

Three Late Qing Chinese Translations of *Robinson Crusoe*: Shen Zufen, *Dalu bao* and Lin Shu

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William Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* is one of the most translated works of Western literature in the history of translation in China. Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* was read by many in China as a figure of Western culture that had suddenly risen to prominence on the world stage. This paper discusses three important translations from the first decade of the twentieth century, the Shen Zufen translation, which refigures Crusoe within Reform Movement discourse, the *Dalu bao* translation that reimagined Crusoe as a Revolutionary *Outlaws of the Marsh* type of popular hero, and the Lin Shu/Zeng Zonggong translation, which reframed Crusoe within Confucian discourse. These early twentieth-century translations serve as profound case studies for the entwinement and tension of global universals and national position-takings occurring in our present historic moment.

William Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* stands as one of the most frequently translated Western classics in the history of translation in China. According to recent research, five translations of *Robinson Crusoe* appeared in the first decade of the twentieth century, Shen Zufen's 沈祖芬 *Juedao piaoliu ji* 绝岛漂流记 (*Desert Island Wanderings*, 1902), a translation by an English missionary, whose name appears as Bing Weilin 宾为霖, entitled *Gusu licheng* 辜苏历程 (*Crusoe's Progress*, 1902),¹ the *Dalu bao* 大陆报 serial translation, *Lubinsun piaoliu ji yanyi* 鲁宾孙漂流记演义 (*Romance of the Wanderings of Robinson*, translator(s) uncredited, 1902-1903, not published in book form), the Lin Shu 林纾 (1852-1924) and Zeng Zonggong 曾宗鞏 (1875-1915) translation, *Lubinsun piaoliu ji* 鲁宾孙漂流记 (*The Wanderings of Robinson Crusoe*, part one published in 1905 and part two in 1906) and finally Tang Hongfu's 汤红绂 *Wuren dao dawang* 无人岛大王

¹ *Pinyin*, the romanization of *putonghua*, is used throughout this paper; however, the title and translator's name here would probably have been in Cantonese.

(*Desert Island King*, 1909).² This article discusses three translations of *Robinson Crusoe* in the first decade of the twentieth century, the translations by Shen, *Dalu bao*, and Lin Shu.

David Pollard notes translated works of fiction exceeded the number of original works of fiction in the first decade of the twentieth century in China.³ The first literary translations begin in the 1870s, but they mostly consist of summaries and fragmented versions of the originals, and missionary translations. The decade following the Sino-Japanese War, from around 1896-1906, would see a rapid increase in translated foreign works. By the time the *Crusoe* translations are published, China was entering what Patrick Hanan has called the “second stage” of vernacular translation that began with Liang Qichao’s full-length translation of a Jules Verne novel in 1902 (more on this translation below).⁴ The *Crusoe* translations emerge in the first decade of the twentieth century (Shen’s translation is apparently begun the same year as the Hundred Days of Reform), a critical decade in modern Chinese history. Rebecca Karl notes “an urgency produced by the demonstrably great power of Euro-America-Japan in China...an urgency...that grew after the 1895 Sino-Japanese War into a persistent tendency among many Chinese to unfavorably compare China’s contemporary situation with the national unifications and historical trajectories of the world’s powers.”⁵

Edward Said noted the “institutional character” of the European novel: “Without Empire, I would go so far as saying, there is no European novel as we know it...” As for *Robinson Crusoe*, Said notes the novel was both prescient and singular: “...whereas

² See Cui Wendong 崔文东 “Wanqing *Robinson Crusoe* zhongyiben kaolüe” 晚清 *Robinson Crusoe* 中译本考略 (A Study of Late Qing Chinese Translations of *Robinson Crusoe*), in *Shinmatsu shōsetsu kara* 清末小说から (通讯) 98 (July 2010); Yao Dadui 姚达兑, “*Robinson Crusoe* Yueyu yiben *Gusu licheng* kaolüe” *Robinson Crusoe* 粤语译本<辜苏历程>考略 (A study of *Crusoe’s Progress*, the Cantonese Translation of *Robinson Crusoe*,” in *Shinmatsu shōsetsu kara* 100 (January 2011); Yuan Miaojuan 袁妙娟, *Huangdao yingxiong* 荒岛英雄 (*The Desert Island Hero*) seems never to have been published. See the remaining three prefaces: Zhao Weixia 赵韦侠 “*Maoxian baihua xiaoshuo* <*Huangdao yingxiong*>” 冒险白话小说<荒岛英雄> (Vernacular Adventure Novel <*The Desert Island Hero*>), Zhang Bichen 张弼臣 “<*Huangdao yingxiong*> *xiaoshuoxu* 《<荒岛英雄>小说序》”, (Preface to *The Desert Island Hero*); You Yu 有虞 “<*Huangdao yingxiong*> *xu*” 《<荒岛英雄>序》 (Preface, *The Desert Island Hero*) in *Zuguo wenming bao* 祖国文明报 80-81 (July 1909): 2, 17. There is no space to consider *Crusoe’s Progress* or Tang Hongfu’s translation.

³ See David Pollard, “Introduction” to *Translation and Creation: Readings of Western Literature in Early Modern China, 1840-1918*, David Pollard, ed. (Amsterdam: J. Benjamins, 1998), 5.

⁴ See Patrick Hanan, *Chinese Fiction of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries: Essays* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 85-123, 144-61. Actually translated by Liang and Luo Pu 罗普 (1876-1949). Also see Guo Yanli 郭延礼, *Zhongguo jindai fanyi wenxue gailun* (*Survey of Modern Chinese Literary Translation* 中国近代翻译文学概论) (Hubei jiaoyu, 1998), 15.

⁵ Rebecca E. Karl, *Staging the World: Chinese Nationalism at the Turn of the Twentieth century* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 8-9.

Crusoe is explicitly enabled by an ideology of overseas expansion—directly connected in style and form to the narratives of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century exploration voyages that laid the foundations of the great colonial empires—the major novels that come after Defoe, and even Defoe’s later works, seem not to be single-handedly compelled by the exciting overseas prospects.” Nevertheless, Defoe and later novelists “situate their work in and derive it from a carefully surveyed territorial greater Britain.”⁶ For the citizens of a nation such as China, passing through a critical historical juncture, the novelistic representation of colonialist ideology in *Robinson Crusoe* might have been read antagonistically. So why wasn’t *Robinson Crusoe*, the book and the fictional character, summarily denounced and chosen as an example of how, as Liang Qichao put it, “Westerners humiliate us to such an extent” 西人之侮我甚矣?⁷ Why was *Robinson Crusoe* translated no less than five times within a decade?

Reform Movement Discourse and the Shen Zufen Translation

In order to answer *why Robinson Crusoe* was selected for translation, we need to first answer *how* Defoe’s book came to be translated. The turn of the nineteenth and early twentieth century was the most critical moment in the partitioning of modern China by foreign powers. As early as the conclusion of the first Opium War, England had already forced China give up sovereignty with the humiliating Nanjing Treaty of 1842. The Treaty of Shimonoseki that ceded Taiwan and the Penghu Islands to Japan followed the Sino-Japanese War in 1895. In northeast China, Jiaozhou Bay was leased to Germany in 1898 and Dalian to Imperial Russia. In the south, Guangzhou Bay was leased to France as a port of entry to Tonkin (Vietnam). Britain began leasing Hong Kong this year, as well as the northeast port of Weihai (in competition with Russia and Germany). Reform-minded intellectuals like Kang Youwei 康有为 (1858–1927) and Liang Qichao (1873–1929) raised the banner of national salvation and attempted, through the power of the emperor, to implement imperial constitutional reforms.

Liang Qichao believed “...in the present times, the most important way to strengthen a nation is through the translation of books”⁸ 处今日之天下，则必以译书为强国第一义。After the failure of the 1898 Hundred Days Reform, reformers who had fled to Japan bemoaned the failure of the reform. Liang went even further: “Our country has spoken of reforms for what amounts to ten years without any evidence of results, and why is that? The way of the New Citizen has not been thought through” 夫吾国言新法数十年而效不睹者，何也？则于新民之道未有留意焉者也。For Liang,

⁶ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 69-70.

⁷ Liang Qichao 梁启超, “Lun Zhongguo zhi jiang qiang” 论中国之将强(On the imminent rise of China), in Liang Qichao, *Yinbing shi heji* 饮冰室合集 (*Collected Works from the Ice-Drinker’s Studio*), 12 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), 1: 11.

⁸ Liang Qichao 梁启超, “Bianfa tongyi:lun yishu” 变法通议·论译书 (Comprehensive treaties on reform: on translation of books), *Yibingshi heji* 饮冰室合集 1: 66.

literature possessed the potential to promote wisdom amongst the people and to stir the consciousness of the nation's citizens. In his essay "Xinmin shuo" 新民说 (On the New Citizen), Liang resorted to social Darwinism as an enquiry into the way an ethnicity positions itself. Liang believed "Caucasian people dominate globally, not because of divine providence, but because of their national superiority" 白种人所以雄飞于全球者非天幸也，其民族之优胜使然也。For Liang, the Anglo Saxons were particularly good examples of "masters among the masters, strong men among the strong" 主中之主，强中之强。Liang set out to "study the enemy, and observe oneself in a mirror" 审敌自镜 through a program of social morality, national thought, risk-taking, power, liberty, self-government and other new modes of thought. For Liang, Europeans were key examples, especially the "unrivalled" 天下莫之能敌 English.⁹

Robinson Crusoe, that risk taking, colonialist protagonist became the ideal figure for self-sufficiency, political rights, physical prowess, steadfastness, and adventure. For Liang, Robinson Crusoe was a true model of the English pragmatist who approached that coveted ideal of the "New Citizen." As editor of the periodical *Xin Xiaoshuo* 新小说 (*New Fiction*), Liang opened an "Adventure Fiction" 冒险小说 section, and planned to translate fiction in the manner of *Robinson Crusoe* "to inspire the spirit of adventure in our citizens."¹⁰ Liang never realized this translation, but using a Japanese translation of Jules Verne's *Deux ans de vacances* (*Two year's Vacation*, 1888), he translated part of this book about a group of schoolboys stranded on a desert island in the South Pacific as *Shiwu xiao haojie* 十五小豪杰 (*Fifteen Little Heroes*, 1902), in his words a story of "colonialists opening up new territory, raising the national flag on far away shores" 殖民僭辟新土，赫赫国旗辉南极.¹¹ Adventure fiction was a significant genre of late Qing fiction.

One reason *Robinson Crusoe* was chosen at first was because of a fad in translation, but this choice also reflected an interest in China towards adventure narratives that pandered to a prevalent image of a West that had risen to sudden prominence. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the areas that most concerned China were the Northern nomad and border areas in Asia. But after the invasion of China by Western powers from the southeastern coastal areas, the "West" was linked to the ocean and sea travel and Western superiority would be regarded as the result of its seafaring genius and military capabilities. The author and compiler of the important *Haiguo tuzhi* 海国图志 (*An Illustrated History of Seafaring Nations*), Wei Yuan 魏源, recommended the Qing court promote people capable of piloting and constructing boats. Kang Youwei, in the 1895 *Gongche shangshu* 公车上书 (*Petitioning of the Emperor by the Examination Candidates*) attributed the sudden rise to power of the English to

⁹ Liang Qichao: *Xinmin shuo* (On the New Citizen) in *Yinbing shi heji*, 6: 7-11.

¹⁰ See "Xin xiaoshuo baoshe: Zhongguo wei yi zhi wenxue bao" 新小说报社: 《中国唯一之文学报》 (Editorial office of the *New Novel: China's Only Literary Journal*), in Chen Pingyuan 陈平原 and Xia Xiaohong 夏晓虹, *Ershi shiji Zhongguo xiaoshuo lilun ziliao* 二十世纪中国小说理论资料 (Material for twentieth-century Chinese fiction), 5 vols. (Beijing: Beijing daxue, 1989), 1: 58-63.

¹¹ Liang Qichao, *Shiwu xiao haojie* in *Yinbing shi heji*, 11: 1.

naval capability.¹² Chinese intellectuals perceived a close relationship between seafaring adventurism and imperialist expansion, precisely what China lacked.

Completed in 1898, the earliest translation of *Robinson Crusoe*, *Juedao piaoliu ji* (*Desert Island Wanderings*) was printed in 1902 and distributed by Kaiming Bookstore, a very important publisher of the period. At least on the cover, *Juedao piaoliu ji* is attributed to Shen Zufen, “the young cripple from Qiantang River” 钱塘跛少年. The self-deprecating title belies the importance of this translation. In the preface, Gao Mengdan 高梦旦 (1870-1936), an important editor of the period, praises the translator for his “fearless diligence, the unbelievably taxing endeavor of this translation completed for the purpose of awakening our four hundred million” 不恤呻楚，勤事此书，以觉吾四万万之众. Even the translation is framed as a heroic effort.¹³

Contemporary editions of *Robinson Crusoe* usually consist of the first volume of what was actually a trilogy. Up until the late nineteenth century, editions of *Robinson Crusoe* usually included the first and second volumes, sometimes published together as a single volume.¹⁴ Shen Zufen, *Dalu bao*, and Lin Shu each follow the conventional Victorian editions and translate the first two volumes. The most salient abridgements in Shen’s translation concern religion. By secularizing a text permeated with Christian concepts of morality and human relations, Shen does away with the religious aspects of *Robinson Crusoe*: “[I] opened and recited the Bible with such interest, from that day on [I] would read and recite [the Bible] several times a day.” 圣经一册，展而诵之，津津有味，自是每日必披诵数次。¹⁵

At just over twenty thousand words, Shen’s translation is a drastic abridgement of the original.¹⁶ Nevertheless, Shen makes important additions and emendations that localize his protagonist. Crusoe’s adventures may be read as contemporary images of the Western “other” in China, particularly the British. Crusoe leaves home without so

¹² Kang Youwei, et al, *Gongche shangshu* (Petitioning of the Emperor by the Examination Candidates), in *Zhongghuo jindai shi ziliao xuanji* 中国近代史资料选辑 (Selected Modern Chinese History Source Materials) (Beijing: Sanlian, 1954), 416-17.

¹³ Di Fu 狄福 *Juedao piaoliu ji*, trans. Shen Zufen (Shanghai: Kaiming, 1902), Part One.

¹⁴ See Melissa Free, “Un-Erasing Crusoe: Farther Adventures in the Nineteenth Century,” *Book History* 9 (2006): 89-93. Lydia Liu claims Lin Shu’s translation of the first two volumes of *Robinson Crusoe* in 1905 and 1906 “happened at a time when the various English editions of *Robinson Crusoe* being published were omitting the second and third volumes.” See Lydia H. Liu, “Robinson Crusoe’s Earthenware Pot,” in *Collecting China: the world, China, and a history of collecting*, ed. Vimalin Rujivacharakul (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2011), 61, note 23. If Free’s survey is accurate, Liu is partially correct. Editions of *Robinson Crusoe* omitting the last two volumes begin to fall in the first decade of the twentieth century (Free, 92-93). Nevertheless, Chinese translators, including Lin Shu, used editions that included Part One and Part Two.

¹⁵ Di Fu, *Juedao piaoliu ji*, trans. Shen Zufen, 8.

¹⁶ For comparison, the recent Huang Gaoxin 黄杲忻 translation has over 430 thousand words (see Di Fu 笛福 *Lubinsun lixian ji* 鲁滨孙历险记 (Shanghai: Shanghai yiwen, 2001). Even taking into consideration that Shen used a denser nineteenth century classical Chinese that didn’t use punctuation, the brevity is striking.

much as a goodbye, wandering for thirty-five years and not taking care of his parents. In the eyes of Chinese readers who put emphasis on filiality and moral reason, Crusoe's behavior would appear completely amoral, even sinful in a way, and quite difficult to accept. Shen adapts Crusoe's lack of leave-taking by adding reconciliatory language that suggests regret, in effect legitimizing the unfilial actions of Defoe's Crusoe. By the second chapter of the translation, Shen adds another significant detail. When Crusoe makes his first money on a ship, Shen has Crusoe send home 5.9 ounces of gold as a profound gesture of filial piety to placate the pain he had caused his parents 金砂五磅九两寄家，藉慰父母之心。¹⁷ In Defoe, when Crusoe makes his 5.9 ounces of gold, he exchanges it for money in London in order to continue his seafaring ways.¹⁸ In contrast, Shen's Crusoe returns home to grieve for his parents in emotional passages. Shen adds a supplemental layer of human emotions to Defoe's Crusoe, a character that may have appeared immoral and a bit cold to Chinese readers. By adding a sentimental veneer to Crusoe's austerity for the target readership, Shen adapts and revises potentially alienating aspects of Crusoe, localizing this literary figure through translation.

From the point of view of Chinese traditional morality, Crusoe's individualism, utilitarianism, and puritan work ethic would have been incompatible with the aesthetic ideals of many Chinese readers at the time. Although Rousseau may have considered Crusoe an example of natural man, Defoe's Crusoe is in many ways far from romantic. Crusoe's actions and behavior were conducive to neither communing with nor taking pleasure in nature. Crusoe viewed nature as an object of production and labor. Charles Dickens would describe the author Defoe negatively as "a precious dry and disagreeable article himself."¹⁹ Whether Chinese readers supported the establishment of industry, or enjoyed the pleasures of wandering freely, or possessed wealth and social position, most would have found it difficult to identify with Crusoe. As a result, Shen adds aesthetically pleasing descriptions to his translation. When Crusoe is stranded on the island, the original novel describes Crusoe's search for a safe and secure place to live: "My next Work was to view the Country, and seek a proper Place for my Habitation, and where to stow my Goods to secure them from whatever might happen..."²⁰ Shen's Crusoe has different motivations: "There was a cave long like a winding path and large enough to enter. [The place was] so incredibly serene, I could not bear to leave it. Here I hanged curtains to make of it a sort of study" 有一洞可通，如曲径。然余喜其幽闲，爱不忍去。遂于此地搭帐为室。²¹ Defoe's Crusoe makes the island habitable "by a constant Study, and serious Application of the Word

¹⁷ Di Fu, *Juedao piaoliu ji*, 2

¹⁸ Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, ed. Michael Shinagel (New York: Norton, 1975), 16.

¹⁹ See John Forster and J. W. T. Ley, *The Life of Charles Dickens* (London: Cecil Palmer, 1928), 611, note. Cited in Ian P. Watt, *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), 68.

²⁰ Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 43.

²¹ Di Fu, *Juedao piaoliu ji*, 7.

of God.” But Crusoe’s island is also a space with political, even imperialist resonance: “I was Lord of the whole Manor; or if I pleas’d, I might call myself King, or Emperor over the whole Country which I had Possession of.”²² However, the attitude of Shen’s Crusoe is epitomized in this passage: “Those daily necessities for the home were provided for. Although I lived in solitude, a cat, a dog, a parrot etc. waited upon me. I wandered to my heart’s content, it seemed as if my happiness was heaven sent” 家中日用之物，一应俱全。虽孑然一身独处，而猫狗鹦鹉等，日侍左右。悠游自得，俨若有天伦之乐矣。 From the perspective of Chinese traditional culture, this aesthetic of “wandering to one’s heart’s content” 悠游自得 would be the only way to truly attain a kind of happiness. The aesthetic attitude encapsulated by Shen’s Crusoe of “lingering on the island, taking unbounded pleasure in the scenery” 逡巡岛上，抚景流连赏玩不置 is a stark contrast to the Crusoe’s puritan concerns with practicality and morality.²³ What most disgusted Defoe’s Crusoe were idle people: “When I came to London, I was uneasy as I was before, I had no Relish to the place, no Employment in it, nothing to do but saunter about like an idle person, of whom it must be said; he is perfectly useless in God’s Creation; and it is not one farthing Matter to the rest of his Kind, whether he be alive or dead.”²⁴ The Shen translation intervenes in this puritan ideal through an aesthetic revision of Crusoe’s binaries of possessing or being possessed, of putting to use or being put to use, alienating aspects of his often-mechanical utilitarianism. Shen’s Crusoe is more of an aesthete, taking pleasure in the scenery and the quietude of a solitary and studious life.

If Crusoe’s life of contrivances tacitly expresses the spiritual and existential relations between God and man, and man and Nature, Crusoe’s relationship with Friday reveal Crusoe’s attitudes about human relations, or to put it more concretely, Crusoe’s relationship with Friday epitomizes a hierarchical concept of human relations in which ethnicity is used to construct the categories of civilized and savage. Law Wing-sang notes: “Pernicious aspects of colonialism begin with the very construction of that separation between I and the Other”.²⁵ *Robinson Crusoe* is one of the first novelistic narratives that clearly and unambiguously imagines imperialism through the idea of colonial territory as originally uninhabited or deserted, as Crusoe thought of his island “that no humane Shape had ever set Foot upon that Place.”²⁶ Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* reveals the way a colonial ideological concept can be

²² Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 101.

²³ Di Fu, *Juedao piaoliu ji*, 8-9.

²⁴ Daniel Defoe, *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe: Being the Second and Last Part of His Life, and of the Strange Surprising Accounts of His Travels Round Three Parts of the Globe* (London: W. Taylor, 1719), 10. Accessed at archive.org.

²⁵ Law Wing-sang 罗永生, “Daoyan: jiezhi yu (hou) zhimin yanjiu” 导言：解殖与（后）殖民研究 (Preface: Decolonialism and (post) colonial research) in *Jiezhi yu minzuzhuyi* 解殖与民族主义 (Decolonialism and Nationalism), in ed. Xu Baoqiang 许宝强 and Law Wing-sang (Beijing: Zhongyang, 2004), 12, our translation.

²⁶ Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 78.

naturalized as an “international convention.” But the deserted island as uninhabited territory does have limits in the end and this imperialist claim is contradicted when Crusoe discovers he is not the first person to walk on the island, that the island was never actually uninhabited to begin with. The colonialist-aboriginal relationship represents an inevitable encounter for imperialism. The relationship between Crusoe and Friday, as framework of colonial invasion, establishes the second narrative of imperialist legitimation.

Friday is a reinscription of the cannibalistic Caribbean savage and an affirmation of Christian theological perspectives on non-European cultures “and how it came to pass in the World, that the wise Gouvernour of all Things should give up any of his Creatures to such Inhumanity.”²⁷ The othering of Caribbean natives in English colonialism is here transformed through literary rhetoric into an illustration of the difference between (uncivilized) cannibals and (civilized) Christians. This also allows Crusoe to legitimize an imaginary slaughter of the cannibals, a subtle reenactment of colonial massacres in the New World (we return to this below).

The relationship between Crusoe and Friday is a figuration of the colonizer/colonized relationship. Through an underhanded rhetoric, the colonizer uses reason as a rationale for ruthlessness. Through an idealizing rhetoric the colonized is transformed into an exemplary figure of the submissive subject. The colonizer uses imperialist force (the Firelock Musket) for the plunder and protection of colonial territory, while the colonized is situated in that space between colonizer and colonized, the savior and the saved. Friday, the cannibal who submits to Christian morality is a figure for internalized social order. In a similar way as the relationship between the Creator and Creature in Christian theology is a type of nomination that determines the relation between God and Man, when he refers to Friday as a “Creature,” Crusoe takes the role of Creator, while situating the Caribbean cannibal/aboriginal in his proper place in creation. Imperialist power is not only determined by strength, but also depends on the willing submission of the colonized. Imperialist ideology is dependent on these two complimentary aspects, power and submission.

Neither a nationalist nor a titular representative of English imperialism, the ideological *raison d'être* of Defoe's Crusoe is his individualism and his relationship to God. The relations of power and submission between Crusoe and God and Friday and Crusoe casts a light on intimate links implicit in the social order and logic of Christianity and imperialist ideology. In some ways, in the light of *Robinson Crusoe*, the creation story in *Genesis* suggests a notion of sovereign territory. Historically, Christian missionaries accompanied colonial incursion. Liang Qichao took note of this: “It's not that there's nothing to learn from Christianity, or that there are no good missionaries. However, Western governments use this missionary activity to implement their imperialist policy” 耶教非不可采，教士非无善人，而各国政府利用此

²⁷ Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 154.

教行其帝国主义之政策。Liang claimed: “missionaries are the first scouts sent ahead...if you take a look at a map in the light of history, every colonial nation first sends out groups of pioneers who must put up with every hardship. All [these missionary pioneers] are engaged in spreading their own culture. The policy of conversion is frightening, and as a method it is very effective” 以传教政略为侦探队...试一览地图而比照之于历史, 凡各国新得殖民地, 其前此筚路蓝缕以开辟之者, 何一非自传教而来, 此传教政略之可畏, 如此其甚也。²⁸

Shen's translation aestheticizes and secularizes the religious content of Defoe's original text. In the context of missionary ideology in China at this time, such revision may be read as a type of resistance. Defoe's Crusoe expresses a blatant savior/saved regard for Friday.²⁹ Instead of a Crusoe teaching the ways of Christian salvation to a savage, Shen revises the relationship of power and opts for a more mundane teacher/student relationship; Crusoe teaches Friday how to read. As for the “*he would die, when I bid die*”³⁰ of Defoe's Crusoe in his dealing with Friday, Shen revises this master/slave relationship into one of “mutual reliance”³¹ 彼此相依. While not always consistent, these revisions occur frequently enough to weaken the religious and imperialist ideology embedded in Defoe's novel.

Shen's translation refigures Crusoe for contemporary Chinese readers who were looking for a Columbus-like hero to “spur on the youth” 激励少年. The direction of Shen's translation was, in a sense, determined by the social and cultural context of reader expectations. Shen not only revised the religious allegory of the original, he emphasized the element of “adventure” in the plot to a much greater degree than the original. The *Dalu bao* translation goes even further than Shen in this regard.

Revolutionary Discourse and the Dalu bao Translation

The *Dalu bao* translation of *Robinson Crusoe* was serialized from November 1902 until October 1903 in issues 1-4 and 7-12. The novel was listed in the contents page as an “adventure novel” (*maoxian xiaoshuo* 冒险小说) under the title *Lubinsun piaoliu ji yanyi*, the author was a transliteration of “Defoe” (De Fu) 德富, but the translator is uncredited.³² Both the Shen Zufen and *Dalu bao* translations were abridged translations of the first two parts of Robinson Crusoe. *Dalu bao* would complete the

²⁸ Liang Qichao: in *Yinbing shi heji*, 2: 32 and 26. This is also one way of understanding some of the possible reasons for the emergence of “missionary cases” 教案, anti-Christian and anti-foreign responses by the Chinese government and sometimes the population that emerged after the signing of the Peking Convention in 1860.

²⁹ “...now to be made an Instrument under Providence to save the Life, and for *ought I knew*, the Soul of a poor Savage, and bring him to the true Knowledge of Religion, and of the Christian Doctrine...,” Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 172.

³⁰ Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 180.

³¹ Di Fu, *Juedao piaoliu ji*, 13.

³² *Yanyi* 演义, a term for “historical fiction” or “romance,” was dropped in the text itself.

abridgement of the first part, and four chapters of an abridged second part before the journal was “reformed” and the translation was cut off.

Synthesizing the scattered material of writers such as Feng Ziyou 冯自由(1882-1958) and Liu Yusheng 刘禹生 (1876-1952), *Dalu bao* supported important figures such as the revolutionary Sun Yat-sen 孙中山 (1844-1925) and the revolutionary philologist Zhang Taiyan 章太炎(1868-1936). *Dalu bao* was a key periodical of the early revolutionary Republican period that openly propagated revolutionary opinion and represented a significant aspect of the collective identity of returned students who formed self-determination societies for national revival. *Dalu bao* was published by *Zuoxinshe* 作新社 (Society for Renewal), a publishing house financed by the Japanese educator Shimoda Utako 下田歌子. Ji Yihui 戡翼翬 (1878-1908) was one of the chief editors of *Dalu bao*. Liu Yusheng considered Ji to be “the first Chinese student to study in Japan, the first person to publish a revolutionary periodical, and the first to be secretly enlisted in Sun Yat-sen’s Changjiang revolutionary movement” 留日学生最初第一人，发刊革命杂志最初第一人，亦为中山先生密派入长江运动革命之第一人.³³ After serving in the military and taking part in a failed military uprising in 1901, Ji Yihui and Qin Lishan 秦力山 (1877-1906) escaped to Japan to publish a fervently anti-Manchu newspaper, *Guomin bao* 国民报 (*The Republican*). As Feng Ziyou later put it, the periodical was a “precursor to revolutionary newspapers by students studying abroad” 开留学界革命新闻之先河.³⁴ But the funds soon ran out and the publication ceased. Ji Yihui then returned to Shanghai and launched *Dalu bao*, inviting Qin Lishan and Yang Tingdong 杨廷栋 (1879-1950) to serve as chief editors in what Liu Yusheng called “the strategic communications center of the revolutionary party in Shanghai” 沪上革命党之交通重镇.³⁵ Feng Ziyou claimed *Dalu bao* promoted reform, rejected the “Protect the Emperor Society” and was a revised version of a previous paper, *Guomin bao* (*The Republican*).³⁶ However, perhaps because *Dalu bao* was a paper published by returnees who had studied abroad in Japan, the revolutionary passion was somewhat restrained, discussion of the Imperial court more circumspect and indirect, and the anti-Manchu sentiment certainly not as blatant as before. Instead the goal became “...the forward march of our nation’s citizens’ ways of thinking” 以开进我国民之思想为宗旨.³⁷ This is the context for the revolutionary revision of *Robinson Crusoe* in *Dalu bao*.

The preface writer emphasizes how the translation follows the source text. But the translation is truly a hybrid form that retains the first person narrative of the original

³³ Liu Yusheng, *Shu Ji Yihui shengping* 述戡翼翬生平 (Biography of Ji Yihui) *Shizai tang zayi* 世载堂杂忆 (Random recollections from zeitgeist hall) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), 150.

³⁴ Feng Ziyou, *Geming yishi* 革命逸史 (Reminiscences of the Revolution), 6 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 1: 96.

³⁵ Liu Yusheng, *Shu Ji Yihui shengping*, 155.

³⁶ Feng Ziyou, *Geming yishi*, 1: 96.

³⁷ See “Jinggao duzhe zhujun” 敬告读者诸君 (Respectfully for our readers), *Dalu bao* 5 (March 1903): 1.

while employing the chapter style of Chinese novels. Compared to the Shen Zufen translation, the *Dalu bao* translation uses a more popular language; Crusoe is transformed into a chivalric *Outlaws of the Marsh* type of popular hero.³⁸ The chapter novel style of the *Dalu bao* translation reiterates this popular form by refiguring Crusoe as an outlaw bandit type hero taking up arms for justice, politicizing *Robinson Crusoe* by adding ideas about “*jiu tongzhong*” 救同种 (saving the race), “*tan ta guoshi dai bao buping*” 谈他国事代报不平 (discussing national affairs to uphold justice), and “*lun Zhongguo tong tan chou guanli*” 论中国痛谈丑官吏 (discussing the sorrow of the nation and despicable government officials). Crusoe becomes a mouthpiece to broadcast turn-of-the-nineteenth century “*aiqun*” 爱群 (love of the masses), “*baozhong*” 保种 (protect the race) and “*pai man*” 排满 (anti-Manchu) ideologies.

The absolute individualism Crusoe represented for Chinese thinkers at this time was incompatible with traditional moral principles of loyalty and filial piety, and even more importantly, in the context of fears of national extinction, neither the reformers nor the emergent revolutionary party pleaded for the individual hero as an historical subject. The subject of history was the broad masses of citizens of the nation. Thus, while the reformers and the revolutionaries can clearly be differentiated according to their opinions about the emperor or the Manchus, both ideological camps find similarity in their emphasis on a negative critique of the slavish mentality, weak character, and selfishness of the citizens, finding common ground in their promotion of the inherent right to the autonomy of the citizens as a collective, the importance of military affairs, and their love of the masses.

The political goal of the revolutionaries was the overthrow of the Qing court and the establishment of the republic. Zou Rong's 邹容 very important *Geming jun* 革命军 (*Revolutionary Soldier*, 1903) makes an appeal to “revolutionary fighters, nation-building heroes, and great martyrs” 革命之健儿、建国之豪杰、流血之巨子.³⁹ In his preface to *Revolutionary Soldier*, Zhang Shizhao notes the manifesto “employs republicanism as the core, anti-Manchu sentiment for its usefulness, and selections of historical moments that reveal Manchu oppression of the Chinese...”⁴⁰ The *Dalu bao* translation of *Robinson Crusoe*, Zou Rong's *Revolutionary Soldier*, and Zhang Taiyan's “Bo Kang Youwei lun geming shu” (Rebuttal of Kang Youwei on revolution) were all published in Shanghai in the same period and were products of the same general principle that an unpublicized revolution had no hopes of succeeding. The *Dalu bao* translation of *Robinson Crusoe* makes the largest revisions and appropriations of the source text, overturning the individualistic image of Crusoe and drawing on the style of contemporary political novels. When the novel was not amenable to expressing

³⁸ *Shuihu zhuan* 水浒传 *Outlaws*, dating from the fourteenth century, is a very popular vernacular chapter novel about rebel bandits in the twelfth century.

³⁹ Zou Rong, *Geming jun* (Beijing: Huaxia, 2002), 36. We have also consulted the translation by John Lust, *The Revolutionary Army: A Chinese Nationalist Tract of 1903* (Paris: Mouton, 1968).

⁴⁰ Zhang Taiyan 章太炎, “Du *Geming jun*” 读《革命军》 (Reading *Revolutionary Soldier*), in *Su bao* 苏报, June 9, 1903.

revolutionary politics, the source text was deleted and replaced by whole paragraphs of political discourse.

Defoe emphasizes Crusoe's desire and ambition to go to sea. The *Dalu bao* translation endows Crusoe with nationalistic motive, positioning the character between the two moral imperatives of filial piety and national preservation. Thus the magnificent Anglo-Saxon national is endowed with all the responsibilities of citizenship in a future new republic, while critiquing the outdated Confucian concept of "If your parents are still alive, do not travel far from home, and have a predetermined destination" 父母在, 不远游.⁴¹ The *Dalu bao* Crusoe is a figure for the future republic: "In most cases, once a person has matured, the time is right for him to stand forth and take an interest in the nation's affairs, to be steadfast in efforts to prevent the invasion of our independent nation; to make sure society remains stable and free, this is what it means to be an individual" 大凡年纪已长的人, 便要挺身做国家社会上的公事。要使我的国家, 为堂堂正正不受侵略的独立国家; 要使我的社会为完完全全不受破坏的自由社会, 这才算得个人。⁴² The *Dalu bao* Crusoe promotes the idea that the Queen and her ministers treat the nation as they would their spouses, that marriage and childbirth permit the English race to rise up and propagate. At the same time, the translation represents a critique of the habit of weak young people who, like the dead, "relaxedly remain in the family home" 要安闲自在钉在家里。⁴³ The visit of the *Dalu bao* Crusoe to China shows that the translation incorporates events from the second volume of *Robinson Crusoe* when Crusoe and his nephew, the ship's Captain, arrive on the shores of China with supplies of opium for sale. For Defoe's Crusoe, Europeans only praise Chinese culture because "...having first a true Notion of the Barbarity and Rudeness of those countries, the Rudeness and Ignorance that prevails there, we do not expect to find any such things so far off."⁴⁴ Crusoe also gloats confidently: "One English or Dutch, or French Man of War, of 80 Guns, would fight and destroy all the shipping of China."⁴⁵ In stark contrast to Defoe's Eurocentric criticism of Chinese culture, the *Dalu bao* Crusoe and his nephew travels to China and articulates what would have been a sharp internal critique of the shortcomings of contemporary national consciousness, making recommendations for the necessity of developing a military: "If you do not strengthen your nation quickly and make sure each citizen prepares himself for military service, [I am] afraid a foreign power will soon come and destroy you" 你们的国, 若不速速自强, 使人人皆练到军国民资格, 恐不久必有一国来灭你。⁴⁶ The promotion of military service was not isolated to the *Dalu bao* translation of *Robinson Crusoe*. In the "Rationale for a Revolutionary War of Independence" 革命独立之大义 chapter of *Revolutionary Soldier*, Zou Rong uses the

⁴¹ See *Lunyu* 论语 (*The Analects*), 4:19 (our translation).

⁴² *Lubinsun piaoliu ji yanyi* (*The Wanderings of Robinson*) in *Dalu bao* 1 (November 1902): 2-3.

⁴³ *Lubinsun* in *Dalu bao* 11 (August 1903): 81, 83.

⁴⁴ Daniel Defoe, *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, 297.

⁴⁵ Daniel Defoe, *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, 297.

⁴⁶ *Dalu bao* 11 (August 1903): 90.

American war of independence as a historical model to call for a militarization of society in which all male citizens must bear the responsibility of military service. He also states that members of the revolutionary party must promote and propagate military affairs in books, newspapers, or periodicals (no matter whether or not said publications specialize in this topic).⁴⁷

The Revolutionary Party advocated for the power of the citizens, agitating and promoting an ethos of self-sacrifice unto death. The revolutionary Chen Tianhua 陈天华 (1875-1905) exhorted his fellow citizens to “consider life and death, take revenge on enemies of the nation, protect your fellow Chinese, and engage in battle regardless of the consequences” 把生死，十分看透，杀国仇，保同族，效命疆场。⁴⁸ The *Dalu bao* translation refigures Crusoe in the image of the early twentieth century revolutionary. The *Dalu bao* Crusoe is heroic in the face of death, showing none of the fear and trembling of Defoe’s hero: “The great man goes it alone, without any restraints, and fearlessly. He lives as he sees fit in order to take on the social tasks of the nation, so that when it is time to die, he will willingly die with an unblemished conscience. Is this not millions of times better than living like a confused fool or a person who enacts wickedness?” 大丈夫独往独来，无挂碍，无恐怖。可生则生，以多做国家社会上一些义务；到了当死之时，甘心赴死，干干净净，姣姣洁洁，岂不胜于糊涂偷生，借生行恶的人几千万倍么？⁴⁹ The *Dalu bao* Crusoe makes direct statements of sentiment: “I have devoted my life to the masses. For the benefit of national affairs, I would willingly lay down my life” 我生平以爱群为志，凡有益于国民之事，即把我这斗大的头颅送他，也是甘愿的。⁵⁰ These life and death politics are recall the exhortations for the sacrifice of the individual for the greater good of the nation in Zou Rong’s *Revolutionary Soldier*.

Eschewing the individualism of Defoe’s original, the *Dalu bao* translation refigures Crusoe as a triumphant protagonist who loves the masses: “I have loved and cherished the masses my whole life, and today I alone stand on this isle, where most others would have perished” 我生平是最爱群的，今日一般人皆死了，单单留下我这一条性命，在这荒岛。⁵¹ Not only does Crusoe speak of himself in glowing terms, others praise his service to the people as well. In Defoe, after Crusoe is helped by a young Moor named Xury to escape slavery, he sells the boy to the Captain of a Portuguese ship, later regretting the sale when he is short of labor on his plantation in Brazil. Crusoe’s attitude towards the sale is ambiguous: “...not that I was not willing to let

⁴⁷ See “Xuchu Dalu bao fakan ci” 续出大陆报发刊词 (Introduction to the continued publication of *Dalu bao*), “Junshi sixiang puji yu guomin zhi fangfa shouduan” 军事思想普及与国民之方法手段 (Methods for the spread of military thought amongst the citizens) and other texts, first month of the Lunar New Year, no. 1 (1904).

⁴⁸ Chen Tianhua, *Chen Tianhua ji* (Collected works of Chen Tianhua) (Changsha: Hunan renmin, 1982), 48.

⁴⁹ *Dalu bao* 1 (November 1902): 5.

⁵⁰ *Dalu bao* 3 (January 1903): 20.

⁵¹ *Dalu bao* 3 (January 1903): 23.

the Captain have him, but I was very loath to sell the poor Boy's Liberty, who had assisted me so faithfully in procuring my own."⁵² In the *Dalu bao* translation, the relationship between Crusoe and Xury is altered considerably, especially with regard to Xury's attitude. In the translation, Xury meets Crusoe in Brazil and, struck by the Crusoe's destitute condition, volunteers his service to the Englishman: "I would willingly work as a laborer, because you are one who loves the masses, and if you were to starve to death, that would mean there was one less person who cared about the masses in this world" 我自愿当苦工, 只因你能爱群, 若你饿死, 便是世界上少一个爱群的人了.⁵³ The *Dalu bao* Crusoe is a figure of the masses, of Chinese ethnicity, and the nation, far removed from the individualism of the Christian Englishman looking to make a profit from his plantation in Brazil.

Defoe's Crusoe takes up arms for the purpose of survival, and incidentally to secure his companion Friday. The *Dalu bao* Crusoe takes up arms to save the race and a coastal war against barbarians, supplementing a revolutionary ideology that unites a love of the masses with anti-Manchu sentiment. This revolutionary discourse emerged during a specific moment in modern history. Nationalist sentiment at the time was in a transition from anti-imperialist to anti-Manchu. Many of the revolutionaries were students who studied in Japan "where it was easier to express anti-Manchuism than anti-imperialism, student writings gradually changed their focus. Instead of concentrating on anti-imperialism, [Qing] appeasement, and the need to create a new and more militant Chinese people, the students began to dwell on the shortcomings of the Manchus. China's ills came to be blamed mostly on the alien dynasty." More effective than anti-imperialism, anti-Manchu sentiment became rallying cry for nationals and overseas Chinese from many social backgrounds.⁵⁴

In Defoe, the "Savage" implies a distancing from foreign ethnicities legitimated by God. This is clear in the section when, exploring his island, Crusoe comes upon human remains and reflects upon the Cannibals, the "Savage Wretches," and "...gave God Thanks that had cast my first Lot in a Part of the World, where I was distinguish'd from such dreadful Creatures as these..."⁵⁵ In contrast, the *Dalu bao* Crusoe morally divides the protagonists as either good or evil. The cannibals are condemned as evil and uncivilized, but the cannibals' victims are delineated as aboriginals, and of the same "type" as Crusoe. In Defoe, Crusoe's response to the sight of human remains is striking: "I was just at the point of Fainting, when Nature discharg'd the Disorder from my Stomach, and having vomited with an uncommon Violence, I was a little reliev'd..."⁵⁶ In *Dalu bao*, Crusoe's response is shot through

⁵² Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 29.

⁵³ *Dalu bao* 3 (January 1903): 21.

⁵⁴ Michael Glassner, "The republican revolutionary movement," in *The Cambridge History of China*, eds. Denis C. Twitchett and John K. Fairbank, 14 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), Vol. 11, *Late Ch'ing, 1800-1911*, Part 2: 482-83.

⁵⁵ Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 129-30.

⁵⁶ Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 129.

with revolutionary love for the masses: “heroic tears welled-up uncontrollably inside him for the love of the masses, he cried for a time, unwilling to abandon [the scene] he paced until he was exhausted, until dusk fell and he returned to his cave to cry for the night’s remainder” 不知不觉眼眶中涌出爱群的万斛英雄泪，大哭一场，彷徨于累累的尸骨左右，不忍舍去，直至薄暮，始回洞中，又哭了一夜。⁵⁷ In stark contrast to Defoe’s Crusoe who desires to make Friday a slave so much he dreams it first, the *Dalu bao* Crusoe exhibits a strong empathy for the cannibals’ victims. Most tellingly, in the *Dalu bao* translation Friday is not a cannibal, he is “kindhearted” 良善 and “not like that fierce people” 不似那凶恶一般的人 (the cannibals). The *Dalu bao* Crusoe makes Friday “like us Europeans” 似我欧洲人， a fundamental revision of Crusoe and Friday’s relationship.

The discourse of ethnicity was a condensation of revolutionary ideology from this period. Through the revolutionary discourse about “saving the race” 谈保种 and framed within the vernacular martial arts novel, the *Dalu bao* translator freely expresses a critique of the Qing government as rule by the foreign Manchu. Even though he faces a crowd of cannibals, when Crusoe realizes that the cannibals have captured a Caucasian, Crusoe hollers at the top of his lungs with total disregard for his own safety:

I have been stranded on this island for twenty-seven years during which time I could only dream of meeting another European. Now I learn these barbaric savages dare to harm a fellow European. For the love I possess for my kind, I shall seek revenge even if I die in the process...Such is my responsibility to fellow Europeans, no matter if these cannibals eat me alive...

我漂流这岛二十七年，想欲梦见一个欧洲人也是不能，今日野蛮倘把我这同胞杀害了，我抵死也要报复这仇，以达我爱群之目的。…这是救我同胞的义务。即是被野蛮夹活吃下肚子里，我也不怕。⁵⁸

Such nationalism based on ethnic identification is presented as a natural, even universal, concept. In a later scene, through the speech of a Caucasian European character, the *Dalu bao* translator forms a thinly veiled critique of the Manchu rule:

“I once heard about a people in this world who deliberately murder their own kind. When [they] encounter war, if it is civil strife, that government’s officials become like a murderous, unblinking King of Demons; when a dispute arises with a foreign country, that same government’s officials turn into tortoises hiding their heads, anxiously ceding [their] enormous power and strategic territory to foreigners.... When I was a child I heard about an enormous nation that assassinated their own emperor because of internal strife. For personal reasons, a military officer at the time went to a neighboring country to form a militia and lead them to attack his own country. Foreigners thus usurped the emperor’s seat. The citizens found this

⁵⁷ *Dalu bao* 4 (February 1903): 34.

⁵⁸ *Dalu bao* 7 (May 1903): 45.

unacceptable at first but later grew accustomed [to this situation]. Surprisingly, they did not even know foreigners had taken the role as masters.

我曾听说，世界上有一种人，专好同种杀同种。遇有战争的事，倘是国中内乱，那政府的人，就像个杀人不眨眼的魔王；倘遇与他国启衅，那政府的人，就变做缩头龟，急急把偌大的权利，要害的土地，奉送他国的人……我幼时也曾听说，有一个很大的国，后来因国中内乱，把他皇帝杀了。彼时有一个将官，因为他的私事，跑到邻国借兵，打进本国来，那把皇帝坐的金交椅，便被邻国人坐了。起初时，国民亦有不服的。到了后来做惯了，竟不知是异种的人，做他们的主人翁。⁵⁹

As the *Dalu bao* translation progressed, the narrative borrowed even more from the second part of *Robinson Crusoe* when Crusoe arrives in China. The translator uses this setting to criticize corrupt officials who accept bribes, collude with foreigners, sell off national land, and make profits for themselves while paying no attention to affairs of state. By borrowing a foreign character as spokesperson for revolutionary discourse, the translator is not only able to enunciate ideas he would not dare express otherwise, the use of a foreign character as spokesperson also parallels evolutionary manifestoes of the period that often used England, France, and the United States as propagandistic examples of progressive political systems and thought, as potential tendencies for national political development. While they tacitly discussed European and other cultures, the actual target was late Qing China.

Embedded within the discourse of revolutionary ideology linked to concepts like the “love of the masses” and the spirit of self-sacrifice is an image of the noble hero from Chinese popular fiction. Like the Shen Zufen translation, the *Dalu bao* translation condenses aspects of Crusoe’s life on the island. For example, whereas Defoe’s Crusoe occupies himself to construct a shelter and table and chairs, the *Dalu bao* translation states: “the great man has unlimited abilities, [he is] even capable of constructing a world, why would furniture be a problem?” 大丈夫何事不能为，即是一个世界，也能制造出来，难道区区器具，不能制造吗？⁶⁰ And the topic is closed. In Defoe, after Crusoe discovers the human footprint he is “Thunder-Struck” and the discovery puts him in a state of extreme agitation for “Weeks and Months” (1975: 123). However, the *Dalu bao* translator probably read such a response as unheroic, even cowardly, and borrows the scene in Defoe in which Crusoe burns wood for the purpose of making coal to metaphorically represent the passion of Crusoe’s heroic nature. In the scene where Crusoe first sees Friday fleeing from his captors, the *Dalu bao* translation enhances the scene by inserting a heroic interior monologue for Crusoe: “How I wish I could change into a whirlwind and swoop him up the mountain [beside me]” 我恨不得变了一阵狂风，把他撮上山来。Crusoe’s rescue of Friday is described as “With one leap, [I] flew down from the top of the mountain” 直自山顶，一轱辘滚将下来。⁶¹ Imbued with the rash heroism of popular fiction, the *Dalu bao* Crusoe’s rescue of

⁵⁹ *Dalu bao* 8 (May 1903): 49-50.

⁶⁰ *Dalu bao* 4 (February 1903): 29.

⁶¹ *Dalu bao* 7 (May 1903): 40.

Friday is the heroic act of an outlaw bandit from folklore. *Dalu bao* Crusoe represents a simultaneous appropriation of popular Chinese literature and the English literary classic as vehicle for early revolutionary discourse and for the image of a revolutionary.

Even more than the Shen translation, the *Dalu bao* Crusoe is a complete revision of the source text, transforming the individualist into an idealized citizen who loves the masses and opposes the government. The careful and calculating English adventurer is transformed into a heroic figure willing to risk all in carrying out his duty. In essence, Defoe's Crusoe is transformed into a figure to legitimize revolutionary ideology and inspire readers to join the revolution. The translator employs the character of Robinson Crusoe to propagandize several key ideological concepts from revolutionary thinking in the first years of the twentieth century such as the spirit of self-sacrifice and duty of citizens to the modern republic, love for the masses, and anti-Manchu nationalism. The *Dalu bao* Crusoe represents a unique instance of the figuration of early revolutionary ideology. Our final translator, Lin Shu, would refigure *Robinson Crusoe* through what could be called a theological mode.

*Confucian Discourse in Lin Shu's Translation of Robinson Crusoe*⁶²

Lin Shu chose to translate *Robinson Crusoe* because, although he had by his own account translated nineteen novels, half of which were in the sentimental (*yanqing* 言情) genre, Lin himself felt a need to try his hand at heroic translation. Like Shen and the *Dalu bao* translator, Lin Shu regarded *Robinson Crusoe* as an adventure novel that could "inspire the militaristic spirit in our nation's citizens" 以振吾国民尚武精神.⁶³ However, Lin viewed the image of heroic adventurers like Columbus and Crusoe differently. Lin claimed that when the "great" 大者 Columbus robbed and pillaged the American aboriginals he encountered, although he was able to enlist the support of his nation's citizens, his thievery overshadowed his greatness. For Lin, Columbus, no less than the fictional Robinson Crusoe, were types of "robbers" 行劫者.⁶⁴ Lin Shu believed the adventure novel was instrumental in "arousing the spirit of adventure in Europeans" 鼓励白种人探险之思. Lin differentiated the degrees of "pilfering" 鼠窃, Columbus' acts far outweighed the situation of Crusoe on his island. Nevertheless, for Lin "perhaps the Columbus and Crusoe type" was responsible for the pillaging and pilfering of the Chinese people in the modern period 吾支那之被其劫掠, 未必非哥伦

⁶² Lin Shu did not read English, so his collaborator Zeng Zonggong (1870-?) supplied an oral interpretation of the novel. Nevertheless, the text evidences Lin Shu's writing style, so we refer to it as a Lin Shu translation.

⁶³ Lin Shu, *Aiji jinta poushi ji yi yu shengyu* 《埃及金塔剖尸记》译余剩语 (A few words concerning the translation of *Cleopatra*) in Lin Shu, 林琴南书话 *Lin Qinnan Shu Hua* (*Lin Qinnan [Lin Shu] on Books*), ed. Wu Junbiao 吴俊标 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin, 1999), 23.

⁶⁴ Lin Shu, *Wuzhong ren xu* <雾中人>叙 (Preface to *The People of the Mist*) in Lin Shu, *Lin Qinnan Shu Hua*, 45.

布、鲁滨孙之流之有以导之也。⁶⁵ As part of his critique of the ideology of imperialism articulated by these prefaces, Lin admonished his readers to “take extreme precautions against these bandits who would exterminate races” 严防行劫及灭种者之盗: “learn what there is to learn from bandits, not to become bandits, but to defend against them” 学盗之所学, 不为盗而但备盗, and in this manner “exhaust the power of banditry” 盗力穷矣。⁶⁶ As the earliest translator to work with the problems of Western literary translation, Lin saw clearly that literature could be a symbolic narrative that integrated imperialist ideology within a fictional narrative so that it became palatable (for some readers at least).

In clear contradistinction to period translations, in his preface to *Robinson Crusoe* Lin Shu cites the *summum bonum* of philosophy, the “Zhong Yong” 中庸:

To establish the highest moral standard for a person, our nation’s sages used *Doctrine of the Mean*. Simply put, the “mean” (*zhong*) signifies the impartial, while the “common” (*yong*) is “not changing” (*bu yi*). As to the impartial, that which goes beyond the mean loses uprightness and becomes partial. Concerning that which is not changing, calm unhurriedness and careful avoidance brings “change.” To engage through righteousness one must start out from a position of righteousness, to embrace righteousness unto death, such is the meaning of the mean (*Zhong*) as well as the true ordinary (*Yong*). When a man is overcautious, living a life of no ambition, neither praising nor disapproving, finding comfort in domestic life, finding no fault in his fellows, such is also the Doctrine of the Mean, the Mean for the middling man, the ordinary for the ordinary man. Because England’s Robinson Crusoe neither wished to exemplify the Mean for the middling man nor of the ordinary for the ordinary man, he set forth from home on a skiff with complete disregard for the cresting waves to survive an almost hopeless situation in absolute solitude. Possessing the combined qualities of Fu Xi, Xuan Yuan, You Chao Shi, and Sui Ren,⁶⁷ [Crusoe] lived solitarily for twenty-seven years from the time he set out until his return. His exploits are rarely to be found in history.

吾国圣人，以中庸立人之极。於是训者，以中爲不偏，以庸爲不易。不偏云者，凡过中失正，皆偏也。不易云者，夷犹巧避，皆易也。据义而争，当义而发，抱义而死，中也，亦庸也。若夫洞洞属属，自恤其命，无所可否，日对妻子娱乐，处人未尝有过，是云中庸，特中人之中，庸人之庸耳。英国鲁滨孙者，惟不爲中人之中，庸人之庸，故单舸猝出，侮狎风涛，濒绝地而处，独行独坐，兼羲、轩、巢、燧诸氏之所爲而爲之，独居二十七年始返，其事盖亘古所不经见者也。⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Lin Shu, *Gu gui yijin ji xu* <古鬼遗金记>序 (Preface to *Benita*) in *Lin Qinnan Shu Hua*, 106.

⁶⁶ Lin Shu, *Wuzhong ren xu*, 46.

⁶⁷ The short list of mythical figures here includes Fu Xi 伏羲, who created humans (with his sister/wife Nüwa 女娲); Xuan Yuan 轩辕, an alternate name for the Yellow Emperor, the First Emperor and originator of civilization; You Chao Shi 有巢氏, who taught humans how to build shelter; and Sui Ren 燧人 who developed the wood drilling method for fire.

⁶⁸ Lin Shu 林纾, “Xu” 序 (Preface), in *Yingguo Dafu* 英国达乎 *Lubinsun piaoliu ji* 鲁滨孙飘流记 (*The Wanderings of Robinson Crusoe*), trans. Lin Shu, Zeng Zonggong. 2 vols. (1905, 1906; reprint, Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1922), 1: 1. We consulted this 1922 Shangwu edition for convenience. This electronic scan is available as a pdf through Hathi Trust

In his reading of the figure of Robinson Crusoe, Lin Shu adapted central ideas from neo-Confucianism. The title of the *Zhong Yong* consists of two words, *Zhong* and *Yong*, referring to a sense of equilibrium (*Zhong*) in everyday life (*Yong*). However, Lin Shu separates this compound, differentiating these two central ideas as two different types of cultivation. The first is the highest type of cultivation, that of the sage, whose central concept is righteousness (*yi*), “[t]o engage through righteousness one must start out from a position of righteousness, to embrace righteousness unto death.” But Lin also posits another category of cultivation, a *Doctrine of the Mean* for the *zhongren*, literally the “man in the middle,” an average-person who nevertheless opens up a potentially broader applicability for the Mean.⁶⁹ The characteristics of this *Doctrine* for average people include “living a life of no ambition, neither praising nor disapproving, finding comfort in domestic life.” Not the experiences of the recluse/scholar.

Lin Shu seems to set up these two very different types of “*Zhong Yong*” in the preface, one to praise Crusoe and one to criticize Crusoe’s father. Lin employs the average man in the middle to correspond to Crusoe’s father. However, in the translation itself the opposite is true. Other Chinese translations of *Robinson Crusoe* emphasized the adventurous aspect of Crusoe’s journey, ignoring those aspects of the novel that seemed to contradict the adventure.

In spite of the relative unimportance of Crusoe’s father, Defoe gives the father’s advice considerable weight in the novel. After all, Crusoe’s opposition to his father’s advice was his “Original Sin.”⁷⁰ The father gives advice about the importance of the “Middle Station,” an expression of class identity and the experience and values of that social group: “...the Calamities of Life were shared among the upper and lower Part of Mankind; but that the middle Station had the fewest Disasters, and not expos’d to so many Vicissitudes as the higher or lower Part of Mankind...” Not only does the “Middle Station” escape misfortunes because of its relative position, but Crusoe’s father goes even further to declare the middle Station as “the State of Life which all other People envied, the Kings have frequently lamented the miserable Consequences

(www.hathitrust.org). But where possible ambiguities arose, such as the discussion of the lexical field of ceramics below, the earlier two volume edition was consulted for comparison: Da Fu 达孚, trans. Lin Shu, Zeng Zonggong, *Zuben Lubinsun piaoliu ji* 足本鲁滨孙漂流记 *The Wanderings of Robinson Crusoe Unabridged*, 2 vols. (Shangwu yinshuguan, 1906).

⁶⁹ Note that in the *Zhong Yong* Confucius begins his discussion of the Doctrine of the Mean by drawing comparisons between the superior and the inferior man, the exemplary and the petty persons. See Wang Guoxuan 王国轩, ed., *Da Xue, Zhong Yong* 大学、中庸 (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 2006), 49; “The Doctrine of the Mean,” in Wing-tsit Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963), 98-99; Roger T. Ames and David L. Hall (trans. and commentary), *Focusing the Familiar: A Translation and Philosophical Interpretation of the Zhongyong* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2001), 89-90.

⁷⁰ Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 152.

of being born to great things, and wish'd they had been placed in the Middle of the two Extremes..."⁷¹ The Middle is, in effect, the ideal social and economic position.

Lin Shu employs "*zhongren*," the man in the middle, the common person, to stand for Defoe's middle Station or State. However, the two are not equivalent. Unlike Defoe's middle State, which resonates with social and economic meanings, Lin Shu's term points to the ethical idea of inherently moderate abilities with implicit limits. With regard to the relationship between the "common man" and the external world, the distinguishing features of Lin's common man include "modesty in handling affairs" 处世庸庸, "neither arrogant nor unruly, and in worldly dealings not contrarian" 不骄不狂, 与世无忤. The wise scholar aims to "play it safe through moderation" 明哲保身 thus "besides ridding [oneself] of the spirit of opposition and integrating with broad society" 矧矫抗之气既除, 于合群之道尤当, 凡百适宜 if he is able to "consistently avoid misfortune, and as a result not have to experience the accompanying countless changes, [he] will rarely meet unpleasant events" 恒不罹其害, 且不经无数之变态, 而拂意之事, 亦不常觐. As for the heart of the common man in the middle, "the complete array of greed and jealous desire the corruptible customs of the upper echelons of society are not sufficient to disturb the heart" 一切贪嗔伎克之事, 若上流社会之陋习, 均不足扰吾天君, "the seven emotions will not disturb, and the burning desire to kill, in the midst of the temptation to violence, gently dissipates" 七情都不能乱, 亦无杀机欲焰, 攻炽其中, 终日雍容. "The body and mind of the man in the middle" "中人之身心" is "to daily maintain one's composure" "日觉泰然," "to observe the world calmly, to accumulate knowledge every day" 静中阅世, 逐日增长其学问, "as accumulating the one hundred virtues in oneself permits the experience of sitting and appreciating an untainted pleasure" 若丛百善于其躬, 令之坐享极乐. The domestic life of the man in the middle 中人之家 is also "efficient and convenient, thus nothing disturbs, there is no need to worry about disease" 节用而省事, 事乃不扰, 亦无疾病之虞. Therefore, "the common" 中人 "encounter less misfortune than elites, while the foolish below bear the brunt of disaster" 凡命中乖蹇之事, 非高明者当之, 即下愚躬受其咎 "each and every one should experience the pleasure accorded to him. Were the sky overhead to bestow this happiness on the man in the middle, the road he travelled would be smooth and without incident until he died" 人人应享之乐, 彼皆享之. 天心若聚此奇福, 以待中人, 中人所履之路, 坦坦荡荡至于没世. Lin Shu believed "the comportment of this type of man is what is called the Mean" 凡此种人举动, 名曰中庸 even claiming that the ancient sages all "consistently lowered their station to that of the man in the middle, to meet neither happiness nor great misfortune" 恒思降格处于中人, 不被奇福, 亦不罹巨祸.⁷²

The middle class ideology of the *Robinson Crusoe* source text goes beyond a mere plot element to underpin notions of comfort, providence, and necessity that inform Crusoe's journey. Lin Shu makes use of the middle class notions of the source text for

⁷¹ Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 5-6.

⁷² Yingguo Dafu, *Lubinsun piaoliu ji*, trans. Lin Shu, Zeng Zonggong, 1: 3-4.

his own purposes to construct the figure the “man in the middle” and the vicissitudes of his existence. In the preface, Lin Shu makes a distinction between the Mean for the Sage (the son, Robinson Crusoe) and the Mean for the “man in the middle” (the father), critically praising the former and criticizing the latter. Nevertheless, in the novel Lin employs the language of the Confucian Sage to frame the language of the father’s remonstrances against going to sea. Like his contemporaries, Lin recognized the importance of Crusoe, but he also found sympathy with the father’s opposition.

By employing language of Confucian philosophy, Lin Shu integrates Confucian ethics and Western middle class ideology to construct a new type of literary figure. Risk and adventure are put forward as important tasks whose outcome is uncertain. At the same time, any success in adventure would fall outside the expectations of one’s social and moral duties. There is a distinctly paradoxical aspect to the combination of Confucian concepts like acknowledging one’s social and moral duties (of a son to his father for example), accepting one’s lot in life, and the figure from English literature called Robinson Crusoe, a Christian who defies his father’s wishes and risks his life at sea. *Doctrine of the Mean* clearly states: “...the gentleman dwells at ease awaiting his destiny, the inferior man walks on the edge, wishing for good luck” 君子居易以俟命，小人行险以徼幸。⁷³ Lin uses every opportunity to critically read Crusoe the adventurer within the context of a Confucian moral framework. He does not completely negate that spirit of adventure praised so highly by his contemporaries; nevertheless, Lin’s sympathy with the British adventurer is located elsewhere.

Translation is never simply an equivalency of terms. Lydia Liu reads Lin Shu’s translation of *Robinson Crusoe* in the light of an episode in part one in which Crusoe attempts to bake clay vessels.⁷⁴ Liu reads Lin’s translation as a type of reversal of terminology, tracing the English character’s reference to the technology of porcelain through the lexical approximations of Lin and Zeng. Liu cites one passage to link Lin’s translation of Defoe and Crusoe’s implicit accidental transfer of porcelain technology: “It happen’d after some time, making a pretty large Fire for cooking my Meat, when I put it out after I had done with it, I found a broken Piece of one of my Earthen-ware Vessels in the Fire, burnt as hard as a Stone, and red as a Tile.”⁷⁵ Lexically, Lin’s translation stays fairly close to Defoe’s original: “One day after I had roasted some food, getting rid of the coals, [I] found a remaining piece of clay that had been heated until it was a ceramic tile” 一日余方炽薪行炙既食弃其薪见薪上有剩

⁷³ See Wang Guoxuan, ed., *Da Xue, Zhong Yong*, 76; Chan, trans., “The Doctrine of the Mean,” 101-02; trans. Ames and Hall, *Focusing the Familiar*, 94-95.

⁷⁴ See Liu, “Robinson Crusoe’s Earthenware Pot,” 51.

⁷⁵ Liu, “Robinson Crusoe’s Earthenware Pot,” 53. The passage occurs in the original in *Robinson Crusoe*, 95 and in the translation in Yingguo Dafu, *Lubinsun piaoliu ji*, trans. Lin Shu, Zeng Zonggong, 1: 104. Liu retranslates Defoe’s tile as a “porcelain tile.”

泥一片久煨而成陶瓦余愕而驚然则凡物皆可薪而成陶耶。⁷⁶ Lin's terminology was, and remains, part of a lexical field around the words used to stand for the products of clay hardened by exposure to high temperatures, known in English as ceramics, of which porcelain is one type. It could be argued that the operative part here is the second word of the compound, *wa* 瓦, a general term sometimes used for ceramic tiles, including clay colored eaves tiles 瓦当 / 屋瓦 common in traditional Chinese architecture. Classical and modern Chinese has a number of terms related to the techniques *and* aesthetics of ceramics. Porcelain was only one type of ceramic material produced in China, and the precision of Lin's translation reflects this.⁷⁷

Unlike the condensed Shen and *Dalu bao* translations, Lin Shu works more thoroughly with important aspects of the original. This includes referential terms, such as the terminology for ceramics and other material objects. No less than the lexical field of material objects, the lexical field of theological concepts is essential to Lin's translation strategy. There are a number of terms used to translate the concept of a monotheistic God in Chinese. Two of the closest terms in Chinese to approximate the concept of God are *Shangdi* 上帝, the "Lord on High," and *Tian* 天, which also has resonances with the English words "Heaven" and a more mundane meaning of "sky." Feng Youlan 冯友兰 (1895-1990) discussed five different meanings of the important concept "*Tian*": "(1) A material or physical *Tian* or sky, that is, the *Tian* often spoken of in apposition to earth, as in the common phrase which refers to the physical universe as 'Heaven and Earth' (*Tian Di*). (2) A ruling or presiding *Tian*, as is meant in the phrase, 'Imperial Heaven Supreme Emperor' (*Huang Tian Shang Di*), in which anthropomorphic *Tian* [Heaven] and *Di* [Earth] are signified. (3) A fatalistic *Tian*, equivalent to the concept of Fate (*ming*), a term applied to all those events in human life over which man himself has no control... (4) A naturalistic *Tian*, that is, one equivalent to the English word Nature... (5) An ethical *Tian*, that is, one having a moral principle and which is the highest primordial principle of the universe..."⁷⁸

The philosophical and theological concept of *Tian* bears some comparison to the Judeo-Christian concept of a monotheistic God. But God as the Creator, as a moral authority, is dissimilar to both the "material or physical *Tian* or sky" and the

⁷⁶ See *Robinson Crusoe*, 95; Yingguo Dafu, *Lubinsun piaoliu ji*, trans. Lin Shu, Zeng Zonggong, 1: 104. Our translation reads *taowa* 陶瓦 for Liu's *ciwa* 瓷瓦.

⁷⁷ See Feng Xianming 冯先铭, Geng Baochang 耿宝昌, Yang Gen 杨根, eds., *Zhongguo gu taoci tudian* 中国古陶瓷图典 (Illustrated Dictionary of Ancient Chinese Ceramics), (Beijing: Wenwu, 1998). Also see 林景 Lin Jing, "Gu caici huihua zhuangshi yuyan de chengyin" 古彩瓷绘画装饰语言的成因 (The Origin of Decorative Language of Ancient Painted Porcelain), in *Fujian shangye gaodeng zhuanke xuexiao xuebao* 3 (2013): 102-05. Defoe's *Crusoe* may have naively invoked porcelain, but Lin Shu would have had a keen vocabulary and experience of decorated porcelain (古彩瓷, 五彩瓷) as a refined decorative object, a far cry from the clay shards discovered in the fire in *Robinson Crusoe*.

⁷⁸ See Feng Youlan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, trans. Derk Bodde. 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), 1: 31. We have changed the Wade-Giles to pinyin.

“naturalistic *Tian*.” God possesses a will and ability to bless or to damn. God decides who enters paradise, and those who redeem themselves may be saved by God’s grace. In this respect, the concept of *Tian* as a predetermined fate bears little resemblance to the Judeo-Christian God. Moreover, God as an entity with no origin who nevertheless created the universe is a contrast to *Tian* as a moral principle of and within a process (and which is neither created nor creates).

Lin’s use of *Tian* to translate the word God cannot be read as a sign of equivalency with Crusoe’s God in Defoe. Lin Shu’s translation of Christian theological concepts employs terms with decidedly Confucian resonance in Chinese. From a young age Lin Shu showed “reverence towards *Tian* as a duty” 畏天而循分. In later years, Lin Shu would give himself the name “Reverential Cottage” 畏庐 and hang the words “Revere *Tian*” 畏天 in his house in Beijing. In *Shuxian* 述险 (*Perilous Narratives*) Lin recounts several inexplicable spiritual experiences. Lin was nineteen when his father passed away and grew so saddened he developed tuberculosis, daily coughing up tremendous amounts of blood. The doctor said his lungs showed no improvement, but Lin later improved without resorting to medicine. When his mother developed serious goiter, Lin Shu prayed and lit incense on his mother’s behalf along the way to a Temple of Heaven on Yuewang Mountain. Despite torrential rain, Lin prostrated himself and prayed outside for nine days. Lin’s mother died without a change in her condition and he was so distraught he developed a heart condition that lasted for six years. When the granddaughter of a relative, Zhou, a government official, contracted scarlet fever, Zhou’s wife took their son and grandson to Lin Shu’s house. Despite the danger of infection, Lin Shu could not bring himself to have them leave, and in the end his own children contracted scarlet fever. Lin claimed “he would not take risks as a result of selfish motives” 非为私而行险 but only “take risk on behalf of righteousness” 为义而冒险, in this way “*Tian* would not be harmed” 天无伤也.⁷⁹

Lin Shu truly believed in *Tian*, the principle of *Tian* was not some abstract concept. Thus, Lin Shu did not employ *Tian* as an equivalent for the word God. In his discussion of Lin Shu’s translation of Defoe’s God, John Terry-Kwan hones in on an important section in this regard: “In Lin’s rendering of the passage which describes the occasion of Crusoe’s ‘first prayer’...Defoe’s ‘God’ becomes a vaguer presence....” This important section includes the “first prayer” Crusoe “had made for many years.”⁸⁰ Crusoe’s prayer occurs during the entry for the day June 27, 1660. Crusoe’s first prayer occurs at the end of the entry and Lin is precise in his translation of Crusoe’s Christian lexicon: “*Lord be my Help, for I am in Great Distress.*” 救主救我无地自容矣. Crusoe’s term of direct address to God, “*Lord,*” is consistently translated as *zhu*, while the name of “*God*” is sometimes translated as *shangdi*. Defoe’s theological language includes reference to Nature and Providence, and here Lin clearly interprets

⁷⁹ See Yang Jialuo 杨家骆, ed., *Lin Qinnan xuexing puji si zhong* 林琴南学行谱记四种 (*Lin Qinnan Four types of Scholarly Record*) (Taipei: Shijie, 1961), 48-50.

⁸⁰ See John Kwan-Terry, “Robinson Crusoe Through Chinese Eyes,” *Journal of Language, Literature and Culture* 51.1 (May 1979): 23. Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 73.

such lexical elements in a very selective fashion linked to Chinese religious belief.⁸¹ Crusoe has recourse to “Nature” to bemoan his fate: “now I have difficulties to struggle with, too great even for Nature itself to support.” Lin reads Defoe’s “Nature” as *shenli* 神力 a supernatural force, appropriate in the context of Crusoe’s personification here: 矧此艰险之区雖有神力亦不能堪。⁸² When Crusoe chides himself for not showing thankfulness for surviving the shipwreck he remarks that he did not even make “an Enquiry why Providence had been thus merciful to me,” which Lin translates as “神功真不測。”⁸³ Lin introduces a subtle equivalency between the Christian concept of Providence as indication of God who gives potentially advantageous direction to earthly events, and *shengong* which can denote the manifestation and expression of supernatural force in the human world.

The prayer caps Crusoe’s journal entry for June 27 in which a feverish Crusoe falls asleep and dreams that he is visited by a Man “bright as a Flame” who descends from a black cloud and threatens Crusoe for his lack of repentance.⁸⁴ The section is rife with a theological lexical field of revelation, exposition, and entreaty. Part of the logic of the Crusoe narrative is the continual realization that he had broken a sort of social law by going against his parents’ wishes to go to sea. Lin coaxes this aspect out by giving a rich reading of Crusoe’s regret in a number of passages. Crusoe’s feverish nightmare intensely reiterates this aspect of the narrative. God is nominally present and Lin translates fairly closely focusing on the relationship between God, destiny, and the dispensation of hardship. Where Defoe’s Crusoe bemoans his incapacity for understanding, Lin’s Crusoe has come to the realization that leaving his parents and taking up seafaring is the reason for the misadventures that have befallen him:

I never had so much as one Thought of it being the Hand of God, or that it was a just Punishment for my Sin my rebellious Behaviour against my Father, or my present Sins which were great; or so much as a Punishment for the general Course of my wicked Life.

方余久患难并未知此命系属之上帝如常人思想谓遇难者均天谴也顾天谴之事以余违背庭训宜其有是吾今知罪矣意此苦境之来是天律寻常之示罚不为重避。

⁸¹ Kwan-Terry uses the word “Heaven” (*Tian?*) in English for Lin’s translation of God, but such a lexical choice is not supported by the section he is discussing in Lin or Defoe. See “Robinson Crusoe Through Chinese Eyes,” 23; Yingguo Dafu, *Lubinsun piaoliu ji*, trans. Lin Shu, Zeng Zonggong, 1: 80; Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 73.

⁸² See Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 73; Yingguo Dafu, *Lubinsun piaoliu ji*, trans. Lin Shu, Zeng Zonggong, 1: 80.

⁸³ See Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 73; Yingguo Dafu, *Lubinsun piaoliu ji*, trans. Lin Shu, Zeng Zonggong, 1: 78.

⁸⁴ See Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 70. In Lin, the “Man” in the dream is identified as a 神人, a celestial or at least supernatural figure, Yingguo Dafu, *Lubinsun piaoliu ji*, trans. Lin Shu, Zeng Zonggong, 1: 76.

Through the misfortunes I never understood [my] destiny as an aspect of [my disobeying] God, like the average man who believes that to comprehend the dispensation of *Tian*, one must look to the [negative] results of the opposition to *Tian*, of which there are many. Of late, I understand my sin, a foreseen precarious situation, the common expression of punishment according to the law of *Tian* [which I] will not again evade.⁸⁵

The “common person” 常人 is brought in from the last paragraph in Defoe. In Defoe the common man refers to “common Sailors” that Crusoe compares himself unfavorably to the Sailor as an extreme example of someone with a lack of self-awareness. In Lin the comparison is clearly different, the common recalls the positive version of Crusoe’s father, “the Mean for the middling man, the ordinary for the ordinary man” 特中人之中，庸人之庸 of the preface. Here, instead of functioning as the negative example for Defoe’s Crusoe, and in contrast to the role played by Crusoe’s father in the preface, the common man is a reminder of father and Crusoe’s sinful disobedience towards his parents’ wishes.⁸⁶

Michael Hill notes how Lin employed concepts linked to *Tian* to mesh with ideas about natural goodness in his translation of *Oliver Twist*. In one instance, Lin even interpolates autobiographical narrative similar to *Perilous Narratives* into his translation.⁸⁷ In Lin’s translation of *Robinson Crusoe*, the conception of *Tian* inevitably colored his reading of Crusoe’s adventures, affecting his understanding and interpretation of the novel. Lin Shu’s reading of God in relation to *Tian* is a radical revision of Christian monotheism that implicitly threatens to depose the ultimate position of the Christian God. Besides the complex nuances of *Tian* as a translation of God and the dispensation of Crusoe’s misadventures, Lin Shu also supplements notions of sovereignty into the relationship between God and man.

In essence, Lin Shu reads the relationship between God and man as similar to that of the sovereign and his minister, a social relationship founded upon fear, surveillance, and propriety. Lin devoted a lifetime to the careful and sincere supplication to Confucian morality. Even after the founding of the modern Republic in 1912, showing no less spiritual devotion and passion than a Christian’s, Lin Shu never gave up his loyalty to the Confucian rites. For Lin, the emperor held as lofty a position as *Tian* and he showed his loyalty to the Qing by visiting the grave of Emperor Guangxu 光绪(1875-1909). Thus, in 1918 when the (former) last Emperor Aisin-Gioro Puyi 溥仪 (1906-1967) personally addressed a Spring Festival couplet to Lin Shu, “Blessing for One with Rank” 有秩斯祜, Lin was so moved he would refer to

⁸⁵ See Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 70; Yingguo Dafu, *Lubinsun piaoliu ji*, trans. Lin Shu, Zeng Zonggong, 1: 77.

⁸⁶ Lin Shu, “Preface,” in Yingguo Dafu, *Lubinsun piaoliu ji*, trans. Lin Shu, Zeng Zonggong, 1: 1.

⁸⁷ See Michael Hill, *Lin Shu, Inc.: Translation and the Making of Modern China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 111, which is part of a longer section on 109-14 that focuses on Yan Fu, and the terms *Tianliang* 天良 and *Tianxing* 天性.

this missive as a *Tian zhang* 天章 (“Decree of *Tian*”) and “make profound obeisance to the courtyard steps and tearful supplication” 泥首庭阶和泪拜.⁸⁸ The Confucian socio-political concept of the bureaucratic allegiance to an emperor cannot function as a translated equivalent for the relationship between an omniscient and omnipotent God and Man. Therefore it is not difficult to understand why, when Lin Shu narrates Crusoe’s arrival on the desert island, he employs his own understanding of the disaster: “as to what has occurs, some things God’s power controls, some things God’s power cannot. I cannot be expected to thank *Tian* for each and every blessing.” 其中之事，有帝力所及，亦有帝力所不及，吾不能一一仰谢天恩⁸⁹ Lin Shu’s attitude is potentially injurious to the idea of an “Almighty” authority. Moreover, the concepts of benevolence and righteousness disallow a concept of deliberate punishment by God, thus limiting the ultimate power of God in the human domain.

Lin Shu employs the Confucian concept of *ren* 仁, often translated as benevolence or humanity in English, to describe God’s relationship to Crusoe, collapsing benevolence with notions of providence and grace. Confucius’ *ren* and God’s grace both start from notions of goodness, but they also each imply important differences. Lin’s reading of “benevolence” emerges out of his Neo-Confucian background and a particular understanding of the unity of *Tian*, the world, and man. Thus “benevolence” implies both an ethical and social attitude and comportment.⁹⁰ However, employing this concept in his translation of *Robinson Crusoe* radically changes the relationship between God and Crusoe. For one thing, instituting “benevolence” in the God-Man relationship displaces the novel’s Christian God as a supreme entity. Inscripting the concept of “benevolence” or “humanity” within a God-Man relationship is not only a transgression of status but also implies an unwillingness to force upon others what you would not want done to yourself. The idea of using compassion as an excuse to force one’s own desires on others is absurd.

Beneath the heading of “benevolence,” Lin Shu unifies the associated concepts of righteousness (*yi* 义), ritual (*li* 理), knowledge (*zhi* 知), and sincerity (*xin* 信) to account for ideas of charity. This is especially the case in the episode in which Crusoe saves

⁸⁸ Lin Shu, “Wu wu chuxi Huangdi yushu ‘Youzhi sigu’ chuntiao ci juren chen Shu, ji’en yishou” 戊午除夕皇帝御书“有秩斯祐”春条赐举人臣纾，纪恩一首 (Lines of thanks in memory of the Emperor’s auspicious couplet “Blessing for One with Rank” composed the new year’s of the fifty-eighth year for his candidate minister Shu), in Lin Shu, *Weihu shicun* 畏庐诗存 (*Poems from Reverence Cottage*) (Shanghai: Shangwu, 1923), 38. For a reading of Lin’s translation of *La Dame aux camélias* in the light of loyalty to the Qing dynasty, see Ying Hu, *Tales of Translation: Composing the New Woman in China, 1899-1918* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2000), 85.

⁸⁹ Yingguo Dafu, *Lubinsun piaoliu ji*, trans. Lin Shu, Zeng Zonggong, 1: 59. In Defoe: “...but there was something *Negative* or something *Positive* to be thankful for in it...” (*Robinson Crusoe*, 54).

⁹⁰ Ames and Hall give an effective reading of *ren* in English “the entire person including one’s cultivated cognitive, aesthetic, moral, and religious sensibilities as they are expressed in the living of one’s ritualized roles and relationships,” in *Focusing the Familiar*, 75.

Friday. This moment is an example of God's disciple Crusoe receiving enlightenment in a dream which told him that in order to leave the island he must enlist the help of another by capturing a "Savage." Above we have discussed translations of this same scene in Shen Zufen and *Dalu bao*. Without a doubt, Lin Shu gives the most nuanced reading, a reading subtly revised through links to Confucian terms of morality. In order to capture Friday, Crusoe surmises that he would be obligated to kill all the other savages or risk being eaten himself. The implication is that to guarantee his own escape, Crusoe must commit a large-scale slaughter. Such a situation presents a moral dilemma for a Christian like Crusoe. The solution in the source text is to give the impression Crusoe will in the end prevail, and that his prayers are being answered. By seemingly obeying God's commands, the source text attributes the rescue to fulfillment of the objectives of Crusoe's self-interest, not for the benefit of Friday. Lin Shu implies that in the context righteousness, aiding another to escape from danger is a rationale that needs no argument. By supplementing a choice informed by righteousness, Lin Shu revises Crusoe's rescue of Friday and his willingness to kill from a choice legitimized as an act of "Self-preservation" to a deliberately principled act linked to Confucian morality. For Lin's Crusoe, the plan to slaughter the cannibals is "not a morally acceptable plan" 非善策.⁹¹ Within the context of Chinese traditional culture, "righteousness" carries the implication that "the gentleman knows righteousness, while the inferior person knows profit" 君子喻于义, 小人喻于利. Refraining from counting his merits, the gentleman takes the higher ground. In this way, Lin Shu emends the blessing counting discourse of Crusoe with a Confucian righteousness, which above all considers the appropriateness of the means over the ends. Lin Shu's use of Confucian terminology to interpret Western religious belief was an attempt to generalize Confucianism through a Christian figure and construct a fusion of Chinese and Western beliefs.

Compared to his fellow countrymen, Lin Shu did not have a high opinion of the adventurer who took to sea. For Lin although "[Crusoe's] exploits are rarely to be found in history," Crusoe merely liked to wander.⁹² Nevertheless, Lin Shu praises Crusoe, noting that after returns to England he "distributed his wealth and the fruits of his labor, aiding relatives and acquaintances unselfishly.... [Crusoe] experienced many successes, surviving difficult-to-bear trials because he was able to reap benefit from those trials, each action carefully reasoned out and initiated so that [he] truly obtained an equilibrium in his affairs" 散财发粟, 周贍亲故, 未尝靳惜...所阅所历, 极人世不堪之遇, 因之益知人情之不可处于不堪之遇中, 故每事称情而施.⁹³ When Lin Shu translates Crusoe's return to England, he uses a number of techniques that elevate the protagonist. After Crusoe arrives he goes to visit his good friend the

⁹¹ Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 156; Yingguo Dafu, *Lubinsun piaoliu ji*, 1: 107.

⁹² Lin Shu, "Preface," *Lubinsun piaoliu ji*, 1: 1.

⁹³ See Lin Shu, "Preface," in Yingguo Dafu, *Lubinsun piaoliu ji*, 1: 2. As Ames and Hall note: "The expression *zhongyong* suggests that the locus for achieving harmony and equilibrium is *yong*—the ordinary business of the day," see *Focusing the Familiar*, 86.

English Captain's widow, with whom he had left two hundred pounds, but who by this time was impoverished. In the source text Crusoe is clearly motivated by unselfish empathy: "...I made her easy as to what she ow'd me, assuring her, I would give her no Trouble; but on the contrary, in Gratitude to her former Care and Faithfulness to me, I reliev'd her as my little Stock could afford, which at that Time would indeed allow me to do but little for her; but I assur'd her, I would never forget her former Kindness..."⁹⁴ For Lin Shu this was clearly insufficient and has Crusoe "take into account [her] debt" 度其莫偿 and "destroy the [debt] title so it would not have to be paid back" 毁券不令偿: "Following my escape from extreme circumstances, I will forever recall the former kindness the old woman showed me, so that no matter how slight my resources, likewise [I] must aid her so she does not experience poverty and hunger" 吾从绝处逢生, 永不忘媪之前恩。使余有径寸之力, 亦必协助, 不令贫馁。⁹⁵ In this passage, Lin Shu remains faithful to the chronology and general tone of the original; nevertheless, he subtly revises the resonance of the important relationship between Crusoe and the widow by having him "destroy the [debt] title" of the money left with the widow and suggesting an implicit promise to "forever recall" her kindness to mark this moment with the highest sentiments of emotion and righteousness. Lin Shu links characters like the widow, the Portuguese Captain, and other characters who helped Crusoe to reinscribe traditional cultural values regarding the importance of settling accounts, and the ideal of benevolence and righteousness suggested by the neo-Confucian philosopher Cheng Hao 程颢 (1032–1085): " 'to be charitable and assist all people' is the function of the sage" '博施济众' 乃圣之功用。⁹⁶

After analyzing how three early twentieth century Chinese translators translated *Robinson Crusoe*, hopefully why they chose to translate Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* has become clearer. In order to save the Chinese nation in a moment of crisis, the field of early twentieth century literary translation produced one of its most *unfaithful* 不忠 expressions at the same time that political translation acquired one of its most incredibly powerful elaborations. As a result, we can begin to comprehend the way one generation of late Qing intellectuals, despite great limitations, adapted Western, Chinese, ancient, and modern thought for their own purposes. Shen Zufen, the *Dalu bao* translator(s), and Lin Shu revised Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* to deliberately construct a figure that combines Sino-European cultural values within a space containing multiple discourses. These early twentieth century translations of Crusoe not only reveal the inherent entwinement and tension of colonial and national narratives, these translations can also serve as profound case studies for the entwinement and tension of global universals and national position-takings occurring in our present historic moment.

⁹⁴ Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 216.

⁹⁵ Yingguo Dafu, *Lubinsun piaoliu ji*, 2: 105.

⁹⁶ See Cheng Hao. Cheng yi 程颢, *Er Cheng yi shu* 二程遗书 (Posthumous Works of the Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi), ed. Pan Fu'en 潘富恩 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2000), 65; for the English translation see Wing-tsit Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, 530 (with slight changes).