

## Chaste Widows and Institutions to Support Them in Late-Ch'ing China

Strictures and rules concerning relations between the sexes, sexual conduct, and marriage have long been topics of traditional Chinese critical writing about society and ethics. In addition, more private forms of writing have conveyed anecdotes, biographical material, and opinions that touch on these subjects.<sup>1</sup> While the bulk of classical assumptions and recorded events has concerned men, there is good reason to focus special attention on the situation of women in China: women's lives and sexual behavior have frequently been subject to distinctive norms, laws, and speculation, thus creating an enormous impact on the overall shape of society.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the Confucian classics and women, see Richard W. Guisso, "Thunder over the Lake: The Five Classics and the Perception of Women in Early China," in Richard Guisso and Stanley Johannesen, eds., *Women in China: Current Directions in Historical Scholarship* (Youngstown, N. Y.: Philo Press, 1981), pp. 47-61. See also, Mark Elvin, "Female Virtue and the State in China," *Past and Present* 104 (1984), pp. 111-52; Yang Lien-sheng, "Female Rulers in Imperial China," *HJAS* 23 (1960-61), pp. 47-61; Hsü Cho-yun 許倬雲, "Ts'ung Chou-li t'uei-ts'e yüan-ku ti fu-nü kung-tso" 從周禮推測遠古的婦女工作, *Ta-lu ts'a-chih* 大陸雜誌 8.7 (1954), pp. 202-5; rpt. in Pao Chia-lin 鮑家麟, ed., *Chung-kuo fu-nü shih lun-chi* 中國婦女史論集 (Taipei: Mu-t'ung ch'u-pan she, 1979; rpt. Taipei: Tao-hsiang ch'u-pan she, 1988), pp. 51-62; Pao Chia-lin, "Yin-yang hsüeh-shuo yü fu-nü ti-wei" 陰陽學說與婦女地位, *Han-hsüeh yen-chiu* 漢學研究 5.2 (1987), pp. 501-12; Shih Yün 石雲 and Chang I-ho 章義和, *Jou-ch'ang ts'un-tuan chou ch'ien-lü Chung-kuo ku-tai fu-nü ti chen-chieh kuan* 柔腸寸斷愁千縷中國古代婦女的貞節觀 (Shensi: Jen-min chiao-yü ch'u-pan she, 1988); Jennifer Holmgren, "Widow Chastity in the Northern Dynasties: The *Lieh-nü* Biographies in the *Wei Shu*," *Papers on Far Eastern History* 23 (1981), pp. 165-86; Susan Mann, "Historical Change in Female Biography from Song to Qing Times," *Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan* 30 (1985), pp. 65-77.

<sup>2</sup> Two bibliographies on this large subject are Lucie Cheng, Charlotte Furth, and Hon-ming Yip, comps., *Women in China: Bibliography of Available English Language Materials* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies and Center for Chinese Studies, U. of Cal., 1984), and Karen T. Wei, *Women in China: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1984). Some important works are: Vivien W. Ng, "Ideology and Sexuality: Rape Laws in Qing China," *JAS*, 46.1 (1987), pp. 57-70; Chao Fung-hsieh 趙鳳喈, *Chung-kuo fu-nü tsai fa-lü shang chih ti-wei* 中國婦女在法律上之地位 (Shanghai, 1934; rpt. Taipei: Shih-huo ch'u-pan she, 1977); David C. Buxbaum, ed., *Chinese Family Law and Social Change in Historical and Comparative Perspective* (Seattle: U. of Washington P., 1978); Alan R. Sweeten, "Women and Law in Rural China: Vignettes from 'Sectarian Cases' (Chiao-an) in Kiangsi, 1872-1878," *Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i* 3.10 (1978), pp. 49-68; Vermier Y. Chiu, "Marriage Laws of the Ch'ing Dynasty, the Republic of China and Communist China," *Contemporary China* 2 (1956-57), pp. 64-72; idem, *Marriage Laws and Customs of China* (Hong Kong: Institute of Advanced Chinese Studies and Research, The Chinese U. of Hong Kong, 1966); Ch'ü T'ung-tsu, *Law and Society in Traditional China* (Paris: Mouton, 1961); Patricia Ebrey, "Women, Marriage, and the Family in Chinese History," in Paul Ropp, ed., *Heritage of China:*

This article considers the category of women that was traditionally termed "chaste women." This phrase is expressed in more than one way in Chinese. One term is *chieh fu* 節婦, a married woman who observed sexual abstinence (or purity) in widowhood and was recognized as such. But the definition varied in different periods; for example, in the early-Ming dynasty *chieh fu* was restricted to those over sixty years of age and who became widows before the age of thirty. *Chen nü* 貞女, another term, meant virgin widow, or betrothed (not yet wed) maiden who became widowed, also called *shih-nü shou-chih* 室女守志, or *shou wang-men kua* 守望門寡. *Lieh nü* 烈女 referred to an unmarried maiden who had died resisting assault or who committed suicide after her fiancé's death, while *lieh fu* 烈婦 meant a married woman who fit the same criteria of resistance or sacrifice. In the works utilized below, the sense of chaste widowhood generally implies that of sexual abstinence, or honor, according to specific legal and moral contexts.<sup>3</sup> This article touches mainly on Ch'ing law and edicts that concerned widows, as well as on some of the social and legal institutions that arose in order to support widows.

The Manchu Ch'ing government followed the Ming's stated practice of honoring two categories of chaste women—women who maintained their

sexual purity in widowhood for over twenty years and those who committed suicide after a sexual assault or upon their husband's death. But the later dynasty expanded the coverage. According to *Ta Ch'ing hui-tien* 大清會典, chaste women could also be of these types:

1. Determined by loyalty
  - a. A woman who remained sexually pure after her husband's death;
  - b. An unmarried woman who remained pure after the death of her fiancé;
2. Determined by bravery
  - a. A married woman who committed suicide after her husband's death;
  - b. An unmarried woman who committed suicide after her fiancé's death;
3. Determined by violence
  - a. A woman who was killed resisting assault;
  - b. A woman who committed suicide after an insult or assault.<sup>4</sup>

Honor and material rewards differed according to the condition of the chaste behavior. If a woman lived in poverty (*han-k'u shou-chieh* 寒苦守節) in order to maintain purity in widowhood, if a woman killed herself upon her husband's or fiancé's death, or if she died in a successful resistance against sexual assault, she or her family would be awarded thirty taels of silver. In addition, a memorial arch was to be erected at the expense of the family, and the woman honored in a special temple in her locale. If a woman maintained herself in chaste widowhood but without such extreme actions, she would receive an imperial insignia to be hung over her door, and her family name would be inscribed on a stone tablet. A woman who died resisting assault but who had been unable to preserve her sexual purity would receive fifteen taels of silver and a memorial arch as above, but would not be honored in the temple. The determination of the fact of purity, or abstinence, became a decisive factor in the degree of imperial honor rewarded.<sup>5</sup>

The non-Han Manchu dynasty rejected the Han custom of footbinding but accepted completely the traditional concept of chastity.<sup>6</sup> According to

*Contemporary Perspectives on Chinese Civilization* (Berkeley: U. of California P., 1990); Patricia Ebrey, "Concubines in Sung China," *Journal of Family History* 11.1 (1986), pp. 1-24; Rubie S. Watson and Patricia Ebrey, *Marriage and Inequality in Chinese Society* (Berkeley: U. of California P., 1991); Dun J. Li, ed., *The Essence of Chinese Civilization* (Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1967), esp. chap. 18; Angela K. Leung, "L'amour en Chine: Relations et pratiques sociales aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles," *Archives de sociologie des religions* 56.1 (1983), pp. 59-76; and Herbert Franke, "Women under the Dynasties of Conquest," in L. Lanciotti, ed., *Donna nella Cina imperiale e nella Cina repubblicana* (Florence, 1980), pp. 23-44.

<sup>3</sup> T'ien Ju-k'ang, *Male Anxiety and Female Chastity: A Comparative Study of Chinese Ethical Values in Ming-Ch'ing Times*, T'oung Pao Monograph Series 14 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988); Chien Chiao, "Female Chastity in Chinese Culture," *Min-tsu-hsueh yen-chiu-so chi-k'an* 民族學研究所集刊 31 (Taipei: Institute of Ethnic Studies, Academia Sinica, 1971), pp. 205-11; Tung Chia-tsun 董家選, "Li-tai chieh-lieh fu-nü ti t'ung-chi" 歷代節烈婦女的統計, *Hsien-tai shih-hsueh* 現代史學 3.2 (1936), pp. 1-5, rpt. Pao, ed., *Chung-kuo fu-nü*, pp. 111-17; Tung Chia-tsun, "Ts'ung Han tao Sung kua-fu tsai-chia hsi-su k'ao" 從漢到宋寡婦再嫁習俗考, *Chung-ta wen-shih yüeh-k'an* 中大文史月刊 3.1 (1934), pp. 193-213, rpt. in Pao, ed., *Chung-kuo fu-nü*, pp. 139-64; Susan Mann, "Widows in the Kinship, Class and Community Structures of Qing Dynasty China," *JAS* 46.1 (1987), pp. 37-56; Ann Walzner, "Widow and Remarriage in Ming and Qing China," in Guisso and Johannesen, *Women in China*, pp. 129-46; Tu Fang-ch'in 杜芳琴, *Nü-hsing kuan-nien ti yen-pien* 女性觀念的衍變 (Hunan: Ho-nan jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1988); Hu K'un 胡坤 *Lan-se ti yin-ying* *Chung-kuo fu-nü wen-hua kuan-chaos* 藍色的陰影中國婦女文化觀照 (Shensi: Jen-min chiao-yü ch'u-pan she, 1988); Jennifer Holmgren, "The Economic Foundations of Virtue: Widow Remarriage in Early and Modern China," *Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* 13 (1985), pp. 1-27; and Arthur Wolf, "Women, Widowhood and Fertility in Pre-modern China," in J. Dupâquier, E. Hélin, P. Laslett, M. Levi-Bacci, and S. Sogner, eds., *Marriage and Remarriage in Populations of the Past* (New York: Academic Press, 1981), pp. 139-47.

<sup>4</sup> Yamazaki Jun'ichi 山崎純一, "Shinchō ni okeru setsuretsu seihyō ni tsuite" 清朝における節烈旌表について, *Chūgoku koten kenkyū* 中國古典研究 15 (1967), p. 48; Chao, *Chung-kuo fu-nü*, pp. 119-20.

<sup>5</sup> Yamazaki, "Shinchō ni okeru," p. 56.

<sup>6</sup> Paul Ropp, "The Seeds of Change: Reflections on the Condition of Women in the Early and Mid Ch'ing," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 2.1 (1976), pp. 5-23; Howard S. Levy, *Chinese Footbinding: The History of a Curious Erotic Custom* (New York: Bell Publishing

Manchu custom, it was not only permissible for a widow to remarry, but also in such situations to marry her brother-in-law, son-in-law, uncle, or even nephew. Cases of this type existed in the Manchu imperial family before its conquest of China proper.<sup>7</sup> Most conspicuous was the purported marriage of Empress Hsiao-chuang 孝莊皇后 (mother of the Shun-chih 順治 emperor; r. 1644-1661) to Dorgon 多爾袞, her brother-in-law and the regent for the child emperor. A Chinese historian has even remarked that nothing like it had been known previously in Chinese history.<sup>8</sup> Succeeding emperors became especially sensitive to the recording of these accounts. The Ch'ien-lung 乾隆 emperor (r. 1736-1796) ordered such stories deleted from the Chinese version of the court *shih-lu* 實錄.<sup>9</sup>

The Shun-chih emperor ordered there to be nominations of chaste Manchu women to honored status.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, in 1712 and 1713 the K'ang-hsi 康熙 emperor (r. 1661-1722) honored chaste Manchu women by imperial edicts,<sup>11</sup> and the Ch'ien-lung emperor remarked in a 1783 memorial that non-Han women other than Manchus who observed chaste widowhood could also receive imperial honors.<sup>12</sup>

Despite the precedents in Chinese laws and customs, the first few emperors of the Ch'ing dynasty had tried to discourage suicide among widows by refusing to honor them. The K'ang-hsi emperor issued the following edicts in 1688:

It has been repeatedly forbidden for a wife to commit suicide after her husband's death. Recently I learned of numerous cases of widows' taking their own lives. Life is precious; death is pitiful. One should live

out one's life, be it a long one or a short one. How can one sacrifice one's body so casually? It is [merely] easier to die rather than live a difficult life. If I honor such deeds, more lives will be lost. From now on I shall no longer honor widows who follow their husbands in death. I shall forever forbid all women, from imperial consorts to commoners, to commit suicide upon their husbands' deaths. If there are those who insist on self-sacrifice, they will have to present their cases first to the Board of Rites and its subordinate agencies for approval from the throne.<sup>13</sup>

In 1723 the Yung-cheng 雍正 emperor (r. 1723-1735) relaxed the rule for honoring chaste widows to include women who died after the age of forty and who had been widowed more than fifteen years.<sup>14</sup> He also regarded committing suicide as an evasion of responsibility. He declared in 1729:

It is the right way under Heaven for a woman to follow one husband and not to change [her loyalty]. But there is a difference between widows who maintain their chastity out of fidelity and widows who remain chaste by bravely taking their own lives. It is hard for the loyal widow to die for her dead husband. But it is even harder for a chaste widow to live on. A widow who dies by her own hand makes the decision in one moment, but the loyal widow has to remember her husband always. A widow who kills herself only has to give up her life, but the loyal widow has to suffer various hardships. Widows commit suicide under different circumstances—some out of poverty and lack of subsistence; some out of the strong passion of the moment. They do not know that after a husband's death a wife has more responsibilities to fulfill. Parents-in-law need to be taken care of—once the son's responsibility; children need to be educated—once the father's responsibility. And there are other endless tasks such as cooking, repairing, planting, harvesting, and managing the household. How can one evade them by death?<sup>15</sup>

However, this type of policy was reversed by the Hsien-feng 咸豐 emperor (r. 1851-1861) after a serious drought. The perceived lack of heavenly harmony compelled the emperor, following traditional Chinese political custom, to reflect upon his wrongdoings. He traced the disaster to

Co., 1965); Lily M. V. Chan, "Footbinding in Chinese Women and Its Psycho-Social Implications," *Canadian Psychiatric Association Journal* 15.2 (1970), pp. 229-31; Andrea Dworkin, *Woman Hating* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1974), esp. chap. 6 "Gynocide: Chinese Foot-binding"; Eric Friedrich Podach, "Gin-lien: Ein aktualistischer Beitrag zur Ethnologie des Hässlichen," *Jahrbuch des Linden-Museums* 1 (1951), pp. 160-71; Naka Michiyo 那珂通世, "Shina fujin tensoku no kigen" 支那婦女纏足の起源, *SZ* 9.6 (1898), pp. 496-520; Inoue Kobai 井上紅梅, *Shina fuzoku* 支那風俗 (Shanghai, 1919-20); Ino Yoshinori 伊能嘉矩, "Shina kanzoku no joshi ni okonawaruru tensoku no fu" 支那漢族の女子に行はるる纏足の風, *Tokyo jinrui gakkai zasshi* 東京人類學會雜誌 229 (1905), pp. 301-11.

<sup>7</sup> Hsiao I-shan 蕭一山, *Ch'ing-tai t'ung-shih* 清代通史 (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1963) 1, pp. 383-84.

<sup>8</sup> Hsiao-heng-hsiang-shih chu-jen 小橫香室主人, *Ch'ing-ch'ao yeh-shih ta-kuan* 清朝野史大觀 (Taipei: Chung-hua shu-ch'ü, 1959) 1, sect. "Ch'ing-kung i-wen" 清宮遺聞, pp. 4-5.

<sup>9</sup> Hsiao-heng-hsiang-shih chu-jen, *Ch'ing-ch'ao*, p. 5; Hsiao, *Ch'ing-tai t'ung-shih*, p. 384.

<sup>10</sup> *Ta-Ch'ing hui-tien shih-li* 大清會典事例 (rpt. Taipei: Chung-wen shu-ch'ü, 1961; hereafter cited as *TCHTSL*), years 1649 and 1653, pp. 10411-12 (ch. 403, pp. 8a-9a).

<sup>11</sup> *TCHTSL*, yrs. 1713-1714, p. 10413 (ch. 403, p. 12a).

<sup>12</sup> *TCHTSL*, yr. 1784, p. 10423 (ch. 403, p. 31a-32a).

<sup>13</sup> *TCHTSL*, yr. 1689, p. 10413 (ch. 403, pp. 11b-12a).

<sup>14</sup> *TCHTSL*, yr. 1723, p. 10414 (ch. 403, p. 13a).

<sup>15</sup> *TCHTSL*, yr. 1729, p. 10417 (ch. 404, pp. 19a-b).

his decision not to honor thirty-seven widows who had committed suicide the previous year. He immediately issued an edict to honor them, "to quell their chaste souls," and to bolster a deteriorating public morality.<sup>16</sup> Subsequently, the practice of honoring chaste women who killed themselves upon their husbands' deaths lasted until the early Republican period.

During the Ch'ing dynasty the number of years required in observance of chaste widowhood in order to be imperially honored decreased several times. As the number of honored chaste women increased, collective memorial arches began to appear. In about 1800 the Chia-ch'ing 嘉慶 emperor (r. 1796-1820) ordered the district magistrates in Hunan to build collective memorial arches for chaste women who had died while facing attack during times of political chaos.<sup>17</sup> In 1845 the Tao-kuang 道光 emperor (r. 1821-1850) ordered local governments across the country to build collective memorial arches for chaste widows named on the honor roll. Each collective arch would be built with thirty taels of silver out of government funds, and no monetary reward would be given to the chaste widow or her family.<sup>18</sup>

The number of widows honored as chaste increased despite the high rate of female infanticide and the disproportionately high male ratio in the general population.<sup>19</sup> In fact, the idea of chastity as a virtue seems to have become as important as that of loyalty. In Lady Wang's (mother of Wang Hsiang 王相) *Nü-fan chieh-lu* 女範捷錄 (*Brief Record of Women's Regulations*), a text that admonished women in the tradition of Pan Chao's 班昭 *Nü-chieh* 女誡, the two virtues were explained in this way: "A loyal official would not serve two masters; a chaste woman should not marry two husbands."<sup>20</sup> Educational texts of this sort probably figured in the increasing tendency to honor widows.

Yet such broad opinions as that of Lady Wang were not accepted without qualifications. In the time of K'ang-hsi's reign, Mao Ch'i-ling 毛奇齡 (1623-1716), like the earlier Kuei Yu-kuang 歸有光 (1506-1571), opposed: 1) a betrothed maiden's having to observe chaste widowhood; 2) a

betrothed maiden's committing suicide upon her fiancé's death; and 3) a betrothed maiden's being buried with the deceased fiancé.

Yü Cheng-hsieh 俞正燮 (1775-1840), a contemporary of the Ch'ien-lung emperor, criticized society's lauding never wed but betrothed women who acted like celibate widows. He also questioned the propriety of a woman's sharing a grave with a man who had never been her bed partner. Yü felt that such practices would contradict and devalue traditional wedding ceremonies. Dating from the Warring States period, these wedding rites were: 1) gift-offering; 2) requesting the girl's name, birth date, and birth time; 3) divination; 4) betrothal with exchange of gifts; 5) seeking approval for the date of the wedding; and 6) fetching the bride. Yü said that wise men in the past did not see the contradiction and had not contemplated the issue.

Yü traced the earliest story of a betrothed maiden's observing chaste widowhood to Lo Ching 羅靜, the daughter of Lo Ch'in 羅勤, in *Lieh-nü chuan*. Lo was betrothed to Chu K'uang 朱曠, but before the marriage ceremony Lo's father died. Chu volunteered to take care of the Lo family's extensive business for his fiancée. Before long he became sick and died, and Lo vowed not to marry. Later Yang Tso 楊祚 wanted to marry Lo Ching and tried to force her to accept the engagement money. Lo Ching ran away, but Yang seized her younger brother and sister as hostages. Lo had to go to Yang to explain her vow not to marry because of Chu K'uang's kindness, and that if Yang forced her to marry she would immediately commit suicide. Yang then gave up. Yü Cheng-hsieh believed Lo Ching to have been truly chaste and justified in observing a pure widowhood, but he also felt that unmarried chaste women subsequently in history lacked adequate reason for their action.<sup>21</sup>

Yü said that if women should not remarry, then there is no rite that would permit men to remarry either. Yü elaborated:

An ancient saying goes: "In one's life one does not change partners." But in referring to one's life, this means both men and women's lives. "Seven reasons to oust one's wife" means that one may change wives seven times. "To remarry after a wife's death" means that one may change for the eighth time. The rites and righteousness have no limit for men, and these men embellish their arguments as a means to control women. This is certainly a shameless argument.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Yü Cheng-hsieh 俞正燮, "Chen-nü shuo 貞女說," in idem, *Kuei-ssu lei-kao* 癸巳類稿 (rpt. Taipei: Commercial Press, 1957), p. 494.

<sup>22</sup> Yü, "Chieh-fu shuo 節婦說," *ibid.*, p. 493.

<sup>16</sup> TCHYSL, yr. 1851, p. 10432 (ch. 404, pp. 17a-b).

<sup>17</sup> TCHYSL, yr. 1800, p. 10424 (ch. 404, p. 2b).

<sup>18</sup> TCHYSL, yr. 1846, p. 10431 (ch. 404, pp. 15b-16b).

<sup>19</sup> Ho Ping-ti offered evidence of female infanticide and the sex ratio in the period 1776-1850. Data after 1850 were confusing because of the T'ai-p'ing wars. Ho, *Studies on the Population of China, 1368-1953* (Cambridge: Harvard U.P., 1959), pp. 58-59, 67-71.

<sup>20</sup> Yamazaki Jun'ichi, *Kyōto kara mita chūgoku joseishi jiryō no kenkyū* 教育からみた中国女性史資料の研究 (Kyoto, 1986), pp. 266-78; Ch'en Tung-yüan 陳東原, *Chung-kuo fu-nü sheng-huo shih* 中國婦女生活史 (rpt. Taipei: Chung-hua, 1965), p. 282; T'ien Ju-k'ang elaborates the theme of male loyalty and female chastity, especially widow suicide, and he correlates them based on statistics. See T'ien, *Male Anxiety and Female Chastity*, pp. 24-31.

Yü concluded that "we should not blame those who do remarry; as for those who do not remarry, we should pay them our respects."

Yü further lamented the tragic suicides of widows in Fukien province, where female infanticide was prevalent.

In Fukien half of the baby girls are not raised; the other half are expected to grow up to be chaste women. When the son-in-law dies the daughter should die also: with poisonous wine in a vessel, or a rope over a beam. Alas, the daughter wants to live but the pressure is great. With bitterness and grief filling her heart, she dies to the cheers of the clansmen, who will apply for imperial honors and make known the family name. A tall and glorious arch will face the front door. At night there is the voice of a new ghost begging to return.<sup>23</sup>

Although Confucian morality, social sanctions, and government measures all worked against the remarriage of widows, and although remarried widows were generally looked down upon, potent forces were also working the other way. The issue of remarriage was more complicated in traditional China than in any other part of the world.<sup>24</sup> There was no way that a widowed woman could make a decent living on her own. In most families the chaste widow became an extra mouth to feed. The young widow might have an obligation that transcended the concept of fidelity or the abstract notions of Confucian teachings, for example, that of raising children. In a well-to-do family inheritance arrangements could exert pressure on the widow to remarry. The Ch'ing legal code held that when a widow remarried, her first husband's family could take back her inheritance and dowry. A rich widow might be coerced into remarriage by her parents-in-law or brothers-in-law. Economic considerations thus could easily outweigh moral teachings. Even a widow's own natal family might coerce her to remarry out of consideration for her own welfare. Legal authorities ever since the time of the T'ang dynasty paid attention to the dilemma.<sup>25</sup> The T'ang and Ming codes upheld

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.; Tung, "Li-tai chieh-lieh," p. 4. J. Dolittle in the middle of the nineteenth century witnessed a widow's suicide in Fu-chou; see his *Social Life of the Chinese* (New York, 1867) 1, p. 109.

<sup>24</sup> For stories concerning the pressure to remarry, see Jonathan Spence, *The Death of Woman Wang* (New York: The Viking Press, 1978), pp. 59-79; Waltner, "Widow and Remarriage," pp. 138-39; Tien, *Male Anxiety and Female Chastity*, pp. 31-38, and 138; for examples in the Sung dynasty, see Elvin, "Female Virtue," p. 121.

<sup>25</sup> For T'ang legal codes relevant to this subject, see Hsüeh Yün-sheng 薛允升, comp., *T'ang Ming li ho-pien 唐明律合編* (rpt. Taipei: Commercial Press, 1977), p. 287. For Ming codes, see *Ta Ming li chi-chieh 大明律集解* (rpt. Taipei: Hsüeh-sheng shu-chü, n.d.) 2, pp. 665-66; also Yamazaki, "Shinchō ni okeru," pp. 49-50; and Tung, "Ts'ung Han tao Sung," in Pao, *Chung-kuo fu-nü*, p. 153.

the right of a widow's parents or grandparents to force her into a second marriage, but stipulated the punishments for coercion by other relatives. These were graded by the closeness of the kinship bonds—the closer the relationship, the milder the punishment.

The Ch'ing code made a revolutionary change by imposing corporal punishment on parents and parents-in-law who forced a widow to remarry.

If a widowed wife or concubine, after observing the mourning period for the death of her husband, decides to remain sexually abstinent, but her grandparents, parents, grandparents-in-law, or parents-in-law force her to remarry, they will receive a beating of eighty blows; relatives of one grade less (*ch'i-ch'in* 期親) will receive a greater punishment; relatives of two grades less (*ta-kung* 大功) and others will receive even greater punishment. The woman and the man who marries her will not be punished. If the marriage has not yet taken place, the widow shall be returned to her former husband's family and be allowed to observe chaste widowhood. All money and gifts shall be returned. If the marriage has taken place, she shall live with the new family but all money and gifts will be confiscated by the government.<sup>26</sup>

Widows who believed in remaining unmarried at any cost usually resorted to various means to avoid pressure for remarriage: mutilating the face; cutting off an ear; slashing the nose; feigning sickness; concealing a knife; swearing; threatening to commit suicide; declining to take a bath; becoming a vegetarian; or cutting off fingers.<sup>27</sup>

Since life could often be difficult for widows, any relief measure, either governmental or private, was important in order to help women carry forward their wish not to remarry. However, little relief was given before the mid-Ch'ing. In the Shun-chih and Ch'ien-lung reigns, widows already honored as chaste, if old and extremely poor, were able to receive rations of rice from the local government.<sup>28</sup>

Charitable institutions for chaste women started to proliferate in the mid-Ch'ing, especially during the reigns of the Tung-chih 同治 (r. 1862-1874) and Kuang-hsü 光緒 (r. 1875-1908) emperors. A few *hsü-li chü* 恤養局, or *hsü-li hui* 恤養會, institutions for the relief of widows, had been

<sup>26</sup> *Ta-Ch'ing li-li hui-t'ung hsin-tsu'an* 大清律例會通新纂 (rpt. Taipei: Wen-hai ch'u-pan she, n.d.), ch. 9, pp. 1029-38.

<sup>27</sup> Tung, "Li-tai chieh-lieh," p. 4.

<sup>28</sup> *TCHTSL*, yr. 1662, p. 10413 (ch. 403, p. 11a), and yr. 1746, p. 10418 (ch. 403, p. 22b).

established as early as the early Ch'ing.<sup>29</sup> But after the outbreak of the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion (1851-1864), there was a revival of neo-Confucianism and a renewed emphasis on traditional Chinese virtues. Loyalty was stressed by both the Manchu rulers and the Chinese scholar-officials in their responses to the rebels' fourteen-year devastation of central and southern China. Such Chinese scholar-officials as Tseng Kuo-fan 曾國藩 (1811-1872) and Li Hung-chang 李鴻章 (1823-1901) not only promoted loyalty but also turned their attention to notions of chastity. As governors-general of Liang Kiang and Chihli, they sponsored the establishment of institutions for widows that used both government and private resources. As governor-general of Chihli, Li Hung-chang personally drafted the regulations for the Ch'üan-chieh t'ang 全節堂 (Hall for Preserving Chastity), an institution in Pao-ting prefecture, Chihli province. Li began by explaining the importance of chastity as one of the "four pillars of Heaven and Earth."

In ancient times there was a saying that Heaven and Earth had pillars and support . . . Human beings are born with the vital energy of Heaven and Earth, and are capable of being loyal, filial, chaste, and righteous. Those at the higher [level] put into action Heaven's creativity; those below respond to Earth's steadfastness. If they are not swayed and without deviation, then they are pillars and supports. The great virtues of loyalty, filial piety, chastity, and righteousness should be followed by all those under Heaven. Among all the virtues, however, chastity is only manifested under certain situations and thus is an important pillar. Since the right way of the gentleman (*chün-tzu* 君子) begins with the husband-wife relationship, women are not insignificant.<sup>30</sup>

Li further quoted the classics to reinforce arguments against remarriage by widows, and he even claimed that chaste widows deserve immortality. It was the responsibility of officials and benevolent men to provide for them so that they would not be hungry or homeless or commit suicide.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> According to Fuma Susuma 夫馬進, institutions like Hsü-li hui were started by P'eng Ch'i-feng 彭啓豐 (1701-1784) in Soochow and later spread to other parts of Kiangsu. Fuma Susuma, "Zenkai zendō no shuppatsu" 善會善堂の出發, in Ono Kazuko 小野和子, ed., *Minshin jidai no seiji to shakai* 明清時代の政治と社會 (Kyoto, 1983), p. 207. Angela K. Leung 梁其姿 maintains that throughout the Ch'ing dynasty the government, central or local, had never actively participated in philanthropic activities; see Leung, "Ch'ing-tai tz'u-shan chi-kou yü kuan-liao-ts'eng ü kuan-hsi" 清代慈善機構與官僚層的關係, *Min-tsu-hsüeh yen-chiu-so chi-k'an* 66 (1988), pp. 85-103.

<sup>30</sup> Li Hung-chang 李鴻章, "Ch'üan-chieh t'ang chang-ch'eng 全節堂章程" ("On the Regulations for Ch'üan-chieh t'ang"), in Huang P'eng-nien 黃彭年 et al., comps., *Chi-fu t'ung-chih* 畿輔通志 (rpt. Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chü, 1968; hereafter cited as *CFTC*), p. 3532 (ch. 109, pp. 213a-b).

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

Institutions for widows in the provinces of Kiangsu, Chihli, and Hunan were government-sponsored, privately sponsored, or both.<sup>32</sup> The following is a list of different names for those institutions.

Chen-chieh t'ang	貞節堂	Hall for Chastity
Ch'ing-chieh t'ang	清節堂	Hall for Pure Chastity
Ch'üan-chieh t'ang	全節堂	Hall for Preserving Chastity
Ch'üan-chieh hui	全節會	Association for Preserving Chastity
Ch'ung-chieh t'ang	崇節堂	Hall for Respecting Chastity
Shih-jen t'ang	師仁堂	Hall for Learning Benevolence
Pao-chieh chü	保節局	Bureau for Defending Chastity
Hsü-li hui	恤養會	Association for the Relief of Widows
Hsü-li chü	恤養局	Bureau for the Relief of Widows
Hsü-li so	恤養所	Institution for the Relief of Widows
Ching-chieh so	敬節所	Institution for Revering Chastity
Ching-chieh t'ang	敬節堂	Hall for Revering Chastity
Li-chen t'ang	立貞堂	Hall for Upholding Chastity
Wan-chieh t'ang	完節堂	Hall for Completing Chastity
Li-chieh t'ang	勵節堂	Hall for Encouraging Chastity

Through local gazetteers it is possible to obtain a better understanding of the operation of these institutions and the living conditions of the institutionalized widows. In the case of Ch'üan-chieh t'ang in Pao-ting prefecture, which was enlarged by Li Hung-chang, there is detailed information on both the management and the salaries of the personnel. In the early Ch'ing, Ch'üan-chieh t'ang was small and referred to as the Hsü-li hui. In 1843 scholar-officials in the community raised funds and expanded the institution to more than sixty rooms, with its operation modeled after that of Ch'ing-chieh t'ang in Kiangsu. When Tseng Kuo-fan and Li Hung-chang were governors-general of Chihli they appropriated government funds and raised private donations for the institution. The fund almost doubled to 27,000 taels of silver by 1870, excluding land acquisition, construction, and remodeling expenses incurred during the expansion to 166 rooms. Interest on the fund was used for daily operation.

The institution admitted only women under thirty years of age whose

<sup>32</sup> Kao Mai 高邁, "Wo-kuo chen-chieh-t'ang chih-tu ti yen-pien" 我國貞節堂制度的演變, in *Tung-fang tsu-chih* 東方雜誌 32.5 (1935), pp. 101-2; Ch'en Shou-ch'i 陳壽祺 et al., comps., *Fu-chien t'ung-chih* 福建通志 (rpt. Taipei: Hua-wen, 1968) 52, p. 1066; Tseng Kuo-ch'üan 曾國荃 et al., comps., *Hu-nan t'ung-chih* 湖南通志 (rpt. Taipei: Hua-wen, 1967) 42, pp. 1161 and 1167; and Yang Ch'eng-hsi 楊承禧 et al., comps., *Hu-pei t'ung-chih* 湖北通志 (rpt. Taipei: Hua-wen, 1967) 49, pp. 1167, 1169, 1173, and 1175.

husbands or fiancés had just died, whose families were poor, and who were determined to live the rest of their lives unmarried. The institution was headed by a supervisory board of directors, which consisted of sixteen scholar-officials. The board members received no salary.

The paid staff of the institution included a general manager, an assistant manager, inner manager, three tutors, two janitors, one cook, three assistant cooks to take care of fuel, rice, and water, two timekeepers, one servant, and two inner maidservants. In 1870 their monthly salaries were as follows:

General Manager	7,000 <i>wen</i> 文 ( <i>wen</i> was a basic unit of copper cash)
Assistant Manager	5,000 <i>wen</i>
Inner Manager	3,000 <i>wen</i>
Tutors	48,000 <i>wen</i> for all three
Janitors	3,500 <i>wen</i> each
Cook	2,000 <i>wen</i>
Assistant cooks	1,500 <i>wen</i> each
Timekeepers	3,000 <i>wen</i> each
Servant	1,500 <i>wen</i> each
Inner maidservants	1,500 <i>wen</i> each

Tutors were for the widows' children over seven years of age. The three tutors had charge of three classes. Each student received an allowance for school supplies of 100 *wen* per month, and books were purchased by the institution. Students had meat twice a month; those who stayed up late studying could get snacks. Talented students were rewarded with additional food and school supplies.

The widows in the institution received a monthly allowance of 600 *wen*, a clothing and bedding allowance of 150 *wen*, and a tea and water allowance of 100 *wen*. For each child the widow brought with her she received an additional monthly allowance of 100 *wen*, plus a clothing and bedding allowance of 124 *wen*. In the winter there was a coal allowance of 3,000 *wen* per month, and 1,000 *wen* per month for the fuel that was burned under the heated beds. Tea, lamp oil, and coal were supplied in reasonable amounts to the managers. Each room was furnished with a metal lamp and 1.3 ounces of lamp oil per night. The timekeeper received 2.6 ounces of lamp oil and one candle per night. In the winter months each room got a small coal burner, 6.75 bushels of coal, 5.26 ounces of charcoal, a pair of fire tongs, and a stack of logs for the under-the-bed heating system.

The women ate rice and/or noodles, with six persons at a table. Each table was allotted two big plates of vegetables prepared by the cooks outside

and transferred through a *chuan-t'ung* 轉筒 (literally, a revolving bucket). The *chuan-t'ung* was a kind of revolving window, too small for a grown person to enter. It connected the inner portion of the institution, where the widows lived, with the outer portion. On holidays, such as New Year days (the first five days of the lunar new year), the fifth day of the fifth moon, the fifteenth day of the eighth moon, and the first day of winter, additional specialty food was served.

The institution had a strict admission procedure. The young widow who applied for admission had first to submit detailed personal information. In addition to giving her place of birth, her address, and the names of her children, she had to prove that she was under thirty years of age, that her husband or fiancé had recently died, and that her family was poor. Her neighborhood elder had to write a recommendation letter in her favor. The manager's office, on receiving the application, assigned the applicant a number and recorded in the register the applicant's personal information. The file was forwarded to the board of directors for examination, investigation, and verification. After a favorable decision was made at the board level, the applicant was formally accepted. The manager assisted the board in the investigation and was expected to remain impartial throughout.

If a widow was pregnant upon acceptance, she could start receiving her allowance right away, but she could not move into the institution until one month after the baby was born. Personal property brought with a widow when she entered had to be reported to the manager, and the manager had to itemize the belongings in the register and report them to the prefectural and district authorities.

The young widows had to be accompanied by their neighborhood elders when they arrived for entrance. Those who had children could bring them along and have them educated at the institution. Children under twelve lived with their mothers in the inner portion of the institution. Children over twelve lived in the outer portion of the institution with their teachers, with permission to visit their mothers through the tight revolving bucket twice a day—once in the morning and once in the evening. Entrances and exits were monitored by the manager on duty.

When a son reached the age of eighteen and did not have a good academic record, he would be ordered to leave the institution and make his own living. At the appropriate age, a daughter's marriage could be arranged by the mother. If a resident widow's daughter became disabled due to illness, she could remain in the institution according to the regulations for unmarried but betrothed chaste women. If a marriage could be arranged

for her, then it was done so accordingly. When a resident's daughter got married, the institution gave her a dowry of 16,000 *wen*.

When a widow died, the institution provided a coffin and reasonable burial expenses. Her children would be taken care of by another widow in the institution, usually a friend, who received an additional allowance for the foster child of 400 *wen* per person per month. If the children were abused or neglected, the institution would find them another foster mother.

Since the primary purpose of the institution was to uphold women's decisions to be unmarried, security was of the utmost importance. The women were secluded from the rest of the world. Various measures were devised and observed. The keys to the secluded inner portion of the institution were handled only by the manager and the assistant manager, and they were not used unless necessary. For important official business both the manager and the assistant manager had to be present to break the paper seals that were stuck over the doors, and the date on the seal and the manager's chop mark would be checked. Only then could they unlock the two sets of doors. Before they could enter, the servant in the interior portion would announce their arrival, and all the widows had to hide in their rooms and were not allowed to walk around. No male relative of the widow could come to visit her except her own sons. Among the female relatives, only her mother-in-law and mother were permitted to visit and only twice a month at the most. If a relative came to offer gifts such as food to the institutionalized widow, he or she had to report first to the manager's office. The gifts were carefully examined by the manager and then were delivered through the revolving bucket.

If the widows were willing to sew or make crafts for the town shops, materials or supplies from the shops were first delivered to the manager's office for registration and then transferred to the interior through the revolving bucket. The finished products were delivered to the shops by the same route. Servants or maidservants who assisted in the delivery received no share of the money paid to the widow for her work.

If a chaste widow wanted to purchase needed items, the message was conveyed by the inside maidservant to the servant on duty outside. After reporting it to the manager, the purchase was made by the assigned staff. Servants and maidservants who made purchases without consulting the manager would be fired.

If a widow's parents, parents-in-law, or children became seriously ill, she could report it to the manager via the servants, and with his permission she could go home for a visit. If any of these relatives died, she was allowed to go

home, and for funeral and burial services she had the same privilege. Twice a year, in the spring and autumn, the widows were allowed to go out to visit the graves of their relatives, especially those of their husbands. The institution provided 400 *wen* for expenses to cover each of these visits. The widows had to be accompanied by the maidservants and had to return to the institution on the same day.

The residents took turns—two at a time—at being in charge of the group for a month. If there were quarrels, they mediated them. If one of the residents got sick they had to take care of her. Unresolved problems had to be reported to the manager. Problems could result in a fine deducted from the monthly allowance, or if serious, could result in the expulsion of the delinquent widow from the institution.

When institutionalized widows, whether alive or dead, became eligible for imperial recognition as chaste, the institution submitted the application for them. If granted, a widow's name was inscribed on the collective memorial arch at the institution and her name and honor became widely known.<sup>33</sup> The spirit tablet of the widow's husband, a piece of fine wood inscribed with his name, could be brought into the institution. It was placed on a long table designed for the purpose—a symbol of the togetherness of the chaste widow and her deceased husband.

According to Li Hung-chang, even well before the time of his involvement people associated with Ch'üan-chieh t'ang were doing well. Many of the children of chaste widows educated there were successful in civil service examinations or business endeavors. The highest-paid staff in the institution were the tutors (they received more than double the pay of the manager), and their performance was constantly monitored by the members of the board of directors.

The records of life in Ch'üan-chieh t'ang are fairly detailed, and there exist in addition records of other institutions in Chihli and Hunan. The Ch'üan-chieh t'ang institution in Tientsin was established in 1868 by the prefect Jen Hsin-cheng 任信成 with the support of the high Manchu officials Ch'ung-hou 崇厚 and Heng-ch'ing 恒慶. The regulations in this case stated that both Han Chinese and non-Han ethnic groups would be accepted without discrimination.<sup>34</sup> This is further evidence that the Manchus accepted the high regard that the Chinese held for celibate widowhood. Because of the power of these two Manchus, a portion of the levy collected from boat owners by the government was appropriated for this institution.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> *CFTC*, pp. 3531–32 (*ch.* 109, pp. 2112–213b).

<sup>34</sup> *CFTC*, pp. 3533 (*ch.* 109, p. 216b). <sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*



The records of the Tientsin Ch'üan-chieh t'ang stated also that if the admitted widow could not sustain the hard conditions in the institution, she was to be reported to the prefecture and the district, and the relatives who originally recommended her had to come fetch her. She would then never be admitted again in the future. Security was tight, as in similar institutions: close relatives of the chaste widow could be allowed to enter the interior under one circumstance—when the related widow was seriously ill. Also, instead of children under twelve, this institution only permitted children under ten to live with their mothers in the interior hall.<sup>36</sup>

Because of limited space in chastity institutions, qualified widows frequently had to wait for years. An alternative measure was to offer an allowance to stay-at-home widows. In Hunan, Kiangsu, and Fukien considerable numbers of widows were benefited in this way. In Changsha, Hunan, during the reign of the Kuang-hsü emperor, the Hall for Encouraging Chastity ordinarily assisted 765 chaste widows.<sup>37</sup> In Fuchow, Fukien, in the reign of the Tung-chih emperor, the Hall for Revering Chastity subsidized 400 chaste widows regularly.<sup>38</sup>

The limited number of widows any residential chastity institution could admit left room for bribery and corruption.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, sometimes unfair practices occurred in the way the imperial government established their honors for widows. Jonathan Spence has called attention to the "historical nepotism" of the T'an-ch'eng gentry in their selection of virtuous widows for mention in the local gazetteer. Four of the local compilers managed between themselves to include three of their mothers and two sisters-in-law among the fifty-six women chosen to be honored.<sup>40</sup> Corruption also involved recommending widows for the imperial honor as chaste. Ho Ching 何璟 memorialized from Kwangtung province to the effect that "the government should seriously punish extortionists in order to bring out the chaste . . . The clerks in eastern Kwangtung are very corrupt. Chaste widows applied for honor and the Board of Rites ordered the clerks to investigate and

report immediately, but they did not report for years. They extorted money and then reported the case. It arouses resentment to see extortion and blackmail like this."<sup>41</sup>

Some of the institutions for chaste widows that flourished in the late Ch'ing continued to exist in Republican China, during which time new ones arose. A study in the 1930s showed that in Kiangsu province alone there were nineteen such institutions in 1931.<sup>42</sup> Following is a list of them:

LOCATION	NAME	YEAR STARTED	FUND	NUMBER OF WIDOWS
Wu 吳縣	Shih-jen t'ang 節仁堂 G	Tung-chih	Income from 211 mou of land	40
Wu 吳縣	Pao-chieh chü 保節局 P	1895		47
Soochow 蘇州市	Ch'ing-chieh t'ang 清節堂 G	1812		79
Lien-shui 連水縣	Hsü-li hui 恤慶會	1913		
Tung-t'ai 東台縣	Hsü-li hui 恤慶會 P	1928	90 <i>yüan</i>	30
Tung-t'ai 東台縣	Hsü-li hui 恤慶會 G			120
Tung-t'ai 東台縣	Hsü-li hui 恤慶會 P	Kuang-hsü	288 <i>yüan</i>	50
Feng-hsien 奉賢縣	Hsü-li hui West 西恤慶會 G	1863	1200 <i>yüan</i>	
Feng-hsien 奉賢縣	Hsü-li hui East 西恤慶會 G	1842	1500 <i>yüan</i>	
Wu-hsi 無錫縣	Ch'ing-chieh t'ang 清節堂 P	1864	180 <i>yüan</i>	63
Chin-t'an 金壇縣	Hsü-li chü 恤慶局 G	early Ch'ing	1241 <i>yüan</i>	
Li-yang 溧陽縣	Ch'üan-chieh hui 全節會 G	Kuang-hsü	3500 <i>yüan</i>	
Chiang-yin 江陰縣	Hsü-li so 恤慶所 G	1929	6800 <i>yüan</i>	650 com. only
Chiang-tu 江都縣	Fu-nü chiu-chi so 婦女救濟所 G	1916	900 <i>yüan</i>	
Chiang-tu 江都縣	Ch'üan-chieh t'ang 全節堂 P	early Tung- chih	333 <i>yüan</i>	119

<sup>41</sup> TCHTSL, yr. 1862, pp. 10432-33 (ch. 404, pp. 18b-19a).

<sup>42</sup> Kao, "Wo-kuo chen-chieh t'ang," p. 101-2.

<sup>36</sup> CFTC, pp. 3534 (ch. 109, p. 217b).

<sup>37</sup> Hu-nan t'ung-chih 42, p. 1161.

<sup>38</sup> Fu-chien t'ung-chih 52, p. 1066.

<sup>39</sup> CFTC, pp. 3534 (ch. 109, p. 217b).

<sup>40</sup> Spence, *Woman Wang*, p. 61; usually the family of the candidate took the initiative to

apply for the honor and the neighbors and local leaders endorsed the petitions. See also Elvin, "Female Virtue," pp. 130-32. In the seventeenth century magistrate Huang Liu-hung 黃六鴻 wrote a manual for local officials in which he urged magistrates to find chaste women in isolated villages or peasant families because "those honored today are mostly from the rich and the suburbs, or have wide connections and influence"; Huang Liu-hung, *Fu-hui ch'üan-shu* 福惠全書; Djang Chu, trans., *A Complete Book Concerning Happiness and Benevolence: A Manual for Local Magistrates in Seventeenth-Century China* (Tucson: U. of Arizona P., 1984), p. 521.

LOCATION	NAME	YEAR STARTED	FUND	NUMBER OF WIDOWS
Shanghai 上海縣	Hsü-li hui 恤妻會 G	1906		50
Chin-shan 金山縣	Ch'üan-chieh t'ang 全節堂 G	1831	40,000 <i>yüan</i>	120 live-in, 200 com.
Chin-shan 金山縣	Ch'ung-chieh t'ang 崇節堂 P	T'ung-chih	1200 <i>yüan</i>	320 com.
Chia-ting 嘉定縣	Ch'ing-chieh t'ang 清節堂 G	1901		23

Note: G=government; P=private; com.=commuters;

In a society where men were allowed to have concubines and where female jealousy was a justification for being expelled from the home, chastity became an important perception of ideal female behavior. Temples and memorial arches were erected for chaste women and their names appeared in local gazetteers and dynastic histories. During the New Culture Movement of the 1920s both the double moral standard and the great exhortations of female chastity were severely attacked by progressive intellectuals like Hu Shih 胡適 and Lu Hsün 魯迅. Lu Hsün claimed that "to be chaste is very difficult and painful, favored by no one, of profit to no one, of no service to the state or society, and of no value at all to posterity. It has lost its vigor and has no reason to exist."<sup>43</sup> Their criticism of the "cannibalistic *li-chiao*" gained wide audience among Chinese people. Conservatives responded with such sayings as, "Among all evils filial piety would become the first; among all virtues lasciviousness would become the foremost." In this way, conservatives believed that the reformers regarded lustful women and disloyal ministers as the good people in history.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Lu Hsün 魯迅 (under his pen name Tang Ssu 唐俟), "Wo chih chieh-lieh kuan" 我之節烈觀, *Hsin Ch'ing-nien* 新青年 5.2 (1918), pp. 93-100; for other criticisms by the May Fourth intelligentsia, see Pao Chia-lin, "Min-ch'u ti fu-nü ssu-hsiang" 民初的婦女思想, *Chung-hua min-kuo chien-kuo shih t'ao-lun-hui lun-wen* 中華民國建國史討論會論文 (Taipei: Committee on the Conference on the History of the Republic of China, 1981), pp. 1-25; for an English version, see Chia-lin Pao Tao, "The Feminist Thought in the Early Republican China," *Symposium on the History of the Republic of China* (Taipei: Compilation Committee of Symposium on the History of the Republic of China, 1981) 2, pp. 273-98.

<sup>44</sup> Chow Tse-tung, *The May Fourth Movement: An Intellectual Revolution in Modern China* (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 1960), p. 69.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CFTC *Chi-fu t'ung-chih* 畿輔通志  
TCHTSL *Ta-Ch'ing hui-tien shih-li* 大清會典事例