Marriage, Law, and Gender in Revolutionary China, 1940–1960

Xiaoping Cong examines the social and cultural significance of Chinese revolutionary legal practice in the construction of marriage and gender relations. Her book is an empirically rich investigation of the ways in which a 1943 legal dispute over an arranged marriage in a Chinese village became a legal, political, and cultural exemplar on the national stage. This conceptually ground-breaking study revisits the Chinese revolution and its impact on women and society by presenting a Chinese experience that cannot and should not be theorized in the framework of Western discourse. Taking a cultural historical perspective, Cong shows how the Chinese revolution and its legal practices produced new discourses, neologisms, and cultural symbols that contained China's experience in twentieth-century social movements, and how revolutionary practice was sublimated into the concept of "self-determination," an idea that bridged local experiences with the tendency of the twentiethcentury world, and a revolutionary legacy for China today.

XIAOPING CONG is Associate Professor of History at the University of Houston, Texas.

Cambridge Studies in the History of the People's Republic of China

Series Editors

Jeremy Brown, Jacob Eyferth, Daniel Leese, Michael Schoenhals

Cambridge Studies in the History of the People's Republic of China is a major series of ambitious works in the social, political, and cultural history of socialist China. Aided by a wealth of new sources, recent research pays close attention to regional differences, to perspectives from the social and geographical margins, and to the unintended consequences of Communist Party rule. Books in the series contribute to this historical re-evaluation by presenting the most stimulating and rigorously researched works in the field to a broad audience. The series invites submissions from a variety of disciplines and approaches, based on written, material or oral sources. Particularly welcome are those works that bridge the 1949 and 1978 divides, and those which seek to understand China in an international or global context.

Marriage, Law, and Gender in Revolutionary China, 1940–1960

Xiaoping Cong



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107148567

© Cambridge University Press 2016

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2016

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data Names: Cong, Xiaoping, author. Title: Marriage, law and gender in revolutionary China, 1940–1960 / Xiaoping Cong. Description: New York : Cambridge University Press, 2016. | Series: Cambridge studies in the history of the People's Republic of China | Includes bibliographical references and index. Identifiers: LCCN 2016014633 | ISBN 9781107148567 (hardback) | ISBN 9781316602614 (paperback) Subjects: LCSH: Domestic relations – China – History. | Marriage law – China – History. | China – Politics and government – 1949–1976. | China – Politics and government – 1937–1945. | BISAC: HISTORY / Asia / General. Classification: LCC KNQ540.C66 2016 | DDC 346.5101/609045–dc23 LC record available at http://lccn.loc.gov/2016014633

ISBN 978-1-107-14856-7 Hardback ISBN 978-1-316-60261-4 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

In memory of Professor Feng Qi 冯契 (1915–95), who taught me how to think intellectually and historically.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-14856-7 – Marriage, Law and Gender in Revolutionary China, 1940–1960
Xiaoping Cong
Frontmatter
<u>More Information</u>

Contents

List of figures List of maps List of tables Acknowledgments		<i>page</i> ix x xi xii
In	troduction	1
Pa	art I Locality, marriage practice, and women	27
1	The case of <i>Feng v. Zhang</i> : marriage reform in a revolutionary region	29
2	The appeal: women, love, marriage, and the revolutionary state	65
Pa	art II Legal practice and new principle	105
3	The new adjudication: judicial construction in marriage reform	107
4	A new principle in the making: from "freedom" to "self-determination" of marriage through legal practice	139
Pa	art III Politics and gender in construction	173
5	Newspaper reports: casting a new democracy in village communities	175
6	The Qin opera and the ballad: from rebellious daughters to social mothers	209

vii

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-14856-7 - Marriage, Law and Gender in Revolutionary China, 1940-1960
Xiaoping Cong
Frontmatter
More Information

viii Contents

7	The Ping opera and film: nationalizing the new marriage practice and politicizing the state-family, 1949–1960	244
	Epilogue: "Liu Qiao'er," law, and zizhu: beyond 1960	272
	Bibliography Index	284 317

Figures

0.1	Interview with Feng Zhiqin, July 21, 2005	page 22
0.2	Feng Zhiqin in front of her new house, July 21, 2005	24
1.1	The file record for the dismissal of the engagement	
	between Feng and Zhang, SPA 4-1-65	30
1.2	The contract for a woman's remarriage, 1941, SPA 15–156	48
2.1	SGNBR-issued divorce certificate, SPA 15-1470	
	(Zhang Huaibao v. Du Guirong)	80
3.1	The new adjudication of the case Feng v. Zhang, 1943,	
	SPA 15-842	109
4.1	Gu Yuan, "Qu zhengfu de bangongshi" [Township	
	Government Office], Jiefang ribao, November 14, 1942	156
5.1	GuYuan, "Tiaojie" [Mediation], <i>Jiefang ribao</i> , December	
	19, 1942	185
5.2	Gu Yuan, "Ma Xiwu tongzhi tiaojie susong" [Comrade	
	Ma Xiwu in Mediating Litigation], Jiefang ribao,	
	October 9, 1944	196
6.1	Xiao Su, "Shaanbei shuoshu" [Shaanbei Story-telling],	
	Jiefang ribao, August 5, 1945	240
7.1	Still photo of Shaanxi opera (Liu Qiao'er, 1958)	266
	& 8.2 The signs near to Feng Peng'er's home	277
8.3	& 8.4 The sign near Feng Zhiqin's home and the	
	stone tablet in front of her new house	278

Maps

1	The location of the Shaan-Gan-Ning Border Region,	
	1937–1947	<i>page</i> xvii
2	Map of Shaan-Gan-Ning Border Region and the division	
	of subregions, 1944. Source: Jiefang ribao, July 23, 1944	xviii

Tables

1.1	Data from various counties on the dismissal of	
	engagements, 1944	page 57
2.1	Statistics on soldiers' marriages in two townships of	
	Qingjian County (1943–5)	91

Acknowledgments

Although Chinese society bid farewell to the revolution in the 1990s, its legacy in a new historical moment still needs to be reviewed. In the twentieth century the Chinese revolution has been studied through its ideological sources, its political policies, its party leaders, its relations with intellectuals, and its mass mobilization; however, the most significant part of the revolution was its social and legal practices in localities, which has not received enough academic attention. It was from these practices that the revolution developed an effective way of governance and created a set of discourse to speak its own experience. Studying revolutionary legal practice offers a way of looking into the Chinese experience in a particular locality. As the book shows, communism as well as a large amount of new terminology imported from the West (some via Japan) were prevalent in twentieth-century society and intellectual circles. However, it was local practices that digested these neologies, and then new terms such as zizhu (self-determination), which contained local experience described in this book, began to emerge. This eventually became the revolutionary legacy for the rest of the century and contemporary China.

This project can be viewed as the continuation of my last book, which ends in the 1930s when young students in teachers' schools became revolutionaries. While looking for a new book topic that could trace the next stage of these students' activities, I encountered a document on the story of "Liu Qiao'er" and her actual prototype. This story triggered my childhood memory of celebratory parties in which the solo of "Qiao'er" was often very popular. It was a symbol of revolution for women who wanted freedom in selecting their marriage mate. I was surprised to learn that the protagonist, Feng Peng'er (Zhiqin), was still alive. This immediately attracted my attention but also made prompt action imperative, given her age. In 2005 I visited Feng Peng'er's home to interview her. It was also on this trip that I learned about the Revolutionary High Court files in the Shaanxi Provincial Archives, and that they were open to the public. This interview and the discovery of this collection of legal documents thus formed a solid foundation for this research project and eventual

xii

Acknowledgments

book. The story of Feng Peng'er itself presents the changing life of rural women in the Chinese revolution. I thus want to express my great appreciation to Feng Peng'er (Zhiqin), whose life experience became an important part of the history of twentieth-century China. Unfortunately, she passed away on February 12, 2015, and was not able to see the publication of an English-language book about her life. However, this book is a fitting memorial.

My deepest gratitude goes to Professor Benjamin Elman, who continues to offer guidance and support to my research projects, as he has always done over the last twenty years. I would also like to show my great appreciation to Professors Gail Hershatter, Joe Esherick, and Meng Yue. While I was still in the stage of composing a grant proposal for this project, Gail gave me important advice and strong encouragement; she later offered insights on my manuscript revision. Joe's positive and invaluable comments on the drafts of my book proposal and introduction inspired me in my manuscript revision. Meng Yue, a dear friend and a preeminent scholar in her field, patiently listened to my various immature ideas on the project while offering her insights that helped me sharpen my arguments. She read the introduction draft and gave me some constructive suggestions for the improvement of this book.

I owe a great debt in my research to my lifelong best friend, Professor Qin Yan at Northwestern Polytechnical University in Xi'an. Our friendship started in college when we were both classmates and roommates. Her pioneering scholarly works on women and society in northern Shaanxi have helped me understand the people and the environment there. She also introduced me to people she was working with and helped me become familiar with the locality and visit those people I needed to see. From the very beginning of this project, I was able to establish a good local connection and conduct interviews smoothly due to her help. She also shared, without reservation, invaluable archival documents she had previously collected. Without her generous assistance this book would have not been written in this way. I feel so lucky to have a friend like her.

I have gained a good deal of academic inspiration and feedback from my scholarly friends and colleagues. On various occasions each provided insightful comments that stimulated me to refine my research. They are Professors Qian Nanxiu at Rice University, Joan Judge at York University, and Susan Glosser at Lewis and Clark College, with whom I discussed various details of my book chapters during my writing. Professor Qian generously shared documents from her rare collection on late Qing women. Several chapters were presented as conference papers at various conferences and workshops, from which I also received valuable feedback that helped refine my chapters. I would also like to thank the

xiv Acknowledgments

following friends and colleagues: Professors Richard Smith, Toni Barlow, Wang Hui, Tim Weston, Song Shaopeng, Peter Zarrow, Rob Culp, Robert Hegel, Ma Zhao, Madeleine Zelin, Li Chen, Bryna Goodman, Janet Theiss, Maggie Kuo, Jennifer Neighbors, Lisa Tran, Liu Chang, Jiang Jin, Guo Yuhua, Yun-cheng Chiang, You Jianming, Lü Miaw-fen, and Drs. Chaohua Wang and Anne Chao. They have offered their professional opinions, inspiration, and assistance in different ways. In the process of publishing certain parts of my research in an article, Professor Pauline Keating and anonymous reviewers provided comments that pushed me to sharpen my argument in the final work.

Special thanks should also be given to my colleagues in the Department of History at University of Houston, particularly Professors Cathy Patterson, Sarah Fisherman, John Hart, and Nancy Young, who offered valuable opinions on various parts of my drafts. My appreciation also goes to Professor Martin Melosi, Linda Reed, Kairn Kleiman, Natalia Milanesio, and Landon Starrs who helped me in various ways. In addition, thanks to both former and current deans of CLASS, Drs. John Antel and Steven Craig, both of whom provided strong support to my research and manuscript writing. My department staff, Lorena Lopez, Donna Butler, Daphyne Pitre, and Gloria Ned also deserve my appreciation for their assistance with my research, travel, and teaching arrangements, as well as many other chores.

From the early stage of my research this book project received a number of grants from both national societies as well as local institutions that supported my fieldwork and archival research. I would like to thank the Bernadotte E. Schmitt Grants for Research in European, African, or Asian History from the American Historian Association that awarded a summer research grant in 2006 for my travel in China. In 2008–09 I had the great honor of receiving a grant from the American Research of Humanities in China from the American Council of Learned Society sponsored by the National Endowment of Humanities, as well the Research Scholar Grant to China from the Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Program. These two generous awards allowed me to stay in China for fifteen months to complete the major work in archives and fieldwork. I also appreciate the grants I have received from University of Houston. In summer 2005 the then Women Studies Program at UH awarded a Faculty Summer Fellowship that helped me initiate my preliminary work on the project. From 2006 to 2016 I received various research funds and travel grants from the University of Houston, such as GEAR, Small Grant, GIA, and Provost Travel Grants, Completion Grant, and Publication Grant that enabled me to finish the last stage of research, travel to conferences, and complete this book. In particular, the UH Faculty Development Leave

Acknowledgments

Grant that I received in spring 2012 allowed me to focus on conceptualization and finish drafting of most chapters.

Many thanks are due to the staff of the following archives and libraries for their kindness and assistance in locating many invaluable documents that have enriched my book. They are Shaanxi Provincial Archives, Qingyang City Archives, Huachi County Archives, Mizhi County Archives, Yulin City Archives, Yan'an City Archives, Beijing National Library, Shanghai Municipal Library, Shaanxi Provincial Library, and the library of Academia Sinica and the Archival Office of the Investigation Bureau, Ministry of Justice in Taiwan. Moreover, both the history section managed by UH librarian Alex Simons and the interlibrary department of University of Houston library provided much assistance to my research with their professional service.

I would also like to express my gratitude to governmental workers and local researchers in the localities I have visited. Their hospitality and assistance greatly helped the progress of this project. These people are the then party secretary of Qingyang City Mr. Ma Ping, his assistant Mr. Yao Zhengjie, Director of County Office of Cultural Affairs Mr. She Xingfa, Director of County Office of Tourism Ms. Tan, Director of County Archival Office Mr. Zhu, and staff Mr. Zhao Hua. Mr. Yang Zhengfa in Huachi County also presented me his book on the story of Feng Peng'er (Zhiqin), which provided useful information for the starting point to my project.

Some of my old friends from college who worked in local governments, such as Mr. Liu Hanli in Yulin City and Mr. Yang Xiaohe in Yan'an City, also provided assistance in my fieldwork and archival research. I would also like to express my warmest appreciation to my alma mater, Shaanxi Normal University, which hosted my visit for my archival study in Xi'an from 2008 to 2009. During this period my old college friends in Xi'an, such as Professors Jia Erqiang, Zhang Jiancheng, Hou Yongjian, and Han Xuhui at Shaanxi Normal University offered much support in utilizing the school facilities and getting staff assistance for my research. I would like to thank Mr. Wang Bentao, a graduate student then at Beijing Normal University in Beijing, Ms. Deng Tongli and Ms. Zhu Cong, students then at universities of Xi'an, for serving as my research assistants during my fieldwork in these cities.

I would like to thank Ms. Cyndy Brown and Dr. Maura Cummingham, whose special editing skills helped me catch the errors in this book. Ms. Brown also compiled the index for the book. Some sections of this book were previously published as articles in the Journal of *Twentieth-Century China* and *The China Journal*. I am very grateful that the two journals granted me the permission to publish them here.

xvi Acknowledgments

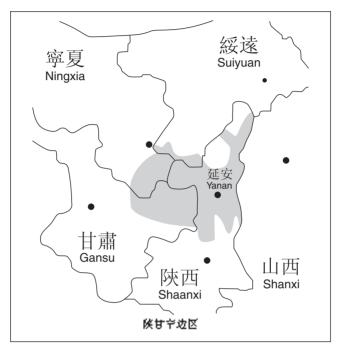
It is my great pleasure to work with the editors of Cambridge University Press, who provided gracious and professional assistance during the publication process. Dr. Lucy Rhymer, the acquisition editor, possesses excellent vision in selecting this manuscript and believed in its value. Publishing Manager Amanda George and copy-editors and script-setters provided their professional skills to make this book possible. I appreciate the comments from two anonymous reviewers, and Professor Michael Schoenhals as third reviewer. It was my pleasure to accept the invitation from the editors of the Cambridge Studies in the History of the People's Republic of China to include this book in this series. The editors of this series also offered constructive suggestions for the final revision.

I also want to acknowledge another group of friends who supported my work in various ways. My best friend, Dr. Xiaohong Wen at UH, always raises my spirits on my low days. I met Professor Jamie Monson, an African historian at Michigan State University, in 2008 when we were both grantees of ACLS in China. There we offered each other spiritual support and spent some joyful times together in Beijing. My old friend and college mate Professor Zhao Junxiu at Beijing Normal University provided various aids while I stayed in Beijing. In addition, I need to mention my lovely neighbors Ms. Teresa Powell and Ms. Linda Lively, as well as other ladies in my residential complex who watched over my house and watered my plants whenever I was away for my research trips. I have learned a lot from them and we have shared some laughter together.

Finally, I want to give my heart to my family, my mother and my sisters, Li Xin, Wanping, Lixin, and Lixin's husband Ye Sen. For many years I have been away from them, unable to offer help when it was needed but instead focusing on my scholarly work. Not only did they assume my share of family duties, but they have provided various means of support for my work. This book also contains a lot of their warm love for me.

CAMBRIDGE

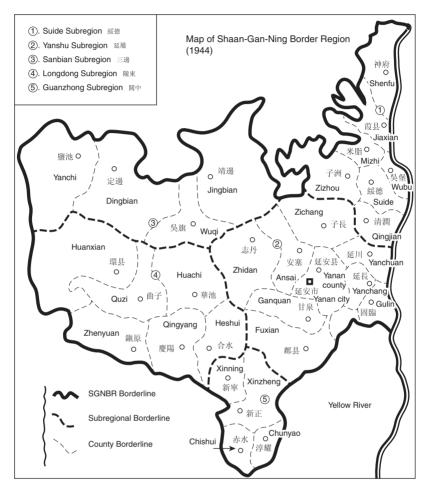
Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-14856-7 — Marriage, Law and Gender in Revolutionary China, 1940–1960 Xiaoping Cong Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>



Map 1 The location of the Shaan-Gan-Ning Border Region, 1937–1947

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-14856-7 — Marriage, Law and Gender in Revolutionary China, 1940–1960 Xiaoping Cong Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>



Map 2 Map of Shaan-Gan-Ning Border Region and the division of subregions, 1944 Source: *Jiefang ribao*, July 23, 1944