

The Discovery, Adaption and Memory of Feng Zhiqin's Story

An Example of Marital Autonomy

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Abstract—"Fangzhiqin Marital Dispute Case" is an ordinary civil case that occurred in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region in the 1940s. The case was reported by the press, and its protagonist Feng Zhiqin became the prototype of the artistic role of "Liu Qiaor". After the adaption of literary and art circles, Liu Qiaor was portrayed as a model of women's "resistance to feudal mercenary marriage, and fight for marital autonomy", and spread widely until today. Although there is a certain gap between the content of this story and the historical facts, it does not affect the artistry of the literary and artistic works and the appreciation of the people, thus serves for official discourse. This story, from ordinary events in Chinese villages to social news and then to literary and artistic works, finally enters history and presents the basic path of historical construction in the Yan'an period and its shaping of the public memory and social culture of the people. Through the analysis of the story, to a certain extent, people can learn and understand the complex aspects between politics and literature, and history in the Yan'an period.

Keywords—Feng Zhiqin; adaption; shaping; public memory

I. INTRODUCTION

"Fangzhiqin Marital Dispute Case" is an ordinary civil case in Huachi County in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region (hereinafter referred to as the Border Region) in the 1940s. The case passed through Ma Xiwu's¹ field investigation, visit to the masses and the trial of empathy, it has been properly resolved. Ma Xiwu's judicial spirit, principles and methods have been highly recognized by the border area, and have been widely praised by the people, becoming the judicial model—"Ma Xiwu trial method" advocated by the border area.

¹ Ma Xiwu (1899-1962), male, Han nationality, was born in Lucaogou Village, Baoan County (Now Zhidan) in Shanbei area. He has been working in the field of people's judiciary for a long time. When he concurrently served as the president of the Eastern Court of the High Court of Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region, he often took the case to the countryside, went deep into the masses, investigated and researched, patrolled the case, and handled the case on the spot; He combined conciliation together with judgement, object to subjective judging style, adhering to legal principles and loyal to the truth. Because of his upright law enforcement, he was deeply welcomed by the people. His judging style was called the Ma Xiwu style, which was promoted in the liberated areas, and also profoundly affected the judicial work after the founding of New China.

Especially the heroine Feng Zhiqin in the case², she became the creative prototype of the artistic role of "Liu Qiaor" after the report from news media, and then through the creation, performance and dissemination of the literary and art circles - the Shanxi Opera "Liu Qiaor's lawsuit" and the storytelling "Reunion of Liu Qiaor" staged in the border area in the 1940s, and Pingju "Liu Qiaor" and the film "Liu Qiaor" staged after the founding of PRC, have made the story of Liu Qiaor be known to every household. She was portrayed as a typical image of Chinese women "resisting in feudal mercenary marriage, fighting for marital autonomy", which has been widely spread and continues to this day.

The story reported by the press, then adapted as a literary and artistic work, embedded as a theme or symbol of the times into the memory of the people, and finally into history. The political, social and cultural implications carried by the "Fengzhiqin Story" are not only served the political appeals or official propaganda of the border areas, but also showed the basic path of historical construction in the Yan'an period and the relationship between this construction and the memory of the people and social culture. However, from the perspective, theory and methods of current research, there are few people explored this issue from the perspective of social and cultural history.³ As the scholars deeply reflect: "The specialization of historiography in the past 100 years seems to have further contributed to the sense of powerlessness of the 'people' in the history, it pursues a hard, preferably history without name. This makes 'people', especially the sorrows and happiness of the ego, become the vapor that has evaporated in the big history. Without the history of 'people', not only the ordinary readers outside the professional community has been given

² Feng Zhiqin, infant name Penger (1924-2015), female, Han nationality, was born in Huachi County, Gansu. In 1943, it was renamed Feng Zhiqin. She joined the Communist Party of China in 1963 and served as a grassroots cadre and deputy to the National People's Congress.

³ The main results are: Wu Xueshan: "Shaping Marriage", "Reading", No. 8 of 2005, P.3-11; Wang Yunhong: "The Reform of Civil Trial Methods Caused by 'Liu Qiaor'", "Lantai World" No. 17 of 2008 P. 68-69; Ma Yalin: "The Evolution of Text and Theme Evolution of 'Liu Qiaor'", "Guangxi Social Science", No. 8 of 2014, P. 169-173; Sun Bo, Zhao Fafa, Zhang Anjie: Small person in the big history: Cultural review of Liu Qiaor's 'story', "Journal of Longdong College, No. 2 of 2015, P. 10-14, and so on.

up, but also gradually lost the ability to intervention reality."⁴ In fact, "the value of historical research is not determined by the importance of the research topic itself, but by the historical perspective and historical interpretation of the research. Some seemingly bland objects, but the historians can discover and understand the deep connotation of history."⁵ Professor Li Jinzheng also pointed out objectively and pertinently: "Under the traditional revolutionary research paradigm, a single 'policy-effect' model exists universally. To a certain extent, it obscures the complexity and arduousness of the CCP revolution. To realize the real breakthrough in the CCP history or revolutionary history study, people must seek the transformation of research thinking and the innovation of research perspective."⁶

Therefore, based on the research results of the predecessors, the author takes the concept of new social and cultural history as the guide, studies the story of Feng Zhiqin to discuss how the history was constructed in the border period and the relationship between its construction and the memory of the people, and social and cultural shaping. To a certain extent, people can learn and understand the complex aspects between politics and literature, and history in the Yan'an period and even after the founding of PRC.

II. A TRUE STORY: FENG PENDER'S LAWSUIT

Feng Zhiqin, infant name Penger, was born in April of 1924⁷ in Haochuan Zhuanzuizi village, Huachi City. When Feng Zhiqin was 4 years old, his father set an infant matrimony⁸ at the price of 10 silver dollars with Zhang's family (his father's brother-in-law Zhang Jincai). In the 1920s, the amount of betrothal gifts was small in most places of the border areas. At the time, the "second gift"⁹ outside the betrothal gifts is not universal, only based on the economic situation of the groom's family. However, to the 1940s, the amount of village betrothal gifts in the border areas increased, causing a large number of marriage disputes. The main reason is that the famine and hunger in the 1920s and 1930s severely

⁴ Yuan Yidan: "Diffuse Thought: A Fuzzy History", "Reading", No. 4 of 2018, P. 75-83.

⁵ Wang Di: "Do not worry about 'fragmentation'", "Research of Modern History", No. 4 of 2012, P. 30-33.

⁶ Li Jinzheng: "'Transformation to the New Revolutionary History': Reflections and Breakthroughs in the Research Methods of the CPC Revolutionary History", "Research on the History of the Communist Party of China", No. 1 of 2010, P. 73-84; "Re-discussion of the Concept and Method of 'New Revolutionary History'", "Research on the History of the Communist Party of China", No. 11 of 2016, P. 98-109; "'The History of the New Revolution': Origin, Idea and Practice", "Research on the History of the Communist Party of China" No.7 of 2018, P. 127.

⁷ Regarding the birth time of Penger, the records are different. It is generally believed that it was 1924, and according to Feng's memory, she was born on May 15th of the lunar calendar in the year of cattle. If the memory is correct, her birth year should be 1925, see Han Wei: "Liu Qiaoer's Historical Speech and Reality", "Seeking Roots", No. 1 of 2018, P. 108-113.

⁸ Qingyang Municipal Political Consultative Conference, Huachi County Political Consultative Conference: "Liu Qiaoer's Legendary Life", Gansu People's Publishing Company, 2005.P.12.

⁹ "Second gift" refers to the gift given by the man to the bride before the wedding, most of which are cloth, jewelry and daily necessities, etc., to fill the bride's makeup box. See Wang Fenling, "The History of Chinese Marriage", Wuhan University Press, 2013, P. 417-418.

damaged the productivity of rural society, causing its economy to wither, the peasants' lives to be extremely poor, so the amount of betrothal gifts soaring, ranging from ten silver dollars to fifty silver dollars. In particular, it was seriously affected by inflation,¹⁰ the amount of betrothal gifts of the border area has been depreciated to 1-1.5 million Yuan in legal currency, the lowest place such as Fuxian (now Fu County) also required 3,000 Yuan in legal currency, and some areas fewer affected by inflation also reached 20 thousand Yuan of border currency. Even taking into account the inflationary factors, the skyrocketing rise of the rural village betrothal gifts is surprising and frightening. At the same time, "Second Gifts" has also become a custom, and even exceed the amount of betrothal gifts.¹¹ "Because the poor women are easy to be married, when they are engaged in marriage, the women's families both choose the best groom and ask for dowry. The amount of dowry is from 10 up to 2-300 Yuan. In addition to the financial gifts, they ask for many clothes and jewelry."¹²

Of course, inflation is an important factor in the rise of the betrothal gifts, and it also has a close relationship with the border area itself. First, as a poor area, the border is lack of resources, coupled with inflation, and farmers regard the betrothal gift as a necessary source of family economic subsidies. "Get daughters married is like selling goods, the one with the highest price will have the goods. It is the way to survive; it is the way to make up for the expenses of raising their daughters. It is the way to increase the income of their families."¹³ In 1946, Hu Ming, who had carried out land reform work in Longdong, recorded: "The small-scale peasant economy is the mainstay, and the residence is scattered (one village only has two or three households; one township is 30 miles long, and with deep mountains and trenches), except for a limited number of relative visiting every year, women rarely contact with other people. Illiteracy is 100% among women. Therefore, marriage between men and women is determined by their parents and the words of the matchmaker, they have no right to ask questions... As for women's social, political, and economic status, they simply do not have one. Women become commodities, widows can sell three million Yuan of legal currency (30 million Yuan of border currency, or 75 Shi

¹⁰ In 1935, when the Kuomintang government reformed the currency system, it set 1 Yuan of legal currency can exchange 1 silver dollar. However, in the 1940s, with the depreciation of the legal currency of the Kuomintang area, the legal currency of the border area has been depreciated to 1 silver dollar for 1,000 Yuan of legal currency. In order to cope with the depreciation of the legal currency, the border government issued border currency in 1941, which was common currency together with legal currency for a period of time. The initial setting is 1 Yuan of border currency for 1 Yuan of legal currency, but inflation finally stabilized the price of the border currency at 1 Yuan of legal currency for 9 Yuan of border currency. In the middle and late 1940s, the border currency has replaced the legal currency.

¹¹ "Marriage Case of Fang Yangui and Zhang Jincai's Children", containing "Archives of the High Court of Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region", Volume No. 15, File No. 842, Xi'an: Shaanxi Provincial Archives Collection.

¹² The Republic of China "Wuyuan County Annals" volume 2 "Customs, wedding and funeral", "Chinese Fangzhi Series", Taipei Chengwen Publishing Company, Photocopy in 1976, Book No. 404, P. 206-207.

¹³ Liang Jinghe "Research on the Change of Social Culture in Modern China (1919-1949) — Centering on Marriage, Family, Women, Sexual relation and Entertainment", Social Science Press, 2013, P. 61.

of wheat)..., I have visited a township, there are several male virgins at the age of 30 or 40."¹⁴ Secondly, the border area is originally sparsely populated, and the ratio of male to female is merely stable. However, after 1937, a large number of male-dominated public families entered the border area, destroyed the gender ratio of the local place, causing the sudden rise of the value of young women, which stimulated the surge of betrothal gift. For example, Guo Yingchun, an officer of the Eighth Route Army, was single, Xiao Jinguang entrusted Xiao Yuanli and Zhang Caiqian to introduce someone to him. Xiao Yuanli, served as political commissar in the newly established Army Art School of the Border Area, and relatively speaking, he has more chances to contact young women. At that time, in Yan'an area, because the male to female ratio was eighteen to one, it was extremely difficult for men to find a girlfriend. There was once a popular joke says, looking for a girlfriend is like conquer the "French Marchi defense line" in the First World War, it is so difficult! Xiao Yuanli, Geng Biao and other young men who just transferred to the Chinese people's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College, spent a lot of effort, finally found a girlfriend for Guo Yingchun named Guo Yanan¹⁵ in the art school. The literary work of the Yan'an period, "Raven's Lawsuit", describes a woman who has committed adultery with others in Longdong area, but her husband is afraid that he cannot get remarried because of high betrothal gifts and women's scarcity; he can only accept the adultery behavior of his wife to avoid the tragedy of being alone. "Gao Heinv threw her shoes on bed and shouted loudly: 'Who do you want to threaten by breaking the bowls and chopsticks? If you can not bear with me, go ahead and deceive me. Nowadays, the new society is not allowed to oppress people! I want to divorce!' Gao Desheng dared to say nothing once he listened to the divorce. Just sighed softly, he thought: 'Hey! My life is bitter! Two or three million betrothal gifts only married this wife. If I agree to deceive her, first I do not have another two or three million gifts to marry another woman, second woman is lacking in this area, even if I have enough money, where can I find one? If I am alone, then no one is doing the household matters, and there is no meal wait for me after returned from work. So I better bear with her and be blind....' so he buried his face with his hands and said nothing"¹⁶ In the end, rural customs are also an important factor, money for marriage is the general mentality of the villagers. "Parents will choose the perfect groom for how much money they paid for the bride."¹⁷ "When marrying a wife, first ask how much dowry they have, when marrying a husband, first ask how much the betrothal gifts are. And then sign up a

¹⁴ Wang Wenxian: "The Collection of Qingyang Literature and History Material", Volume No.3 (internal information), Qingyang Baiyi Printing and Packaging Co., Ltd. 2007, P. 18.

¹⁵ Zhang Caiqian: "Staying at Longdong", Gansu People's Publishing Company, 1984, P. 375.

¹⁶ Ke Lan: "The Raven's Lawsuit", Liu Fengge: "The Culture and Education Health Care of Longdong" (internal information), Printing Factory in Qingyang District, Gansu Province, 1992, P. 247; also see "Reference of the history of modern Chinese literature" The second volume of the book, Shanghai Bookstore, 1984, P. 268-388.

¹⁷ The Republic of China, "Xinjiang County Annals" Volume No.3 "Ritual Custom, Wedding", "Chinese Fangzhi Series", Taipei Chengwen Publishing Company, Photocopy in 1976, Book No. 423, P. 228.

contract, clearly named how many for each item."¹⁸ Even some places, how many field does the man's family have and how many of them will belong to the groom after get married is also under consideration.¹⁹ For example, the Shanxi village songs said: "One hundred banknotes (Shanxi Province banknotes), one hundred silver dollars, silk and satin for four clothes, two hundred bride cakes, two hundred jin of flours."²⁰ There is a custom in Hubei, the male who have been engaged should send gifts to bride's family on "Dragon-boat Festival in May, Mid-Autumn Festival in August, and the Spring Festival. They have to send 16 times of gifts in 48 solar terms."²¹ Obviously, poverty, inflation, imbalance ratio of men and women, and social customs are all important factors that have contributed to the skyrocketing of "betrothal gifts." It has been pointed out: "After entering the modern era, with the intensification of social impoverishment, the strengthening of the trend of more men and fewer women, and the social turmoil, the marital money has gradually exceeded the affordability of rural society, which has induced a series of social problems."²²

Because of the unwillingness of holding hands, or other reasons, this family member will not be able to do it. There are two kinds of sayings about the amount of the bride price of Zhang Xianchi's family: one is the legal currency of 2,400 Yuan, and the silver dollar is 28 Yuan. See "The Judgment of Comrade Ma Xiwu", In this social situation, Feng Yangui felt that her daughter had been assigned to Zhang's family since she was a child when the betrothal gift was generally low, so he did not ask them too much for the gift. But now the gift is getting higher and higher, several times higher than in the past, so he hope Zhang can increase the gift. Her grandmother also want to ask more money for the marriage since there are many children and they had a hard time living. As the saying goes, "fostering a daughter to make up the difficulties", since ancient times, whose daughter is free to get married?²³ However, Zhang's family did not immediately respond to the issue of additional gifts. Feng Yangui took the liberty to dismiss the marriage relationship between Penger and Zhang. Then he secretly married Penger to the son of Zhang Xianchi with 1400 Yuan legal currency and 48 silver dollars as the betrothal gifts.²⁴ Zhang Jincai knew about that and sued Feng's family,

¹⁸ The Republic of China "Wanquan County Annals" Volume No.2 "Politics, Custom", "Chinese Fangzhi Series", Taipei Chengwen Publishing Company, Photocopy in 1976, Book No. 422, P. 182.

¹⁹ The Republic of China "Jingxing County Annals" Volume No.10 "Custom, Ritual", "Chinese Fangzhi Series", Taipei Chengwen Publishing Company, Photocopy in 1968, Book No. 160, P. 511.

²⁰ Shao Yong: "Chinese Modern Social History", Hefei University of Technology Press, 2008, P. 169.

²¹ Zhu Hanguo: "General History of Chinese Society, Republic of China", Shanxi Education Press, 1996, P. 552.

²² Jian Yuxiang: "Research on Mercenary Marriage in North China during the Republic of China", "Chinese Chorography", No. 1 of 2018, P. 107-117.

²³ Qingyang Municipal Political Consultative Conference, Huachi County Political Consultative Conference: "Liu Qiaoer's Legendary Life", Gansu People's Publishing Company, 2005, P. 19.

²⁴ Before Feng Yangui betroth Penger to Zhang Xianchi's family, he used to betroth Penger to Gao Ruhai's family for a few buckets of grain and a few silver Yuan as betrothal gift. Because Penger refused to marry Gao or maybe other reasons, this marriage got canceled. There are two kinds of

through the judgment of the county judicial office and revoked the marriage contract. In February 1943, Penger went to the relatives' house to have a banquet. After the introduction, she met Zhang Bai and expressed her willingness to marry Zhang Bai.²⁵ In March of the same year, Feng Yangui betrothed Penger to Zhu Shouchang from Xinbao District, Qingyang County, with 8,000 Yuan of legal currency and 4 pieces of serge. But Penger was not willing to marry him because he is lame. After Zhang Jincai learned that, he broke into Feng's house at night together with his relatives, grabbed Penger and married his son.²⁶ The next day, Feng Yangui went to the County Judicial Office to sue Zhang Jincai for "kidnap his daughter". The Judicial Department did not conduct an in-depth investigation and made a sloppy judgment according to the relevant provisions of the Marriage Law of the Border Region. Zhang Jincai was sentenced to six months in prison and announced that the marriage of Penger and Zhang Bai was invalid. For this judgment, Penger and Zhang Bo are both not convinced. First, although she and Zhang Bai's marriage

sayings about the amount of the betrothal gift of Zhang Xianchi's family: one is the legal currency of 2,400 Yuan, and the 28 silver dollar. See "The Judgment of Comrade Ma Xiwu", *Liberation Daily* on March 13, 1944. See the Qingyang Municipal Political Consultative Conference and the Huachi County Political Consultative Conference edited: "Liu Qiaor's Legendary Life" Gansu People's Publishing Company, 2005, P. 20. Maybe the record of it came from the former. The second saying is legal currency of 1400 Yuan and 48 silver dollar. See "Huachi County Annals" Gansu People's Publishing Company, 2004, P. 155.

²⁵ Feng and Zhang are relatives, Feng Penger and Zhang Bai played together when they were young, but did not meet when they grew up. When it came to marriage age, the Feng's family was extremely dissatisfied because Zhang didn't or couldn't increase the price of betrothal gifts, and delayed the marriage. Especially when the betrothal gift rose, Feng Yangui lied to her daughter, saying that Zhang Bai was sick and privately dismissed the marriage contract in order to let Penger find another husband. However, in an occasional gathering of friends and relatives, Feng Penger and Zhang Bai met and had a good impression on each other. Only then did they know that the situation was not what their father said. In particular, his mother also agreed to this marriage, and also persuaded his father, but there was no result. Judging from the attitude of Feng Penger, she also agreed to this marriage.

²⁶ The ancient habit of bride-grabbing still exists in later generations. Zhao Yi's "Chu Yu Cong Kao" said: "The village has customs that if marriage contract can not be agreed with the price, then the man will gather some friends and relatives and grab the women to force her marry to him, it is so called marriage by capture." "Northern History, Gao Ang": "Ang's brother Qian ask for Cui Shengnian to marry his daughter to Gao Ang, but Cui did not agree. Ang and his brother went to grab the girl and when they left the village, they thought: "How about we get married here and now?" So they get married and then returned. The marriage by capture also exists in ancient times. But nowadays the man grab the bride has the marriage contract in hand, but Gao Ang did not have marriage contract when he grab the bride, so it is different." According to the "Law of Qing Dynasty": "Those who grab other family's wife and daughter and married to them will be hang to death. If the grabbed women married to the man's children, grandchildren or family members will have the same punishment." This refers to marriage by capture without marriage contract. "Qianfu, Duansong" said: "The widow of the chastity may sold by her unrighteous uncle, brother for betrothal gift, or sold her children for money. The widow was forced to hang herself in house, or drink poison on the way. After the widow dead, her children will become orphan." There are also "Second husband threaten the women to entertain guests." Among them, it also contains the two components of the economy and force. Longdong is a staggered area of farming and animal husbandry, so it also has old customs. See Lv Simian: "General History of China", China Federation of Literary and Art Publishing Company, P. 18. See Wang Panling, "The History of Chinese Marriage", Wuhan University Press, 2013, P. 133-136.

contract was arranged by their parents, they both met and had a good impression so they were satisfied with the marriage. Second, after this trial, she was also in a dilemma, not only has her relationship with her family deteriorated, but also the relationship between two or even two families has broken down. In particular, the villagers have been talking about it, and they are quite dissatisfied. "In the Qing Dynasty, the government had two kinds of bride-grabbing, with marriage contract and without marriage contract. If the two parties had no previous marriage contract, the grabbed party would be sentenced as rape; if the two parties had a previous marriage contract, but for various reasons, the bride refused to marry and thus lead to the bride-grabbing, it can also divide into two situations. One is that there is no killing or wounding in the grabbing process, and the woman generally accepts the facts, and will not sue to the government. If there is a person dead during the process, then the grabbing party must be punished. But the fact of marriage may be recognized or abolished, depending on the circumstances."²⁷ This thinking and way of dealing with problems continued and existed during the Republic of China. The bride-grabbing behavior in this case, there was no killing or injury during the process, If according to the legal system and folk customs that were used in the Qing Dynasty or the Republic of China, the Judiciary's original judgment on the invalidity of the marriage was quite strict. To a certain extent, it encourages the marriage by cheating behavior which is deeply hated by folk people. In this case with both possibilities, the Judiciary has declared that it is invalid according to the Marriage Law of the Border Region, which extremely goes against people's will. Thereupon, Penger can only appeal further under the suggestion of her relative, hoping to reopen the case and looking for a glimmer of hope. In a word, the proper settlement of the case can eliminate the rumors of rural society and get rid of the embarrassing situation; on the other hand, it can properly handle the contradiction between herself and her family and the two families.

In April 1943, Penger came to Qingyang alone²⁸, found Ma Xiwu, complained about her grievances, and sued the county judicial office for unfair judgment. This case caused Ma Xiwu's great attention. On the next day, he came to Huachi, visited the masses, understood the cause, grasped the facts, and held a mass meeting to reopen the case. After the mass discussion and soliciting the personal wishes of the two parties, Ma Xiwu re-concluded the case according to the provisions of the "Marriage Law" in the border area, and announced on the spot: (1) Both Feng Penger and Zhang Bai agreed to marry to each other, according to marital autonomy principle, their marriage is valid. (2) Zhang Jincai grabbed the bride at night, which impeded public security and was sentenced to fixed-term imprisonment. Other applicants should receive severe

²⁷ Wu Xueshan: "Shaping Marriage", "Reading", No. 8 of 2005, P. 3-11.

²⁸ There are two kinds of saying about the Feng Penger's lawsuit, one is she directly went to the Qingyang Special Agency to find Ma Xiwu. See Qingyang Municipal Political Consultative Conference and Huachi County Political Consultative Conference: "The Legendary Life of 'Liu Qiaor'", Gansu People's Publishing Company, 2005, P. 44. The second is she encountered Ma Xiwu on the roadside in Huachi County. See Li Pu, "A Case of Bride-grabbing", "Xinhua Daily", April 11, 1945.

criticism. (3) Feng Yangui used his daughter as a property and sold it at high prices for many times, violating marriage laws, so he was punished by labor service as warning.²⁹ This marriage dispute was re-convicted by Ma Xiwu and properly resolved. It is a great joy for everyone.

III. THE ORIGIN OF "NEWS": REPORT AND ANALYSIS OF PENDER

Marriage disputes have occurred in the rural areas of the Border Area, which is a very common thing. According to the data, in 1944, the county courts handled 23 cases of disputes arising from the dissolution of marriage contract. In the first half of 1945, the number of similar disputes increased to 56, and all were proposed by the woman side, including the case of "one woman is betrothed to more than one man".³⁰ "Feng Penger's marriage disputes" as a matter of marriage disputes that are commonplace in the rural areas of Longdong, why is it possible to be concerned, valued and reported by the news media in the border areas? What are the reasons? The main reason for this is that the person in charge of the trial was Ma Xiwu, the divisional commissioner of Longdong area and the president of the Longdong court. The spirit, principles and methods of his judgment were called "Adjudication method of Ma Xiwu" by the border area. Thus, a tortuous sample of matrimonial lawsuits was created. Through this case, the government not only maintained the folks' "engagement" tradition, but also publicized the marriage law, safeguarded the marital autonomy, and brought a happy ending to everyone. The most important thing is that this incident is completely under the authority of the government and has become an important sample of "Adjudication method of Ma Xiwu" and also is a successful example of the government's acquisition of the masses' identification.³¹

Judging from the existing information, the Adjudication method of Ma Xiwu was promoted from 1943. This expression of "Adjudication method of Ma Xiwu" was first seen in the "Yearly Summary Report on the Work of the Border Region Government" issued on January 6, 1944, the report was written by Lin Boqu, the president of the Border Region Government at that time. The report emphasized: "Promoting Adjudication method of Ma Xiwu, in order to educate the masses."³² On March 13th of the same year, the "Liberation Daily" specifically issued comment with the title "Adjudication method of Ma Xiwu"³³, introducing typical cases, highly

²⁹ Zhang Xipo: "Adjudication method of Ma Xiwu", Law Press, 1983, P. 55.

³⁰ "The Archives of the High Court of Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region", Volume No. 15, File No. 17, Xi'an: Shaanxi Provincial Archives Collection.

³¹ Wu Xueshan: "Shaping Marriage", "Reading", No. 8 of 2005, P. 3-11.

³² Zhang Xipo: "Adjudication method of Ma Xiwu", Beijing: Law Press, 1983, P. 77.

³³ In this report, the name of Feng Penger was wrote as Feng Banger by mistake and someone like Zheng Xin even wrote Feng Pang. See Zheng Xin: "The Ins and Outs of the Movie 'Liu Qiaoer'", *Wen Shi Tian Di*, No. 8 of 2002, P. 41-42. Han Wei corrected this mistake and it should be Feng Penger, but he believed that the name of Feng Zhiqin was renamed when the general election of New China was established. Some records were 1943, but there is no exact information to support this opinion. See Han Wei: "The

praised the results of this kind of adjudication method, and summarized the characteristics of the adjudication method. There are three main points: First, an in-depth investigation. Second, make reasonable conciliation on the premise of adhering to the implementation of policies, laws and regulations and safeguarding the basic interests of the people. Third, simplify litigation procedures.³⁴ Subsequently, the border area instructs the divisional commissioners, the county magistrate, the president of the chamber, and the judicial offices of the counties to adopt civil mediation and learn from Ma Xiwu.³⁵ "Adjudication method of Ma Xiwu" is not only the direction of the adjudication, but also a political direction. During the rectification movement of whole party, in the central document issued by the left-behind corps, there is also a special booklet introducing his (Ma Xiwu) research and study. These newspapers and documents have strongly recommended and introduced his deeds who are good at follow the mass line and seriously examining people's sentiments, and called on all cadres of the whole party, the whole army, and the whole border to learn his revolutionary spirit and working methods.³⁶

In October 1944, Gu Yuan published a woodcut painting "Ma Xiwu mediates marriage disputes" in the "Liberation Daily", propagating Ma Xiwu and his adjudication method in the form of woodcuts that the public love to see and hear.³⁷ In 1945, Li Pu published "A Case of Bride-grabbing" in Chongqing's "Xinhua Daily". This article introduces the general situation, trial process and principles and methods of the marriage dispute case of Feng Penger in three parts: "Feng Penger file the lawsuit on the roadside", "Public trail" and "conciliation-oriented policy". Especially in the "conciliation-oriented policy" section, it was written that this work method has been widely advocated in the border areas and the liberated areas, and has become very popular. The litigation procedures are simple and convenient, the adjudication method is "sit and talk" rather than "On the knees and talk". It is not perfunctory and does not delay. In the morning, evening, hillside and riverside, the people can ask for discussion and trial cases at any time. He is truly civilian, not a governor, and really serves the people, not causing problems for them. Since he really want to solve the problem, so he must seek the consent of both parties at the same time, so as it could be convinced.³⁸

The name of Feng Penger first appeared on "Liberation Daily" of the border area, in the news report of "Adjudication method of Ma Xiwu." For Feng Penger, although the report on "Liberation Daily" mentioned that she had accidentally met Zhang Bai, let alone whether the reporter had personally visited Feng Zhiqin at the time, even if it was true, it was only

History and Reality of Liu Qiaoer", "Seeking Roots", No. 1 of 2018, P. 108-113.

³⁴ Editorial: "Adjudication method of Ma Xiwu" (first edition), *Liberation Daily*, March 13, 1944.

³⁵ Zhang Xipo: "Adjudication method of Ma Xiwu", Beijing: Law Press, 1983, P. 55.

³⁶ Zhang Caiqian: "Stay at Longdong", Gansu People's Publishing Company, 1984, P. 207.

³⁷ Gu Yuan: "Ma Xiwu Mediates Marriage Dispute Case" (Fourth Edition), *Liberation Daily*, October 9, 1944.

³⁸ Li Pu: "A Case of Bride-grabbing", "Xinhua Daily", April 11, 1945.

introduced by a third person, "not in person", the so-called "she was willing to marry him" was more or less a speculation, and the freedom of love is not fully reflected.³⁹

Chongqing "Xinhua Daily", as an important media of the CCP in the KMT-controlled areas, publicized the "Adjudication method of Ma Xiwu", reflecting that the border government is a people's government, a democratic government, not the feudal government office, and it is truly serve the people. To a certain extent, it also implies the difference between the border area and KMT-controlled areas, which further emphasizes the political significance of the "Adjudication method of Ma Xiwu." However, for the marriage disputes of Feng Penger, it just makes a general narration. The lawsuit was caused by the lack of actual investigation and misconduct by the county judicial office. Although it condemned the unethical behavior of Feng Yangui who used his daughter as a commodity for multiple transactions, it did not strongly highlight Feng Penger fight against the feudal mercenary marriage and fight for marital autonomy. The proper resolution of the case is an important result of Ma Xiwu's work attitude, adjudication methods and serving the people.

Therefore, whether it is "Adjudication method of Ma Xiwu" in the "Liberation Daily" or "A Case of Bride-grabbing" in the "Xinhua Daily", "Feng Penger" is only an important figure in a typical "marriage dispute case", and her image or identity did not appear as "fight against the feudal mercenary marriage and fight for marital autonomy." In other words, the "Feng Penger's marriage disputes" is one of the classic cases of Ma Xiwu adjudication method. It is an important manifestation of the border area justice serving the people. The rural women Feng Penger is the beneficiary of Marriage Law of Border Area. Obviously, "news reports" are meant to promote Ma Xiwu and his adjudication methods, rather than propaganda her "rebel against feudal marriage and strive for marital autonomy." As Ma Xiwu said to himself: "The adjudication method often used by the Kuomintang reactionary courts is the sitting in the lobby and adjudicate the case, but the adjudication method people use, except for some simple or unnecessary cases are subject to court trials, are usually use the method of mass line according to different cases."⁴⁰ This fully demonstrates that because the border area advocates the Ma Xiwu adjudication method, the "Feng Penger's lawsuit" has become a classic case in the news report, rather than a news report about Feng Penger fight against mercenary marriage.

IV. ART STEMS FROM REALITY: THE DISCOVERY, ADAPTION AND DISSEMINATION OF LIU QIAOER'S STORY

"Liberation Daily" and "Xinhua Daily" as important news media of the border area, propagating the official discourse is a matter within their duties. However, after the "Yan'an Literature and Art Symposium" in the border area, Mao

³⁹ Han Wei: "The History and Reality of Liu Qiaoer", "Seeking Roots", No. 1 of 2018, P. 108-113.

⁴⁰ Yu Zhong: "Wu Jingxiong and Ma Xiwu: Symbols of Two Legal Traditions in Modern China", Journal of Legal Business, No. 1 of 2007, P. 134-139.

Zedong published the famous "Speech at the Yan'an Literature and Art Symposium". This article summarizes the experience of the revolutionary literary movement since the May Fourth Movement and clarifies a series of issues that have been debated in Chinese revolutionary literary movement for a long time. He pointed out: "Why people are a fundamental problem and a principle problem... Our literature and art are for the people, first for the workers, peasants and soldiers. It is created for them and used by them."⁴¹ The spirit of the "speech" has not only become the direction of revolutionary literary and artistic work, but also the central principle of its creation. In short, revolutionary literature and art serves the workers, peasants and soldiers. With the establishment of new literary and artistic directions and principles, the central government has repeatedly emphasized and implemented it. On March 10th, 1943, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Central Organization Department convened a meeting of 50 literary and art workers of the party, so that the writers who participated in the actual work could fully understand the party's literary and artistic policies, and realized the new direction⁴² pointed by Chairman Mao in "Speech at the Yan'an Literature and Art Symposium". On March 27th, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China established the general policy of the drama movement "Serving for War, Production and Education."⁴³ On October 20th, the Central General Committee of Education announced that the speech of Comrade Mao Zedong, published by the Liberation Daily on October 19th, at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art in May 1942, was the cause of the Chinese Communist Party in ideological construction and theoretical construction. It is the textbook of Chinese Marxism-Leninism written by Mao Zedong with the most common language... After receiving this article, local party organizations must consider it as a must-read document for the movement, and shall find appropriate time to conduct profound study and research among cadres and party members. It was stipulates as a compulsory course for future cadres and incumbent cadres, and was printed as a booklet as much as possible and send to the masses of students and the intellectual circles inside and outside the party.⁴⁴

At the same time, the literary and art workers in the border area responded to the spirit of the "Yan'an Literature and Art Symposium" and went deep into the society, to the masses, stayed close to life, and consciously combined their creation of literature and art with the life of workers, peasants and soldiers, thus created a large number of literary works with the themes reflecting the real life of workers, peasants and soldiers. Some people think: "The art and literature of Yan'an (and other liberated areas) in the 1940s enthusiastically praised the arduous struggle of the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. It deserved the title of the second golden age in the history of modern Chinese literature

⁴¹ Selected Works of Mao Zedong (Volume 3), People's Publishing Company, 1991, P. 855-863.

⁴² Aiken: "Yan'an Literature and Art Movement (1937.1-1948.3)", Culture and Art Publishing Company, 1987, P. 427.

⁴³ The special news: "The CPC Central Committee determines Drama Movement as a service for war production and education", "Liberation Daily", March 27, 1943.

⁴⁴ Aiken: "Yan'an Literature and Art Movement (1937.1-1948.3)", Culture and Art Publishing Company, 1987, P. 463.

and art!"⁴⁵ Obviously, under the direction of the literary and art service workers, peasants and soldiers, Yuan Jing,⁴⁶ as a well-educated and highly experienced writer, who was a teacher at Longdong Middle School, she was very familiar with the local situation of Longdong. So once she saw the report of "Adjudication Method of Ma Xiwul" published on "Liberation Daily", it instantly motivated her creative inspiration. Immediately she began writing with the marriage dispute case as writing material, the story was written into a script of new Shanxi Opera "Liu Qiaoer's Lawsuit", and it was well-praised by the public when it premiered in Qingyang. In 1945, the Troupe of Yan'an Security Department performed "Liu Qiaoer's Lawsuit" in Ansai. The ordinary people came from a long way to watch the show in spite of the simple and crude stage. When it is raining, they wouldn't go away until the show is finished. "Liu Qiaoer" became more and more popular, it even sell tickets in the new market of Yan'an.⁴⁷ Soon after "Liu Qiaoer's Lawsuit" was staged in Yan'an, Han Qixiang⁴⁸ told a new story in the Central Party School. Someone who had seen the show was very fond of it, and then told the story to Han Qixiang. Within a few days, based on this story, he compiled a clapper ballad "Liu Qiaoer Reunion" and played everywhere.

On April 30th, 1950, Chairman Mao Zedong issued an order to promulgate the "Marriage Law of the People's Republic of China", which will take effect on May 1st. This is the first law enacted after the founding of New China. The Marriage Law stipulates: "Abolish the feudal marriage system of forced coercion, male superiority, and disregard for the interests of children. It implements a new democratic marriage system that guarantees freedom of marriage between men and women, monogamy, equality of rights between men and women, and protection of the legitimate interests of women and children."⁴⁹ This is a major event in sweeping away the old feudal traditions of China and realizing women's liberation. "People's Daily" published a large number of commentators

⁴⁵ Aiken: "Yan'an Literature and Art History", Hebei Education Press, 2009, P. 374.

⁴⁶ Yuan Jing (1914-1999), formerly known as Yuan Xinggui, Yuan Xingzhuang, was born in Beijing and his native place is Wujin of Jiangsu. She was studied in Peiping Art College. In 1930 she joined the Chinese Communist Youth League and then in 1935 she joined the Communist Party of China. In 1940, she entered the Yan'an North Shaanxi Public School. In 1944, she wrote the first work "Rent Reduction" (Yangge Opera), and created the Shanxi Opera script of "Liu Qiaoer's Lawsuit". After the founding of the People's Republic of China, she specialized in writing of the Tianjin Branch of the Chinese Writers Association, her works include novel "New Heroine Biography" (cooperating with Sun Jue), children's novel "The Story of the Little Black Horse", "Fangfang and Tom", and the novel "Red Traffic line."

⁴⁷ Hao Zaijin: "Pingju 'Liu Qiaoer' and the Legendary Experience of Three Women", "History of CPC", No. 2 of 2005, P. 25-27.

⁴⁸ Han Qixiang (1915-1989), male, Han nationality, was born in Hengshan, Shaanx. He was a storyteller in Northern Shaanxi area. He lost his sight at the age of 3, and started his art learning at 13 years old. When he was 30 years old, he can sing and tell dozens of books, also he can play more than 50 folk songs. He was a blind actor in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area, he edited and performed more than 500 new works, passionately praised the newcomers and new trends. He joined the Communist Party of China in 1955, and he was a member of the Fifth and Sixth CPPCC National Committee. His masterpieces include "Liu Qiao Reunion", "Story of Emancipated people", "Grand Victory of Yichuan", "I tell a story to Chairman Mao".

⁴⁹ "Order on the Enforcement of Marriage Law" (Second Edition), People's Daily, May 2, 1950.

and editorial articles, vigorously publicized and explained the "Marriage Law", and set up "Q&A" and "people's garden" section to explain and answer the troubles of feudal marriage for young men and women. As stated in the article "Promote Marriage Law with Typical Cases": "The implementation of the 'Marriage Law' is a serious ideological struggle that persists within the people. People capture typical marriage cases and greatly publicize and educate cadres and the masses at all levels, so as to quickly curb the continuation of vicious incidents such as killing women, and effectively eliminate the influence of feudal ideology and feudal marriage system on the people, thus gradually establish a new-democratic marriage system."⁵⁰

Consequently, the literary and art circles also provoked the climax of the promotion of the Marriage Law. However, there were not many dramas that could be used in conjunction with the Marriage Law. Wang Yan, in order to response to the propaganda tasks, began to adapt the "Liu Qiaoer's Lawsuit" and "Liu Qiaoer Reunion." At first he worried about whether the stories that occurred during the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression were suitable for the needs, but finally he believed: "As long as this script can explain the spirit of 'marriage freedom', the audience can realize that marriage should be decided by themselves, parents decide for them is not right, and mercenary marriage is illegal. Then it has certain positive significance for the current propaganda work." Moreover, "because there is a reactionary class of the landlord at that time, it is easier to make the audience understand from the stage that: The roots of the old-style marriage system are the feudal ruling class and the remnants of feudal ideology left by them. To eliminate the old marriage system, one must remove this old feudal root."⁵¹ Therefore, the "Story of Feng Penger" has been rediscovered, reshaped and spread. The artistic leader of our troupe, Comrade Wang Yan of the Beijing Literature and Art Department, proposed to organize the play. It can be said that from that moment on, "Liu Qiaoer" has a certain scale.⁵² During the Spring Festival of 1950, Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai watched the new Pingju "Liu Qiaoer" at Zhongnanhai performed by China Pingju Theater. After the performance, Mao Zedong stepped onto the stage and said to Xin Fengxia: "We are very happy to see the cave dwelling of Yan'an again." "I heard the storytelling of "Liu Qiaoer Reunion" in Yan'an, and I couldn't image that I would watch the Pingju "Liu Qiaoer Reunion" in Beijing."⁵³ Mao Zedong and other senior leaders of the Chinese Communist Party have known "Liu Qiaoer", which shows the influence of the show in society. In 1956, The Changchun Film Studio filmed the Pingju "Liu Qiaoer" into a film and began to stage it. Liu Qiaoer became the typical model of the era and the image of women who "resisted in feudal mercenary marriage and strive

⁵⁰ "Promote Marriage Law with typical cases" (third edition), People's Daily, June 22, 1950.

⁵¹ Wu Xueshan: "Shaping Marriage", "Reading", No. 8 of 2005, P. 3-11.

⁵² Xin Fengxia: "The Creation Process of Pingju 'Liu Qiaoer'", "Theatrical Newspaper", No. 2 of 1955, P. 35-38.

⁵³ Li Shuqian: "Mao Zedong's Literary World", Liaoning Education Press, 1993, P. 35-36.

for marital autonomy." She was well-known and spread throughout the country.

V. THE CONSTRUCTION OF HISTORY: POLITICS AND NEWS AND LITERATURE

The marriage dispute was a real case happened in the border area in the 1940s. The story of an ordinary country woman — "marriage disputes", caused a news report due to the adjudication of Ma Xiwu, and then received the attention of the literary and art circles. It was created into literary and artistic works, that is, Liu Qiaoe's story, and then the propaganda make it known to every household in China and made it a name in history. How does "history" become history, or how events become history? Why this event has become history, and events of the same nature or meaning have not become history and memory of the people? The answer is, the path of historical construction.

The marriage disputes are quite common in rural life in the border areas. The interest party reported the incident to the government and was not approved by the interest parties after government's adjudication. So the interest party appealed again and was re-applied by Ma Xiwu before being properly handled. After the news report, Feng Penger was brought into public view, and attracted the attention of the literary and art circles. Then she was adapted into "Artistic Liu Qiaoe", spread to the society and entered history. From the initial news reports and the purpose of literary and art workers found the "Feng Penger incident", the theme is to promote Ma Xiwu and his adjudication method. For example, Gu Yuan's woodcut work "Ma Xiwu mediates lawsuit", he did not personally participate in or watch the "marriage disputes of Feng Penger", but created based on the reports of local newspapers and his own life experience. "In the picture, except for Ma Xiwu and four case participants, one government recorder, the remaining twenty-two onlookers are all centered on Ma Xiwu, and most of them even stand behind Ma Xiwu. Their eyes focused on Ma Xiwu, although they can only see the back of Ma Xiwu and several interrogees according to their perspective. At the symbol level, Ma Xiwu in the painting is the symbol of the Party and state power, which lead, mobilize, and organize the masses; and the intensive crowd constitutes a whole to respond to the call of Ma Xiwu (government) and approve his leadership. When Ma Xiwu united the masses and succeeded in the mass meeting when he makes everyone agree with him, a leader and a ritual of leadership are symbolically completed."⁵⁴ Ma Xiwu once said solemnly: "Han, the lawsuit of Feng Zhiqin should be publicized! However, I just did what the Party asks me to do, so please do not focus on me. You should talk about the policies of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao, and publicize the new marriage law promulgated by the border government! The significance of education can be maximized in this way!"⁵⁵

The folk artist Han Qixiang made a new adaptation to Liu Qiaoe's story. He described the part of the mercenary

⁵⁴ Wu Xueshan: "Shaping Marriage", "Reading", No. 8 of 2005, P. 3-11.

⁵⁵ Zhang Caiqian: "Stay at Longdong", Gansu People's Publishing Company, 1984, P. 201.

marriage in details, but only give a general summary of the investigation and research of Ma Xiwu and the adjudication method and process which adopting the opinions of the masses.⁵⁶ It weaken the part of "Ma Xiwu's judgment" which detailing in Yuan's "Liu Qiaoe's Lawsuit", making Liu Qiaoe a beneficiary of the Marriage Law in the Border Region, and also making her the "Women's role model" of resisting feudal marriage and fighting for the marital autonomy. "Marriage has always been the core of concern in people's lives, so from the content, he (Han Qixiang) has changed Yuan Jing's position as a mentor who instills new policies and new ideas into the people, but tells the familiar content of the people, so that his storytelling can be quickly accepted by the masse."⁵⁷, because "the audience is not willing to listen to content that they are not familiar with."⁵⁸ After the founding of the People's Republic of China, under the theme of propagating the "Marriage Law of the People's Republic of China", "Liu Qiaoe's Story" was once again excavated, adapted and reshaped, and its storyline has undergone major changes. After the change, the theme of "Liu Qiaoe" has also changed: "The theme of Shanxi Opera "Liu Qiaoe" is the reform of adjudication method. The pioneering method of 'Commissioner Ma' to solve the civil dispute has enjoyed the firm support of the people and is widely spread. The theme of the Pingju "Liu Qiaoe" is against feudal marriage."⁵⁹ This has increased the persecution of young men and women in feudal mercenary marriages, highlighting Liu Qiaoe's opposition to feudal marriages, pursuing free love and marital autonomy, making her a hero of the times and becoming a model for Chinese women to resist feudal marriages.⁶⁰

The "Fengzhiqin Marriage Dispute Case" goes from ordinary events to social news to literary and artistic works, and finally, it goes into history and becomes a memory of the people. Political power or ideology is an important factor for that. In other words, political power or ideology leads the discovery, construction and dissemination of history, and then dominates and shapes historical memory and social culture. Ordinary people do create their own history, but if ordinary people's history wants to become history, it must go through an extremely complicated process of arrangement and interweaving. This not only implies that the individual behavior conforms to the needs and requirements of the official dominant ideology, but also it should cause interest, empathy and resonance of the general public, more important, it requires the dominant of political leadership and the participation and operation of news and literature.

⁵⁶ Zhang Ning: "The Evolution of the Story of Liu Qiaoe and Its Significance", Journal of Jidong University, No. 1 of 2011, P. 47-50.

⁵⁷ Mao Qiaohui: "The Folk Interpretation of Han Qixiang's Storytelling", Lanzhou Academic Journal, No. 1 of 2006, P. 82-85.

⁵⁸ Jin Ting: "Yan'an Fudoki", Northwest University Press, 1985, P. 14-15.

⁵⁹ Chen Wenbing, Hua Jinyu: "Appreciation of Traditional Chinese Opera", University of International Business and Economics Press, 2015, P. 264.

⁶⁰ Chen Wenbing, Hua Jinyu: "Appreciation of Traditional Chinese Opera", University of International Business and Economics Press, 2015, P. 265.

VI. CONCLUSION

During the border period, the construction of the CCP's revolutionary narrative and the shaping and dissemination of social memory can give a glimpse of its basic context from this story. News, literature and history, these three areas of knowledge have a strict distinction on the surface, but from the discovery, adaption and dissemination of the "Story of Feng Zhiqin", people found that almost all narrative texts can be regarded as a kind of "literary construction". Many details are indeed fictitious. The discovery, production and dissemination of this story is a trivial little event in the macroscopic narrative of the CCP revolution, but it perfectly allows us to learn and understand the complex aspects of politics and news, literature and history during the border period and even after the founding of the country. From ordinary events to social news to literary and artistic works, it eventually becomes history. The process of repeated construction of this narrative is also the process of shaping the historical knowledge or historical memory of the people.

Feng Zhiqin became a model and symbol of the times because of the "Story of Liu Qiaoer", and entered the annals of history. "What happened is the past, what has been written is history."⁶¹ "The successful trial of this case was widely reported by Yan'an "Jiefang Daily", Chongqing "Xinhua Daily", "Longdong Newspaper" and so on. Later it was listed as one of the eight famous cases in the 20th century, and go down in the history of Chinese Women's Liberation Movement and legal construction. The folk script "Liu Qiaoer Reunion" and the Shanxi Opera script "Liu Qiaoer's Lawsuit", which promoted the freedom of marriage and Ma Xiwu's adjudication method, were widely spread in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region. In 1949, it was adapted as Pingju "Liu Qiaoer", and in 1956, the film "Liu Qiaoer" produced by Changchun Film Studio caused a sensation in the country. Liu Qiaoer's spirit of pursuing marriage freedom has influenced generations."⁶²

Historical knowledge determines historical memory and is closely linked to the shaping of public cultural values. But if the public historical narrative is completely controlled by political power or ideology, then the public expression of the so-called "historical memory" will only left a possibility according to official ideology and political interests. The voice of the individual or the public is completely submerged in the official discourse propaganda, which has blurred, confused and even exaggerated its original sound. "No matter whether it is news, literature or history, if it is all serve for publicity, then while building the 'memory of the people', it also expands the basic facts and values. These bits of destruction and construction make fundamental changes for the entire culture of the Chinese in the 20th century."⁶³ There is no doubt that this situation does exist. There is a game and some tension

between politics and journalism, literature and history. In special circumstances, political forces guide, lead and shape society, and even completely control, supervise and regulate news, literature and history, and put them into political orbit, so that to make them succumb to political power, serve politics and ignore, indifferent, and even revise the objective facts, this has created a huge rift between politics and society, news, and history. There have been historical phenomena of exaggeration, attachment, and distortion, and it has also hurt and destroyed the historical memory of the people and the shaping of social culture. People should admit that, regardless of ancient times or nowadays, ideology, values, feelings, political situation and other factors will always affect the narrative of historical truth. However, truth cannot be denied or abandoned. Under normal circumstances, there must be some kind of convergence and consistency between politics and journalism, literature and art, and history. News and literature are not completely unconventional, indiscriminately fabricated, subtle and purely fictional, it also reflect the thoughts, beliefs, ideals, emotions and pursuits of an era, a class and a group. In other words, the voice of the individual or the public and the official discourse propaganda are able to form a chord or symphony that meets the needs of them, and sends out the true voice of them, expressing the true perception of them, and also reflecting a true historical picture of the era or society. Only the voices of individuals or public only stay in the disorderly expression level, it need to borrow the political power to rise to the orderly practice level of the mainstream in order to acquire and complete its legitimacy.

As some people said: "For the study, propaganda and education of the country's history, people must adhere to the people-centered work orientation, combine serving masses with guiding masses, and publicize the national history in the form and language that the people love to hear and see; people should pay close attention to the public's concerns and doubts about the history of the country, and correctly guide the historical memory of the country that reflects the mainstream and essence of history."⁶⁴ The "Story of Fengzhiqin" perfectly shows the rational combination and effective interaction between politics and society, journalism and literature under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. To a certain extent, it also reflects the true historical picture of an era.

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⁶³ Feng Xiaocai. "The Tragedy of Scientists: Production, Communication and Memory of Zhou Xingong's Story", Cultural Study, No.15, Scientific Literature Publishing Company, 2016, P. 16-39.

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