challenged the idea of Austen as a lady-like and uncritical writer that had been dominant

---

162 Ibid.
163 Ibid.
164 Chen, 359-408.
165 Harding, pp. 5-25.
166 Chen, 359-408.
167 Ibid.
168 Kavanagh, p. 206.
169 Oliphant, 290-313.
170 See Rebecca West's 'Preface' to Austen, *Northanger Abbey* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1932), v-xi.
171 Southam, p. 290.

throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Britain and America, and started a trend of reading Austen as a radical. However, as LeRoy W. Smith suggests, Harding encouraged 'a view of her as a victim of her society that seems as narrow as the conservative argument seems in presenting her as its defender'.[172] Between 1941 and 1945, Q. D. Leavis published a series of articles entitled 'Critical Theory of Jane Austen's Writing', arguing that Austen's fiction was 'limited in scope and subject by deliberate intention'.[173] According to Leavis, Austen's fictional world drew selectively on her real life 'in order to facilitate certain intentions of the novelist'.[174] Leavis suggested that Austen was remarkably sure of her artistic goal: 'She was consciously restricting her work for a given purpose, in order to concentrate on what seemed to her most worth writing about, to convey her deepest interests and to express some things that seemed to her important.'[175] She also pointed out that the tone of Austen's letters, particularly to Cassandra, was exactly the same as that in her fiction: 'The unfeeling treatment of a Lydia Bennet or a Maria Rushworth…is the result of the letter-writer's unsympathetic attitude to all who lapse from an implied standard of great severity.'[176] Leavis's views strongly resembled Harding's, emphasizing Austen's contempt for and hostility towards her social community: 'They had too much penetration to be comfortable in society and knew too much about the people they had to live among.'[177] Arnold Kettle commented, in 1951, that 'there is no longer, especially after Leavis's articles, any excuse for thinking of Jane Austen as an untutored genius…She was a serious and conscious writer, absorbed in her art, wrestling with its problems'.[178]

In China, however, the idea of Austen as a conservative writer remained dominant during the 1930s and 1940s. Chen's article failed to attract much critical interest, and Chinese reviews of Austen's novels appeared rarely throughout the following two decades. In 1947, Liu Wuji and Cao Hongzhao's *A History of English Literature* was published by the National Institute for Compilation and Translation and approved by

[172] LeRoy W. Smith, *Jane Austen and the Drama of Women* (London: Macmillan, 1983), p. 7.
[173] Q. D. Leavis, 'Critical Theory of Jane Austen's Writing', *Scrutiny* (1944), 104-18.
[174] Ibid.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid., p. 115.
[177] Ibid.
[178] Quoted in Southam, p. 130.

the Ministry of Education of the Republic of China for use in Chinese universities during this period.[179] The book was a translation of William Vaughn Moody and Robert Morse Lovett's *A History of English Literature* (1902). Moody and Lovett considered the historical and literary context that influenced Austen's novels, claiming that her 'realistic impulse was in part a reaction from Romantic or sentimental views of life'.[180] However, they viewed Austen's fiction as being too limited in scope in contrast to those of her contemporaries such as Maria Edgeworth.[181] They complained that the main interest of Austen's characters was matrimony:

> And even in this petty world she takes account chiefly of its pettiness. The great things of life, passion, and moral purpose…did not enter into Miss Austen's experience, and she had no great insight and imaginative sympathy to carry her beyond her own observation.[182]

They also attacked Austen's artistic goal, declaring that Mr. Bennet's words in *Pride and Prejudice* – 'for what do we live, but to make sport for our neighbours, and laugh at them in our turn?' – most likely represented Austen's own sense of the value of life and writing.[183] Moody and Lovett's opinions of Austen certainly had a negative influence on her reception among Chinese critics.

They, however, praised *Pride and Prejudice* as an 'admirable' work, and *Mansfield Park* and *Emma* as 'full of the mild humors of provincial life'.[184] *Emma* was the second of Austen's novels to be translated into Chinese, appearing in 1949. The translator, Liu Zhongde, invited Wu Jingrong to write a preface for the novel. In his preface, Wu praised *Emma* as a skilled mature work, but still criticised Austen's view of marriage for 'fully representing the traditional social values of her time'.[185] He mentioned *Sense and*

---

[179] See the second page of William Vaughn Moody and Robert Morss Lovett, *A History of English Literature* (*Yingguo Wenxue Shi*), trans. by Liu Wuji and Cao Hongzhao (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1947).
[180] Quoted in William Vaughn Moody and Robert Morss Lovett, *A History of English Literature* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918), p. 393.
[181] Ibid.
[182] Ibid.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Ibid.
[185] See Wu Jingrong's preface to Austen, *Emma* (*Aima*), trans. by Liu Zhongde (Guilin: Lijiang Publishing House, 1982), p. 13. Cited below as Liu 1982. The original text in Chinese: '十足的代表当时社会传统的意见.'

Sensibility, *Northanger Abbey*, *Mansfield Park* and *Persuasion*, but Chinese translations of these novels did not appear until the second half of the century. As noted above, Austen's novels began to attract critical attention around the 1920s, and Chinese critics were most interested in her 'realistic' representation of commonplace life. However, only two of her major novels were published in China during the first half of the twentieth century, and there was a limited awareness, in general, of the author among Chinese readers. The political upheavals and extensive civil wars following the collapse of the dynastic system in China finally came to an end in 1949 with the establishment of the People's Republic of China. Nevertheless, the Chinese Communist Party's social reforms led to another social and cultural upheaval, which, as will be discussed in the following section, also had a profound influence on the reception of Austen in China.

0.3 The Reception of Jane Austen in China from 1949 to 1976

In this introduction, the study of Austen's reception in China is divided into before and after 1949 due to the profound influence the founding of People's Republic of China in October that year had on the reception of Western writers, including Austen. As discussed in the previous section, China experienced significant social and political changes following the collapse of its last imperial dynasty – the Qing dynasty – in 1912. In 1928, the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) founded by Sun Yat-sen became the official government of China. However, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), established by Chen Duxiu and several other revolutionary leaders in 1921, also grew enormously along with the popularization of Marxism in China. After the end of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), a military conflict between these two parties arose, known as the Chinese Civil War of 1945-1949.

On 1 October 1949, the Communist Party, following its military success in the civil war, founded the People's Republic of China and became the ruling party of the nation.[186] The Nationalist Party, by contrast, retreated to the island of Taiwan and re-established their government there. The leaders of the Communist Party, most notably

[186] The Communist Party claimed to be the sole legitimate government representing the whole of China.

Mao Zedong, were strongly influenced by the political ideologies of the Soviet Union and therefore adopted a similar model of socialism in China.[187] As a consequence, a number of political campaigns and ideological reforms, such as the Anti-Rightist Campaign (1957), were launched during the 1950s and 1960s in order to identify and remove the 'feudal' and 'capitalist' elements from Chinese society. This nationwide 'socialist transformation' has had a powerful influence on the translation and reception of Western literature in China. Marxist criticism became the dominant approach to the literary study of both Chinese and foreign works, which were mainly evaluated on the basis of whether their social content was progressive or reactionary. As a result, literary translation from 1949 to 1966 mainly revolved around books from the Soviet Union, the most influential of which included Alexander Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin* (1825-32), Leo Tolstoy's *War and Peace* (1869), Maxim Gorky's *The Mother* (1906), and Nikolai Ostrovsky's *How the Steel Was Tempered* (1932-4).

A small number of British writers, most notably Byron, Shelley, Keats, and Dickens, were also positively classified as 'revolutionary Romantics' or 'critical realists', with many of their works appearing in Chinese during this period. For instance, Xu Junyuan's translation of *The Old Curiosity Shop* was published in 1955, Wu Juntao's translation of *A Christmas Carol* in 1955, Quan Zenggu and Hu Wenshu's translation of *Hard Times* in 1957, and Zhang Guruo's translation of *American Notes for General Circulation* in 1963. Moreover, Jiang Tianzuo's translations of Dickens's *The Pickwick Papers* and *Oliver Twist*, first published in 1947 and 1948, had been reprinted several times by the early 1960s. The poems of Shelley, Keats, and Byron had been largely translated into Chinese during the New Culture Movement of the mid-1910s and 1920s; and in the 1950s, these translations, such as Guo Moruo's rendering of Shelley's 'Ode to the West Wind' (1819), remained popular with Chinese readers. Mu Dan was one of the major translators of Romantic poetry during this period, and his Chinese editions of *The Selected Poetry of Shelley* and *The Selected Poetry of Byron* were published in 1958, and *The Selected Poetry of Keats* in 1959.

[187] Mao Zedong (1893-1976) was born to a wealthy farmer's family in a small village of Shaoshan in Southeast China. He was actively involved in the May Fourth Movement and became one of the first members of the Communist Party of China starting in 1921. He served as Chairman of the People's Republic of China from its establishment in 1949 until his death in 1976.

However, modernist writers, such as T. S. Eliot, W. B. Yeats, James Joyce, and D. H. Lawrence, were commonly condemned as 'decadent' and 'corrupt' during the 1950s and 1960s, and consequently little attention was paid to their works. Chen Xiaomei, for example, explored in 1995 the reception of English literary traditions under China's unique political and cultural circumstances during the 1950s:

> The majority of PRC readers were certainly more familiar with romanticism and realism than modernism in the early post-Mao period. The much-honoured Soviet concept of critical realism, for example, canonised Balzac, Tolstoy, Gorky, Chekhov, Mark Twain, and Charles Dickens as progressive writers. Romantic texts by Byron, Wordsworth, and Goethe were taught as Western classics in universities before the Cultural Revolution. Shelley's "The Revolt of Islam" and "England in 1819" were interpreted as ideological protests against injustice and oppression.[188]

Austen's novels, as previously noted, were largely criticised by the Chinese scholars of the early twentieth century for ignoring major events that marked her time, notably the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars. The apparent lack of passion and heroic adventures in her writing had also been widely noted in Chinese-language literature guides of 1920s-1940s. It is therefore not surprising that she, unlike Dickens and Byron, failed to be classified as a progressive or revolutionary writer in the 1950s. However, the common consideration of Austen as a realist novelist among Chinese scholars since the 1920s, discussed earlier, played a significant role in the survival of her novels in China during this period.

In February 1955, a third Chinese translation of *Pride and Prejudice* by Wang Keyi was published by Shanghai Literature and Art Associated Publishing House. The novel achieved immediate popularity and was republished by the New Literature and Art Publishing House the next year.[189] As will be discussed in Chapter One, Wang's translation represents an important attempt at incorporating Austen's work into a

[188] Chen Xiaomei, *Occidentalism: A Theory of Counter-Discourse in Post-Mao China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 84.

[189] New Literature and Art Publishing House was founded in Shanghai in 1952 and became a major publisher of translated literature in China during the 1950s. In 1959, it as well as Shanghai Culture Publishing House and Shanghai Music Publishing House merged into one entity known as Shanghai Literature and Art Publishing House, which later merged into People's Literature Publishing House in 1964.

Marxist canon at this time. He endeavoured to shape Austen as a fairly progressively-minded female writer by emphasizing her keen interest in depicting women's oppression in a patriarchal society. The synopsis of his translation states:

Original:

> 奥斯丁是英国十八世纪末页唯一的现实主义作家，她以幽默讽刺的笔法，无比丰富地为我们刻画出当时中产阶级的生活和思想，写出了妇女的彷徨和痛苦。
>
> 傲慢与偏见是作者的代表作，这部小说，通过婚姻问题的描写，展开了当时社会的一幅幅画面 … 她嘲笑了妇人把嫁人当作衣食之计的那种委曲求全的婚姻 … 而在当时社会里，婚姻必须门当户对，必须将就身份地位，这对青年男女缔结幸福婚姻的愿望，是一个很大的障碍，必须进行坚决斗争；尤其是妇女，还得和男性中心的社会现象进行斗争 … 这部小说使我们看到了十八世纪末各种社会阶层之间的关系，也看到了当时妇女争取自由独立的精神。[190]

Translation:

> Austen was the only realist writer in late eighteenth-century Britain. Her work, written in a humorous and sarcastic style, richly portrays the lives and thoughts of the middle class during this period, and reveals women's hesitation and suffering.
>
> *Pride and Prejudice* is the author's representative work. This novel, through the depiction of marriage problems, presents various aspects of social life at that time…She satirises women who accept compromised marriage for financial security…Marriage in that society should have been between people of equal social rank, which became a big obstacle to young people's desire for a happy marriage, and therefore they had to fight for it; women in particular had to fight patriarchal tyranny…This novel reveals to us the hierarchical forms of social relations during the eighteenth century, and also presents women's fighting spirit for freedom and independence.

Chinese scholars' praise of the realism in Austen's novels during the first half of the twentieth century seems to have had a great influence on Wang's assessment of the novelist, as he called her 'the only realist classical writer in late eighteenth-century

[190] See the second page of Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (*Aoman Yu Pianjian*), trans. by Wang Keyi (Shanghai: New Literature and Art Publishing House, 1956).

Britain'.[191] Wang was one of the first Chinese critics to view Austen as a progressive rather than conservative writer. Although terms such as 'feminism' and 'feminist' did not directly appear in this synopsis, the novel was noted for its representation of women's fight for liberty and independence in a patriarchal society.[192] Elizabeth Bennet was described as a 'rebellious' heroine who struggles against falling victim to the marriage market and insists on marrying on the basis of mutual affection.[193] Wang highlighted Austen's critique of her society's class-consciousness by stressing, or even exaggerating Elizabeth's confrontation with upper-class characters such as Lady Catherine in his Chinese translation, which will be discussed in the following chapter in more detail.

It seems that Wang's Marxist readings of Austen were influenced by those of British critics. In his preface to this translation, he noted the British Communist writer, T. A. Jackson's praise of Austen – 'the incomparable Jane' – and shared the latter's opinion that Austen was the only writer who 'successfully maintained Fielding's ideal consistently' in the late eighteenth century.[194] Jackson valued Austen's work 'primarily as satire'.[195] The late 1940s and 1950s saw a rising interest in Marxist analyses of Austen in Britain. In 1948, for example, David Daiches noted Austen's representation of 'the economic basis of social behaviour with an ironic smile'.[196] He considered Austen 'the most realistic novelist of her age, and the only English novelist of stature who was in a sense a Marxist before Marx'.[197] Moreover, the debate about the 'ungentle' Austen continued to arouse interest in Western countries during the 1950s. Marvin Mudrick, for example, published *Jane Austen: Irony as Defence and Discovery* in 1952, noting irony as Austen's 'earliest, and always her characteristic' defence.[198] He argued that Austen's irony appears to some critics inhumanly cold and penetrating because they were 'accustomed to the soft or

---

191 Ibid.
192 Ibid. The original text in Chinese: '这部小说使我们看到了当时妇女争取自由独立的精神.'
193 Ibid.
194 See Wang's preface to *Pride and Prejudice* (*Aoman YuPianjian*), p. 5.
195 Thomas A. Jackson, *Old Friends to Keep: Studies of English Novels and Novelists* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1950), p. 55.
196 David Daiches, 'Jane Austen, Karl Marx, and the Aristocratic Dance', *The American Scholar*, 3 (1948), 289-96.
197 Ibid.
198 Marvin Mudrick, *Jane Austen: Irony as Defense and Discovery* (Berkeley: University of California, 1952; repr. 1968), pp. 1-2.

sentimental alloying of most irony'.[199] Mudrick considered Austen to be primarily a social satirist, but unlike Harding, he thought irony was an instrument for Austen to '[divert] herself and her audience with an unengaged laughter'.[200] He went on to point out the novelist's artistic goal: 'It was Jane Austen's first choice to treat life…not sentimentally, not morally…but with a detached discrimination among its incongruities…Her frame was comedy, her defining artistic impulse was irony.'[201] These English critics' radical interpretations of Austen's novels may have had a positive influence on Wang and other Chinese scholars' reception of her work during this period.

As noted above, the translation and reception of English literary works in China during the 1950s and 1960s were closely related to the Communist Party's political and social reforms. Political campaigns of the first half of the 1950s, such as the Counterrevolutionaries Campaign (1950-1953) and the Three Antis and Five Antis Campaign (1952-1953), mainly targeted KMT supporters and private business owners, and therefore the intellectual and literary environment at that time remained relatively stable. In 1956, the year Wang published his translation of *Pride and Prejudice,* Mao Zedong brought out the Hundred Flowers Campaign aiming to promote the 'flourishing' of literature and the arts. Chinese intellectuals were also encouraged to review the communist system. The campaign had a considerable influence on the reception of Western writers, and as a result, a number of English works were translated into Chinese during this period. The new translations of Dickens's novels mainly appeared between 1955 and 1957; and Li Jiye's translation of *Jane Eyre* was also republished by the New Literature and Art Publishing House in 1956.

In November 1956, the Ministry of Education of the PRC released syllabus guidelines for teaching English literature in Chinese universities that offered four-year or five-year undergraduate courses. The academic committee of Fudan University, appointed by the Ministry of Education, was responsible for writing and editing the syllabus and a first draft was finished in 1955.[202] The draft was revised by

[199] Ibid.
[200] Ibid., p. 1.
[201] Ibid., p. 3.
[202] See the statement of *English Literature History Teaching Syllabus* (Beijing: Higher Education Press,

representatives from Peking University, Nanjing University, and Sun Yat-sen University, and was eventually published by the Higher Education Press the following year.[203] The first page of the syllabus states:

Original:

> 本大纲主要根据莫斯科大学外国文学史教学大纲的英国文学部分，并参考列宁格勒师范学院英语系英国文学史教学大纲。

Translation:

> The syllabus is mainly based on the English literature part of the foreign literature and history course outlines in Moscow State University, and also refers to the syllabus of teaching English literature in the English Department of Lenin Formal University.[204]

The syllabus represents a typical Marxist assessment of English literature in China during the 1950s, which was then much influenced by the Soviet Union. William Godwin's *Political Justice*, for example, was considered 'a critique of the social system in a capitalist society'.[205] Byron and Shelley were regarded as 'great revolutionary poets' railing against the power of repressive governments in the early nineteenth century.[206] Great importance, therefore, was attached to the influence of the Luddite movement on Byron's writing and the labour movement on Shelley.[207] A few remarks on Austen also appear in the syllabus as below:

Original:

> 奥斯登（1775-1817）创作方法中的现实主义倾向及其题材的狭隘性。她对私有制度下的道德与婚姻的讽刺。她的小说中的妇女形象。奥斯登的阶级观点局限性。

Translation:

> There was a realistic tendency in Austen's literary style, but her scope was narrow. She satirised the institution of marriage and moral values of a social system which

---

1956), p. 1. Cited below as *Syllabus*.
[203] Ibid.
[204] Ibid.
[205] Ibid., p. 19.
[206] Ibid., p. 20.
[207] Ibid., pp. 20-2.

was based on private ownership of property. The female characters in her novels [should be noted]. Austen's limited viewpoint to class struggle [should be noted].[208]

With both positive and negative aspects of her novels addressed in the syllabus, Chinese scholars of this period seemed ambivalent about Austen's literary reputation and standing. The primary focus of Austen's works was to depict the lives of the English landed gentry, with characters from the lower social classes rarely mentioned, and she was therefore, not surprisingly, criticised for having a 'limited viewpoint to class struggle'. However, these critics can be seen attempting to interpret her novels from the perspective of socialist realism. Austen's use of irony received more attention in the syllabus than in Chinese-language literature guides of 1920s-1940s, and her work was considered to satirise rather than endorse the prevailing moral values of her society. Nevertheless, Austen did not directly criticise the private ownership of property, but instead portrayed it as being important in maintaining social and moral security in most of her novels, particularly *Mansfield Park*.[209]

Austen's portrayal of female characters was also stressed in the syllabus. This is most likely because during the 1950s under the influence of Marxist theory on gender oppression, the Communist Party promoted the Chinese women's liberation movement as part of the political reforms against feudalism and capitalism. For example, a new marriage law was passed in 1950 to prohibit the traditional custom of arranged marriage and to grant married women property rights. This movement also helped promote the study of women's literature in China, and as a consequence female authors and their representations of female identify began to receive increasing amounts of attention among Chinese scholars. The syllabus, therefore, also included the works of several other English women novelists. Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*, for instance, was considered to have aimed to 'reveal the hypocritical Christian benevolence of the capitalist class', Elizabeth Gaskell's *North and South* to 'represent the harsh realities of working-class life', Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* to 'raise questions about the private property ownership, arranged marriage, religious education, and class inequality of her society',

[208] Ibid., p. 23.
[209] Austen's conservative attitude towards social change in *Mansfield Park* will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four.

and George Eliot's *Adam Bede* to 'depict the collapse of rural life associated with capitalist development in Britain'.[210] These Victorian women writers were viewed more positively than Austen for depicting a broader range of social problems.[211]

The Hundred Flowers Campaign, however, lasted only a short time and was transformed into the Anti-Rightist movement of the following year, which targeted the 'bourgeois' intellectuals. The *People's Daily* editorial of 10 April 1957 declared as follows:

Original:

> 我国的知识分子的大多数，原来就属于资产阶级知识分子的范围，现在在思想上离工人阶级化还有一个相当大的距离。在这种情况下，资产阶级和小资产阶级的思想在我国学术文化的领域内有所表现，是必然的，完全不足为奇的。

Translation:

> The majority of our intellectuals belonged originally to the category of bourgeois intellectuals, and they are as yet quite a distance away from being proletarianised in ideology. Under such circumstances, it is by no means surprising (in fact it is inevitable) that bourgeois and petty-bourgeois thoughts are expressed within the areas of culture and scholarship in our country.[212]

A large number of Chinese intellectuals, particularly those who actively criticised the socialist ideology in the Hundred Flowers Campaign, were labelled 'rightists' and persecuted in the Anti-Rightist movement.[213] Critics hold a variety of views regarding the relation between the Hundred Flowers Campaign and the Anti-Rightist Campaign. In 'On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People', published in *The People's Daily* on 19 June 1957, Mao Zedong declared that bourgeois intellectuals had taken advantage of the Hundred Flowers Campaign to promote the growth of 'poisonous weeds' rather than 'fragrant flowers'.[214] 'Poisonous weeds' was a label used

---

[210] Ibid., pp. 27-8. The original Chinese text concerned *Jane Eyre*: '对资产阶级（慈善）的虚伪性的揭露'; *North and South*: '反映工人阶级'; *Wuthering Heights*: '提出了资产所有制的问题以及婚姻、宗教教育和贫富关系等问题'; and *Adam Bede*: '资本主义发展下英国农村日趋崩溃的描写.'

[211] Ibid.

[212] See *The People's Daily Editorial* (10 April 1957). The translation of this editorial is cited from *The Writings of Mao Zedong, 1949-1976*, ed. by Michael Y. M. Kau and John K. Leung, 2vols (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1992), II, p. 480.

[213] There were estimated 550000 Chinese intellectuals were labelled as 'rightists' in the Anti-Rightist Campaign.

[214] Mao Zedong, 'On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People', *People's Daily*, 19 June

at that time to describe literary works that were deemed non-proletarian or anti-socialist.[215] Although the Anti-Rightist movement was not directly mentioned, Mao seems to indicate that the policy was necessary in order to root out the 'poisonous weeds' and 'bourgeois' tendencies arising from the Hundred Flowers Campaign.[216]

As a consequence of the Anti-Rightist movement, the term 'bourgeois' became commonly used to refer to writers and intellectuals during the late 1950s. In 1958, *Northanger Abbey* was translated into Chinese for the first time by Ma Qiaozhi. As will be discussed in Chapter Five, Ma's comments on Austen in his postscript to the novel, unlike Wang's preface to *Pride and Prejudice*, were primarily negative. He considered her representative of English novelists who 'were satisfied with portraying only the everyday life of bourgeois society and endorsed the reality of bourgeois life unconditionally'.[217] Austen's middle-class background and her interest in depicting the privileged life of the landed gentry certainly made it easy to convince Chinese scholars of the 'bourgeois' nature of her novels. Moreover, although, as mentioned earlier, Austen satirised some existing social manners and customs of her society, she did not directly attack its capitalist economy. Her novels took little account of the political affairs of her day, and showed little interest in social revolution.[218]

In the late 1950s, only a few study guides to English literature appeared in China, including a Chinese version of Alexander Anikst's *An Outline History of English Literature*, originally published in Moscow in 1956. It was translated by Dai Liuling and several other Chinese translators, and issued by the People's Literature Publishing House in

---

1957. Cited below as 'Contradictions'.

[215] Guo Jian, Song Yongyi, and Zhou Yuan, *Historical Dictionary of the Chinese Cultural Revolution* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2006), p. 225.

[216] Mao Zedong, 'Contradictions'. Suspicions, however, were aroused among more recent scholars about the original aim of the Hundred Flowers Campaign. For example, Jung Chang insisted in *Wild Swans* that Mao Zedong talked about the Campaign later as 'enticing snakes out of their lairs' and his words were 'relayed down orally' to Chang's mother: 'Mao said that "rightists" had gone on a rampage attacking the Communist Party and China's socialists system…they must be smashed.' *Wild Swans* was a family memoir of three generations living in China during the twentieth century and Chang's father, a Communist official, was also a victim of the political campaigns and driven to insanity in late 1960s. See Jung Chang, *Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China* (London: Harper Collins, 1991; repr, 2012), p. 257-361.

[217] See Ma's postscript to *Northanger Abbey* (*Nuosangjue Si*), trans. by Ma Qiaozhi (Shanghai: The New Literature Publishing House, 1958), p. 210. The original text in Chinese: '他们仅仅满足于资产阶级日常生活的现象的描绘，无条件的承认资产阶级的生活现实。奥斯丁可以说是这一小说的代表.'

[218] Austen's 'conservatism' will be further discussed in Chapter Four.

1959.[219] The People's Literature Publishing House, founded in Beijing in 1951, is a state-run publishing house specializing in literature, art, and history.[220] It also published Mu Dan's above-mentioned translations of *The Selected Poetry of Shelley* and *The Selected Poetry of Byron* in 1958. Anikst's *An Outline History* offers an introductory guide to English literature and culture from the Anglo-Saxon period to the late nineteenth century, including a few women writers. George Eliot, for example, was praised for her commitment to literary realism and her seven novels were all introduced in the book. A brief account was also given of the lives and works of Elizabeth Gaskell, Charlotte and Emily Brontë, and Elizabeth Browning.[221]

Austen, however, was not mentioned in Anikst's book. This comes as no surprise considering that she was not a great favourite of Russian critics, who also commonly disdained women writers. In 1950, for example, when Edmund Wilson recommended Austen to Vladimir Nabokov, the latter famously declared: 'I dislike Jane, and am prejudiced, in fact, against all women writers. They are in another class. [I] could never see anything in *Pride and Prejudice*.'[222] Austen was not well-known to the Russian public around the mid-twentieth century, largely because the first translation of her work, that of *Pride and Prejudice*, did not appear in Russia until 1967. According to Theresa Kenney, the Russian translation of *Pride and Prejudice* was 'received without much enthusiasm'. [223] As noted above, the reception of English writers in Soviet Russia had an important influence on their literary reputations in China between the 1950s and 1970s. Russian critics' negative responses to Austen, therefore, help to explain why her novels received little attention from Chinese critics during this period.

The Communist Party's radical critique of 'bourgeois' culture and values continued

---

[219] Alexander Anikst's original text, *История английской литературы,* was first published in Moscow in 1956.

[220] People's Literature Publishing House was established as part of the People's Publishing House which 'was responsible for the publication of party documents and central government publications, and the works of Marx, Lenin, and Mao Zedong'. See Philip G. Altbach and Edith S. Hoshino, *International Book Publishing: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995), p. 450.

[221] Alexander Anikst, *An Outline History* of *English Literature* (*Yingguo Wenxue Shigang*), trans. by Dai Liuling and Cai Wenxian (Beijing: People's Literature Publishing House, 1959), pp. 451-8, 463-70, 500-1.

[222] Quoted in Brian Boyd, *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), p.166. Nabokov later changed his opinion of Austen to some extent and claimed to like *Mansfield Park*.

[223] Theresa Kenney, 'Jane Austen, Revolution, Socialist Realism, and Reception: A Response to Helong Zhang's "Jane Austen: 100 Years in China"', *Persuasions*, 33 (2011), 115-22.

to rise throughout the early 1960s, and as a consequence, there was a sharp decline in translations. In 1966, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, also known in short as the Cultural Revolution, was launched by Mao Zedong, and aimed to completely remove elements of 'capitalism, feudalism, and revisionism' in Chinese cultural and political life.[224] The movement caused massive social upheavals, which have been recorded in one of the national history textbooks for Chinese secondary school students as below:

Original:

> 20 世纪 60 年代中期，毛泽东错误地认为，党中央出了修正主义，党和国家面临着资本主义复辟的危险，为防止资本主义复辟，他决定发动"文化大革命"…那时候，全国出现了学校停课，工厂停工"闹革命"的动乱局面。一些党政机关受到冲击，广大干部和知识分子遭到严重迫害。[225]

Translation:

> In the mid-1960s, Mao Zedong mistakenly perceived that revisionism was arising from within the Party, and the Party and the Country faced the danger of the restoration of capitalism. In order to prevent the capitalist restoration, he decided to launch the Cultural Revolution…During that period, factories stopped production and schools nationwide closed down in order to carry out the revolution. A large number of government officials and intellectuals were severely persecuted.

The Cultural Revolution had a profoundly negative influence on China's cultural and ideological progress. Almost all Western books were dismissed as 'poisonous weeds' by the movement, including works that had been popular in the 1950s. As a consequence, translation activities were brought to a halt. The People's Literature Publishing House also stopped publication at the start of Cultural Revolution in 1966. Wang Keyi, along with many other prominent literary scholars and translators, was labelled as a 'counterrevolutionary' and died during the movement.[226] Ma Qiaozhi was sent to a rural labour camp in 1958 and not allowed to teach at Peking University until 1980.

---

[224] For more discussion of the Cultural Revolution, see Tang Shaojie, 'The Impact of the Cultural Revolution on Chinese Modernity', in *Ideas, History, and Modern China*, ed. by Ban Wang and Wang Hui (Leiden: Brill Press, 2007)), pp. 299-314 (p. 301).

[225] *Chinese History* (Shandong: Shandong Education Press, 2005), p. 32. The text is for seven-year students of secondary school in Shandong Provence, China.

[226] Wang committed suicide at home in 1968 after being accused of being counterrevolutionary.

Chinese universities also stopped student recruitment. In his 'Report on Destroying Books', Zhang Hua recalled his experiences of being forced to destroy English-Chinese dictionaries and other foreign-language books: 'The authorities said...the whole lot is feudal, capitalist, or revisionist. They were sent here after searches of homes and are to be pulped.'[227] Some Chinese scholars, such as Mu Dan, went on secretly to compose or translate books. Mu had worked as an associate professor in the English department at Nankai University since 1953, but after being labelled 'counterrevolutionary' in 1958, Mu was forced to work in the university's library and bathhouse under the supervision of revolutionary groups. He translated Byron's *Don Juan* during the Cultural Revolution period, but it was not published until three years after his death, in 1980.

None of Austen's novels were translated or reprinted between 1959 and 1979 in mainland China due to the Cultural Revolution and other radical movements of this period. By contrast, in Taiwan, Wang's translation of *Pride and Prejudice* was published in 1972 by Wenyou Publishing House and Liu's translation of *Emma* also went through at least three editions between the 1950s and 1970s.[228] The negative impact of the Cultural Revolution on Chinese society has been much discussed among recent critics. Tang Shaojie, for instance, commented that the movement 'interrupted and prematurely aborted the construction of modernity in China';[229] Han Shaogong has described the movement as 'nationwide madness';[230] and Qi Shouhua as 'a chokehold on all forms and

[227] Zhang Hua, 'Report on Destroying Books', *FuZhou WanBao*, 18 April 1989; the translation of the article is from Richard Curt Kraus, *The Cultural Revolution: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 45-6.

[228] The Nationalist government imposed martial law in 1949, and it prohibited, among other things, Taiwanese publishers from publishing books translated in mainland China. The lifting of martial law was not proclaimed until 38 years later, in 1987, but most of Taiwan's published translations were from the mainland before the late 1980s and those 'illegal' translations were either issued under fabricated names or anonymously. Wang Keyi's translation of *Pride and Prejudice* was published in Taiwan under the name 'Qian Hanmin' by Wenyou Publishing House in 1972, and 'Xia Yinghui' by Zhiwen Press in 1983. Liu Zhongde's *Emma* appeared in Taiwan under the name 'Yang Naiming' by Beixing Press in 1958, 'Dong Yu' by Xinlu Publishing House in 1963, and 'Editorial Department' by Dehua Press in 1975. For an insightful discussion of translation history of post-war Taiwan, see Lai Tzu-yun and Chang Szu-ting, '19th Century British and American Novels in Chinese Translation: A Bibliography', *Compilation and Translation Review*, 4 (2011), 151-180; Lai Tzu-yun, 'Ghost Translators and Exiled Men of Letter – A Description of Translators in Post-war Taiwan', *Studies of Interpretation and Translation*, 17 (2014), 23-55.

[229] Tang Shaojie, 'The Impact of the Cultural Revolution on Chinese Modernity', p. 305.

[230] Han Shaogong, 'Why did the Cultural Revolution End', in *Ideas, History, and Modern China*, pp. 215-28 (p. 316).

manners of artistic, literary expression'.[231] The painful and humiliating experiences of Chinese people during the Cultural Revolution engendered large amounts of hatred towards class-oriented struggle, a movement which finally came to an end after Mao Zedong's death in 1976. The flaws of China's Soviet-influenced political and social systems had been clearly revealed in the Cultural Revolution, the failure of which, as will be discussed in the following section, 'necessitated the reform of those systems'.[232]

0.4 The Reception of Jane Austen in China from 1977 to the Present

As noted above, the publication and criticism of Austen's novels were halted by the Cultural Revolution. Since the end of the movement, however, her reception in China has undergone great changes. The end of this turbulent political era marked an important turning point in the construction of Chinese modernity. The new leader of the Chinese Communist Party, Deng Xiaoping, made a number of political changes and gave priority to economic reforms. In 1978, he launched a series of 'Reform and Opening-up' policies, which removed restrictions on international trade and investment in China. The changing political climate of the country also enabled a great cultural revival, 'driven by long pent-up thirst for knowledge, for arts and literature'.[233]

As a consequence, the early 1980s witnessed a new wave of translation of Western literary works. In 1980, Wang Keyi's translation of *Pride and Prejudice* was reprinted by Shanghai Translation Press, which was founded in 1978 and has since become one of the largest publishers of translated literature in China. According to *The New York Times* (1981), the book was among 'the most popular translations sold in China's state-run bookshops last year'.[234] In 1982, Liu Zhongde's translation of *Emma* was also republished by Lijiang Publishing House. In 1985, extracts from Wang Keyi's translation of *Pride and*

[231] Qi Shouhua, 'No Simple Love: The Literary Fortunes of the Brontë Sisters in the Post-Mao, Market-Driven China', in *The Brontë Sisters in Other Wor(l)ds*, ed. by Qi Shouhua and Jacqueline Padgett (NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 28.
[232] Tang , 'The Impact of the Cultural Revolution on Chinese Modernity', p. 305.
[233] Qi, *The Brontë Sisters in Other Wor(l)ds*, p. 29.
[234] 'Chinese Buy Austen, Bronte', *The New York Times* (January 1981): <http://www.nytimes.com/1981/01/03/books/chinese-buy-austen-bronte.html>[accessed 2 January 2016].

Prejudice were included in the *Foreign Literary Classics Series*, which has been China's most authoritative guide to Western literature since the 1950s.

Austen's rapid rise in popularity in China during the early 1980s was heavily influenced by her increasing literary reputation around the world during the second half of the twentieth century. In 1982, for example, a Chinese journal, *Literary World*, reported the results of a survey on the 'Best Books of All Time' that was recently conducted by the American magazine, *Life*. According to this survey, the top five best books were *Don Quixote* by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Robinson Crusoe* by Daniel Defoe, *The Pickwick Papers* by Charles Dickens, *Pride and Prejudice* by Austen, and *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* by Thomas Hardy. Austen was the only female writer whose work ranked among the top twenty best books.[235] In the same year, B. Ifor Evans's *A Short History of English Literature*, which was first published in London in 1940 and reprinted by Penguin Books in 1976, was translated into Chinese by some members of staff at Guangzhou Foreign Language University. Evans claimed in his book that 'seldom has the novel been conceived with such deliberate and successful art as in the novels of Jane Austen'.[236] He pointed out that *Pride and Prejudice* remained Austen's most popular work because of its continuous comedy and spontaneity; he also praised her later novels, *Mansfield Park*, *Emma*, and *Persuasion*, for having 'a more complex portrayal of character, a more subtle irony, a deeper, possibly a warmer-hearted attitude to the players on her scene'.[237]

An increasing number of Chinese reviews on Austen also appeared during the early 1980s. In 1981, for example, Hou Weirui's 'On the Language Arts of *Pride and Prejudice*' took a linguistic approach to Austen's work. He attributed the lasting popularity of *Pride and Prejudice* to the richness and diversity of its language.[238] Hou noted Austen's masterful use of irony and dialogue through an analysis of the variety of sentence structures and vocabulary used in the novel to create a sarcastic tone.[239] He also commented on Austen's narrated monologue, pointing out its importance in revealing

[235] 'Best books of all time', *Library World*, 2 (1982), 26-7.
[236] B. Ifor Evans, *A Short History of English Literature* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1940), p. 149.
[237] Ibid., p. 151.
[238] Hou Weirui, 'On the Language Arts of *Pride and Prejudice*', *Journal of Foreign Languages*, 6 (1981), 33-46.
[239] Ibid.

major characters' thoughts and inner conflict.[240] In 1982, Zhu Hong published 'Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*', which aims to challenge Chinese critics' long-held disapproval of Austen. She commented on Austen's reception in China before the 1980s, declaring:

Original:

> 在我国，长期以来，这种不赞许的严厉目光的注视之下，奥斯丁畏缩在一边，在解放以来翻译出版的外国文学名著中得不到应有的位置，一直被排斥在《外国文学名著丛书》的选题之外，在"四人帮"文化专职横行的时期，甚而从英国文学史中被除名。[241]

Translation:

> For a long period of time in our country, Austen was marginalised under this stern gaze of disapproval. Since the founding of PRC, she has not been given the position she deserves in the translated foreign literature, and has been excluded from the *Foreign Literary Classics Series*. During the period of the Cultural Revolution when the Gang of Four came into prominence, her name was even removed from the history of English Literature.

Zhu indicated her indignation towards the Cultural Revolution by arguing that literary criticism should depend on an author's artistic achievement rather than other factors.[242] She briefly introduced comments from Scott, Macaulay, Lewes, Charlotte Brontë, Simpson, Harding, Henry James, Mary Lascelles, and Malcolm Bradbury regarding Austen's novels, displaying the variety of views on the author in Britain and America over the past two hundred years.[243] This clearly reveals the disconnection between Austen studies in English-speaking countries and in China at this time, as most of the English reviews cited had been published before the mid-twentieth century and contemporary criticism of Austen was instead left barely discussed. However, Zhu did note a new rise in feminist criticism of Austen.[244] As will be discussed in Chapter One, she praised Elizabeth Bennet's capability for rational and independent thought, but

---

240 Ibid.
241 Zhu Hong, 'Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*', *Yuedu*, 34 (1982), 42-51.
242 Ibid.
243 Ibid.
244 Ibid.

refused to consider her a 'feminist' heroine.[245] Chinese scholars' ideas about Austen's realism in the first half of the twentieth century seem to have had a profound influence on later critics, and Zhu also celebrated Austen primarily as a realist writer.[246]

Another important early Chinese review of Austen also appeared in 1982 – Yang Jiang's 'What is So Great about It? – Reading Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*'. Yang praised Austen's work with the novelist's own words in *Northanger Abbey*:

> Some work in which the greatest powers of the mind are displayed, in which the most thorough knowledge of human nature, the happiest delineation of its varieties, the liveliest effusions of wit and humour, are conveyed to the world in the best-chosen language. (*NA*, p. 38)

Yang declared that 'she [Austen] is considered to be an equal of Shakespeare by critics', and gave reference information within the text – Ian Watt's introduction to *Jane Austen: A Collection of Critical Essays*.[247] Watt noted in his introduction the links made by Whately, Macaulay, Lewes, and Simpson between Austen and Shakespeare.[248] Yet Yang, unlike Zhu, did not directly discuss these British critics' accounts of Austen. Yang also mentioned one of Austen's early works, *Lady Susan,* stating that it is a novel in letters although her major novels adopt the omniscient-narrator mode.[249]

The articles above have played a significant role in shaping the contemporary critical reception of Austen in China. They have also helped promote the translation of Austen's novels. For example, *Sense and Sensibility* was translated into Chinese for the first time by Wang Yutang in 1983. In the following year, the first Chinese translations of *Mansfield Park* and *Persuasion* were published, with the former novel translated by Zi Pei and the latter by Sun Zhili. The second Chinese translations of *Emma*, *Sense and Sensibility*, and *Persuasion* also appeared in that year. As most Chinese readers and critics encountered Austen through translations during the 1980s, a number of articles therefore also began to review and compare those translations. Geng Liping, for instance, compared the two

---

[245] Ibid.
[246] Ibid.
[247] Yang Jiang, 'What is So Great about It? – Reading Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*', *Literary Review*, 3 (1982), 128-43. The original text in Chinese: '评论家把她和莎士比亚并称.'
[248] See Ian Watt's introduction to *Jane Austen: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. by Ian Watt (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1963), pp. 1-14.
[249] Yang, 'What is So Great about It?', 128-43.

translations of *Sense and Sensibility* by Wang Yutang and Sun Zhili, considering the latter to be more accurate in terms of language and cultural implications.[250]

Sun Zhili has made a particularly great contribution to the translation and contemporary studies of Austen's novels in China. He had translated all of Austen's six major novels into Chinese by the 2000s, with *Sense and Sensibility* and *Persuasion* published in 1984, *Northanger Abbey* in 1986, *Pride and Prejudice* in 1990, *Emma* in 2001, and *Mansfield Park* in 2004. He has also published a number of scholarly articles on Austen, such as 'The Anti-Gothic Elements in *Northanger Abbey* (Part One)' (1988) and 'The Anti-Gothic Elements in *Northanger Abbey* (Part Two)' (1988). As will be discussed in Chapter Five, these two articles are among the earliest Chinese reviews of *Northanger Abbey*, in which Sun introduces the development of the Gothic novel in Britain and discusses the novel's anti-Gothic nature through an analysis of character development, and plot structure.[251] He also mentions Mudrick's ideas regarding the anti-Gothic function of *Northanger Abbey*.[252]

As shown above, the reception of Austen in China began to change greatly from the early 1980s. Her novels had been commonly described by Chinese critics as being limited in scope and socially conservative during the early and mid-twentieth century. However, Austen's use of irony and her critical attitudes towards the existing social and gender norms in her society have become the most important research topics surrounding her work in contemporary China. Zhu Hong, Yang Jiang, and Sun Zhili's articles reveal the great extent to which English critics' reception of Austen has influenced Chinese critics in recent decades. Chinese readers and critics have had far more access to the literary criticism of Austen in English-speaking countries since the 1980s. In 1985, for example, Zhu Hong published *Austen Studies*, in which she translated a number of English reviews of Austen's novels, notably those by the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century British

[250] Geng Liping, 'The Translation of *Sense and Sensibility*', *Journal of Pla University of Foreign Languages*, 1 (1986), 63-6.
[251] Sun Zhili, 'The Anti-Gothic Elements in *Northanger Abbey* (Part One)', *Journal of Pla University of Foreign Languages*, 2(1988), 28-34; Sun, 'The Anti-Gothic Elements in *Northanger Abbey* (Part Two)', *Journal of Pla University of Foreign Languages*, 3(1988), 46-50.
[252] Ibid.

critics discussed in her 'Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*' (mentioned above).[253] Some more recent reviews were also included in the book, such as Ian Watt's 'On *Sense and Sensibility*', Lionel Trilling's '*Mansfield Park*', Alan D McKillop's 'Critical Realism in *Northanger Abbey*', Arnold Kettle's '*Emma*', Edmund Wilson's 'A Long Talk about Jane Austen', and David Monaghan's 'Jane Austen and the Position of Women', many of which were published in *Jane Austen: A Collection of Critical Essays*, edited by Ian Watt in 1963.[254] These translated articles, as will be shown in the following six chapters, were frequently referred to in the Chinese reviews of Austen's novels which appeared over the next few decades, and have been important in promoting research into Austen's novels. Moreover, in the early 1980s, Chinese critics' attention was mainly focused on *Pride and Prejudice*, and this book played a remarkable role in drawing their attention to Austen's other novels.

In 1987, Annette T. Rubinstein's *The Great Tradition in English Literature: from Shakespeare to Shaw* (1953) was translated into Chinese by Chen Anquan. The Chinese version of the book was published in two volumes, with the first entitled *The Great Tradition in English Literature: from Shakespeare to Jane Austen*.[255] British critics' comparisons of Shakespeare and Austen, as previously mentioned, have been noted by Chinese scholars since the early 1980s. The appearance of her name, together with Shakespeare's, in the book title, which commonly plays an important role in arousing readers' expectations, shows that she enjoyed a secure literary fame among the general reading public by this time. The English title of this book also seems to allude to F. R. Leavis's *The Great Tradition* (1948), which although controversial in his day, placed Austen in a central position within the English literary canon. According to Leavis, Austen stood among the four greatest English novelists, along with George Eliot, Henry James and Joseph Conrad, who are 'distinguished by a vital capacity for experience, a

[253] *Austen Studies*, ed. by Zhu Hong, (Beijing: China Federation of Literary and Art Circles Publishing House, 1985).
[254] Ibid.
[255] See the title page of Annette T. Rubinstein, *The Great Tradition in English Literature: From Shakespeare to Jane Austen* (*Yingguo Wenxue De Weida Chuantong Shang: Cong Shashibiya Dao Aosiding*), trans. by Chen Anquan (Shanghai: Shanghai Translation Press, 1987).

kind of reverent openness before life, and a marked moral intensity'.[256]

In Rubinstein's *The Great Tradition*, Austen is also regarded as a major figure in English literature. The book provides a forty-page introduction to Austen's life and criticism on her works, which Chen translated without abridgment.[257] Rubinstein also offered her own analysis of those novels; she, for example, agreed with Mudrick's assessment of the character of Elizabeth Bennet, the latter claiming: 'Her point of reference is always the complex individual, the individual aware and capable of choice.'[258] Rubinstein also discussed twentieth-century critics' idea of Austen's 'realistic feminism', such as that of Reginald Farrar and Mona Wilson.[259] Farrar claimed in 1917 that 'for her whole sex she [Austen] revolts against "elegant females," and sums up her ideal woman, not as a "good-natured unaffected girl"… but as a "rational creature"'.[260] In 1938, Wilson associated Austen with Mary Wollstonecraft, finding in their works a similar attempt at 'destruction of the fair sex… and the evolution of the rational woman'.[261] Rubinstein also noted Virginia Woolf's praise of Austen as 'the most perfect artist among women'.[262] These positive responses to Austen, particularly her interest in 'the woman question', were important in helping to shape the reception of her novels in China over the next few decades.

The 1990s witnessed a significant and continued increase in Austen's popularity and critical standing in China. I argue that the rapid development of women's studies at this time had a major influence on Chinese critics and readers' interpretations of Austen's works. As noted above, soon after the PRC was established in 1949, the women's liberation movement was also begun in China, which at the time was closely bound up with the Communist Party's class-struggle centred political campaigns. Ping-Chun Hsiung, for example, explored the relationship between women's liberation and China's socialist construction of this period, declaring:

---

256 F. R. Leavis, *The Great Tradition* (Pelican: Harmondsworth,1962), p. 17
257 See Annette T. Rubinstein, *The Great Tradition in English Literature: From Shakespeare to Shaw* (NY: the Citadel Press, 1953), pp. 328-74.
258 Ibid., p. 345.
259 Reginald Farrar, 'Jane Austen, ob. July 18 1817', *Quarterly Review*, 228 (1917), 1-30.
260 Ibid.
261 Mona Wilson, *Jane Austen and Some of Her Contemporaries* (London: Cresset Press, 1938), ix.
262 Rubinstein, *The Great Tradition in English Literature*, p. 373.

> Women born after 1949 grew up in a period when eliminating gender inequalities was officially advocated and upheld…The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) proclaimed that the proletarian revolution had created objective conditions for women's emancipation. It was therefore the responsibility of each woman to be self-liberated. The official script demanded that women leave the confines of domesticity to enter the public sphere and join their male counterparts in revolutionary causes.[263]

The 1950s therefore saw great changes in women's family lives, educational rights, and employment opportunities.[264] There was also a significant increase in the number of women writers, translators, critics, and journalists. For example, many of the most influential Austen scholars in the 1980s were women, such as Zhu Hong and Yang Jiang.

However, the Communist Party's political participation in the Chinese women's liberation movement has many limitations. The interests of the party, for example, were given top priority while gender inequality received much less attention. The movement was also severely interrupted by the Cultural Revolution during the 1960s and 1970s. As a result, women's studies programmes at university level did not appear in China until the late 1980s.[265] Founded in 1990, the women's studies centre of Peking University is one of the pioneers of gender studies programmes in the country. It offers a wide range of gender-related courses at undergraduate and postgraduate level. Since the 1990s women writers and scholars have also taken a more active role in the exploration of Chinese women's social status and lives. Li Yinhe, for example, is among the earliest and most prominent Chinese scholars of women's studies. During the 1990s and 2000s, she published more than thirty books relating to gender, sexuality, and feminism, such as *Sexuality and Marriage in China* (1991), *Rising Power of the Women* (1997), *Subculture of Homosexuality* (1998), *Feminism* (2003), and *Sex Issues* (2007). Feminist works from Western countries also began to arouse interest among Chinese readers. For example, in 1995, Wollstonecraft's best-known work, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), was

---

[263] Ping-Chun Hsiung, 'The Women's Studies Movement in China in the 1980s and 1990s', in *Education, Culture, and Identity in Twentieth-Century China*, ed. by Glen Peterson, Ruth Hayhoe and Yongling Lu (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2001), pp. 430-50 (p. 432).

[264] Mao Zedong famously declared that 'women can hold up half the sky' in 1956 with the aim of encouraging women to take part in China's communist construction alongside men.

[265] Ping-Chun Hsiung, 'The Women's Studies Movement in China in the 1980s and 1990s', pp. 430-50.

published in Chinese, together with John Stuart Mill's *The Subjection of Women* (1869), by the Commercial Press. Those works help bring women's issues to the forefront of public attention in China.

As a consequence of increasingly positive attitudes towards gender and feminist studies in China, a rapidly growing interest in interpreting Austen's novels from feminist perspectives has developed in recent decades. For example, in 'Jane Austen and British Women's Literature' (1996), Qiu Yin considered Austen to have made an important contribution to the development of feminist literature, remarking:

Original:

> 她的每一部小说都是以女性为主人公，从女性的视角尖锐地揭示了当时英国社会上男尊女卑的现象，传达了女性为争取男女平等而抗争的呼喊。[266]

Translation:

> Each of her novels is a heroine-centred work, which pointedly reveals the patriarchal nature of British society at that time from a woman's point of view, and calls for women to fight for gender equality.

Qiu distinguished Austen's intelligent and independent heroines, particularly Elizabeth Bennet and Anne Elliot, from the conventional images of submissive women in English literature, noting in particular their rebellions against traditional customs and their struggles for moral and educational equality.[267] Qiu also mentioned several English critics' links between Austen's writing and feminist discourses. For example, David Monaghan's comments on eighteenth-century British women's inferior social position in the above-mentioned 'Jane Austen and the Position of Women' and Margaret Kirkham's remark – 'At this period to become an author was, in itself, a feminist act' – in *Jane Austen, Feminism and Fiction* (1997) were both referred to in this article.[268]

Feminist criticism of Austen appeared much earlier in Britain than China. As noted above, in the early twentieth century, critics such as Reginald Farrar and Mona Wilson attempted to take a feminist approach to Austen's works. However, it was not until the

[266] Qiu, 'Jane Austen and British Women's Literature', 28-33.
[267] Ibid.
[268] Ibid.

early 1970s that Austen's interest in 'the woman question' started to be widely discussed. In 1973, for example, Lloyd W. Brown published 'Jane Austen and the Feminist Tradition', aiming to make a feminist connection between Austen and Mary Wollstonecraft, particularly through their similar views on women's education and female psychological development.[269] Marriage is the central theme of all Austen's novels, and this has been considered by a number of critics, such as Helen Storm Corsa, to represent the author's approval of 'the conventional notion of woman's "instinctual" needs for sexual "dependency"'.[270] Brown, however, has refuted this prevailing view, and through an analysis of Anne Elliot's remarks on women's 'unenviable' capacity for long-lived feelings in *Persuasion*, suggested that Austen criticises the supposed naturalness of social inequality and rejects 'a biologically inspired concept of human perception and feeling'.[271] In 1977, Marian Fowler also linked Austen to Wollstonecraft, describing Elizabeth Bennet as 'a completely new kind of fictional heroine' who embodies the 'revolution in female manners' demanded by Wollstonecraft in *A Vindication*.[272] She considered Elizabeth to be 'liberated from the female stereotypes of her society to be herself', concluding that she is 'a truly delightful model for all feminists, both then and now'.[273]

Over the next three decades, debates on Austen's feminism continued to arouse increasing interest among English critics. In 1983, LeRoy W. Smith published *Jane Austen and the Drama of Woman*, in which he identified Austen's novels as exhibiting the 'rising consciousness of women'.[274] He suggested that Austen was well aware of 'sexuality's powerful role in human behaviour' and therefore became an 'unblinking observer of the realities of women's existence'.[275] Smith also compared Austen with Wollstonecraft, noting that although Wollstonecraft is more direct, 'both identify faulty education as the

[269] Lloyd W. Brown, *'Jane Austen and the Feminist Tradition', Nineteenth- Century Fiction*, 3 (1973), 321- 339 (p. 327).
[270] Ibid.
[271] Ibid., p. 326.
[272] Ibid.
[273] Marian Fowler, *'The Feminist Bias of Pride and Prejudice'*, *Dalhousie Review*, 57(1977), 47-64.
[274] Smith, p. 25.
[275] Ibid., pp. 25-8

principal source of women's inferiority to men'.[276] In 1988, Claudia L. Johnson wrote *Jane Austen: Women, Politics, and the Novel* as a response to Marilyn Butler's arguments regarding Austen's 'Tory conservatism'.[277] Johnson considered Austen a progressive writer, arguing that the author's silence is 'an enabling rather than inhibiting strategy'.[278] She distinguished Austen's heroines from 'the submissive and retiring creatures anti-Jacobin propagandists idealised in their novels', stressing Austen's celebration of women's rational capacities and strength of mind.[279] Margaret Kirkham's *Jane Austen, Feminism and Fiction*, published in 1997, has also made an important contribution to modern feminist studies of Austen. She suggested that Austen's celebration of women's rational mental powers is indicative of the 'rational feminism of the Enlightenment'.[280] According to Kirkham, Austen attempted to represent women as being 'no less capable of rational judgment than men', a position which associates her with Wollstonecraft who confirms 'the authority of reason' in *A Vindication*.[281] These British and American critics' arguments over Austen's 'feminism' have certainly helped to shape her reception among contemporary Chinese critics. Since the 2000s Austen's representation of gender relations has received increasing scholarly attention in China, a matter which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter One.

In an effort to assess the impact of this development on Austen's reception among contemporary Chinese readers, a reader survey was conducted among undergraduate students at the University of Nottingham Ningbo, China (UNNC) in 2013.[282] The questionnaire was distributed to 60 Chinese students who studied English-related courses, and a total of 17 completed questionnaires were collected. The 17 participants had all either read Austen's novels or watched Austen-related films and television adaptations, and they were likely to be more familiar with, or interested in, Austen than

---

[276] Ibid.
[277] Butler's conservative readings of Austen in *Jane Austen and the War of Ideas* will be further discussed in Chapter Two.
[278] Johnson, xxv.
[279] Ibid., p. 21.
[280] Margaret Kirkham, *Jane Austen, Feminism and Fiction* (London: Athlone Press, 1997), xii.
[281] Ibid.
[282] The reader survey was carried out at UNNC because Chinese students who study here generally have a good command of English and therefore tend to be more familiar with Austen's works. Due to the fact that only a small number of students were studying English literature at UNNC, the survey was relatively small scale.

other students. Among them, 6 participants were first introduced to Austen by 'Word of Mouth', mainly from parents, teachers, and friends, while 4 participants ticked 'Bookstores', 3 'Internet', 1 'School Textbooks', 1 'School/Public Libraries', 1 'Newspapers/Magazines', and 1 'TV Programme'. Among Austen's six major novels, *Pride and Prejudice* was the best known and most widely read among the 17 participants. 16 students had read it, and 3 students claimed to have read it more than 5 times. *Sense and Sensibility* and *Emma* also appeared to be popular – 8 students had read the former work and 6 students the latter. However, only 2 students had read *Persuasion*, 1 student *Northanger Abbey*, and none of the participants had ever read *Mansfield Park*. In response to the question about their general impression of Austen, 9 participants ticked 'Feminist' and 8 students chose 'Realistic', while none of them considered her to be 'Conservative'. This survey, although small, tends to support the changing nature of Austen's Chinese reception, as discussed above.

In comparison with the responses of Chinese participants, an identical questionnaire was also distributed to 60 undergraduate students from the School of English at the University of Nottingham UK campus in 2013 and 2014.[283] In this case a total of 33 completed questionnaires were collected. These 33 British participants all claimed to be familiar with Austen's novels or their adaptations, with almost half of them (15) being first introduced to the author by 'Word of Mouth', 8 'School/Public Libraries', 3 'School Textbooks', 3 'Internet', 2 'Bookstores', 1 'Newspapers/Magazines', and 1 'Film Adaptation'.[284] It seems that *Pride and Prejudice* was also the most popular of Austen's novels among British participants – 31 had read it, and 19 had read it more than once. However, Austen's other five major novels had also been widely read among these participants, with 18 having read *Persuasion*, 16 *Sense and Sensibility*, 13 *Northanger Abbey*, 9 *Mansfield Park*, and 8 *Emma*. The British participants' general impression of Austen was distinguishable to a certain extent from that of Chinese participants. More than half of Chinese participants (53%) considered Austen a 'Feminist', but only 21% of the British students ticked the same answer. In comparison, a large number of the British

[283] See the first part of Appendix Two for a sample questionnaire.
[284] See the second part of Appendix Two for a summary of survey results.

participants (55%) would rather define her as a 'Witty' author, and 9 students also considered her to be 'Conservative'. The differences in these survey results will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters. Finally, an interview survey was also conducted among five Chinese exchange students from UNNC – students who were studying at the Nottingham campus – in order to further explore Chinese students' experiences of reading Austen, and these reactions will be discussed in Chapter Three.

The critical responses to Austen's novels mentioned earlier, as well as the results of the reader surveys above suggest two important details about the contemporary reception of Austen in China. The first is that in comparison to British readers, today it is much more common for Chinese readers to recognise her as a 'feminist' author. One of the main reasons for this difference, as indicated in critical reviews and the surveys, is that *Pride and Prejudice* is the work that has had the most influence on Chinese readers' responses to Austen. The second important detail is that although all of Austen's major novels have been translated into Chinese, there are significant differences in the reception of individual works. They form two distinct groups: the first being those which have achieved great popularity in China, including *Pride and Prejudice*, *Sense and Sensibility*, and *Emma*; and the second being those which remain relatively unfamiliar to Chinese readers, including *Persuasion*, *Northanger Abbey*, and *Mansfield Park*. In the following six chapters of this thesis, I will discuss each individual novel's reputation in China and explore the reasons behind its success or failure in arousing the interest of Chinese critics and readers. I will also draw comparisons between the reception of these novels in China and that in Britain with the aim of exploring the cultural influence on Austen studies.

This thesis aims to document a wide variety of perspectives on the reception of Austen's novels in China. Therefore, each of the six main chapters will focus on a different theme. Chapter One will examine the approaches taken by Chinese translators and scholars to interpreting Austen's 'feminism' in *Pride and Prejudice*. Chapter Two will explore Chinese critics' interest in the reason-feeling debate as represented in *Sense and Sensibility*, and investigate their understanding of the historical and literary context of Austen. Chapter Three will provide an analysis of different Chinese translations of *Emma*,

and discuss translators' struggles in achieving a balance between conveying irony and maintaining fidelity to the style of the original text. Chapter Four will examine Austen's conservative attitude towards social change and modernity in *Mansfield Park* and its negative influence on the novel's reception in China. Chapter Five will engage with Chinese critics' interpretations of the anti-Gothic nature of *Northanger Abbey*, and investigate the reception of Gothic fiction represented by Ann Radcliffe, whose work was not published in China until the last decade. Chapter Six will examine Chinese critics' responses to Austen's changing attitude towards feelings and romanticism in her last complete novel, *Persuasion*. Although in contrast to *Pride and Prejudice*'s humour and playfulness, the 'autumnal' tone of *Persuasion* has attracted much less attention, I argue that the latter work, whose style and themes more closely resemble those of contemporary Chinese women novelists, has the potential to gain increasing popularity in China. The general reading public's responses to individual works and to film and television adaptations will also be discussed in the following six chapters. These responses are mainly taken from the *Douban* database, one of China's leading online communication platforms surrounding books, films, and music.

Chapter One

Jane Austen and Feminism: *Pride and Prejudice* in China

Pride and Prejudice was the first of Austen's novels to be published in China, with its first two Chinese translations, by Yang Bin and Dong Zhongchi, both appearing in 1935. It has remained Austen's most popular work among contemporary Chinese readers. This chapter will explore the significant role of *Pride and Prejudice* in influencing Chinese critics' views of Austen's 'feminist' concerns in recent decades. I will examine how the Chinese translator, Wang Keyi, presented Elizabeth's 'radical rebellions' against prevailing social norms in his 1955 translation of the novel, and consider its profound impact on the later reception of the novel in China. I will also draw comparisons between Elizabeth and progressively-minded heroines of Chinese literature to explain the different approaches taken by Chinese and English-language critics in interpreting Austen's feminism.

1.1 The Publication of *Pride and Prejudice* in Britain

The 'light, and bright, and sparkling' *Pride and Prejudice* is arguably Austen's best-known work in Britain and around the world.[285] It was the second of her novels to be published in Britain. Although it is difficult to tell from Austen's surviving letters whether she had anticipated its enduring popularity, the author was excited to receive her first copy of the three-volume novel on 27 January 1813. She called it 'my own darling child' in a letter to Cassandra, written two days later, and thought Elizabeth Bennet 'as delightful a creature as ever appeared in print'.[286] Austen did also critique her novel, noting that 'it wants shade; it wants to be stretched out here and there with a long chapter of sense, if it could be had; if not, of solemn specious nonsense, about something unconnected with the story', alluding to the sober didacticism of her day.[287] However,

[285] For more remarks on the reputation of *Pride and Prejudice*, see, for example, Austen-Leigh, p. 47; William H. Galperin, *The Historical Austen* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), p. 109; Deborah Kaplan, *Jane Austen among Women* (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), p. 182.
[286] *Austen's Letters*, p. 297.
[287] Ibid., pp. 299-300.

this remark embodies Austen's typical self-deprecating humour; and she actually hoped the 'shade' to 'form a contrast, and bring the reader with increased delight to the playfulness and epigrammatism'.[288] The deficiency of shade and solemn nonsense, on the contrary, became *Pride and Prejudice*'s major recommendation to critics and general readers alike over the next two hundred years.

The first draft of *Pride and Prejudice* was written between October 1796 and August 1797 under the title *First Impressions*.[289] This working title appears to allude to Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794), in which the heroine Emily is instructed by her father to 'resist first impressions, and to acquire that steady dignity of mind, that can alone counterbalance the passions'.[290] In the late eighteenth century, for women writers who wanted to stress the importance of female education, first impressions and misjudgements commonly played an important role in shaping the conflicts of their novels. Moreover, Austen began working on *First Impressions* shortly after completing *Elinor and Marianne* (later titled *Sense and Sensibility*), which, as will be discussed in Chapter Three, explores the role of passion and reason in guiding female conduct. In *First Impressions*, she seems to have developed her interest in the subject of first impulses and self-command. In November 1797, Austen's father offered the novel to a London publisher, Thomas Cadell, and wrote in his letter: 'I have in my possession a manuscript novel, comprising 3 vols., about the length of Miss Burney's *Evelina*.'[291] However, his proposal was 'Declined by Return of Post'.[292]

Austen began revising her manuscript of *First Impressions* around 1811-1812 at Chawton Cottage. Cassandra mentioned that she made some 'additions and contractions'.[293] Austen playfully complained: 'I have lop't and crop't so successfully, however, that I imagine it must be rather shorter than *S. & S* altogether.'[294] On 28 January 1813, the novel was first published in London as *Pride and Prejudice*. Austen

---

[288] Ibid., p. 300.
[289] Austen-Leigh, p. 47.
[290] See Tony Tanner, *Jane Austen* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), p. 107.
[291] Ibid., p. 129.
[292] Ibid.
[293] Quoted in Susannah Fullerton, *Celebrating Pride and Prejudice: 200 Years of Jane Austen's Masterpiece* (Minneapolis: Voyageur Press, 2013), p. 14.
[294] *Austen's Letters*, p. 298.

changed the title probably because a novel by Margaret Holford had appeared under the same title, *First Impressions*, in 1801. The current title is generally regarded as being inspired by the final chapter of Fanny Burney's 1782 novel *Cecilia* – 'The whole of this unfortunate business,' said Dr Lyster, 'has been the result of PRIDE and PREJUDICE.'[295] The phrase 'pride and prejudice' appears three times in capital letters in the chapter. Burney was among the most influential female novelists in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Samuel Johnson, for example, declared in 1782: 'She fills the Whole World!—a little Rogue!—A World she is in herself, with her Harrels & Hobsons!'[296] In a letter to Burney of 1782, Edmund Burke claimed that no one would not 'find themselves better informed about human nature, and their stock of observation enriched' after reading her *Cecilia* (1782).[297] Hester Thrale compared *Cecilia* to a 'Camera Obscura' in her assessment of the novel, considering it 'the Picture of Life such as the Author sees it'.[298]

Austen had also been a great admirer of Burney, and *Cecilia* and *Camilla* are described by her narrator in *Northanger Abbey* as having 'only genius, wit, and taste to recommend them' (*NA*, p. 37). The Austen family, as Austen-Leigh declared in *A Memoir*, 'classed her [Austen] with Madame D'Arblay [Burney's married name]' in their secret thoughts.[299] Burney's influence on Austen has long been recognised by critics. Marilyn Butler, for instance, considered Mrs. Morland's worrying about young girls being spoilt by great acquaintances, when Catherine is actually pining for Henry Tilney, as a literary borrowing from *Camilla*.[300] She also pointed out that Elizabeth Bennet, 'as a poor heroine destined to marry a wealthy aristocrat, resembles Evelina and Camilla; and in behaving with spirit to the dignified hero, she reflects appositely on all three Burney heroines'.[301] Kate Chisholm noted that because they were written during a period when Gothic fantasies were particularly popular, Austen's novels benefited from Burney's attempt at

---

[295] See, for example, Linda Bree, 'The Literary Context', in *The Cambridge Companion to Pride and Prejudice*, ed. by Janet Todd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 63.
[296] Fanny Burney, *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney: Volume V, 1782-1783*, ed. by Lars E. Troide and Stewart J. Cooke (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012), p. 170.
[297] Edmund Burke, *Selected Letters of Edmund Burke* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 107.
[298] Hester Thrale wrote this in her journal, *Thraliana*, on 19 May 1782; quoted in Kate Chisholm, *Fanny Burney: Her Life* (London: Vintage, 1999), p. 109.
[299] Austen-Leigh, p. 127.
[300] See Marilyn Butler, *Jane Austen and the War of Ideas* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), p. 179.
[301] Ibid., p.199.

creating 'realistic, if heightened, portraits in words of the society in which she lived'.[302] Margaret Anne Doody notes the differences between Austen's fiction and Burney's, and she points out that Burney's comedy is 'much more violent and disturbing'.[303] Doody considers Austen 'a realistic novelist who employs mannered and unbroken comedy', and Burney 'an expressionistic novelist who mingles the pathetic and the comic, the grotesque and the farcical'.[304] Their divergent life experiences may help to explain the differences between their works. Burney's family and social circle included many literary friends such as Samuel Crisp, Johnson, and Burke, which gave her more insight into the fashions and amusements of her society.[305] Burney's father, a music historian, also had a great influence on her writing career.[306] By contrast, Austen's talent, according to Austen-Leigh, did not 'connect her with the literary world', and she preferred to describe 'three or four families in a country village'.[307] However, there are remarkable thematic parallels between Burney and Austen's novels, and both of them seem to be keenly interested in exploring the relationship between feeling and reason in guiding female conduct.[308] Moreover, as an alliterative pairing, *Pride and Prejudice* also works better in echoing the title of Austen's first published novel, *Sense and Sensibility*. As with the former work, Austen's name did not appear on the title page of *Pride and Prejudice*; instead, it was credited to 'the Author of *Sense and Sensibility*'.[309]

1.2 The Early Reception of *Pride and Prejudice* in China

As noted above, *Pride and Prejudice* was Austen's first novel to be translated into Chinese. The Chinese-language introductory books on English literature published in China during the 1920s and 1930s may help to explain its peculiar attractiveness to

---

[302] See Kate Chisholm, *Fanny Burney: Her Life* (London: Vintage, 1999), p. 101.
[303] Margaret Anne Doody, *Francès Burney: The Life in the Works* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 2.
[304] Doody, *Francès Burney: The Life in the Works*, p. 2.
[305] Chisholm, *Fanny Burney: Her Life*, pp. 24-43.
[306] Ibid., pp. 24-7.
[307] Austen-Leigh, p. 2; p. 91.
[308] William Baker, *Critical Companion to Jane Austen: A Literary Reference to Her Life and Work* (New York: Facts on File Inc, 2008), p. 510.
[309] See the title page of Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* ed. by R.W. Chapman, 3rd edn (London: Oxford University Press, 1932). Further references to this source will be placed within this thesis and abbreviated as *P&P*.

Chinese translators of this time. In 1927, Ouyang declared that *Pride and Prejudice* was among Austen's most celebrated novels depicting English country life.[310] As noted above, in 1930 Lin translated Delmer's *English Literature*, in which *Pride and Prejudice* was described as Austen's best-known work. 'The technique and exquisite comic power displayed in this novel,' wrote Delmer, 'make it one of the English classics.'[311] Delmer's remarks on *Pride and Prejudice* also appeared in Xu's *English Literature* in 1933. Xu referred to Delmer's introduction to the novel – 'It is a comedy, the plot of which shows the long humiliation of a haughty wooer'.[312] Although this seems to be a lopsided account of the story with the heroine and other female characters left unmentioned, Xu certainly recognised the important role that *Pride and Prejudice* played in shaping Austen's literary reputation and paid no attention to the contents of her other five novels.[313]

Zheng rendered the novel's title as *Jiao'ao he Zisi* in Chinese. *Jiaoao* means 'pride'; *he* means 'and', but the term *Zisi* means 'selfish' and therefore is an inaccurate translation of 'prejudice'.[314] On 1 June 1935, Dong Zhongchi's translation of *Pride and Prejudice* was published by University Press in Beijing. The novel's Chinese title appeared as *Jiao'ao Yu Pianjian*. As noted above, *Jiao'ao* means 'pride'; *Yu* also refers to 'and'; and *Pianjian* means 'prejudice' or 'bias'.[315] Yang Bin's translation of the novel was published by the Commercial Press in the same month, under the title *Aoman Yu Pianjian*. Yang's rendering of 'pride' – *Aoman* – is slightly different from Dong's *Jiao'ao*, the reason for which will be discussed below.

As indicated by the title, 'pride' is one of the major themes of *Pride and Prejudice*. Fitzwilliam Darcy is commonly regarded as displaying the characteristics of 'pride'. When Elizabeth first meets Darcy at the Meryton ball, he is 'discovered to be proud, to be above his company, and above being pleased' (*P&P*, p. 10). Charlotte Lucas considers him to have a right to be proud because of his family and fortune, and her young brother

[310] Ouyang, p. 152.
[311] Delmer, p. 303.
[312] Xu, p. 55.
[313] Ibid.
[314] See *The Oxford Chinese Dictionary*, ed. by Julie Kleeman and Harry Yu (Oxford: Oxford University, 2010), p. 687.
[315] Ibid., *Jiao'ao*: p. 327; *Yu*: p. 916; *Pianjian*: p. 512.

playfully confesses: 'If I were as rich as Mr. Darcy…I should not care how proud I was' (*P&P*, p. 20). At the beginning of the novel, Darcy's 'pride' seems to originate from his social rank and wealth. However, it is later revealed that Darcy's pride reflects on his reserved character rather than his vanity: 'I certainly have not the talent…of conversing easily with those I have never seen before' (*P&P*, p. 175). He is 'remarkably agreeable' among his intimate acquaintances, and his housekeeper praises him as 'the best landlord, and the best master' (*P&P*, p. 249).

Austen does not seem to criticise Darcy's 'pride' as much as the vanity of characters such as Lydia and Wickham. She declares through the voice of Mary Bennet, who is keen to study human nature: 'Vanity and pride are different things, though the words are often used synonymously. A person may be proud without being vain. Pride relates more to our opinion of ourselves, vanity to what we would have others think of us' (*P&P*, p. 20). Mary suggests that pride is 'a very common failing…human nature is particularly prone to it, and that there are very few of us who do not cherish a feeling of self-complacency on the score of some quality or other, real or imaginary' (*P&P*, p. 20). Darcy defends his own behaviour, insisting that 'where there is a real superiority of mind, pride will be always under good regulation' (*P&P*, p. 57). The important role played by 'pride' in the novel has been noted by several recent Chinese critics. For example, in 2012, Zhang Tingting views the change of Darcy's proud attitude and behaviour as the process of 'self-improvement'.[316] Zhang suggests that pride also represents 'self-respect and dignity', and it is the positive aspect of his pride that helps him recognise the value of Elizabeth's advice and to improve himself.[317]

Therefore, Xu and Dong seem to attempt to be more accurate in their translation of 'pride' by choosing the Chinese term *Jiao'ao*, which refers to both the positive meaning of dignity and the negative meaning of excessive self-esteem. Yang Bin, on the other hand, adopted the Chinese term *Aoman*, which tends to stress the negative aspect of 'pride' and can also be used as the Chinese translation for 'arrogance' and 'haughtiness'. After all, it seems that Austen disapproves of Darcy's haughty manners to a great extent, which, like

[316] See Zhang Tingting, 'Mr. Darcy's Character in *Pride and Prejudice*', *The Merchandise and Quality*, 6 (2012), 78.
[317] Ibid.

Marianne's 'sensibility' in *Sense and Sensibility*, is associated with some sort of selfishness. He ignores the comfort of other people, and Elizabeth also denounces his insensibility: 'I could easily forgive his pride, if he had not mortified mine' (*P&P*, p. 20). *Aoman* works better in highlighting the novel's thematic conflict, and also in connecting with 'prejudice' for their similarly negative meaning. In 1937, Jin rendered 'pride' as *Aoman*, noting that *Pride and Prejudice* was Austen's masterpiece.[318]

As noted in the Introduction, Liang Shiqiu was invited to write a preface for Dong's translation of *Pride and Prejudice*. In his preface, Liang introduced the novel's working title and the time of its publication, mentioning George Austen's letter to Thomas Cadell of 1797. He continued:

Original:

> 奥斯丁女士的一生是很平凡宁静，她没有什么广博的经验，也没有多少学问。只是在几个较小的乡村和城市里安稳的度过她的一生。但是她知道她自己的限制。她不妄想写什么奇异故事或史诗之类。她只忠实的在小说里记载了她所熟悉的人物与喜剧，刻画了他们的人性，她善用她的能力，所以她的平庸处变为她的伟大处了。。。她在小说里占的地位，恰似华子渥兹在诗里所占的地位。二人都是要在平凡中寻出意义来。[319]

Translation:

> Miss Austen's whole life was ordinary and uneventful, and she had neither wide experience nor much knowledge. She had spent her life quietly in a few small villages and towns. However, she knew her limitations and did not attempt to write tales of adventure and heroism. She just faithfully depicted the characters and comedies she was familiar with in her novels, portraying human nature; she made good use of her abilities as to turn her mediocrity into great advantage…Her position in the fictional canon was similar to that of Wordsworth in the poetic canon. Both of them aimed to seek significance in ordinary life.

Liang's opinion of Austen resembled the prevailing critical views of her in China during the first half of the twentieth century. He considered her experience of life to be confined to a small provincial society, but recognised the significance of her writing as lying in the faithful portrayal of commonplace life. By comparing Austen with Wordsworth, Liang

[318] Jin, p. 302.
[319] Liang, p. 137.

placed her in an important position in the literary canon. He also noted Scott's praise of *Pride and Prejudice* in his diary of 1826: 'That young lady had a talent for describing the involvements and feelings and characters of ordinary life, which is to me the most wonderful I ever met with.'[320] Dong Zhongchi's translation was revised by Zhang Guruo, who was also a prominent translator of this period and produced the first Chinese translation of Hardy's *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* in 1935.

Yang Bin's translation, on the other hand, was revised by Wu Mi, one of her university lecturers at Yenching University. Wu also wrote a preface to it, praising the novel highly:

Original:

> 以此书造句工细，能以繁密复杂之意思，委曲表达之极为明显，学生由是得所模仿，且能启发其心灵也。[321]

Translation:

> Sentences of the novel are so delicate and well-structured that the complex and multiple meanings are most clearly expressed in a subtle style. Therefore, the imitation of her writing will help stimulate the students' minds.

Wu Mi, as Ye Xin points out, was among the first to teach Austen's novels in China.[322] After graduating from Harvard University in 1921, he returned to China and started teaching on a range of English modules at Southeast University, including most notably a third-year compulsory module on English novels.[323] In this module, Wu introduced students to *Pride and Prejudice* as well as Oliver Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield*, Dickens's *David Copperfield*, and William Makepeace Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*. Wu admired Austen's novel, and also taught *Pride and Prejudice* later at Tsinghua University and Yenching University.[324] However, current research on Wu's teaching of Austen is mainly based on his diaries, and related teaching resources and lecture content have not

320 Ibid.
321 Wei, pp. 74-75.
322 Ibid.
323 Ibid.
324 Ibid.

yet been found.[325] Wu played a significant role in stimulating Yang's interest in translating *Pride and Prejudice*. Although no sale figures survive, Yang's translation seems to have been well received with at least three editions having been issued by 1937. However, both Dong and Yang's translations of the novel did not appear in new editions after the 1950s and they have received little critical attention in recent decades.

1.3 A 'Marxist' Translation of *Pride and Prejudice* by Wang Keyi

In 1955, Wang Keyi produced a third Chinese translation of *Pride and Prejudice* based on an English edition published by Oxford University Press in 1948.[326] Wang studied English literature at Fudan University from the late 1940s, and after graduation in 1952, he worked successively as an editor at Shanghai Literature and Art Association Publishing House and the New Literature and Art Publishing House, which would also publish his translation of *Pride and Prejudice*. Shao Xunmei, who was also a celebrated translator of this period, helped revise his translation.[327] The widely accepted portrait of Austen drawn by James Andrews was used as the frontispiece to Wang's book.[328] A synopsis of the novel, as noted in the Introduction, appeared on the next page, followed by an excerpt from one of Austen's letters to Cassandra in her own handwriting. The book included forty black and white illustrations, mainly drawn by C. E. Brock for the 1895 Macmillan edition of *Pride and Prejudice*. Those illustrations certainly gave the Chinese readers a clearer idea of characters' facial expressions, postures, gestures, and Georgian style dress.

In his foreword to the novel, Wang introduced first Austen's life and family, with a few paragraphs of Austen-Leigh's *A Memoir* being quoted, such as the part about Austen's habit of writing on 'small sheets of paper which could easily be put away' in order to conceal her authorship from servants and visitors.[329] Austen's fiction, as

---

[325] Ibid.
[326] See Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, ed. by R. W. Chapman, 3rd edn (London: Oxford University Press, 1932; repr. 1948).
[327] Shao Xunmei translated and published Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* (1818-9) in 1957.
[328] This portrait, based on a sketch of young Austen by her sister Cassandra, first appeared in Austen-Leigh's *A Memoir* in 1869.
[329] See Translator's Foreword to Wang, pp. 1-4.

discussed in the introduction, was generally noted for its faithful representation of commonplace life among Chinese critics of the 1920s and 1940s.[330] This seems to have had a profound influence on her Chinese reception during the second half of the twentieth century, and terms such as 'realistic' and 'real' also appeared frequently in Wang's remarks on her work:

Original:

> 奥斯丁以批判、讽刺的笔法，分析了她那个时代的人物，特别是中产阶级妇女，指出了她们的问题，她虽然受到了一定的历史条件的限制，可是她的刻划是精确真实的…在英国小说堕落为伤感主义和虚伪的浪漫主义的时期，大家都虚饰文雅，她却能通过真实的人物和实例，表现出人与人的关系，人的现实生活，人的内心世界，从面反映出一个社会阶层的面貌，这的确是难能可贵的。[331]

Translation:

> Austen used sarcasm and irony to analyse characters of her time, particularly the middle-class women, pointing out their problems. Although she was limited to the historical context to some extent, her depiction was accurate and realistic…During the period when sentimentalism and false romanticism led to the deprivation of English novels, writers mostly preferred a flashy and pretentious writing style, but she, through portrayals of real characters and lives, presented relationships between human beings, and their real life and inner world, and accordingly reflected the social hierarchies; this is indeed commendable.

The 'realism' in Austen's novels played a crucially important role in their survival in China in the 1950s, during which time, as I have argued, Marxist criticism began to dominate the critical reception of Western writers because of the Chinese Communist Party's socialist transformation. Wang criticised Gothic and sentimental novels for disrupting the development of the 'classical model' represented by Fielding's works, and referred to *Northanger Abbey* as Austen's Gothic parody.[332] As mentioned in the previous chapter, he recalled the British Communist writer, T. A. Jackson's praise of Austen as the only realist writer who 'successfully maintained Fielding's ideal consistently' in the late

[330] Ibid.
[331] Ibid., p. 10.
[332] Ibid., p. 4.

eighteenth century.[333] He also mentioned Jackson's comments that there was 'not a trace of anti-Jacobinism' in Austen's novels and noted that she might have taken 'in private a much more profoundly sympathetic view of the French Revolution'.[334]

In spite of Chinese scholars' general disapproval of Austen's limitations in scope and imagination, Wang attempted to incorporate *Pride and Prejudice* into a Marxist canon by highlighting its criticism of the existing social hierarchies and gender norms. He examined the theme of marriage in the novel, particularly noting Elizabeth's refusal of Mr. Collins' proposal of marriage which can secure her material comfort:

Original:

> 作者从第十九章柯林斯向伊丽莎白求婚那一幕起，就通过伊丽莎白的口，说出了她自己对婚姻的正确见解，使我们看到那个时代里的坚强的女性对于男性中心社会，对于那些把女性当做附属品的卑劣愚蠢的男性，提出了怎样的反抗。[335]

Translation:

> The author, in that scene of Mr. Collins proposing marriage to Elizabeth in the nineteenth chapter, expressed her own views of marriage through Elizabeth's words, and showed us how women rebelled against a male-centred society as well as stupid men who treated women as their properties at that time.

Wang made a comparison between Elizabeth's view of marriage and that of her best friend, Charlotte Lucas, commenting that Austen criticised financially motivated marriages but also revealed the harsh economic realities and vulnerability of young women in a patriarchal society at that time.[336] He went on to analyse Elizabeth's rejection of Darcy's proposal, declaring:

Original:

> 伊丽莎白向达西的挑战，实在是当时妇女对当时的婚姻制度、门第观念等一系列腐朽的社会现象的强烈抗议，是当时的妇女要求自己的人格独立、争取平等权利的呼声！[337]

[333] Ibid., p. 5.
[334] Ibid.
[335] Ibid., p. 8.
[336] Ibid.
[337] Ibid., p. 10.

Translation:

> Elizabeth's challenge to Darcy demonstrates women's strong protest against a number of decadent social conventions at that time, such as arranged marriage between families of equal social standing, and represents their claims for independent personalities and equal rights!

Wang's attacks on marriage and class systems in eighteenth-century Britain resemble Mary Wollstonecraft's in many aspects. He, for example, criticised Charlotte for being an 'obedient and submissive' wife.[338] Wollstonecraft also claimed in *A Vindication* that 'the obedience required of women in the marriage state comes under this description; the mind, naturally weakened by depending on authority, never exerts its own powers'.[339] Although Wang himself did not connect Austen with the feminist thought of her time as represented in Wollstonecraft's works, he did highlight her awareness and concerns about the oppression of women, and interpreted the marriage plot of her novel as her desire to reform the existing marriage system.

In his translation, Wang endeavoured to engage Austen's text with the concept of 'class struggle' by stressing, or even exaggerating, Elizabeth's 'rebellious' nature through her conflict with upper-class characters. For example, he rendered Elizabeth's reactions to Darcy's first marriage proposal as below:

Chinese translation:

> 从开头认识你的时候起，几乎可以说，从认识你的那一刹那起，你的举止行动，就使我觉得你十足狂妄自大，自私自利，看不起别人，我对你不满的原因就在这里，以后又有了许许多多的事情，使我对你深恶痛绝；我还没有认识你一个月，就觉得你这样一个人，哪怕天下男人都死光了，我也不愿意嫁给你。[340]

Original text:

> From the very beginning, from the first moment I may almost say, of my acquaintance with you, your manners, impressing me with the fullest belief of your arrogance, your conceit, and your selfish disdain of the feelings of others, were such

[338] Ibid.
[339] Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, ed. by Miriam Brody (London: Penguin Books, 1992), p. 73.
[340] Wang, p. 136.

> as to form that ground-work of disapprobation, on which succeeding events have built so immoveable a dislike; and I had not known you a month before I felt that you were the last man in the world whom I could ever be prevailed on to marry.

Wang translated the single words 'arrogance' and 'selfish' into the four-character Chinese idioms – '狂妄自大' (false pride) and '自私自利' (egotistic) – in order to vividly illustrate the extent of Elizabeth's annoyance with Darcy. He also rendered Elizabeth's 'dislike' for Darcy as '深恶痛绝' (a deep-rooted hatred). In the English text, Elizabeth blames Darcy for selfishly ignoring other people's feelings, but Wang deleted 'the feelings' in his translation and Darcy becomes accused of 'looking down on others'. The last sentence was also rendered as 'Even if all the males in the world died out, I would not marry you'. By using the term '死光' (die out), the tone of Elizabeth sounds more angry and aggressive than in the original text. Although Elizabeth, coming from a middle-class family, does not use those offensive words, Wang's translation did succeed in highlighting her rebellion against the patriarchal constraints of this period.

The impact of Chinese political campaigns of this period on Wang's reception of Austen has been noted by several recent critics. In 2009, Xie Yan and Ma Gongwen point out that Wang's translation of *Pride and Prejudice* embodies the 'strong political colour of class struggle'.[341] They also note Lady Catherine's rude and vulgar language in this Chinese translation. For example, her scolding of Elizabeth – 'You refuse to obey the claims of duty, honour, and gratitude' – is translated directly as offensive insults – 'You are utterly conscienceless, shameless, ungrateful, and treacherous'.[342] Those offensive words were often used by cruel and vicious feudal landlords to insult lower-class people in China.[343] In his foreword to the novel, Wang also describes Lady Catherine as being 'shamelessly bullying, sinister, and ruthless'.[344] Elizabeth, on the contrary, is characterised as a courageous young woman engaged in 'class struggle' by refusing to obey Lady Catherine. Yang Fan observes in 2012 that when Wang translates the

[341] See Xie Yan and Ma Gong-wen, 'Mainstream Ideology's Influence on Wang Keyi's *Pride and Prejudice*', *Journal of Tongling University*, 1 (2009), 96-118.
[342] Ibid., p. 97. The Chinese translation of Lady Catherine's words: '你完全丧尽天良，不知廉耻，忘恩负义.'
[343] Ibid.
[344] See Translator's Foreword to Wang, p. 11.

narrator's description of Mr. Bingley's sisters, Caroline and Louisa – 'They were in fact very fine ladies; not deficient in good-humour when they were pleased, nor in the power of being agreeable when they chose it; but proud and conceited' – he adds the Chinese term '一味' (blindly) before 'proud and conceited' in order to stress the sisters' haughty manners.[345] When translating the sentence, 'Mr. Collins was employed in agreeing to everything her ladyship said', Wang also tends to use negative terms such as '她老人家' and '附和'; '她老人家' is often used to refer to annoying old ladies in the feudal society of China and '附和' means 'toady' – to replace the neutral terms 'her ladyship' and 'agree' in the original text.[346]

Although Wang exaggerated and dramatised the original story of *Pride and Prejudice*, his translation has become one of the most popular Chinese versions of the novel and has been reprinted numerous times since the 1980s. The rebellious and free-spirited Elizabeth he shaped, as will be discussed below, helped pave the way for a dramatic rise in Chinese critics' interest in feminist interpretations of Austen's novel in recent decades. However, Austen does not seem to show as much interest in class struggle and social reform as Wang claimed for her. Her novels focus on marriage and the family life of the English landed gentry, and lower-class characters are rarely portrayed. Elizabeth also stresses her own genteel background in response to Lady Catherine's opposition to her marriage to Darcy: 'He is a gentleman; I am a gentleman's daughter; so far we are equal' (*P&P*, p. 356). In spite of Wang's attempts at emphasizing Austen's concern for 'the woman question' in her time, during the 1950s her work was still, as noted in the previous chapter, widely disapproved of for its 'bourgeois' nature. *Pride and Prejudice* and Austen's other major novels did not appear in print in mainland China in the 1960s and 1970s because of the series of political upheavals launched by the Communist Party. Wang was accused of being 'counterrevolutionary' in the Cultural Revolution (1967-77) and died in 1968.

---

[345] Yang Fan, 'Mainstream Ideology's Influence on Translation', *Journal of Changsha Railway University*, 4 (2012), 151-2. The original text in Chinese: '她们并不是不会谈笑风生，问题是在要碰到她们高兴的时候；她们也不是不会待人和颜悦色，问题在于她们是否乐意这样做。可惜的是，她们一味自大.'

[346] Ibid. The original text in Chinese: '她老人家说一句，柯林斯先生就附和一句.'

1.4 Chinese Interpretations of Austen's Feminism

The early 1980s saw a great revival of the translation of foreign literature. Wang's translation of *Pride and Prejudice* was republished by Shanghai Translation Press in 1980. It immediately became one of the most popular translated novels among the general reading public and has played a significant role in stimulating their interest in Austen. By the mid-1980s, all of Austen's six major novels had been translated into Chinese. However, the Chinese critical reviews of Austen appearing at this time mainly focused on *Pride and Prejudic*e. Zhu Hong, for example, reviewed the novel in 1982, observing that Elizabeth occupies 'the central position', with readers tending to adopt her views regarding the follies of other characters.[347] Zhu's comments on the novel resemble those of Wang Keyi in many aspects. For example, she also notes Elizabeth's refusal of Darcy's first marriage proposal, considering it to represent her 'independent personality'.[348] However, Zhu refuses to view Elizabeth as a model of a 'new woman' and points out her limited vision on marriage equality – she defends her own middle-class status when arguing with Lady Catherine.[349] Zhu discusses 'feminism' directly, declaring that feminist thought was just beginning to appear in Britain in Austen's day and it would, therefore, seem impossible for her to create a feminist heroine.[350]

In 1984, Gu Jiazu, on the contrary, insists on describing Elizabeth as a rebellious woman who fights for equal rights with men. She wrote:

Original text:

> 吉英·奥斯丁本人作为一个女子，对妇女的地位体会得更加深刻。她厌恶妇女作为男子的附属品，厌恶夏绿蒂这样的女子把婚姻当做安乐窝…作者渴望女子与男子处在平等的地位上，他们之间的结合能摆脱世俗观念的束缚。正因为如此，作者才着意塑造了这个摆脱世俗观念束缚的女子–伊丽莎白。[351]

Translation:

---

[347] Zhu Hong, 'Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*', 42-51 (p. 45).
[348] Ibid., p. 46
[349] Ibid.
[350] Ibid., p. 47.
[351] Gu Jiazu, 'Jane Austen's Like and Dislike in *Pride and Prejudice*', *Reading and Appreciation*, 3 (1984), 44-48 (p. 46).

> Jane Austen, as a female (writer), had a more profound experience of women's social status. She hated to see women being treated as men's property, and disapproved of women who viewed marriage as a comfortable refuge such as Charlotte…The author longed for equality between women and men, and desired that marriage be liberated from the shackles of social convention. Therefore, she endeavoured to shape a woman who was free from the shackles of social convention – Elizabeth.

Gu's analysis of the plot and themes of *Pride and Prejudice* is based on Wang's translation of the novel, and it seems that she was also influenced by his celebration of the rebellious, free spirit of Elizabeth.[352] Gu warmly praises Elizabeth's disobedience towards her mother, describing the latter character as being 'selfish, ignorant, philistine, and vulgar'.[353] Indeed, to a large extent the behaviour of Mrs. Bennet appears uncivilised and vulgar, and her stupidity becomes a major source of entertainment to the readers. However, Austen also reveals the cruel economic realities of the Bennet women – they have no legal right to stay in their family home after Mr. Bennet's death. Gu shows a particular disapproval of Mrs. Bennet, and this might be because she resembles traditional Chinese parents in determining to arrange marriage for her daughters.

On the other hand, Elizabeth's refusal of Mr. Collins's marriage proposal, a match approved of by Mrs. Bennet, associates her more closely with progressively-minded heroines in classical Chinese novels. As discussed in the Introduction, during the eighteenth and nineteenth century marriage was generally viewed as a restrictive social duty and mostly arranged by parents or by elderly relatives in China. However, the younger generation often struggled against their parents' marriage choices. This became one of the major themes of novels of that time. Since the mid-1980s, *Pride and Prejudice* has been noted for sharing thematic similarities with eighteenth-century Chinese novels, particularly Cao Xueqin's *Dream of the Red Chamber*. Zhao Shuangzhi is among the first to conduct comparative study between these two novels. He points out in 1986 that the themes of courtship and marriage play major roles in both *Pride and Prejudice* and *Dream of the Red Chamber*, and their heroines are both shaped as progressive and rebellious

[352] Ibid.
[353] Ibid., p. 43.

female characters.[354] According to Zhao, Cao emphasises feelings rather than rationality in his novel, and Austen's work, influenced by the romanticism and sentimentalism of her period, also values emotional connections.[355] Zhao Jingyu comments in 1993 that *Pride and Prejudice* and *Dream of the Red Chamber* were both written in a realistic style, and that although focusing mainly on the privileged lives of the aristocracy and landed gentry, they contribute to the understanding of culture, traditions, and customs at the time when the authors lived.[356] He also points out that both novels provide a vivid portrayal of women's lives, noting the inherently rebellious nature shared by Elizabeth and Lin Daiyu, the protagonist of *Dream of the Red Chamber*.[357]

Indeed, Lin Daiyu resembles Elizabeth in her intelligence and quick mind, and her rebellion against social convention is also represented through her determination to choose her own marriage. Both Cao and Austen consider mutual understanding the foundation of a happy marriage. When Elizabeth refuses Mr. Collins's proposal, she claims: 'My feelings in every respect forbid it' (*P&P*, p. 109). However, Austen also stresses women's rational capacities and this plays an important role in her defence of women as moral and intellectual equals, which will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. Elizabeth shows herself capable of thinking and behaving rationally, which is crucial in preventing her from becoming a victim of a patriarchal society. She refutes Mr. Collins's prejudiced view of men's decisive and rational nature, and insists on being treated as 'a rational creature speaking the truth from her heart' (*P&P*, p. 109). However, Lin Daiyu, unlike Elizabeth, appears sentimental and fragile. She has poor health and feels easily depressed, foreshadowing her tragic death at the end of the novel. Lin suffers a different fate from that of Elizabeth, most likely because Chinese novelists of the eighteenth century tend to adopt a sympathetic but pessimistic attitude towards women's rebellion in a feudal society, while Austen attempts to seek individual fulfillment and personal happiness in the current social order.

---

354 Zhao Shuangzhi, '*Pride and Prejudice* and *Dream of the Red Chamber*', *Journal of Tianjin Normal University*, 3 (1986), 77-80.
355 Ibid.
356 Zhao Jingyu, 'A Comparative Study of *Dream of the Red Chamber* and *Pride and Prejudice*', *Journal of Shanxi University*, 1 (1993), 22-6 (P. 22).
357 Ibid.

A comparative study of Austen and Chinese women novelists has also commenced in recent years. For example, in 2011, Shi Shaohua contrasts *Pride and Prejudice* with Eileen Chang's *Love in a Fallen City* (1943), noting that both novels are concerned with women's inferior social role in a patriarchal society and their struggles for equality.[358] Chang was born into a declining gentry family in China in 1920, during which period, as noted in the previous chapter, the status of Chinese women drew increasing amounts of attention because of the May Fourth Movement and other intellectual revolutions of this period. Like Austen, Chang is keenly interested in exploring the harsh reality of women's lives, with courtship and marriage playing an important role in her novels. In *Love in a Fallen City*, the heroine, Bai Liusu, is a daughter of a late Qing official's family. She is well educated, and shares Elizabeth's intelligence and independent spirit. Yet unlike Elizabeth, Bai's character is not inherently rebellious, and her resistance to patriarchal oppression largely results from her agonizing experience of arranged marriage. She gets divorced, but after her ex-husband dies, her family wants her to remain with his family as a 'decent' widow. Bai, however, is determined to take her own life into her hands, claiming: 'First marriage for family, second marriage for oneself'.[359]

Chang shares Austen's keen insights into the precarious financial position of young women and its relationship to marriage. Austen reveals the common view of marriage as a means of social advancement and economic security in her society through the opening line of *Pride and Prejudice*: 'It is a truth universally acknowledged, that a single man in possession of a good fortune, must be in want of a wife' (*P&P*, p. 3) As noted above, Austen criticises economically motivated marriages, but meanwhile, she is well aware of the considerable difficulty faced by 'genteel' women of becoming financially secure through other methods. Therefore, money is also shown to play an important role in making a successful marriage in Austen's novels. Chang's heroines face a similar situation. As a widow with little financial support, Bai is treated as a worthless burden by her own family and thus desperately needs a reliable husband. Her initial motivation

---

[358] Shi Shaohua, 'A Comparative Study of *Pride and Prejudice* and *Love in a Fallen City*', *Journal of Inner Mongolia Finance and Economics College*, 1 (2011), 117-9.

[359] Eileen Chang, *Love in a Fallen City*, trans. by Karen S. Kingsbury and Eileen Chang (London: Penguin, 2007), p. 149.

in attracting the hero, Fan Liuyuan, is controversial, and she herself admits: 'Liuyuan was delightful, and he really made the sparks fly, but what she wanted from him was, after all, financial security.'[360] Those comparative studies highlight that Austen and Chinese novelists both tend to come at 'the woman question' from a realist perspective, and share a similar insistence on freedom for women in the choice of marriage partner. Elizabeth also strongly resembles those progressively-minded heroines of Chinese classical and modern literature in their independent thought and rebellious behaviour. This, as will be discussed below, has had a significant impact on contemporary Chinese readers and critics' interpretations about Austen's 'feminism'.

Over the past few decades, the rapid development of women's and gender studies in China has influenced the reception of Austen's novels. According to the CNKI database, at least 200 Chinese review articles of *Pride and Prejudice* appeared in 2013, and a large proportion of them focused on exploring Austen's views of women's education, marriage, and moral values. As noted in the previous chapter, the idea of Austen as a 'feminist' writer appeared in Britain much earlier than in China. As early as 1932, Rebecca West declared: 'For the feminism of Jane Austen, to take the expression of it in *Northanger Abbey*, was very marked.'[361] She viewed the novel as a declaration that 'the position of woman as society dictated it was humiliating, dangerous, and founded on lying propositions'.[362] Since the 1970s Austen's interest in 'the woman question' has been widely discussed among British and American critics. A number of them, notably Lloyd W. Brown, Marian Fowler, LeRoy W. Smith, and Margaret Kirkham, attempt to identify a feminist connection between her and Wollstonecraft, particularly in their views regarding women's education and moral capacities.

However, in recent years, as revealed in the reading surveys conducted at the Ningbo and UK campuses of the University of Nottingham, it appears more common among Chinese readers to recognise her as a feminist writer. I argue that one of the main reasons is that Chinese readers and critics tend to take rather different approaches to Austen's portrayal of women. Their arguments about Austen's 'feminist consciousness',

[360] Ibid., p. 161.
[361] West, v-xi.
[362] Ibid.

as will be shown below, are mainly based on textual analysis of her novels. In 2007, for example, Ji Ying published 'On Jane Austen's Concern of Feminism in *Pride and Prejudice*', noting that Austen is 'the feminist enlightener of the time and the mover of the awakening of the feminist consciousness'.[363] Ji praises Elizabeth's keen observation and good judgment, pointing out that Austen represents women as having equal intelligence and moral capacity as men.[364] In 2009, Huang Tingting also examined *Pride and Prejudice* from 'a feminist perspective', claiming that Austen 'created a new image of woman Elizabeth to convey the awakening of new women's consciousness, particularly in love and marriage'.[365] She highlights Elizabeth's refusal to enter the arranged marriage market and her challenge to gender equality, declaring:

Original:

> 在这部作品中，奥斯丁以独到的女性视觉尖锐地揭示了当时英国社会男尊女卑的现象，传达了女性为争取平等而抗争的呼声…她所塑造的女主人公伊丽莎白可以被称为女性主义的典范。[366]

Translation:

> In this work, Austen pointedly reveals the patriarchal structure of English society of that time from a unique woman's perspective, and calls for women to fight for gender equality…The heroine she shaped, Elizabeth, is a representative feminist.

Huang's views regarding Elizabeth's struggles for gender equality seem to be influenced by Wang Keiyi's assessment of the author. Ji and Huang both view Elizabeth as a feminist model for women in her time. Indeed, intelligence, high spirits, and independence mark Elizabeth's character, and in this way, as noted above, she strongly resembles the progressive 'new woman' in Chinese literature. In *Pride and Prejudice*, Elizabeth is described as having 'a lively, playful disposition, which delighted in anything ridiculous' (*P&P*, p. 12). When Darcy refuses to dance with her at Meryton ball,

---

[363] Quoted in the English abstract of Ji Ying, 'On Jane Austen's Concern of Feminism in *Pride and Prejudice*', *Young Teacher Journal*, 6 (2007), 45-7.
[364] Ibid.
[365] Quoted in the English abstract of Huang Tingting, 'A Feminist Perspective on Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*', *Journal of Weinan Teachers University*, 1 (2011), 55-7.
[366] Huang, p. 55.

Elizabeth, instead of feeling frustrated at his comments about her 'tolerable' appearance, tells the story 'with great spirit among her friends' (*P&P*, p. 12). Darcy becomes increasingly attracted to 'the beautiful expression of her dark eyes' which render her features 'uncommonly intelligent' (*P&P*, p. 23). Even Mr. Collins tries to compliment her 'wit and vivacity' (*P&P*, p. 88).

For British and American critics, this intelligent and quick-witted protagonist is also a main factor in promoting their 'feminist' interest in *Pride and Prejudice*. Claudia L. Johnson, for example, praises Elizabeth for insisting on 'her own qualifications to decide for herself'.[367] LeRoy W. Smith describes her as 'the most captivating of Austen's valiant women, all of whom represent potentially complete human beings, with the power of mind and spirit to guide their own destinies'.[368] Claire Tomalin suggests that 'energy, wit, self-confidence and the ability to think for herself' are Elizabeth's most admirable qualities, and she is always shown 'in action, running, laughing, teasing, arguing, contradicting and refusing to comply with orders'.[369] Margaret Kirkham also notes that she is 'the central intelligence through whose eyes and understanding events and character are mediated to the reader'.[370] Readers' fascination with Elizabeth contributes to the enduring popularity of *Pride and Prejudice*.

However, the results of the reading surveys, as discussed in the Introduction, show that Elizabeth was more admired by Chinese than British participants. 13 (76%) Chinese participants chose her as their favourite Austen heroine. Although Elizabeth, in contrast with other Austen heroines, is also the British participants' most-beloved one, less than half of them (15) chose her.[371] 9 (27%) participants rather ticked 'I don't have a favourite'. In response to the question, 'How would you like to describe Elizabeth Bennet', 15 Chinese participants ticked 'Intelligent', 14 'Independent', 11 'Strong-minded', 9 'Feminist', and 6 'Proud'. As shown above, Chinese critics such as Ji and Huang also associate Elizabeth's intelligence and strong mind closely with her awareness of women's

[367] Johnson, p. 87.
[368] Kirkham, p. 90.
[369] Claire Tomalin, *Jane Austen: A Life* (London: Viking, 1997), p. 160.
[370] Kirkham, p. 91.
[371] See Appendix Two for a summary of survey results.

oppression in her time in order to demonstrate Austen's 'feminist consciousness'.[372] Xu Congying's 'A Discussion On Patriarchy and Feminism in *Pride and Prejudice*' (2012), Liang Jing's 'On Feminism in *Pride and Prejudice*' (2014), and Zhang Yi's 'Feminism Reflected in *Pride and Prejudice*' (2014) represent more recent Chinese accounts of the novel from a feminist point of view. Like Ji and Huang, they all highlight Elizabeth's struggles for gender equality and view her as a powerful feminist model, and terms such as 'feminist', 'patriarchal', 'oppression', and 'equality' appear frequently in their articles. However, none of them attempts to connect Austen with Wollstonecraft and other feminist writers of her time.

In spite of Chinese critics' enthusiasm for feminist readings of *Pride and Prejudice*, there is a clear division between their understanding of early feminism in Austen's day and that of British and American critics. As shown above, to a large extent they take Austen's interest in feminist thought of her time for granted. However, the social circle of Austen, as stated in *A Memoir*, was very limited, and she lived 'far apart from the gossip of the literary world'.[373] There seems little chance, as Margaret Kirkham observes, of Austen reading books like *A Vindication* in her father's or brother's libraries because the general politics of her family was Tory.[374] However, she goes on to suggest that 'Austen would have had no difficulty in choosing her own reading' in the libraries of Bath where she lived for five years between 1801 and 1806.[375] Yet none of Austen's surviving letters indicate her interest in reading about Wollstonecraft. This might be because a large part of her personal letters was destroyed by Cassandra after her death in order to protect her privacy.

Another important reason why Austen did not explicitly discuss Wollstonecraft's feminist ideas in her novels and letters might be because feminism was, in fact, a highly controversial issue in the late eighteenth century. This is largely due to the Wollstonecraft scandal caused by revelations about her private life in William Godwin's

[372] See Ji, 45-47; Huang, 55-57.
[373] Austen-Leigh, pp. 2-3.
[374] Kirkham, ix.
[375] Ibid., pp. 110-16.

biography of her, published in 1798.[376] Wollstonecraft's works came to be disregarded due to the scandal, which made it extremely difficult for respectable women writers to openly engage with feminist writing. As a consequence, women writers became easy targets for conservatives at this time, and after 1798 female education became a sensitive subject and caused considerable public anxiety.[377] A number of modern British critics have examined Austen's novels in light of the controversies about Wollstonecraft and feminism. Claudia L. Johnson, for example, argues that Austen was well aware of the wide opposition to women writers taking on social, political, and theological issues in her day, and therefore taking a stand similar to the conservatives enables Austen to promote 'the moral equality and rational cultivation of women'.[378] Kirkham also suggests that although many women writers of the time, such as Maria Edgeworth and Hannah More, took a conservative position, they might have openly condemned the social restraints women faced in the patriarchal culture if the Wollstonecraft scandal had not occurred.[379]

Kirkham points to 'a common tradition of feminist development' among learned women, and considers Wollstonecraft and Austen both heirs to that tradition.[380] She notes that Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication* was not just promoted by the French Revolution but well received by Austen's British female predecessors, such as Catherine Macaulay and Mary Astell.[381] Indeed, Wollstonecraft seems to have been influenced by Macaulay's works on education, and she viewed Macaulay as one who exhibited 'intellectual acquirements supposed to be incompatible with the weakness of her sex'.[382] According to Kirkham, this is in line with Macaulay's own admiration of Elizabeth Carter as a young woman, and with Carter's appreciation of other female writers of her time.[383] Although, as noted above, Austen made no direct mention of Wollstonecraft, she did share the latter's belief in women as rational beings.

---

[376] The Wollstonecraft scandal will be discussed further in Chapter Two.
[377] Kirkham, p. 44.
[378] Johnson, p. 21.
[379] Kirkham, pp. 49-50.
[380] Ibid., p. 40.
[381] Ibid., pp. 39-40.
[382] See *Letter on Education: with Observations on Religious and Metaphysical Subjects*, quoted in Kirkham, p. 39.
[383] Ibid.

Austen's keen interest in improving the female education of her day is represented through the main characters' discussion about an 'accomplished woman' in *Pride and Prejudice*. Elizabeth is against prevailing notions of women's 'accomplishments', such as 'singing, drawing, dancing, and the modern languages' (*P&P*, p. 39). She, on the contrary, prefers reading to improve her mind. In this light, her idea of female education strongly resembles that of Darcy who also stresses the importance of 'extensive reading' in the improvement of the female mind. Elizabeth and Darcy's similar disapproval of feminine accomplishments provides important clues to understanding their mutual esteem and affection revealed in the later part of the novel. Elizabeth, as mentioned previously, also insists on being treated by Mr. Collins as 'a rational creature' when she refuses his proposal.

Austen's other heroines actually are also presented as possessing adequate capacities for rational development. Elinor, for example, is most noted for her self-control and rational judgment. Emma is to become 'more rational, more acquainted with herself' at the end of the story.[384] Even the 'exceedingly timid' Fanny refuses to give authority over her marriage to the patriarchal master, Sir Thomas Bertram. Austen continues to explore the fortitude and strength of the female mind in her last completed novel, *Persuasion*. In a debate between Wentworth and Mrs. Croft about female delicacy, the latter protests strongly: 'I hate to hear you talking so like a fine gentleman, and as if women were all fine ladies, instead of rational creatures' (*P*, p. 70). Austen strove to represent women as equally capable of rational judgment, and this attempt links her with Wollstonecraft, who confirmed 'the authority of reason' in *A Vindication*. Wollstonecraft attributed feminine weakness to the prevailing prejudice that women 'were created rather to feel than reason'.[385] Austen's connections to Wollstonecraft will be discussed further in the following chapter, through an analysis of the reason-feeling debate as represented in *Sense and Sensibility*.

The different 'feminist' approaches taken by Chinese and British critics in exploring Austen's interest in 'the woman question' may help to explain the survey results

[384] See Austen, *Emma*, ed. by R. W. Chapman, 3rd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), p. 423. Further references to this source will be placed within this thesis and abbreviated as *E*.
[385] Wollstonecraft, pp. 151-59 (p. 155).

revealed above. Chinese participants listed 'Feminist' directly after 'Intelligent', 'Independent', and 'Strong-minded' to describe Elizabeth. By contrast, although British participants also noted Elizabeth's intelligence and independence, they would rather define her as a 'Witty' or 'Critical' heroine. Interestingly, 'proud' appears to be a popular choice for both groups of participants regarding their impression of Elizabeth. Indeed, Darcy should not be equated with 'pride', nor Elizabeth with 'prejudice' because the former's pride is partly based on his social prejudice while the latter's prejudice is closely related to her excessive self-esteem.[386] In a letter to her niece, Fanny, of 1817, Austen discussed the behaviour of her heroines and claimed that 'pictures of perfection…make me sick and wicked'.[387] Elizabeth is hardly a perfect heroine, and she misjudges a number of characters in the novel, including Darcy, Lucas, and Wickham, and then achieves moral progress and maturity. Yet her lively intelligence, liberal mind, and spontaneous sincerity are greatly admired by contemporary Chinese readers. In response to the question – 'Which character do you most identify with in *Pride and Prejudice*?' – Elizabeth is top choice for both Chinese and British participants. None of the Chinese participants chose the quiet and amiable Jane Bennet, and only one of them identified herself with the timid and shy Georgiana Darcy.

Elizabeth's popularity contributes to the success of *Pride and Prejudice* in China. It is, as previously noted, among the most widely-read English novels in China in recent decades. By the 2010s, at least thirty Chinese translations of the novel had appeared. It seems that Chinese readers' keen interest in Austen's portrayal of women in recent years has also influenced the book cover design of those translations. The book cover of Wang Keyi's translation of *Pride and Prejudice* published by the New Literature and Art Publishing House in 1956 was simple, with the novel's Chinese title (*Aoman Yu Pianjian*) and Austen's translated name (*Aosiding*) shown in the top part of the page and the name of the publisher on the bottom (see Fig. 2.2). It resembles the general style of Chinese book covers at that time. The cover of its reprint by Shanghai Translation Press in 1980 remained simple, with only a blue floral pattern added around the Chinese characters on

[386] *John Hardy, Jane Austen's Heroines (London:* Routledge & Kegan Paul, *1984), p. 37.*
[387] *Austen's Letters*, pp. 486-87.

the top (see Fig. 2.3). By contrast, the cover design of recently published translations of *Pride and Prejudice* has exhibited a more revealing diversity, with portrayals of female characters being frequently used by publishers to stimulate Chinese readers' interest in the novel. For example, the front cover of Sun Zhili's 2010 edition, published by Yili Press, shows two ladies dressed in Regency style – the lady holding a book seems to be Elizabeth, with her sister Jane sitting beside her (see Fig. 2.4). Qing Gui and Li Lifeng's 2013 edition, on the other hand, uses the novelist's own portrait, which, as mentioned earlier, was engraved by James Andrews based on Cassandra's drawing and first appeared as the frontispiece of Austen-Leigh's *A Memoir* (see Fig. 2.5). In the same year, Shanghai Translation Press reprinted Wang's translation, whose front cover remains relatively simple, with the novel's title and the author's name also appearing in English (see Fig. 2.6). Wang's reputation seems to be treated as a major attraction of this edition, and his name appeared next to Austen on the cover, the top of which also reveals that this book was included in the *Collection of Translated Classics*.

It has also become common for photos of film and television adaptations of *Pride and Prejudice* to appear on covers of recent Chinese translations of the novel. For example, Li Ruheng and Li Xia's 2010 edition published by Central Compilation & Translation Press (see Fig. 2.7) and Sun Yi's 2013 edition (see Fig. 2.8) by World Book Publishing Company both used images of the 2005 film adaptation of *Pride and Prejudice* staring Keira Knightley and Matthew MacFadyen. This is most likely because this film has achieved great popularity among Chinese audiences in recent years. A survey concerning this film has been conducted on *Douban*. According to the most recent result, 239176 participants have taken part in the survey, with 39.6% of them ticking 5 stars and 43.6% 4 stars (5 stars is the highest).[388] The average review score of this film is 8.4. A relatively small number (68910) of Chinese audiences also responded to the survey regarding the 1995 BBC production of the novel. Its average review score, however, is much higher (9.1) than that of the 2005 film adaptation, with more than half of the participants (64.1%) ticking 5 stars.

[388] For more information on the most recent survey results, please refer to *Douban*: <http://www.douban.com/> [accessed 8 March 2016].

The reader surveys mentioned also revealed that the 1995 BBC production and the 2005 film were among their favourite adaptations of *Pride and Prejudice* – of the 17 Chinese participants, 10 ticked the former and 8 the latter (3 participants ticked both). Only one Chinese participant chose the 1940 film adaptation starring Laurence Olivier and Greer Garson, and none of them ticked the 1980 TV series starring Elizabeth Garvie and David Rintoul. This seems to be closely related to the age group of these participants, most of whom were under twenty years old. Unsurprisingly, the 1995 BBC production and the 2005 film are also among the British participants' favourite adaptations of the novel, with 16 out of 33 participants choosing the former and 17 ticking the latter (2 participants ticked both). The British participants were also mostly under twenty years old, and none of them preferred earlier adaptations such as the 1940 film and 1980 TV series. Only 1 Chinese and 2 British participants stated that they had not seen any adaptations of the novel. As discussed above, *Pride and Prejudice* is Austen's most popular work in China and has had a significant influence on the novelist's Chinese reception since the early twentieth century. The reception of the novel, both in China and Britain, will continue to be discussed in the following chapters in comparison with Chinese critics and readers' responses to Austen's other five major novels. It will provide an important insight into the reasons behind the popularity and unpopularity of these works.

Chapter Two

Jane Austen and the Reason-Feeling Debate: *Sense and Sensibility* in China

Sense and Sensibility was the fourth of Austen's novels to be published in China. Although its first Chinese translation by Wang Yutang did not appear until 1983, the novel has achieved rapid popularity among Chinese readers over the past three decades. This chapter will examine the influence of the reason-feeling debate of Austen's day on the reception of *Sense and Sensibility* in China. It will draw comparisons between Chinese and English-language critics' understanding of the relationship between rationality and the emotions in guiding women's social behaviour as represented in the novel. I will also continue to discuss contemporary Chinese critics' interpretations of Austen's feminism and realism.

2.1 The Publication of *Sense and Sensibility* in Britain

Sense and Sensibility was Austen's first published novel in Britain. Family memory suggests that the first draft of the novel was entitled *Elinor and Marianne*; written around 1795, it probably formed 'the earliest specimen' of her published works.[389] The manuscript, according to Caroline Austen, was originally 'written in letters'.[390] The epistolary novel proved popular in Britain during the mid-eighteenth century, with the most distinguished works including Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* (1740) and Fanny Burney's *Evelina* (1778). Richardson and Burney were both among Austen's favourite authors, and her youthful writings, such as *Love and Friendship*, were mostly modelled on the epistolary form.[391] However, in the late eighteenth century, the letter was no longer viewed as the most fitting mode of material presentation, and the genre began declining

[389] Austen-Leigh, p. 47.
[390] Quoted in Brian Southam, *Jane Austen's Literary Manuscripts: A Study of the Novelist's Development* (London: Athlone Press, 2001), p. 54.
[391] Janet Gurkin Altman, *Epistolarity: Approaches to a Form* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1982), p. 13.

sharply in popularity after the 1790s.[392] The epistolary novel, as Janet Altman suggests, 'stands in an essentially diametrical relationship to the dominant traits of nineteenth-century narrative'.[393] The epistolary *Elinor and Marianne* was reworked into the present narrative form in 1797, revised again at Chawton around 1809-10, and was finally, by its publication in 1811, transformed into *Sense and Sensibility*.

With no original manuscript of *Elinor and Marianne* having survived and Cassandra's vague description of it as 'something of the same story & characters', it is difficult to determine the nature of this transformation.[394] As a consequence, a great deal of critical attention in recent years has focused on Austen's change in the narrative mode. Brian Southam, for instance, suggests that 'the change affected structure rather than content', noting that the novel's narrative voice was an efficient means to introduce Austen's own commentary.[395] Roy Pascal also suggests that the narrative techniques used in *Sense and Sensibility* have played a significant role in the development of free indirect speech.[396] Indeed, Austen's use of narrative style in *Sense and Sensibility* represents an important trend in literature of the period. The third-person narrator can better represent the psychological tension of major characters, and Austen's opinions are also conveyed explicitly to readers.[397] The 1797 revision marks a significant change in the novel's form and structure. Although only minor revision seems to have been required at Chawton, the later revision of 1809-10 must also have been important in the development of the novel. Q. D. Leavis suggested that parts of the novel were as mature as her later works: 'The use of Scott as a popular poet, for instance, would have been impossible before 1805.'[398] After failing in her attempt at publishing *First Impressions* and *Susan*, Austen decided to self-publish *Sense and Sensibility* through the London publisher, Thomas Egerton, who had previously printed James and Henry Austen's periodical, *The*

---

[392] Godfrey Frank Singer, *The Epistolary Novel: Its Origin, Development, Decline, and Residuary Influence* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1963), p. 102.
[393] Altman, p. 195.
[394] Quoted in Southam, *Literary Manuscripts*, p. 55.
[395] Ibid.
[396] Roy Pascal, *The Dual Voice: Free Indirect Speech and Its Functioning in the Nineteenth* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977), pp. 45-47.
[397] Joe Barry, *The Epistolary Novel: Representations of Consciousness* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 108-31.
[398] Q. D. Leavis, *Collected Essays: The Englishness of the English Novel*, ed. by G. Singh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 147.

Loiterer. The novel did sell well and Austen made a profit of £140 on its first edition. Egerton also published *Pride and Prejudice* in 1813 and *Mansfield Park* in 1814.

2.2 The Metaphor Title of *Sense and Sensibility* and its Chinese Translation

Another significant change to comment on, in the transition from *Elinor and Marianne* to *Sense and Sensibility*, is the title. The original title, named after its two protagonists, is a strong reminder of the contrast format employed by didactic women writers of this period, such as Jane West. West's most representative works include *The Advantages of Education* (1793) and *A Gossip's Story* (1796). Both novels make use of the contrast between two young women, with the plot of the one who lives in accordance with Christian principles being rewarded with a worthy husband and the other who is fond of sentiments and passions being left wretched. Marilyn Butler is among the most influential British critics who link Austen with West. Butler argues that Austen, who 'conscientiously maintains the principle of a didactic comparison', is West's equal as a conservative writer.[399] However, the change of the title marks an important shift of emphasis in the thematic concerns of *Sense and Sensibility*. Although Elinor and Marianne remain at the centre of the plot, the novel's purpose is no longer to simply compare the behaviour of those two girls. The current title makes Austen's interest in the reason-feeling debate sparked by the French Revolution at that time more explicit. The transition enables Austen to 'lay a further pattern of meaning, establishing new relationships, and so reinforcing and unifying the significance of the characters, action, and theme'.[400] The positive or negative aspects of the character traits named in the title exhibited by the subordinate figures also 'assist in the definition of the heroines'.[401] If *Elinor and Marianne*'s intent was to make a distinction between the impulsive and prudent behaviour of young women, *Sense and Sensibility* obliges Austen to explore a more complex relationship between rationality and emotions in the moral growth of her heroines.

---

[399] Butler, pp. 182-96 (p. 182).
[400] Southam, *Literary Manuscripts*, p. 57.
[401] Ibid.

Those two character traits that are suggested in the title of *Sense and Sensibility* were familiar to readers in Austen's time because of the ongoing debates over the priority of reason and feeling in literary works of this period, which will be discussed in more detail in the following section. However, for modern readers, this title needs some explanation. Ian Watt suggests that 'sense' and 'sensibility' can be paraphrased, in modern English usage, as 'Common Sense and Sensitiveness', which signifies a sharp difference in understanding the way Austen presents the theme.[402] Indeed, although the meaning of 'sense' has not changed much today, the term 'sensibility' seems to be no longer in common use. The earliest Chinese translation of the title is to be found in Zheng's *The Outline* (1927), appearing as *Ganjue He Ganjuexing* – *Ganjue* refers to 'feelings' in Chinese, and *Ganjuexing* is the equivalent of 'sentience'.[403] There is, therefore, no Chinese term representing the meaning of 'reason' in Zheng's rendering of the title, which clearly reveals his failure to connect 'Sense and Sensibility' with the reason-feeling debate of Austen's day. In Ouyang's *A Short History*, published in the same year, *Pride and Prejudice*, *Mansfield Park*, and *Emma* were claimed to be Austen's most famous novels, while *Sense and Sensibility* was left unmentioned.[404] In 1937, Jin rendered the title of *Sense and Sensibility* into Chinese as *Shijian Yu Ganjue*.[405] He certainly recognised sensibility's reference to feelings by translating it as *Ganjue*. However, *Shijian* refers to 'knowledge and experience', which still fails to highlight the importance of 'rationality' in the title.[406] As noted in the introduction, Western ideological debates were of great interest to Chinese intellectuals in the early twentieth century, and those Chinese scholars' failure to recognise the historical and literary traditions behind the title of *Sense and Sensibility* helps to explain why the novel received little critical attention in the following fifty years.

In 1983, the first Chinese translation of *Sense and Sensibility* was published by Hunan People's Publishing House. The translator, Wang Yutang, certainly noted the tension between reason and feeling suggested by the title, which was rendered as *Lizhi Yu*

---

402 Ian Watt, 'On *Sense and Sensibility*', in *Jane Austen: A Collection of Critical Essays*, pp. 41-51.
403 Zheng, p. 58; also refer to the *Oxford Chinese Dictionary*, 'sense', p. 698'; 'sensibility', p. 699; *Ganjue* and *Ganjuexing*, p. 235.
404 Ouyang, p. 152.
405 Jin, p. 302.
406 See the *Oxford Chinese Dictionary*, p. 443.

Qingzan – the term *Lizhi* means 'rationality' in Chinese and *Qingzan* represents 'emotions' and 'feelings'.[407] *Lizhi Yu Qingzan* succeeds in highlighting *Sense and Sensibility*'s thematic connection to the reason-feeling debate, and it has therefore remained the most commonly used Chinese rendering of the title over recent decades. Sun Zhili published 'Reading *Sense and Sensibility*' in the same year, which was the first major critical review of the novel in China. The opening paragraph of his article states:

Original:

> 简·奥斯丁 (Jane Austen, 1775-1817) 是英国文学史上杰出的现实主义小说家。她生活和写作的年代，英国小说正经历着一个青黄不接的过渡时期。从十八世纪七十年代到十九世纪头十年，菲尔丁等小说大师开拓的英国现实主义传统几乎中断，英国小说淹没在一派假浪漫主义的感伤泪水之中，四十年间没有产生任何重要作品。直到一八一一年，奥斯丁出版了她的第一部小说《理智与情感》(*Sense and Sensibility*)， 才打破了这种令人窒息的沉闷局面。[408]

Translation:

> Jane Austen (Jane Austen, 1775-1817) was a distinguished realist novelist from the history of English Literature. She lived and wrote in a time when British novels were in a lean, transitional period. From the 1770s to 1810s, the realistic tradition represented by Fielding and other prominent novelists was almost brought to a halt. English fiction was submerged in the sentimental tears of fake romanticism, and no important works appeared for forty years. This suffocating situation did not change until the publication of Austen's first novel, *Sense and Sensibility*, in 1811.

The idea of Austen as a realist novelist, as noted in the introduction, was influential in China from the 1920s and 1950s, and it continues to impact on her reception among contemporary Chinese readers and critics. Sun notes that Austen's work plays an important role in paving the way for nineteenth-century realism.[409] His views of Austen also seem to be influenced by British and American critics. He, for example, notes T. A. Jackson's praise of Austen as 'the incomparable Jane'.[410] Jackson, as mentioned previously, suggested that Austen 'successfully maintained Fielding's ideal

[407] Ibid., *Lizhi*, p. 235; *Qinggan*, p. 594.
[408] Sun Zhili, 'Reading *Sense and Sensibility*', *Research in Teaching*, 1 (1983), 60-3 (p. 60)
[409] Ibid.
[410] Ibid.

consistently'.[411] Sun also referred to Edmund Gosse's *A History of Eighteenth-Century Literature* (1889), in which Gosse claimed that after the deaths of Richardson, Fielding, and Smollett, 'no great novel appeared again in England for forty years, until, in 1811, the new school of fiction was inaugurated by *Sense and Sensibility*'.[412]

Sun considers *Sense and Sensibility* to ridicule sentimental fiction that enjoyed popularity at that time. According to him, Austen disapproves of Marianne's 'sensibility' and emphasises the importance of rationality in regulating emotions.[413] He praises Elinor for both her calm restraint and her capacity for emotional responses.[414] Indeed, although Elinor is commonly regarded as representing the quality of 'sense' in the novel, she is also depicted as having a most affectionate disposition. When Elinor claims that she 'esteems' Edward Ferrars, Marianne exclaims with indignation: 'Esteem him! Like him! Cold-hearted Elinor! Oh! worse than cold-hearted!'.[415] Elinor does, as revealed in the latter part of the novel, have strong feelings for Edward, but she recognises his reserved behaviour towards her family and therefore her 'coolness of judgment' prevents her acting upon impulsive feelings. It is also for her family's sake that Elinor represses her affection for Edward. She endeavours to avoid the emotional pain her mother and sister will suffer for their exaggerated expectations of Edward: 'She knew that what Marianne and her mother conjectured one moment, they believed the next – that with them, to wish was to hope, and to hope was to expect' (*S&S*, p. 21). She suffers in silence after learning of Edward's engagement to Lucy Steele, but when he reveals to her their breakup, the 'cold-hearted' Elinor almost runs out of the room and bursts into tears of joy. Elinor's capacity for genuine feeling plays a crucial part in maintaining her good sense, and Austen gives readers easier access to her inner thoughts and feelings than those of Marianne.

Marianne's 'sensibility', as Ian Watt suggests, is disapproved of because there are

---

411 Thomas A. Jackson, *Old Friends to Keep: Studies of English Novels and Novelists*, p. 55.
412 See Edmund Gosse, *A History of Eighteenth-Century Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1889; repr. 2013), p. 244.
413 Ibid.
414 Ibid.
415 Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, ed. by R. W. Chapman, 3rd edn (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. 21. Further references to this source will be placed within this thesis and abbreviated as *S&S*.

'various sorts of selfishness associated with' it.[416] Marianne is younger and more romantic than Elinor, and her emotional self-indulgence leads to her ungrateful contempt for Mrs. Jennings's kindness, her unconsciousness of Elinor's sufferings, and her insensibility to the comfort of other people. 'Marianne was silent;' Austen wrote, 'it was impossible for her to say what she did not feel, however trivial the occasion; and upon Elinor therefore the whole task of telling lies when politeness required it, always fell' (*S&S*, p. 122). Marianne bears a strong resemblance to sentimental heroines in her inability to cope with grief and misery. When hearing about Willoughby's marriage, she falls deathly ill after taking a long walk in the rain. Marilyn Butler, for example, notes that there are obvious similarities between Austen's Marianne and West's Marianne in *A Gossip's Story*.[417] It is certainly remarkable that the two protagonists should share the same name, the same pursuit of passion and romantic pleasure, and the same wretched experience of being abandoned. However, Austen's Marianne eventually recovers her strength both in mind and body, and happily marries Colonel Brandon. Instead of placing 'sensibility' in diametrical opposition to 'sense', Austen seems to emphasise the complex interactions between them in the moral development of her heroines.

Sun succeeds in recognizing Austen's attempts at striking a balance between reason and feeling. He points out that the 'sense' of some subordinate figures also seems problematic.[418] According to him, the selfishness generated from the economic 'sense' of characters such as Fanny Dashwood and Lucy Steele, who use 'sincere feelings' to cover their greed and desire, are demonstrated by Austen as being much worse than Marianne's romantic passions, which strongly resembles the views of Watt.[419] However, Sun's arguments are mainly based on an analysis of character and the text of *Sense and Sensibility*, while the ideological debate behind rationality and emotions in Austen's day is little discussed. 'Sensibility' became a widely used term in the latter part of the eighteenth century because of a steep increase in the popularity of sentimental fiction.[420]

---

[416] Watt, p. 46.
[417] Butler, pp. 100-1.
[418] Sun, 'Reading *Sense and Sensibility*', 60-3.
[419] Ibid.; Watt, 'On *Sense and Sensibility*', pp. 46-47.
[420] Erik Erämetsä, *A Study of the Word 'Sentimental' and of Other Linguistic Characteristics of 18th Century Sentimentalism in England* (Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1951), pp. 32-50.

Although rationalism enjoyed a dominant position in the philosophical and ideological debates of the seventeenth century, some philosophers, most notably Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, developed the notion of individual liberty.

As a consequence, a great deal of critical attention in the eighteenth century was paid to 'the problem of how the sensations in man's mind were connected with the people and the world outside it'.[421] For example, Lord Shaftesbury and Francis Hutcheson's moral theories about the natural benevolence of man had an important influence on sentimental writers. Representative works in this genre include Laurence Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey* (1768) and Henry Mackenzie's *The Man of Feeling* (1771). Samuel Richardson, one of Austen's favourite writers, was also an influential figure in advancing the fiction of sensibility. Austen's knowledge of Richardson's works, as Austen-Leigh claims in *A Memoir*, 'was such as no one is likely again to acquire'.[422] Darcy's famous confession to Elizabeth in *Pride and Prejudice* – 'In vain have I struggled. It will not do. My feelings will not be repressed. You must allow me to tell you how ardently I admire and love you' – was commonly considered to be inspired by Mr. B's declaration in Richardson's sentimental novel, *Pamela*: 'I find it in vain, my Pamela, to struggle against my affection for you.'[423] During the Romantic period, 'sensibility' represents 'a radical change in the view of man's essential nature by embodying a historically new emphasis on the domain of feeling and imagination, as opposed to that of reason, will and fact'.[424]

However, while the sentimental novelists depicted feelings and affections as the most cherished virtues, 'sensibility' was severely criticised by conservative moralists of this period for its tendency to promote 'dangerous moral relativism, to valorise unruly, generally sexual energies, and to foster radical individualism, instead of encouraging submission to social control'.[425] J. M. S. Tompkins, for example, explored the literary controversies relating to 'sensibility', suggesting that it is difficult to be precise about the

---

[421] Watt, 'On *Sense and Sensibility*', p. 44.
[422] Austen-Leigh, p. 84.
[423] Henrietta Ten Harmsel, '*Pride and Prejudice*', in *Elizabeth Bennet*, ed. by Harold Bloom (Broomall: Chelsea House, 2004), pp. 65-86 (p. 75).
[424] Watt, 'On *Sense and Sensibility*', p. 45.
[425] Johnson, xxii.

meaning of this term:

> We hear sensibility as a means by which the unphilosophical mind can know virtue, an instinctive moral tact; we also hear of it as a dangerous elegance…It allies itself easily with premonitions and supernatural intimations, and no less easily with the simplest domestic virtues.[426]

William Johnson recorded the term 'sentimental' in *A Pronouncing and Spelling Dictionary*, published in 1794, but most eighteenth-century dictionaries ignored it.[427] In 1799, James Barclay remained vague about the definition of 'sentimental', describing it as 'a word lately introduced into common use, but without any precise meaning'. 'Those who use it,' Barclay continued, 'appear to understand by it, that affecting turn of thought which is peculiar to works of fancy, or where there is a display of the pathetic as in the graver scenes of comedy, or of novels'.[428] Austen also had a 'wobble' in her treatment of 'sensibility'.[429] Claire Tomalin suggests that she might have created Marianne to show the faults of 'sensibility', but then found herself bewitched by Marianne's honesty and openness and therefore reworked the novel to make her a more sympathetic figure.[430] The novel certainly benefits from Austen's seemingly ambivalent attitude towards 'sensibility', which plays a crucial role in saving Marianne from becoming one of the sentimental villains portrayed in conduct books of the day, such as Julia in Edgeworth's *Letters of Julia and Caroline* (1795) and, as noted above, Marianne in West's *A Gossip's Story* (1796). Elinor, as discussed previously, is also allowed to possess powerful feelings: 'She had an excellent heart; – her disposition was affectionate, and her feelings were strong' (*S&S*, p. 6).

Lin Wenchen reviewed *Sense and Sensibility* in 1987, aiming to connect Austen with other eighteenth-century British writers such as Fielding and Richardson. He, like Sun, mentions Edmund Gosse's comments on a lack of realism in English literature of the late

---

426 J. M. S. Tompkins, *The Popular Novel in England 1770-1800* (London: Constable & Company, 1932), pp. 93-94.
427 William Johnson, *A Pronouncing and Spelling Dictionary* (London: W. Johnstone, 1764).
428 James Barclay, *A complete and Universal English Dictionary, in Eighteenth Century Collections Online*: <http://find.galegroup.com/menu/commonmenu.do?userGroupName=univnott> [accessed 12 May 2016].
429 Tomalin, p. 155.
430 Ibid., pp. 156-57.

eighteenth century, and praises Austen's 'faithful representation of human nature'.[431] Lin compares Austen with Fielding, noting that she explores issues such as marriage and women's financial status from a more realistic perspective.[432] He also makes a contrast between Richardson and Austen, considering Austen's presentation of the reason-feeling debate in *Sense and Sensibility* as more complex:

Original:

> 小说展开这一主题的特色就在于，它不像前人那样，把这一主题简单化地表现为"理智"同"情感"的绝对斗争，而是多侧面地展示了情感向理智转化和理智同情感协调的种种状态。[433]

Translation:

> The characteristic of the themes presented in this novel is that it is distinguished from its predecessors whose themes are simply manifested in an absolute battle between 'reason' and 'feeling', but rather shows many aspects of the transformation of emotion to rationality and balanced relationships between them.

Lin regards Austen's work as belonging to the didactic tradition of her day, but he also emphasises that the author aims to explore a balance between reason and feeling instead of taking issue with the latter quality. Lin also discusses E. M. Forster's idea that Austen's novels represented 'round' characterization. Forster observed in 1927 that all of Austen's characters were 'round, or capable of rotundity' because they were 'ready for an extended life'.[434] Lin notes particularly Austen's depiction of Elinor's conflicting feelings, suggesting that it makes her a 'round' rather than a 'flat' heroine who embodies 'sense'.[435] He also celebrates Austen's portrayal of different female characters that represent various aspects of human nature.[436]

Chinese critics' keen interest in the reason-feeling debate presented in *Sense and Sensibility* has certainly helped promote the translation of the book. Following the

[431] Lin Wenchen, 'Reviewing Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility*', *Journal of Huaqiao University*, 2 (1987), 106-12.
[432] Ibid.
[433] Ibid., p. 108.
[434] E. M. Forster's 'Aspects of the Novel" is based on a series of lectures he gave in 1927 at Trinity College, Cambridge.
[435] Lin, 'Reviewing Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility*', p. 110.
[436] Ibid.

publication of Wang Yutang's translation in 1983, there were at least five other Chinese versions of the novel appearing during the 1980s and 1990s, including Wu Lili's translation issued in 1984, Sun Zhili's in 1984, Wu Chonghan's in 1989, Luo Wenhua's in 1995, and Yin Xu's in 1997. By contrast, *Mansfield Park*, *Northanger Abbey*, and *Persuasion*, as will be discussed in the following chapters, have received much less attention from Chinese critics and translators. The 1995 film adaptation of *Sense and Sensibility*, directed by Ang Lee, has also contributed to the novel's popularity in China. Lee is one of the best-known Chinese-born film directors, and many of his films, such as *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (2000) and the adaptation of Eileen Chang's 'Lust, Caution' (2007), achieved great success with Chinese audiences. Lee's film adaptation of *Sense and Sensibility* has enjoyed popularity over recent decades in China. A survey relating to this film has been conducted on *Douban*. According to the most recent result, 39235 participants have taken part in the survey, with 53.2% of them ticking 4 stars and 29% ticking 5 stars.[437] The film's average review score was 8.2, which is almost the equal of Joe Wright's 2005 film adaptation of *Pride and Prejudice* – 8.4. Due to its popularity, stills and photos from the 1995 adaptation of *Sense and Sensibility* also began to be used by Chinese publishers to stimulate interest in the novel over recent years. For example, *in* 2011, Central Compilation & Translation Press issued an English edition of *Sense and Sensibility*, and a photo of Marianne laughing heartily, featuring Kate Winslet, appeared on its book cover (see Fig. 2.9).

This film adaptation succeeded in attracting much scholarly attention from Chinese critics. Hu Ke, for example, claims in 1997 that although a male director, Lee endeavours to present the story from a woman's point of view.[438] According to Hu, female characters play central roles in the film, while major male characters, such as Edward Ferrars, appear much less frequently.[439] Hu considers Austen to be the first English woman writer whose work embodies 'female consciousness'.[440] It is unsurprising that Hu is keenly interested in the representation of female characters in Lee's film adaption of

[437] See *Douban*, <http://www.douban.com/> [accessed 8 March 2016]
[438] Hu Ke, 'Film Interpretations of *Sense and Sensibility*', *Contemporary Film*, 1 (1997), 101-5.
[439] Ibid.
[440] Ibid.

Sense and Sensibility, considering women's studies' powerful influence on the reception of Austen's novels in China since the mid-1990s. Like *Pride and Prejudice*, Chinese critics have also become increasingly interested in exploring Austen's 'feminist' viewpoint in *Sense and Sensibility*. Li Zhongying and Jia Qiuyan, for example, published 'Feminism in *Sense and Sensibility*' in 2002, describing Marianne as 'a courageous, unconventional woman who dares to fight against hypocritical social conventions'.[441] This comment reminds us of Chinese critics' views of Elizabeth's rebellious nature, as discussed in Chapter One. Marianne does strongly resemble Elizabeth in her high spirits and liveliness of mind, but Austen's disapproval of her behaviour is most explicit in the novel. Li and Jia, therefore, attempt to associate Austen's 'feminist consciousness' in *Sense and Sensibility* closely with her 'realistic' representation of women's lack of inheritance rights and their economic subordination.[442] Gao Feng declares in 2011 that Austen perceives 'sense' as encouraging 'realistic behaviour' and Elinor's ability to control impulsive feelings gives her the advantage of being better adapted to the social environment.[443] He also suggests that Austen approves of Marianne's 'spirit against the patriarchal world', but her rebellion is isolated and her individual integrity will 'intensify sexual conflict or increase woman's vulnerability'.[444]

2.3 Austen and Feminist Rationality

As shown above, recent Chinese critics in general recognise Austen's sympathy with Marianne's suffering in a patriarchal society, and many of them consider the changes in the heroine's perception of rationality to represent the author's 'conservatism'. Austen's disapproval of Marianne's excessive sensibility actually is closely related to the gender-based prejudice within the 'culture' of sensibility in eighteenth-century Britain. Markman Ellis, for example, points out that sensibility 'was a distinctly feminine field of

---

441 Li Zhongying and Jia Qiuyan, 'Feminism in *Sense and Sensibility*', *Journal of Shaanxi Normal University*, 31 (2002), 201-2. The original text in Chinese: '敢说敢为，是个不遵守传统规范的大胆女子，敢于反对伪善的社会习俗.'

442 Ibid.

443 Gao Feng, 'Opposition and Harmony of Austen's View on Love in *Sense and Sensibility*', *Journal of Language and Literature Studies*, 8 (2011), 43-65 (p. 46).

444 Ibid.

knowledge' at this time.[445] This term, according to him, 'was particularly associated with the behaviour and experience of women and often apostrophised as a feminine figure'.[446] Jerome McGann also notes that sentimental heroines are commonly portrayed as 'creatures who "think" through their feelings'.[447] He considers this to be grounded in traditional ideas about 'men being the image of the higher powers of mind and reason, woman of the lower orders of body and sensation'.[448] In this light, Austen's celebration of women's power of rational judgment is indicative of, as Margaret Kirkham puts it, the 'rational feminism of the Enlightenment'.[449]

Austen prefers sense to sensibility as a guide for female conduct in *Sense and Sensibility*. Elinor models admirable behaviour with 'rational employment and virtuous self-control' (*S&S*, p. 343), while Marianne confesses later in the novel that 'my own feelings had prepared my sufferings' (*S&S*, p. 345). As noted in Chapter One, Austen has the same objection as Wollstonecraft to the sentimental treatment of women that robs them of their equal rank as rational beings. Excessive sensibility, according to Wollstonecraft, 'naturally relaxes the other powers of the mind, and prevents intellect from attaining that sovereignty which it ought to attain to render a rational creature useful to others'.[450] She, therefore, demanded a rational female education in order to strengthen women's minds – 'They must bow to the authority of reason, instead of being modest slaves of opinion'.[451] In *Sense and Sensibility*, Austen dramatises the dangers of self-indulgent fantasy by shaping Marianne and Willoughby's love relationship through their mutual passion for poetry and music. In this view, Austen also echoes Wollstonecraft's opinions that novels, poetry, and music 'all tend to make women the creatures of sensation'.[452] However, Austen's approval of reason and principle tends to make her sound like a conservative moralist to many Chinese readers and critics. Wang

[445] Markman Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility: Race, Gender, and Commerce in the Sentimental Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 24.
[446] Ibid.
[447] Jerome McGann, *The Poetics of Sensibility: A Revolution in Literary Style* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 13.
[448] Ibid.
[449] Kirkham, xii.
[450] Wollstonecraft, p. 154
[451] Ibid., p. 141.
[452] Ibid., p. 154.

Xinchun and Kang Chunyan, for example, interpret the happy marriages at the end of *Sense and Sensibility* as symptomatic of Austen's social conservatism.[453] They regard 'sense' as representing traditional values while 'sensibility' is anti-traditional, and therefore Marianne's rational changes show her reluctant acceptance of the prevailing values of her society.[454] Yang Guilan also regards the rebellious and passionate Marianne as a kind of 'new woman', and argues that her eventual marriage to Colonel Brandon displays her inability to escape from the conventional marriage structure.[455]

Recent Chinese critics' two distinct interpretations of *Sense and Sensibility* regarding its radical and conservative aspects suggest the complex representation of the tensions between rationality and emotions in the novel. However, their methods of interpretation, as I have noted in Chapter One, are significantly different from those of British critics. Their opinions are mainly based on analysis of the characters, plots, and themes in Austen's novels, and rarely seek to locate those texts within their historical context. I argue that an exploration of the literary culture of Austen's day is crucial to understanding the author's portrayal of female characters in the novel. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw a rising demand for improved female education among both radical and conservative women writers. Feminine sensibility also became a critical problem for many conduct-book writers of this time, notably West, More, and Edgeworth. However, unlike Wollstonecraft, those women writers tended to take more conservative stands, basing their charges against sentimentalism on its threat to Christian morality. Conservative women writers generally associated their promotion of female education closely with woman's role as 'helpmate' in marriage. More, for example, stated in *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education* (1799) that a man wanted to marry a woman who could 'assist him in his affairs…strength his principles, and educate his children'.[456] West also asserted in *Letters to A Young Lady* (1806) that

[453] Wang Xinchun and Kang Chunyan, 'The Change of Feminist Consciousness from Sensibility to Sense', *Journal of Qiqihar University*, 5 (2007), 111-2.
[454] Ibid.
[455] Yang Guilan, 'The "New Woman" Marianne in *Sense and Sensibility*', *English on Campus*, 12 (2012), 150.
[456] Hannah More, *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education* (London: T. Cadell Jun, 1799), p. 107.

women 'were designed to be the companions as well as the helpmates of man'.[457] 'It is as much our duty,' she continued, 'to render ourselves conversable and agreeable, by enlightening our minds, as it is to superintend our households'.[458]

However, Austen's attitude towards female education appears to be very different from conservative women writers of her time. In *Sense and Sensibility*, rational education is closely connected with women's survival in a patriarchal society. Marianne's sentimental behaviour, rather than being represented as a moral failure, is primarily based on her ignorance of the social rule of secrecy and hypocrisy. Although she resembles some of Austen's villainesses in the degree of her self interest, Marianne shares Elinor's moral sense. The most noticeable difference between them lies in their ability to govern impulsive feelings. Elinor's steadier mind qualifies her to understand that concealment and disguise are 'indispensable props on the social stage' for unprotected young women.[459] Therefore, the readers, as Tomalin suggests, tend to feel that Marianne acts 'innocently and purely, and with a consistency that justifies what she has done'.[460] Tomalin also notes that many of Marianne's opinions, such as her dislike of Sir John's phrase 'setting one's cap at a man', seem to echo Austen's own views, but the author would not 'break accepted codes of behaviour as she makes Marianne do'.[461] In characterizing Marianne as representing the quality of sensibility, Austen shifts her focus from depicting a 'fallen woman' to exploring the extent to which the society can tolerate emotional honesty. Ian Watt declares that although Austen finds Marianne charming, she views her tactics as 'unwise'.[462] 'It was idle,' wrote Watt, 'to pretend and futile to expect that the "realities of reason and truth" could be widely shared.'[463]

As noted in the previous chapter, after Wollstonecraft's death in 1797, her husband William Godwin published a controversial biography of her, entitled *Memoirs of the Author of A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. Contemporary responses to Mary Wollstonecraft's private life may help to explain Austen's disapproval of Marianne's

[457] Jane West, *Letters to a Young Lady* (London: William Pickering, 1996), p. 212.
[458] Ibid.
[459] Tomalin, p. 156.
[460] Ibid., p. 157.
[461] Ibid., p. 156.
[462] Watt, 'On *Sense and Sensibility*', p. 49.
[463] Ibid., pp. 49-50.

spontaneity and openness of manners. The *Memoirs*, as its title indicates, is primarily concerned with the rationalist author of *A Vindication*. However, it reveals a deeply emotional Wollstonecraft with full details of her unorthodox lifestyle, including her relationship with Imlay, her suicide attempts, and her rejection of Christianity. This is largely because Godwin was a Jacobin, and his writing paid close attention to the individual's self-consciousness and inner life. Writers of the Jacobin tendency in the late eighteenth century were much influenced by the French revolution and Jean-Jacques Rousseau's political philosophy.[464] Godwin's preference for sincerity and truthfulness in *Memoirs* was often regarded as being inspired by Rousseau's insistence on natural goodness in his own autobiographical work, *Confessions* (1782).[465] Godwin had 'a genuine respect for truth, but a total lack of interest in how the truth would be received'.[466]

However, Godwin's factual accounts of Wollstonecraft's private life led to an outbreak of hostility against her. Richard Polwhele, for example, wrote *The Unsex'd Females* in 1798 to abuse Wollstonecraft. In his poem, Polwhele pressed his attacks through information taken from Godwin's biography, describing Wollstonecraft's personal life as typifying revolutionary immorality and her opinions of intellectual female education as 'unsex'd'.[467] The anti-Jacobins also stressed that 'all women showing independence of consciousness in mind or body were also "unsex'd," that is, not women at all'.[468] Sensibility, according to Janet Todd, was made 'synonymous with un-Christian sexual license in women' by the anti-Jacobins of the late 1790s, but Wollstonecraft's anti-sentimental writing was totally eclipsed by her sexual improprieties and she became its main exemplar.[469] Austen and her contemporaries were well aware of the dangers of exposing one's personal life and feelings in public. It helps to understand that the Austen

---

[464] William St. Clair, *The Godwins and the Shelleys: the Biography of A Family* (Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), pp. 189-209.
[465] Eugene L. Stelzig, *Romantic Subject in Autobiography: Rousseau and Goethe* (America: The University Press of Virginia, 2000), pp. 140-8.
[466] Kirkham, p. 48.
[467] See Richard Polwhele, 'The Unsex'd Females', in *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*: <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco>[accessed 29 January 2016].
[468] G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992), pp. 375-6.
[469] Janet Todd, *Sensibility: An Introduction* (London: Methuen, 1986), p. 136.

family had an extremely protective attitude towards her personal reputation. When the author was buried in Winchester Cathedral in 1817, the inscription her family placed on her tomb highlighted her Christian virtues, with her literary achievements left unmentioned. Cassandra censored most of Austen's letters and diaries after her death. This might be because Austen tended to express her feelings openly and honestly to her family members.

Claudia L. Johnson examined *Sense and Sensibility* in its historical context, suggesting that Marianne's openness is 'never really scorned, or even fully dismissed'.[470] She also suggests: 'Opposition of the patriarchal family is a precondition for the development of moral imagination itself.'[471] Even Marilyn Butler, who views Austen as belonging decisively to the anti-Jacobins, admits that 'Marianne, and to some extent also Elinor, are drawn with strong feelings which the readers are accustomed to sympathise with, and actually to value for their own sake'.[472] In employing the contrast format preferred by conservative writers of her time, Austen finds a way to express her own sympathy towards Marianne, whose openness and sincerity also allude to Godwin and the Jacobins, while reducing the risks of being associated with Wollstonecraft and scandal.

Sympathy plays an important role in *Sense and Sensibility*. It is the only one of Austen's novels that allows the villain to confess his inner struggles. When Willoughby shows up at Cleveland on the stormy night when Marianne almost dies of putrid fever, he insists that Elinor listens to his explanation and apology: 'My business is with you, and only you' (*S&S*, p. 317). Willoughby's confession, as C. Durning Carroll suggests, is 'a trial – a trial of the sensibility that he and Marianne are supposed to represent' and Elinor is appointed as the judge.[473] Although Willoughby's apology cannot gain forgiveness, Elinor offers 'a degree of commiseration' for his suffering, thinking 'of him as now separated for ever from family, with a tenderness, a regret' (*S&S*, p. 333). Mrs. Dashwood also rejoices 'in his being cleared from some part of his imputed guilt' (*S&S*, p. 349). Willoughby's revelation of his sincere affection for Marianne – 'The happiest hours

[470] Johnson, p. 61.
[471] Ibid., p. 69.
[472] Butler, p. 196.
[473] C. Durning Carroll, 'Willoughby's Apology', *Persuasions*, 30 (2009), < http://jasna.org/persuasions/on-line/vol30no1/carroll.html>[accessed 12 February 2016].

of my life were what I spent with her when I felt my intentions were strictly honourable, and my feelings blameless' (*S&S*, p. 321) – helps justify their intimacy, and also distinguishes Marianne from flirtatious female characters such as Lydia Bennet and Isabella Thorpe. Elinor's sympathetic responses to Willoughby also display the virtues of her sensibility. The novel stresses the need for young women to have strong minds and sincere feelings, and at the end of the story, Elinor's potential for emotional responses is activated by her deep affection for Edward, while Marianne comes to realise her imprudent conduct and makes an effort to govern her feelings.

2.4 Money and Economic Realism in *Sense and Sensibility*

Since the mid-1980s Austen's attempts at striking a balance between reason and feeling have been noted among Chinese critics. Recent criticism of the novel exhibits increasingly varied perspectives, with Austen's realism in the matter of money becoming a major interest. Austen's work was frequently praised for its 'realism' among Chinese scholars from the 1920s-50s. However, many contemporary Chinese critics find Austen's 'realism' in *Sense and Sensibility* problematic because of the crucial role played by money in its marriage plot. Readers of the novel, indeed, tend to have a strong sense of what money was 'worth' in Austen's day, with the author being specific in depicting her characters' financial situations. Mr. Dashwood, for example, leaves his wife and three daughters 'a thousand pounds a-piece'; Willoughby gets engaged to Miss Grey who has 'fifty thousand pounds'; and Mrs. Ferrars wishes Edward to marry Miss Morton 'with thirty thousand pounds'. W. H. Auden expressed his 'shock', in his 1937 poem, *Letter to Lord Byron*, over Austen's ability to 'Describe the amorous effects of "brass", /Reveal so frankly and with such sobriety / The economic basis of society'.[474]

Chinese critics, as discussed in Chapter One, generally praise *Pride and Prejudice* for revealing women's financially insecure position and the harsh reality of the marriage market. However, Austen's treatment of money matters in *Sense and Sensibility* has received more diverse responses. Sun Zhili and Lin Wenchen, as previously mentioned,

[474] W. H. Auden, *Letter to Lord Byron* (New York: Random House, 1937)
< http://www.arlindo-correia.com/lord_byron.html>[accessed 14 February 2016]

both note that Austen's economic realism plays a critical role in extending the definition of 'sense' in the novel.[475] They point out that some female characters, such as Fanny Dashwood and Lucy Steele, are represented as having an excellent 'sense' of the pretence and disguise in social life, and that sense leads to their enthusiastic pursuit of economic self-interest.[476] Zhou Qing explored the 'realistic significance' of *Sense and Sensibility* in 2003, suggesting that Elinor's declaration – 'Wealth has much to do with' happiness – in a discussion with Marianne about marriage and money is likely to represent Austen's own view.[477] Austen, according to Zhou, was well aware of the constricted economic lives of women in her society, and therefore attempted to highlight the importance of economic security in happy marriages.[478]

Fei Juan observes in 2009 that the novel's realism is highlighted in its plot that the battle between sense and sensibility is not directly connected with female characters' marriage prospects.[479] Fei argues that Austen, instead of using marriage as a reward for her sensible heroines, reveals the fact that a happy marriage depends on a variety of factors, including social and economic considerations and chance.[480] In 2013, Pan Mengke declares that Austen's realism in money matters is closely connected with her deep concern about women's inferior economic status in a patriarchal society.[481] However, he views Austen's 'feminist consciousness' as being ambivalent in *Sense and Sensibility*, because for her heroines, marriage is also represented as the only permissible route to financial security.[482]

Although marriage is a major theme in all of Austen's novels, Marianne's marriage to Colonel Brandon, whom she once regards as having 'outlived all acuteness of feeling and every exquisite power of enjoyment' (*S&S*, p. 35), appears to be the most disturbing one for Chinese readers and critics. Fu Jie, for example, claims in 2009 that in *Sense and*

---

475 Sun, 'Reading *Sense and Sensibility*', 60-3; Lin, 'Reviewing Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility*', 106-12.
476 Ibid.
477 Zhou Qing, 'On the Realistic Significance of *Sense and Sensibility*', *Journal of Jilin Normal University*, 6 (2003), 80-2.
478 Ibid.
479 Fei Juan, 'Opposition and Unity in *Sense and Sensibility*', *Anhui Literature*, 10 (2009), 244-45.
480 Ibid.
481 Pan Mengke, 'Feminism in *Sense and Sensibility*', *Short Story*, 17 (2013), 15-7.
482 Ibid.

Sensibility, Marianne learns to recognise the crucial role money plays in marriage.[483] Marianne, according to her, must feel lucky 'to find Brandon waiting to take her in' at the end of the novel.[484] Unlike the naïve and romantic Marianne, Elinor's 'sense' does involve a regard for economic reality, and she even thinks about the family's financial situation more than Mrs. Dashwood. However, as Ian Watt suggests, Austen makes it clear that 'not all kinds of economic "sense" are laudable'.[485] The fundamental differences between Elinor's economic sense and that of John Dashwood can be revealed in the following conversation:

> 'I only mean that I suppose, from your manner of speaking, it must be the same to Miss Morton whether she marry Edward or Robert.'
>
> 'Certainly, there can be no difference; for Robert will now to all intents and purposes be considered as the eldest son.' (*S&S*, pp. 296-7)

Elinor's disapproval of an economically motivated marriage such as that of Lucy Steele is evident, and she associates affection closely with moral worth. Austen's appreciation of sensibility in the novel is also based on her awareness of the crucial role played by mutual affection and understanding in a happy marriage. Austen seems to aim at creating in Colonel Brandon, different from his dull appearance, a man who is capable of sincere feelings, and in that aspect, he matches Marianne. From the very beginning, Brandon knows the value of Marianne's sincerity and spontaneity: 'There is something so amiable in the prejudices of a young mind, that one is sorry to see them give way to the reception of more general opinions' (*S&S*, p. 56). After they get married, the narrator expressly states that 'Marianne could never love by halves; and her whole heart became, as much devoted to her husband, as it had once been to Willoughby' (*S&S*, p. 379).

However, one of the major flaws in *Sense and Sensibility* is indeed the evident stiffness in the development of Marianne and Brandon's relationship, and Austen has to idealise the consistency of rationality and emotions so her heroines can love the moral men they marry. Austen is certainly more successful in shaping Marianne's sensibility

---

[483] Fu Jie, 'The Contrast and Affinity in *Sense and Sensibility*', *Research in Teaching*, 1 (2009), 136-41 (p. 141).
[484] Ibid.
[485] Watt, 'On *Sense and Sensibility*', p. 43.

than Brandon's, which helps to explain the failure of many Chinese readers and critics in recognizing his attraction for Marianne. Austen's skills in depicting the sexual tension between the hero and heroine were much improved in her second published novel, *Pride and Prejudice*, which, as previously noted, has become the author's most popular work both in Britain and China. Austen also abandoned the contrast format in *Pride and Prejudice*, focusing primarily on the experiences of the sole heroine, Elizabeth. This is unsurprising considering that most novelists discarded the contrast-novel in the late 1790s since a single protagonist's thoughts and actions 'can be handled more flexibly and with much less repetition'.[486] When *Pride and Prejudice* was published in 1813, Austen's name did not appear on the title page; instead, it was credited to 'the Author of *Sense and Sensibility*'.[487] A connection was made between those two novels probably because the reason-feeling debate was also of immediate importance to the major themes in *Pride and Prejudice*. As noted above, Elizabeth strongly resembles Marianne in her high spirits and rebellious nature, but she, like Elinor, is also capable of rational thinking. The similarities between those two novels in thematic concerns and the representation of the heroines may help to explain the rapid popularity *Sense and Sensibility* has achieved among the general reading public over the past three decades.

The reader surveys conducted at the UNNC revealed that *Sense and Sensibility* was the second most widely-read Austen novel among Chinese participants.[488] The novel was also ranked the third most popular of Austen's works for British participants. In response to the question about their favourite Austen heroine, most Chinese participants chose Elizabeth with other heroines being largely ignored, but 5 (15%) British participants ticked Marianne, who turned out to be their second favourite Austen heroine – 16 ticked Elizabeth, 2 Elinor, 2 Catherine, 2 Anne, and 1 Emma; but none of them chose Fanny. The popularity of *Sense and Sensibility* in Britain has certainly played a significant role in shaping its Chinese reputation. In China, at least fourteen translations of the novel had been published by the 2010s.[489] As noted in Chapter One, Chinese

[486] Butler, p.182.
[487] See the title page of *P&P*.
[488] See Appendix Two for a summary of survey results.
[489] See Appendix Three for an overview of major Chinese translations of *Sense and Sensibility*.

translators' interpretations of the characters, plots, and themes in Austen's novels have had a profound influence on readers' responses to them. Therefore, in the following chapter, I will explore the different approaches taken by Chinese translators to reproducing the novelist's ironic tone and style in one of her most playful and comic novels, *Emma*.

Chapter Three

Jane Austen in Translation: *Emma* in China

Emma was the second of Austen's novels to be published in China, with its first Chinese translation by Liu Zhongde appearing in 1949. It is one of Austen's most light-hearted and humorous social satires, and has become increasingly popular amongst Chinese readers. This chapter will examine the influence of translation on the reception of *Emma* in China. It is mainly focused on analyzing Chinese translations by two translators, Liu Zhongde and Zhang Jinghao, the former taking a literal approach and the latter preferring a free one. I will particularly consider how their translations convey the style and irony of the original text to Chinese readers. The chapter also contains an interview survey among five Chinese exchange students at the Nottingham campus.

3.1 The Publication of *Emma* in Britain

Austen published four novels during her lifetime: *Sense and Sensibility* (1811), *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), *Mansfield Park* (1814), and *Emma* (1815). *Emma* was the last to appear in print before her death in 1817. According to Austen-Leigh, Austen 'was very fond of *Emma*', and when sending a copy of the novel to her niece, Anna Lefroy, who had a newborn daughter, she declared: 'I trust you will be as glad to see my "Emma," as I shall be to see your Jemima.'[490] Austen was also keenly interested in her family and friends' 'Opinions' of this novel, recording that Cassandra liked it better than *Pride and Prejudice*, 'but not so well as M. P [*Mansfield Park*]'; Mrs. Austen 'thought it more entertaining than M. P', but *Pride and Prejudice* remained her favourite because no character in *Emma* could be equal to Mr. Collins and Lady Catherine; Martha Lloyd viewed it 'as clever as either of the others' but as not very entertaining; Mr. B. Lefroy claimed that the novel needed more incidents, but the characters were 'quite as well drawn & supported as in any'; whereas Austen's brother Frank admired *Emma* extremely 'on account of its peculiar air

[490] Austen-Leigh, p. 148.

of Nature throughout'.[491] Austen's collection of contemporary comments reveals that her early readers commonly praised *Pride and Prejudice* for its 'wit' and *Mansfield Park* for its 'morality', but *Emma* was viewed by many of them as superior to its predecessors in various aspects such as language, irony, its use of comic characters, and its representation of human nature.

As noted above, *Emma* was Austen's fourth published novel. It shares some striking similarities in setting and theme with Austen's earlier works, and stays focused on the lives of the English landed gentry. *Sense and Sensibility* and *Pride and Prejudice*, as discussed in previous chapters, were both revisions of the stories Austen wrote in her early twenties. *Emma*, however, was written in her late thirties, between January 1814 and March 1815, and therefore represents the thoughts and feelings of a more mature author. It was the second novel, after *Mansfield Park*, to be composed entirely at Austen's last home, Chawton Cottage. The author was at the height of her literary powers when living at Chawton and completed *Mansfield Park*, *Emma*, and *Persuasion* in six years from 1811 to 1816, the same number of major novels composed in her youth.[492] The author's previous experience of living at Bath and Southampton from 1801 to 1809 and her occasional visits to London must have offered her a broader view of society and human nature. She may have also felt more confident about her writing since her earlier novels sold fairly well. 'Every copy of S. and S. [*Sense and Sensibility*],' as she claimed in a letter of 1813, 'is sold', which brought her £140.[493] *Pride and Prejudice* was also well received upon publication in 1813 and appeared in the second edition later that year; and the first edition of *Mansfield Park* sold out in only six months.

Austen's novels were all published anonymously during her lifetime, but her brother Henry admitted her authorship to some of his London friends 'in the warmth of his Brotherly vanity & Love'.[494] In a letter of 1813 to her brother Francis, Austen wrote playfully: 'The Secret [of her novels' authorship] has spread so far as to be scarcely the

---

[491] See 'Opinions of *Emma*' in *Jane Austen: The Critical Heritage Volume 1 1811-1870*, ed. by B. C. Southam (London: Routledge, 1979; repr. 1995), pp. 59-60. Cited below as *The Critical Heritage 1811-1870*.
[492] Austen-Leigh, pp. 108-26.
[493] *Austen's Letters*, p. 317.
[494] Ibid., p. 340.

Shadow of a secret now…I shall not even attempt to tell Lies about it'.[495] The Prince Regent was known as 'a great admirer' of Austen's work.[496] In the autumn of 1815, one of the Prince's physicians informed him of Austen's stay in London. The Prince invited the author, through his librarian James Stanier Clarke, to visit Carlton House, where Clarke expressed the Prince's desire to have her forthcoming novel dedicated to him.[497] Austen could scarcely refuse the 'royal suggestion', and consequently *Emma* was dedicated to 'His Royal Highness the Prince Regent'.[498] The dedication appeared on a separate page and 'His Royal Highness' was repeated three times.

Modern readers are well aware of Austen's 'hatred' for the Prince, which she declared in a letter to Martha Lloyd of 1813, mainly because of his ill treatment of his 'legitimate' wife, Princess Caroline.[499] Therefore, recent critics tend to argue that the dedication was done mockingly rather than deferentially. Colleen A. Sheehan, for example, suggests that the repetition of 'His Royal Highness' in the dedication might have echoed Princess Caroline's scathing letter to her husband of 1814, in which she repeatedly addressed him as 'His Royal Highness'.[500] Later in a letter of March 1816, Clarke requested that Austen write a 'historical romance, illustrative of the august House of Cobourg'.[501] The book was suggested to be dedicated to Prince Leopold, which was because the Prince would marry his daughter Princess Charlotte to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg in May of that year. Austen, however, tactfully refused the librarian's advice, calling herself 'the most unlearned, & uninformed Female who ever dared to be an Authoress'.[502] She also told Clarke that 'I must keep to my own style and go on in my own way…I should totally fail in any other'.[503]

Austen, as shown in her response to Clarke, was very conscious of her artistic goals.

---

[495] Ibid.
[496] See Austen-Leigh, p. 111. One of the Prince's physicians told Austen that 'the Prince was a great admirer of her novels; that he read them often, and kept a set in every one of his residences'.
[497] The Prince's physician, Dr. Matthew Baillie, also treated Henry Austen in his illness. See Tomalin, p. 247; Austen-Leigh, p. 95.
[498] As Tomalin suggested, 'a royal suggest is a royal command'; see Tomalin, p. 248.
[499] *Austen's Letters*, p. 504.
[500] Colleen A. Sheehan, 'Jane Austen's "Tribute" to the Prince Regent: A Gentleman Riddled with Difficulty', *Persuasions On-Line*, 27 (2006),
< http://www.jasna.org/persuasions/on-line/vol27no1/sheehan.htm>[accessed 16 February 2016].
[501] Austen-Leigh, p. 115-6.
[502] Ibid., p. 115-16.
[503] Ibid., p. 117.

In the early stages of her life, Austen wrote stories largely for her family's entertainment. Austen-Leigh stressed in *A Memoir* that her literary talents did not 'pierce through the obscurity of her domestic retirement'.[504] Austen also playfully told Cassandra that she was 'rather frightened' by hearing that a Miss Burdett, one of her London readers, wished to be introduced to her.[505] However, following the success of her first four novels, Austen became increasingly certain of her literary style and refused to be beholden to powerful patrons who wanted her to change it. Austen was most interested in portraying, to use her own words, '3 or 4 Families in a Country Village'.[506] This 'little bit of ivory' has in no way diminished Austen's serious artistic intention, and she was determined to explore the complexity of the English gentry's family life – a society she was familiar with and felt capable of representing.

Austen's decision to change her publisher to John Murray, when she finished *Emma* in 1815, reflected her growing success and confidence. Her first three novels, as mentioned previously, were issued by Thomas Egerton. Egerton's other published authors, such as George Chalmers, did not achieve much popularity.[507] John Murray, by contrast, was a more reputable and influential publisher, and his most notable authors include Byron and Scott. Austen, therefore, was turned into a more fashionable novelist by securing him as her publisher. Murray's preference for Austen's work was much influenced by his literary advisor, William Gifford. Murray sent the manuscript of *Emma* to Gifford in September 1815, and the latter responded that he had 'nothing but good to say' of this work and he had been 'sure of' Austen before Murray mentioned her.[508] Gifford also praised *Pride and Prejudice* for having 'no dark passages; no secret chamber…things that should now be left to ladies' maids and sentimental washerwomen'.[509] Gifford's preference for Austen seems to be largely related to her literary style. The sentimental and Gothic romances, as discussed earlier, became particularly popular among women writers in Britain during the late eighteenth and

[504] Ibid., p. 2.
[505] *Austen's Letters*, p. 311.
[506] See Austen's letter of 9 September 1814 to her niece Anna Austen, in *Austen's Letters*, p. 401.
[507] Egerton published, for example, George Chalmers's *An apology for the believers in the Shakespeare-papers* in 1797 and *Supplemental Apology for Believers in Shakespeare Papers* in 1799.
[508] *The Critical Heritage 1811-1870*, pp. 11-12.
[509] Ibid., p. 7.

early nineteenth centuries.[510] The Gothic-sentimental genre was commonly mocked by anti-Jacobins of this period. Gifford worked as an editor for a satirical Tory journal, the *Anti-Jacobin*, in 1797-98, and his comparison of Austen's work with Gothic romances indicates his view of her as a conservative writer.

In December 1815, *Emma* was published in three volumes by Murray, with 2000 copies being printed.[511] That was larger than the print run of any of Austen's earlier novels. The estimated first printing of *Sense and Sensibility* was around 750 copies, *Pride and Prejudice* 1000 copies, and *Mansfield Park* 1250 copies.[512] Murray seemed to have great confidence in *Emma*, considering that the sale of most novels in the early nineteenth century was 'in the range of 500 to 1500'.[513] *Emma* was successful in selling about 1250 copies in six months. As with her earlier novels, Austen's name did not appear on the title page of *Emma*; instead, it was credited to 'the Author of *Pride and Prejudice*'. As noted earlier, two editions of *Pride and Prejudice* had been released by this time and therefore readers were more likely to recognise its title. Moreover, Gifford and Murray both highly valued this novel. Murray, for example, claimed in a letter to Scott around the time of *Emma*'s publication that 'none of the author's other novels have been noticed, and surely "Pride and Prejudice" merits high commendation'.[514]

3.2 The Early Reception of *Emma* in China

Austen, as discussed in previous chapters, is generally appreciated among Chinese scholars and readers for her portrayal of female characters. Although Austen's novels are all heroine-centred, *Emma* is the only one to be titled after its heroine. Austen's choice of title may have been influenced by contemporary female authors such as Burney and Edgeworth. Burney's *Cecilia* (1782) and Edgeworth's *Belinda* (1801) are both named after

---

[510] Gothic fiction will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.
[511] The year of 1816 was shown on title page of the novel.
[512] Jan Fergus, 'The Professional Woman Writer', ed. by Edward Copeland and Juliet McMaster, *The Cambridge Companion to Jane Austen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997; repr. 2012), pp. 4-7.
[513] William St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 221. For example, the first edition of *Waverley* consisted of 1000 copies and sold out within two days of publication.
[514] See Murray's letter of 25 December 1815 to Walter Scott in Samuel Smiles, *A Publisher and His Friends: Memoir and Correspondence of John Murray, with an Account of the Origin and Progress of the House, 1768-1843* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 288.

their heroines, and those two novels, as mentioned previously, were admired by Austen. *Cecilia* and *Belinda* depict young heroines' experience of entering the social world to find husbands, highlighting the importance of rational moral principle in guiding women's passionate and impulsive feelings. In *Belinda*, for example, Belinda's ability to regulate her emotions is in strong contrast with her London host, Lady Delacour's sentimental behaviour due to a lack of rational thoughts.

Emma is also primarily concerned with a young woman's personal growth and moral maturity. Austen sent a copy of the novel to Edgeworth when it was first published, but the latter writer only finished the first volume and complained that 'there is no story in it'.[515] Edgeworth might have disliked *Emma* because it is set in a country village and the heroine seems pleased to confine her activities to the small community of Highbury; Emma hardly shows any desire to visit places like Bath for 'the season' or to meet fashionable London friends like Lady Delacour.[516] Austen, however, sets herself a more difficult task in *Emma* to create a heroine who is 'faultless in spite of all her faults' (*E*, p. 433). Emma, as revealed in the opening line of the novel, is 'handsome, clever, and rich' and seems 'to unite some of the best blessings of existence' (*E*, p. 5). Yet in contrast to her predecessors, she is a 'spoilt' heroine who is unaware of her egoism and lacks the power of self-control. Emma's faults are due in large part to her father, Mr. Woodhouse's neglect of parental duties and the excessive indulgence of her governess, Miss Taylor, 'who had such an affection for her as could never find fault' (*E*, p. 6). The only person who can 'see faults' (*E*, p. 11) in Emma is Mr. Knightley, and he, thus, turns into the most important mentor for her moral growth.

As in Austen's earlier novels, courtship and marriage are central themes in *Emma*. However, Emma's social and financial status is different from that of Austen's other heroines who are all presented as potential victims of the marriage market. Emma is the second daughter of the wealthy Woodhouse family and she becomes the mistress of her

[515] See Maria Edgeworth's letter to her half brother Charles of 1816, in Baker, p. 97.

[516] In the novel, when Mrs. Elton warmly praised the fashionable parties in Surrey and King's-Weston, Emma refuted: 'We are rather out of distance of the very striking beauties which attract the sort of parties you speak of; and we are a very quiet set of people, I believe; more disposed to stay at home than engage in schemes of pleasure.' Mrs. Elton later recommended Bath to Mr. Woodhouse, but Emma refused coldly: 'My father tried it more than once, formerly; but without receiving any benefit.' See *E*, pp. 274-75.

father's house, Hartfield, in consequence of her mother's death and her sister's marriage. Emma declares that she never wishes to marry at the start of the novel, and instead, she fancies herself a skilled matchmaker. Emma likes to 'manipulate' other people's lives, and when she meets the sweet but simple Harriet Smith, she takes it upon herself to choose a future husband for Harriet. Emma's confidence in her matchmaking abilities is entirely misplaced and her misjudgement of Harriet, Mr. Elton, Frank Churchill, Jane Fairfax, Mr. Knightley, and even herself turns into the central irony and satire of the novel.

Emma's self-indulgence and egoism, however, are hardly presented as moral failures like those of female characters such as Lucy Steele and Mary Crawford, whose selfishness and vanity are motivated mainly by economic reasons and seem to be largely disapproved of by Austen. By contrast, the satire of *Emma* is much more light-hearted and tender. Emma's behaviour is not only based on selfish motives, and the real flaw in her, as the narrator puts it, is only 'the power of having rather too much her own way, and a disposition to think a little too well of herself' (*E*, p. 5). Emma is warm-hearted and generous, and shares her predecessors' moral sensibilities. As a result, readers tend to like Emma in spite of her faults. It seems that Austen, instead of placing *Emma* within a rigid didactic framework, aimed to create a more natural and spontaneous heroine. She, according to Austen-Leigh, did not consider Emma 'a general favourite', claiming that 'I am going to take a heroine whom no one but myself will much like'.[517] However, instead of predicting the unpopularity of Emma, Austen appears to indicate that this heroine is one of her most complicated and challenging.

Emma, however, did become one of Chinese readers' favourite Austen novels during the twentieth century. It was the second of Austen's novels, after *Pride and Prejudice*, to be translated into Chinese. It also seems to be, as noted in the Introduction, the author's first work to be mentioned in Chinese sources – in Lin Ruyao's *A Guide to Studying Abroad in Scotland* (1908).[518] Emma's natural high spirits and confidence, which tend to remind readers of Elizabeth Bennet, certainly helped to attract the attention and interest of

[517] Austen-Leigh, p. 148.
[518] Ye, 1-5.

Chinese scholars. The playful and satirical tone of *Emma* resembles *Pride and Prejudice* more closely than Austen's other novels. I suggest that we will gain some insight into *Emma*'s appeal to Chinese translators and scholars by looking at her critical reception in nineteenth-century Britain and America, which, as I discussed earlier, seems to have had an important influence on the early reputation of the novel in China.

Emma began to receive critical attention shortly after its appearance in December 1815. Its publisher Murray was the owner of the *Quarterly Review* and he invited Scott to 'dash off an article' on *Emma*.[519] Scott, as noted in the Introduction, responded positively to *Emma* in his review, which appeared in March of the following year, finding in the novel a satisfying portrayal of commonplace experiences.[520] Although he considered Austen's writing to lack 'wild variety of incident', he asserted that her characterization was 'finished up to nature, and with a precision which delights the reader'.[521] Scott's review of Austen was extremely important in helping to establish her literary reputation in China. In May 1816, *Emma* was also reviewed in the *Augustan Review*. The anonymous reviewer disapproved of 'a remarkable sameness in the productions' of Austen and demanded more variety in character and incident. However, *Emma* was praised for promoting a 'rational view of happiness', and characters such as Mr. Woodhouse and Miss Bates were thought to be well drawn.[522]

Contemporary comments on *Emma* can also be found in private diaries and letters in the next two decades. Henry Crabb Robinson, for example, wrote in his diary of 1822 that *Emma* was 'a novel evincing great good sense, and an acute observation of human life', although he considered *Pride and Prejudice* to be far superior, calling it 'one of the most excellent of the works of our female novelists'.[523] In a letter to Mrs. John Mozley of 1837, John Newman claimed that there were 'some beautiful things' in *Emma*.[524] Newman

---

[519] See Murray's letter of 25 December 1815 to Walter Scott in Samuel Smiles, *A Publisher and his Friends*, p. 288. Murray founded the *Quarterly Review* in 1809 as a Tory rival of the *Edinburgh Review*. All its articles were published anonymous during this period.
[520] Scott, 188-201.
[521] Ibid.
[522] 'Review on *Emma*', *Augustan Review*, 2 (1816), 484-6.
[523] Henry Crabb Robinson, *Henry Crabb Robinson on Books and Their Writers*, ed. by Edith Julia Morley, 3 vols (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1938), I. p. 282.
[524] See John Newman's letter to Mrs. John Mozley of 10 January 1837, in *Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman During His Life in the English Church*, ed. by Anne Mozley, 2 vols (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1891), I, p. 223.

considered Emma the most interesting of Austen's heroines, but he disliked Jane Fairfax, calling her 'a dolt'.[525] *Emma* also amused William Charles Maceady and impressed him with 'a high opinion of her [Austen's] powers of drawing and sustaining character'.[526] Macready, however, disliked *Northanger Abbey* – 'too long a strain of irony on one topic' – and *Mansfield Park* which 'deals too much in descriptions of the various states of mind'.[527] Charlotte Brontë, as previously noted, was critical of Austen, but in a letter to a friend of 1850, she wrote that she was reading *Emma* with interest and admiration.[528]

The second half of the nineteenth century saw a rise in the popularity of *Emma*, along with most of Austen's other novels. In the *North American Review* (1853), J. F. Kirk noted that *Pride and Prejudice* was remarkable in wit and humour, and *Mansfield Park* had 'more variety of incidents', but *Emma* was given precedence in its representation of the delightful heroine and other characters.[529] In 1859, George Henry Lewes claimed that 'Austen is like Shakespeare' in creating 'inexhaustibly amusing, yet accurately real' characters.[530] Among Austen's heroines, Lewes preferred Elizabeth, Emma, and Catherine, considering them 'truly lovable, flesh-and-blood young women'.[531] However, in 1870, *St. Paul's Magazine* rather agreed with Austen's self-deprecatory remarks about Emma not being a general favourite. Elizabeth is also accused of having a tendency towards 'vulgarity', 'vanity', and 'self satisfaction'.[532] The anonymous reviewer preferred 'the image of sorrow, of suffering, or want' in literature, and Austen's novels were criticised for exhibiting 'petty aims, vain striving, low intellects, and mean jealousies'.[533] Those comments may have been influenced by Austen-Leigh's *A Memoir*, published a year before, which highlighted the uneventful nature of Austen's life. Henry James also commented in 1883 that there was a need of 'moral illumination on the parts of' Austen's heroines, but he argued that Emma and Anne exhibited great 'passion' in a

---

525 Ibid.
526 *Macready's Reminiscences, and Selections from His Diaries and Letters*, ed. by Frederick Pollock (New York: Macmillan and co., 1875), p. 312-13..
527 Ibid.
528 See Charlotte Brontë's letter to W. S. Williams of 12 April 1850, in *The Brontës: Their Friendships Lives, and Correspondence*, ed. by T. J. Wise and J. A. Symington, 4 vols (Oxford: Blackwell, 1932), III, p. 99.
529 Kirk, 201-3.
530 Lewes, 'The Novels of Jane Austen', 99-113.
531 Ibid.
532 'Jane Austen', *St. Paul's Magazine*, 5 (1870), 631-43.
533 Ibid.

less explicit way.[534]

Those British and American critics' mainly positive assessments of *Emma* were certainly crucial in drawing Chinese scholars' attention to this work in the early decades of the twentieth century. In 1927, Ouyang introduced it as one of Austen's most famous novels.[535] In *Literature Outline*, appearing in the same year, Zheng also mentioned *Emma*, and rendered its title in Chinese as *Yima* according to its pronunciation in English – *Yi* represents the sound of 'E' and *Ma* of 'mma'.[536] This is unsurprising given that it is most common for foreign names to be translated into Chinese according to the sound, both at that time and today. Although English names such as 'Hope', 'Justice', and 'Mercy' have certain specific meanings, they are still generally rendered into Chinese as *Huopu*, *Jiasidisi*, and *Moxi* according to their English pronunciation. This might be because the given names of Chinese people often contain characters that sound pleasing but have no specific meanings. However, Zheng's rendering is not very accurate because the Chinese character *Yi* sounds more like 'e' in English words such as 'evil'. In 1937, *Emma* was rendered again as *Aima* in Jin's *An Outline*.[537] *Ai* imitates more accurately the English pronunciation of 'e' in 'Emma'. In 1949, the first Chinese translation of *Emma* by Liu Zhongde was published by Zhengfeng Publishing House, and its Chinese title also appeared as *Aima*.[538] *Aima* has remained the most commonly used translation of this title over recent decades.

Liu actually started to translate *Emma* in 1944, and it took him five years to finish his translation. This is most likely because he was determined to provide a direct translation of the novel, which is one of Austen's longest works. However, in the first half of the twentieth century, Chinese translations of foreign novels were mostly 'retelling' stories based on their original texts. For example, Lin Shu, as discussed in the introduction, translated around 180 titles of literary works without having any knowledge of foreign languages. His translations were completely based on the oral interpretations of his

[534] *Henry James: Selected Letters*, pp. 189-90.
[535] Ouyang, p. 152.
[536] Zheng, p. 58
[537] Jin, p. 302.
[538] Zhengfeng Publishing House, established in Chong Qing in 1942, was a literary publisher interested in promoting literary fiction.

collaborators. In 2012, Klaudia Hiu Yen Lee examined Lin's renderings of Dickens's novels, noting that his translation practices should be understood within the Chinese social, cultural, and historical context.[539] Lee suggests that a major reason is that 'the primary goal of such translations was to introduce Western knowledge to China'.[540] Indeed, Chinese readers of the early twentieth century were not familiar with Western culture, society, and customs, and therefore story retelling, which combines the translators' own understanding of the tale, is an effective strategy to help readers respond to those literary works. Another important reason is that only a small number of Chinese translators had a good command of foreign languages at this time; language difficulty and cultural complexity made it even more difficult for them to give direct translations.

It is significant, therefore, that Liu decided to translate *Emma* literally, which shows his great command of the English language and cultural background. Liu had taken an interest in English since high school, and in 1934, he entered Peking University to study English literature. Many of his lecturers, such as Liang Qiushi and Ye Gongchao, were influential literary figures of this time. Liang, as previously noted, wrote the preface to Dong Zhongchi's translation of *Pride and Prejudice* (1935). Ye served as one of the editors of the above-mentioned Chinese journal, the *Crescent Moon*, which became well known for translating English poets such as T. S. Eliot. Those university lecturers' translations and articles may have had a great influence on Liu's interest in translating English literary works. After graduation, he started teaching English successively at Henan University and National Normal University, and this offered him a great opportunity to undertake research on English writers.

As noted in the introduction, Liu invited Wu Jingrong, his colleague at National Normal University, to write the preface to his Chinese version of *Emma*. Wu admired Austen's novels, and in contrast to Liang's brief comments on the author in his preface to Dong's translation of *Pride and Prejudice*, Wu offers a much more detailed account of the author's works. Wu mentions George Meredith's comic theory and points out the

[539] Lee, pp. 28-9.
[540] Ibid.

importance of the comic spirit in Austen's novels.[541] Wu considers *Emma* to represent her mature art, commenting:

Original:

> 《爱玛》结构精微巧妙，而一切又是顺乎自然，从开头到结尾，故事充满着有趣的情节，叫读者去猜度，去判断。喜剧的气氛弥漫全书。我们的猜度，往往是错中生错，趣味横生。[542]

Translation:

> The structure of *Emma* is delicate and natural. It has enough plot development to keep the reader guessing and interested, and the story is full of sparkling laughter. However, the reader tends to make one wrong prediction after another, and that makes the novel all the more interesting.

Wu also discusses Austen's other novels, *Persuasion* in particular.[543] He notes that Austen treats her characters with more sympathy in *Persuasion*, which reveals her changing attitudes towards morality and love in the late stages of her writing career.[544] In the first half of the twentieth century, Chinese scholars, as previously noted, generally disapproved of Austen's work for its narrow scope. Although Wu shares those scholars' idea of Austen being a conservative writer, he highlights the complexity of her novels and recognises her literary achievement.[545] Wu's preface was important in stimulating Chinese readers' interest in Austen's works

As noted above, Liu's translation of *Emma* closely follows Austen's English text. For example, the opening paragraph was rendered as below:

> 爱玛·伍德豪斯漂亮，聪明，富裕，家庭舒适，性情快乐，似乎同时有了生活上的几种最大幸福，已经无忧无虑地在世上过了差不多二十一个年头了。[546]

Original text:

> Emma Woodhouse, handsome, clever, and rich, with a comfortable home and happy disposition, seemed to unite some of the best blessings of existence; and had

[541] See Wu's preface to Liu 1982, pp. 3-5.
[542] Ibid., p. 8.
[543] Ibid., pp. 10-18.
[544] Ibid.
[545] Ibid.
[546] Liu 1982, p. 1.

lived nearly twenty-one years in the world with very little to distress or vex her. (*E*, p. 5)

Liu hardly made any changes to phrases and sentence structure when rendering Austen's text. The narrative phrases – 'handsome, clever, and rich, with a comfortable home and happy disposition' – were directly translated into '漂亮，聪明，富裕，家庭舒适，性情快乐'. Even words less relating to the content, such as 'seemed', 'some of', and 'nearly', were all preserved in his Chinese text, translated as '似乎', '几种', and '差不多'. Liu's direct translation strategy is important in maintaining the sense of the original expression.

However, there were also a number of minor changes and imprecise translations.[547] For example, the sentence – 'Mr. Woodhouse had not married early' (*E*, p. 7) – appears in Liu's translation as '伍德豪斯先生结婚太迟了' (Mr. Woodhouse had married too late), the tone of which appears harsher.[548] Some long sentences were also cut short; for instance, 'he had, therefore, earnestly tried to dissuade them from having any wedding-cake at all, and when that proved vain, as earnestly tried to prevent any body's eating it' (*E*, p. 19) was shortened into '所以，他曾经很热心地去设法阻止别人吃喜饼' (he had, therefore, earnestly tried to dissuade them from eating wedding-cake); [549] moreover, 'wedding-cake' was rendered as '喜饼' (a traditional Chinese wedding-cake), which is much smaller than the Western wedding-cake and looks more similar to moon cake. In the following sentence, 'the Campbells had promised their daughter to stay at least till Midsummer' (*E*, p. 285), Liu translated 'Midsummer' as '仲夏', which is one of the twenty-four solar terms in China and refers to the second month of summer, May, based on lunar calendar (commonly June based on solar calendar).[550] In Austen's text, 'Midsummer' actually refers to St John's Day. Although St John's Day also takes place in June, Liu fails to locate the term in the Christian context of the novel.

The place names in *Emma*, like the characters' names, are also commonly rendered

[547] Liu finished his translation of *Emma* around February 1948, and when it was published in 1949, the text did not seem to have been thoroughly revised and contained a number of rigid grammars and sentences.
[548] Liu 1982, p. 3.
[549] Ibid., p. 20.
[550] Ibid., p. 372.

by Liu into Chinese characters according to their English pronunciation. The village, 'Highbury', for example, appears in Liu's Chinese text as *Haiboli*, which resembles its original sound. Yet the name 'Highbury' also seems indicative of Emma's 'high' social status in this small village, while none of the Chinese characters in *Haiboli* represents the meaning of 'high'. Chinese idiomatic expression also frequently appears in Liu's translation with the purpose of engaging readers more vividly with the text. He, for instance, rendered the last part of the sentence – 'Emma could not but sigh over it and wish for impossible things, till her father awoke, and made it necessary to be cheerful' (*E*, p. 7) – into the Chinese idiom '强作欢颜', which means 'force herself to be cheerful'.[551] This idiom highlights the melancholy mood of Emma and her warm affection for her father. However, the meaning of 'force' fails to show the heroine's naturally 'happy disposition' and diminishes the narrator's humorous tone.

Emma stands out from Austen's earlier novels on account of the relationship between the narrator and heroine. Liu might have chosen direct translation in order to maintain the original writing style. Austen was one of the earliest writers who used free indirect speech to present characters' thoughts and inner dialogue, which is crucial to guiding readers' responses to them. In *Sense and Sensibility*, *Pride and Prejudice*, and *Mansfield Park*, one of the main functions of Austen's narrator is to represent the judgments and feelings of the heroine, highlighting their moral superiority. The narrator plays a crucial role in helping readers to better understand Elinor's forbearance, Elizabeth's intelligence, and Fanny's virtue, and it also suggests those heroines' sharp observation of other characters' behaviour in order to bring human ignorance and cruelty into view. Austen's comical characters such as Mrs. Bennet, Mr. Collins, and Mrs. Norris could not become so funny and memorable without the narrator's satirical remarks. However, the narrator of *Emma* plays a more active part – it is a mixture of Emma's opinions and a voice of rational judgment.

The narrator plays a major role in exposing Emma's faults of egoism, but meanwhile it also reveals the heroine's richly dramatised consciousness so that readers can have more sympathy with her. As noted above, Emma makes a series of mistakes in the novel

[551] Ibid., p. 4.

– she makes Harriet vain, she is unkind to Miss Bates, she desires Frank Churchill's flattering attention and consequently makes Jane Fairfax miserable. However, the narrator keeps poking fun at her faults and encourages readers to like this flawed heroine. Liu certainly recognised the significant role played by the narrator in *Emma*, and he tended to emphasise that ironic voice. For example, when the narrator comments on Emma's thoughts and behaviour, such as 'highly esteeming Miss Taylor's judgment, but directed chiefly by her own' (*E*, p. 5), Liu commonly added the Chinese term '固然' (admittedly) to the beginning of those sentences in order to highlight the turning point.[552] When Emma meets Harriet for the first time, the narrator observes playfully that the heroine 'was so busy in admiring those soft blue eyes, in talking and listening and forming all those schemes' (*E*, p. 24). In Liu's translation, the term '忙着' (busy) actually appears three times in this sentence in order to highlight Emma's self-indulgence in her plan to manage Harriet's future, which leads to a series of comic consequences in the later part of this novel.[553]

Liu produced a fairly literal and accurate translation of *Emma*. Although the exact production and sale figures remain unknown, Liu's translation, according to Wu's revised preface to the 1982 reprint, proved popular with Chinese readers.[554] Liu's translation has certainly played an important role in promoting Austen's reputation among Chinese scholars and readers, and in the next decade, a third translation of *Pride and Prejudice* by Wang and a first of *Northanger Abbey* by Ma appeared in China. As noted in the introduction to this thesis, during the 1960s and 1970s *Emma*, along with Austen's other novels, did not appear in print in mainland China because of the Cultural Revolution. In Taiwan, by contrast, Liu's translation of *Emma* was reprinted at least five times between the 1950s and 1970s.[555]

---

[552] Ibid., p. 1.
[553] Ibid., p. 26.
[554] Wu's preface to Liu 1982, p. 20.
[555] Liu's name did not appear on those translations published in Taiwan because of political factors, refer to the introduction to this thesis.

3.3 Literal Translation vs. Free Translation

Austen began to regain the attention of Chinese translators from the early 1980s, inspired by a revival of the translation and publication of Western literature. In 1981, Zhong Meisun published an English-Chinese bilingual version of *Emma*, which was based on a simplified edition of the novel by Michael West and E. P. Hart. West and Hart's book was originally published by Longmans in London in 1956 within the series of *New Method Readers*, which aimed at teaching English to non-native speakers. The intention of Zhong's book was to be helpful to English language learners in China rather than to serve academic purposes. It was issued by the Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press, which was established in 1979 by Beijing Foreign Studies University with the purpose of promoting the teaching and learning of foreign languages in China. As noted in the introduction to this thesis, the early 1980s witnessed a rapid growth in economic and cultural exchange between China and foreign countries as a result of Deng Xiaoping's 'Reform and Opening-up' policies. As a consequence, a number of Chinese colleges and universities started to offer English language courses, which aroused great interest among Chinese students. This certainly helped to promote the publication of Zhong's English-Chinese bilingual version of *Emma*. Zhong declares in her preface that this simplified English text of *Emma* is easy to read and understand, and therefore, will be useful for Chinese students in English studies. Indeed, Chinese scholars and readers, as noted in the introduction, mainly encountered Austen through translations at this time and most of them would find it extremely difficult to read the author's original English texts. In West and Hart's simplified edition of *Emma*, however, a large amount of dialogue and a number of character descriptions were cut short or removed. For example, the opening paragraph of his text appears as below:

> Emma Woodhouse was beautiful, clever and rich, and had lived to be twenty years old with very little to pain or trouble her.[556]

The phrase describing Emma's 'comfortable home and happy disposition, [which]

[556] See Austen, *Emma* (*Aima*), simplified by Michael West and E. P. Hart; trans. by Zhong Meisun (Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press, 1981), p. 2.

seemed to unite some of the best blessings of existence' in the original text is completely removed by West and Hart, probably because foreign readers tend to have difficulty in understanding phrases such as 'happy disposition' and 'the best blessings of existence', which are no longer in common usage in modern English. The terms 'distress' and 'vex' are also changed into more frequently used words – 'pain' and 'trouble'. Zhong produced a direct translation of West and Hart's text, which is easier to read and understand than Liu's translation. However, West and Hart's text is mainly made up of dialogue, with most of the narration deleted. As a result, the narrator's judgments on Emma and her insight into the latter's inner emotions are mostly unavailable to readers. As noted above, the narrator in *Emma* plays a critical role in the ironic representation of character. A 'retelling' of the novel would inevitably result in the loss of its sarcastic narrative voice and light-hearted style. Zhong's translation, therefore, is much inferior to Liu's in presenting the complexity of character, and unsurprisingly, it failed to arouse much interest among Chinese readers.

In 1982, Liu's translation of *Emma* was republished by Lijiang Publishing House (see Fig. 2.10). Wu also revised his preface, in which he noted Macaulay's view of Austen as 'Prose Shakespeare'.[557] As noted in the introduction, Austen's literary standing increased rapidly in China from the early 1980s, and several Chinese scholars, such as Zhu Hong and Yang Jiang, began to link her with Shakespeare. However, rather than contemporary Western literary criticism of Austen, they seem to be more interested in nineteenth-and early twentieth-century critics' comments on the author, notably those of Macaulay, George H. Lewes, Richard Simpson, and Virginia Woolf. This is largely because Austen received little critical attention in China up until this period, with those critics' views of Austen remaining largely unknown to the Chinese public. Two years later, in 1984, a new Chinese translation of *Emma* by Zhang Jinghao was issued by Zhejiang Literature and Art Publishing House (see Fig. 2.11). Unlike Liu, Zhang took a more free approach in translating phrases and sentences of *Emma*, combined with his own interpretations of the novel.

As a result, a comparison of Zhang and Liu's translations of the novel has attracted

[557] See Wu's preface to Liu 1982, p. 19.

great interest from Chinese scholars since the 1980s. In 1987, for example, Li Derong compared those two translations, particularly praising Liu's text for more closely resembling the original expression and style of Austen. Li also points out some inappropriate translations in both texts.[558] He suggests that the phrase 'of any continuance' in the following sentence – 'Emma first sat in mournful thought of any continuance' – means 'for a considerably long time', but Liu rendered it as (终日) 'the whole day' while Zhang ignored it.[559] According to Li, when Liu translated the sentence – 'Sorrow came – a gentle sorrow – but not at all in the shape of any disagreeable consciousness' (*E*, p. 6) – he exaggerated the meaning of 'disagreeable consciousness' by rendering it as '令人觉得可憎的形式' (resentful situation), while Zhang changed the sentence structure, translating it as '虽不至于使她忍受不了，但确实使她有些难过' (although not intolerable, she did feel a bit sad).[560] Li is not satisfied with either of their translations, suggesting that 'disagreeable consciousness' should be rendered by the Chinese idiom '于心不安的' (uneasy consciousness).[561] However, '于心不安的' emphasises the feeling of 'restlessness', while 'disagreeable' implies an 'unpleasant' or 'dislikable' feeling. I suggest that Sun Zhili's rendering – '令人不快的方式' (unpleasant way) – in his 2001 translation of *Emma* presents more properly the notion of 'disagreeable consciousness'.[562]

As noted in the introduction to this thesis, Chen Anquan's translation of Annette T. Rubinstein's *The Great Tradition in English Literature* was also published in 1987. In this book, Rubinstein views *Emma* as Austen's 'most perfect mature accomplishment', and also mentions Arnold Kettle's opinion of *Emma* as being the greatest of the author's novels.[563] This Chinese version of *The Great Tradition* has been often referred to in Chinese review articles of Austen's works in the following two decades, and is thus important in shaping *Emma*'s reputation among contemporary Chinese scholars. The novel continued to rise in popularity with Chinese readers in the 1990s, during which

[558] Li Derong, 'Two Translations of *Emma*', *Journal of Jiangxi University*, 8 (1987), 91-99.
[559] Ibid.
[560] Ibid.
[561] Ibid.
[562] Austen, *Emma* (*Aima*), trans. by Sun Zhili, ed. by Zhu Hong (Shanghai: Shanghai Sanlian Publishing House, 2014), p. 2. Cited below as Sun 2014.
[563] Rubinstein, p. 360.

period Liu revised his translation of *Emma* and republished it in 1993. Since the 1980s he has done a great deal of research on translation studies. For example, he published 'A Discussion about Fidelity in Translation' in 1982, noting that loyalty and fidelity are the basic principles of translation. He argues that the translation of literary works should be 'faithful, comprehensible, and appropriate':

> 忠实性既要求译者做到保全原文意义的信，又要求做到译文通顺易懂的达和切合原文风格的切。[564]

Translation:

> Achieving fidelity in translation requires translators to convey the precise meaning, and retain both readability and style of the original text.

Liu also discusses the distinction and relationship between literal and free translation in his later essays, such as 'Understanding, Expression, and Literary Translation' (1984) and 'A Brief Discussion on Translation Criticism of Foreign Literature' (1992). He essentially endorses direct translation, but finds free rendering important on some occasions in order to maintain fluency in a translated text.[565]

Liu, therefore, did not rewrite his direct translation of *Emma*; instead, he made careful revisions to what he viewed as imprecise phrases and sentences. 'Disagreeable consciousness' was retranslated into '不快的形式' (unhappy situation), and 'of any continuance' into '良久' (a considerable long time).[566] Liu also associates his rendering of phrases more closely with the novel's plot. For example, in the following sentence – 'with all her [Emma's] advantages, natural and domestic, she was now in great danger of suffering from intellectual solitude' – Liu originally translated 'her advantages, natural and domestic' into '天生的家庭优越条件' (natural advantages of being born into a wealthy family), which only reveals Emma's high social rank but ignores her superiority

---

[564] Liu Zhongde, 'A Discussion about Fidelity in Translation', *Chinese Translator's Journals*, 4 (1982), 26-29.

[565] For more detail on Liu's opinions on translation, see, for example, Liu, 'Understanding, Expression, and Literary Translation', *Communication Translation*, 6 (1984), 9-12; Liu, 'A Brief Discussion on Translation Criticism of Foreign Literature', *Chinese Translator's Journals*, 5 (1992), 34-36.

[566] Austen, *Emma* (*Aima*), trans. by Liu Zhongde (Guangzhou: Huacheng Press, 1993), pp. 1-2. Cited below as Liu 1993.

in manners, education, and appearance.[567] He then reworked it as '尽管她天生聪明、漂亮、家境又好' (although she was handsome, beautiful, and having a great family).[568] This new rendering not only retains the completeness of the original sentence, but also echoes the opening line of the novel.

He also changed his rendering of 'intellectual solitude' in the above sentence from 智力上的孤独 (a direct translation of 'intellectual solitude') to 精神上的孤单 (spiritual loneliness).[569] This is most likely because the former Chinese phrase does not sound natural, and Liu seems to emphasise that the loneliness is in Emma's heart rather than her head. An additional example would be Mr. Woodhouse's claim – 'Poor Miss Taylor! – I wish she were here again' (*E*, p. 8). It used to be translated directly into '可怜的泰勒小姐！但愿她再来' (Poor Miss Taylor! – I wish she came here again), but Liu re-rendered it as '可怜的泰勒小姐！但愿她还在这里' (Poor Miss Taylor! – I wish she was still here).[570] The second rendering is more accurate because Mr. Woodhouse says those words when Miss Taylor has just married Mr. Weston and moved to Randalls, and he seems to wish that Miss Taylor had never left his house. Liu's revised version of *Emma* helps Chinese readers develop a better understanding of the novel.[571]

Zhang also revised his 1984 translation of *Emma* and republished it in 1998. His article, 'Thoughts on Retranslating *Emma*', appeared in 1999. He notes in his article that Western critics commonly consider *Emma* 'the greatest and most representative' of Austen's novels, which seems to allude to the above-mentioned comments from Annette T. Rubinstein and Arnold Kettle.[572] Zhang declares that his revision is characterised by four main aspects. He first discusses the 'translationese' of his original translation, aiming to produce a more fluent text.[573] For example, Zhang used to render the sentence describing Robert Martin – 'He is an excellent young man, both as son and brother' (*E*, p. 59) – as '无论作为儿子还是哥哥，他都算得上一个好青年' (He is an excellent young man,

[567] Liu 1982, p. 3.
[568] Liu 1993, p. 2.
[569] Ibid.
[570] Liu 1982, p. 4; Liu 1993, p. 3.
[571] For more discussion on Liu's translations of *Emma*, see, for example, Zheng Shiding, 'Liu Zhongde's Revised Version of *Emma*', *Chinese Translation Journal*, 1 (1998), 42-45; Zhang Ping, 'A Discussion of Two Translations of *Emma*', *Journal of Hubei University of Education*, 25 (2008), 123-25.
[572] Zhang Jinghao, 'Thoughts on Retranslating *Emma*', *Chinese Translation Journal*, 3 (1999), 38-40.
[573] Ibid.

whether as a son or a brother), but he reworked it as '既是他母亲的好儿子，也是他妹妹的好哥哥' (He is both a good son to his mother and a good brother to his sister) in order to stress more explicitly the kindness of Martin.[574]

Like Liu, Zhang notes that it is important for a translated work to convey precisely and appropriately the meaning of the original text.[575] However, he also highlights the significance of 'creativity' and 'vividness' in literary translation, and strives to combine his translation of *Emma* more closely with his own understanding of the novel.[576] For instance, in Zhang's 1984 text, Emma's claim – 'I must see somebody very superior to any one I have seen yet, to be tempted' (*E*, p. 84) – appeared as '我要找一个比我现在见到的这些人强得多的人，才会爱上他' (I must find some one far superior to any one I have seen yet, to fall in love with him). The term '强得多' (far superior) seems to exaggerate the original tone of Emma.[577] Moreover, although the term 'tempted' does indicate a desire to be in love and get married, the original expression is more subtle. In his revised translation, Zhang keeps the term 'tempted', rendered as '动心', but some changes are made to the sentence structure of the original, with '动心' appearing twice – '现在见到的人没有一个能让我动心，要动心除非遇上比他们个个强得多的' (Presently none of the people I have seen can tempt me, and I will be tempted only if I meet some one far superior to every one of them).[578] In Austen's English text, Emma declares that she has 'little' intention to marry at present, but in Zhang's revised text, that intention seems to be expressed in a completely negative tone with the use of the term '没有' (none).

Zhang, like Liu, recognises the significant role played by the narrator in portraying characters in *Emma*. In order to achieve heightened 'vividness' in his new translation, he tends to render the narrator's mocking statements regarding a character's thoughts in a more exaggerated manner. For example, in the narrator's recounting of Emma's reflection – 'she perceived that she had acted most weakly' (*E*, p. 412) – 'most weakly' was originally translated as '无用' (useless), which already makes Emma sound more

574 Ibid., p. 39.
575 Ibid.
576 Ibid., p. 40
577 Austen, *Emma* (*Aima*), trans. by Zhang Jinghao (Hangzhou: Zhejiang Literature and Art Publishing House, 1984), p. 76. Cited below as Zhang 1984.
578 Austen, *Emma* (*Aima*), trans. by Zhang Jinghao (Beijing: Chinese Book Press, 2005), p. 61. Cited below as Zhang 2005.

frustrated than she is in the original text.[579] Yet in 1999, Zhang reworked the phrase into '太不中用' (extremely useless) in order to highlight Emma's 'wretchedness'.[580] Emma's sarcasm towards Robert Martin is another case in point. Harriet receives a letter of proposal from Martin and goes to Emma for advice; the latter, however, strongly disapproves of Martin because of his lower social status – 'a farmer'. The narrator observes:

> Emma felt the bad taste of her friend, but let it pass with a 'very true; and it would be a small consolation to her, for the clownish manner which might be offending her every hour of the day, to know that her husband could write a good letter.' (*E*, pp. 54-55)

Emma considers Harriet to have a 'bad taste' in men, but Zhang translated this term as '俗气' (worldliness or vulgarity), which represents a more serious critique of Harriet's character.[581] He did not modify his rendering of 'bad taste' in his new translation, but he reworked Emma's words as below:

> "是这样的。当丈夫的如果土头土脑，叫人每天时时刻刻见了都难受，信写的再好也枉然"('Very true; and it would be no consolation to her, for the clownish manner which might be offending her every hour of the day, no matter how good a letter her husband could write').[582]

Zhang preserved the term 'a small consolation' in his 1984 translation, where it appears as '只是个小小的安慰'. By changing it to '枉然' (no consolation), he conveys Emma's sarcasm in a more explicit way to Chinese readers. However, to some extent this rendering changes the sense of the original text, in which Emma appears to be kinder to Martin and takes Harriet's feelings into account. Zhang's rendering of 'the clownish manner', on the other hand, is very vivid, using a Chinese idiom '土头土脑'. This idiom is commonly used to ridicule the rustic manners of the peasantry, and therefore vividly presents Emma's dislike of the manners of a 'farmer'. Austen, as noted in the introduction, is widely admired among Chinese readers for her irony and

---

[579] Zhang 1984, p. 362.
[580] Zhang 2005, p. 298.
[581] Zhang 1984, p. 47.
[582] Zhang 2005, p. 38.

comic spirit. This seems to have an important influence on Zhang's approach to rendering *Emma*. Although his dramatization of the narrative and dialogue of the original text diminishes the subtlety of Austen's writing style, his free renderings succeed to some extent in engaging Chinese readers more with the delightful humour of this comedy.[583]

As shown above, Liu and Zhang used different strategies for approaching *Emma*, with the former translator putting more emphasis on 'faithfulness' and the latter on 'vividness' and 'creativity'. Although both strategies have their limitations, their translations have played an extremely important role in promoting the popularity of this novel in China, particularly in recent decades. As mentioned previously, according to the reader survey conducted at the UNNC, *Emma* was the third most-read Austen novel among Chinese participants (35%).[584] This is unsurprising, given that *Emma* has enjoyed an increasing popularity among the Chinese public in the past decade, and during the 2010s at least nine new Chinese translations of the novel appeared, including Sun Zhili's 2001 edition, published by Yilin Press (see Fig. 2.12), and Cai Hui and Li Wenjun's 2005 edition, published by the People's Literature Publishing House. Contemporary Chinese readers' responses to different translations of the novel can be found on *Douban*.[585] The most recent results indicate that Sun's 2001 edition of *Emma* is the most widely-read translation of the novel among Chinese readers. 3437 readers claimed that they had read this edition, with 23% of them ticking 5 stars, which is the highest rating, and 46.5% ticking 4 stars.

Sun, as mentioned previously, has made a major contribution to the translation of Austen's novels in China, and by 2000 he had already published his translations of *Sense and Sensibility* (1984), *Persuasion* (1984), *Northanger Abbey* (1986), and *Pride and Prejudice* (1990). It is therefore not surprising that his translation of *Emma* has become popular. He, like Liu, mainly took a literal approach to rendering the novel. However, he also shares

---

583 For more discussion on Liu's translations of *Emma*, see, for example, Zuo Ziming, 'Fresh, Fluent, and Comprehensible: A Review of Zhang Jinghao's Translation of *Emma*', *Chinese Translator's Journals*, 2 (1995), 29-32; Sun Li, 'An Analysis of Zhang Jinghao's Translation of *Emma*', *Reformation & Strategy*, 3 (2004), 111-13.

584 See Appendix Two for a summary of survey results.

585 See *Douban*, <http://www.douban.com/> [accessed 8 March 2016].

Zhang's fondness for Chinese idiomatic phrases which help to make his translated text more vivid and interesting. Moreover, in contrast to the former two translators, Sun also seems to be more skilled at presenting the subtle humour of Austen on many occasions. For example, in Liu's 1993 edition of *Emma*, the following sentence – 'The event acquitted her [Mrs. Churchill] of all the fancifulness, and all the selfishness of imaginary complaints' (*E*, p. 387) – was translated directly as '这回可把她的假病的妄想与自私洗刷干净了' (The event acquitted her of all the fancifulness and selfishness of faking illnesses).[586] Liu only made a minor change to the term 'imaginary complaints', which was replaced by the supposed 'faking illnesses' of Mrs. Churchill mentioned earlier in the novel.

Zhang, however, produced a more free translation of the above sentence in his 1996 edition, replacing 'all the fancifulness, and all the selfishness of imaginary complaints' with two Chinese idioms, '装腔作势' and '无病呻吟'.[587] Both of them are negative, with the former idiom referring to a pretentious and arrogant manner and the latter to the behaviour of making a fuss about an imaginary illness. Although those idioms vividly present the narrator's sarcasm regarding Mrs. Churchill's selfish manipulation of Frank Churchill with the excuse of ill health, Zhang's free translation fails to convey most of the original phrases and expressions to the readers. Sun, on the other hand, combined literal and free translation, rendering the above sentence as '证明她决不是胡思乱想，决不是出于自私的动机无病呻吟' (it was proved that she was neither indulgent to her fancifulness, nor making a fuss about an imaginary illness for selfish motives).[588] Sun also used the idiom '无病呻吟' in his text, but he preserved content words such as 'fancifulness' and 'selfishness' in order to retain the completeness of the original. In this way, his translation appears more interesting than Liu's direct rendering and more accurate than Zhang's free rendering.

As shown above, Chinese idioms have played a significant role in connecting Austen's literary phrases and texts with the language and culture of Chinese readers. However, it is often difficult for translators to find an exact idiomatic expression to

586 Liu 1993, p. 372.
587 Zhang 2005, pp. 280-81.
588 Sun 2014, p. 386-87.

convey the equivalent meaning of English phrases. Therefore, on several occasions, Liu, Zhang, and Sun used different idioms to interpret the same text in *Emma*. For instance, the following sentence depicts Emma's initial impression of Mr. Elton – 'She could not respect his eye, but his love and his complaisance were unexceptionable' (*E*, p. 47). The term 'unexceptionable' was rendered by Liu as '未可厚非' (no need to blame), by Zhang as '十分高兴' (makes her very happy), and by Sun as '无可挑剔' (no need to bother finding something wrong with it).[589] Zhang emphasises the happy mood of Emma, but he fails to recognise the crucial role played by the word 'unexceptionable' in conveying the narrator's mockery towards Emma's misjudgment of Elton. Liu's '未可厚非' also weakens that sarcastic tone, while Sun's '无可挑剔' closely resembles the meaning of 'unexceptionable', which also works well in echoing Emma's view of the meeting as 'very satisfactory'.

Sun's translation of *Emma*, along with Austen's other novels, is characterised by accuracy, simplicity, and vividness, which helps to explain the great popularity of his translations among contemporary Chinese readers. It was reprinted by Yilin Press in 2006, 2009, and 2011, and was also included in the *Collections of Translations of Classical Literature in the World* published by Shanghai Sanlian Publishing House in 2014. However, although a relatively small number of contemporary readers (less than 100) responded to Liu and Zhang's translations on *Douban*, those translations still enjoy a high reputation. The average score for Zhang's translation was 8.0, while that for Liu's was 7.7. It is significant that those three translators have all recognised the crucial role played by the humorous and ironic narrator in presenting the satire of *Emma*, and through different approaches, they sought to faithfully and creatively reproduce the style and ironic tone of the original. This has played a most significant role in maintaining the novel's popularity among the general reading public in recent decades.

3.4 Interview Survey

In an attempt to further investigate Chinese students' experiences of reading

[589] Liu 1993, p. 41; Zhang 2005, p. 31; Sun 2014, p. 43.

Austen's works, an interview survey was carried out in 2015 among five exchange students at the Nottingham campus; they studied English at UNNC for two years before coming to Britain. Among these participants, Zhu, Cheng, and Liu were following the 2+2 degree where they study for 2 years in Ningbo and 2 years in Britain, while Su and Jing were exchange students coming to the Nottingham campus for one year:

> Zhu came to the Nottingham campus for one year and three months. She read a Chinese translation of *Pride and Prejudic*e at middle school. She also watched the BBC adaptations of *Emma* and *Pride and Prejudice*, and Ang Lee's film version of *Sense and Sensibility*. Yet she did not know *Northanger Abbey* and *Mansfield Park*. She heard of the title of *Persuasion* from her first-year tutor at the Ningbo campus, but had not yet read it. She considered Austen a radical writer whose novels were written from a female point of view. Emma is her favourite Austen heroine for being independent and optimistic. Zhu also liked the intelligent Elizabeth, but considered Austen's portrayal of Emma, which reveals the heroine's faults to readers, to be more realistic.
>
> Cheng came to the Nottingham campus for one year and half. She read a Chinese translation of *Pride and Prejudice* at primary school and some parts of an English edition of *Emma* that was bought in a Chinese bookstore. *Pride and Prejudice* was the first Austen novel she read, and it was recommended by her parents. She knew *Sense and Sensibility* and saw a poster of Ang Lee's film adaptation of the novel. She heard of the Chinese title of *Persuasion* and the English titles of *Northanger Abbey* and *Mansfield Park*, but had not yet read them. She also watched the 2009 BBC production of *Emma*, and liked the heroine's independent and confident character. Cheng considered Austen a conservative writer because of her negative attitude towards Lydia's elopement.
>
> Liu came to the Nottingham campus for one year. She read a Chinese translation of *Pride and Prejudic*e at primary school, published by the Bookworm Press. It was recommended by her teacher. She viewed love as playing the most important role in marriage plots in the novel and considered it to make Austen a more progressive writer. She had also read *Sense and Sensibility*, praising Austen's representation of the independent and rational mind of women in the novel. She thought that Austen's novels expressed some feminist ideas but the author could not be called a feminist because feminism had not become influential in her time. Liu also read

Emma and a bilingual version of *Persuasion*. She watched the 2005 film version of *Pride and Prejudice*, the 2009 BBC production of *Emma*, and 2007 film adaptation of *Persuasion*. She liked the realist style of Austen, and emphasised the importance of irony and sarcasm in revealing the social hypocrisy of her time.

Su came to UK campus for one year. She read a Chinese translation of *Pride and Prejudic*e at middle school. Her parents have read Austen and recommended the novel to her. She thought the novel interesting and found herself most identifying with Elizabeth. She watched Ang Lee's film adaptation of *Sense and Sensibility*, and several Austen-related films, such as *Becoming Jane* and *Bridget Jones's Diary*. Those films stimulated her interest in reading Austen's works. She heard of the titles of *Persuasion* and *Emma*, but did not know *Northanger Abbey* and *Mansfield Park*. She considered Austen a traditional writer because her work only focused on middle-class life and her heroines all end up marrying.

Jing came to the Nottingham campus for half a year. She had read a Chinese translation of *Pride and Prejudice* in high school, and also watched the 2005 film adaptation of the novel. She knew *Sense and Sensibility*, *Emma*, and *Mansfield Park*, but never heard of *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion*. She considered Austen a critical and realist writer, and thought irony played an important role in her works. Jing also viewed Austen as a feminist to some extent because of her representation of heroines. She liked the romantic plot and social manners in Austen's novels, and she suggested that the author's works have remained popular among contemporary readers because of their realistic portrayal of the gentry's lives in eighteenth-century Britain.

The responses of these five Chinese participants in the small-scale interview survey exhibit a snapshot of Austen's contemporary reception in China. It shows the significant role of translation in introducing Austen to Chinese readers. Most of these participants first read Austen's novels at a relatively young age, particularly Cheng and Liu. Translation, therefore, played a very important role in enabling them to read and understand these works in their native language. The first Austen book these participants read were commonly recommended by their parents or school teachers. Although they mostly could not remember the translators and publishers of the Chinese translations they had read, they all recalled that the books were newly released editions.

This may help to explain why Sun's book is the most widely-read Chinese translation of *Emma* among contemporary readers. As noted above, it was reprinted by Yilin Press at least three times in the last decade, and was republished by Shanghai Sanlian Publishing House in 2014.

The interview survey, like the questionnaire mentioned, also tends to underline the changing nature of Austen's Chinese reception today. Those participants frequently used terms such as 'realistic' and 'critical' to describe their impressions of her writing. Liu and Jing highly valued her use of irony. They all paid attention to Austen's portrayal of female characters. They all seem to be familiar with the term 'feminism', and generally agreed that they had more opportunity to explore issues such as class and gender in literary works during their university studies. Zhu and Liu considered her works to reflect feminist concerns to some extent. However, none of these participants claimed to be familiar with the works of Wollstonecraft or other British feminist writers, which reminds us of recent Chinese critics' approaches to interpreting Austen's 'feminism'. Jing and Su seem to hold more conservative attitudes towards Austen. Su disapproved of Austen's limited writing sphere; Jing, on the other hand, connected the novelist's conservatism with her negative attitude towards elopement. Jing's view echoes Chinese readers' sympathy for rebellious and 'immoral' female characters in classic literary works, as discussed in Chapter One.

Pride and Prejudice, unsurprisingly, was the most popular Austen novel among these five participants, and most of them were also familiar with *Emma*. Austen-related films and adaptations of her novels seem to have had a great influence on their reception of Austen. For example, Ang Lee's film adaptation of *Sense and Sensibility* has played a significant role in stimulating their interest in the novel. However, most of these participants had not yet read *Mansfield Park*, *Northanger Abbey*, and *Persuasion*. As discussed earlier, these three works have also received relatively little scholarly attention in contemporary China. Therefore, in the following chapters, I will examine the Chinese reception of these three works and the reasons behind their obscurity, with a particular focus on Austen's connection to conservatism, the Gothic novel, and romanticism.

Chapter Four

Jane Austen and Conservatism: *Mansfield Park* in China

Mansfield Park was the last of Austen's novels to be published in China. The first Chinese translation of this work was produced by Zi Pei in May 1984, almost fifty years after the publication of the first Chinese editions of *Pride and Prejudice*. This chapter will discuss Austen's concern over the ongoing tension between tradition and modernity that is reflected in *Mansfield Park*, and consider its influence on the reception of this work in China. I will examine Chinese scholars' interpretations of the term 'park', and explore the novel's representation of space and place, which is closely connected with matters of morality and conduct. I will also examine recent Chinese critics' responses to Austen's reference in the novel to the issue of slavery and to Macartney's embassy to China.

4.1 The Publication of *Mansfield Park* in Britain

Mansfield Park was the third of Austen's novels to be published in Britain, and the first to be composed entirely at Chawton Cottage where she spent the last eight years of her life. The cottage was provided by Austen's brother, Edward Austen Knight, and she moved there with Cassandra and their mother in 1809.[590] Austen lived in Bath and Southampton between 1801 and 1809, during which time she did little writing, but after settling in the quiet village of Chawton, she entered into an extremely productive period of her literary career.[591] Austen revised and published two of her earlier works, *Sense and Sensibility* in 1811 and *Pride and Prejudice* in 1813; she also completed three new novels, *Mansfield Park*, *Emma*, and *Persuasion*, between 1811 and 1816.[592]

Mansfield Park was the first to be started in Chawton, around February 1811, and was finished in the summer of 1813. It was published in May 1814 in three volumes by

[590] Edward Austen Knight, Austen's third brother, had been adopted by the wealthy childless Thomas and Catherine Knight. The Knight family had lived on the estate of Chawton since 1524. The cottage is now the Jane Austen's House Museum which opened in July 1949.

[591] Austen started a new novel, *The Watsons*, around 1804 while she was in Bath, but it was abandoned after her father's death in 1805.

[592] Chawton Cottage's historical significance as Austen's literary home was noted in Chinese journals as early as 1981, and this article will be discussed later in this chapter.

Thomas Egerton, who was also the publisher of Austen's first two novels. The print run was around 1250 copies, and it sold out within six months. Yet the first edition was poorly printed and there were many spelling and grammar errors in the text.[593] Austen wished to publish a second edition of the novel in the autumn of that year, and in a letter of November 1814, she told her niece Fanny that she would have a meeting with Egerton in relation to the issue: 'It is not settled yet whether I do hazard a 2d Edition. We are to see Egerton today, when it will probably be determined.'[594] No second edition of *Mansfield Park,* however, was brought out by Egerton.[595] Although the exact reason remains unclear, it may be related to the fact that *Mansfield Park* is different in tone and style from its predecessors, particularly compared to the bright and sparkling *Pride and Prejudice*, which was Austen's most popular novel during her lifetime and went into three editions by 1817.[596]

Pride and Prejudice was first drafted in Austen's early twenties, and throughout the work, its tone is predominantly ironic and humorous. The novel received positive reviews from critics shortly after its publication. In February 1813, for example, the *British Critic* declared that characters in *Pride and Prejudice* were 'remarkably well drawn' and the story was 'written with great spirit as well as vigour'.[597] The reviewer considered the novel to be 'far superior' to most publications of its kind during this period.[598] The *Critical Review*, in March of the same year, was attracted to Austen's witty dialogue in the novel, noting the 'sarcastic humour' of Mr. Bennet and the 'playful vivacity' of Elizabeth Bennet.[599] *Mansfield Park*, however, was composed in Austen's

---

[593] In order to maximize profits, Egerton used cheaper paper for *Mansfield Park* than he had for *Sense and Sensibility* and *Pride and Prejudice*, with 25 lines to the page. The poor quality of this edition was not remarked on by any contemporary critics, mainly because it received little critical attention before the 1850s, but when Chapman edited Austen's works in the 1920s, he declared: 'Of all the editions of the novels, the first edition of *Mansfield Park* is by far the worst printed.' See his introductory note in Austen, *Mansfield Park*, ed. by R. W. Chapman, 3rd edn (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), xi. Further references to this source will be placed within this thesis and abbreviated as *MP*. Chapman's edition of *Mansfield Park* was based on the second edition of the novel published by John Murray in 1816.

[594] See Austen's letter to Fanny Knight of 30 November 1814, in *Austen's Letters*, p. 419.

[595] There are no surviving letters further discussing this meeting.

[596] Austen sold the copyright of *Pride and Prejudice* to Egerton for £110 in late 1812, and the novel was first published in January 1813. A second edition was produced by Egerton in November of the same year, and a third edition followed in 1817, although whether it was published before or after Austen's death on 18 July 1817 remains unknown.

[597] [Notice of *Pride and Prejudice*], *British Critic*, 41 (1813), 189-90.

[598] Ibid.

[599] [Notice of *Pride and Prejudice*], *Critical Review*, 3 (1813), 318-24.

more mature years – her mid-thirties – and the comic sparkle and youthful high spirits of *Pride and Prejudice* are less immediately obvious in it. The novel represents a departure from the author's earlier works in several ways.

Mansfield Park concerns itself closely with the financial situations of the gentry. Austen creates in the novel, unlike the vivacious Elizabeth, a quiet and serious-minded heroine, Fanny Price. She is born into a lower-middle-class family but adopted by her wealthy relatives, the Bertrams. Fanny is often treated as an inferior at Mansfield Park because of her social and economic status, particularly by her aunt Mrs. Norris. Although *Mansfield Park*, like Austen's first two published novels, depicts the privileged life of the landed gentry, it has much less stable social and domestic environments. This could be because Britain experienced great economic and social change in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The country had come under increasing pressure from colonial conflict and competition with France and its allies during this period resulting from the French Revolution. The economic power of the landed gentry was declining rapidly, and money played an increasingly important role in their marriages, family lives, and career choices. Britain's colonial wealth and the morality of the slave trade provoked a fierce debate, all of which helped to shape the themes in *Mansfield Park*. The master of the house, Sir Thomas Bertram, not only owns the country estate of Mansfield Park but also a sugar plantation in Antigua. It seems that much of his wealth comes from his West Indian property, and he is forced to leave home for a year to deal with financial problems in Antigua.

Soon after Sir Thomas leaves Mansfield Park, Mary Crawford, a representative of fashionable London manners, arrives in the country with her brother Henry. Austen shows an apparent preference for a quiet country life rather than fashionable pursuits in her novels. For example, in *Northanger Abbey*, the fashionable town, Bath, plays an important role in encouraging Catherine's dangerous Gothic illusions, and there she meets the shallow and selfish Isabella, who has a bad influence on her life. In *Persuasion*, Anne also does not share her snobbish father and vain elder sister's enthusiasm for Bath and would rather stay behind with Mary's family in the country, which provides her with the chance to meet Wentworth again after the long years of separation.

However, in *Mansfield Park*, space and place are more directly connected with morality and social behaviour. Brought up in London, the Crawford siblings embody the secular and materialistic values of the time. The irresponsible eldest son of Sir Thomas, Tom, is described by the narrator as having 'been much in London' and having 'more liveliness and gallantry than Edmund' (*MP*, p. 47). Mary's wit and liveliness, however, are attractive to Edmund, and blind him to many of her faults. Marriage is a major theme in all of Austen's novels, but in *Mansfield Park* it is particularly closely intertwined with the themes of morality and religion. Edmund's religious vocation plays an important role in the development of the romance plot in the novel. The worldly Mary considers favourable professions to be those that can 'make the fortune' (*MP*, p. 60), and she thus protests against Edmund's wish to be ordained. 'Indolence,' Mary declares, 'and love of ease…make men clergymen. A clergyman has nothing to do but be slovenly and selfish' (*MP*, p. 110).

Mary's views remind us of Austen's portrayal of such clergymen in her earlier novels, notably Mr. Collins. Mr. Collins is indeed indolent, vain, and insensible; 'his authority as a clergyman,' as the narrator observes, 'and his right as rector, made him altogether a mixture of pride and obsequiousness, self-importance and humility' (*P&P*, p. 70). Austen, however, brought greater moral and religious seriousness to *Mansfield Park*. In January 1813 when working on the novel, she wrote to Cassandra that 'it shall be a complete change of subject – ordination'.[600] The term 'ordination' which refers to the act or ceremony of making somebody a member of the clergy is commonly thought to be connected to the novel's clerical hero, Edmund, the younger son of Sir Thomas. Edmund's choice of the Anglican priesthood as a profession relates closely to his 'strong good sense and uprightness of mind' (*MP*, p. 21), and he believes in the clergy's great importance as the 'guardianship of religion and morals' (*MP*, p. 92).

In spite of his attachment to Mary, Edmund makes a strong defence of the social significance of priesthood:

'I cannot call that situation nothing, which has the charge of all that is of the first

[600] *Jane Austen's Letters*, p. 298.

> importance to mankind, individually or collectively considered, temporally and eternally, which has the guardianship of religion and morals, and consequently of the manners which result from their influence.' (*MP*, p. 92)

Mansfield Park includes the most explicit discussion of the social role of the Anglican Church and its clergy to be found in Austen's novels. However, Mary is not convinced that the preacher has 'much of this influence and importance in society' (*MP*, p. 92). The clear distinction between Edmund's notion of morality and religious duties and those of Mary ultimately prevents their marriage. Fanny, on the contrary, shares Edmund's moral principles and religious beliefs. When Mary criticises the clergyman Dr. Grant, Fanny argues: 'A man – a sensible man like Dr. Grant, cannot…preach such very good sermons in so good a manner as he does, without being the better for it himself' (*MP*, p. 112). Edmund comes to appreciate the value of Fanny as a clergyman's wife after his breakup with Mary.

In *Mansfield Park*, the theme of morality occupies a central position. The absence of Sir Thomas lays the groundwork for young characters to cross moral boundaries. Encouraged by Tom, they decide to put on a private theatrical, *Kotzebue's Lovers' Vows*, at the house. This brings opportunities for them to flirt in public and paves the way for Henry and Maria's elopement. Edmund is persuaded by Mary to act with her, even knowing his father will disapprove of it. Fanny, however, determinedly refuses to take part in the play, considering the flirtatious behaviour of the main characters as 'improper for home representation' (*MP*, p. 137), particularly when Sir Thomas, the moral authority of the house, is away. The play leads to domestic disorder at Mansfield Park, offering a great chance to show the moral superiority of Fanny, who becomes the moral guide for the Bertram family at this point. By the end of the novel, Fanny is rewarded for her Christian virtues by marriage to her beloved Edmund, while the Bertram daughters have to suffer for their moral faults. Sir Thomas also acknowledges Fanny's moral superiority and becomes 'conscious of errors in his own conduct as a parent' (*MP*, p. 461).

It was unsurprising that the early readers of *Mansfield Park* mostly focused their attention on its religiosity and moral seriousness. According to Austen's own collection

of 'Opinions' of the novel, her acquaintances Mr. & Mrs. Cook were pleased with it, particularly because of 'the Manner in which the Clergy are treated';[601] Mrs. Carrick remarked that 'all who think deeply & feel much will give the Preference to Mansfield Park'.[602] After the publication of *Emma*, Austen's brother Francis commented that there was, in contrast, a 'higher Morality in MP'.[603] Lady Frampton recommended *Mansfield Park* to Mrs. Phyllis Frampton in a letter of 1814, writing: 'It is not much of a novel, more the history of a family party in the country, very natural, and the characters well drawn.'[604]

However, a number of contemporary readers held widely different opinions. Austen's mother and brother George did not like it as much as *Pride and Prejudice*, and both of them disliked Fanny: Mrs. Austen considered Fanny to be 'insipid', and George was 'interested by nobody but Mary Crawford'.[605] Austen's niece Anna also 'could not bear Fanny', but she was 'delighted with Mrs. Norris, the scene at Portsmouth, & all the humorous parts'.[606] Although Cassandra was fond of Fanny, she viewed the novel as 'not so brilliant as P. & P'[607]. Mrs. Lefroy preferred *Emma* to *Mansfield Park*, which was her least favourite of the four novels Austen published in her lifetime.[608] Miss Sharpe considered *Mansfield Park* an excellent work – 'of it's [sic] good sense & moral Tendency there can be no doubt' – but she confessed that she preferred *Pride and Prejudice*.[609] Fanny Cage also preferred *Pride and Prejudice* to *Mansfield Park*, complaining that there was 'nothing interesting in the Characters' of the latter work.[610]

Those private comments suggest that Austen's contemporary readers' disapproval of *Mansfield Park* largely focused on her portrayal of Fanny. Indeed, the serious and reserved character of Fanny, in strong contrast with the liveliness and quick wits of Austen's other heroines such as Elizabeth and Emma, makes it difficult to keep the

---

601 See 'Opinions of *Mansfield Park*' in *The Critical Heritage 1811-1870*, pp. 49-51.
602 Ibid., p. 50.
603 See 'Opinions of *Emma*' in *The Critical Heritage 1811-1870*, pp. 59-60.
604 See Lady Frampton's letter to Mrs. Frampton of 15 June 1814 in *Journal of Mary Frampton*, ed. by H. G. Mundy (London: S. Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1885), p. 226.
605. 'Opinions of *Mansfield Park*', p. 49.
606 Ibid.
607 Ibid., p. 50
608 'Opinions of *Emma*', p. 60.
609 'Opinions of *Mansfield Park*', p. 51.
610 Ibid., p. 50.

reader amused. The marriage plot in the novel also seems to have much less power to attract and fascinate the reader. With morality and religion at the thematic centre of the work, romance occupies a minor position. Edmund loves Fanny like a cousin rather than a lover for most part of the novel, and though he marries her in the end, the intensity of his feelings is not revealed to the reader. The narrator only briefly concludes:

> I only entreat everybody to believe that exactly at the time when it was quite natural that it should be so, and not a week earlier, Edmund did cease to care about Miss Crawford, and became as anxious to marry Fanny as Fanny herself could desire. (*MP*, p. 470)

In *Pride and Prejudice*, however, Elizabeth and Darcy attract each other's attention almost from the start, though Elizabeth initially sees her feelings for him as a kind of hatred. This courtship, notably Darcy's first proposal to Elizabeth, is full of conflicting emotions and impulses, which seems to be of particular appeal to readers. Austen, as will be discussed in Chapter Six, achieved a higher level of emotional intensity in her last novel, *Persuasion*, which depicts subtle and complex emotions of both pain and pleasure. Between Edmund and Fanny, however, there is no romantic climax for the reader to take pleasure in, as there is between Elizabeth and Darcy or between Anne and Wentworth. William Macready, for example, was eager for 'the detailed expression of the "how and the when" Edward's [sic] love was turned from Miss Crawford to Fanny Price'.[611] *Mansfield Park* has the 'shade' that Austen had not achieved in *Pride and Prejudice*, but as Austen herself declared, it was 'not half so entertaining' as the latter work.[612]

Those characteristics of *Mansfield Park* may help to explain Austen's contemporary critics' hesitation in deciding the literary value of the novel, which received little critical attention in the 1810s. The *British Critic* reviewed all of Austen's novels, except *Mansfield Park*, shortly after their publication. In 1812, the journal stated that the characters in *Sense and Sensibility* were 'happily delineated and admirably sustained';[613] in 1813, as mentioned above, its reviewer found in *Pride and Prejudice* 'much satisfaction and

---

[611] See William Macready's diary of 3 July 1813, reprinted in *The Critical Heritage 1811-1870*, p. 317.
[612] See Austen's letter to her brother Frank of 3 July 1813 in *Jane Austen's Letters*, p. 317.
[613] [Notice of *Sense and Sensibility*], *British Critic*, 39 (1812), 527.

amusement';[614] and in 1816, *Emma* was regarded as 'an amusing, inoffensive and well principled novel'.[615] The *British Critic* published a much longer review of *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* in 1818, mainly because they were 'the last' works of Austen, whose identity as an author had just been revealed.[616] The reviewer declared that Austen was deficient in imagination, but her incidents and sentiments were drawn from everyday experience and her works displayed 'some of the best qualities of the best sort of novels'.[617] *Mansfield Park*, however, received no attention in the *British Critic*, nor in other review journals of the period. A lack of critical interest in this work might explain Egerton's unwillingness to bring out a second edition.

As noted in the previous chapter, for the publication of her next novel, *Emma*, Austen decided to move to John Murray, a much more influential London publisher. Murray invited Walter Scott to write a review of *Emma*, which appeared in the October 1815 edition of the *Quarterly Review*.[618] Scott's review, as discussed in the introduction, was important in establishing Austen's literary reputation in Britain and in China. Two of *Emma*'s predecessors, *Sense and Sensibility* and *Pride and Prejudice*, were also remarked upon in this article, but *Mansfield Park* was again left unmentioned.[619] Austen certainly was dissatisfied by Scott's disregard of the novel, and in a letter of 1816 to Murray, she wrote: 'The Authoress of *Emma* has no reason I think to complain of her treatment in it — except in the total omission of Mansfield Park.—I cannot but be sorry that so clever a Man as the Reviewer of *Emma* should consider it to be unworthy of being noticed'.[620] Modern critics also find it difficult to explain Scott's 'total omission' of *Mansfield Park*, especially as a second edition of the novel was issued by Murray in February 1816. There are, as Peter Sabor suggests, two possible reasons: *Mansfield Park* 'had received no notices at all in the review journals, unlike its predecessors, and it is not mentioned on the title

[614] [Notice of *Pride and Prejudice*], 189-90.
[615] [Notice of *Emma*], 96-98.
[616] [Notice of *Northanger Abbey and Persuasion*], *British Critic*, 9 (1818), 293-301.
[617] Ibid.
[618] Murray was also the editor of the *Quarterly Review*, and he certainly hoped a positive view of *Emma* from an established writer would promote the sale of the novel. The review was published in March 1816.
[619] Scott, 188-201.
[620] See Austen's letter to Murray of 1 April 1816 in *Jane Austen's Letters*, p. 453.

page of *Emma*'.[621] Scott submitted his article to Murray before the second edition of *Mansfield Park* appeared and it is possible that he did not know the novel.[622]

Austen's first three novels, as mentioned previously, were self-published, with the author, rather than Egerton, retaining the ownership of copyright. By 1816, she became a much more successful writer and therefore Murray offered £450 for the copyright of *Emma*, *Mansfield Park*, and *Sense and Sensibility*. Austen, however, refused. Yet the new edition of *Mansfield Park* did not sell well, with 750 copies printed and around 500 of them remaindered in 1821.[623] She lost most of the profits she had from *Emma*. This may be related to the fact that as noted above, during the 1810s British critics showed little interest in the novel. In the next few decades, however, the critical attention paid to *Mansfield Park* began to increase. In 1821, for example, Richard Whately praised Austen as a modest and devout Christian writer whose works depicted 'ordinary scenes and everyday duties of life'.[624] For Whately, *Mansfield Park* presented 'some of Miss Austen's best moral lessons' which were clearly but not obtrusively conveyed.[625] In 1824, the *Edinburgh Review* remarked on the 'spirited dialogue', 'nicely-regulated vein of humour', and 'great delicacy' of Austen's works, noting that she had not received the amount of fame that she deserved.[626] *Mansfield Park* was not directly mentioned in the article, but its high moral seriousness certainly played a significant role in helping the reviewer identify 'the purest morality, and most undeviating sense' of Austen's writing.[627]

However, most critics did not give particular attention to the novel before the 1850s. In 1852, the *New Monthly Magazine* praised *Mansfield Park* for its well-drawn characters, particularly Fanny and the Crawfords, and the accurate depiction of the Price family home at Portsmouth.[628] 'What fine truth,' wrote the anonymous reviewer, 'in the moral of the tale!'[629] *Mansfield Park* was among George H. Lewes's favourite Austen novels. He

---

[621] See Peter Sabor, '"Finished up to Nature": Walter Scott's Review of *Emma*', *Persuasions*, 13 (1991), 88-99.
[622] Scott did not comment on the novel in any known sources.
[623] Only 252 copies had been sold by 1812.
[624] Whately, 352-76.
[625] Ibid.
[626] Lister, 448-51.
[627] Ibid.
[628] 'Female Novelists', 157-68.
[629] Ibid.

considered it to be as 'fascinating' as *Pride and Prejudice* and *Emma*, claiming that 'aunt Norris and Lady Bertram are perfect; and the scenes at Portsmouth…are wonderfully truthful and vivid'.[630] Lewes also considered the scenes of private theatricals in the novel to be amusing, but he thought Fanny uninteresting.[631] For W. F. Pollock, *Mansfield Park* showed 'an advance in the construction and conduct of the story' and contained 'more of those passages of fine observation on life and manners'.[632] In 1862, Julia Kavanagh pointed out that *Mansfield Park* was regarded among many readers as Austen's 'most perfect novel' because of its 'subtle grace' and 'quiet tenderness'.[633]

In 1870, as mentioned earlier, Austen-Leigh published a biography of his aunt, motivated by the increasing interest in Austen's writing. In *A Memoir*, Austen's life was portrayed as 'passed in the performance of home duties, and the cultivation of domestic affections, without any self-seeking or craving after applause' – an image which seems to closely resemble Fanny.[634] The resemblance, however, seems to many modern critics suspicious. Kathryn Sutherland, for example, points to 'gaps and silences' in the biography, which was mainly based on the recollections of the younger generation of nieces and nephews.[635] She suggests that Austen-Leigh might also have feared readers' hunger for biographical details about Austen which his own writing had fuelled.[636]

Mansfield Park remained a controversial novel to many critics during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1894, for example, George Saintsbury praised 'the matchless rehearsal scenes' in the novel, but he thought Fanny and Edmund 'insipid' and took little interest in the romance between them.[637] In 1911, A. C. Bradley analysed Austen's 'unusual seriousness' in *Mansfield Park*, suggesting that this seriousness was not only moral but also artistic.[638] The scheme of the novel, according to Bradley, was solid and carefully considered, and he praised Austen for renouncing the

---

630 Lewes, 'The Novels of Jane Austen', 99-113.
631 Ibid.
632 W. F. Pollock, 'British Novelists – Richardson, Miss Austen, Scott', *Fraser's Magazine*, 61 (1860), 20-38.
633 Kavanagh, 251-74.
634 Austen-Leigh, p. 175.
635 See Kathryn Sutherland's 'Introduction' to Austen-Leigh, *A Memoir of Jane Austen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), xxx.
636 Ibid., xvii.
637 See George Saintsbury's preface to Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (London: George Allen, 1894) reprinted in *The Critical Heritage 1870-1940*, pp. 214-8 (p. 215).
638 A. C. Bradley, 'Jane Austen', *Essays and Studies*, 2 (1911), 7-36.

pleasure of exaggerating her characters' traits.[639] Bradley concluded by stating that '*Mansfield Park* is considerably superior to the youthful work, and superior in some degree to *Emma* and *Persuasion*'.[640] Reginald Farrer, on the contrary, made mostly negative comments about *Mansfield Park* in the *Quarterly Review* (1917). He admitted that parts of the novel displayed 'a greater technical mastery, a more audacious facing of realities', and yet argued that Austen's 'purpose of edification, being not her own, is always at cross-purposes with her unprompted joy in creation'.[641] Farrer did not like Fanny in particular, claiming that 'fiction holds no heroine more repulsive in her cast-iron self-righteousness and steely rigidity of prejudice'.[642]

4.2 The Significance of Space in *Mansfield Park* and the Novel's Early Reception in China

As shown above, the reputation of *Mansfield Park* among British readers fluctuated in the one hundred years following its publication. This had an important influence on its reception around the world. In 1815, for example, extracts from *Mansfield Park* were translated into French and published in the Swiss monthly journal *Bibliothèque Britannique*.[643] The following year, the first complete French translation of the novel by Henri Vilmain appeared in Paris, under the title *Le Parc de Mansfield, ou Les Trois Cousins* (*Mansfield Park, or The Three Cousins*).[644] Vilmain's rendering of the novel's title, as Isabelle Bour suggests, is not accurate because '*Parc* does not denote a mansion which is part of an estate, as "park" does in English'.[645] The French title also seems to narrow the novel's focus to individual characters rather than the English community represented by Mansfield Park. Vilmain's translation was 'characterised by considerable pruning, within and between sentences'.[646] *Mansfield Park* was the third of Austen's novels to be translated and published in France.

---

639 Ibid.
640 Ibid.
641 Reginald Farrer, 'Jane Austen, ob. July 18, 1817', *Quarterly Review*, 228 (1917), 1-30.
642 Ibid.
643 Bour, pp. 12-33.
644 Ibid., p. 26.
645 Ibid.
646 Ibid.

However, the rest of the nineteenth century saw no further translations of the novel in Europe, whereas *Persuasion* and *Pride and Prejudice* were translated into German in 1822 and 1830, *Persuasion* and *Emma* into Swedish in 1836 and 1857, and *Sense and Sensibility* into Danish in 1855. Between 1882 and 1910, new translations of *Persuasion*, *Northanger Abbey*, and *Emma* were issued in France. In the 1910s and 1920s, *Persuasion*, *Northanger Abbey*, and *Pride and Prejudice* were translated and published in Spain, and yet the first Spanish translation of *Mansfield Park* did not appear until 1943.[647] During the twentieth century *Pride and Prejudice* was certainly Austen's most widely-read novel in Europe, with translations appearing in more than ten European countries by the 1950s, such as Italy, Greece, Romania, Finland, Norway, and Hungary.[648]

Mansfield Park failed to attract the attention of any Chinese translators in the first half of the twentieth century. As early as 1927, however, the English title of the novel was mentioned, together with that of *Pride and Prejudice* and *Emma*, in Ouyang's *A Short History*.[649] Those three novels, as previously noted, were introduced as Austen's best-known works depicting English country life.[650] In the same year, Zheng translated the novel's title 'Mansfield Park' as *Mansifei'er Gongyuan*. *Mansifei'er* is a direct transliteration of 'Mansfield', with *Man* representing the sound of 'Man', *si* for 's', *fei* for 'fie', and *er* for 'l', but 'd' is left untranslated.[651] The Chinese term *Gongyuan*, however, commonly refers to the land reserved for the public's enjoyment and recreation, such as London's Hyde Park. Thus it is a misleading translation for the word 'Park' in the novel, which actually is the private residence of the Bertram family, described as 'a spacious modern-built house' (*MP*, p. 48) surrounded by five-miles of parkland. Jin also translated the word 'Park' in the novel's title as *Gongyuan*.[652]

The misleading Chinese title of *Mansfield Park* could be one of the major reasons why it aroused little scholarly interest during this period. It was the first of Austen's published novels to be named after a private country estate, and she placed great

[647] See 'Timeline' in *The Reception of Jane Austen in Europe*, xxi-xxxvi.
[648] Ibid.
[649] Ouyang, p. 152.
[650] Ibid.
[651] Zheng, p. 58.
[652] The novel's title was translated as *Mengsifeite Gongyuan*. *Mengsifeite* also resembled the pronunciation of *Mansfield*. See Jin, pp. 302-5.

importance on the role of different spaces in this work. Fanny's inferior status is represented by her limited private space at Mansfield Park. Upon her arrival at the house, she is placed, as suggested by Mrs. Norris, in the 'little white attic', which is 'close by the housemaids' (*MP*, p. 10). The attic symbolises Fanny's separation from the Bertram family, and she is often treated more like a servant than a family member. The young Fanny is acutely self-conscious of her 'outsider' position in the household, and lives in constant fear and isolation: 'The rooms were too large for her to move in with ease: whatever she touched she expected to injure, and she crept about in constant terror of something or other' (*MP*, p. 15).

Fanny's occupation of the East room plays a significant role in improving her emotional intimacy with the house. The East room was once the Bertram family's school room, but after the children have grown up it becomes 'useless' to the family, except for Fanny. Compared to the cold and gloomy attic, the East room is 'more spacious and more meet for walking about in and thinking' (*MP*, p. 150) and it becomes Fanny's private 'nest of comforts' where she enjoys the sunshine and collects her beloved plants and books. 'The comfort of it in her hours of leisure,' the narrator tells her reader, 'was extreme. She could go there after anything unpleasant below, and find immediate consolation in some pursuit, or some train of thought at hand' (*MP*, p. 151). Fanny also keeps a desk in the room, which allows her to have her own independent space for reading and letter-writing. Fanny's use of the room shows that she occupies more space not only in the house, but also in the hearts of some of the Bertrams.[653] Edmund, for example, is the most frequent visitor to the room, which provides them with great opportunities to talk privately. Sir Thomas also visits Fanny in the East room and the addition of a fire in the room at his request also reveals his growing attention to Fanny.

Fanny gradually becomes emotionally attached to Mansfield Park, and when she learns that she may have to live with Mrs. Norris in the parsonage which is 'only across the park', she feels as if the distance between them is 'two hundred miles' (*MP*, p. 26). Fanny is certainly afraid of losing the spaces that connect her with the house and the

[653] Melissa Edmundson, 'A Space for Fanny: The Significance of Her Rooms in *Mansfield Park*', *Persuasions On-Line*, 23 (2002),
< http://www.jasna.org/persuasions/on-line/vol23no1/edmundson.html>[accessed 3 October 2015].

Bertram family. Edmund recognises her fears, and assures her that she will still have the library and garden at her command. Mrs. Norris, on the contrary, not only restricts Fanny's activities within the house but also in the garden and parkland. She angrily scolds Fanny for taking a walk in the shrubbery without informing her: 'She [Fanny] takes her own independent walk whenever she can; she certainly has a spirit of secrecy, and independence, and nonsense, about her, which I would advise her to get the better of' (*MP*, p. 323). This is most likely because shrubbery, which commonly refers to 'small trees or ornamental shrubs within the line of the hedge' in an eighteenth-century English wilderness garden, is often associated with secrecy.[654] Mrs. Norris links Fanny's wandering in the shrubbery with her moral inferiority, which she constantly emphasises. However, while Fanny's morals are suspected because she takes a garden walk, the Bertram daughters' flirtatious behaviour is tolerated in the household, which reflects a moral failure in Mrs. Norris herself.

Britain, as discussed above, was experiencing a movement towards modernity and urbanization exacerbated by wars with France and its allies in the early nineteenth century. *Mansfield Park* is pointedly concerned with the moral and religious anxiety that accompanied those social and economic changes. Austen shapes Mansfield Park as a stage presenting a conflict between conventional morality and the growing power of individualism. The house represents the traditional notion of domestic order, with Sir Thomas being the absolute ruler of the family, but the Bertram children, motivated by self-interest, are eager to escape its confines. As mentioned earlier, Sir Thomas' departure for Antigua provides them with a great opportunity for rebellion. Tom's desire to challenge Sir Thomas' moral authority is revealed by his decision to transform his father's room and the billiard-room to perform the immoral play, *Lovers' Vows*, which allows the young characters to flirt openly. Even Edmund, the most virtuous of the siblings, is tempted to give up his principles and take on the role of Anhalt, Mary's lover in the play.

The younger generation's rebellion is not restricted to the house. 'The free air' (*MP*,

---

[654] Robert Clark, 'Wilderness and Shrubbery in Austen's Works', *Persuasions On-Line*, 36 (2015), < http://www.jasna.org/persuasions/on-line/vol36no1/clark.html>[accessed 23 March 2016].

p. 411) of outside space is even more encouraging of their romantic impulses. The party's visit to Mr. Rushworth's estate in Sotherton plays a crucial role in revealing the Bertram children's and the Crawfords' restless desires to cross moral boundaries, with Fanny being a witness. Upon their arrival at Sotherton, the young people are given a tour of the house by Mrs. Rushworth and then head into 'the wilderness', an area enclosed by locked gates and a ha-ha that prevent access to the park and woodland beyond. Edmund, Fanny, and Mary walk together in the wildness and when they reach the edge, Fanny feels tired and sits on a bench near an iron gate. Mary, however, is keen to 'go and look through that iron gate' (*MP*, p. 96) and she succeeds in persuading Edmund to accompany her, passing through an unlocked side gate, to the park.

Fanny is left alone on the bench, and Maria, Henry, and Mr. Rushworth soon arrive. Maria claims that the iron gate gives her 'a feeling of restraint and hardship' (*MP*, p. 99), and she shares Mary's eagerness for 'passing through it into the park' (*MP*, p. 97). Maria initially sees marriage as a means to gain freedom from parental control, but later realises that the large and heavy-looking house of Mr. Rushworth is only another cage to restrain her, the iron gate indicating her husband's authority in their marriage. Henry purposefully points out that 'for the world you [Maria] would not get out without the key and without Mr. Rushworth's authority and protection' (*MP*, p. 99), and he certainly knows that this will stimulate Maria's desire to go beyond the gate without waiting for Mr. Rushworth's key. Fanny tries to prevent this by reminding Maria of the 'danger' of hurting herself, but Maria passes 'round the edge of the gate' (*MP*, p. 99) easily with the assistance of Henry. The locked gates and ha-ha that separate the wilderness garden from the unenclosed area of parkland metaphorically represent the moral restrictions imposed on women at this time, and Maria's decision to pass through this symbolic boundary alludes to her later elopement with Henry.

In *Mansfield Park*, Mr. Rushworth's estate in Sotherton also symbolises a traditional British estate in face of modern 'improvement'. Mr. Rushworth declares that it 'wants improvement...beyond anything' (*MP*, p. 53). The ongoing conflict between traditional values and modernity in the novel is also presented through the characters' differing ideas about estate improvement. Estates in Austen's fiction, as Alistair M. Duckworth

declares, 'function not only as the settings of action but as indexes to the character and social responsibility of their owners'.[655] Jenny Uglow also examines the symbolism of estate improvement in the novel, suggesting that 'in Austen's eyes improvement spells dubious morals'.[656] Indeed, Austen linked 'modernizing' family estates closely with a change of the traditional values of social order and social responsibility in *Mansfield Park*, and improvements are frequently associated with immorality. Henry Crawford, for example, is described in the novel as being 'excessively' fond of estate improvement and keen to assist Mr. Rushworth with the reform of Sotherton which 'deserves everything that taste and money can do' (*MP*, p. 53).

When the group surveys the grounds, Henry expresses his dislike of the rooms on the west side, from which he can see 'tall iron palisades and gates' (*MP*, p. 85) standing in front of the avenue; he also seeks to tear down some walls for 'the possibility of much prospect' (*MP*, p. 85). Henry's plan for the alteration of the gates and walls at Sotherton originates in his desire to destroy the boundaries of traditional morality, foreshadowing his scandalous elopement with Maria in the later part of the novel. Mary is equally enthusiastic about changes to tradition, and after learning that family prayers have been discontinued in the chapel at Sotherton, she remarks playfully: 'Every generation has its improvements' (*MP*, p. 86). Mary's fondness for fashionable modernity stands in strong contrast with Fanny's respectful attitude towards the history and traditions of the estate, the latter feeling pity for the disuse of the family chapel. She is shocked at Mr. Rushworth's plan of cutting down the avenue of oaks, and quotes from William Cowper's *The Task* – 'Ye fallen avenues, once more I mourn your fate unmerited' (*MP*, p. 56) – to express her grief at the landscape 'improvement' of Sotherton. Fanny's views of estate improvement also reflect her moral values. The oak, as the national tree of England, is a common symbol of strength and endurance. Austen seems to desire to retain those 'traditional' qualities, which are represented by Fanny, in society. Edmund also disapproves of employing an improver to give Sotherton 'a modern dress', declaring: 'Had I a place to new fashion, I should not put myself into the hands of an improver. I

[655] Alistair M. Duckworth, *The Improvement of the Estate: A Study of Jane Austen's Novels* (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971), p. 38.
[656] Jenny Uglow, *A Little History of British Gardening* (London: Pimlico, 2005), p. 166.

would rather have an inferior degree of beauty, of my own choice, and acquired progressively' (*MP*, p. 56).

The dispute over estate improvements arises again in relation to Edmund's residence, after he is ordained, at Thornton Lacey. Henry tries to persuade Edmund to transform the house, by 'judicious improvement', to the residence of a man of modern manners. Edmund, however, is 'satisfied with rather less ornament and beauty' (*MP*, p. 242), and Mary is obviously disappointed. Family estates in the novel are symbolic of inherited culture and values, and debates over estate improvement play a crucial role in revealing the characters' views of morality and social responsibility. The young characters who exemplify the modern trend toward individualism end up being victims of their vanity and loose morals. Tom, for example, becomes seriously sick from his dissolute lifestyle; Maria elopes with Henry, but the latter refuses to marry her and she is banished from Mansfield Park to live in another part of the country with Mrs. Norris; Julia also elopes with Mr. Yates after Maria's scandalous affair; and Henry Crawford loses any chance to gain Fanny's love, 'providing for himself no small portion of vexation and regret' (*MP*, p. 468). Fanny and Edmund, on the other hand, are rewarded with a happy marriage and peaceful domestic life for sticking to moral and religious traditions. Mansfield Park becomes Fanny's real home, and 'everything within the view and patronage' grows 'as dear to her heart, and as thoroughly perfect in her eyes' (*MP*, p. 473).

As noted above, the tradition and symbolism of places such as the garden and park as well as their connection to moral issues are crucial to readings of *Mansfield Park*. The symbolic significance of different spaces in *Mansfield Park* explains why it is important for the Chinese title of the novel to clearly illustrate the fictional location that the novel is set in. However, the word *Gongyuan* in Zheng and Jin's translated titles failed to reveal the meaning of those private spaces and boundaries, and therefore the main themes of the novel cannot be clearly conveyed to Chinese readers. This helps to explain Chinese critics and translators' lack of interest in the novel during the first half of the twentieth century.

4.3 A Conservative Austen: *Mansfield Park*'s Contemporary Reception in China

Mansfield Park, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, was the last of Austen's novels to be translated into Chinese. The first Chinese translation of *Pride and Prejudice* appeared in 1935, *Emma* in 1949, *Northanger Abbey* in 1958, *Sense and Sensibility* in 1983, and *Persuasion* in February 1984, three months before the publication of Zi Pei's translation of *Mansfield Park*. There are a few possible reasons for this. For many Western reviewers, *Mansfield Park* lacked Austen's 'peculiar attractiveness' and 'characteristic irony'.[657] In China, as noted in the Introduction, Austen is also widely appreciated for her ironic portrayal of the absurdity of individual characters and her society. The sarcastic and witty tone of *Pride and Prejudice* and *Emma*, therefore, have come to attract much attention from Chinese critics and readers, whereas *Mansfield Park* and *Persuasion* remain relatively unpopular because of a 'seriousness' in the presentation of themes.

Mansfield Park is arguably the most conservative of Austen's novels. Today the reputation of the novel still fluctuates in Britain and America. A number of modern critics are disturbed, not charmed, by Fanny's moral virtues. Kingsley Amis, for example, describes Fanny as being 'morally detestable', and he is not unique in this reaction.[658] Even Marilyn Butler, who is most interested in conservative interpretations of Austen, remarks: 'That Fanny is a failure is widely agreed'.[659] This could be another important reason for many Chinese translators' dislike of the novel. Austen, as discussed above, took a conservative attitude towards economic and social changes in her time. It is thus easy for Chinese scholars and translators to view *Mansfield Park* as a conservative critique of modernity. As noted in the introduction, in China there were widespread radical social and political upheavals during the twentieth century, and literary works depicting the rebellion of individuals against the existing social standards of morality therefore tend to be most admired. For example, as mentioned previously, the eighteenth-century classical Chinese novel, *Dream of the Red Chamber*, achieved enormous popularity among

[657] Lionel Trilling, '*Mansfield Park*', in *The Opposing Self* (New York: The Viking Press, 1955), pp. 218-19.
[658] Kingsley Amis, *What Became of Jane Austen? and Other Questions* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1970), p. 14.
[659] Butler, p. 226.

Chinese readers for its positive representation of a younger generation's rebellion against the prevailing ethical standards of the time which required them to obey their parents and elders submissively, particularly in relation to courtship and marriage.[660]

In *Dream of the Red Chamber*, parental 'guidance' in children's moral education was presented as oppressive and negative under the Chinese feudal system. As discussed in Chapter One, a number of recent Chinese critics, such as Zhao Jingyu, emphasise the rebellious nature of Elizabeth and compare her with Lin Daiyu, the free-spirited heroine in the novel. Fanny, on the contrary, endorses traditional values and rigid moral principles, and therefore may appear to Chinese readers excessively confined. Fanny takes morality and righteousness so seriously that she rarely displays any sympathy for Maria after the latter is abandoned by Henry Crawford. In *Dream of the Red Chamber*, however, 'immoral' female characters are generally sympathetically depicted as oppressed victims of a patriarchal society. For example, one of the housemaids named Si Qi is caught having a secret relationship with a male servant, and condemned by the masters as scandalous and immoral; as a result, she is banished from the House of Jia, and after returning home, she determinedly refuses to marry another man and commits suicide when her mother tries to prevent her from marrying her lover. Chinese readers and critics tend to have great sympathy for Si Qi and admire her courageous resistance against 'feudal ethics'.

Moreover, Fanny's moral virtues are closely connected to her Christian beliefs, which might also have made the novel less attractive to Chinese translators. In China, Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism are commonly considered to have had the greatest influence over the development of traditional ethical values, whereas Christianity was little known to the Chinese public until the mid-nineteenth century, during which time the Qing Dynasty was forced to open its ports to European countries after its defeat in the two Opium Wars. An increasing number of Christian missionaries made their way to China in the second half of the century, but the Chinese emperors were strongly opposed

[660] The novel was set in eighteenth-century China, and parental 'guidance' in the children's moral education under the feudal system was commonly presented as very oppressive and negative.

to the spread of Christianity for fear of altering the traditional system of beliefs.[661] Following the end of the Chinese feudal monarchy in 1911, human life and liberty became a central focus for social, cultural, and political movements, while much less attention was paid to religion which was often associated with terms such as 'traditional', 'feudalistic', and 'backward'.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, Marxism and social Darwinism started to spread widely in China, and during the Cultural Revolution all religious activities were banned, with a number of churches and temples destroyed. *Mansfield Park*, however, takes a keen interest in Christianity's important role in regulating and governing social behaviour. Several English-language critics, notably Marilyn Butler, view Fanny as a Christian heroine in defence of her 'conservative' nature. Butler considered Fanny's most admirable Christian virtue to be 'self-knowledge', declaring that her 'sense as a Christian of her own frailty, her liability to error, and her need of guidance outside herself' stood in explicit contrast to the 'complacent self-sufficiency' of female villains.[662] The Christian ethical theme in the novel therefore may be another reason why *Mansfield Park* is found to be the least interesting of Austen's novels for many Chinese translators.

The first Chinese translation of *Mansfield Park* was published by Hunan People's Publishing House in 1984. Its Chinese title appeared as *Mansifei'erde Zhuangyuan*.[663] Zi Pei's translation of 'Mansfield' – *Mansifei'erde* – was almost the same as that of Zheng, with the Chinese character, *de*, added to imitate the pronunciation of 'd' in the original title. The word 'Park' was rendered as *Zhuangyuan* which refers to a grand country house surrounded by its own gardens, fields, and farmlands. The term was historically used to describe the country mansions owned by the royal family and other high nobility in China, but today it can also refer to European landed estates. The front cover of Zi Pei's translation also portrays a Western manor house surrounded by a lake and garden (see

---

[661] For a more detailed discussion of Chinese emperors' attitudes towards Christianity converts in the Qing Dynasty, see Mark C. Elliott, *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

[662] Butler, pp. 221-2.

[663] Zi Pei studied English at Peking University in the 1940s, and began working at Lanzhou University in 1961. He also translated and published *Pride and Prejudice* in 2000.

Fig. 2.13). Although it is not an eighteenth-century English wilderness garden as depicted in the novel, the picture gives Chinese readers a clearer idea of Mansfield Park as a private family estate and also reflects the social rank and wealth of the Bertram family.

It is significant that all of Austen's six major novels had been translated into Chinese by 1984, which reflected a dramatic increase in the popularity of the author during this period. In spite of its late translation, *Mansfield Park* was mentioned in a few Chinese journals in the early 1980s. In 1981, for example, E. R. Chamberlin and Xing Tifu noted the historical significance of Chawton Cottage as Austen's literary home in the Chinese journal, *Culture and Translation*, reproducing a painting of the house.[664] The term 'Janeite' also appeared in this article, rendered as *Jian Fenzi*, which means 'Jane fans' in Chinese.[665] Chamberlin and Xing praise Austen's powers of observation, suggesting that scenes of the English countryside in *Emma* reflected her own life in the village of Chawton.[666] They briefly mention *Mansfield Park* as being published while Austen lived at Chawton.[667] As mentioned earlier, that year Hou Weirui explored Austen's style of language, mainly based on the text of *Pride and Prejudice*.[668] He also quoted one example from *Mansfield Park* – 'The ball was over – and the breakfast was soon over too; the last kiss was given, and William was gone' – to illustrate the novelist's skilful use of short sentences.[669]

A Chinese translation of Lionel Trilling's '*Mansfield Park*' was included in Zhu Hong's *Austen Studies* (mentioned earlier). In his article, Trilling points to the 'malice' in Austen's use of irony: 'This interference with our moral and intellectual comfort, constitutes, as I say, a malice on the part of the author… the malice of the experienced universe, with the irony of circumstance.'[670] He prefers *Mansfield Park* to Austen's other novels because it refuses to associate 'spiritedness, vivacity, and lightness' with virtue

[664] E. R. Chamberlin and Xing Tifu, 'Austen's Home – Chawton Cottage', *Culture and Translation*, 2 (1981), 19-25.
[665] Ibid. The term 'Janeite' was initially coined by George Saintsbury referring to readers who have become fascinated by Austen's novels.
[666] Ibid., p. 23.
[667] Ibid.
[668] Hou, 'On the Language Arts', 33-46.
[669] Ibid.
[670] Ibid.

and undertakes to 'discredit irony and affirm literalness'.[671] He argues that the greatness of this work was 'commensurate with its power to offend'.[672] In the following decades, Trilling's review of *Mansfield Park* was referred to by several Chinese critics, such as Lin Wenchen, and it has had a positive impact on the novel's reception in China.

In 1987, Zhu Lin praised Fanny for 'refusing a most advantageous marriage and holding fast to sincere love in spite of an uncertain future'.[673] Zhu considered *Mansfield Park*, like Austen's other novels, to follow the Cinderella plot, with Mrs. Norris playing the role of the evil stepmother and Fanny rewarded with a happy marriage for being sincere and kind-hearted.[674] She pointed out the significant role 'the art of irony' played in Austen's narration of social realities, but also commented on the conservative tendency of her fiction, describing the domestic order of Mansfield Park at the end of the novel as 'lacking in vitality'.[675] In 1989, Pan Weixin published 'Language Features of *Mansfield Park*', which mainly analyses the grammatical structure of sentences in the novel.[676] Pan also associates the characters' use of language with their social status, suggesting that the speeches of Mary Crawford tend to be longer and more complicated than those of her half-sister, Mrs. Grant, because they had different upbrings and personalities.[677]

During the 1990s, *Mansfield Park* began to receive more serious critical attention in China. In 1993, Lin Wenchen offered a brief overview of Western critics' assessments of the novel during the twentieth century. For example, Walter Allen's notion of the world of *Mansfield Park* as 'morals in microcosm', D. W. Harding's view of Fanny as being 'the least interesting of all the heroines', and Trilling's comments that the novel's 'praise is not for social freedom but for social stasis' were mentioned in Lin's article to show that critics tend to view Austen as a conventional moralist because of the didactic tone of

---

671 Ibid.
672 Ibid.
673 Zhu Lin, 'An Exploration of the Themes of Austen's Novels', *Foreign Literature Studies*, 3 (1987), 26-31.
674 Ibid.
675 Ibid., p. 31. The original text in Chinese: '曼斯菲尔德庄园经过动乱后回复的是安宁静止、缺少活力的秩序.'
676 Pan Weixin, 'Language Features of *Mansfield Park*', *Journal of Shanghai International Studies University*, 4 (1989), 52-56.
677 Ibid., p.54.

Mansfield Park.[678] Lin, however, argues as below:

> 奥斯丁从来是一个从生活出发描写生活的艺术家，而不是一个旨在说教的"道德教育家"；她的小说，固然和当时一般小说一样涉及了道德，但是，其基本特征在于它感性地再现了作家最关注的生活矛盾，而不是道德说教。《曼》也不例外。

Translation:

> Austen had always been an artist depicting aspects of daily life instead of a 'didactic moralist' whose intention was to teach. Her novels, of course, like other fiction of the period, deal with moral issues. However, the essential characteristic of her work is to perceptually represent conflicts arising in life that authors were most interested in, rather than to teach morals. *Mansfield Park* was no exception.[679]

Lin's opinion of Austen's artistic goal reminds us of the 'realist' Austen that was shaped in Chinese-language introductory books on English literature during the first half of the century. It is evident that the early reception of Austen in China has had a significant influence on contemporary Chinese critics' responses to her. Austen, according to Lin, continued in *Mansfield Park* the exploration of the balance between rationality and emotions she started in *Sense and Sensibility*.[680] However, his idea of the novel as the triumph of sense over sensibility – Fanny represents 'sense' and Mary Crawford 'sensibility' – is extremely problematic. Mary bears a strong resemblance to Lucy Steele in her realistic 'sense' in economic matters, while Fanny possesses a high level of emotional sincerity.[681] Austen abandoned in *Mansfield Park* the format of the contrast novel that she employed in *Sense and Sensibility*. Yet Lin was right to point out the thematic similarities in Austen's novels, and he concludes that her writing was intended to defend human happiness rather than social principles.[682]

As noted in the Introduction, since the middle 1990s there has been a fast growing interest among Chinese critics in viewing Austen as a more radical writer. In 1996, for example, Qiu Yin wrote 'Austen and British Women's Literature' to explore Austen's

---

[678] Lin Wenchen, 'My Reading of *Mansfield Park*', *Foreign Literature Studies*, 1 (1993), 88-93.
[679] Ibid., p.88.
[680] Ibid.
[681] Ibid., p.90.
[682] Ibid.

interest in the 'woman question' in her time.[683] Qiu takes a keen interest in the name of Fanny Price, declaring that 'Fanny' sounds like 'penny' in Germany and 'Price' commonly refers to the money consumers pay for a particular item.[684] Fanny's name, according to Qiu, was coined ironically by Austen to criticise the marriage market in which women were treated as merchandise.[685] However, Fanny's reserved nature and her apparent preference for conventional morality make it extremely hard for Chinese critics to shape her as a 'feminist' heroine. The novel, therefore, has received much less critical attention than Austen's high-spirited works, notably *Pride and Prejudice*.

Only a small number of Chinese critics have attempted to incorporate *Mansfield Park* into 'feminist' readings of Austen. For example, in 'On Austen's Feminist Consciousness in Her Novels' (2009), Wang Xuerui stresses the importance of Fanny's role as the moral guide of Edmund, suggesting that Austen had a progressive view of moral equality.[686] In 'On *Mansfield Park* and *Jane Eyre* from Feminist Perspective' (2012), Ding Guangli views both Fanny and Jane Eyre as 'anti-traditional Cinderella' figures, whose salvation no longer depends on the beautiful dress and shoes, but upon their intellectual and moral improvement.[687] This opinion reminds us of Fanny's refusal to take part in the theatricals which offer her a chance to dress up like the Bertram girls. Ding also emphasises the significance of Fanny's refusal of Henry's marriage proposal and interprets it as a challenge to Sir Thomas's patriarchal authority.[688]

Fanny's refusal, however, is largely because of Henry's moral failure rather than representing her rebellion against Sir Thomas's authority or her approval of women's right to choose a marriage partner. Fanny never reveals her wish to marry Edmund until the latter chooses to marry her. However, like Austen's other heroines, Fanny is noted for her independent thought and judgment, and the novel pays close attention to gender and social oppression. Mrs. Norris assures the Bertram children that Fanny's ignorance and

---

683 Qiu, 'Jane Austen and British Women's Literature', *Journal of Shanghai University*, 6 (1996), 28-33.
684 Ibid., p.31.
685 Ibid.
686 Wang Xuerui, 'On Austen's Feminist Consciousness in Her Novels', *Journal of Jilin Huaqiao Foreign Languages Institute*, 2 (2009), 131-3.
687 Ding Guangli, 'On *Mansfield Park* and *Jane Eyre* from Feminist Perspective', *Journal of Sichuan College of Education*, 28 (2012), 47-51.
688 Ibid.

inferiority are natural, and the difference between them is 'much more desirable' (*MP*, p. 19). Fanny is well aware that she and her cousins 'cannot be equals' (*MP*, p. 11), which has an important influence on her timid and passive character. When Fanny refuses to marry Henry, Sir Thomas finds her independence of judgment 'offensive and disgusting', and commands her to abandon the 'wilfulness of temper, self-conceit, and every tendency to that independence of spirit' (*MP*, p. 318). Fanny and all the other young female characters are represented in the novel as potential victims of the patriarchal order. Although the above-mentioned arguments of Chinese critics regarding Fanny's 'feminist values' are problematic to some extent, they suggest the richness and complexity of the novel.

4.4 Slavery and Lord Macartney's Embassy to China in *Mansfield Park*

Recent criticism of *Mansfield Park* in Britain and America has widened the perspective to encompass the issue of slavery. The novel, of all Austen's works, is the one most directly addressing slavery. Sir Thomas's wealth, as noted earlier, comes largely from his Antigua plantation, which plays a crucial role in maintaining the domestic order and economy of Mansfield Park. Fanny is also concerned with the slave trade and even enquires of it directly to Sir Thomas, although her question is not revealed to the reader and is followed only by a 'dead silence' (*MP*, p. 198). There are several reasons to explain why the novel was concerned with the slave trade. The campaign in Britain to abolish slavery had started in the second half of the eighteenth century, and in 1807, the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act finally abolished the slave trade in British colonies. Campaigns to abolish slavery across the entire British Empire continued and had gained increasing popularity by the time Austen began work on *Mansfield Park* in 1811.

Many literary works that Austen was familiar with questioned the morality of slavery. For example, William Cowper, who was declared by Henry Austen to be the novelist's favourite writer 'in verse', wrote in *The Task* (1785): 'We have no slaves at home – Then why abroad? /Slaves cannot breathe in England; if their lungs /receive our air,

that moment they are free.'[689] *The Task* was one of the most influential anti-slavery poems. As mentioned above, Fanny quotes directly from the poem; in *Emma*, Mr. Knightley also quotes Cowper's lines from 'The Winter Evening' in *The Task*: 'Myself creating what I saw', alluding to the fancies of Emma. In letters to Cassandra of 1798, Austen wrote that the family had bought Cowper's works and Mr. Austen would read his poems aloud to them in the evenings.[690] Austen also expressed her admiration, to Cassandra, for the abolitionist Thomas Clarkson, who had contributed to the passage of the Slave Trade Act in 1807 and published *History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade by the British Parliament* in 1808.[691]

However, as mentioned earlier, *Mansfield Park* is noted for its defence of the conservative values of the landed gentry, and therefore Austen's reference to the slave trade received little attention until recent decades. In 1983, for example, Margaret Kirkham pointed to an analogy between slaves and women in the novel and connected it with Mary Wollstonecraft's statement in *A Vindication* – 'Is one half of the human species, like the poor African slaves, to be subject to prejudices that brutalise them, when principles would be a surer guard of virtue?'[692] *Mansfield Park*, as Kirkham suggests, affirmed the importance of 'the equal moral status of women'.[693] She also points out that the title 'Mansfield Park' is an allusion to Lord Mansfield's famous judgment concerning a black slave, James Somerset, in 1772.[694] The case focused on the legality of slavery in Britain, and in the course of his judgment, Lord Mansfield approved of the arguments of Somerset's defence counsel, Granville Sharp, who alluded to an earlier case in Queen Elizabeth's reign:

> It was resolved that England was too pure an air for slaves to breathe in…I hope my lord the air does not blow worse since – I hope they will never breathe here; for this is my assertion, the moment they put their feet on English ground, that moment

[689] William Cowper, *The Task: A Poem, in Six Books*, ed. by J. Johnson (London: Scolar Press, 1973), p. 47.
[690] *Austen's Letters*, pp. 33-9.
[691] Ibid., p. 292.
[692] Kirkham, p. 117.
[693] Ibid., p. 118.
[694] Kirkham, pp. 116-9.

they are free.[695]

In *Mansfield Park*, Fanny's need for 'free air' is mentioned on several occasions. For example, Henry Crawford suggests that she should not be 'long banished from the free air' (*MP*, p. 411). In spite of his habit of self-indulgence, Henry is among the few characters that have sympathy for Fanny's inferior position at Mansfield Park. Austen's use of the term seems to allude to Sharp's view of pure air in Britain. She may have come across Lord Mansfield's name a number of times in James Boswell's *Life of Johnson*.[696] Austen also met Lord Mansfield's great-niece, Lady Elizabeth, at her brother Edward Knight's house.[697]

Some critics, on the other hand, insisted on taking a rather conservative approach to the novel's mention of slavery. For example, in 1989, Edward W. Said explored *Mansfield Park* from the perspective of 'colonial expansion'.[698] Said's discussion emphasises the political implications of 'space, geography, and location', and he asserts that Antigua is to some extent like 'a less desirable' part of Britain, such as Fanny's native Portsmouth, and its function was to generate wealth for the English aristocrats and gentry.[699] He argues that though novelists of Austen's period could not have anticipated the extent of the expansion of the British Empire in the late nineteenth century, *Mansfield Park* nonetheless illustrates the significant role of colonial property in supporting domestic social order and morality.[700] Said stresses Fanny's rejection of her native Portsmouth home at the end of the novel, declaring that she and her brother William played the role of 'indentured servant' or 'transported commodity' in order to 'have the promise of future wealth'; the inadequate punishment of Sir Thomas is also noted.[701] Said concludes that a better appreciation of Austen's implicit approval of the slave trade and imperialism is crucial to understanding *Mansfield Park*.[702]

---

[695] Ibid., p. 117.
[696] Christine Kenyon Jones, 'Ambiguous Cousinship: *Mansfield Park* and the Mansfield Family', *Persuasions On-Line*, 31 (2010),
< http://www.jasna.org/persuasions/on-line/vol31no1/jones.html>[accessed 19 October 2015].
[697] Ibid.
[698] Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1993), pp. 95-116.
[699] Ibid., p. 108.
[700] Ibid., pp. 100-5.
[701] Ibid.
[702] Ibid., pp. 114-16.

Said succeeded in capturing the place of slavery and imperial expansion in Austen's literary imagination and his postcolonial analysis of the slave trade in relation to morality and plot in *Mansfield Park* have had an important influence on contemporary critical readings of the novel. However, Austen's 'silence' does not necessarily indicate her approval of the issue. Fanny is the most virtuous character in the novel, but she resembles the Antiguan slaves in several ways. Born in the most humble circumstances of any of Austen's heroines, Fanny does not by birth have access to upper-class English society like that at Mansfield Park. Austen seems to view Portsmouth as akin to one of the overseas colonies: it is the place from where her little 'slave' Fanny originally comes. Like Antigua, Fanny's home in Portsmouth also suffers from serious financial and social problems. For the Bertrams, Antigua and Portsmouth are seen as completely different worlds from their home and their English society – Mansfield Park. However, both places stimulate Sir Thomas's interest to intervene more directly and gain greater control: his interference in the former is to travel there himself 'for the better arrangement of his affairs' (*MP*, p. 32), and the latter is to bring Fanny to the Park. Austen revealed that both the Antigua property and Fanny played an important role in maintaining the social order of Mansfield Park.

Analogies between Fanny's rough life at Mansfield Park and that of a slave in Antigua have been noted by several British and American critics. Moreland Perkins, for instance, observes that the British government's support of the 'capture, transportation, and enslavement' of African people was important in sustaining the practice of slavery within the British dominions, and the young Fanny is also frequently reminded by her aunt that her role is to serve.[703] Perkins stresses the decisive factor – material interest – in an imperial culture and political system, arguing that the humiliation and emotional cruelty Fanny experiences at the house, Tom's irresponsible spending, and Maria's approved marriage to Mr. Rushworth were 'analogously expressive of a family's participation in a national culture of materialist values'.[704]

---

[703] Moreland Perkins, '*Mansfield Park* and Austen's Reading on Slavery and Imperial Warfare', *Persuasions On-Line*, 26 (2005), <http://www.jasna.org/persuasions/on-line/vol26no1/perkins.htm>[accessed 19 October 2015]'.
[704] Ibid.

Moira Ferguson's reading of *Mansfield Park* also traces the transformation of the master-slave relationship from the Antiguan sugar plantation to the family life of Mansfield Park, where the master Sir Thomas sees Fanny as his property and she must accept his authority unconditionally.[705] Michael Karounos, on the other hand, examines slavery's relation to the major theme in the novel – 'ordination' – and suggests that the term in the novel, rather than being directly connected with church and priesthood, actually points to 'the action of ordering, arranging, or placing in ranks or order; the condition of being ordered or arranged, an arrangement'.[706] Those arguments are significant in associating Austen's reference to the slave trade in the novel with her interest in the gender and social oppression in her time. However, Fanny's upholding of traditional Christian morality and her eventual marriage to the slaveholding family tend to be forgotten or ignored by these interpretations.

Austen's reference to Macartney's embassy to China in *Mansfield Park* has also attracted increasing interest from British and American critics in recent years, and is often associated with the issue of slavery. When Edmund visits Fanny in the East room to ask her advice on his acting in *Lovers' Vows*, he notices a book about the Macartney Embassy on her writing-desk. As noted in the Introduction, in 1792 the British government sent Macartney as ambassador to the Chinese emperor in the hope of promoting trade relations. Being a significant national mission 'as a commercial alliance between the Courts of London and Peking', Macartney's mission attracted wide public attention in Britain.[707] From 1795 to 1813, a variety of first-hand accounts of Macartney's experiences in China were published, including Aeneas Anderson's *A Narrative of the British Embassy to China* (1795), Sir George Staunton's *An Authentic Account* (1797), and Sir John Barrow's *Some Account of the Public Life, and a Selection from the Unpublished Writings, of the Earl of Macartney* (1807). Editors and critics generally identify the volume on Fanny's desk as Barrow's edition, largely due to Austen listing Macartney right after

[705] Moira Ferguson, *Colonialism and Gender Relations from Mary Wollstonecraft to Jamaica Kincaid: East Caribbean Connections* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), pp. 72-3.
[706] Michael Karounos, 'Ordination and Revolution in *Mansfield Park*', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 44 (2004), 715-36.
[707] Aeneas Anderson, *A Narrative of the British Embassy to China, in the Years 1792, 1793, and 1794* (London: J. Debrett, 1795), vii.

Barrow in a letter written when working on the novel in 1813, and the two quarto volumes of *Some Account of* also match Edmund's description of it as 'great book' in size.[708] The ambassador's name, as Peter J. Kitson suggests, most likely appears on the title page of the volume since Edmund, having Mary Crawford uppermost in his mind, is not really interested in what Fanny reads.[709]

Critics tend to locate *Mansfield Park* in the context of the kowtow controversy, which refers to Macartney's refusal to perform the kowtow in the presence of the Chinese emperor. This partly led to the failure of the mission in negotiating a trade deal. Peter Knox-Shaw, for example, links Macartney's objection to kowtowing to the Chinese Emperor with Fanny's rejection of a loveless marriage to Crawford, which presents a challenge to Sir Thomas's authority.[710] Macartney and his entourage, according to Knox-Shaw, were kept aware of their dependence on the Chinese government for accommodation, food, and transportation during their mission, and he emphasises the similarities between the ambassador's humiliating experiences and Fanny's sufferings at Mansfield Park.[711] Joseph Lew also contrasts the Chinese emperor's treatment of Macartney with Sir Thomas's of Fanny, arguing that 'Macartney teaches Fanny to recognise that a usually kind and indulgent despot, is still a despot'.[712] Barrow and other writers of his time all give prominence to the kowtow controversy in their accounts of the Macartney embassy. This issue exemplifies very well the novel's theme of authority and dependency.

However, the Macartney mission can be connected with *Mansfield Park* in several other ways, such as slavery and 'the woman question'. Barrow's account of this mission is pointedly concerned with China's moral inferiority. In his reflections on the parent-child relationship in Chinese families, Barrow claims:

> There is no common focus to attract and concentrate the love and respect of children

[708] See Chapman's notes in *Mansfield Park*, pp. 544-45.
[709] Peter J. Kitson, *Forging Romantic China: Sino-British Cultural Exchange 1760-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 162.
[710] Peter Knox-Shaw, 'Fanny Price Refuses to Kowtow', *Review of English Studies*, 47(1996), 212-17.
[711] Ibid.
[712] Joseph Lew, '"That Abominable Traffic": *Mansfield Park* and the Dynamics of Slavery', in *History, Gender and Eighteenth-Century Literature*, ed. by Beth Fowkes Tobin (Athens: U of Georgia P, 1994), pp. 271-300.

> for their parents. Each lives retired and apart from the other. The little incidents and adventures of the day, which furnish the conversation among children of many a long winter's evening, by a comfortable fire-side, in our own country, are in China buried in silence.[713]

Barrow was concerned about the liberty of Chinese women, and he criticised Chinese marriage customs for reducing women to the status of merchandise. He described married woman in China as 'the same piece of inanimate furniture she always was in her father's house'.[714] In Barrow's judgment, 'the state of the human heart, occasioned by the mutual affection between the sexes, and from whence proceed the happiest, the most interesting...moments of life, has no existence in China'.[715]

Barrow's comments on the moral inferiority of Chinese people remind us of Sir Thomas' denial of Fanny's humanity and moral rights. He expects her to be lacking in civility: 'We...must prepare ourselves for gross ignorance, some meanness of opinions, and very distressing vulgarity of manner' (*MP*, p. 10). The British moral superiority Barrow emphasises also echoes the colonists' notions about bringing civilization to the indigenous peoples in colonies. The colonists' argument for the practice of slavery as a form of civilization, as Moira Ferguson argues, is 'precisely the same basis for the justification of bringing Fanny Price to Mansfield Park'.[716] In contrast to Barrow's confidence in the liberty of British women, Austen reveals the patriarchal system's intolerance of 'independence of spirit' (*MP*, p. 318) in young women. *Mansfield Park* shows that nineteenth-century British women were potential victims of the marriage market, and although Fanny's moral principles save her from being 'sold' to Crawford as a piece of Sir Thomas's property, for women such as Maria who marry for economic security, marriage is no more than 'an exchange of one confinement for another'.[717]

In recent years, Chinese critics have also started to show an interest in the postcolonial critique of *Mansfield Park*. In 2009, for instance, Zhou Hejun wrote 'Literary Texts and Imperialism: a Case Study of *Mansfield Park* by Jane Austen', in which he

---

[713] John Barrow, *Travels in China* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1804), p. 142.
[714] Ibid., p. 146.
[715] Ibid.
[716] Ibid., p. 72.
[717] Smith, pp. 113-28.

introduces Said's comments on Austen's approval of imperial expansion.[718] The novel, according to Zhou, indicates the crucial role played by the dominant imperialist power in achieving a stable and harmonious social order, and he agrees with Said that Austen emphasised the importance of colonial wealth in sustaining the prosperity of the British Empire.[719] Zhou considers Austen to show no sympathy for the slaves.[720] In '*Mansfield Park*'s Political Perspective' (2010), however, Zhang Baoguo regards Fanny as being likened by Austen to a slave living at Mansfield Park.[721] He describes Sir Thomas as a despot in a patriarchal family, and highlights Fanny's 'rebellion' against his authority in her refusal of Henry's proposal. Zhang, therefore, considers the novel an anti-slavery work.[722] Although both radical and conservative approaches to the novel seem to be problematic to some extent, they, nonetheless, have helped to reveal the complexity and ambivalence of the novel.

Austen's reference to Macartney's embassy in *Mansfield Park*, however, has not yet succeeded in attracting the attention of Chinese critics. One major reason for this may be that the novel continues to be unpopular with Chinese critics and general readers alike. A reader survey, as noted in the Introduction, was conducted among undergraduate students at UNNC in order to assess the Chinese students' reception of Austen's novel in China. According to the results, *Mansfield Park* was the least favourite of Austen's six major novels among Chinese participants – indeed none of them had read it.[723] At least 30 different Chinese translations of *Pride and Prejudice* had appeared by last year, but only four of *Mansfield Park* – its second Chinese translation, by Li Yeyi, was published by Nanhai Press in 1997 and a new translation by Xiang Xingyao was issued by Shanghai Translation Publishing House in 1998. *Mansfield Park* was the last of Austen's novels to be translated by Sun Zhili, whose version did not appear until 2004.

Little critical attention has been paid to these translations, and according to survey data from *Douban*, they also enjoyed much less popularity with general readers in China.

---

[718] Zhou Hejun, 'Literary Texts and Imperialism: A Case Study of *Mansfield Park* by Jane Austen', *Journal of Guangxi Normal University: Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition*, 45 (2009), 69-72.
[719] Ibid.
[720] Ibid., p. 72.
[721] Zhang Baoguo, '*Mansfield Park*'s Political Perspective', *Movie Literature*, 21 (2010), 41-43.
[722] Ibid., p. 43.
[723] For more details on the survey results, please refer to Chapter One.

Sun Zhili's translation seems to be the most popular among them, and according to the most recent result, 1399 readers responded to his translation – 48.5% participants ticked 4 stars and 22.7% 5 stars.[724] The book's average review score was 7.8. 871 readers remarked on Xiang Xingyao's translation, whose average review score was also 7.8. Like Austen's other novels, a few television and film adaptations of *Mansfield Park* also attracted the attention of the Chinese public. 3087 people responded to the survey on *Douban* concerning the 1999 film adaptation of the novel and 2657 people rated the 2007 film adaptation, but the average scores were relatively lower – 7.0 and 6.1 – in contrast to those of *Pride and Prejudice*, *Sense and Sensibility*, and *Emma*. The survey, for example, relating to the 2005 film adaptation of *Pride and Prejudice* received responses from 230655 people, and the average score was 8.4. However, as discussed above, there are a number of issues, such as the symbolism of space and Austen's mention of Macartney's embassy, that have received little attention from Chinese critics. These issues have the potential to stimulate increasing scholarly interest in the following decades, particularly in connection with discussions of the issue of slavery and Austen's representation of women in the novel.

[724] See *Douban*, < http://movie.douban.com> [accessed 10 March 2016]

Chapter Five

Jane Austen and Gothic Fiction: *Northanger Abbey* in China

Northanger Abbey was the third of Austen's novels to be published in China. Its first Chinese translation by Ma Qiaozhi was published in 1958, but today it still remains relatively unpopular with Chinese readers. This chapter will examine the Chinese reception of this work in light of its connection with the Gothic novel. I will consider the translation and criticism of Gothic fiction by Ann Radcliffe. This has had a crucial influence on Chinese critics and readers' interpretations of the theme and literary style of *Northanger Abbey*. I will also compare the reception of the novel with the reception of Austen's other works, particularly *Pride and Prejudice*, in Britain and China.

5.1 The Publication of *Northanger Abbey* in Britain

Austen completed six novels during her lifetime, and two of them – *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* – were published posthumously in December 1817, five months after her death. The first draft of *Northanger Abbey*, however, was written in Austen's early twenties, around the years 1798-99, soon after she finished early versions of *Sense and Sensibility* and *Pride and Prejudice*.[725] The manuscript of the novel, then entitled *Susan*, was revised for publication in 1803 and sold to Crosby & Co., a London publisher, for ten pounds in the spring of that year.[726] Benjamin Crosby advertised it – 'Susan; a Novel, in 2 vols.' – in his literary miscellany, *Flowers of Literature for 1801 &1802* (1803), as being 'In the Press'.[727] Yet for some unknown reason, it remained unpublished and in 1809 Austen sent an angry letter of inquiry to Crosby under the pseudonym 'MAD' – Mrs. Ashton Dennis. 'I can only,' she wrote, 'account for such an extraordinary circumstance by

[725] See Cassandra Austen's Memorandum, reproduced in Austen, *Minor Works*, ed. by R. W. Chapman, revised by B. C. Southam (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), facing p. 242.
[726] Austen-Leigh, p. 129. Austen-Leigh did not mention the publisher's name, only calling it 'a publisher in Bath'. Crosby & Co. was actually a bookseller based in London. Austen lived at Bath in 1803 and as A. A. Mandal suggested, 'a Bath associate of Crosby might have served as conduit' between her and Crosby. See A. A. Mandal, 'Making Austen Mad: Benjamin Crosby and the Non-Publication of Susan', *Review of English Studies*, 57 (2006), 507-25.
[727] See *Flowers of Literature for 1801 & 1802* (London: Crosby & Co, 1803).

supposing the MS. by some carelessness to have been lost.'[728] Austen offered to supply another copy of the manuscript, but Richard Crosby replied that 'there was not any time stipulated for its publication, neither are we bound to publish it'.[729] Crosby was willing to return the novel's copyright to Austen for the same fee that he originally paid for it. Yet it was difficult for the novelist, who lived with only a small annual allowance of about twenty pounds, to buy it back.[730] Hence, she devoted the next few years to revising and preparing for publication her other two earlier works, *Elinor and Marianne* and *First Impressions*.

In 1816, the manuscript of *Susan* was eventually bought back for Austen by her brother Henry, who refunded Crosby his ten pounds.[731] Humiliated as Austen and her family must have felt by Crosby's long neglect of *Susan*, Henry did not tell him that it was by the author of *Sense and Sensibility* and *Pride and Prejudice* until the transaction was completed. If Crosby had known that the author of *Susan* had successfully published four novels by this time, he may not have been willing to give up its copyright so easily. Austen wrote an advertisement for the novel later that year, ironically declaring that it was 'extraordinary' that a publisher would purchase a book that he considered to be unworthy of publication.[732] Austen-Leigh also complained in his *A Memoir* that the novel 'found so little favour in his [Crosby's] eyes, that he chose to abide by his first loss rather than risk farther expense by publishing such a work'.[733] Austen might have chosen Crosby & Co. because it was 'the fourth most prolific publisher of novels during the 1800s'.[734] However, Crosby evidently had little understanding of the book's value and was not willing to take the financial risk on an unknown author.

The satirical portrayal of Gothic fiction in *Northanger Abbey* may have also played a major role in Crosby's lack of interest in this novel. Crosby published a number of Gothic

---

[728] *Austen's Letters*, p. 263.
[729] Ibid.
[730] Oliver MacDonough, *Jane Austen: Real and Imagined Worlds* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 46. MacDonough wrote that 'Jane had nothing of her own beyond the pin-money allowed her by her father, which was probably only £20 a year'.
[731] Henry was Austen's closest brother and literary agent for most of her career as a writer.
[732] See 'ADVERTISEMENT BY THE AUTHORESS, TO NORTHANGER ABBEY', in *Northanger Abbey and Persuasion*, p. 11.
[733] Austen-Leigh, p. 129-30.
[734] A. A. Mandal, 'Making Austen Mad: Benjamin Crosby and the Non-Publication of Susan', *Review of English Studies*, 57 (2006), 507-25.

novels during the same period, including Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794), William Charles Proby's *The Spirit of the Castle. A Romance* (1800), and David Carey's *The Secrets of the Castle; or, The Adventures of Charles D'Almaine* (1806). Radcliffe's *Udolpho*, which was mocked by Austen in *Northanger Abbey*, became immensely popular upon its publication. Crosby had a 'financial interest' in Radcliffe's Gothic tales and it is therefore unsurprising if he hesitated to publish a satire directed at them.[735] Moreover, the simple title of *Susan* also may not have worked as well as flashier Gothic titles that matched the fashion for 'Radcliffean derivatives' in attracting attention.[736]

After purchasing the manuscript of *Susan* back from Crosby, Austen renamed it *Catherine* and further revised it in 1816-17.[737] The change in title reflected the change of the heroine's name to Catherine. This is most likely because another novel titled *Susan* appeared anonymously in 1809. However, it seems that *Catherine* was not intended for immediate publication and in a letter to her niece, Fanny, of March 1817, Austen wrote: 'Miss Catherine is put upon the shelves for the present, and I do not know that she will ever come out.'[738] The popularity of Radcliffe's Gothic tales declined in the 1810s, and therefore Austen might have worried that the public had lost interest in a parody of the Gothic genre. As noted above, *Northanger Abbey* did not appear until five months after Austen's death, in December 1817. It was published together with *Persuasion*, in a four-volume edition, by John Murray.[739] 1750 copies were printed, priced at 24 shillings, and most were sold by 1820.[740] Cassandra and Henry arranged for the publication of those two novels and the more Gothic-sounding title – *Northanger Abbey* – was most likely provided by them. 'Northanger Abbey' is certainly a title which makes explicit the book's thematic connection with Gothic fiction.

Northanger Abbey began to attract critical attention shortly after its first appearance in London. For example, in March 1818, the *British Critic* considered it 'one of the very best

---

[735] Park Honan, *Jane Austen: Her Life* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), p. 384.
[736] Mandal, 507-25.
[737] Austen's letter to Crosby indicated that she kept another copy of *Susan*, and she might have done some revisions before 1816.
[738] *Jane Austen's Letters*, p. 484.
[739] The title page was dated 1818.
[740] Murray did not issue a second edition of those two novels.

of Miss Austen's productions' and gave a detailed account of the story.[741] The character of General Tilney, however, was thought to be 'improbable', and Austen's depiction of Catherine's visit to the Abbey was in 'considerable want of delicacy'.[742] In May of that same year, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* praised Austen's realistic and interesting depiction of 'the most common scenes of life', and she was regarded as attaining, though within a certain limited range, 'the highest perfection of the art of novel writing'.[743] This reviewer, however, thought that there was no particular merit in those two newly published novels compared to Austen's preceding works and thus did not mention the stories.[744] A notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1818) also regarded it as unnecessary to give any account of *Northanger Abbey*, but the novel was viewed as being 'decidedly preferable' to *Persuasion* in its incidents and moral tendency.[745]

An increasing number of review articles appeared on Austen's novels within the next two decades. Critics began to pay more attention to *Persuasion* while *Northanger Abbey* failed to arouse further interest. In 1821, Richard Whately expressed high praise for Austen's characterization of the heroes – Darcy, Knightley, Edmund – which he regarded as resembling Shakespeare's paintings of Richard, Macbeth, and Julius Caesar.[746] However, the characters of *Northanger Abbey* were not much discussed, with John Thorpe and his sister Isabella only briefly mentioned.[747] As noted in Chapter Four, *Mansfield Park* seemed to be Whately's favourite Austen novel which he considered contained her 'best moral lessons'.[748] He also admired *Persuasion*, considering it to possess the superiority of being written by a more mature Austen.[749] In 1823, the *Retrospective Review* compared Austen with Burney, commenting that the former author 'produced works of much fresher verdure, much sweeter flavour, and much purer spirit'.[750] Austen was referred to as 'the author of *Persuasion* and *Mansfield Park*', and the

741 'Review of *Northanger Abbey and Persuasion*', 293-301.
742 Ibid.
743 'The Novels of Jane Austen', 99-113.
744 Ibid.
745 [Notice of *Northanger Abbey and Persuasion*], *Gentleman's Magazine*, 124 (1818), 52-53.
746 Whately, 352-76.
747 Ibid.
748 Ibid.
749 Ibid.
750 'Review of *Life and Adventure of Peter Wilkins*', *Retrospective Review*, 7 (1823), 131-35.

reviewer certainly regarded those two novels as her best-known works.[751] The heroine of *Persuasion* was also viewed as 'one of the most beautiful female characters ever drawn'.[752]

Northanger Abbey, however, was not mentioned in the above article; neither was it alluded to in the *Edinburgh Review*'s 1830 and 1839 reviews of Austen. Only a few private comments appeared on the novel during this period. In 1836, William Macready wrote in his diary that he did not much like *Northanger Abbey*: 'Heavy, and too long a strain of irony on one topic.'[753] He, however, found *Emma* amusing and was impressed with Austen's ability to draw and sustain characters.[754] After reading *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* in 1842, Henry Crabb Robinson complained in his diary that those two works reduced his estimation of Austen: 'They are little more than galleries of disagreeables.'[755] He liked *Pride and Prejudice* the best of Austen's novels, calling it 'one of the most excellent of the works of our female novelists'.[756]

The mid-nineteenth century saw an increase of critical attention paid to *Northanger Abbey*, as the result of a gradual rise in Austen's literary reputation. In 1843, Macaulay praised Austen's portrayal of clergymen, including Henry Tilney, who seemed common-place but were 'as perfectly discriminated from each other as if they were the most eccentric of human beings'.[757] In 1859, George H. Lewes gave a defence of *Northanger Abbey*, protesting against the *Quarterly Review*'s opinion of the novel as Austen's weakest work in 1821.[758] He declared that it was written with 'unflagging vivacity' and had two unequalled characters – Henry Tilney and John Thorpe.[759] Margaret Oliphant also considered *Northanger Abbey* to display the greatest powers of Austen's mind. 'Such a picture of delightful youth, simplicity, absurdity, and natural sweetness,' Oliphant wrote, 'it is scarcely possible to parallel.'[760] She was enthusiastic in

---

751 Ibid., p. 131.
752 Ibid., p. 134.
753 William Macready's diary of 8 July 1836, reprinted in *The Critical Heritage 1811-1870*, p. 129.
754 Ibid., p. 129.
755 Henry Crabb Robinson's diary of 23 September 1842, reprinted in *The Critical Heritage 1811-1870*, p. 96.
756 Ibid., p. 95.
757 Macaulay, 523-70.
758 It refers to Whately's unsigned review of *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* in the *Quarterly Review* in 1821.
759 'The Novels of Jane Austen', 99-113.
760 Oliphant, 290-313.

her praise of the heroine: 'Catherine Morland, with all her enthusiasm and her mistakes, her modest tenderness and right feeling, and the fine instinct which runs through her simplicity, is the most captivating picture of a very young girl which fiction, perhaps, has ever furnished.'[761]

W. F. Pollock, however, held different opinions. He suggested in 1860 that though *Northanger Abbey* was 'not unworthy of its companions', its publication largely depended on Austen's reputation, which had been built on its predecessors.[762] Pollock, himself, preferred *Persuasion*, and particularly its heroine, Anne Elliot.[763] As mentioned earlier, *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* were originally bound up in one volume and published together. The latter work, however, was composed in Austen's final years, and was commonly considered one of her most mature and complex novels. It seems that the marked disparity between the themes and styles of those two works also had an important influence on critics' reception of the former novel. The emotional intensity of *Persuasion* received far more scholarly attention in the second half of the twentieth century, while the style of *Northanger Abbey* strongly resembles the author's youthful works such as *Love and Friendship*, and was often criticised for its immaturity.

The *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* (1866), for example, claimed that in *Northanger Abbey*, Austen did not 'arrive at so high a pitch of art as she afterwards attained'.[764] 'In spite of some very excellent character drawing,' the review wrote, 'the book, on the whole, is crude, the interest insufficient, and the story incompletely worked out'.[765] For Richard Simpson, *Northanger Abbey* exhibited no 'systematic attempt to connect wickedness with a deficiency of moral understanding' as shown in Austen's later works such as *Mansfield Park* and *Persuasion*.[766] In 1870, the *St. Paul's Magazine* declared that Austen wrote parodies of romantic fiction to amuse herself from an early age, and *Northanger Abbey* was an 'offshoot' of her juvenile burlesques.[767] The review associated Austen's 'uneventful' life with her writing, and suggested that there was no 'image of

[761] Ibid.
[762] Pollock, 20-38.
[763] Ibid.
[764] 'Miss Austen', 238–9, 278–82.
[765] Ibid., p. 213.
[766] Simpson, 129-52.
[767] 'Jane Austen', 631-43.

sorrow, of suffering, or want' in her satire.[768] Marianne and Darcy were viewed as her only two characters who showed passionate feelings.[769]

In the late nineteenth century, Austen's popularity increased notably with the publication of Austen-Leigh's *A Memoir*, the first edition of Austen's letters (1884), and collected editions of her works, notably J. M. Dent's ten-volume set (1892).[770] In 1885, Mary Augusta Ward claimed that *Pride and Prejudice* and *Northanger Abbey* had recently become 'English classics'.[771] Ward went on to suggest that the bright energy of Austen's youth found 'its gayest and freshest expression' in *Northanger Abbey*, while the writing style of *Pride and Prejudice* represented 'a fuller maturity' because of the revision and polishing process before publication.[772] George Edward Bateman Saintsbury also noted 'the delightful freshness and humour' in *Northanger Abbey*, but considered it to be unlikely to reach the first rank of novels due to its small scale and its scheme as a parody.[773] *Emma* and *Pride and Prejudice*, according to Saintsbury, enjoyed large popularity at this time, and for him, the latter work was 'the most perfect, the most characteristic, the most eminently quintessential' of Austen's novels.[774]

5.2 The Early Reception of *Northanger Abbey* in China

As I have noted in previous chapters, Austen's novels were first introduced to Chinese readers in the early twentieth century, and therefore nineteenth-century British and American critics' responses to them had a major impact on their early reception in China. As shown above, *Northanger Abbey*, like *Mansfield Park*, hardly enjoyed a steady reputation in the century following its publication. It received both positive and negative reviews, and on the whole was not among the most popular of Austen's novels. Hence, it is not surprising that Ouyang did not mention it in *A Short History* (1927).[775] The title of the novel was first translated into Chinese as *Nuoshange Si* in Zheng's *The Outline*

[768] Ibid., p. 637.
[769] Ibid., p. 632.
[770] Quoted in Baker, p. 283,
[771] Mary Augusta Ward, 'Style and Miss Austen', *Macmillan's Magazine*, 51 (1885), 84-91.
[772] Ibid.
[773] Saintsbury's preface, pp. 214-8 (p. 215).
[774] Ibid.
[775] Ouyang, p. 152.

(1927).[776] *Nuoshange* is a direct transliteration of 'Northanger', with *Nuo* representing the sound of 'Nor', *shan* of 'than', and *ge* of 'ger'. In the Chinese language the word *Si* is most commonly used to refer to a Buddhist temple. This is largely distinguished from the 'Abbey' in the novel, which refers to 'a richly-endowed convent at the time of the Reformation' (*NA*, p. 142). Abbey and castle are the typical settings of the Gothic novel in the late eighteenth century. The young and innocent heroine, Catherine, is fond of reading Gothic fiction, particularly those 'charming' works of Radcliffe. She is invited to visit the Tilneys at Northanger Abbey because of General Tilney's false impression of her wealth, and upon arriving at the house, she indulges her imagination for its 'long, damp passages, its narrow cells and ruined chapel' and attempts to uncover 'some traditional legends, some awful memorials of an injured and ill–fated nun' (*NA*, p. 141). For Catherine, the words in the name 'Northanger Abbey' are 'thrilling' (*NA*, p. 140). Her overactive Gothic imagination leads her to make a series of mistakes later in the novel.

Zheng evidently understood that 'abbey' was an ancient religious building inhabited by monks or nuns, like the Buddhist temple in China. He did not translate it as a Western monastery probably because early twentieth-century Chinese readers were generally unfamiliar with the history of religion in Britain. Buddhism has had an enduring influence on Chinese culture and the phrase *Si* would make it easier to associate in Chinese readers' imaginations with monks and nuns.[777] However, temples were built and restored in different dynasties of China, and it is thus impossible for Chinese readers to recognise the Abbey's connection to medieval culture and the tradition of Gothic fiction that is reflected in its original title. The historical context of the Abbey is important to readings of the novel which is fundamentally a parody of Gothic romances. Moreover, in spite of its monastic origins, Northanger Abbey is now the Tilneys' family home, and Catherine's description of it – its modern furniture, grand fireplace, handsome marble, and Gothic ornaments – makes it harder to call the house a 'temple'. However, even today, there is rarely a precise Chinese translation for 'Abbey'; Westminster Abbey is commonly rendered as great cathedral – *Dajiaotang*, and Downton Abbey as manor

[776] Zheng, p. 58.
[777] Scholars generally agreed that Buddhist missionaries first reached China during the Han Empire (206 BC – 220 AD).

house – *Zhuangyuan*, a Chinese term that is also used as the translation of the word 'Park' in the title of *Mansfield Park*. This might help to explain why Mao Qiaozhi and later translators still preferred to translate Abbey as *Si*. The novel, after all, is more concerned with the 'imagined' Abbey than the manor house itself. 'With all the chances against her of house, hall, place, park, court, and cottage,' the narrator states for Catherine, 'Northanger turned up an abbey' (*NA*, p. 141).

Northanger Abbey was not directly mentioned in Jin's *An Outline*, but he noted that Austen had the opposite literary taste to Radcliffe.[778] Jin made a comparison between those two female writers probably because he discussed earlier in his book the Gothic literary tradition; he wrote that the late eighteenth century saw a revival of the mediaeval romance in the new form of tales of terror, with representative works including Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764) and Radcliffe's *Udolpho*.[779] He particularly introduced Radcliffe, declaring that her portrayal of castles, ghosts, moody heroes, sentimental heroines, and desolate landscapes was remarkable.[780] Austen, on the other hand, was regarded by Jin as a great realist writer who focused on depicting English country life.

In Liu and Cao's *A History* (1947), a more detailed introduction to Radcliffe's work is offered to Chinese readers as below:

> 安娥瑞特克利夫夫人 (Mrs. Ann Radcliffe, 1764-1823) 是[古昔]故事最成功的一位作者，她在十八世纪最末十年内作成五部精美的传奇，最负盛名的是鸟杜尔幅的神秘(*The Mysteries of Udolpho*, 1794) 与意大利人(*The Italian*, 1797)。这两部书兼有传奇的长处与短处。书中富有运用巧妙的神秘事迹…这两个故事里都有几段精密固定的描写，含有意大利风景的浪漫质素…但是其中滥用着地方色彩，用得又不切合，其所表现的过去时代的风格制度，不和历史事实，其中的人物，不是过于虚伪便是流于守旧。[781]

Original English Text:

> The most successful producer of Gothic stories was Mrs. Ann Radcliffe (1764-1823), who in the last decade of the century wrote five elaborate romances, the most famous being *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) and *The Italian* (1797). They have the

[778] Jin, pp. 302-5.
[779] Ibid., pp. 299-300.
[780] Ibid., pp. 300-2.
[781] William and Robert, pp. 294-95.

> faults and virtues of their type. They abound in mysterious incident, skilfully used…They are decorated with elaborate set pieces of description, involving the Romantic elements of Italian landscape…But there is no accuracy in the local colour, which is lavishly used, and no historical truth in the representation of manners and institutions of the past. The characters are either extravagantly false or mildly conventional.

A History, as previously noted, was based on Moody and Lovett's book of the same title. The phrase 'Gothic' was rendered by Liu and Cao as *Guxi*, which means 'a very far distant past'. Although *Guxi* reveals the ancient and medieval culture's influence on this literary genre, it hardly presents the features of Gothic novels, such as mystery, terror, and darkness, to Chinese readers. Later Chinese translations of this term will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

Moody and Lovett described Gothic fiction of the late eighteenth century as a literary fashion with a 'preference for the grotesque and barbarous instead of the classically simple and civilised'.[782] As shown above, they considered Radcliffe's Gothic fiction to be well-constructed, but they strongly disapproved of it for failing to give a faithful representation of social manners and having no serious moral purpose..[783] Moody and Lovett regarded Austen's realism as a reaction against the Romantic or sentimental impulses of this period, with *Northanger Abbey* being written with the aim to mock Radcliffe and her Gothic school.[784] However, Radcliffe's novels, as will be discussed later, were not translated into Chinese until recent years. This helped to explain why the early Chinese translators showed no interest in *Northanger Abbey*, which is commonly regarded as a parody of the Gothic novel by Radcliffe.

5.3 Ma Qiaozhi and A 'Bourgeois' Austen

The first Chinese translation of *Northanger Abbey* was published in 1958 by the New Literature and Art Publishing House, which also issued Wang Keyi's translation of *Pride and Prejudice* in 1956. The novel was translated by Ma Qiaozhi based on the English

[782] Ibid., p. 293
[783] Ibid., pp. 293-95.
[784] Ibid., p. 393.

edition released by Oxford University Press in 1951. The book cover of Ma's translation, like Wang's, was simple, and they both translated Austen's name as *Aosiding* (see Fig. 2.14). The Chinese title of *Northanger Abbey* appeared as *Nuosangjue Si*. *Nuosangjue* represents the sound of 'Northanger', while 'Abbey' is still rendered as *Si*, probably because Chinese readers are more familiar with temples than European convents and monasteries. *Nuosangjue Si* has remained the most widely used Chinese title of the novel in recent decades.

As I have discussed in the Introduction, after the founding of PRC in 1949, the Communist Party launched a series of political campaigns to remove 'capitalist' elements from Chinese society. This had a strong impact on the translation of Western literature during the 1950s. Wang, therefore, endeavoured to incorporate *Pride and Prejudice* into a Marxist canon by shaping Elizabeth as a progressively-minded heroine. Ma, on the contrary, expressed mainly negative views of Austen in the postscript to his translation of *Northanger Abbey*. He criticised Austen for stressing the importance of money in marriage, with most of her heroines marrying wealthy and titled men. Ma also declared that the turn of the eighteenth century into the nineteenth was a turbulent era in Europe, marked by the French Revolution, but a number of British writers began to depict bourgeois life and manners for the purpose of maintaining them, as typified by Austen.[785] According to Ma, although Austen ridiculed in *Northanger Abbey* the Gothic novel that prominently featured supernatural elements such as ghosts and demons, her work, nonetheless, only brought readers back to a very limited part of the 'real world':

> 她只是把他们带进她那上流社会的小天地。那个小天地的人物，都是些绅士淑女，她们除了谈情说爱、作客、野餐、散步、驱车出游、聊天、跳舞和看书外，似乎就没有旁的事可做…那里没有战争，没有穷困，没有政治，没有商业，也没有激昂的热情。[786]

Translation:

> She only takes them [readers] to her tiny world of high society, which is filled with ladies and gentlemen who seem to have nothing to do except for visiting

[785] See Ma Qiaozhi's postscript to his translation of *Northanger Abbey* (Shanghai: New Literature and Art, 1958), p. 210.
[786] Ibid., p. 212.

> neighbours, picnicking, walking, travelling on coaches, chatting, dancing, and reading…There is no war, no poverty, no politics, no business, no passion in that world.'

From the early twentieth century, Austen's work was noted among Chinese critics for ignoring wars and social revolution in her time. As noted in the introduction, during the 1950s Austen was also severely criticised by Chinese Marxist critics due to a lack of depiction of the lives of the working class in her fiction.[787] This helps to explain Ma's negative opinion of her work.

Ma's choice of translating *Northanger Abbey* may have been influenced by the fact that Wang's translation of *Pride and Prejudice* achieved immediate popularity among Chinese readers upon publication. However, by the time his translation was published in 1958, the Anti-Rightist Campaign began to be launched in China, particularly targeting 'bourgeois intellectuals' including writers and translators. It would be easy for Ma to be labelled 'bourgeois' if he openly praised an English novelist who was most interested in depicting the manners and customs of a 'capitalist' society. Moreover, it would have been difficult for him to shape the heroine of *Northanger Abbey*, Catherine, as a strong and intelligent female role model, as Wang did with Elizabeth. Catherine, who is young, innocent, and not very beautiful, is set up as an anti-heroine from the start of the novel: 'No one who had ever seen Catherine Morland in her infancy would have supposed her born to be an [sic] heroine' (*NA*, p. 13). She likes reading Gothic fiction so much that even her life has been misled by it. In contrast to Elizabeth, Catherine is much less experienced and rational; when she is treated rudely by General Tilney, she appears helpless and vulnerable and is unable to fight against him the way the former heroine does with Lady Catherine. It is thus unsurprising that Catherine was less appealing to Chinese readers at that time.

Ma's views regarding Austen's 'tiny' world also echoed some early twentieth-century British critics. In 1927, Arnold Bennett, for example, challenged the Janeites' common opinion of Austen being one of the greatest English writers like

[787] Marxist critics' remarks about Austen, Gaskell and George Eliot can be found in several translated Russian books during the period, refer to the introduction of this thesis.

Shakespeare.[788] Although agreeing that Austen had unique wit and much narrative skill, Bennett insisted that she ignored the fundamental factors of the society she lived in.[789] In *The Realist* (1929), Bennett continued his attack on Austen's 'more or less complete blindness to all sorts of phenomena' in her small world: 'She only saw what it suited her to see; and her job was thereby drastically simplified.'[790] Bennett liked *Pride and Prejudice* and *Mansfield Park*, but he viewed *Northanger Abbey* as 'the least fine' of her novels.[791] In 1932, Rebecca West, on the contrary, refused to view Austen as 'an entirely intuitional and personal artist, who drew little of her power from intellectual apprehension of the world around her'.[792] West, as previously noted, was among the earliest to discuss Austen's 'feminism', and she considered *Northanger Abbey*, in particular, to present gender issues. West suggested that the satire of the novel, rather than being directed towards Gothic fiction, was more to do with women's insecure financial position in society. Through an analysis of Catherine's financial situation and her interaction with other characters, West pointed out that Austen attacked a society in which 'wealth of the mind counts in the female sex as a kind of poverty'.[793]

The reputation of *Northanger Abbey* among British and American critics continued to fluctuate in the middle of the century, with some of them still condemning the novel as an 'immature' parody. D. W. Harding, for example, defined it as the kind of work that 'could easily arise out of the joking exaggeration meant for family entertainment'.[794] Q. D. Leavis also treated the novel as 'a literary joke'; she thought it to be too 'immature' in contrast with Austen's other novels.[795] Marvin Mudrick, however, noted the complexity of the Gothic parody in *Northanger Abbey*, which was to present anti-Gothic types of character and situation in a realistic world and organise them in a domestic narrative that paralleled it. Yet the irony of this novel, according to Mudrick, was 'somewhat excessive

---

[788] Arnold Bennett, 'Books and Persons', *Evening Standard* (1927-8), reprinted in *The Critical Heritage 1870-1940*, pp. 287-88.
[789] Ibid.
[790] Arnold Bennett, 'The Progress of the Novel', *The Realist* (1929), reprinted in *The Critical Heritage 1870-1940*, p. 115.
[791] Bennett, 'Books and Persons', p. 288.
[792] Rebecca West, *The Strange Necessity* (1928), reprinted in *Critical Heritage 1870-1940*, pp. 293-97. (Sain: ix-xxxii)
[793] Ibid., p. 296.
[794] Ibid.
[795] Leavis, 'Critical Theory of Jane Austen's Writing', 104-18.

for its material', and Austen developed more mature skills in *Pride and Prejudice*.[796] Ma, unlike Wang, paid no attention to Austen's representation of gender inequality in society and her skilful use of irony. This seems to have had a negative influence on the reception of his translation, which, as will be discussed in the following section, did not achieve the popularity enjoyed by Wang's version of *Pride and Prejudice* and Liu's *Emma* in the second half of the twentieth century.

5.4 The Contemporary Reception of *Northanger Abbey* and Gothic Fiction

As mentioned in previous chapters, Wang's translation of *Pride and Prejudice* was reprinted by Shanghai Translation Press in 1980 and soon became popular among Chinese readers. A second edition of Liu's translation of *Emma* also appeared in 1982 and was well received. However, during the 1980s Ma's translation of *Northanger Abbey* failed to attract much interest from book publishers. There are two factors that may help to explain this situation. The first and main reason is that Ma viewed Austen primarily as a conservative propagandist, which was exactly what Chinese scholars aimed to challenge in the early 1980s. Their comments on Austen were mainly focused on her wit, irony and skillful treatment of character, and her reputation began to rise considerably in China during this period. Zhu Hong, for example, considered her to belong to the first-rate English writers, and in 1984, Gu Jiazu declared that Austen is commonly considered one of the most influential English female writers around the world.[797] It is thus not surprising that book publishers showed no interest in publishing a translation by Ma, whose assessment of Austen was essentially negative.

Secondly, *Northanger Abbey* was much less well-known than *Pride and Prejudice* and *Emma* in China at this time, with an increasing number of Chinese journal articles appearing on Austen but most of them focusing on *Pride and Prejudice*. For example, in 1981, Hou Weirui commented on the sarcasm and dramatic structure Austen used in *Pride and Prejudice*, which he regarded as her best-known and most-beloved work.[798] Zhu

[796] Ibid.
[797] Zhu, 42-51; Gu, 44-48.
[798] Hou, 'On the Language Arts of *Pride and Prejudice*', 33-46.

Hong's positive views of Austen in 'On Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*' (1982), as noted in the Introduction, were of great importance in shaping Austen's critical reputation in contemporary China. Zhu saw irony as playing a crucial role in Austen's novels, but, as the article's title indicates, she mainly analysed the irony of theme, character, and narration in *Pride and Prejudice*.[799] Scott's review of *Emma*, in which he asserted that Austen's presentation of character had the merits of the Flemish school of painting, was also noted by Zhu, but the other four novels were not commented on.[800]

Those Chinese scholars' views of Austen's irony and comic spirit not only echoed more recent English-language critics such as Mudrick, but also revealed the impact of the early reception of the author on her contemporary reputation in China. As noted in the Introduction, as early as 1935 Chen Quan quoted George Meredith's words – 'Sensitiveness to the comic laugh is a step in civilization. To shrink from being an object of it is a step in cultivation' – to illustrate the importance of laughter in Austen's novels.[801] Wu Jingrong, in his preface to Liu's translation of *Emma*, also discussed Meredith's idea of selfishness, egoism, pride, and snobbery being the major reasons for laughter, and a connection was made to Austen's notion of satire, expressed by Elizabeth, in *Pride and Prejudice*: 'I hope I never ridicule what is wise or good. Follies and nonsense, whims and inconsistencies do divert me, I own, and I laugh at them whenever I can.'[802] In 1982, Yang Jiang also associates Meredith's theory of laughter with the sarcastic tone of *Pride and Prejudice*, pointing out that Meredith defined good comedies as those that made readers ponder on the deeper meaning of the texts, and Austen's comedies performed the same function.[803] Yet *Northanger Abbey* is only briefly mentioned by Yang as a parody of Gothic romances.[804]

Irony actually has an equally important role to play in *Northanger Abbey*. However, the satire of the novel is mainly directed against Gothic horror tales, with which Chinese readers were not familiar because none of the translations of Radcliffe's novels had

---

799. Zhu, p. 42.
800 Ibid., p.49.
801 Chen, 359-408.
802 See Wu's preface to Liu 1982, pp. 4-8.
803 Yang, 128-43.
804 Ibid.

appeared by the 1980s.[805] *Pride and Prejudice*, on the other hand, ridicules social hypocrisy and moral corruption, which, as previously noted, closely resembles the function of irony in Chinese novels. As discussed in Chapter Three, in *Pride and Prejudice* the narrator's ironic commentary mostly represents the thoughts and observation of Elizabeth, which is important in showing other characters' improper behaviour. The narrator of *Northanger Abbey* also frequently conveys Catherine's inner thoughts and feelings, and yet the heroine herself often becomes the object of that tone of mockery primarily due to her pursuit of Gothic illusions. In this way, the narrator warns readers against the dangers of confusing real life with the Gothic novel. Therefore, one major reason for Chinese critics and readers' lack of interest in the humour and satire of *Northanger Abbey* in the 1980s was the fact that Gothic elements featured in the novel were not well known to them.

Although most scholarly attention was drawn to *Pride and Prejudice* at this time, Chinese critics also began to pay attention to several of Austen's other major novels. In 1983, for example, Sun Zhili wrote a review of *Sense and Sensibility*, in which he discussed Austen's satire directed at sentimental fiction;[806] Hou Weirui's analysis of the sentence structure and writing style in *Persuasion* was published in the same year; and in 1985, Fang Hanquan praised Austen's witty depictions of English country life and social class in *Emma*, which he regarded as one of the greatest English literary classics.[807] However, no major critical review of *Northanger Abbey* had appeared in China by the mid-1980s. It was briefly discussed in Wang Bin's 'Romanticism of Jane Austen' (1983), which explored the 'Romantic' aspects of Austen's novels. Wang notes that Austen's fiction is often considered to be anti-Romantic, but in *Northanger Abbey,* the narrator, who claims that *Cecilia* and *Camilla* display 'the greatest powers of the mind', openly praises Burney's sentimental novels.[808] Burney, as previously noted, was among the most prominent

[805] Only a small number of English novels that incorporate elements of Gothic literature were translated into Chinese during the 1980s; for example, Chen Yuan and He Jianyi's translation of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818) were published by Jiangsu Science and Technology Press in 1982.
[806] Sun, 'Reading *Sense and Sensibility*', 60-63.
[807] Hou Weirui, 'Explication of Text: A Passage from Jane Austen's *Persuasion*', *Foreign Language Teaching and Research*, 2(1982), 16-21; Fang Hanquan, 'Discussions on *Emma*', *Journal of Foreign Languages*, 4 (1985), 71-5.
[808] Wang Bin, 'Romanticism of Jane Austen', *Studies of Foreign Literature*, 4 (1983), 58-65.

female novelists in Austen's time. The novelist did challenge, in *Northanger Abbey*, the prejudiced opinion of the novel as an inferior art form, as typified in Samuel Coleridge's 1808 comment: 'Where the reading of novels prevails as a habit, it occasions in time the entire destruction of the powers of the mind'.[809]

British critics' strong disapproval of the 'novel', as R. H. Hutton suggested in 1858, was closely related to the common view of the genre as a 'feminine preserve': 'Feminine ability has found for itself a far more suitable sphere in novel-writing than in any other branch of literature.'[810] Although admiring the 'completeness and harmony' of Austen's writing, Hutton suggested that her novels and those of other female writers such as Maria Edgeworth and Charlotte Brontë lacked 'the broad intellectual framework of masculine novels'.[811] Hence the narrator's statement in *Northanger Abbey* seems to aim at defending the capability of female authors rather than sentimental ones. Yet Wang is right to point out that the anti-Gothic theme in this novel did not represent Austen's total refusal of Romantic conventions.[812] The novelist's changing attitude towards romanticism in her last complete work, *Persuasion*, will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

By 1985, *Sense and Sensibility*, *Persuasion*, and *Mansfield Park* had all been translated into Chinese, and a second Chinese translation of *Emma* was also released. However, as noted above, Ma's version of *Northanger Abbey* was not reprinted during the 1980s. A second Chinese translation of the novel, by Sun Zhili and Tang Huixin, appeared in 1986. Sun's interest in translating the novel is closely related to his fondness for Austen. As previously noted, he also translated *Sense and Sensibility* and *Persuasion* in 1984, *Pride and Prejudice* in 1990, *Emma* in 2001, and *Mansfield Park* in 2004. In his translation of *Northanger Abbey*, Sun used the same Chinese title as Ma, which might have been because the novel commonly appeared as *Nuosangjue Si* in Chinese journal articles from the early 1980s.

Northanger Abbey's connection to Gothic fiction also seems to have been of great

[809] Quoted in the introduction to *Jane Austen: Bicentenary Essays*, ed. by John Halperin (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p. 5.
[810] R. H. Hutton, 'Novels by the Authoress of John Halfax', *North British Review*, 29 (1858), 466-81.
[811] Ibid.
[812] Wang, 58-65.

interest to Sun. In 1988, he explored the anti-Gothic elements in this work, and introduced several English critical reviews of the novel published in the second half of the twentieth century. He mentions Mudrick's opinion that *Northanger Abbey* was written in response to 'the Gothic climax' with the publication of Radcliffe's *Udolpho*.[813] Alan D. Mackillop's comments on the novel were also noted, in particular his suggestion that Austen's satire was not directed against the Gothic genre.[814] According to Mackillop, Gothic fiction was closely connected to the novel's theme about female illusions, and Austen's purpose was not to separate romances from real life but to create 'a kind of surrogate romance in real life'.[815] Sun regards the novel as mainly a criticism of the Gothic genre, which resembles the view of Mudrick. He continues to suggest that the main reason for Austen's disapproval of Gothic horror stories is stated through the narrator: 'It was not in them perhaps that human nature, at least in the Midland counties of England, was to be looked for.'[816]

The rise in critical attention paid to *Northanger Abbey* in the late 1980s seems to be closely related to the increased scholarly interest in Gothic literature among Chinese critics. In 1987, for example, Wang Xiaoqin published 'Gothic Fiction in Britain and America', offering an overview of a number of Gothic writers including Walpole, Radcliffe and Monk Lewis.[817] Wang refers to *Northanger Abbey* as a Gothic parody, but views it as a 'mild satire' on Gothic fiction. She declares that although Austen wrote in the Romantic era, her fiction is a representation of rationalism.[818] She also mentions some later literary works that incorporated elements of Gothic literature, such as Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818) and Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* (1847).[819] In 1993, Liu Xinming explored the development of Gothic fiction, pointing out that supernatural and

---

[813] Sun, 'The Anti-Gothic Elements in *Northanger Abbey* (Part One)', 28-34.
[814] Alan D. Mackillop, 'Critical Realism in *Northanger Abbey*', in *From Jane Austen to Joseph Conrad*, ed. by Robert C. Rathburn and Jr. Martin Steinmann (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1967), pp. 35-45.
[815] Ibid., p. 44.
[816] Sun, 'The Anti-Gothic Elements in *Northanger Abbey* (Part Two)', *Journal of Pla University of Foreign Languages*, 46-50.
[817] Wang Xiaoqin, 'Gothic Fiction in Britain and America', *Journal of Inner Mongolia Normal University*, 21 (1987), 44-52.
[818] Ibid., p. 47.
[819] Ibid., p.48.

mysterious elements are featured prominently in this literary genre.[820] He also gives a brief analysis of the complex meaning of the term 'Gothic', stating that it originally means 'barbarian', but today is mostly used to refer to architecture or fiction whose impulses and imagination are drawn from medieval periods.[821] The Chinese translation of 'Gothic' appeared as *Geteshi* in this article, which was rendered according to its English pronunciation rather than meaning, probably because it is hard to get a neat definition of this term.[822] *Geteshi* has been the most widely used Chinese translation of 'Gothic' in recent decades. Liu refers to *Northanger Abbey* as an anti-Gothic fiction, but he also suggests that Austen disapproves of the serious and unemotional neoclassical works.[823]

The later decades of the twentieth century saw an increasing academic interest among English-language critics in Gothic literature. For example, Coral Ann Howells published *Love, Mystery, and Misery: Feeling in Gothic Fiction* in 1978, which explores the presentation of feelings in Gothic fiction with the aim of connecting it with the sentimental novel. Gothic writers, according to Howells, 'made the first experimental attempts to write a new kind of fiction which dealt primarily with emotional and imaginative awareness'.[824] She compares Radcliffe with Austen, claiming that the former writer celebrates the pleasures of sentimental indulgence while the latter stresses that rational judgment is more reliable than feelings in decision making.[825] However, Judith Wilt, in *Ghosts of the Gothic* (1980), argues that Austen learned much from Radcliffe's Gothic conventions.[826] The former author, according to Wilt, expressed appreciation of *Udolpho* 'as the touchstone of good character' in the opening chapter of *Northanger Abbey*.[827] Wilt challenges the popular notion that Gothic fiction only provides 'a stock of

---

[820] Liu Xinming, 'Women Education in *Northanger Abbey*', *Tianjin Foreign Studies University Journal*, 3 (2007), 62-7.
[821] Ibid., p. 73.
[822] Ibid. Geteshi was first rendered in Dai Liuling and Cai Wenxian's Chinese edition of Alexander Anikst's *An Outline History* of *English Literature* (1959), p. 17.
[823] Ibid.
[824] Coral Ann Howells, *Love, Mystery, and Misery: Feeling in Gothic Fiction* (London: Bloomsbury, 1978), p. 1.
[825] Ibid., p. 47.
[826] Judith Wilt, *Ghosts of the Gothic: Austen, Eliot, and Lawrence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 121-73.
[827] Ibid., p. 129.

hair-raising images for... the creation of terror', and she suggests that the historical novel, detective novel, and science fiction are all 'the subforms' generated by Gothic fiction.[828] Contemporary British and American critics' views of Gothic fiction seem to have had an important influence on Chinese critics. For example, in the above-mentioned article of Wang Xiaoqin, she refers to Brendan Hennessey's notion that the major Romantic poets of this period, such as Scott, Keats and Byron, generally held positive opinions of Radcliffe.[829]

As a result of those accounts of Gothic fiction, during the 1990s *Northanger Abbey* also received more scholarly attention from Chinese critics. In 1995, for instance, Pan Weixin commented that although the novel had not achieved much popularity in China, it is a 'unique and brilliant' work.[830] Pan, unlike Wang, noted a sharp satirical tone towards Gothic's unrealistic characters and adventures in *Northanger Abbey*.[831] He also remarked on Austen's fervent defence of novel-reading, claiming that she particularly ridiculed those 'novelists' who condemned novels.[832] Pan used Austen's own words – 'the most thorough knowledge of human nature, the happiest delineation of its varieties, the liveliest effusions of wit and humour, are conveyed to the world in the best–chosen language' – to describe *Northanger Abbey*.[833] However, in spite of Pan's warm praise of this work, it has remained one of the least favourite of Austen's novels in China in the 1990s, during which time at least five more translations of *Pride and Prejudice*, four of *Emma*, three of *Sense and Sensibility*, two of *Persuasion*, and one of *Mansfield Park* were released; but *Northanger Abbey* did not appear in a new translation, and only a reprint of Sun's translation was issued in 1997.

One major reason why Chinese readers showed much less interest in *Northanger Abbey* is that although Gothic horror stories began to attract critical attention, Chinese translations of the representative works discussed in the novel, notably these by Radcliffe, were not available to Chinese readers at this time. During the 1980s and 1990s Chinese

---

828 Ibid., p. 17.
829 Brendan Hennessey, *The Gothic Novel* (Harlow: Longman, 1978), p. 36; quoted in Wang, 'Gothic Fiction in Britain and America', 47.
830 Pan Weixin, 'On *Northanger Abbey*', *Journal of Hainan Normal University*, 2 (1995), 84-7.
831 Ibid., p. 85.
832 Ibid.
833 Ibid., p. 86.

critics' exploration of *Northanger Abbey* was closely related to Gothic fiction. Yet from the 2000s onward, as discussed in previous chapters, the development of gender studies in China began to have an important influence on the reception of Austen's novels. As a result, an increasing scholarly interest has been shown in the author's viewpoint on women's education, marriage, and moral nature in *Northanger Abbey*. For example, Liu Xiamin pointed out in 2007 that female education is a major theme in this work.[834] Liu suggested that although Austen mocked Gothic fiction in the novel, her purpose was not to condemn this literary genre but to draw attention to the inadequacies of the kind of education young women received.[835] In 2012, Jin Cheng remarks on the marriage plots in *Northanger Abbey*, pointing out that Austen criticised women who used marriage to achieve financial and social security.[836]

In 2004, Radcliffe's best-known work, *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, was finally translated into Chinese by Liu Bo and published by China Renmin University Press. The translator's interest in the novel, however, seems to be more related to the popularity of the *Harry Potter* series and *Lord of the Rings* trilogy, rather than *Northanger Abbey*. *Udolpho* was described, on the front cover of this translation, as a classical work of 'magical fantasy' that was a significant inspiration for the above two novels (see Fig. 3.2). This statement certainly helps to stress the mystery and darkness of Radcliffe's story. Liu's translation of Radcliffe's *The Italian* (1797) was issued in the same year. The novel was described on its front cover as a 'magical' rather than 'Gothic' story, perhaps because, as noted above, the Harry Potter books and their film adaptations enjoyed great popularity at this time (see Fig. 3.3). Liu also translated Matthew Lewis's *The Monk: A Romance* in 2004, calling it a 'magical classic'.[837]

Following the appearance of Radcliffe's novels in China, critical attention to *Northanger Abbey* has grown. In 2008, for example, Zheng Baiqing explores 'the reflexivity of parody' in *Northanger Abbey*, claiming that 'Austen revises Gothic novels in a comic

---

834 Liu, 'Women Education in *Northanger Abbey*', 62-7.
835 Ibid.
836 Jin Cheng, 'Ideal Marriages in *Northanger Abbey*', *Social Science Front*, 9 (2012), 248-50.
837 See the front cover of Matthew Lewis, *The Monk: A Romance* (*Senglv – Luomanji*), trans. by Liu Bo (Beijing: China Renmin University Press, 2004).

way for the purpose of negotiation with Gothic novels'.[838] Zheng mentions Radcliffe's *The Italian* and *The Mysteries of Udolpho* as major works that are representative of the Gothic novels in the late eighteenth century.[839] Ma's translation of *Northanger Abbey* was reprinted by Chongqing Publishing House in 2007, including a Chinese version of Marilyn Butler's introduction to the Penguin Classics edition of the novel (1995). Unlike Ma, Butler's remarks on the novel were positive, declaring that '*Northanger Abbey*, playful, youthful and warm, is nearer than the others to *Pride and Prejudice* in its reliance on dialogue, but it is older, more experimental, far more challenging in respect of their medium'. [840] Butler regards Gothic fiction of the late eighteenth century as 'a sophisticated format', and suggests that both Romantic and classical traditions were used in *Northanger Abbey*.[841] Jin Shaoyu's translation of *Northanger Abbey*, first published by Shanghai Translation Press in 2000, was also reprinted twice in 2008 and 2010.

However, the different translations of *Northanger Abbey*, unlike those of *Emma*, have rarely been commented on by Chinese critics in recent decades. The first important reason is that language and dialogue, as discussed in Chapter Three, play a very important role in conveying the narrator's subtle irony of *Emma*, and hence the translators' various approaches to translation have had a great impact on Chinese readers' interpretations of the novel. The reading of *Northanger Abbey*, on the other hand, relies on more specific historical and literary contexts, and knowledge of Gothic fiction's common use of plot, setting and character, is more crucial than language in understanding the satire of the novel. Moreover, the major translators of this work, such as Ma and Sun, took similar approaches and relied mainly on direct translation. Chinese readers' general responses to the translations of *Northanger Abbey*, like Austen's other novels, can be found on *Douban*. According to the most recent result, Sun's translation of *Northanger Abbey* seems to be the most widely read among Chinese readers. 896 readers responded to his 1997 edition of the novel, with 42.7% of them ticking 4 stars and 18.3% 5

[838] Quoted in the English abstract of Zheng Baiqing, 'Textual Retrospection: Reflexivity of Parody in *Northanger Abbey*', *Journal of PLA University of Foreign Languages*, 31 (2008), 89-93.
[839] Ibid.
[840] Marilyn Butler's introduction to Austen, *Northanger Abbey*, ed. by Marilyn Butler (London: Penguin Classics, 1995), xvi.
[841] Ibid., xvii.

stars;[842] the book's average review score was 7.5. However, in contrast with Sun's translations of Austen's other novels, particularly *Pride and Prejudice* and *Sense and Sensibility*, the novel was among the least well-known. For example, 7248 readers reviewed Sun's 1990 edition of *Pride and Prejudice*, whose average review score was also much higher: 9.0.

Sense and Sensibility, as noted earlier, was published in China three months earlier than *Persuasion*, and yet the former work has enjoyed a much more rapid increase in popularity in recent years. As discussed in Chapter Two, the film and television adaptations of this work, particularly its 1995 film adaptation directed by Ang Lee, have contributed to the novel's popularity in China. Among the film and television adaptations of *Northanger Abbey*, the British adaptation produced by ITV in 2007 seems to be the most widely known among Chinese audiences, with 10983 of them responding to it on *Douban* and its average score being 7.3. Ang Lee's film of *Sense and Sensibility* enjoys higher popularity in China, with around four times the number of audiences remarking on it on this website; its average score was 8.2. 42 Chinese people also claimed to have watched the 1987 BBC production of *Northanger Abbey*, but its average score is much lower, at 6.7. Moreover, the results of the reading surveys conducted at UNNC revealed that even Chinese students who were studying English at university level were not familiar with *Northanger Abbey*, with only one participant declaring to have read it.[843] However, this work, as some of the British critics suggested, closely resembles *Pride and Prejudice* in representing the youthful energy and fresh expression of Austen, who has continued to rise in popularity in China in recent years. An increasing number of Gothic novels, notably those by Radcliffe, Lewis, and Mary Shelley, have been translated into Chinese in recent decades, and Chinese readers are therefore becoming more familiar with the themes and features of Gothic fiction. *Northanger Abbey* thus has the potential to gain more popularity in the following decades.

[842] See *Douban*, <http://www.douban.com/> [accessed 18 March 2016]
[843] See Appendix Two for a summary of survey results.

Chapter Six

Romanticism and Female Power: *Persuasion* in China

Persuasion was the fifth of Austen's novels to be published in China. Its first Chinese translation by Sun Zhili appeared in February 1984, three months after the translation of *Sense and Sensibility*. However, *Persuasion* has enjoyed much less popularity than the latter work among Chinese readers in recent years. This chapter will draw comparisons between the early reception of *Persuasion* in China, Britain, and Europe, and explore the reasons behind the novel's unpopularity among Chinese readers. I will consider the influence of the novel's emotional intensity and its Romantic tone on Chinese critics' interpretations. I will also explore the potential influence of the novel in China in light of its thematic similarities with one of the most popular Chinese contemporary novels, *Silent Separation*.

6.1 The Publication of *Persuasion* in Britain

Persuasion is the last novel Austen completed in her lifetime. The work continues to portray the lives of the English landed gentry, and yet in many ways it represents a distinct departure from the author's earlier works. *Persuasion* has the quality of 'shade' that Austen viewed *Pride and Prejudice* to be lacking. There are fewer playful dialogues, and more passages of serious reflection in the novel. Its prevailing mood also turns graver, and the story is filled with more experiences of loss, accidents, and death.[844] The changing style and tone of *Persuasion* give the readers a sense of the novelist's maturity of thoughts and feelings. Austen was turning forty when she began the novel in August 1815. She became ill in early 1816, but continued working on the draft, which was finished around August that year.[845] Although starting a new novel entitled *The Brothers*, which was later known as *Sanditon*, in January 1817, she abandoned the work in March,

[844] Duckworth, *The Improvement of the Estate: A Study of Jane Austen's Novels*, p. 180.
[845]. Austen-Leigh, pp. 157-8. Austen-Leigh recalled that *Persuasion* was brought to an end in July 1816, but Austen was dissatisfied with the original ending and rewrote the last two chapters until mid-August of that year.

completing only twelve chapters, largely because her health began to decline sharply at this time.[846] Austen died on 18 July that year at the age of forty-one.

Persuasion, as previously mentioned, did not appear in print until after Austen's death, in December 1817.[847] It was published along with *Northanger Abbey* by John Murray. According to family tradition, the novel was originally named after the heroine's family, *The Elliots*, and the current title was most likely of Henry or Cassandra's choosing.[848] The title, 'persuasion', was probably used because this term appears quite a few times in the novel and is, as will be discussed below, important in the developing plot. It also better matches the titles of two of Austen's earlier novels, *Pride and Prejudice* and *Sense and Sensibility*, and reveals their thematic similarities. *Persuasion* continues to explore the complex relationships between reason and feeling, heart and mind, and passion and prudence that are started in *Sense and Sensibility*. Yet it reveals a new focus on strong feelings and romantic love, providing a deeper insight into the emotional life of the protagonist, Anne Elliot, who, unlike most of her predecessors, suffers from sadness and depression. Austen developed in this work an emotional depth and intensity that were rarely found in her earlier fiction.

Nineteenth-century critical responses to the emotional complexity of *Persuasion* varied to a large extent in Britain. As noted in the previous chapter, the early reviews of *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* show that the former novel was commonly preferred to the latter, particularly in conservative periodicals. The *British Critic*, for example, commented on those two works in 1818, claiming that *Persuasion* was 'a much less fortunate performance' because of its moral ideas.[849] The novel was criticised for encouraging young people to 'marry according to their own inclinations and upon their own judgment'.[850] According to another conservative journal, the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1818), *Northanger Abbey* was also 'decidedly preferable to the second Novel [*Persuasion*],

[846] The cause of the decline of Austen's health is not known, but a number of illnesses have been suggested, particularly Addison's disease.
[847] The year of 1818 was shown on title page of the novel.
[848] Mary Austen-Leigh, *Personal Aspects of Jane Austen* (London: John Murray, 1920), p. 1.
[849] 'Review of *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion*', 293–301.
[850] Ibid.

not only in the incidents, but even in its moral tendency'.[851] The literature of feeling and sensibility, as discussed in Chapter Two, was generally under attack from conservative writers in the early nineteenth century. It is therefore unsurprising that they disapproved of the emotional intensity of *Persuasion*.

In 1821, Richard Whately paid closer attention to Austen's representation of emotion in *Persuasion*, describing it as being 'tender and yet elevated' which distinguished it from the 'romantic extravagance' of sentimental fiction.[852] He considered the novel to be more mature and superior to *Northanger Abbey*, calling it 'one of the most elegant fictions of common life we ever remember to have met with'.[853] *Persuasion*, like Austen's other novels, is a heroine-centred work. Anne, who is twenty-seven when the story starts, is the oldest of the author's protagonists, and she appears quiet and confined. Yet in contrast to her predecessors, she has a more mature wisdom and insight, and was regarded among many nineteenth-century critics as Austen's most admirable heroine. In 1823, for example, the *Retrospective Review* described Anne as 'one of the most beautiful female characters ever drawn'.[854]

However, some British critics thought differently and viewed *Persuasion*, above all else, as an 'incomplete' or 'autumnal' work. This is largely due to the fact that it is, as mentioned previously, the last of Austen's novels to be finished during her lifetime. Yet it seems that the author was hardly aware of the seriousness of her illness when working on *Persuasion*. In a letter to Austen-Leigh of December 1816, Austen still claimed that except for physical weakness, she was 'very well'.[855] The novel, as noted earlier, is filled with experiences of change, loss, and grief, and its melancholy tone has often been linked by critics with her prolonged illness and emotional frustration. For example, George Henry Lewes declared in 1859 that *Persuasion* showed signs of the author's diminished capacity for irony and entertainment.[856] He considered *Pride and Prejudice* to remain the best of Austen's works for 'the greatest variety of character' and 'a succession of scenes of

[851] 'Review of *Northanger Abbey and Persuasion*', 52-3.
[852] Whately, 352-76.
[853] Ibid.
[854] 'Review of *Life and Adventure of Peter Wilkins*', 131-35.
[855] *Austen's Letter*, p. 356.
[856] 'The Novels of Jane Austen', 99-113.

high comedy', while *Persuasion* was regarded by him as 'the weakest' in spite of some exquisite touches.[857]

In 1866, the *Englishwomen's Domestic Magazine*, which was politically conservative, associated the emotional intensity of *Persuasion* with sentimentalism, asserting that in Anne's character 'there is the nearest approach to a sentimental attachment'.[858] The anonymous reviewer placed the novel lower than *Mansfield Park* and *Pride and Prejudice*, claiming that 'romance and sentiment are not Miss Austen's strong points'.[859] However, the strong feelings of Anne became a preferred quality for an increasing number of British critics in the last decades of the nineteenth century. This is largely because the second half of the century saw a growing interest in realist fiction in Britain, with the most representative works including George Eliot's *The Mill on the Floss* (1860) and *Middlemarch* (1871-2). Eliot's novels are notable for their psychological insights into the heroines' spiritual and emotional struggles to cope with personal desire and social duty, with the aim of awaking social sympathies. As a consequence, Austen's earlier novels, including the most popular one, *Pride and Prejudice*, began to be criticised for their lack of intense feeling at this time. M. A. W., for example, declared in 1888 that 'emotion, inspiration, glow, and passion are not hers [Austen's]; she is a small, thin classic'.[860]

Persuasion, on the contrary, became a more admired novel among critics for achieving a new level of artistic maturity, particularly regarding the psychological depth of the characters. In 1891, William Branford Shubrick Clymer observed that the novel showed 'broader sympathies, deeper observation, and perhaps more perfect symmetry, balance, poise' compared to its predecessors.[861] In 1917, Reginald Farrer commented that the appeal of *Persuasion*, of all Austen novels, was the most elusive but enduring.[862] He considered the work to be 'among the most emotional novels' in English literature, claiming that it was 'purely a cry of feeling; and, if you miss the feeling, you miss all'.[863]

---

857 Ibid.
858 'Miss Austen', 238–9; 278–82.
859 Ibid.
860 M. A. W, 'Turgueneff', *Fortnightly Review* (1888), reprinted in *The Critical Heritage1870-1940*, p. 187.
861 William Branford Shubrick Clymer's 'A Note on Jane Austen', in *Scribner's Magazine* (February 1891), reprinted in *The Critical Heritage1870-1940*, p. 201.
862 Farrer, 1-30.
863 Ibid.

In 1924, Virginia Woolf found in *Persuasion* 'a peculiar beauty and a peculiar dullness'.[864] The dullness, according to Woolf, revealed that Austen's writing style was experiencing transitions, and the beauty marked her new sensitivity to nature and life.[865] Woolf associated Anne's notion of woman's natural constancy with the novelist's personal experience of love, which 'had to sink very deep, and to be thoroughly disinfected by the passage of time, before she allowed herself to deal with it in fiction'. Woolf concluded that Austen was 'beginning to discover that the world is larger, more mysterious, and more romantic than she had supposed', and if she had lived a longer life, her understanding of human nature would have been more complicated and her satire would have become 'deeper and more suggestive'.[866]

6.2 A Comparison of the Early Reception of *Persuasion* in Europe and China

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the critical reception of *Persuasion* in Britain, as shown in the previous section, underwent great changes. Although the emotional intensity achieved in this work was often disapproved of by conservative critics, it enjoyed a steady increase both in scholarly attention and general readership. *Persuasion* had been translated into several European languages by the early twentieth century. Its first French translation by Isabelle de Montolieu was published in Paris in 1821, under the title *La Famille Elliot* (*The Elliot Family*), which resembles Austen's working title for the novel, *The Elliots*.[867] 'The Elliot Family' seems to indicate that the story revolves around the lives of the whole Elliot family, which more broadly represents the experiences of the English landed gentry during the period of social and political change in the early nineteenth century. Montolieu preferred this title to 'Persuasion' probably because during the nineteenth century Austen's work was commonly criticised for its narrow scope, and 'The Elliot Family' makes it easy for French readers to associate the novel with the changing English landed class, the impact of the Napoleonic Wars in Britain, and a broader range of social events.

---

[864] Virginia Woolf, 'Jane Austen at Sixty', *New Republic*, 37 (1924), 261.
[865] Ibid.
[866] Ibid., p. 283.
[867] Bour, pp. 12-33.

Although *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* were published together by Murray in Britain, they were translated separately and the former novel did not appear in French until 1824. Isabelle Bour, as noted in the Introduction, examined the early reception of Austen in France in 2007, pointing out that Montolieu lengthened the novel in his translation with some scenes dramatised or heightened for effect.[868] A second French translation of *Persuasion* by Madame Letorsay was published about sixty years later, in 1882.[869] Yet there were, according to Bour, a fair number of inaccuracies in Letorsay's translation, which failed to convey the 'subtlety and originality' of Austen's text.[870] Bour also suggests that Eugène Forgues's 'Femmes de letters en Angleterre: Jane Austen', published earlier that year, might have played an important role in promoting the appearance of Letorsay's translation. Forgues praised in his article the honesty, simplicity, and realism of Austen's writing, and claimed that *Persuasion* was the best of the author's works.[871] Austen's popularity with French readers continued in the first half of the twentieth century, during which period four new French translations of *Pride and Prejudice*, two of *Emma*, and one of *Persuasion* and *Sense and Sensibility* were issued.

In Germany, *Persuasion* was the first of Austen's novels to appear. It was translated by Wilhelm Adolf Lindau and published in 1822 as *Anna: Ein Familiengemahlde* (*Anna: A Family Picture*).[872] According to Fahnestock, Lindau's choice of *Persuasion* may have been influenced by Whately's positive comments on the novel in his 1821 review, which Lindau was believed to have 'faithfully read'.[873] She also suggests that the appearance of 'family' in Lindau's translated title may also indicate his awareness of Montolieu's French translation of *Persuasion* published one year earlier.[874] Austen, however, was much less popular with German readers in the nineteenth century, during which period only one German edition of *Persuasion* and one of *Pride and Prejudice* appeared.[875] The

---

868 Ibid., p. 27.
869 It was published under its original English title.
870 *The Reception of Jane Austen in Europe*, pp. 48-49.
871 Ibid., p. 48).
872 Mary Lane Fahnestock, 'The Reception of Jane Austen in Germany: A Miniaturist in the Land of Poets and Philosophers' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Indiana, 1983). Cited in Annika Bautz, 'The Reception of Jane Austen in Germany', in *The Reception of Jane Austen in Europe*, p. 94.
873 Ibid.
874 Ibid.
875 The first German edition of *Pride and Prejudice* was published in 1830. Ibid., p. 96.

first half of the twentieth century saw further publications of Austen's novels in Germany. An English version of *Sense and Sensibility* and a new German translation of *Pride and Prejudice* were released in 1922 and 1939. In 1948, Margarete Rauchenberger published her translations of three of Austen's novels, *Persuasion*, *Pride and Prejudice*, and *Northanger Abbey*. Rauchenberger changed the title of *Persuasion* to 'Anne Elliot', probably because the novel is, as noted earlier, a heroine-centred work. This title stresses the central position of Anne's thoughts and feelings in the novel, the narrator of which, like its predecessors, focuses mainly on the heroine's consciousness.[876] *Persuasion* was also the first of Austen's works to be published in Sweden. Two of the author's novels appeared in Swedish during the nineteenth century, *Persuasion* in 1836 and *Emma* in 1857. *Persuasion* was translated by Emilia Westdahl based on Montolieu's 1821 French version of the novel. It is thus unsurprising that 'family' also played a crucial role in Westdahl's Swedish title of this work, appearing as *Familjen Elliot: Skildringar av Engelska Karakterer* (*The Elliot Family: Descriptions of English Characters*).[877]

In China, by contrast, the translation of *Persuasion* did not appear until much later, in 1984. One major reason for this is that the novel was rarely mentioned in Chinese-language books on English literature that first introduced Austen. In *A Short History*, for example, Ouyang commented that *Pride and Prejudice*, *Mansfield Park*, and *Emma* were the author's best-known works, with *Persuasion* being left unmentioned.[878] Like Austen's other novels, the earliest Chinese translation of the title of *Persuasion* is to be found in Zheng's *The Outline*. Zheng, unlike the above European translators, preferred to maintain the novel's published title, rendering it into *Quanfu* – the Chinese character *Quan* refers to the act of giving advice and *fu* of convincing somebody.[879] Xu used the same Chinese title for *Persuasion* in his *English Literature* (1933).[880] He also noted that the novel, along with *Mansfield Park* and *Emma*, was composed between 1811 and 1816.

---

[876] Ibid., p. 97.
[877] Ellen Valle, 'The Reception of Jane Austen in Finland', in *The Reception of Jane Austen in Europe*, p. 172.
[878] Ouyang, p. 152.
[879] *The Oxford Chinese Dictionary*, *Quanfu*: p. 605; Zheng used the verb phrase, *Quanfu*, probably because it is extremely difficult to find any noun equivalent referring to 'persuasion'. The translation that *The Oxford Chinese Dictionary* provides for 'Persuasion' – *Shuofu* (convince) – is also a verb phrase.
[880] Xu, p. 55.

In contrast with 'The Elliots', the current title 'Persuasion' shifts the novel's focus from the experiences of a social group to those of the individual. This term plays a crucial role in the progress of moral growth of the main characters. Eight years before the novel begins, Anne is 'persuaded' by Lady Russell to break off her engagement to Wentworth. The latter resents Anne for being persuadable, considering her to show 'a feebleness of character in doing so, which his own decided, confident temper could not endure' (*P*, p. 61). Therefore, after returning from the Napoleonic Wars, Wentworth claims to like women with 'a strong mind', and the high-spirited Louisa Musgrove immediately attracts his attention. Louisa is proud of herself for not being easily persuaded, claiming that 'when I have made up my mind, I have made it' (*P*, p. 87); and Wentworth initially considers her to have the merit of a beautiful glossy nut that 'blessed with original strength, has outlived all the storms of autumn' (*P*, p. 88). Yet he recognises his faulty idea about Louisa's wilful determination after her fall off the Cobb at Lyme, which is a result of her refusal to listen to his reasonable advice. Wentworth finally understands that Anne's yielding to 'persuasion' in her youth also represents her female 'fortitude and strength of mind' (*P*, p. 88).

Quanfu, as a direct rendering of this work's English title, succeeds in revealing to Chinese readers the significance of 'persuasion' in shaping character and plot. The novel, however, failed to arouse much critical interest after being mentioned in Zheng and Xu's books. Jin ignored *Persuasion* in *An Outline*, while he rendered the titles of Austen's other five major novels into Chinese.[881] As noted earlier, Moody and Lovett's *A History* was translated into Chinese in 1947. In the book, Austen's visits to Bath and Lyme Regis were noted, both places being important settings of *Persuasion*.[882] They also mentioned Austen's sailor brothers, whose experiences played an important role in helping to shape the naval theme in this novel. Moody and Lovett certainly recognised the intensity of emotion in *Persuasion*, commenting that 'there is scarcely any feeling for external nature in her [Austen's] stories, except in *Persuasion*, the latest of them'. Yet they made no further mention of this novel, and paid more attention to Austen's use of humour and

[881] Jin, p. 302.
[882] Liu and Cao, p. 302.

dialogue in her earlier works, particularly *Pride and Prejudice*.[883] While two translations of *Pride and Prejudice* and one of *Emma* appeared in China during the first half of the twentieth century, *Persuasion* remained little known to the general reading public. This reveals a gap between its early reception in China and that in Britain and major European countries. The reason why *Persuasion* failed to arouse much interest from Chinese critics and translators will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

6.3 *Persuasion* and Romanticism

Persuasion was first translated into Chinese in 1984, during which time Austen was rapidly increasing in popularity, with *Sense and Sensibility*, *Pride and Prejudice*, *Emma*, and *Northanger Abbey* available to Chinese readers. The novel, like most of its predecessors, began to attract serious critical attention in China from the early 1980s. In 1982, for example, Hou Weirui published 'Explication of Text: A Passage from Jane Austen's *Persuasion*', which was written in English. Hou, as noted in the Introduction, is most interested in exploring Austen's work from a linguistic perspective, and he analyses the descriptive passages dealing with Sir Walter in the opening chapter of *Persuasion* to show the author's skilful portrayal of her character which is 'saturated with ironic and dramatic spirit'.[884] Parallelism, according to Hou, is 'a dominant feature' of the introductory passage. He also points out that 'symmetric constructions' are often used in Austen's early works, but 'the balanced structure has undergone a change towards freer style' in *Persuasion*. In 1983, Wang Bin wrote 'Romanticism of Jane Austen', aiming to argue against the common notion among Chinese critics that Austen's novels represent conservative anti-romanticism.[885] He calls Anne a 'Romantic heroine', whose tender feelings and delicate sensitivity to nature most resemble those of Marianne, the latter's favourite maxim being 'no one can ever be in love more than once in their life'.[886] Austen, according to Wang, sympathised with the emotional Marianne in her first novel, *Sense and Sensibility*, and thus she decided to give her heroine a second chance for 'Romantic

[883] Ibid.
[884] Hou, 'Explication of Text', 16-21.
[885] Wang, 58-65.
[886] Ibid., p. 60.

love' in her last one, *Persuasion*.[887]

Academic interest in *Persuasion* helped to draw translators' attention to this work, the first Chinese translation of which was brought out by Sun Zhili, who, as previously noted, has contributed to Austen studies in China. His translation was published by Jiangsu People's Publishing House in February 1984, under the title *Quandao* (see Fig. 2.15).[888] In May of that year, Cai Yixian published a second Chinese translation of the novel with the same Chinese title. *Quandao*, like *Quanfu*, is also the equivalent of 'persuade' in Chinese, but the character *dao* particularly refers to advice and guidance from elders or teachers.[889] Sun's choice of *Quandao* might be related to traditional Chinese culture, where the elders in families are expected to be treated with more respect and young people have an ethical duty to consult with them in decision making. In the novel, Lady Russell disapproves of Wentworth primarily due to her 'prejudices on the side of ancestry' (*P*, p. 11), and Anne's acceptance of her 'persuasion' can be easily understood as her approval of the prevailing views regarding rank and consequence in her time. *Quandao*, however, indicates to Chinese readers that this 'persuasion' represents a moral obligation rather than weakness of character. When Anne thinks over the past, she also insists that she was right in being guided by Lady Russell in her youth, though the latter's advice was wrong: 'I was right in submitting to her, and if I had done otherwise, I should have suffered more in continuing the engagement than I did even in giving it up, because I should have suffered in my conscience' (*P*, p. 246). Sun's rendering of the title not only notes Anne's strong sense of duty, but also indicates the social constraints imposed on young women of this time and makes Anne a more sympathetic heroine for Chinese readers.

Sun declares in the translator's note to his version that although *Pride and Prejudice* is generally viewed as Austen's most popular novel, *Persuasion* is more notable in representing the inner emotional life of the major characters.[890] He praises the 'delicacy'

---

[887] Ibid.
[888] The earliest Chinese translation of *Mansfield Park* appeared three months later than that of *Persuasion*, in May 1984.
[889] See *The Oxford Chinese Dictionary*, p. 153.
[890] See the introduction to Austen, *Persuasion* (*Quandao*), trans. by Sun Zhili (Jiangsu: Jiangsu People's Publishing House, 1984), p. 1.

in Austen's writing, and considers *Persuasion* to vividly exhibit her literary brilliance on that 'two inches of ivory'.[891] Yet Sun is most interested in the social changes that are reflected in the novel:

> 《劝导》的意义并不限于它那动人的爱情描写，也不限于它关于爱情与谨慎的道义说教，更重要的是，它还具有比较深远的社会意义。这首先表现在：小说对腐朽没落的贵族阶级进行了无情的揭露和批判。

Translation:

> The meaning of *Persuasion* is not limited to its touching depiction of love or its didacticism concerning romance and prudence; but more importantly, it has relatively profound social meaning. This is first manifested in [the way in which] the novel mercilessly exposes and criticises the decadent, declining aristocratic classes.[892]

Sun points out Austen's criticism of the social hierarchies of her society in *Persuasion*, claiming that the narrator's statement – 'vanity was the beginning and the end of Sir Walter Elliot's character' – not only refers to the vain Sir Walter, but also aims to ridicule the old landed gentry class.[893] He continues to analyse the irony and sarcasm of the novel from both plot and character. For example, Sir Walter disdains Anne's school friend, Mrs. Smith, for her lower birth, while he himself is attracted to Mrs. Clay, a widow who is from the lower middle class. *Persuasion*, according to Sun, resembles Austen's earlier works in attacking English inheritance laws. Anne, no matter how capable and intelligent, cannot inherit her father's estate, while the callous and duplicitous Mr. Elliot is still the heir of Kellynch at the end of the novel.[894]

Sun, like Wang Keyi, incorporated elements of the 'class struggle' in his translation, largely due to the long shadow of the Cultural Revolution. His emphasis on the vanity and stupidity of Sir Walter not only allows Chinese readers to better appreciate Austen's sarcasm directed at traditional English elites, but also reminds them of the corruption

---

[891] Ibid., p. 3.
[892] Ibid., p. 2.
[893] Ibid. The original text in Chinese: '《劝导》的意义并不限于它那动人的爱情描写，也不限于它那关于爱情与谨慎的道义说教，更重要的是，它还具有比较深远的社会意义。这首先表现在：小说对腐朽没落的贵族阶级进行了无情的揭露和批判.'
[894] Ibid.

and decadence of the Chinese landed class.[895] In the translator's note, Sun condemns Mr. Elliot as a '心狠手辣的恶棍', which refers to a ruthless, cruel, and destructive villain.[896] However, although a cunning and insincere hypocrite, Mr. Elliot is often regarded by British critics as the weakest of Austen's 'dangerous' villains. For example, Marilyn Butler suggests that the temptation Mr. Elliot presents to Anne is fairly weak and Anne does not respond to him in the ways Elizabeth does to George Wickham or Emma to Frank Churchill.[897] Mr. Elliot, as Butler declares, 'has little or no place in Anne's consciousness…He never represents any kind of real temptation to her'.[898] Indeed, Anne recognises his dishonesty even before Mrs. Smith reveals his story. Sun not only exaggerates the wickedness of Mr. Elliot, but also calls his mistress, Mrs. Clay, a '妖女人', which is commonly used in Chinese to insult women who seduce men by behaving in a coquettish way.[899] Mrs. Clay resembles Mrs. Smith's social background in being a poor widow, but Sun treats the former with far less sympathy. This is most likely because he views her as belonging to the category of 'villain' and thus tries to make her as unpleasant as Mr. Elliot.

Anne, on the contrary, is held in high esteem by Sun, who considers her 'a unique heroine who is smart, beautiful, and faithful to love'.[900] He also quotes John Bailey's comments that 'there are few heroines in fiction whom we love much, feel for so much, as we love and feel for Anne Elliot'. It seems that Sun endeavoured to connect *Persuasion* with its predecessors through the heroine's moral superiority. He depicts the social status of Wentworth as '出身卑贱' (very humble origins), which certainly works better in highlighting Anne's moral virtue in her decision to marry him.[901] Wentworth actually is 'of a gentleman's family'. Yet his situation is different from that of Austen's earlier heroes, and he makes fortune and rank by working hard as a navy officer. *Persuasion* is closely concerned with the large social and economic changes brought about by the Napoleonic

[895] Ibid.
[896] Ibid.
[897] Butler, p. 280.
[898] Ibid.
[899] *Persuasion* (*Quandao*), trans. by Sun Zhili, p. 2.
[900] Ibid., p. 3. The original text in Chinese: '安妮·埃利奥特是个异乎寻常的女主角，她聪慧，美丽，对爱情忠贞.'
[901] Ibid., p. 2.

Wars (1803-15) in early nineteenth-century Britain, showing the rapid rise in social power of a new middle class – here represented by the Navy. Sun views Wentworth and his navy friends positively, as 'cheerful, sincere, and warm-hearted' fellows, whose virtues play an important part in encouraging Anne to become a member of the naval community.[902] However, he makes little mention of the historical context that influenced the novel. This might be because the Royal Navy and military conquests tend to remind Chinese readers of the British Empire and the Opium Wars, which will make Wentworth a less sympathetic character to them.

Following the publication of Sun and Cai's translations of *Persuasion*, the novel started to attract more critical attention in China. For example, in 1987, Zhu Lin pointed out that Austen attacks social and moral hypocrisy in her novels, with Mr. Elliot serving as an example of the pretentious manners of the upper-middle class. She also praised Anne, like her predecessors, for refusing a marriage of convenience. Zhu categorises Austen as a rationalist. In 1988, Qian Zhenlai noted Austen's awareness of the gender inequality in her society through Anne's words: 'Education has been theirs in so much higher a degree; the pen has been in their hands'.[903] He considered Austen 'the first major writer in English who consciously depicted the real world from a woman's point of view'.[904] He also discussed Austen's 'realism' from the point of view of the depiction of the relationship between money and marriage reflected in her novels. The improvement of Wentworth in economic status, according to Qian, plays an important role in Anne's marriage to him, which is distinguished from the 'ideal love' presented by Romantic writers. In the 1980s, however, the novel was rarely mentioned in most of the journal articles on Austen published in China, partly due to its late translation. The changing nature of *Persuasion*, therefore, received little attention from Chinese critics at this time, and as shown above, the few who commented on it mainly focused on the similarities between this work and its predecessors.

Persuasion has indeed much in common with Austen's previous novels, with

---

[902] Ibid.,, p. 3.
[903] Qian Zhenlai, 'Discussions on Jane Austen', *Studies of Literature and Art*, 1 (1988), 44-52.
[904] Ibid. The original text in Chinese: '她成了英国文学史上第一位自觉地真正从妇女角度描绘现实世界的作家.'

marriage, romance, and money occupying the centre part of its themes. Their similarities have also stimulated great interest with modern British and American critics. Howard S. Babb, for example, suggests that the novel promotes 'the same values that she [Austen] has championed from *Sense and Sensibility* on'.[905] Her objection to individual egoism, according to Babb, is also evident in *Persuasion*, with Anne's 'persevering unselfishness' being rewarded with Wentworth's unchanging affection.[906] Marilyn Butler observes that in the character of Anne, Austen again depicts a fortitudinous and modest heroine 'with an inner life that is rich and feeling', who is most similar to Elinor and Fanny.[907] As mentioned earlier, the depressed and gloomy mood of *Persuasion* is often linked by critics with Austen's final illness and death, which has an important influence on their readings of the novel. Claudia L. Johnson, on the contrary, argues that when Austen worked on it, she, unlike her modern readers, probably did not know that 'her impending death would be imparting a gently resigned, autumnal melancholy to all her observations', particularly with *Sanditon* following so close behind it.[908] Johnson regards many prominent elements of *Persuasion* as calling Austen's earlier works to mind, such as overt sarcasm at the expense of silly people.[909]

Those similarities, however, in no way diminish *Persuasion*'s uniqueness and complexity. During the 1990s, its emotional intensity began to gain increasing amounts of attention from Chinese critics. In 1992, for example, Qiu Yin published 'A View of the Development of Austen's Creative Thinking in *Persuasion*', suggesting that the novel reflects Austen's turn from rationalism to romanticism in her final years as a writer.[910] Qiu, like Wang Bin, notes Anne's sensitive appreciation for natural beauty, and links it with the author's new attitude towards nature and romanticism.[911] She also points out that the term 'romance' has a completely positive meaning in *Persuasion*, which is unlike

[905] Howard S. Babb, *Jane Austen's Novels: The Fabric of Dialogue* (Ohio: Ohio State university Press, 1962), p. 203.
[906] Ibid.
[907] Butler, p.283.
[908] Johnson, p. 144.
[909] Ibid., pp. 144-45.
[910] Qiu Yin, 'Austen's Creating Development in *Persuasion*', *Fudan Journal Philosophy and Social Sciences*, 1 (1992), 50-54.
[911] Ibid., p. 52.

the author's earlier works.[912] Qiu continues to discuss the novel's departure from its predecessors in several other aspects. 'In *Persuasion*,' she wrote, 'Austen abandoned some of the traditional values, and no longer regarded behaviour and good manners as a crucial part of moral standards.'[913] She also claims that Anne is Austen's first and only heroine who marries a man without inherited property, and the novel indicates the decline of the traditional landed gentry.[914]

In 2000, Lin Wenchen wrote 'A Brief View of *Persuasion*', exploring Austen's changing attitude towards romanticism in her last work. He, like Qiu, notes the novel's strong emphasis on the psychological and emotional life of Anne, declaring that emotion is given advantage over rationality by Austen for the first time.[915] Lin notes Sheila Kaye-Smith's comments regarding 'the emotional force that permeates the whole book'.[916] He also points out that Anne and Captain Benwick discuss various Romantic poems passionately in the novel, particularly those of Byron and Scott, which reflects romanticism's strong influence on Austen's works.[917] However, Lin holds relatively conservative views on the changes in *Persuasion*. Rather than a victory of romanticism over rationalism, he considers the novel to represent Austen's attempts at shaping a more idealised heroine with the power of both rational thinking and deep feelings.[918] He points out that there are notable age differences between Austen's earlier heroines and Anne, the latter being mature enough to manage her feelings.

Lin's opinions appear to be influenced by British critics such as Marilyn Butler. He refers to Butler's notion that Austen saw the value of using naval officers as 'alternatives to a supine or selfish gentry' in this work.[919] Butler, as discussed in Chapter Two, views Austen as a political and moral conservative, and she argues that in *Persuasion*, the novelist's intention is not to challenge the ruling order of the gentry. Anne and Wentworth's marriage, according to Butler, models the way 'towards responsible

---

[912] Ibid.
[913] Ibid., p. 53.
[914] Ibid., p.54.
[915] Lin Wenchen, 'A Brief View of *Persuasion*', *Criticism of Foreign Language*, 1 (2000), 112-18.
[916] Ibid., p. 113. Kaye-Smith's comments were mentioned by Edmund Wilson in his 'A Long Talk about Jane Austen', a Chinese translation of which is induded in Zhu Hong's *Austen Studies* (1985).
[917] Ibid.
[918] Ibid., p. 115.
[919] Ibid.

paternalism and effective leadership in an imagined future which is a mirror-image of the idealised past'.[920] Lin resembles Butler in refusing to regard *Persuasion* as a radical departure from its predecessors. 'The "Romanticism" in *Persuasion*,' he writes, 'is mainly a tendency to approve emotions and still bears a profound imprint of rationalism's influence, which is different from the uninhibited and anti-traditional Byronic romanticism'.[921]

6.4 *Persuasion* and Female Power

Qiu published a new Chinese translation of *Persuasion*, which was released by Shanghai Translation Publishing House in 1991. Sun's translation of the novel was also reprinted in 1996. Yet their translations received much less critical attention than those of *Pride and Prejudice*, *Emma*, and *Sense and Sensibility*. *Sense and Sensibility* appeared in Chinese three months earlier than *Persuasion*, but enjoyed a rapid growth in popularity during the 1990s. At least six different translations of the former novel were released in China before 2000. As noted above, Western critics frequently remarked on the 'autumnal' tone of *Persuasion*, calling it an 'incomplete' work. It seems that Chinese critics have tended to share the same views. Qiu, in her 1992 review, points out that the work is regarded by many in China as 'only having a second volume with the first one being lost'.[922] *Persuasion* is indeed the shortest of Austen's six major works, and its first draft may not have been thoroughly revised.[923] Further revision of the novel might have improved the spontaneity and smoothness of some parts of the story, but the current version, as Marvin Mudrick argues, has achieved its goal in highlighting the new element – personal emotions.[924] As it stands, Yasmine Gooneratne reminds us, 'there is enough in *Persuasion*…to indicate that its author has subordinated every earlier interest, notably her talent for satire and her inclination towards didacticism, to a new artistic

---

[920] Ibid.
[921] Lin, 'A Brief View of *Persuasion*', p. 113. The original text in Chinese: '《劝导》的"浪漫主义"主要是一种肯定感情的倾向，还带有深刻的理性影响的印记，不同于奔放不羁的、反传统的拜伦式浪漫主义.'
[922] Qiu, 'Austen's Creating Development in *Persuasion*', p. 51.
[923] Mudrick, pp. 216-17.
[924] Ibid.

problem, the psychological exploration of character'.[925]

Austen-Leigh noted in *A Memoir* that Austen was not satisfied with the original ending and rewrote the final two chapters, but further revisions were not mentioned.[926] The cancelled chapters survive in manuscript, and the revised chapters are remarkable for including the conversation between Captain Harville and Anne about the endurance and constancy of women's feelings. Anne's words are overheard by Wentworth and lead him to an understanding of her unchangeable love for him.[927] As noted earlier, Anne's notion of female psychology in this conversation plays a significant role for British and American critics, such as Lloyd W. Brown, in identifying Austen's interest in 'the woman question'.[928] Marilyn Butler observes that in *Persuasion*, rather than 'faulty heroines', we have a 'mistaken hero', Wentworth, in need of salvation from the sin of 'trusting too implicitly in his own prior conceptions'.[929] Austen, indeed, puts more focus on masculine pride and vanity in *Persuasion*, and she particularly celebrates female power. For example, Emma and Catherine's moral judgments rely greatly on the guidance from the men they eventually marry; even Austen's most morally serious heroines, Elinor and Fanny, hardly have a significant influence on their male partners' personalities. However, in *Persuasion*, Anne, who 'possesses an unmatched depth and firmness of commitment', teaches Wentworth to recognise women's strength, which entails 'self-forgetfulness, self control, and the ability to act'.[930] According to Butler, Anne's submission to Lady Russell is 'neither a symptom of weakness, nor cold-hearted prudence, but a further sign of principle and fortitude'.[931]

In recent years, Chinese critics also began to explore the novel from a feminist perspective. In 2009, for example, Wu Aihua noted the shifts in Anne's attitude towards love from passive to active.[932] The novel, according to Wu, represents Austen's support

---

[925] Yasmine Gooneratne, *Jane Austen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 192.
[926] Austen-Leigh, p. 157.
[927] The manuscript of the cancelled chapter is the only draft material of any part of Jane Austen's published novels that has survived.
[928] Brown, 321- 39.
[929] Butler, pp. 275-6.
[930] Smith, p. 158; Butler, *War of Ideas*, p. 276.
[931] Butler, p. 276.
[932] Wu Aihua, 'Anne's Awaking Feminist Consciousness in *Persuasion*', *Journal of Educational Institute of Jilin Province*, 25 (2009), 4-5.

for woman's equal right to choose a marriage partner.[933] In 2014, Fan Xiaoyan praised Anne for refusing to accept a marriage of convenience and considered her to represent female independence in a patriarchal society.[934] Chinese critics commonly demonstrate Anne's awareness of gender inequality in a manner similar to how they deal with Elizabeth's. However, Anne's character is different from that of Elizabeth in many aspects. Elizabeth is younger and she appears more spontaneous and confident, while Anne is constrained and she never openly criticises or rebels against social conventions.

Anne is a 'nobody' to her family: 'Her word had no weight, her convenience was always to give way – she was only Anne' (*P*, p. 5). Tony Tanner regards Anne as the loneliest Austen heroine who 'lives in in-betweenness'.[935] The dominant atmosphere of the novel is autumnal and nostalgic – 'a sense of the most significant period of experience being in the past, recollectable but irretrievable and unrepeatable'.[936] It is hard to tell if nineteenth-year-old Anne, who was young, lovely, and had a warm attachment to Wentworth, could be very different from Elizabeth. The typical atmosphere of *Persuasion* is one of change, and eight years of waiting have changed Anne to a more subdued protagonist. It is therefore unsurprising that Anne, unlike Elizabeth, is rarely associated with those progressively-minded heroines in Chinese novels mentioned above. Anne's female power, which is mainly represented through her fortitude and strength of mind, has not yet aroused much interest from Chinese critics. This helps to explain why *Persuasion* has received much less critical attention than *Pride and Prejudice* and *Emma* in a period during which they are showing an increased interest in Austen's portrayal of female characters.

Another important reason for the unpopularity of *Persuasion* in China, as mentioned in Chapter Four, is that Austen is most widely appreciated for her irony and comic spirit; *Persuasion*, meanwhile, as Virginia Woolf declared, ventures into a new territory of emotion and Austen was not 'so freshly aware of the amusements of daily life'.[937] Most

---

[933] Ibid.
[934] Fan Xiaoyan, 'The Image of Anne and Analysis of Feminist Consciousness in *Persuasion*', *Film Review Appreciation*, 7 (2014), 195-6.
[935] Tony Tanner, *Jane Austen* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), p. 214.
[936] Ibid.
[937] Woolf, 'Jane Austen at Sixty', 261.

scholarly attention from Chinese critics has thus been drawn to the comic pleasure in the sparkling *Pride and Prejudice* and *Emma*. The reader survey mentioned in previous chapters also revealed that in comparison to Chinese participants, *Persuasion* was much more widely read among British participants. 16 (94%) Chinese participants had read *Pride and Prejudice*, but only 2 participants (12%) had read *Persuasion*. For British participants, although *Pride and Prejudice* remained the most-read of Austen's works, *Persuasion* also appeared popular. 18 (55%) of them had read *Persuasion* – 14 read it once and 8 read it more than once.

None of the Chinese participants stated that *Persuasion* was the first Austen book they had read, whilst 2 British participants were first introduced to Austen by reading *Persuasion*. The heroines also play an important role in Chinese readers' different responses to *Persuasion* and *Pride and Prejudice*. 13 Chinese participants regarded Elizabeth as their favourite Austen heroine while no one ticked Anne. Yet 2 British participants favoured Anne. In contrast with *Pride and Prejudice*, the film adaptations of *Persuasion* enjoyed much less popularity with both group of participants. 2 Chinese students had watched the 2007 TV drama starring Sally Hawkins and Rupert Penry-Jones, and 1 had watched the 1995 film starring Amanda Root and Ciaran Hinds. 7 British students had watched the adaptations of the novel – 4 had watched the 2007 TV drama, 2 the 1995 film adaptation, and 1 the 1971 BBC production. As noted earlier, these Chinese and British participants were mostly under twenty years old, and therefore they were more familiar with recent adaptations of the novel.

The melancholy beauty of *Persuasion*, however, has the potential to stimulate a greater interest among Chinese readers in the decades to come. Several contemporary Chinese novels, which are achieving great popularity today, closely resemble the style and themes of *Persuasion*. Gu Man's *Silent Separation*, for example, also concerns itself with long separation and mature love (see Fig. 3.4). The story, like *Persuasion*, is told from the viewpoint of the heroine, Zhao Mosheng, and focuses on her emotional life. Mosheng, like Anne, is born into a wealthy family, while the hero, He Yichen, whose parents both died when he was young, resembles Wentworth in terms of his inferior economic situation. They fall in love at university but break up over a misunderstanding, which is

mainly caused by Mosheng's father. Parents play a negative role in both novels. Mosheng is sent by her father to America to study after her breakup with Yichen, but she still loves him and feels emotionally isolated when living abroad. She returns to China after seven years, and accidently meets Yichen again:

Original:

> 七年！久违了啊！
>
> 但是，怎么刚回国就遇见的他呢？不，确切地说，应该是他们。
>
> …
>
> 他们向她的方向走来，默笙抓住推车的手指关节开始泛白，几乎立刻想要掉头。但超市实在是太挤了，推着购物车的她根本无法转身。
>
> …
>
> 他们慢慢地，一步一步地走近，然后…擦肩而过
>
> 不是不心痛的
>
> …
>
> 失落，但也送了一口气，默笙抬起一直低垂的头，迈开步子。[938]

Translation:

> Seven Years! A long time indeed!
>
> However, how could she expect to meet him again so soon after she came back? Or rather, more precisely, meet them.
>
> ...
>
> They came towards her. Mosheng grabbed the stroller's handle so tight that her knuckles turned white; she wanted to turn around almost immediately. The supermarket, however, was so crowded that she could not do it while pushing a stroller.
>
> ...
>
> Slowly they approached, one step after another, and then…brushed past her.
>
> It is impossible for her to ignore the pain in her heart.
>
> ...
>
> Feeling lost but also a bit of relief, Mosheng raised her bowed head, and started walking way.

As shown above, Mosheng experiences powerful emotions when she meets Yichen again

[938] Gu Man, *Silent Separation* (Shenyang: Shenyang Publishing House, 2011; repr. 2012), pp. 2-3.

after long years of separation, which is demonstrated by Gu through her act of grabbing the stroller's handle tightly and her strong desire to escape. This reminds us of Anne's first meeting with Wentworth: 'While a thousand feelings rushed on Anne, of which this was the most consoling, that it would soon be over' (*P*, p. 59). Like Anne, Mosheng's feelings are a blend of pain, pleasure, and awkwardness, and thus she feels relieved after the meeting is over. For both heroines, the meeting is extremely painful because they believe they have lost the hero's love forever. Yichen is walking with another girl who had a crush on him at university, leading to Mosheng's misunderstanding, which resembles Anne's misunderstanding about Wentworth and Louisa. The young Mosheng, who is extremely high-spirited and vivacious, most resembles Emma, and yet after years of suffering, she becomes confined and depressed, closely resembling Anne in temperament.

Yichen, on the other hand, has become a successful lawyer, and his social and economic situation, like that of Wentworth, has improved greatly. In both *Persuasion* and *Silent Separation*, the hero's qualities are mostly revealed through the eyes of characters other than the heroine, such as the 'positive reports and praise' that continue to be passed onto Anne from Mary and the Musgrove families. In the latter work, Mosheng's colleagues, such as Hua Xianzi, play a similar role:

Original:

> 花仙子总算没有夸张，他的确英俊不凡，气宇轩昂，剪裁合体的西装衬托出高大挺拔的身材，和以前一样的自信沉着，但又多了几分凌人的气势。
>
> 她完完全全地说不出话来。
>
> 而他神色镇定从容不迫地点头致意。“赵小姐。”
>
> 赵小姐？
>
> 默笙真的想笑，然而难度太高。“何……先生。”
>
> 远远地比了比椅子，默笙说：“请坐。”
>
> 她拿出茶叶，低头掩饰自己的神色，她无法像他那样无动于衷，只能藏起自己的激动。“你要喝点什么？”

“谢谢，不用。”他的目光冷峻。“我说几句话就走。”[939]

Translation:

> Hua Xianzi was not exaggerating after all; he was indeed extremely handsome, and attractive in an impressive way; with a suit fitting his tall figure admirably, he looked as confident as before, but appeared sharper.
>
> She could not utter any words.
>
> He, however, nodded to her in a calm and leisurely way: ‘Miss Zhao.’
>
> Miss Zhao?
>
> Mosheng wanted to smile, but she could not do it, answering: ‘Mr....He.’
>
> Pointing to the chair, Mosheng said: ‘Sit down please.’
>
> She took out the tea, lowering her head to cover her face. She could not keep so calm like him, and could only conceal her emotions, asking: ‘What would you like to drink?’
>
> ‘No, thanks,’ his eyes were cold, ‘I’ll leave immediately after having a few words [with you].’

Yichen is cold to Mosheng after her return, and he pointedly ignores her in a way that reveals that she is neither forgiven nor forgotten, which resembles Wentworth’s treatment of Anne. The latter hero coldly declares that Anne is ‘so altered that he should not have known her again’ (*P*, p. 61). Yichen’s ‘calm and leisurely’ attitude also reminds us of the ‘charming manners in Captain Wentworth, no shyness or reserve’ (*P*, p. 58). Anne and Mosheng, on the other hand, have to struggle with concealing their feelings of pain and misery and in doing so, they both tend to avoid eye contact with the heroes; Anne’s ‘eye half met’ (*P*, p. 59) Wentworth when they meet, while Mosheng prefers ‘lowering her head to cover her face’.

In *Silent Separation*, Mosheng also meets a suitor, Ying Hui, who is a successful businessman. Ying resembles Mr. Elliot in being immediately attractive and having a better economic condition in comparison with the hero. However, Mosheng, like Anne, places far more value on character than on wealth. In both novels, the moral

[939] Ibid., pp. 12-3.

superiority of the hero plays an important role in the heroine's marriage to him. Like Wentworth, Yichen gradually recognises the merit and strength of Mosheng; they work through the misunderstanding of the past years and have a happy ending. However, unlike *Persuasion*, *Silent Separation* contains many memories retelling the stories of the young Mosheng and Yichen at university. This works well in highlighting the changes of the main characters after their long separation and suffering, and also provides readers with an insight into the development of their romantic relationship. A television adaptation of *Silent Separation* was aired in 2015, and a film adaptation of the novel was also released in the same year; both of them achieved great popularity.[940] The popularity of the novel and its adaptations indicates that *Persuasion*, which shares a similar theme and style, has the potential to gain increasing popularity in China in the decades to come. Moreover, as discussed earlier, Chinese critics have become increasingly interested in exploring Austen's relation to feminism; the representation of female power in *Persuasion* will therefore also help to establish the reputation of the novel in China.

[940] For ratings of the film and television adaptation of *Silent Separation*, see *Douban* <http://www.douban.com/> [accessed 18 August 2016].

Conclusion

In recent decades, Austen has become increasingly popular around the world. As I have noted in previous chapters, she is today one of the best-known British writers in China, and her enduring global appeal is often compared to that of Shakespeare. However, the Chinese reception of Austen, both scholarly and popular, has not yet been systematically examined; nor has it been explained how it was that Austen achieved the popularity she now enjoys, and which was not secured among the general reading public until the 1980s.

In trying to address these questions, the first ambition of this thesis was to trace the major currents underlying the changing reception of her works, as provided in the historical survey of Chinese translation and literary criticism in the Introduction. There I show that the reception history of Austen in China can be roughly divided into three distinct periods. She was initially introduced to Chinese readers during the first half of the twentieth century, with two of her novels, *Pride and Prejudice* and *Emma*, appearing in Chinese translation. From the late 1910s onward, Austen's life and works began to be discussed in several Chinese-language introductory books on English literature (such as those by Ouyang, Zheng, Xu, and Jin), and in a manner which was strongly influenced by nineteenth-century British and American critical commentaries, which tended to see her as a supporter of the existing social structure of her society. Chinese scholars of this period also tended to stress the limited social sphere of Austen's works.

However, a number of English-language critics, most notably Scott, celebrated Austen's depiction of commonplace characters, which was important in shaping and establishing her reputation as a 'realist' writer in China. Ouyang, for instance, noted a realist tendency in Austen's novels, and Zheng also praised her realistic portrayal of the English gentry. Literary realism was highly valued in Chinese literature in the early decades of the twentieth century, and these comments represent the earliest positive evaluation of Austen in China. Yet the first half of the twentieth century was a decisive period of social transformation and revolution in the history of China, particularly

following the collapse of the feudal system in 1911. As a consequence of these social and political upheavals, Chinese scholars commonly held negative attitudes toward what were perceived as conservative writers. Austen's novels therefore were generally disapproved of for not engaging with the major political and social events in her time. Her use of irony also received little attention, and up until the 1940s she remained unfamiliar to most Chinese readers, as she was not seen to be addressing concerns that were relevant to them.

The establishment of the PRC in 1949 marked a significant change in the reception of Austen in China. The leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, notably Mao, were strongly influenced by the political ideologies of the Soviet Union and therefore adopted a similar Marxist-Leninist development model. As a result, a series of political campaigns were launched with the purpose of removing capitalist elements from Chinese society. This had a powerful impact on the Chinese reception of Western writers, with Marxism coming to dominate literary criticism over the next few decades. Wang's translation of *Pride and Prejudice* represents a major attempt during this second period of her reception at incorporating Austen's works into a Marxist canon. In his synopsis of the novel, Wang described *Pride and Prejudice* positively, as a realistic representation of young women's struggles for independence and freedom in a patriarchal society.

By contrast, Ma, who produced the first Chinese translation of *Northanger Abbey*, considered Austen a 'bourgeois' writer. As I have noted, the Anti-Rightist Campaign that was launched in 1958 had an important influence on Ma's views of Austen. Western writers were commonly labelled 'bourgeois' at that time; and Austen's interest in depicting the privileged lives of the gentry made it easier for Chinese translators and critics to associate her novels with bourgeois values. The translation of Western literary works in general was brought to a halt when the Cultural Revolution started in 1966. That movement lasted for ten years and led to nationwide social unrest. As a consequence, none of Austen's novels appeared in print during the 1960s and 1970s in mainland China.

The turbulent political era came to an end after the death of Mao in 1976. Chinese people's experiences of depression and fear engendered large amounts of hatred towards

this movement and led to the call for an urgent re-examination of the construction of Chinese modernity. The opening-up policies of the new Chinese leader, Deng, introduced in 1978, promoted cross-cultural communication, which brought about a rapid revival of interest in the translation of Western books. All of Austen's major novels had been translated into Chinese by 1984, and this in turn, in the third phase of her reception, brought significantly increased scholarly attention to her works.

Although it remains the case that Austen is valued primarily as a realist writer among contemporary Chinese scholars, the reception of her works has changed significantly over the last three decades. Attention to Austen's use of irony and her critique of social hypocrisy has grown rapidly and she is also starting to be viewed as a more radical writer. Since the mid-1990s feminist criticism has become an important force in Austen studies in China, a circumstance underwritten by the rapid development of women's studies within Chinese universities, and which has played a significant role in stimulating Chinese critics' interest in examining the gender relations that are reflected in Austen's novels. They have paid close attention to her representation of women's social and economic vulnerability in early nineteenth-century society. Today Austen enjoys significant popularity in China, and yet there continue to be significant differences in the reception of individual works. A further aim of this thesis, therefore, has been to examine the differences in the Chinese reception of Austen's six major novels, with the purpose of exploring the reasons behind their current popularity or unpopularity.

Pride and Prejudice has remained at the centre of scholarly and popular attention in China. As noted in Chapter One, it has had a major impact on contemporary Chinese critics' idea of Austen as a feminist writer. The rebellious Elizabeth that was shaped by Wang in his translation of the novel has greatly influenced later Chinese readers, many of whom view the heroine as subverting traditional expectations of feminine ideals. As a result, comparative studies of Elizabeth and progressively-minded heroines in Chinese novels have also aroused keen interest in recent years. From the early 1970s Austen's 'feminist' connection to Wollstonecraft began to be widely discussed among British and American critics, such as Brown, Johnson, and Kirkham. However, Chinese critics' approaches to examining Austen's feminism are quite different from those of

English-language critics; the arguments of the Chinese critics are mainly based on textual analysis of *Pride and Prejudice*, with little attention being paid to her relation to British feminist writers of her time. Nonetheless Austen's representation of gender and class oppression in *Pride and Prejudice* has played an important role in the novel's lasting popularity in China.

Chapter Two examined the Chinese reception of *Sense and Sensibility*, the popularity of which has grown rapidly in China in recent decades. Marianne, who resembles Elizabeth in her liveliness and high spirits, has enchanted a number of Chinese critics, who tend to connect her sufferings in the novel with Austen's awareness of the precarious economic position of women in a patriarchal society. Yet the rational Elinor stimulates little interest. I have argued that an analysis of the gender prejudices that are reflected in sentimental fiction is important in understanding Austen's advocacy of rational education for women, a position which associates her closely with Wollstonecraft's feminist thought, and which is generally not attended to by Chinese critics and readers. I have therefore discussed the differing context of Chinese critics' responses to Elinor's economic 'sense' and the crucial role played by money in the novel's marriage plots, showing how those debates have enriched contemporary Chinese readers' understanding of Austen's 'realism'.

Sharing the sparkle of *Pride and Prejudice*, *Emma* has also become one of Austen's most popular novels in China. Critical interest in this work in China, as discussed in Chapter Three, focuses mainly on examining its various Chinese translations. With the aim of exploring translators' different approaches to conveying the ironic style of *Emma* to Chinese readers, I compared Liu, Zhang, and Sun's translations of the novel. Liu produced a direct translation, which succeeded to a large extent in retaining the phrases and expression of the original text. Zhang, however, placed a higher value on creativity and vividness in literary translation and attempted to make Austen's satire more comprehensible to Chinese readers in combination with his own interpretations of the novel. Liu and Zhang's translations have proved popular with contemporary Chinese readers, and yet they both have limitations; Liu's text appears clumsy on several occasions while Zhang's departs significantly from the original. I show that Sun's

translation of *Emma* combines literal and free renderings. Sun has translated all of Austen's major novels into Chinese, and his translations contributed to the steady rise in scholarly and popular appreciation of Austen in China.

By contrast to this first group of novels, *Mansfield Park*, *Northanger Abbey*, and *Persuasion* have received much less critical attention in China, and the last three chapters of this thesis examined the reasons behind their relative obscurity. In comparison with *Pride and Prejudice* and *Emma*, the literary reputations of *Mansfield Park* and *Northanger Abbey* fluctuated in nineteenth-century Britain, which helps to explain why the latter two novels did not succeed in attracting the attention of Chinese translators in the first half of the twentieth century. In *Mansfield Park*, as discussed in Chapter Four, Austen's attitude towards social change and modernity is primarily conservative, an issue that was examined in connection with the demarcation of private and public spaces. The conservatism exhibited in the novel had a negative influence on its Chinese reception. Moreover, the novel has a strong moral and religious sense, with the humorous and ironic tone of Austen being less obvious to Chinese readers. Fanny, whose character is very different from the high-spirited Elizabeth, presents particular difficulties, in that she cannot easily be shaped as a progressively-minded heroine. However, in recent years there has been an increasing interest in postcolonial criticism of the novel among Chinese critics. I argued that the issue of slavery in *Mansfield Park*, which can be connected in various ways with Macartney's embassy and 'the woman question', presents a promising new approach to the novel.

As noted in Chapter Five, the Anti-Rightist Campaign had a negative impact on the reception of *Northanger Abbey* in China when it was first translated into Chinese in 1958. The translator, Ma, also attacked Austen's interest in depicting 'bourgeois' life. Recent Chinese critics' interest in the novel has mainly focused on its relation with the Gothic novel in Austen's day. From the late 1980s, studies in Gothic fiction began to receive increased attention in China, and as a consequence, Chinese scholars, notably Sun, started to pay attention to the anti-Gothic nature of *Northanger Abbey*. However, the Gothic novels mentioned in this work, represented by those of Radcliffe, did not appear in Chinese translation before 2000. It was therefore difficult for Chinese readers to

understand the Gothic satire that is reflected in the work at that time. In 2004, Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* and *The Italian* were finally translated into Chinese, an enterprise which was closely connected with the significant popularity of 'magical' books, particularly the Harry Potter novels, in China. *Northanger Abbey* has the potential to receive more critical attention following the development of Chinese studies of, and Chinese readers' familiarity with, Gothic fiction.

The reputation of Austen's works in Britain has had a powerful influence on the way they have been received in China. However, there is a gap, as discussed in Chapter Six, between the reception of *Persuasion* in China and that in Britain. By the early twentieth century, a number of British critics had become fascinated with the novel's emotional power, and it was also translated into several European languages. Yet *Persuasion* failed to arouse the interest of any Chinese translators before the 1980s. I have argued that the changing style and tone of the novel played an important role in Chinese critics' hesitation in deciding its value, for them. Unlike Austen's early works, there are fewer playful dialogues and comic figures in *Persuasion*. It was not until the late 1980s that Chinese critics began to pay attention to the novel, remarking mainly on Austen's changing attitudes towards romanticism and nature. However, Austen is commonly regarded by Chinese critics as a realist writer whose work is distinguished from the Romantic tradition, and thus her connection to romanticism has not stimulated much scholarly interest. I have argued that female power is one of the major themes of *Persuasion*, which is represented through Anne's fortitude and strength of mind. Moreover, unlike *Mansfield Park*, the social and economic changes associated with the growth of capitalism in the early decades of the nineteenth century were portrayed much more positively in *Persuasion*, which shows the rapid rise of the Navy in underwriting shifts in the social and economic power of Britain at this time. Anne is the only one of Austen's heroines who marries a man who has no family property, and whose wealth is not inherited. This may have the potential to stimulate the interest of those contemporary Chinese critics who have paid more attention to radical aspects of Austen's works, perhaps by helping them appreciate the association of this work with change and modernity.

The critical reception of Austen's novels in China is closely connected with popular responses to them. More than thirty Chinese translations of *Pride and Prejudice* had been published by 2015; around twenty different translations of *Sense and Sensibility* and *Emma* have appeared in Chinese.[941] Yet *Mansfield Park*, *Northanger Abbey*, and *Persuasion* have received much less attention from Chinese translators, with fewer than ten translations of each novel being produced. To help assess this popular reception, this thesis used a questionnaire distributed to a small number of undergraduate students at UNNC who were relatively familiar with Austen. The findings of the survey gesture towards the changing nature of Austen's contemporary reception in China. As noted earlier, 'Feminist' was among the most frequently used terms among the Chinese participants to describe their general impression of Austen.[942] Most of them knew *Pride and Prejudice*, *Sense and Sensibility*, and *Emma*, while only a small number of them had read the other three novels.

The reception of Austen's novels is also closely linked with their film and television adaptations. For example, almost all Chinese participants have watched one or more adaptations of *Pride and Prejudice*, while only a few of them have watched those of *Persuasion*. The 1995 film adaptation of *Sense and Sensibility* directed by Ang Lee achieved great popularity with Chinese audiences, and the novel has also enjoyed a rapid increase in popularity over recent decades. The broader public responses to Austen's novels and adaptations were discussed in this thesis by analyzing data from the database of *Douban*; the most recent results demonstrate that a much larger number of Chinese readers and audiences commented on the translations and adaptations of *Pride and Prejudice*, *Sense and Sensibility*, and *Emma* than those of the other three novels.

In recent years, collected editions of Austen's novels have begun to appear in China. In 2014, for example, the Time Literature and Art Press issued *The Jane Austen Collection*, which included all six of her major novels, translated by Ding Kaite. This helped to draw Chinese readers' attention to those three major novels that are relatively unpopular in China. Before the 2000s, Chinese readers mainly read translations of Austen's works, but

[941] See Appendix Three for an overview of major Chinese translations of Austen's six completed novels.
[942] See Appendix Two for a summary of survey results.

over the past decade, bilingual English-Chinese versions and original English versions of Austen's novels have been published in China and are enjoying increasing popularity. This is largely because English has become a secondary school subject in China, and as a result, a rapidly increasing number of Chinese students can read English novels in their original language. For instance, the Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press published a simplified version of *Persuasion* in 2014. It is, as stated on the front cover of the book, for first- and second-year senior high school students (see Fig. 2.16). The Translation & Publishing Corporation, on the other hand, published an unabridged English version of *Persuasion* in 2011 (see Fig. 2.17). These books not only help with Chinese readers' English language learning, but also offer them a more direct approach to the language, culture, and society depicted in Austen's novels. Several Austen-related books have also been translated into Chinese in recent years. For example, a Chinese edition of Kirstin Olsen's *Cooking with Jane Austen* appeared in China in 2008, and it offers Chinese readers great insight into eighteenth-century British food culture (see Fig. 3.5).

Motivated by the rapid increase in Austen's global popularity and critical standing of her works, studies into the Chinese translation and criticism of Austen's novels have in recent years aroused increasing interest. Those studies, particularly by Zhang and Ye, have provided valuable insights for my own research on the reception of Austen in China. However, current studies in this area mainly appear in the form of journal articles, which either present a brief overview of Chinese criticism of her novels or focus on a certain period of her reception. This thesis, therefore, focused on examining the critical reception of Austen's novels in China. As shown above, there are still gaps between Chinese critics' interpretations of Austen's works and those of English-language critics. Through this thesis I aim to generate more critical interest in China for new approaches to Austen's novels, thus contributing not only to studies of the influence of Austen within Chinese historical and cultural contexts, but also helping to promote her global appeal. Austen's influence lives on today and the adaptations of her novels have become an important part of popular culture. The scope of study in the general public's reception of Austen in this thesis was relatively small, and I will attempt to provide insight into Austen's influence on Chinese popular culture in future research.

Appendix One: Images

This appendix contains images of a number of the Chinese publications discussed in this thesis, and is divided into four parts. Part One contains photocopies of four Chinese-language introductory books on English Literature mentioned in the Introduction, showing mainly their front covers and the pages relating to Austen. Part Two contains images of book covers and selected pages of major Chinese translations of Austen's six major novels. Part Three contains images of other Chinese publications that are mentioned in this thesis.

Part One

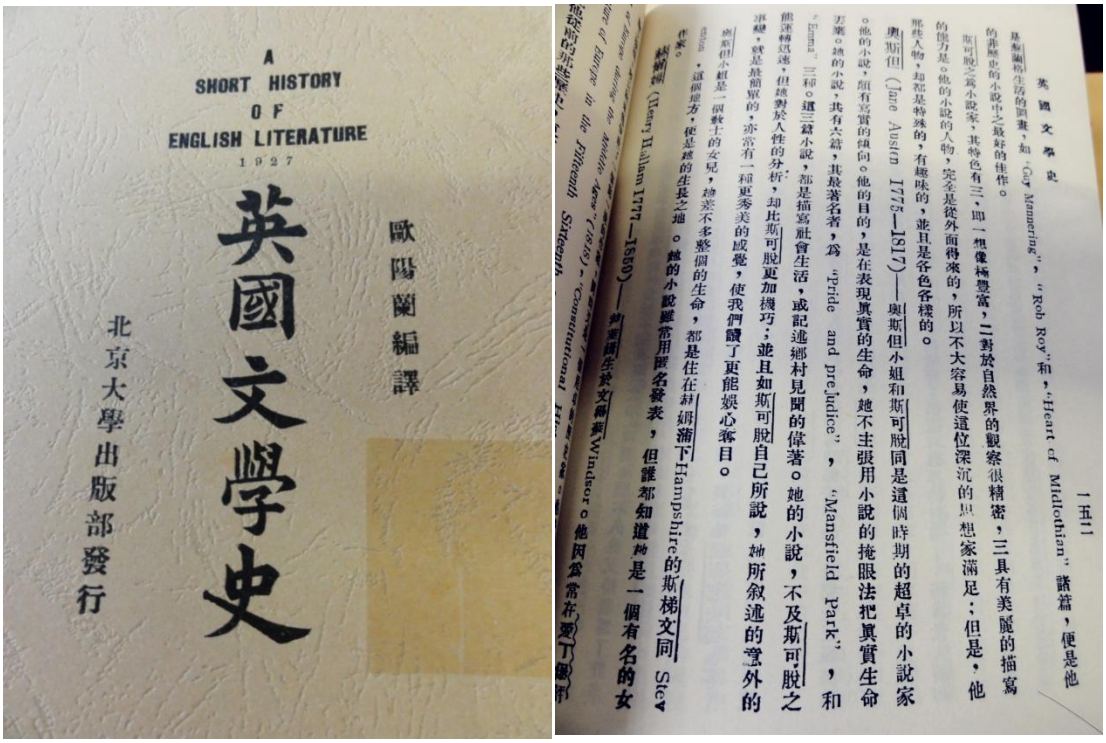


Fig. 1.1 A Reprint of the 1927 Edition of Ouyang Lan's *A Short History of English History*.

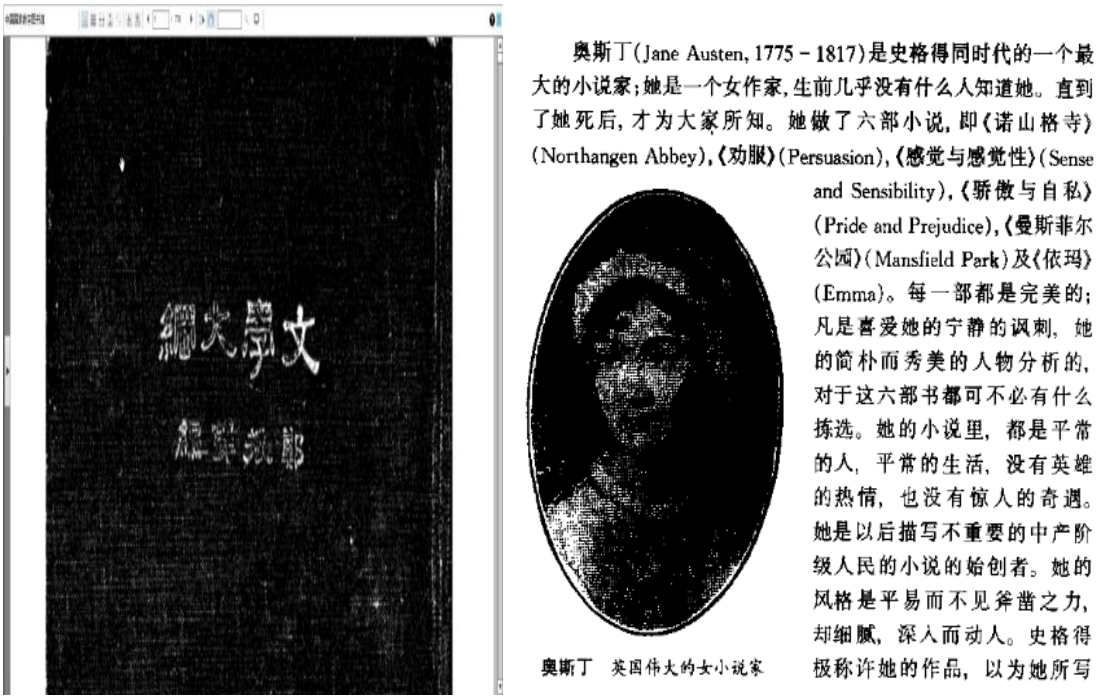


Fig. 1.2 A Photocopy of the 1927 Edition of Zheng Zhenduo's *The Outline of Literature*.

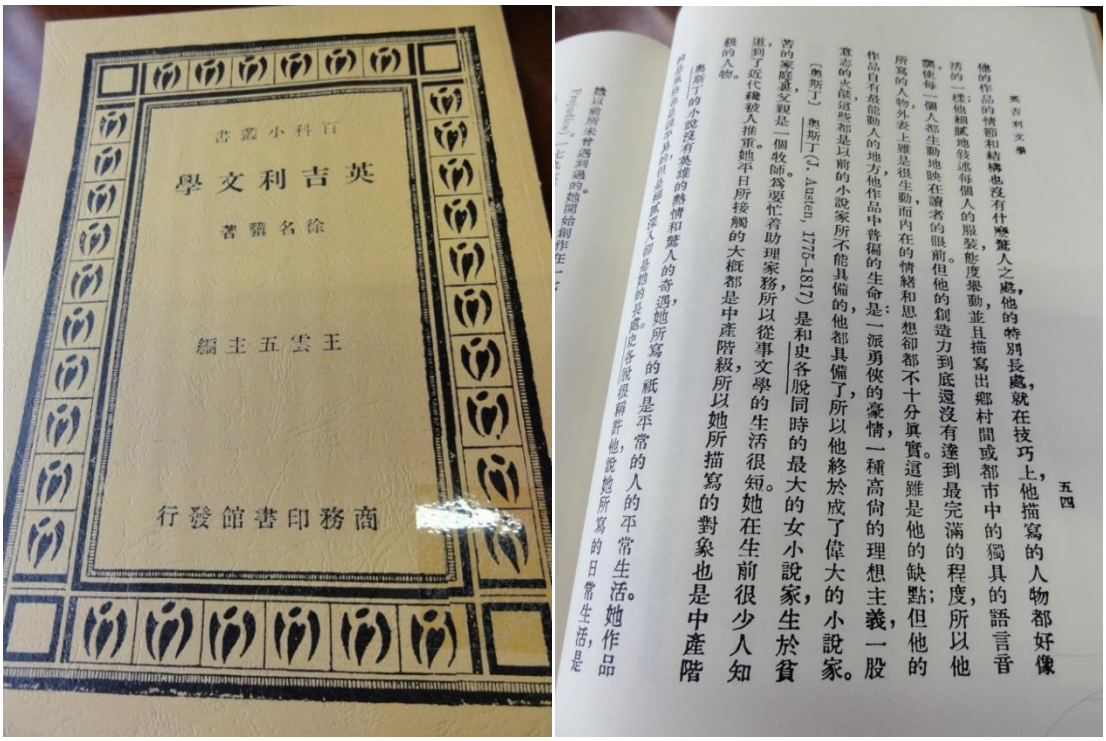


Fig. 1.3 A Reprint of the 1933 Edition of Xu Mingji's *English Literature*.

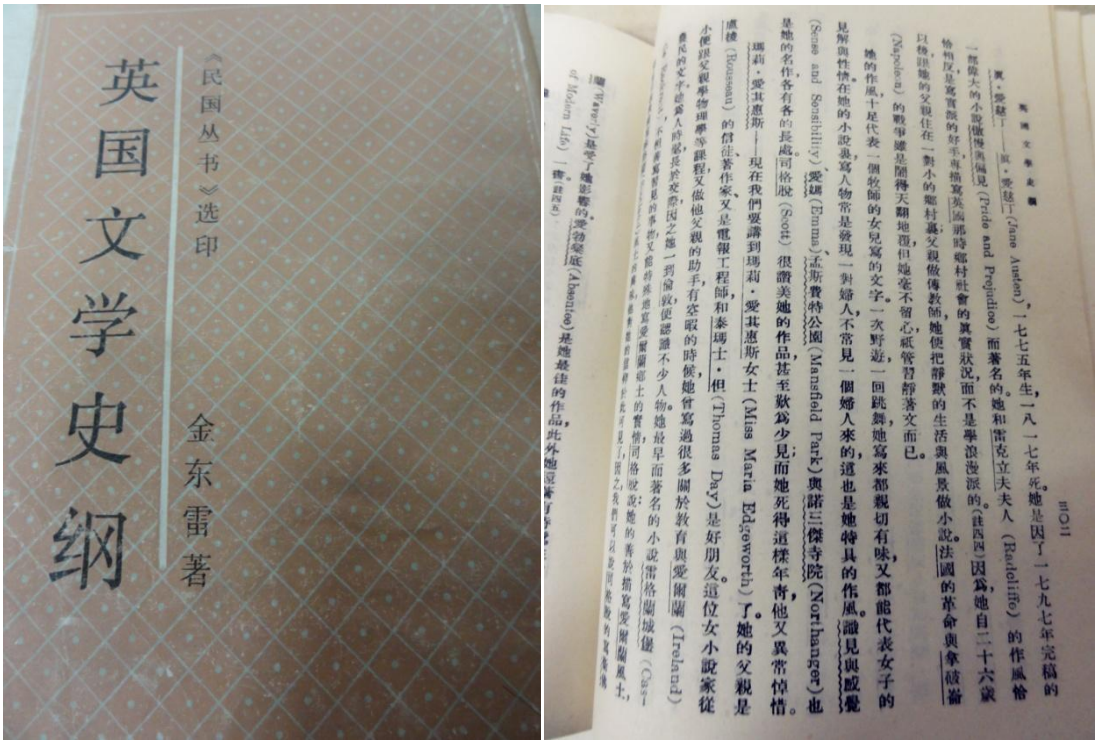


Fig. 1.4 The 1937 Edition of Jin Donglei's *An Outline History of English Literature*.

Part Two

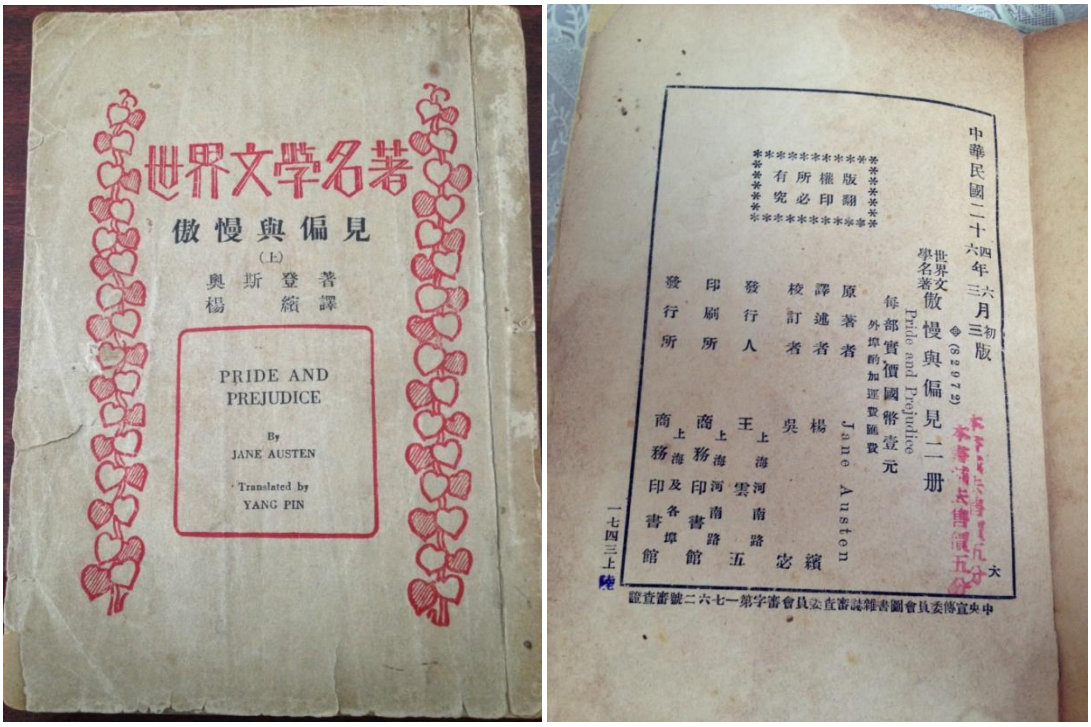


Fig. 2.1 The Front Cover and Publication Detail of the 1935 Edition of Yang Bin (Pin)'s Translation of *Pride and Prejudice*.

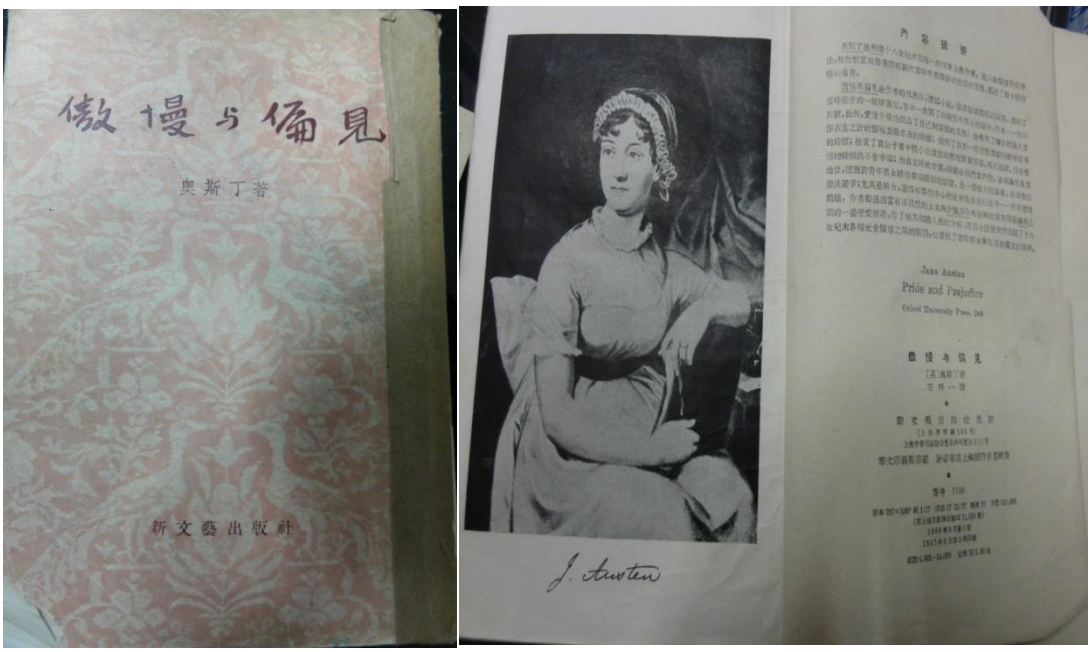


Fig. 2.2 The Front Cover, Frontispiece, and Title Page (including a Synopsis at the upper half of the page) of the 1956 Edition of Wang Keyi's Translation of *Pride and Prejudice*, published by the New Literature and Art Publishing House.

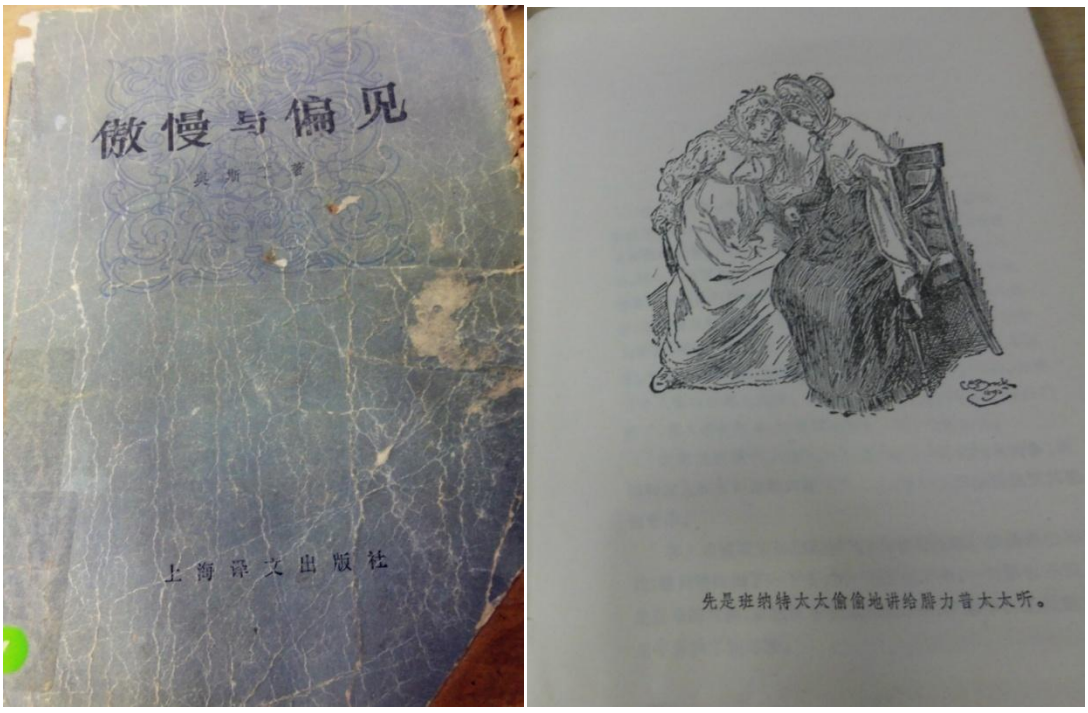


Fig. 2.3 The Front Cover and An Illustration ('Miss Bennet was privileged to whisper it to Mrs. Philips') of the 1980 Edition of Wang Keyi's Translation of *Pride and Prejudice*, published by Shanghai Translation Publishing House.



Fig. 2.4 The Front Cover of the 2010 Edition of Sun Zhili's Translation of *Pride and Prejudice*, published by Yili Press.

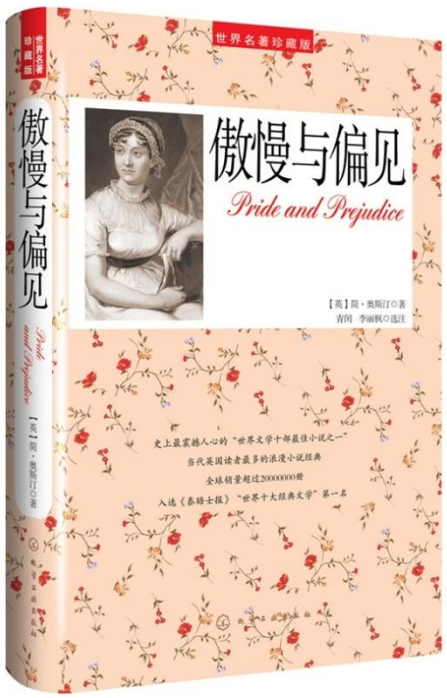


Fig. 2.5 The Front Cover of the 2013 Edition of Qing Gui and Li Lifeng's Translation of *Pride and Prejudice*, published by Chemical Industry Press.

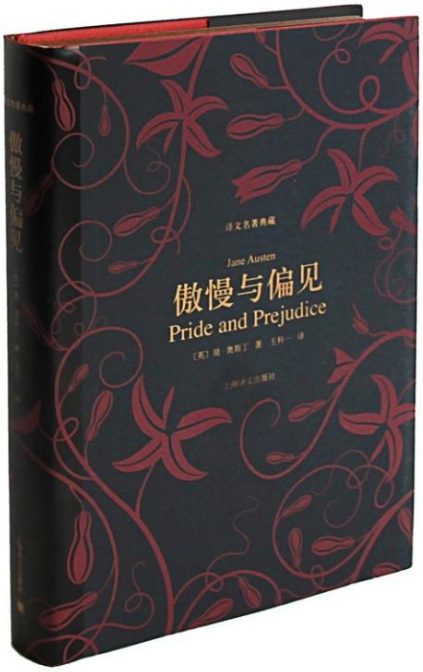


Fig. 2.6 The Front Cover of the 2013 Edition of Wang Keyi's Translation of *Pride and Prejudice*, reprinted by Shanghai Translation Press.



Fig. 2.7 The Front Cover of the 2010 Edition of Li Rucheng and Li Xia's Translation of *Pride and Prejudice*, published by Central Compilation & Translation Press.

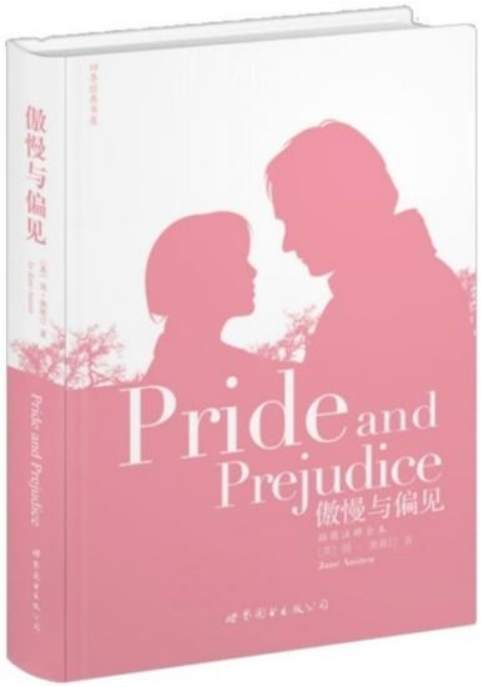


Fig. 2.8 The Front Cover of the 2013 Edition of Sun Yi's Translation of *Pride and Prejudice*, published by World Book Publishing Company.



Fig. 2.9 The Front Cover of an English edition of *Sense and Sensibility*, published by Central Compilation & Translation Press in 2011.



Fig. 2.10 The Front Cover of the 1982 Edition of Liu Zhongde's Translation of *Emma*, republished by Lijiang Publishing House.

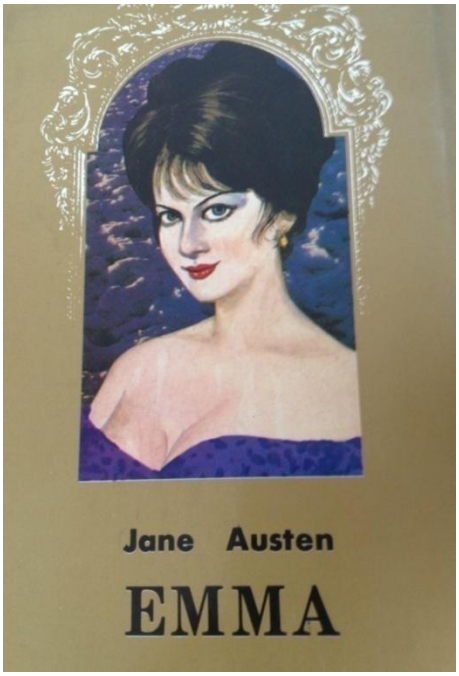


Fig. 2.11 The Front Cover of the 1984 Edition of Zhang Jinghao's Translation of *Emma*, published by Zhejiang Literature and Art Publishing House.



Fig. 2.12 The Front Cover of the 2001 Edition of Sun Zhili's Translation of *Emma*, published by Yilin Press.

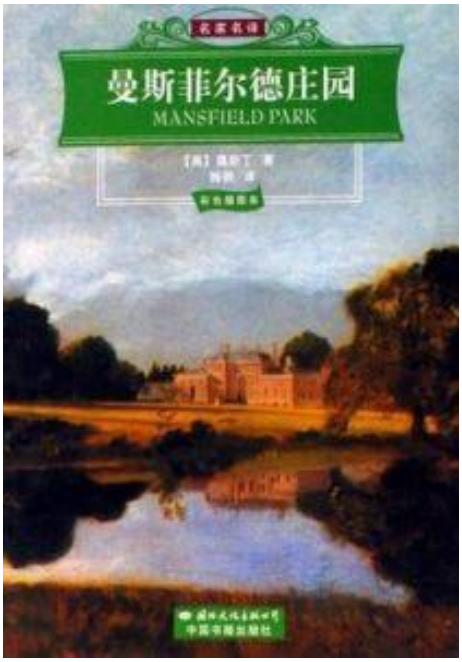


Fig. 2.13 The Front Cover of the 1984 Edition of Zi Pei's Translation of *Mansfield Park*, published by Hunan People's Publishing House.



Fig. 2.14 The Front Cover and Copyright Page of the 1958 Edition of Ma Qiaozhi's Translation of *Northanger Abbey*, published by the New Literature and Art Publishing House.

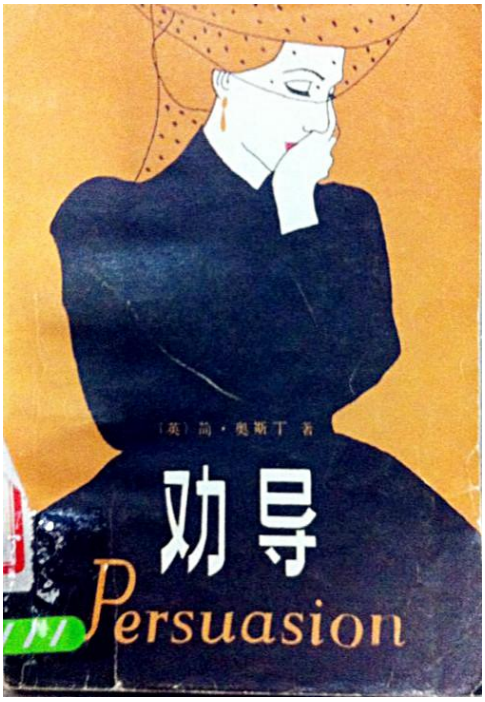


Fig. 2.15 The Front Cover of the 1984 Edition of Sun Zhili's Translation of *Persuasion*, published by Jiangsu People's Publishing House.

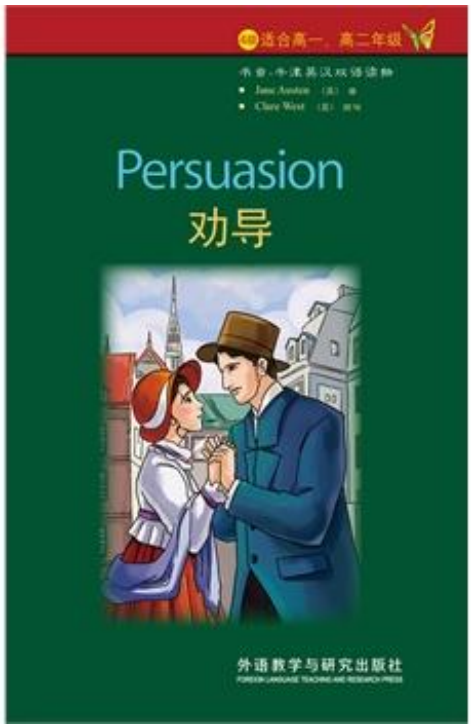


Fig. 2.16 The Front Cover of a Bilingual English-Chinese Edition of *Persuasion*, published by Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press in 2014.

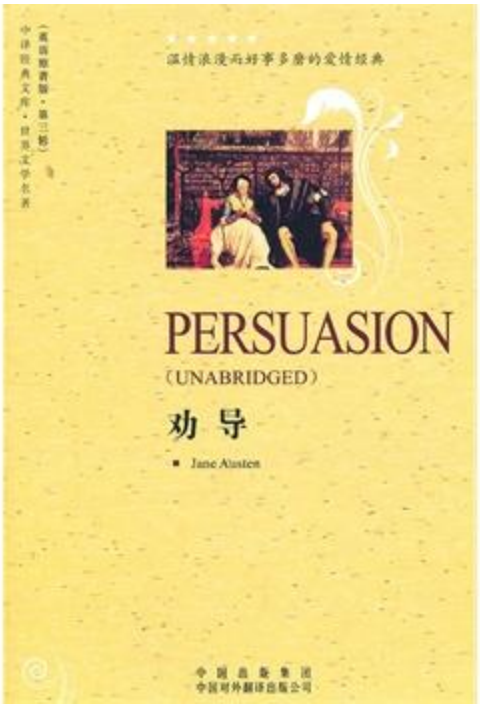


Fig. 2.17 The Front Cover of an English Edition of *Persuasion*, published by Translation & Publishing Corporation in 2011.

Part Three



Fig. 3.1 The Front Cover of Yang Xiaohui's Translation of Seth Grahame-Smith's *Pride and Prejudice and Zombies*, published by Hubei Changjiang Publishing Group in 2010.



Fig. 3.2 The Front Cover of Liu Bo's Translation of Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (*Aoduofu De Shenmi*), published by China Renmin University Press in 2004.



Fig. 3.3 The Front Cover of Liu Bo's Translation of Ann Radcliffe's *The Italian* (*Yidali Ren*), published by China Renmin University Press in 2004.



Fig. 3.4 The Front Cover of the 2012 Edition of Gu Man's *Silent Separation*, published by Shenyang Publishing House.

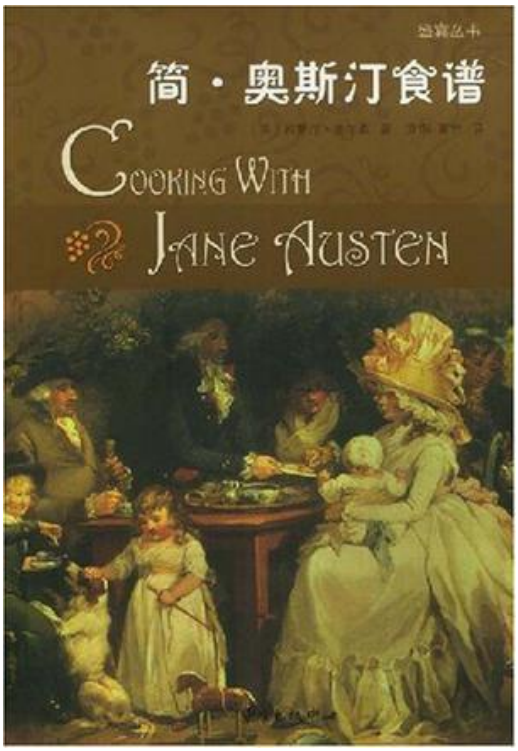
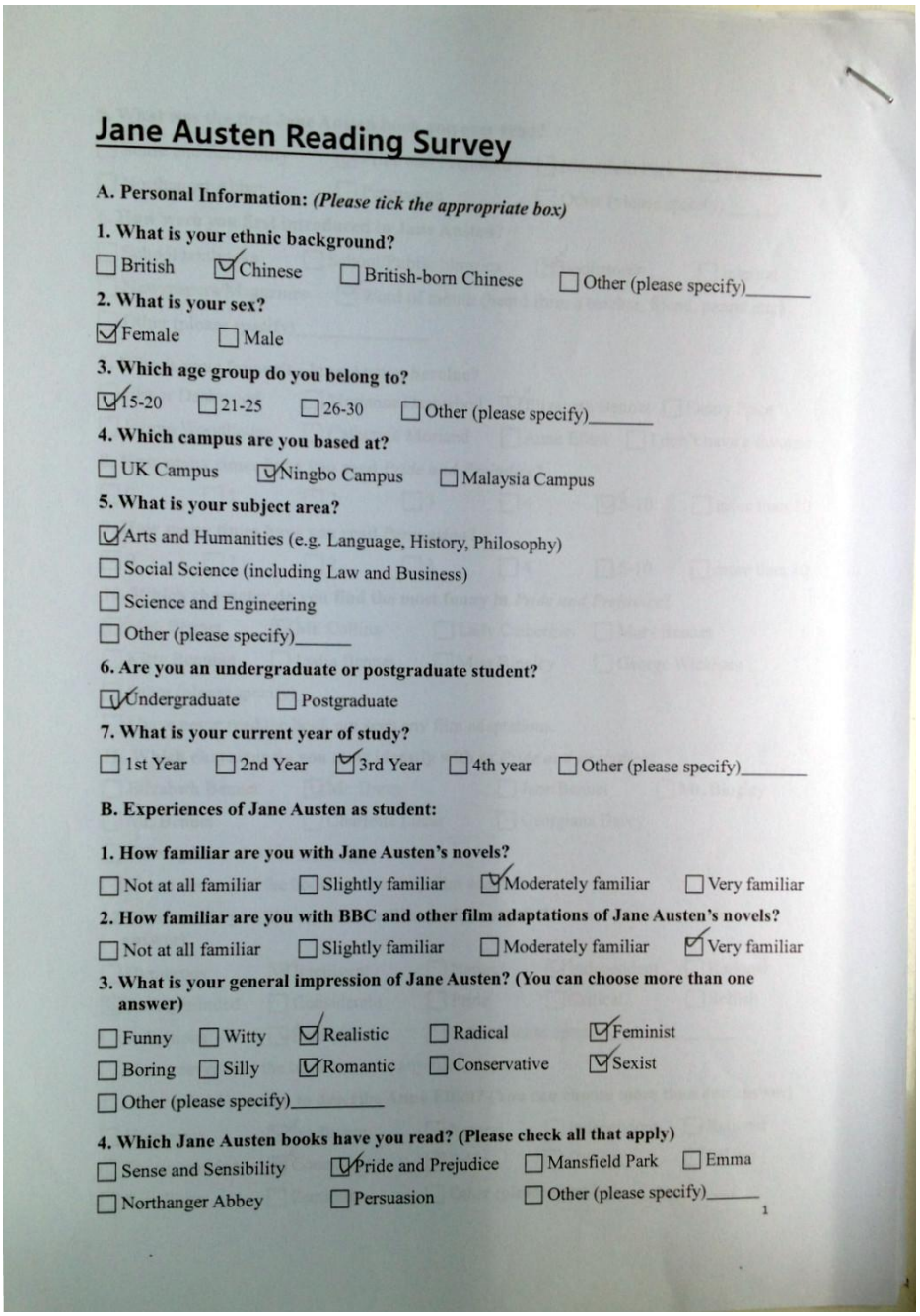


Fig. 3.5 The Front Cover of Yuan Yang and Huo Zhe's Translation of Kirstin Olsen's *Cooking with Jane Austen*, published by Eastern Press in 2008.

Appendix Two: Questionnaire

Part One: Sample Questionnaire[943]

First Page



Jane Austen Reading Survey

A. Personal Information: ***(Please tick the appropriate box)***

1. What is your ethnic background?

☐ British ☑ Chinese ☐ British-born Chinese ☐ Other (please specify)_____

2. What is your sex?

☑ Female ☐ Male

3. Which age group do you belong to?

☑ 15-20 ☐ 21-25 ☐ 26-30 ☐ Other (please specify)_____

4. Which campus are you based at?

☐ UK Campus ☑ Ningbo Campus ☐ Malaysia Campus

5. What is your subject area?

☑ Arts and Humanities (e.g. Language, History, Philosophy)

☐ Social Science (including Law and Business)

☐ Science and Engineering

☐ Other (please specify)_____

6. Are you an undergraduate or postgraduate student?

☑ Undergraduate ☐ Postgraduate

7. What is your current year of study?

☐ 1st Year ☐ 2nd Year ☑ 3rd Year ☐ 4th year ☐ Other (please specify)_____

B. Experiences of Jane Austen as student:

1. How familiar are you with Jane Austen's novels?

☐ Not at all familiar ☐ Slightly familiar ☑ Moderately familiar ☐ Very familiar

2. How familiar are you with BBC and other film adaptations of Jane Austen's novels?

☐ Not at all familiar ☐ Slightly familiar ☐ Moderately familiar ☑ Very familiar

3. What is your general impression of Jane Austen? (You can choose more than one answer)

☐ Funny ☐ Witty ☑ Realistic ☐ Radical ☑ Feminist

☐ Boring ☐ Silly ☑ Romantic ☐ Conservative ☑ Sexist

☐ Other (please specify)_____

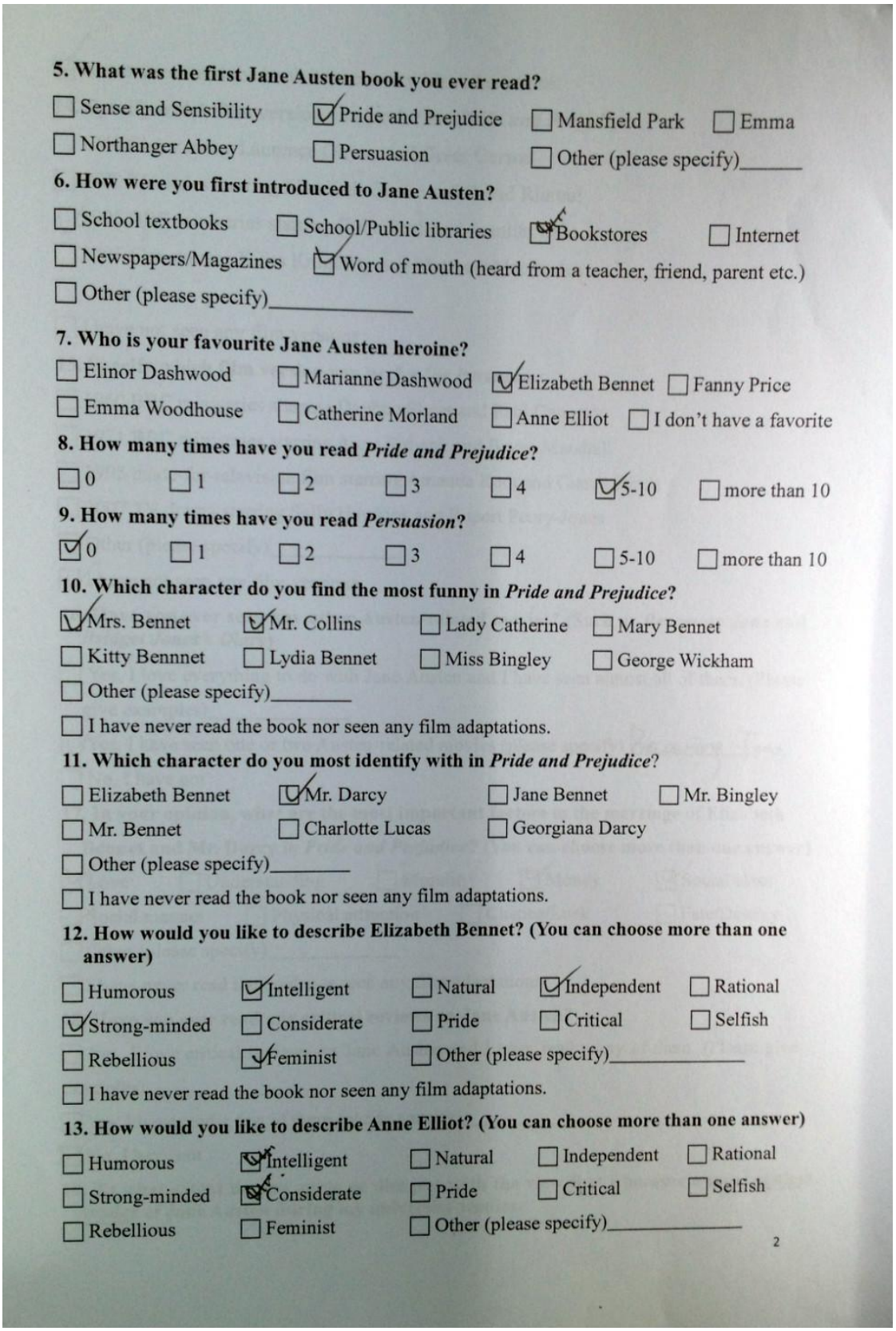
4. Which Jane Austen books have you read? (Please check all that apply)

☐ Sense and Sensibility ☑ Pride and Prejudice ☐ Mansfield Park ☐ Emma

☐ Northanger Abbey ☐ Persuasion ☐ Other (please specify)_____

1

[943] The questionnaire distributed to students at the UNNC includes a list of key words in Chinese translation.



5. What was the first Jane Austen book you ever read?

☐ Sense and Sensibility ☑ Pride and Prejudice ☐ Mansfield Park ☐ Emma
☐ Northanger Abbey ☐ Persuasion ☐ Other (please specify)_____

6. How were you first introduced to Jane Austen?

☐ School textbooks ☐ School/Public libraries ☑ Bookstores ☐ Internet
☐ Newspapers/Magazines ☑ Word of mouth (heard from a teacher, friend, parent etc.)
☐ Other (please specify)_____

7. Who is your favourite Jane Austen heroine?

☐ Elinor Dashwood ☐ Marianne Dashwood ☑ Elizabeth Bennet ☐ Fanny Price
☐ Emma Woodhouse ☐ Catherine Morland ☐ Anne Elliot ☐ I don't have a favorite

8. How many times have you read *Pride and Prejudice*?

☐ 0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☑ 5-10 ☐ more than 10

9. How many times have you read *Persuasion*?

☑ 0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5-10 ☐ more than 10

10. Which character do you find the most funny in *Pride and Prejudice*?

☑ Mrs. Bennet ☑ Mr. Collins ☐ Lady Catherine ☐ Mary Bennet
☐ Kitty Bennnet ☐ Lydia Bennet ☐ Miss Bingley ☐ George Wickham
☐ Other (please specify)_____
☐ I have never read the book nor seen any film adaptations.

11. Which character do you most identify with in *Pride and Prejudice*?

☐ Elizabeth Bennet ☑ Mr. Darcy ☐ Jane Bennet ☐ Mr. Bingley
☐ Mr. Bennet ☐ Charlotte Lucas ☐ Georgiana Darcy
☐ Other (please specify)_____
☐ I have never read the book nor seen any film adaptations.

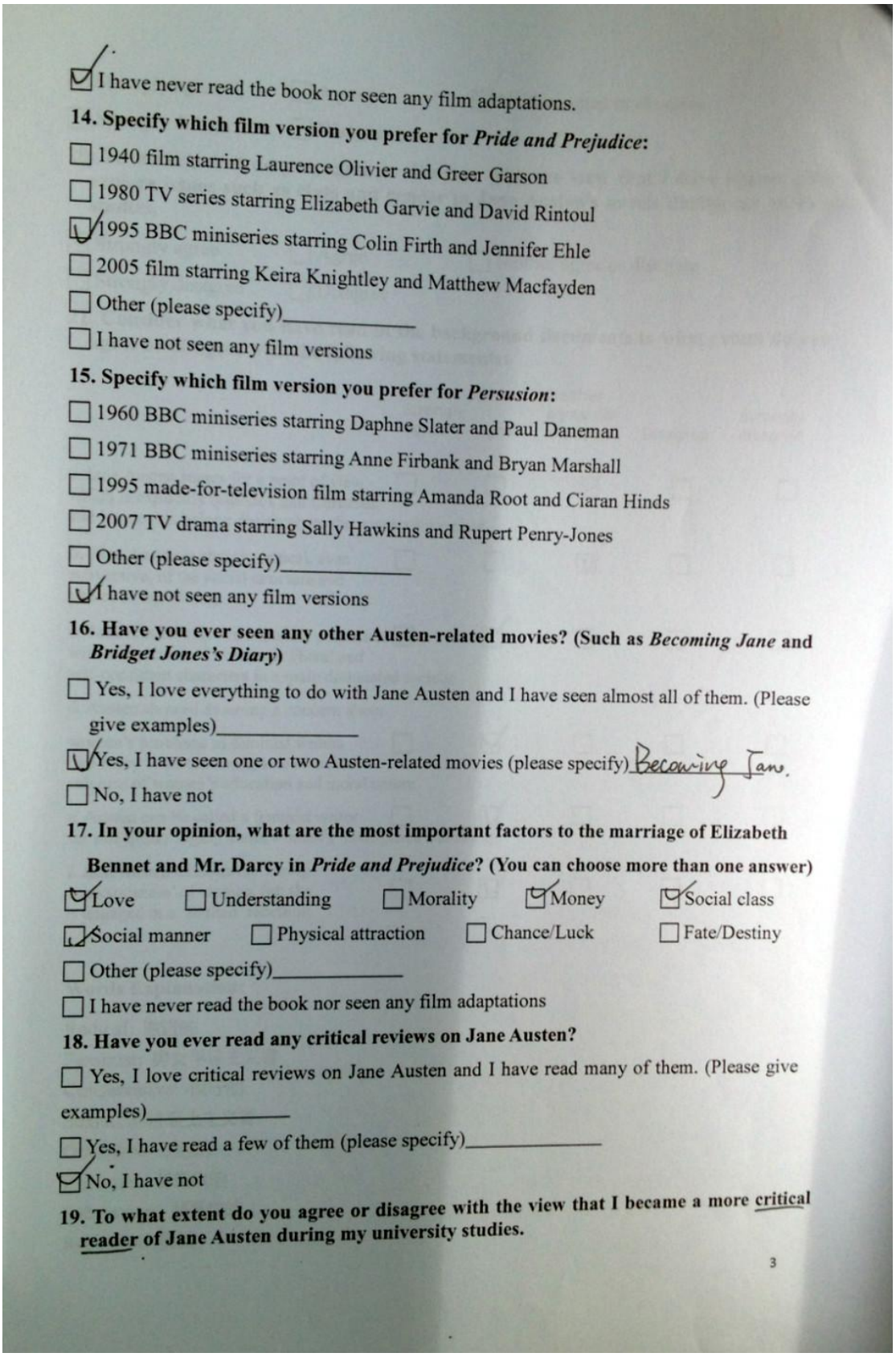
12. How would you like to describe Elizabeth Bennet? (You can choose more than one answer)

☐ Humorous ☑ Intelligent ☐ Natural ☑ Independent ☐ Rational
☑ Strong-minded ☐ Considerate ☐ Pride ☐ Critical ☐ Selfish
☐ Rebellious ☑ Feminist ☐ Other (please specify)_____
☐ I have never read the book nor seen any film adaptations.

13. How would you like to describe Anne Elliot? (You can choose more than one answer)

☐ Humorous ☑ Intelligent ☐ Natural ☐ Independent ☐ Rational
☐ Strong-minded ☑ Considerate ☐ Pride ☐ Critical ☐ Selfish
☐ Rebellious ☐ Feminist ☐ Other (please specify)_____

2



☑ I have never read the book nor seen any film adaptations.

14. Specify which film version you prefer for *Pride and Prejudice*:

☐ 1940 film starring Laurence Olivier and Greer Garson

☐ 1980 TV series starring Elizabeth Garvie and David Rintoul

☑ 1995 BBC miniseries starring Colin Firth and Jennifer Ehle

☐ 2005 film starring Keira Knightley and Matthew Macfayden

☐ Other (please specify)_____

☐ I have not seen any film versions

15. Specify which film version you prefer for *Persusion*:

☐ 1960 BBC miniseries starring Daphne Slater and Paul Daneman

☐ 1971 BBC miniseries starring Anne Firbank and Bryan Marshall

☐ 1995 made-for-television film starring Amanda Root and Ciaran Hinds

☐ 2007 TV drama starring Sally Hawkins and Rupert Penry-Jones

☐ Other (please specify)_____

☑ I have not seen any film versions

16. Have you ever seen any other Austen-related movies? (Such as *Becoming Jane* and *Bridget Jones's Diary*)

☐ Yes, I love everything to do with Jane Austen and I have seen almost all of them. (Please give examples)_____

☑ Yes, I have seen one or two Austen-related movies (please specify) Becoming Jane.

☐ No, I have not

17. In your opinion, what are the most important factors to the marriage of Elizabeth Bennet and Mr. Darcy in *Pride and Prejudice*? (You can choose more than one answer)

☑ Love ☐ Understanding ☐ Morality ☑ Money ☑ Social class

☑ Social manner ☐ Physical attraction ☐ Chance/Luck ☐ Fate/Destiny

☐ Other (please specify)_____

☐ I have never read the book nor seen any film adaptations

18. Have you ever read any critical reviews on Jane Austen?

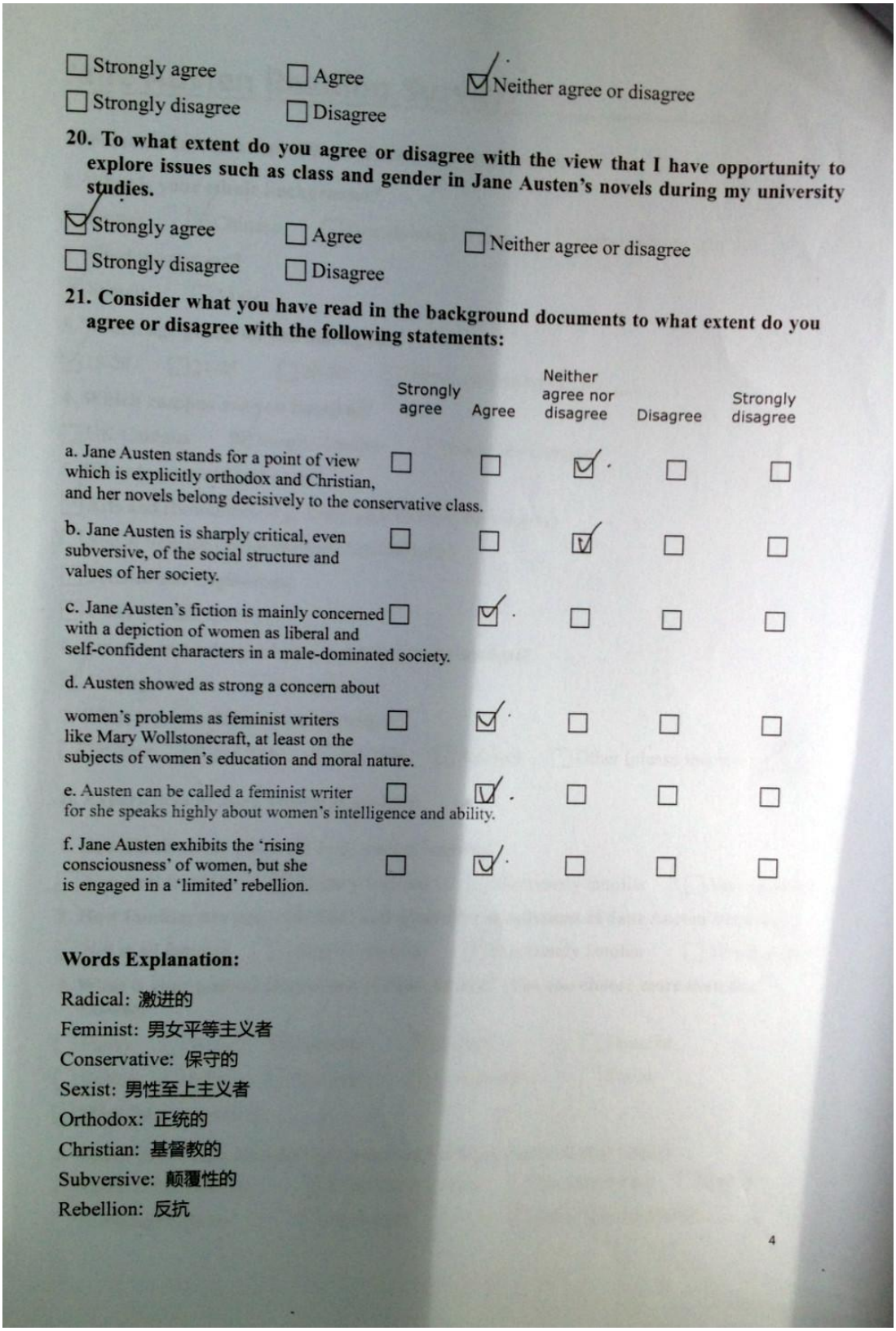
☐ Yes, I love critical reviews on Jane Austen and I have read many of them. (Please give examples)_____

☐ Yes, I have read a few of them (please specify)_____

☑ No, I have not

19. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the view that I became a more critical reader of Jane Austen during my university studies.

3



☐ Strongly agree ☐ Agree ☑ Neither agree or disagree
☐ Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree

20. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the view that I have opportunity to explore issues such as class and gender in Jane Austen's novels during my university studies.

☑ Strongly agree ☐ Agree ☐ Neither agree or disagree
☐ Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree

21. Consider what you have read in the background documents to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
a. Jane Austen stands for a point of view which is explicitly orthodox and Christian, and her novels belong decisively to the conservative class.	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐
b. Jane Austen is sharply critical, even subversive, of the social structure and values of her society.	☐	☐	☑	☐	☐
c. Jane Austen's fiction is mainly concerned with a depiction of women as liberal and self-confident characters in a male-dominated society.	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐
d. Austen showed as strong a concern about women's problems as feminist writers like Mary Wollstonecraft, at least on the subjects of women's education and moral nature.	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐
e. Austen can be called a feminist writer for she speaks highly about women's intelligence and ability.	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐
f. Jane Austen exhibits the 'rising consciousness' of women, but she is engaged in a 'limited' rebellion.	☐	☑	☐	☐	☐

Words Explanation:

Radical: 激进的
Feminist: 男女平等主义者
Conservative: 保守的
Sexist: 男性至上主义者
Orthodox: 正统的
Christian: 基督教的
Subversive: 颠覆性的
Rebellion: 反抗

4

Part Two: Summary of Survey Results[944]

A. Personal Information

	Chinese Participants	British Participants
1. What is your ethnic background?	Chinese: 17	British: 33
2. What is your sex?	Female: 17 (100%) Male: 0	Female: 32 (97%) Male: 1 (3%)
3. Which age group do you belong to?	15-20: 11 (65%) 21-25: 6 (35%)	15-20: 29 (88%) 21-25: 4 (12%)
4. Which campus are you based at?	Ningbo Campus: 17 (100%) UK Campus: 0	Ningbo Campus: 0 UK Campus: 33 (100%)
5. What is your subject area?	Arts and Humanities: 17 (100%)	Arts and Humanities: 33 (100%)
6. Are you an undergraduate or postgraduate student?	Undergraduate: 17 (100%)	Undergraduate: 33 (100%)
7. What is your current year of study?	2nd Year: 12 (71%) 3rd Year: 5 (29%)	1st Year: 24 (73%) 3rd Year: 9 (27%)

[944] The number of completed questionnaires collected from Chinese and British participants was different; therefore the percentage (number of respondents as a percentage of the total) is given in brackets, following the count (number of respondents who chose that response).

B. Experiences of Jane Austen as a student

	Chinese Participants	British Participants
1. How familiar are you with Jane Austen's novels?	Not at all familiar: 0 Slight familiar: 10 (59%) Moderately familiar: 4 (23%) Very familiar: 3 (18%)	Not at all familiar: 0 Slight familiar: 11 (33%) Moderately familiar: 13 (40%) Very familiar: 9 (27%)
2. How familiar are you with BBC and other film adaptations of Jane Austen's novels?	Not at all familiar: 1 (6%) Slight familiar: 7 (41%) Moderately familiar: 4 (24%) Very familiar: 5 (29%)	Not at all familiar: 0 Slight familiar: 14 (43%) Moderately familiar: 12 (36%) Very familiar: 7 (21%)
3. What is your general impression of Jane Austen? (You can choose more than one answer)	Funny: 6 (35%) Witty: 8 (47%) Realistic: 8 (47%) Radical: 5 (29%) Feminist: 9 (53%) Boring: 0 Silly: 0 Romantic: 12 (71%) Conservative: 0 Sexist: 1 (6%) Other: 0	Funny: 8 (24%) Witty: 18 (55%) Realistic: 7 (21%) Radical: 5 (15%) Feminist: 7 (21%) Boring: 3 (9%) Silly: 2 (6%) Romantic: 26 (79%) Conservative: 9 (27%) Sexist: 2 (6%) Other: 1 (3%) – amazing

4. Which Jane Austen books have you read? (Please check all that apply)	*Sense and Sensibility*: 8 (47%) *Pride and Prejudice*: 16 (94%) *Mansfield Park*: 0 *Emma*: 6 (35%) *Northanger Abbey*: 1 (6%) *Persuasion*: 2 (12%)	*Sense and Sensibility*: 16 (48%) *Pride and Prejudice*: 31 (92%) *Mansfield Park*: 9 (27%) *Emma*: 8 (24%) *Northanger Abbey*: 13 (39%) *Persuasion*: `18 (55%)
5. What was the first Jane Austen book you ever read?	*Sense and Sensibility*: 0 *Pride and Prejudice*: 16 (94%) *Mansfield Park*: 0 *Emma*: 0 *Northanger Abbey*: 0 *Persuasion*: 0 Other: 1 (6%) – I have never read Austen book	*Sense and Sensibility*: 2 (6%) *Pride and Prejudice*: 26 (79%) *Mansfield Park*: 0 *Emma*: 1 (3%) *Northanger Abbey*: 2 (6%) *Persuasion*: 2 (6%) Other: 0
6. How were you first introduced to Jane Austen?	School Textbooks: 1 (6%) School/Public Libraries: 1 (6%) Bookstores: 4 (24%) Internet: 3 (18%) Newspapers/Magazines: 1 (6%) Word of Mouth: 6 (35%) Other: 1 (6%) – TV Programme	School Textbooks: 3 (9%) School/Public Libraries: 8 (24%) Bookstores: 2 (6%) Internet: 3 (9%) Newspapers/Magazines: 1 (3%) Word of Mouth: 15 (45%) Other: 1 (3%) – Film Adaptation

7. Who is your favourite Jane Austen heroine?	Elinor Dashwood: 1 (6%) Marianne Dashwood: 0 Elizabeth Bennet: 13 (76%) Fanny Price: 0 Emma Woodhouse: 1 (6%) Catherine Morland: 0 Anne Elliot: 0 I don't have a favorite: 2 (12%)	Elinor Dashwood: 2 (6%) Marianne Dashwood: 5 (15%) Elizabeth Bennet: 16 (48%) Fanny Price: 0 Emma Woodhouse: 1 (3%) Catherine Morland: 2 (6%) Anne Elliot: 2 (6%) I don't have a favorite: 5 (15%)
8. How many times have you read *Pride and Prejudice*?	0: 2 (12%) 1: 3 (18%) 2: 5 (29%) 3: 4 (23%) 4: 0 5-10: 3 (18%)	0: 0 1: 14 (43%) 2: 8 (24%) 3: 3 (9%) 4: 5 (15%) 5-10: 3 (9%)
9. How many times have you read *Persuasion*?	0: 14 (82%) 1: 3 (18%) 2: 0 3: 0 4: 0 5-10: 0	0: 11 (33%) 1: 14 (43%) 2: 3 (9%) 3: 3 (9%) 4: 2 (6%) 5-10: 0

10. Which character do you find the most funny in *Pride and Prejudice*?	Mrs. Bennet: 4 (23%) Mr. Collins: 13 (76%) Lady Catherine: 2 (12%) Mary Bennet: 1 (6%) Kitty Bennnet: 0 Lydia Bennet: 0 Miss Bingley: 0 George Wickham: 0 Other: 0 I have never read the book nor seen any film adaptations: 1 (6%)	Mrs. Bennet: 12 (36%) Mr. Collins: 14 (43%) Lady Catherine: 2 (6%) Mary Bennet: 1 (3%) Kitty Bennnet: 0 Lydia Bennet: 2 (6%) Miss Bingley: 0 George Wickham: 0 Other: 1 (3%) – Mr. Darcy 1 (3%) – Mr. Bennet I have never read the book nor seen any film adaptations: 0
11. Which character do you most identify with in *Pride and Prejudice*?	Elizabeth Bennet: 9 (53%) Mr. Darcy: 7 (41%) Jane Bennet: 0 Mr. Bingley: 0 Mrs. Bennet: 0 Charlotte Lucas: 0 Georgiana Darcy: 0 Other: 0 I have never read the book nor seen any film adaptations: 1 (6%)	Elizabeth Bennet: 23 (70%) Mr. Darcy: 1 (3%) Jane Bennet: 2 (6%) Mr. Bingley: 4 (13%) Mrs. Bennet: 0 Charlotte Lucas: 1 (3%) Georgiana Darcy: 2 (6%) Other: 0 I have never read the book nor seen any film adaptations: 0

12. How would you like to describe Elizabeth Bennet? (You can choose more than one answer)	Humorous: 4 (24%) Intelligent: 15 (88%) Natural: 7 (41%) Independent: 14 (82%) Rational: 5 (29%) Strong-minded: 11 (65%) Considerate: 3 (18%) Proud: 6 (35%) Critical: 5 (29%) Selfish: 0 Rebellious: 4 (24%) Feminist : 9 (53%) Other: 0 I have never read the book nor seen any film adaptations: 1 (6%)	Humorous: 7 (21%) Intelligent: 30 (91%) Natural: 6 (18%) Independent: 25 (76%) Rational: 9 (27%) Strong-minded: 28 (85%) Considerate: 6 (18%) Proud: 8 (24%) Critical: 10 (30%) Selfish: 2 (6%) Rebellious: 3 (18%) Feminist: 2 (6%) Other: 0 I have never read the book nor seen any film adaptations: 0
13. How would you like to describe Anne Elliot? (You can choose more than one answer)	Humorous: 1 (6%) Intelligent: 4 (24%) Natural: 2 (12%) Independent: 1 (6%) Rational: 2 (12%) Strong-minded: 3 (18%) Considerate: 3 (18%) Pride: 0 Critical: 0 Selfish: 0 Rebellious: 2 (12%) Feminist : 3 (18%) Other: 0 I have never read the book nor seen any film adaptations: 9 (53%)	Humorous: 1 (3%) Intelligent: 13 (39%) Natural: 8 (24%) Independent: 9 (27%) Rational: 6 (18%) Strong-minded: 7 (21%) Considerate: 11 (33%) Pride: 1 (3%) Critical: 1 (3%) Selfish: 0 Rebellious: 2 (6%) Feminist : 0 Other: 0 I have never read the book nor seen any film adaptations: 12 (36%)

14. Specify which film version you prefer for *Pride and Prejudice*:[945]	1940 film starring Laurence Olivier and Greer Garson: 1 (6%) 1980 TV series starring Elizabeth Garvie and David Rintoul: 0 1995 BBC miniseries starring Colin Firth and Jennifer Ehle: 10 (59%) 2005 film starring Keira Knightley and Matthew Macfayden: 8 (47%) I have not seen any film versions: 1 (6%)	1940 film starring Laurence Olivier and Greer Garson: 0 1980 TV series starring Elizabeth Garvie and David Rintoul: 0 1995 BBC miniseries starring Colin Firth and Jennifer Ehle: 16 (48%) 2005 film starring Keira Knightley and Matthew Macfayden: 17 (52%) I have not seen any film versions: 2 (6%)
15. Specify which film version you prefer for *Persuasion*:	1960 BBC miniseries starring Daphne Slater and Paul Daneman: 0 1971 BBC miniseries starring Anne Firbank and Bryan Marshall: 0 1995 made-for-television film starring Amanda Root and Ciaran Hinds: 1 (6%) 2007 TV drama starring Sally Hawkins and Rupert Penry-Jones: 2 (12%) I have not seen any film versions: 14 (82%)	1960 BBC miniseries starring Daphne Slater and Paul Daneman: 0 1971 BBC miniseries starring Anne Firbank and Bryan Marshall: 1 (3%) 1995 made-for-television film starring Amanda Root and Ciaran Hinds: 2 (6%) 2007 TV drama starring Sally Hawkins and Rupert Penry-Jones: 4 (12%) I have not seen any film versions: 26 (79%)

[945] 3 Chinese participants and 2 British participants ticked both the 1995 BBC production and the 2005 film adaptation of *Pride and Prejudice*.

16. Have you ever seen any other Austen-related films? (Such as *Becoming Jane* and *Bridget Jones's Diary)*	Yes, I love everything to do with Jane Austen and I have seen almost all of them: 2 (12%) Yes, I have seen one or two Austen-related movies: 9 (53%) No, I have not: 3 (18%)	Yes, I love everything to do with Jane Austen and I have seen almost all of them: 3 (9%) Yes, I have seen one or two Austen-related movies: 26 (79%) No, I have not: 4 (12%)
17. In your opinion, what are the most important factors to the marriage of Elizabeth Bennet and Mr. Darcy in *Pride and Prejudice*? (You can choose more than one answer)	Love: 11 (65%) Understanding: 12 (71%) Morality: 5 (29%) Money: 4 (24%) Social class: 8 (47%) Social manner: 6 (35%) Physical attraction: 5 (29%) Chance/Luck: 2 (12%) Fate/Destiny: 3 (18%) Other: 0 I have never read the book nor seen any film adaptations 1 (6%)	Love: 30 (91%) Understanding: 18 (55%) Morality: 7 (21%) Money: 4 (12%) Social class: 10 (30%) Social manner: 6 (18%) Physical attraction: 10 (30%) Chance/Luck: 2 (6%) Fate/Destiny: 4 (12%) Other: 0 I have never read the book nor seen any film adaptations: 0

18. Have you ever read any critical reviews on Jane Austen?	Yes, I love critical reviews on Jane Austen and I have read many of them: 0 Yes, I have read a few of them: 6 (35%) No, I have not: 11 (65%)	Yes, I love critical reviews on Jane Austen and I have read many of them: 1 (3%) Yes, I have read a few of them: 5 (15%) No, I have not: 27 (82%)
19. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the view that I became a more critical reader of Jane Austen during my university studies.	Strongly agree: 4 (24%) Agree: 5 (29%) Neither agree nor disagree: 6 (35%) Strongly disagree: 0 Disagree: 2 (12%)	Strongly agree: 3 (9%) Agree: 9 (27%) Neither agree nor disagree: 18 (55%) Strongly disagree: 0 Disagree: 3 (9%)
20. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the view that I have opportunity to explore issues such as class and gender in Jane Austen's novels during my university studies.	Strongly agree: 5 (29%) Agree: 12 (71%) Neither agree nor disagree: 0 Strongly disagree: 0 Disagree: 0	Strongly agree: 5 (15%) Agree: 17 (52%) Neither agree nor disagree: 10 (30%) Strongly disagree: 0 Disagree: 1 (3%)

21. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (Chinese Participants is abbreviated as CP and British Participants as BP)

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
a. Jane Austen stands for a point of view which is explicitly orthodox and Christian, and her novels belong decisively to the conservative class.	CP: 2 (12%)	6 (35%)	3 (18%)	5 (29%)	1 (6%)
	BP: 0	11 (33%)	4 (12%)	18 (55%)	0
b. Jane Austen is sharply critical, even subversive, of the social structure and values of her society.	CP: 4 (24%)	5 (29%)	6 (35%)	2 (12%)	0
	BP: 2 (6%)	23 (70%)	7 (21%)	1 (3%)	0
c. Jane Austen's fiction is mainly concerned with a depiction of women as liberal and self-confident characters in a male-dominated society.	CP: 8 (47%)	8 (47%)	1 (6%)	0	0
	BP: 0	18 (55%)	10 (30%)	5 (15%)	0
d. Austen showed as strong a concern about women's problems as feminist writers like Mary Wollstonecraft, at least on the subjects of women's education and moral nature.	CP: 4 (23%)	11 (65%)	1 (6%)	1 (6%)	0
	BP: 0	9 (27%)	19 (58%)	5 (15%)	0
e. Austen can be called a feminist writer for she speaks highly about women's intelligence and ability.	CP: 3 (18%)	9 (53%)	5(29%)	0	0
	BP: 0	7 (21%)	9 (27%)	17 (52%)	0
f. Jane Austen exhibits the 'rising consciousness' of women, but she is engaged in a 'limited' rebellion.	CP: 5 (29%)	11 (65%)	0	1 (6%)	0
	BP: 10 (30%)	16 (49%)	6 (18%)	1 (3%)	0

Appendix Three: Major Chinese Translations of Jane Austen's Six Completed Novels

***Pride and Prejudice*[946]**

Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (*Aoman Yu Pianjian*), trans. by Yang Bin (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1935).

—. trans. by Dong Zhongchi (Beijing: University Press, 1935).

—. trans. by Wang Keyi (Shanghai: New Literature and Art Publishing House, 1956).

—. trans. by Sun Zhili (Nanjing: Yilin Press, 1990).

—. trans. by Zhang Ling and Zhang Yang (Beijing: People's Literature Publishing House, 1993).

—. trans. by Yi Hai (Fuzhou: Haixia Art and Literature Press, 1994).

—. trans. by Zhao Qi (Xining: Qinghai People's Publishing House, 1995).

—. trans. by Zhang Jinghao (Changsha: Hunan Literature and Art Press, 1996).

—. trans. by Liu Feng (Guangzhou: Huacheng Press, 1996).

—. trans. by Wang Jinhua (Taiyuan: Beiyue Art and Literature Publishing House, 2000).

—. trans. by Zi Pei (Tianjin: Baihua Literature and Art Publishing House, 2000).

—. trans. by Lei Limei (Beijing: Beijing Yanshan Press, 2002).

—. trans. by Zhao Xiaoli (Beijing: Culture and Art Publishing House, 2002).

—. trans. by Luo Lianggong (Wuhan: Yangtze River Art and Literature Publishing House, 2003).

—. trans. by Li Na (Hefei: Anhui People's Publishing House, 2003).

—. trans. by Zheng Hong (Hefei: Anhui Literature and Art Publishing House, 2004).

—. trans. by Xu Ping (Qingdao: Qingdao Publishing House, 2004).

[946] The headings and subheadings in this bibliographic reference of Chinese translations and editions have been organised chronologically, beginning with earliest date of publication.

—. trans. by Luo Jincheng (Hohhot: Inner Mongolian People's Publishing House, 2004).

—. trans. by Xie Hong (Guangzhou: Guangzhou Publishing House, 2006).

—. trans. by Yang Qi (Harbin: Harbin Publishing House, 2006).

—. trans. by Chen Linxiu (Harbin: Harbin Publishing House, 2007).

—. trans. by Lin Li (Beijing: Aviation Industry Press, 2007).

—. trans. by Guo Zhihong (Beijing: Rural Reading Press, 2008).

—. trans. by Liu Jun (Changchun: Jilin Press, 2009).

—. trans. by Yu Xiaomei (Harbin: Harbin Publishing House, 2009).

—. trans. by Lou Wenzong (Beijing: Huayi Press, 2009).

—. trans. by Zhao Mingfei (Shijiazhuang: Popular literature and Art Publishing House, 2009).

—. trans. by Su Dan (Xi'an: Shaanxi Normal University Press, 2009).

—. trans. by Chen Xiaojing (Shenyang: Liaoning Education Press, 2010).

—. trans. by Fan Qinglan (Shanghai: Shanghai Joint Publishing Press, 2010).

—. trans. by Zhou Dan (Haikou: Nan Hai Publishing House, 2011).

—. trans. by Fang Huawen (Nanjing: Yilin Press, 2011).

—. trans. by Wang Jinhua (Beijing: Beijing Institute of Technology Press, 2015).

—. trans. by Gao Xing (Chinese Wenlian Press, 2014).

—. trans. by Ding Kaite (Changchun: Time Literature and Art Publishing House, 2014).

Emma

Austen, *Emma* (*Aima*), trans. by Liu Zhongde (Nanjing: Zhengfeng Publishing House, 1949).

—. simplified. by Michael West and E. P. Hart; trans. by Zhong Meisun (Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press, 1981).

—. trans. by Zhang Jinghao (Hangzhou: Zhejiang Literature & Art Publishing House,

1984).

—. trans. by Yuan Decheng (Chengdu: Sichuan People's Publishing House, 1996).

—. trans. by Zhu Qingying and Zhu Wenguang (Shanghai: Shanghai Translation Publishing House, 1997).

—. trans. by Sun Yi (Haikou: Nanhai Publishing House, 1997).

—. trans. by Sun Zhili (Nanjing: Yilin Press, 2001).

—. trans. by Zhou Dingzhi (Haikou: Southern Press, 2001).

—. trans. by Jia Wenhao and Jia Wenyuan (Beijing: Beijing Yanshan Press, 2001).

—. trans. by Lin Tianhu (Beijing: Academy Press, 2001).

—. trans. by Cai Hui and Li Wenjun (Beijing: People's Literature Publishing House, 2005).

—. trans. by Wan Hua (Wuhan: Changjiang Literature and Art Publishing House, 2008).

—. trans. by Zhang Xuedan (Xi'an: Shaanxi Normal University Press, 2009).

—. trans. by Chun Yan (Hohhot: Inner Mongolia People's Press, 2010).

—. trans. by Yuan Rong'er (Changchun: Jilin Press, 2010).

—. trans. by Pan Hualing (Harbin: Northern Literature and Art Publishing House, 2012).

—. trans. by Ding Kaite (Changchun: Time Literature and Art Publishing House, 2014).

—. trans. by Ma Chunmei (Hefei: Anhui Normal University Press, 2014).

Northanger Abbey

Austen, *Northanger Abbey* (*Nuosangjue Si*), trans. by Ma Qiaozhi (Shanghai: New Literature and Art Publishing House, 1958).

—. trans. by Sun Zhili and Tang Huixin (Changsha: Hunan People's Publishing House, 1986).

—. trans. by Kun Lunying (Haikou: Nanhai Publishing House, 1997).

—. trans. by Jin Shaoyu (Shanghai: Shanghai Translation Publishing House, 2000).

—. trans. by Liu Mingze (Xi'an: Shaanxi Normal University Press, 2009).

—. trans. by Ding Kaite (Changchun: Time Literature and Art Publishing House, 2014).

Sense and Sensibility

Austen, *Sense and Sensibility* (*Lizhi Yu Qinggan*), trans. by Wang Yutang (Changsha: Hunan People's Publishing House, 1983).

—. trans. by Wu Lili (Beijing: Beijing Publishing House, 1984).

—. trans. by Sun Zhili (Hangzhou: Zhejiang Publishing House of Literature and Art, 1984).

—. trans. by Wu Chonghan (Shanghai: Shanghai Translation Press, 1989).

—. trans. by Luo Wenhua (Tianjin: Tianjin People's Publishing House, *1995*).

—. trans. by Yin Xu (Haikou: Nanhai Publishing House, 1997).

—. trans. by Jia Wenhao and Jia Wenyuan (Beijing: Beijing Yanshan Press, 2001).

—. trans. by Li Chenming (Beijing: Culture & Art Publishing House, 2002).

—. trans. by Huang Huimin (Haikou: Southern Press, 2003).

—. trans. by Wang Jiqing and Tang Mengsun (Beijing: China Book Press, 2005).

—. trans. by Cheng Suixiang (Guangzhou: Guangzhou Publishing House, 2007).

—. trans. by Xia Jianing (Changchun: Jilin Press, 2009).

—. trans. by Xiao Yu (Shenyang: Wanjuan Press, 2009).

—. trans. by Cheng Weian (Harbin: Harbin Publishing House, 2009).

—. trans. by Su Dan (Xi'an: Shaanxi Normal University Press, 2009).

—. trans. by Deng Bin (Urumqi: Xinjiang Art Photography Publishing House, 2012).

—. trans. by Liang Jing (Beijing: New World Press, 2012).

—. trans. by Ding Kaite (Changchun: Time Literature and Art Publishing House, 2014).

—. trans. by Wu Mu (Beijing: Tongxin Press, 2014).

Persuasion

Austen, *Persuasion* (*Quandao*), trans. by Sun Zhili and Tang Huixin (Nanjing: Jiangsu People's Publishing House, 1984).

—. trans. by Cai Yixian (Zhengzhou: Henan People's Publishing House, 1984).

—. trans. by Qiu Yin (Shanghai: Shanghai Translation Publishing House,1991).

—. trans. by Ding Kenan (Haikou: Nanhai Publishing House, 1997).

—. trans. by Zhang Xuedan (Xi'an: Shaanxi Normal University Press, 2009).

—. trans. by Su Dan (Xi'an: Shaanxi Normal University Press, 2009).

—. trans. by Ding Kaite (Changchun: Time Literature and Art Publishing House, 2014).

Mansfield Park

Austen, *Mansfield Park* (*Mansifei'erde Zhuangyuan*), trans. by Zi Pei (Changsha: Hunan People's Publishing House, 1984).

—. trans. by Li Yeyi (Haikou: Nanhai Publishing House, 1997).

—. trans. by Xiang Xingyao (Shanghai: Shanghai Translation Publishing House, 1998).

—. trans. by Sun Zhili (Nanjing: Yilin Press, 2004).

—. trans. by Xi Yuqing (Beijing: Huayi Press, 2009).

—. trans. by Su Dan (Xi'an: Shaanxi Normal University Press, 2009).

—. trans. by Ding Kaite (Changchun: Time Literature and Art Publishing House, 2014).

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

(i) Works by Austen[947]

Austen, Jane, *Emma*, ed. by R. W. Chapman, 3rd edn (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1933).

—. *Jane Austen's Letters to Her Sister Cassandra and Others*, ed. by R. W. Chapman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952).

—. *Mansfield Park*, ed. by R. W. Chapman, 3rd edn (London: Oxford University Press, 1934).

—. *Northanger Abbey and Persuasion*, ed. by R. W. Chapman, 3rd edn (London: Oxford University Press, 1933).

—. *Northanger Abbey*, ed. by Marilyn Butler (London: Penguin Classics, 1995).

—. *Pride and Prejudice*, ed. by R. W. Chapman, 3rd edn (London: Oxford University Press, 1932).

—. *Pride and Prejudice* (London: George Allen, 1894).

—. *Sense and Sensibility*, ed. by R. W. Chapman, 3rd edn (London: Oxford University Press, 1933).

(ii) Other Primary Works

Anderson, Aeneas, *A Narrative of the British Embassy to China, in the Years 1792, 1793, and 1794* (London: J. Debrett, 1795).

Anonymous, 'Female Novelists', *New Monthly Magazine*, 95 (1852), 157-68.

—. 'Miss Austen', *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, 3rd series, 2 (1866), 238–39; 278–82.

—. [Notice of *Emma*], *Augustan Review*, 2 (1816), 484-86.

—. [Notice of *Emma*], *British Critic*, 6 (1816), 96-98.

[947] See Appendix Three for the Chinese translations of Austen's novels that have been referred to in this thesis.

—. 'Review of *Life and Adventure of Peter Wilkins*', *Retrospective Review*, 7 (1823), 131-35.

—. [Notice of *Northanger Abbey and Persuasion*], *British Critic*, 9 (1818), 293-301.

—. [Notice of *Northanger Abbey and Persuasion*], *Gentleman's Magazine*, 124 (1818), 52-53.

—. [Notice of *Pride and Prejudice*], *British Critic*, 41 (1813), 189-90.

—. [Notice of *Pride and Prejudice*], *Critical Review*, 3 (1813), 318-24.

—. [Notice of *Sense and Sensibility*], *British Critic*, 39 (1812), 527.

Austen-Leigh, J. E., *A Memoir of Jane Austen* (London: Richard Bentley, 1870; repr. 1871).

—. *A Memoir of Jane Austen*, ed. by Kathryn Sutherland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

—. *Minor Works*, ed. by R. W. Chapman (London: Oxford University Press, 1969).

Austen-Leigh, Mary, *Personal Aspects of Jane Austen* (London: John Murray, 1920).

Barrow, John, *Travels in China* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1804).

Brontë, Charlotte, *Selected Letters of Charlotte Brontë*, ed. by Margaret Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Burke, Edmund, *Selected Letters of Edmund Burke* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984).

Burney, Fanny, *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney: Volume V, 1782-1783*, ed. by Lars E. Troide and Stewart J. Cooke (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012).

Clymer, W. B. Shubrick, 'A Note on Jane Austen', *Scribner's Magazine*, 9 (1891), 377-85.

Cowper, William, *The Task: A Poem, in Six Books*, ed. by J. Johnson (London: Scolar Press, 1973).

Cunningham, Allan, 'Biographical and Critical History of the Literature of the Last Fifty Years', *Athenaeum*, 313 (1833), 713-894.

Dallas, E. S., 'Review of George Eliot's *Felix Holt, the Radical*', *The Times*, 26 June 1866, p. 6.

Dobson, Austen, *The Civil Service Handbook of English Literature* (London: Lockwood & Company, 1874).

Farrer, Reginald, 'Jane Austen, ob. July 18, 1817', *Quarterly Review*, 228 (1917), 1-30.

Flowers of Literature for 1801 & 1802 (London: Crosby & Co, 1803).

Flowers of Literature for 1804 (London: Crosby & Co, 1805).

Gosse, Edmund, *A History of Eighteenth-Century Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1889; repr. 2013).

Hare, Augustus J. C., ed., *The Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth*, 2 vols (London: Arnold, 1894).

Howells, William Dean, *Criticism and Fiction* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1891).

Hutton, R. H., 'Novels by the Authoress of John Halfax', *North British Review*, 29 (1858), 466-81.

James, Henry, *Henry James: Selected Letters*, ed. by Leon Edel (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1987).

Johnson, William, *A Pronouncing and Spelling Dictionary* (London: W. Johnstone, 1764).

Kavanagh, Julia, 'Miss Austen's Six Novels', in *English Women of Letters* (London, 1862), 251-74.

Kirk, J. F., 'Thackeray As A Novelist', *North American Review*, 77 (1853), 201-3.

Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman during His Life in the English Church, ed. by Anne Mozley, 2 vols (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1891).

Lewes, George Henry, 'The Lady Novelists', *Westminster Review*, 58 (1852), 129-40.

—. 'The Novels of Jane Austen', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 86 (1859), 99-113.

—. 'Recent Novels: French and English', *Fraser's Magazine*, 36 (1847), 686-95.

Lewis, Matthew, *The Monk: A Romance* (*Senglv – Luomanji*), trans. by Liu Bo (Beijing: China Renmin University Press, 2004).

Macaulay, Thomas Babington, 'The Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay', *Edinburgh Review*, 76 (1843), 523-70.

More, Hannah, *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education* (London: T. Cadell Jun, 1799).

Mundy, H. G., ed., *Journal of Mary Frampton* (London: S. Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1885).

Oliphant, Margaret, 'Miss Austen and Miss Mitford', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 107 (1870), 290-313.

Pellew, George, 'Jane Austen's Novels' (Boston: Cupples, Upham, and Company, 1883).

Pollock, W. F., 'British Novelists – Richardson, Miss Austen, Scott', *Fraser's Magazine*, 61 (1860), 20-38.

Radcliffe, Ann, *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (*Aoduofu De Shenmi*), trans. by Liu Bo (Beijing: China Renmin University Press, 2004).

—. *The Italian* (*Yidali Ren*), trans. by Liu Bo (Beijing: China Renmin University Press, 2004).

Robertson, John Mackinnon, 'Jane Austen', *Criticism*, 1 (1902), 21-27.

Scott, Walter, 'Review of *Emma*', *Quarterly Review*, 14 (1816), 188–201.

The Brontës: Their Friendships Lives, and Correspondence, ed. by T. J. Wise and J. A. Symington, 4 vols (Oxford: Blackwell, 1932).

Ward, Mary Augusta, 'Style and Miss Austen', *Macmillan's Magazine*, 51 (1885), 84-91.

West, Jane, *Letters to A Young Lady* (London: William Pickering, 1996).

Whately, Richard, 'Review of *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion*', *Quarterly Review*, 24 (1821), 352-76.

Wollstonecraft, Mary, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, ed. by Miriam Brody (London: Penguin Books, 1992).

Woolf, Virginia, *A Room of One's Own and Three Guineas*, ed. by Anna Snaith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

(iii) Electronic Recourses

Auden, W. H., *Letter to Lord Byron* (New York: Random House, 1937)
< http://www.arlindo-correia.com/lord_byron.html>[accessed 14 February 2016].

Barclay, James, *A Complete and Universal English Dictionary*, in *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*
<http://find.galegroup.com/menu/commonmenu.do?userGroupName=univnott>
[accessed 12 May 2016].

Polwhele, Richard, 'The Unsex'd Females', in *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*
<http://find.galegroup.com/ecco>[accessed 29 January 2016].

Secondary Sources:

(i) Print

Altbach, Philip G., and Edith S. Hoshino, *International Book Publishing: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995).

Altman, Janet Gurkin, *Epistolarity: Approaches to A Form* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1982).

Amis, Kingsley, *What Became of Jane Austen? and Other Questions* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1970).

Anikst, Alexander, *An Outline History* of *English Literature (Yingguo Wenxue ShiGang)*, trans. by Dai Liuling and Cai Wenxian (Beijing: People's Literature Publishing House, 1959).

Babb, Howard S., *Jane Austen's Novels: The Fabric of Dialogue* (Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1962).

Baker, William, *Critical Companion to Jane Austen: A Literary Reference to Her Life and Work* (New York: Facts on File Inc, 2008).

Barker-Benfield, G. J., *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992).

Barry, Joe, *The Epistolary Novel: Representations of Consciousness* (London: Routledge, 2003).

Bennett, Arnold, *Arnold Bennett: The 'Evening Standard' Years: 'Books and Persons' 1926-1931*, ed. by Andrew Mylett (Hamden: Archon, 1974).

'Best Books of All Time', *Library World*, 2 (1982), 26-7.

Boyd, Brian, *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

Bradley, A. C., 'Jane Austen', *Essays and Studies*, 2 (1911), 7-36.

Bree, Linda, 'The Literary Context', in *The Cambridge Companion to Pride and Prejudice*, ed. by Janet Todd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Brown, Lloyd W., 'Jane Austen and the Feminist Tradition', *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, 3 (1973), 321- 39.

Butler, Marilyn, *Jane Austen and the War of Ideas* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975).

Chamberlin, E. R., and Xing Tifu, 'Austen's Home – Chawton Cottage', *Culture and*

Translation, 2 (1981), 19-25.

Chang, Eileen, *Love in a Fallen City*, trans. by Karen S. Kingsbury and Eileen Chang (London: Penguin, 2007).

Chang, Jung, *Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China* (London: Harper Collins, 1991; repr. 2012).

Chen, Quan, 'The Comic Elements in Jane Austen's Novels', *Journal of Tsinghua University*, 2 (1935), 359-408.

Chen, Xiaomei, *Occidentalism: A Theory of Counter-Discourse in Post-Mao China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

Chinese History (Shandong: Shandong Education Press, 2005).

Chisholm, Kate, *Fanny Burney: Her Life* (London: Vintage, 1999).

Clair, St. William, *The Godwins and the Shelleys: the Biography of A Family* (Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).

—. *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Copeland, Edward, and Juliet McMaster, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Jane Austen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Daiches, David, 'Jane Austen, Karl Marx, and the Aristocratic Dance', *The American Scholar*, 3 (1948), 289-296.

Delmer, F. Sefton, *English Literature from 'Beowulf' to 'Bernard Shaw'* (*Yingguo Wenxue Shi*), trans. by Lin Huiyuan (Beijing: Beixin Press, 1930).

Ding, Guangli, 'On *Mansfield Park* and *Jane Eyre* from Feminist Perspective', *Journal of Sichuan College of Education*, 28 (2012), 47-51.

Dobson, Michael, and Stanley Wells, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Doody, Margaret Anne, *Frances Burney: The Life in the Works* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

Duckworth, Alistair M., *The Improvement of the Estate: A Study of Jane Austen's Novels* (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971).

Elliott, Mark C., *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

Ellis, Markman, *The Politics of Sensibility: Race, Gender, and Commerce in the Sentimental Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

English Literature History Teaching Syllabus (Beijing: Higher Education Press, 1956).

Erämetsä, Erik, *A Study of the Word 'Sentimental' and of Other Linguistic Characteristics of Eighteenth-Century Sentimentalism in England* (Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1951).

Evans, B. Ifor, *A Short History of English Literature* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1940).

Fahnestock, Mary Lane, 'The Reception of Jane Austen in Germany: A Miniaturist in the Land of Poets and Philosophers' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Indiana, 1983).

Fang, Hanquan, 'Discussions on *Emma*', *Journal of Foreign Languages*, 4 (1985), 71-75.

Fan, Xiaoyan, 'The Image of Anne and Analysis of Feminist Consciousness in *Persuasion*', *Film Review Appreciation*, 7 (2014), 195-96.

Fan, Yang, 'Mainstream Ideology's Influence on Intercultural Translation', *Journal of Changsha Railway University*, 4 (2012), 151-2.

Fei, Juan, 'Opposition and Unity in *Sense and Sensibility*', *Anhui Literature*, 10 (2009), 244-45.

Fergus, Jan, 'The Professional Woman Writer', in *The Cambridge Companion to Jane Austen*, ed. by Edward Copeland and Juliet McMaster, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997; repr. 2012).

Ferguson, Moira, *Colonialism and Gender Relations from Mary Wollstonecraft to Jamaica Kincaid: East Caribbean Connections* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

Fleishman, Avron, *A Reading of Mansfield Park: An Essay in Critical Synthesis* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1967).

Fowler, Marian, 'The Feminist Bias of *Pride and Prejudice*', *Dalhousie Review*, 57 (1977), 47-64.

Fu, Jie, 'The Contrast and Affinity in *Sense and Sensibility*', *Research in Teaching*, 1 (2009), 136-41.

Fullerton, Susannah, *Celebrating Pride and Prejudice: 200 Years of Jane Austen's Masterpiece* (Minneapolis: Voyageur Press, 2013).

Galperin, William H., *The Historical Austen* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).

Gao, Feng, 'Opposition and Harmony of Austen's View on Love in *Sense and Sensibility*', *Journal of Language and Literature Studies*, 8 (2011), 43-65.

Gao, Wanlong, 'Recasting Lin Shu: A Cultural Approach to Literary Translation' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Griffith University, 2003).

Geng, Liping, 'The Translation of *Sense and Sensibility*', *Journal of Pla University of Foreign Languages*, 1 (1986), 63-66.

Gilman, Priscilla, '"Disarming Reproof": *Pride and Prejudice* and the Power of Criticism', *Persuasion*, 22 (2000), 218-29.

Goodrich, Luther Carrington, *The Literary Inquisition of Ch'ien-lung* (Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1935).

Gooneratne, Yasmine, *Jane Austen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

Grahame-Smith, Seth, *Pride and Prejudice and Zombies* (*Aoman Yu Pianjian – Jiangshi Niandai*), trans. by Yang Xiaohui (Hubei: Hubei Changjiang Publishing Group, 2010).

Gu, Jiazu, 'Jane Austen's Like and Dislike in *Pride and Prejudice*', *Reading and Appreciation*, 3 (1984), 44-48.

Gu, Man, *Silent Separation* (Shenyang: Shenyang Publishing House, 2011; repr. 2012).

Guo, Jian, Song Yongyi, and Zhou Yuan, *Historical Dictionary of the Chinese Cultural Revolution* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2006).

Haft, Lloyd, ed., *A Selective Guide to Chinese Literature 1900-1949: The Poem* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989).

Halperin, John, ed., *Jane Austen: Bicentenary Essays* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975).

Hanes, W. Travis, and Frank Sanello, *The Opium Wars: The Addiction of One Empire and the Corruption of Another* (Naperville: Sourcebooks, 2002).

Hannon, Patrice, *Dear Jane Austen: A Heroine's Guide to Life and Love* (New York: Penguin, 2006).

Han, Shaogong, 'Why did the Cultural Revolution End', in *Ideas, History, and Modern China*, ed. by Ban Wang and Wang Hui (Leiden: Brill Press, 2007), pp. 215-28.

Harding, D. W., 'Regulated Hatred: An Aspect of the Work of Jane Austen', in *Regulated Hatred and Other Essays on Jane Austen*, ed. by Monica Lawlor (London: Athlone Press, 1998).

Hardy, John, *Jane Austen's Heroines* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984).

Harmsel, Henrietta Ten, '*Pride and Prejudice*', in *Elizabeth Bennet*, ed. by Harold Bloom (Broomall: Chelsea House, 2004).

Hennessey, Brendan, *The Gothic Novel* (Harlow: Longman, 1978).

Honan, Park, *Jane Austen: Her Life* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987).

Hou, Weirui, 'Explication of Text: A Passage from Jane Austen's *Persuasion*', *Foreign Language Teaching and Research*, 2 (1982), 16-21.

—. 'Irony in the Language of Literature', *Journal of Foreign Languages*, 1 (1985), 31-36.

—. 'On the Language Arts of *Pride and Prejudice*', *Journal of Foreign Languages*, 6 (1981), 33-46.

Howells, Coral Ann, *Love, Mystery, and Misery: Feeling in Gothic Fiction* (London: Bloomsbury, 1978).

Hsiung, Ping-Chun, 'The Women's Studies Movement in China in the 1980s and 1990s', in *Education, Culture, and Identity in Twentieth-Century China*, ed. by Glen Peterson, Ruth Hayhoe, and Yongling Lu (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2001), pp. 430-50.

Huang, Mei, 'An Analytical Review on the Studies of Jane Austen's Novels in China: 1949-2009', *Journal of Zhejiang University*, 42 (2012), 157-65.

Huang, Tingting, 'A Feminist Perspective on Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*', *Journal of Weinan Teachers University*, 1 (2011), 55-57.

Hu, Ke, 'Film Interpretations of *Sense and Sensibility*', *Contemporary Film*, 1 (1997), 101-5.

Jackson, Thomas A., *Old Friends to Keep: Studies of English Novels and Novelists* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1950).

Jiang, Meihua, 'Changes in the Role of Women during the May Fourth Movement', *Collection of Women's Studies*, 4 (2006), 40-46.

Jin, Cheng, 'Ideal Marriages in *Northanger Abbey*', *Social Science Front*, 9 (2012), 248-50.

Jin, Donglei, *An Outline History of English Literature* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1937).

Ji, Ying, 'On Jane Austen's Concern of Feminism in *Pride and Prejudice*', *Young Teacher Journal*, 6 (2007), 45-47.

Johnson, Claudia L., *Jane Austen: Women, Politics, and the Novel* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988).

Kaplan, Deborah, *Jane Austen among Women* (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

Karounos, Michael, 'Ordination and Revolution in *Mansfield Park*', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 44 (2004), 715-36.

Kau, Michael Y. M., and John K. Leung, ed., *The Writings of Mao Zedong, 1949-1976*, 2vols (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1992).

Kenney, Theresa, 'Jane Austen, Revolution, Socialist Realism, and Reception: A Response

to Helong Zhang's "Jane Austen: 100 Years in China"', *Persuasions*, 33 (2011), 115-22.

Kirkham, Margaret, *Jane Austen, Feminism and Fiction* (London: Athlone Press, 1997).

Kitson, Peter J., *Forging Romantic China: Sino-British Cultural Exchange 1760-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Kleeman, Julie, and Harry Yu, ed., *The Oxford Chinese Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Knox-Shaw, Peter, 'Fanny Price Refuses to Kowtow', *Review of English Studies*, 47 (1996), 212-17.

Kraus, Richard Curt, *The Cultural Revolution: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Lai, Tzu-yun, and Chang Szu-ting, '19th Century British and American Novels in Chinese Translation: A Bibliography', *Compilation and Translation Review*, 4 (2011), 151-180.

—. 'Ghost Translators and Exiled Men of Letter – A Description of Translators in Post-war Taiwan', *Studies of Interpretation and Translation*, 17 (2014), 23-55.

Leavis, F. R., *The Great Tradition* (Pelican: Harmondsworth, 1962).

Leavis, Q. D., *Collected Essays: The Englishness of the English Novel*, ed. by G. Singh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

Lee, Klaudia Hiu Yen, 'Cross-Cultural Encounters: The Early Reception of Charles Dickens in China, 1895-1915' (unpublished doctorial thesis, the University of Nottingham, 2012).

Lerner, Laurence, *The Truthtellers: Jane Austen, George Eliot, D. H. Lawrence* (New York: Schocken, 1967).

Lew, Joseph, '"That Abominable Traffic": *Mansfield Park* and the Dynamics of Slavery', in *History, Gender and Eighteenth-Century Literature*, ed. by Beth Fowkes Tobin (Athens: U of Georgia P, 1994).

Liang, Shiqiu, *Life in An Elegant Home* (Jiangsu: Jiangsu Literature and Art Publishing House; repr. 2010).

Liang, Ying, 'The Translation of and Chinese Popular Culture in the 1890s', *AALITRA Review*, 5 (2012), 31-38.

Li, Derong, 'Two Translations of *Emma*', *Journal of Jiangxi University*, 8 (1987), 91-99.

Li, Lu, 'Translation and Nation: Negotiating "China" in the Translations of Lin Shu, Yan Fu, and Liang Qichao' (unpublished doctoral thesis, UMass Amhers, 2007).

Lin, Ruyao, *A Guide to Studying Abroad in Scotland* (Hunan: Yuelu Press, 2008).

Lin, Wenchen, 'My Reading of *Mansfield Park*', *Foreign Literature Studies*, 1 (1993), 88-93.

—. 'Reviewing Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility*', *Journal of Huaqiao University*, 2 (1987), 106-12.

Lister, Thomas Henry, 'Review of *Women as They Are*', *Edinburgh Review*, 53 (1830), 448-51.

Liu, Xinming, 'Women Education in *Northanger Abbey*', *Tianjin Foreign Studies University Journal*, 3 (2007), 62-67.

Liu, Zhongde, 'A Discussion about Fidelity in Translation', *Chinese Translators Journals*, 4 (1982), 26-29.

—. 'Understanding, Expression, and Literary Translation', *Communication Translation*, 6 (1984), 9-12.

—. 'A Brief Discussion on Translation Criticism of Foreign Literature', *Chinese Translator's Journals*, 5 (1992), 34-36.

Liu, Wuchi, *An Introduction to Chinese Literature* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1966).

Li, Zhongying, and Jia Qiuyan, 'Feminism in *Sense and Sensibility*', *Journal of Shaanxi Normal University*, 31 (2002), 201-2.

Looser, Devoney, ed., *Jane Austen and Discourses of Feminism* (London: Macmilian Press, 1995).

Luo, Moubei, 'Romanticism in the Novel of *Persuasion*: Based on the Comparative Study of the Micro Spectrums of *Persuasion* and Coleridge's Conversation Poems', *Journal of Human Agricultural University*, 4 (2012), 76-77.

Lu, Xun, *A Brief History of Chinese Novels* (Beijing: People's Literature Press, 1981).

MacDonough, Oliver, *Jane Austen: Real and Imagined Worlds* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

Mackillop, Alan D., 'Critical Realism in *Northanger Abbey*', in *From Jane Austen to Joseph Conrad*, ed. by Robert C. Rathburn and Jr. Martin Steinmann (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1967).

Mandal, A. A., 'Making Austen Mad: Benjamin Crosby and the Non-Publication of Susan', *Review of English Studies*, 57 (2006), 507-25.

Mandal, Anthony, and Brian Southam, ed., *The Reception of Jane Austen in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2007).

Mao, Zedong, 'On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People', *People's*

Daily, 19 June 1957.

McGann, Jerome, *The Poetics of Sensibility: A Revolution in Literary Style* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

Moody, William Vaughn, and Robert Morss Lovett, *A History of English Literature* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918).

—. (*Yingguo Wenxue Shi*), trans. by Liu Wuji and Cao Hongzhao (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1947).

Mudrick, Marvin, *Jane Austen: Irony as Defence and Discovery* (Berkeley: University of Macaulay, 1952; repr. 1968).

Ouyang, Lan, *A Short History of English History* (Beijing: Peking University Press, 1927).

Pan, Mengke, 'Feminism in *Sense and Sensibility*', *Short Story*, 17 (2013), 15-17.

Pan, Weixin, 'Austen's Portrayal of Female Characters', *Journal of Southwest China Normal University*, 4 (1989), 89-96.

—. 'Austen's Portrayal of Female Characters', *Journal of Southwest China Normal University*, 4 (1989), 89-96.

—. 'Language Features of *Mansfield Park*', *Journal of Shanghai International Studies University*, 4 (1989), 52-56.

—. 'On *Northanger Abbey*', *Journal of Hainan Normal University*, 2 (1995), 84-87.

Pascal, Roy, *The Dual Voice: Free Indirect Speech and Its Functioning in the Nineteenth-Century European Novel* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977).

Pusey, James Reeve, *China and Charles Darwin* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983).

Qian, Zhenlai, 'Discussions on Jane Austen', *Studies of Literature and Art*, 1 (1988), 44-52.

Qi, Shouhua, 'No Simple Love: The Literary Fortunes of the Brontë Sisters in the Post-Mao, Market-Driven China', in *The Brontë Sisters in Other Wor(l)ds*, ed. by Qi Shouhua and Jacqueline Padgett (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

Qiu, Yin, 'Jane Austen and British Women's Literature', *Journal of Shanghai University*, 6 (1996), 28-33.

—. 'Austen's Creating Development in *Persuasion*', *Fudan Journal Philosophy and Social Sciences*, 1 (1992), 50-54.

Roberts, Jonathan, and others, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of the Reception History of the Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

Robinson, Henry Crabb, *Henry Crabb Robinson on Books and Their Writers*, ed. by Edith Julia Morley, 3 vols (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1938).

Rubinstein, Annette T., *The Great Tradition in English Literature: From Shakespeare to Shaw* (New York: The Citadel Press, 1953).

—. (*Yingguo Wenxue De Weida Chuantong Shang: Cong Shashibiya Dao Aosiding*), trans. by Chen Anquan (Shanghai: Shanghai Translation Press, 1987).

Sabor, Peter, '"Finished up to nature": Walter Scott's Review of *Emma*', *Persuasions*, 13 (1991), 88-99.

Said, Edward W., *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1993).

Shao, Ziling, 'The Sociality between Men and Women at the New Culture Movement Period', *Journal of Harbin Teachers College*, 11 (2005), 105-9.

Shi, Shaohua, 'A Comparative Study of *Pride and Prejudice* and *Love in a Fallen City*', *Journal of Inner Mongolia Finance and Economics College*, 1 (2011), 117-19.

Simpson, Richard, 'Review of *A Memoir of Jane Austen*', *North British Review*, 52 (1870), 129-52.

Singer, Godfrey Frank, *The Epistolary Novel: Its Origin, Development, Decline, and Residuary Influence* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1963).

Smiles, Samuel, *A Publisher and His Friends: Memoir and Correspondence of John Murray, with an Account of the Origin and Progress of the House, 1768-1843* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Smith, LeRoy W., *Jane Austen and the Drama of Women* (London: Macmillan, 1983).

Southam, B. C., ed., *Jane Austen: The Critical Heritage Volume 1 1811-1870* (London: Routledge, 1979; repr. 1995).

—. *Jane Austen: The Critical Heritage Volume 2 1870-1940* (London: Routledge, 1987).

Southam, Brian, *Jane Austen's Literary Manuscripts: A Study of the Novelist's Development* (London: Athlone Press, 2001).

Stelzig, L. Eugene, *Romantic Subject in Autobiography: Rousseau and Goethe* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 2000).

Sun, Li, 'An Analysis of Zhang Jinghao's Translation of *Emma*', *Reformation & Strategy*, 3 (2004), 111-13.

Sun, Zhili, 'Reading *Sense and Sensibility*', *Research in Teaching*, 1 (1983), 60-3.

—. 'The Anti-Gothic Elements in *Northanger Abbey* (Part One)', *Journal of Pla University of Foreign Languages*, 2 (1988), 28-34.

—. 'The Anti-Gothic Elements in *Northanger Abbey* (Part Two)', *Journal of Pla University of Foreign Languages*, 3 (1988), 46-50.

Sulloway, Alison, 'Emma Woodhouse and *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*', *Wordsworth Circle*, 7 (1976), 320-32.

Sun, Yanna, *Shakespeare in China* (Henan: Henan University Publishing House, 2010).

Sutherland, Kathryn, *Jane Austen's Textual Lives: From Aeschylus to Bollywood* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Tandon, Bharat, *Jane Austen and the Morality of Conversation* (London: Anthem Press, 2003).

Tang, Shaojie, 'The Impact of the Cultural Revolution on Chinese Modernity', in *Ideas, History, and Modern China*, ed. by Ban Wang and Wang Hui (USA: Hotel Publishing, 2010).

Tanner, Tony, *Jane Austen* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986).

Teng, Ssu-yü, and John K. Fairbank, *China's Response to the West: A Documentary Survey, 1839-1923* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954).

Todd, Janet, *Sensibility: An Introduction* (London: Methuen, 1986).

Tomalin, Claire, *Jane Austen A Life* (London: The Viking Press, 1997).

Tompkins, J. M. S., *The Popular Novel in England 1770-1800* (London: Constable & Company, 1932).

Trilling, Lionel, '*Mansfield Park*', in *The Opposing Self* (New York: Viking, 1955).

Uglow, Jenny, *A Little History of British Gardening* (London: Pimlico, 2005).

Wang, Bin, 'Romanticism of Jane Austen', *Studies of Foreign Literature*, 4 (1983), 58-65.

Wang, Jing, *Introduction to English Literature* (Shanghai: Shanghai Eastern Publishing House, 1920; repr, 1927).

Wang, Ruqing, 'Class Liberation and Individual Awakening', *Journal of Hebei Normal University*, 5 (2000), 138-41.

Wang, William S-Y., and Sun Chaofen, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Chinese Linguistics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

Wang, Xiaoqin, 'Gothic Fiction in Britain and America', *Journal of Inner Mongolia Normal University*, 21 (1987).

Wang, Xinchun, and Kang Chunyan, 'The Change of Feminist Consciousness from

Sensibility to Sense', *Journal of Qiqihar University*, 5 (2007), 111-12.

Wang, Xuerui, 'On Austen's Feminist Consciousness in Her Novels', *Journal of Jilin Huaqiao Foreign Languages Institute*, 2 (2009), 131-33

Watt, Ian, *The Rise of the Novel* (London: Pimlico, 1957).

—. ed., *Jane Austen: A Collection of Critical Essays* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1963)

Wei, Yi, *Brief Profiles of Famous Western Novelists* (Beijing: Popular Education Research Press, 1917).

Wilson, Mona, *Jane Austen and Some of Her Contemporaries* (London: Cresset Press, 1938).

Wilt, Judith, *Ghosts of the Gothic: Austen, Eliot, and Lawrence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

Wiltshire, John, *Recreating Jane Austen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Woodbridge, Samuel Isett, *Fifty years in China* (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee Of Publication, 1919).

Wu, Aihua, 'Anne's Awaking Feminist Consciousness in *Persuasion*', *Journal of Educational Institute of Jilin Province*, 25 (2009), 4-5.

Wylie, Alexander, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1867).

Xia, Xiaohong, 'Ms. Picha and Mrs. Stowe', in *Translation and Creation: Readings of Western Literature in Early Modern China, 1840-1918*, ed. by David E. Pollard (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1998), pp. 241-51.

Xie, Yan, and Ma Gongwen, 'Mainstream Ideology's Influence on Wang Keyi's *Pride and Prejudice*', *Journal of Tongling University*, 1 (2009), 96-118.

Xu, Mingji, *English Literature*, ed. by Wang Yunwu (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1933).

Yang, Fan, 'Mainstream Ideology's Influence on Translation', *Journal of Changsha Railway University*, 4 (2012), 151-52.

Yang, Guilan, 'The "New Woman" Marianne in *Sense and Sensibility*', *English on Campus*, 12 (2012), 150.

Yang, Jiang, 'What is So Great about It? – Reading Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*', *Literary Review*, 3 (1982), 128-43.

Ye, Xin, 'Wu Mi and His Teaching of *Pride and Prejudice*', *China Reading Weekly*, 17 (2013), 1-5.

Zhang, Baoguo, '*Mansfield Park*'s Political Perspective', *Movie Literature*, 21 (2010), 41-43.

Zhang, Helong, 'Jane Austen's One Hundred Years in China', *Persuasions*, 33 (2011), 103-14.

Zhang, Hua, 'Report on Destroying Books', *FuZhou WanBao*, 18 April 1989.

Zhang, Jinghao, 'Thoughts on Retranslating *Emma*', *Chinese Translation Journal*, 3 (1999), 38-40.

Zhang, Ping, 'A Discussion of Two Translations of *Emma*', *Journal of Hubei University of Education*, 25 (2008), 123-25.

Zhang, Ting, '"Thou hast thy music too": The Autumnal Duet in Jane Austen's *Persuasion*', *Overseas English*, 8 (2013), 200-1.

Zhang, Tingting, 'Mr. Darcy's Character in *Pride and Prejudice*', *The Merchandise and Quality*, 6 (2012), 78.

Zhang, Xiaoyang, *Shakespeare in China*: *A Comparative Study of Two Traditions and Cultures* (London: Associated University Presses, 1996).

Zheng Baiqing, 'Textual Retrospection: Reflexivity of Parody in *Northanger Abbey*', *Journal of PLA University of Foreign Languages*, 31 (2008), 89-93.

Zhao, Jingyu, 'A Comparative Study of *Dream of the Red Chamber* and *Pride and Prejudice*', *Journal of Shanxi University*, 1 (1993), 22-26.

Zhao, Shuangzhi, '*Pride and Prejudice* and *Dream of the Red Chamber*', *Journal of Tianjin Normal University*, 3 (1986), 77-80.

Zheng, Shiding, 'Liu Zhongde's Revised Version of *Emma*', *Chinese Translation Journal*, 1 (1998), 42-45.

Zheng, Zhenduo, *The Outline of Literature* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1927), 58-59.

Zhou, Hejun, 'Literary Texts and Imperialism: A Case Study of *Mansfield Park* by Jane Austen', *Journal of Guangxi Normal University*, 45 (2009), 69-72.

Zhou, Qing, 'On the Realistic Significance of *Sense and Sensibility*', *Journal of Jilin Normal University*, 6 (2003), 80-82.

Zhu, Hong, 'Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*', *Yuedu*, 34 (1982), 42-51.

— ed., *Austen Studies* (Beijing: China Federation of Literary and Art Circles Publishing House, 1985).

Zhu, Lin, 'An Exploration of the Themes of Austen's Novels', *Foreign Literature Studies*, 3 (1987), 26-31.

Zuo, Ziming, 'Fresh, Fluent, and Comprehensible: A Review of Zhang Jinghao's Translation of *Emma*', *Chinese Translator's Journals*, 2 (1995), 29-32.

(ii) Electronic Resources:

Carroll, C. Durning, 'Willoughby's Apology', *Persuasions On-Line*, 30 (2009), <http://jasna.org/persuasions/on-line/vol30no1/carroll.html>[Accessed 12 February 2016].

'Chinese Buy Austen, Bronte', *The New York Times* (January 1981): <http://www.nytimes.com/1981/01/03/books/chinese-buy-austen-bronte.html>[Accessed 2 January 2016].

Clark, Robert, 'Wilderness and Shrubbery in Austen's Works', *Persuasions On-Line*, 36 (2015), <http://www.jasna.org/persuasions/on-line/vol36no1/clark.html>[Accessed 23 March 2016].

Douban website: <http://www.douban.com/> [accessed 8 March 2016].

Edmundson, Melissa, 'A Space for Fanny: The Significance of Her Rooms in *Mansfield Park*', *Persuasions On-Line*, 23 (2002), <http://www.jasna.org/persuasions/on-line/vol23no1/edmundson.html>[Accessed 3 October 2015].

Jones, Christine Kenyon, 'Ambiguous Cousinship: *Mansfield Park* and the Mansfield Family', *Persuasions On-Line*, 31 (2010), <http://www.jasna.org/persuasions/on-line/vol31no1/jones.html>[Accessed 19 March 2016].

Perkins, Moreland, '*Mansfield Park* and Austen's Reading on Slavery and Imperial Warfare', *Persuasions On-Line*, 26 (2005), <http://www.jasna.org/persuasions/on-line/vol26no1/perkins.htm>[Accessed 2 May 2016]'.

Sheehan, Colleen A., 'Jane Austen's "Tribute" to the Prince Regent: A Gentleman Riddled with Difficulty', *Persuasions On-Line*, 27 (2006), <http://www.jasna.org/persuasions/on-line/vol27no1/sheehan.htm>[Accessed 6 May 2016].