HAI JUI DISMISSED FROM OFFICE: ITS ROLE IN THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

by

CLIVE MALCOLM ANSLEY

B.A., University of British Columbia, 1966

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF Master of Arts in the Department of Asian Studies

We accept this thesis as conforming to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

September, 1968
Rights of Publications and Loan

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Head of my Department or by his representative. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.
Abstract

In November of 1965, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, was launched in China when a Shanghai newspaper editor, Yao Wen-yuan, published an attack on the play which is translated here, Hai Jui Dismissed from Office. The fact that this event constituted the beginning of what later became a political struggle of vast proportions was recognized only belatedly by most Western analysts. When the Cultural Revolution moved into high gear with the launching of the Red Guard movement in the spring of 1966, vague references were made in some Western commentaries to the fact that the explosion seemed to have been ignited by the public exposure of a drama which had purportedly satirized the Communist Party and Mao Tse-tung. No one appeared to have any certainty about exactly what the play had said and in what way it satirized Mao and the Party. As far as I am aware, this is the first translation of the entire text of the play, or any part of it, into English.

Aside from simply translating the text of the play, the purpose of this thesis is to analyze the events of late 1965 and early 1966 and place them both in chronological order and in political perspective. In this way, it is clearly shown how the attack on Wu Han led to attacks on other "bourgeois" writers and intellectuals. Eventually, this latter group was linked to high officials in the Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Finally, the "cultural" aspect of the Cultural Revolution gave way to a full-fledged political battle within the Party itself.
A further purpose of the thesis, after having demonstrated the role of *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* in the Cultural Revolution, is to assess the validity of the charges levelled at the play and at Wu Han himself. This is done in the third chapter.

The method of research is basically that of a documentary analysis. The original 1965 attack on Wu Han is analyzed carefully. Other writings of Wu Han are examined in order to corroborate conclusions based on the play alone, and to evaluate the assessments of the writer's motives by those who attack him. Finally, an extensive analysis is made of the most important articles appearing during this period in the leading Chinese newspapers and theoretical organs.

The research outlined above has led to one inescapable conclusion. Virtually everything Wu Han has written over the past decade, not simply this play alone, is directly connected to the 1959 Lushan Conference of the Chinese Communist Party. It was this conference which dismissed Defence Minister P'eng Teh-huai and replaced him with Lin Piao. Moreover, Wu Han had allies in the writing field and it is clearly demonstrated that the entire group had in fact joined in satirizing and lampooning the Party over a period of several years. Thus the most important charge brought against Wu Han does appear to be valid. Many of the additional charges, however, are rejected as being either irrelevant or unsubstantiated.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ABSTRACT</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABOUT THE AUTHOR OF HAI JUI DISMISSED FROM OFFICE</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER I. HAI JUI DISMISSED FROM OFFICE: AN HISTORICAL DRAMA BY WU HAN

| Scene I: The people are angered | 19 |
| Scene I-A: In court | 26 |
| Scene II: The case is tried | 31 |
| Scene III: Taking office | 41 |
| Scene IV: Meeting with Hsu | 53 |
| Scene V: A mother's counsel | 63 |
| Scene VI: The lawsuit is continued | 73 |
| Scene VII: Asking a favor | 89 |
| Scene VIII: The counter-attack | 99 |
| Scene IX: Dismissed from office | 106 |

## CHAPTER II. THE ROLE OF HAI JUI DISMISSED FROM OFFICE IN THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER III. EVALUATION OF THE CHARGES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## FOOTNOTES

| For Chapter I | 157 |
| For Chapter II | 160 |
| For Chapter III | 165 |
### BIBLIOGRAPHY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source Type</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sources in Chinese</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sources in English</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Acknowledgements

It is with great pleasure that I acknowledge at the outset the substantial aid rendered me by my supervisor, Professor Li Chi of the Department of Asian Studies, University of British Columbia. She spent countless hours of her time with me and I am sure there were moments when the rate of my progress caused her to feel the project would never be completed. It was only through Professor Li's assistance that some of the more obscure classical allusions occurring in the dialogue of this play were deciphered.

I am also indebted to Mr. Raymond Lo, who gave me considerable language assistance in my examinations of many of the documents I had assembled on the Great Cultural Revolution in China. In addition, I would like to express my thanks to Mrs. Melody Kilian, Miss Dale Evans, and to my mother, Mrs. Emily Ansley, all of whom typed portions of the original manuscript, and to Mrs. Patricia Kingsbury who typed the final version in its entirety. Part of the manuscript was read by Mr. Neil Burton, who made a number of helpful suggestions and corrections. Several suggested revisions by Professors E.G. Pulleyblank, W.L. Holland, and René Goldman, have been incorporated in the thesis as it now stands.

Although I express my gratitude to all those mentioned above, none of them are in any way responsible for the thesis in its final form. I alone take full responsibility for any errors of fact or presentation.
About the Author of Hai Jui Dismissed from Office

Wu Han was born in 1909 in the province of Chekiang. Although he came from a poor family, he supported himself through university and eventually became one of modern China's most prominent historians and a leader in the Chinese intellectual community. He is also known for his extensive knowledge of literature. Among Wu's published works are *Mirror of History*, *The Biography of Chu Yuan-chang*, *Javelin-throwing*, "On Hai Jui", and "Hai Jui Sends a Memorial to the Throne". He is also the editor-in-chief of the *Pocket Edition of Geographical Books*.

From 1930-1934, Wu Han attended Tsinghua University on a half-work, half-study basis. From 1934-1937 he lectured in Ming history at Tsinghua. Then, in 1937, he became a Professor of History at Yunnan University and the Southwest Associated University at Kunming. After the Second World War he was again a professor at Tsinghua (1946-1948), and while there he did underground work for the Chinese Communists. He was Dean of the College of Arts and Head of the Department of History at Tsinghua from March of 1949 to February of 1950.

Wu had joined the China Democratic League in 1944, and he never did become a member of the Chinese Communist Party. Nevertheless, he has held a staggering number of political and cultural posts in Communist China. He was a Standing member of the First National People's Political Consultative Committee, from September 1949 to December 1954. During the same period he served on the
Board of Directors of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Committee. From November 1949 to October 1951, he served as Deputy Mayor of Peking. In October 1951 the administrative structure of Peking was reorganized but Wu Han became Deputy Mayor in the new Peking Municipal People's Government. He continued in this post until his political demise in 1966. From 1949 to 1956 he was a standing member of the First Central Committee of the CDL. In August of 1954 he was elected a Deputy for Peking to the First National People's Congress. He was re-elected for a second term in August 1958, and for a third term in September 1964.

Since June 1955, Wu has been a member of the Department of Philosophy and Social Sciences in the Chinese Academy of Sciences. In February of 1956 he led a cultural delegation to India on behalf of the Sino-Indian Friendship Association and in April of the same year was elected to the Board of Directors of this body. In 1958 he led a song and dance troupe on a visit to France. He has also played leading roles in the China Afro-Asian Society and the Sino-Nepalese Friendship Association. In February of 1958 Wu became a member of the Scientific Planning Commission of the State Council, to undertake planning for the republication of classical works. He became President of the Peking Television University in 1964 and Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace in 1965.

The above functions constitute only some of the most notable aspects of Wu Han's career. Since 1949 he has in addition served in many other capacities far too numerous to be listed here.
In November of 1965, Hai Jui Dismissed from Office, and Wu Han personally, came under scathing attack in a Shanghai newspaper article. It was the publication of this article which launched the Great Cultural Revolution. Eventually Wu and several people close to him were specifically charged with having colluded with China's enemies within and without. Subsequently, they have disappeared from public view. The details of these events are described and analyzed in chapters II and III of this thesis.
Preface

I do not have an understanding of plays, nor do I see them very often. This is especially true of Peking Opera. Although I lived for many years in Peking when I was studying at the university, I didn't see it even once. These last few years there have been comparatively many opportunities to see plays, but, for this reason or that, I could never take advantage of these opportunities. Because of this, one could say that so far as Peking Opera is concerned, I am a genuine dilettante. There are people who joke about my cultural level and I heartily agree with them. Isn't it really something to be wondered at that a man such as me has not only written a play, but that the play he has written is a Peking Opera?

You say this is strange. Certainly it is strange. Actually, when all is said and done, it is not so strange.

Things happened in this way. In 1959 I was doing research on Hai Jui and I wrote several essays concerning him. It was sometime around the end of that year that the Peking Opera dramatist, Ma Lien-liang, and a few other friends sought me out. They wanted me to discuss Hai Jui and after we had finished talking they asked me to prepare an outline, saying they wanted to produce a play. I was delighted to accept the responsibility, but after I thought about it very carefully I saw that the situation was not so wonderful. First, what to write? Second, how to write it? The first time I attempted this totally unprecedented undertaking, I felt very uncertain. I thought about it for a long time and tried to start writing several
times, but none of my efforts seemed very much like an outline. I thought to myself that my effort was so pitiful that I would have to throw in the towel. I hesitated for a long time but I felt embarrassed to renege, so there was no choice but to summon all my courage and do what I had promised to do. With the outline uncompleted, I would just try to write a play. When I had written out a draft, I would ask my friends in the circle of dramatists to revise it. By doing things in this manner I could make it a little more convenient for them. Thereupon, I set to work on it.

Unexpectedly, once I got into the saddle, I was unable to dismount. After the first draft had been read by the dramatic group and other friends, they felt it was all right as a draft. I originally felt as if I had handed it over to them and that revising it was not my affair. After having discussed it, my friends in the drama circle urged me to rewrite it and raised quite a few opinions concerning it. In just this way—writing a draft, debating the draft, rewriting the draft—from beginning to end, I rewrote it seven times and that is still not taking into consideration minor changes. I printed one mimeographed volume and two printed ones and distributed them among those of my friends who knew something about plays, asking for their advice. We had a few dress rehearsals with the drama circle, and a few specialists raised a great many viewpoints. The great majority of them I accepted and used as a basis for revision. After the play was staged publicly, it was published in Peking Literature and Art. Now, on the basis of the opinions of a few friends, I have made some changes in certain
parts. By actual calculation, a year's time was required from the first germination to the seventh and final draft, every rewriting taking two or three days. From the first performance to the present time is almost another year. Quite a lot of time has been expended and the writing has really required much energy. Although I was considerably disheartened while in the midst of it, and thought of washing my hands of it, since things had already come as far as they had, I determined to do it and just went on tenaciously.

Before trying to start writing, I decided on two fundamental principles: First, I was not going to write about Hai Jui's entire life, but only about one chapter in the story of his life struggle, because if I was to write a biography of Hai Jui the required time would be so long, the themes and characters so many, that it would be easy to commit the error of being insipid and develop the defect of undue verbosity. It would not be easy for such a play to achieve prominence. Second, I did not want to rewrite plays already in existence. Quite aside from old plays, there are new ones, like Hai Jui Sends a Memorial to the Throne, by comrade Chou Hsin-fang of Shanghai. Although I haven't seen it, I know it has already been staged and so how could I write about the same episode again? It is necessary that one policy cover the whole nation. But for the entire nation to have the same subject matter in its plays is, in my opinion, absolutely unnecessary. Having considered it over and over again, I decided to write about the period, slightly more than half a year, from the summer of 1569 to the spring of 1570, particularly the events surrounding the appointment of Hai Jui to
the office of Ying T'ien Governor and the affairs of his elimination of the tyrant landlords and the return of the land. The play was originally called simply Hai Jui. Afterwards quite a few friends pointed out that what was written in this play represented only a fraction of Hai Jui's life, and only then did I change the name to Hai Jui Dismissed from Office.

The changes which occurred in the course of the seven re-writes were in general concerned with the following problems.

The first is the central theme. The central theme of the first four drafts was to emphasize the orders Hai Jui gave the oppressive gentry to return the property which they had usurped from the common people, provoking the united opposition of the gentry so that he was dismissed from office and had to return home. Eliminating the bad gentry was just used as an embellishment for the story, as a sidelight to the returning of the land. A number of friends pointed out that Hai Jui's ordering the return of the land was unquestionably historically factual, but that under the conditions of the time it was impossible for him not to solve the problems of the peasants at the same time. Measuring them by the standards of historical development, these kinds of political measures are definitely reformist. What would be the meaning of new historical dramas written today and propagating the reformism of history? I considered this problem many times and finally made the elimination of the bad gentry the central theme, relegating the returning of the land to the position of sideline. This was a major change.

The second thing concerned the details of the story. The
drama uses the misfortunes of a single family, that of the peasant woman Hung A-lan, to explain clearly the class contradictions of this era and the internal contradictions of the ruling class. After the second draft had been printed and distributed, a number of friends said that it was history but not drama, that it lacked complexity, that the climax was not very exciting, and that the contradictions were not presented sharply enough. The words they used were very polite but what they were really saying was that it was simply not a play. Because I am basically not a playwright or literary expert, my friends did not demand too much. In the fourth draft I added the scene "Meeting Hsu", allowing Hai Jui to first go and make a call on Hsu Chieh. Hsu Chieh stands with the gentry and wants Hai Jui to deal severely with wicked people and be strictly just in upholding the law, until Hai Jui asks about the case of Hung A-lan. But Hsu Chieh immediately repudiates the validity of the charges. Moreover, he says that if there is any proof of the crime, he will resign himself to the law taking its course. Then, in the scene "Asking a Favour", Hai Jui uses Hsu Chieh's words against him, presses him closely, and allows him no escape. I painstakingly carved out the dispositions and styles of work of the two opposing characters in these two scenes. My friends read it and thought that there was a little drama in it, but still not enough.

As for the case of Hung A-lan, I originally wrote it so that Hai Jui came in ordinary clothes to take up his post and overheard the peasant masses discussing the case in front of the Official Welcoming Pavilion. While still in the middle of writing it, I revised
it so that after Hai Jui had met with Hsu, he paid an incognito visit to Heng Yun Mountain and received the real facts of the case. My friends all thought that if I was going to handle it in this way, it would be necessary to add another scene. Finally, I wiped it all out and went back to the original method.

In the course of my several rewritings, I had already added the two scenes, "Discussing the Reception" and "The Feast of the Lanterns", in order to introduce Hai Jui's past through the mouths of other people and to express the praise of the local people for his benevolent rule. "Discussing the Reception" portrays the great tension of the officials of Soochow and Sungkiang prefectures on the evening prior to Hai Jui taking office. Everyone meets at the house of Huang Chin, the eunuch who is Superintendent of the Imperial Silk Factory, in order to hear about the situation from him. There really was such a man as Huang Chin. After Hai Jui had sent in the memorial to the throne, the Chia Ching Emperor was in a rage. He wanted to send some men to guard Hai Jui so as not to allow him to escape. At this particular time, Huang Chin was at the side of the Chia Ching Emperor. He said that there was no need for this action for he had heard that Hai Jui had already taken leave of his family and friends and had put his last affairs in order. This man was very strong and resolute and absolutely incapable of running away. As soon as the Chia Ching Emperor heard these words he was dumb-founded. This scene, "Discussing the Reception", just makes use of Huang Chin for foreshadowing. At the beginning of the scene, because Hai Jui is coming, Huang Chin orders the subordinate eunuchs
to decrease the number of sedan chair attendants by half. After the government officials had arrived, they heard from Huang Chin the details of Hai Jui's experience in memorializing the throne and being imprisoned. By the time of the scene "Feast of the Lantern Festival", he had already received the news that Hai Jui had been dismissed from office. When he goes out to see the lanterns, the subordinate eunuchs have already prepared the four-man sedan chair. Once more he says that this is unsatisfactory and that he now wants one for eight men. The subordinate eunuchs ask why and Huang Chin says that Hai Jui is leaving. What follows is just the common people celebrating the Feast of the Lantern Festival and lighting lanterns in the atmosphere of Ao Mountain. Singing and dancing are employed. From the mouth of each person come songs dealing with the time since Hai Jui took up his post and of the changes which this half year has brought in their lives. There was yet another revised draft of this "Feast of the Lanterns" scene. Its contents had Hai Jui coming back from superintending the laborers on the Wusung River, preparing wine and meats, and passing the festival together with his mother and wife. The changed situation of this half year is brought out through the discussions of the members of the family. Before they are finished eating, a messenger sends in the Peking Gazette. By Imperial Decree, Hai Jui is transferred from his original position to that of Superintendent of the Nanking Granary. Subsequently, another messenger arrives with a Peking Gazette stating that there is no need to establish a special position for the Nanking Granary. It is to be reunited with the Board of Revenue
and Population. They do not dismiss him from his new post; they just pull the rug from underneath him by cancelling the post. Having Hai Jui read the differing contents of these two papers serves the function of making his thoughts known to the audience. I studied these two dramatic scenes many times but for the sake of diminishing the number of characters and themes, I ended by throwing it all out.

The third thing is the change in the ending of the story. In the original few drafts the final scene was "The Sendoff", in which Hai Jui is depicted leaving his post in ordinary clothes with the common people all accompanying him to the Official Reception Pavilion. From the mouths of the common people come songs telling of their longing, affection, and friendship for Hai Jui. In the midst of all this is inserted an episode in which the new governor, Tai Feng-hsiang, assumes office and is welcomed by Hsu Chieh and a group of officials. Hai Jui meets him personally, and knowing he is the newly-appointed governor, just wants to ask him not to change the new administrative practices which have developed in the last half year. But Tai Feng-hsiang attacked Hai Jui, saying that it was precisely because of these practices and because he had terrorized and fleeced the people and oppressed the gentry that the Emperor had dismissed him from office. Hsu Chieh also jeered him from the sidelines. Flushed with indignation, Hai Jui contradicts him. The two factions of the feudal ruling class, left and right, open a face to face struggle. Finally, in the face of angry voices of the people, Tai Feng-hsiang and Hsu Chieh run for their lives like rats frightened out of their wits. Hai Jui and all the others exit
together. This scene of the play underwent many rewritings and dress rehearsals but everyone was dissatisfied with it. They felt that Hai Jui left in a dull and dismal manner, that all the emotional effect of the play was dissipated, and that it was wishy-washy. This was no way to handle the ending. My friends in the drama circle pointed out that if I rewrote this scene of the play with Hai Jui handing down a sentence of decapitation in the court, it would be somewhat stronger. However, according to historical fact, Hsu Chieh's son was only exiled for ten years and was certainly not put to death. Would it be reasonable to handle things in this way? Only after changing it several times did I finally make the decision to have Hsu Ying put to death. What I then rewrote became the present Hai Jui Dismissed from Office. When Hai Jui was in the throes of his verbal struggle with Tai Feng-hsiang, he as usual cared nothing that everyone was against him. Having sentenced Hsu Ying to be executed, he would hand over his seal of office and leave his post only after the sentence had been carried out. When it was written this way, quite a few of my friends thought it comparatively improved. But there was still another opinion. Some felt that if there were to be still another change, that if after the sentencing the emperor were to send someone with a special pardon, it would still be impossible to kill Hsu Ying and this would add still another twist to the plot. As for this opinion, up to the present time I have been unable to decide. It would be a good thing not to kill him but that still does not solve the problem of the dullness of the mood. In the end, how should I handle it to make it
correct? The only thing to do was to wait for a while and listen to still more opinions before forming another plan.

In the process of making many revisions, not only was the content very greatly changed, but this was also true of the literary form. In the rhyming of the first few drafts, I followed the Shih 7 Yun strictly. Afterwards some of my friends told me that it was not necessary to have it like this and that I could take a few more liberties. They said that the rhyming of Peking Opera had its own conventions. Secondly, the sung verses were basically of four, eight, or twelve lines, but sometimes they were also of three or five. My friends said that this was not satisfactory and that verses of three or five lines could be used only in exceptional circumstances. In addition, the poem at the end of a scene was sometimes four lines and sometimes two. My friends said it was best to have two. After I had heard these viewpoints, everything was changed according to their advice.

Recalling the circumstances of the writing of this drama over the past two years, I feel profoundly the importance of learning. The progression of my writing has been in every way a progression of learning. I learned some things from my friends in the drama circle, I learned some things from the specialists, and I learned some things from my non-specialist friends. Always, I was learning and seeking advice from every possible quarter.

This drama is far from sophisticated. The ideological form and content are still very much lacking. However, even speaking just on the basis of the progress of my own writing, there is
one thing of which I am sure. That is simply that there is no need for us to fear things which we do not understand. As long as one is not afraid and is willing to go right to the root of a thing, then he can come to more or less understand it. On the other hand, the more one fears a thing, the more he cannot understand it, to the point where he will never understand it. No matter how it happened, my knowledge of Peking Opera, after having gone through the learning process involved in writing this drama, has somewhat increased over what it was two years ago. My cultural level has been somewhat raised. The boundary between the dilettante and the expert is not impenetrable, but something which can be shattered. Speaking from my experience, it not only can be, but must be shattered.

Dare to think, dare to speak, and dare to do has been the new style since the Great Leap Forward. I wrote a drama. Thus I belong in the ranks of those who dare. If I did not dare, then I simply could not do anything successfully. As long as I dare, I can always more or less handle a thing. As for the magnitude of the achievement, or whether it is a success or failure, that is another thing. The historical development of a human society is also simply the history of people who dare to think, dare to speak, and dare to do. The ancients had a proverb, "Throw a stick to get a gem". That is to say that this drama should be taken as the making of a brick to stimulate the interest of my friends in the field of history. Perhaps they will all come forward and write a new historical drama!

I also wish to clear up something else. After Hai Jui
Dismissed from Office had been performed, there were a good many friends who urged me to write yet another play. Regarding this, I would like to say that one mistake is bad enough, but to repeat it?! I have absolutely no ambition or resolve to become a playwright. This is something I want to make clear once and for all.

Just for the understanding of the reader, two supplements have been added to this volume. One is a portrait of Hai Jui and a sample of his calligraphy, and one is a note concerning the historical records on which this drama is based.

The portrait used is one displayed in the Chinese Historical Museum. Of the calligraphy, part was sent by Comrade K'a Hui-hsin in Tientsin, and part was sent by Comrade Ch'ang Jen-hsieh in Peking. I extend my thanks to both of them.

This is intended as an introduction.

Peitaiho, August 8, 1961.
Hai Jui Dismissed from Office
(An Historical Drama)

Hai Jui (1515-1587), whose courtesy name was Kang-feng, was a native of Kwangtung Chiunchou (now known as Hainan Island). In temperament he was resolute and in principle he was firm. He was a famous, honest, and good official of the Ming Dynasty.

He opposed avarice and extravagance. He advocated the use of heavy penalties to severely punish greed and he established a clean and honest political situation. He advocated frugality in the allocation of financial resources, strictly implemented the regulations and policies of the government, and restrained oppressive landlords. He advocated and implemented the "One Whip Policy" in order to mitigate the indentured service of the impoverished. In addition, he expended great energy in repairing the irrigation system and decreasing the burden of petty irregular taxes. He took the disposition of court cases very seriously and he redressed injustices. He opposed evil and corrupt officials, as well as the tyrannical gentry. However, he was also a loyal minister for the feudal ruling class and his every political action stemmed from the motive of reinforcing the long-range interests of this feudal ruling class. Although he scolded the emperor and was imprisoned for it, indeed expecting to be killed, when the emperor died, Hai Jui was moved to great weeping.

The people of this period liked him and sang his praises. The powerful officials, great landlords, and the gentry opposed him,
denounced him, and closed ranks against him. But there was also a
group of principled officials and young intelligentsia who sup-
ported him.

What I have written about in this play is just one episode
during the time when he held the post of Ying T'ien Governor (at
that time generally called Governor of Kiangnan). The time span
runs from June of 1569 to January of 1570, seven months in all.
In this year, Hai Jui was fifty-four years of age.

The location is in Soochow, at that time the residence of
the Ying T'ien Governor. The Ying T'ien Governor was in charge of
the ten prefectures of Ying T'ien (Nanking), Soochow, Ch'ang-chow,
Chinkiang, Sungkiang, Hweichow, T'ai-p'ing, Ningkuo, Anking, and
Ch'ih-chow, as well as Kwangtechow. Moreover, he was simultane­
ously responsible for the grain tax in the three West Chekiang
prefectures of Hangchow, Chia-hsing, and Huchow. The official
duties of the governor were: First, to administer the government
of the people; secondly, to superintend the grain reserves; third,
to exercise control over the armed forces; fourth, to impeach
government officials.

The hero of this play is Hai Jui. Opposing him are the
retired prime minister, Hsu Chieh, and the group of officials and
landlords represented by him. This group was collectively known as
gentry during the Ming Dynasty. (In the Ming Dynasty, those in the
service of the court were called officials; after they had been dis­
missed from office and were living a life of leisure at home, they
were called gentry. These kinds of people were all big landlords
with wealth and influence. Other terms used for them were hsiang-shen, shen-chin, shen-fu, etc., but in a word, they were all official-landlords.

The setting of the story: Hsu Chieh's third son, Hsu Ying, has used his position to abuse the people and seize their fields, and he has harassed to death the only son of the peasant, Chao Yu-shan. On top of all this, at the time of the Ch'ing-ming Festival, he kidnaps Chao Yu-shan's granddaughter, Chao Hsiao-lan, and gives Chao Yu-shan a vicious beating. Chao Hsiao-lan's mother, Hung A-lan, lodges a complaint with the county court. The county magistrate, Wang Ming-yu, is secretly protecting the Hsu family, and will not hear the case. Hsu Chieh buys off Wang Ming-yu and the Sungkiang Prefect and orders his servant, Hsu Fu, to go to court and give evidence proving that Hsu Ying had not gone out of the city at the time of the Ching-ming Festival. Wang Ming-yu publicly beats Chao Yu-shan to death and drives out Hung A-lan, winding up the lawsuit. This vividly describes the sinister decadence of politics in the feudal era, the tyranny of the gentry, and the wretched circumstances, slavery, and oppression of the people.

Hai Jui came to his post in ordinary clothes and on the way he learned directly from Hung A-lan and the masses of the peasants about the case of Hsu Ying and about the circumstances of the local people having their land usurped by the gentry.

Hai Jui pays a visit to Hsu Chieh. Hsu Chieh advises him that he ought to strictly uphold the law, meting out the same treatment to prince and commoner alike. The gist of his comments was
that he wanted Hai Jui to restrain with a heavy hand the frivolous lawsuits of the "wicked people" and protect the privileges of the gentry. Hai Jui brings up the case of Hung A-lan, but Hsu Chieh lies right to the end. Moreover, he instigates Hsu Ying to have Hsu Fu pose as a Hsiu-ts'ai and go to the court to give evidence.

Hai Jui was unalterably opposed to injustice and he ordered the gentry to return the lands they had seized from the common people. When he discussed these measures with the members of his family, his mother agreed with the utmost vigor. This strengthened his resolve still further.

In the scene where the case is settled, Hai Jui exposes the false testimony of the Hsu family's bondsman and punishes him according to law. He also disposes of the greedy and corrupt officials.

Hsu Ying is sentenced to death and Hsu Chieh pays a personal visit to Hai Jui. He talks about their past friendship and begs for lenient treatment. Hai Jui ignores all this and justly repudiates him, thus initiating an open struggle. Hsu Chieh suggests he atone for his son's crime by returning the land, but Hai Jui sternly points out that the lands which have been snatched from the people will be returned in any case and Hsu Ying, having violated the law, has to be punished. Hsu Chieh then goes so far as to threaten him, saying that he could lose his office by committing this kind of transgression against the gentry. Hai Jui is still unmoved. Finally, they break off their friendship and Hsu Chieh leaves in a rage.
Hsu Chieh does not willingly accept defeat and he holds a secret meeting with his close friends in order to plan a counter-attack. They send people to the capital city to bribe the eunuchs and the court officials so that Hai Jui will be dismissed from office. The new governor, Tai Feng-hsiang, comes to take up his post immediately. Hai Jui has already received the execution order for the two criminals, Hsu Ying and Wang Ming-yu, who had been sentenced at the Fall Assizes, but Tai Feng-hsiang tries every kind of browbeating to dissuade him from carrying out the sentences. Hai Jui is immovable. He orders that the sentences first be carried out; only then will he hand over his credentials and seal of office and retire from public life.

The Tai Feng-hsiang in the play is the man who impeached Hai Jui and had him dismissed. He was a spokesman for the Kiangnan gentry at court. Here, just for the sake of convenience, we have him replacing Hai Jui as Ying T'ien Governor.

This play emphasizes Hai Jui's uprightness of character. He would not submit to the fierce and overbearing, he was not scared off by failure, and when he did fail, he tried again with a relentless will. What is expressed is the internal struggle of the feudal ruling class, a struggle between the left faction of Hai Jui and the right faction, that of the official and landlord clique which took Hsu Chieh as its leader. Hai Jui was a loyal minister of the feudal ruling class, but he was comparatively far-sighted, and comparatively close to the people. For the long-range benefit of his own class, he advocated doing some good things which were beneficial for the
people of those times. He restricted the gentry's lawless fleecing. He impinged on the interests of the right faction of his own class and opened a violent struggle. During the struggle in this act, Hai Jui lost office, but he absolutely refused to yield an inch. Because he did some good things, the people of that era supported him and sang his praises. Hai Jui's position in history ought to be recognized. Some of his good actions and virtues are also deserving of our study today.

November 13, 1960—Seventh draft.
August 8, 1961, Final revision at Peitaho.
HAI JUI DISMISSED FROM OFFICE

(An Historical Drama)

by

WU HAN

First published in 1961 by Peking Publications
Scene I The People Are Angered

Time:– The season of the Ch'ing-ming Festival, 1569.

Place:– Below Heng Yun Mountain in Hua-t'ing County, Sungkiang Prefecture.

Characters:– Hsu Chieh's third son, Hsu Ying, about forty years old, a profligate and evil tyrant.

The peasant, Chao Yu-shan, sixty-five years old.

Chao's daughter-in-law, Hung A-lan, thirty-five years old.

Chao Hsiao-lan, Chao Yu-shan's granddaughter, sixteen years old.

Wang Ming-yu, the Hua-t'ing District Magistrate, an avaricious official, forty years old.

A crowd of Hsu family bondsmen, a group of Hua-t'ing County runners, and a great number of common people filing complaints.

A crowd of country people.

(Enter Hsu Ying, riding a horse, amid a great crowd of male slaves.)

Hsu Ying:– (recites) The colors of spring fill the frontiers beyond the city, I wander leisurely, Occupied with my gold stirrup and riding baton, I ride swiftly, Let me gaze on all the many and varied flowers, Ai Ya!
There are some pretty ones over there, let us go after them.

I am Hsu Ying, the third master of the Hsu family. Under the pretext of visiting ancestral graves, I shall come here and flirt with them. I shall put one over on them!

How delightful it is going to be! When one suddenly sees before him two very attractive and seductive girls among the graves, why not go ahead and have some fun with them?

Let us go quickly, little ones! (Exits)

(Enter Hung A-lan and Chao Hsiao-lan, holding incense and paper money.)

Hung A-lan:- (sings) At Ch'ing-ming Festival time, we sweep the new grave and burn paper money,
I ache with sorrow for the death of my husband,
one year ago,
Despite the profusion of flowers and willows,
I have no heart for pleasure,
My father-in-law is old, my daughter weak and helpless, who will take pity on us?

Hsiao-lan, light the incense and burn the money, in order to show respect to your father. (Mother and daughter say prayers together, crying.) Oh, father of Hsiao-lan!

(continues song) Your family depended solely on you to sow the grain and plough the fields,
By stars of morning and moon at night,
Rising early and retiring late,
Raising cattle, tending mulberry and hemp, slaving the year long,
Paying exorbitant taxes, living a hard life, enduring all kinds of harassment,
As things progressed in this way, the sky suddenly fell in on us,
The Hsu family went and antedated the mortgage on our land,
They seized our crops and produce and still demanded taxes on our land,
We wore out our shoes going to the magistrate and pleading with the gentry,
You were so angry you spit blood and fell sick from bitter hatred,
In just a few months you died and we buried you before the mountain.

Oh, God, Father of Hsiao-lan, what are your wife and daughter to do for the rest of our lives? When will the injustice you received ever be redressed?

Hung Hsiao-lan:—Do not cry, mother; there are some people coming over there.

(Mother and daughter tidy up their sacrificial baskets and bowls and prepare to leave. Hsu Ying comes onstage, amid a crowd of attendants. Hsu Ying tries to flirt with Chao Hsiao-lan,
but Hsiao-lan avoids him and Hung A-lan stands in his way.)

Hsu Ying: - Go away, go away! She is the one I want, not you.

Hung A-lan: - The young gentleman should show a little respect. She is my daughter.

Hsu Ying: - That's wonderful. You may as well both go to my house together.

Hung A-lan: - This is a little strange. We are neither relatives nor close friends. What would we do at your house?

Hsu Ying: - All you will do is to be my concubines and I shall guarantee that both you women will have more food than you can eat and more clothes than you can wear.


(Hsu Ying directs his servants to block their way)

Hung A-lan: - In broad daylight the women of decent families are molested. Fellow peasants, help!

Hsu Ying: - Don't raise a hue and cry over nothing, I, the third master of the Hsu family would be incapable of mistreating you two young women.

Hung A-lan: - What?!! Third Master Hsu is the enemy who killed my husband! Help! Help!

(Hearing her voice a large group of peasants comes on stage. Hung A-lan and her daughter take the opportunity to escape.)

Group of peasants: - It's that rotten egg from the Hsu family abusing people again! Why does God in Heaven not open
his eyes and punish this rotten egg, eh? It is outrageous!

Hsu Ying:— Give chase to them.

(The peasant masses are driven off and Hsu Ying and his bondsmen pursue them offstage. Hung A-lan, Chao Hsiao-lan, and Chao Yu-shan come on separately. They meet. Hsu Ying returns with his group of bondsmen and Chao Yu-shan steps in front of them, blocking their way.)

Hsu Ying:— Don't go. Let us talk it over.

Chao Yu-shan:— Talk what over? Third master Hsu, your family has usurped my family's land and hounded to death the only son I raised. And you still want to compel an old man to pay taxes and run errands. But even this is not enough for you. You still have to come and insult and ridicule the widow and orphan in my family. You simply will not allow people to go on living!

Hsu Ying:— Chao Yu-shan, do you not know your place? Considering that a poor old man such as yourself certainly cannot support them, you had better do as I say. They would wear silk and satin, have maids at their beck and call, and have more of everything than they can use. I would also reward you, old man, with some rice to eat.

Chao Yu-shan:— What! Stop this talk! Hsu Ying, I am a poor man but there is nothing poor about my spirit! And I
do not deal in human beings. Get out of here fast, Be off with you!

Hsu Ying:— He is truly too ignorant to appreciate the kindness I am showing him. Little ones, take them by force!

(Hsu Fu and a large group of bond-slaves drag off Chao Hsiao-lan while Chao Yu-shan and Hung A-lan try to obstruct them.)

Hsu Ying:— Beat him, beat this corpse which is too stupid to lie down.

(The bondsmen of the Hsu family give Chao Yu-shan a painful beating, while Hung A-lan and Chao Hsiao-lan try to save him. Chao Yu-shan is beaten into a stupor and Hsu Ying leads his bond-slaves in carrying off Hsiao-lan.)

Crowd of Peasants:— Plundering, carrying off the women of decent families, and beating the life out of men in broad daylight. What kind of world is this? Where is the law? Where is justice?

(Hung A-lan weeps bitterly. All the peasants attend to Chao Yu-shan as best they can, and Chao gradually regains consciousness.)

Chao Yu-shan:— Daughter-in-law, this is not a time for crying. The important thing now is to go quickly to the district office, file a complaint and see that granddaughter is rescued and brought back to us.

(sings) In their tyrannical treatment of other people
they rival the tiger and wolf,
In order to redress our grievances, we must
go and report them in court,
As long as the law of the court is still in existence,
Its function should be to redress the grievances of wronged people.

Hung A-lan:- My father-in-law's wounds are serious and there is no one to tend to you. Your daughter-in-law cannot go.

Peasants:- Young lady, concern yourself only with going and laying the charges. Your father-in-law has us to stay behind and look after him. Put your mind at ease and go!

Hung A-lan:- If this is the case, all I can do is thank you. Father-in-law, I am on my way.

Chao Yu-shan:- Hurry there and hurry back; rescue my granddaughter.

Hung A-lan:- I shall. (exits)

(Exit the large group of peasants, supporting Chao Yu-shan.)
Scene I-A In Court

(A large group of runners crowds onstage with the Hua-t'ing Magistrate, Wang Ming-yu. The commoners who are pressing suits then follow.)

Wang Ming-yu:- (recites) I am a seventh grade magistrate,

But what use are essays in the work of an official,

When I see gold and silver, my mouth waters,

The surname of a person matters not to me,

Just so long as he sends me money,

He will win even against my own parents,

Though the basis of his case be sound,

If he has no money, there is no use discussing it!

What! Are all these people here before us laying complaints?

 Plaintiffs:- We are all filing charges. (They hand up the documents pertaining to their accusations.)

Wang Ming-yu:- Who are you accusing?

First Plaintiff:- I am accusing the family of Grand Tutor Hsu of seizing people's land.

Second Plaintiff:- I report that the family of Grand Tutor Hsu has been appropriating other people's property.

Third Plaintiff:- I report that Third Master Hsu has been seizing people's houses.

Wang Ming-yu:- That is strange. Ever since I came to this post, I
have had people coming every day to report the Hsu family. Again today, every one of them is reporting the Hsu family. They all report this one family and even the causes of their complaints are identical; it is always because they are stealing people's property. They really make a fuss over nothing. Do you think the Grand Tutor is someone whom you may accuse like this? I have long heard that the people of this area are by nature of a wicked and arrogant character. It is really true, indeed it is! You really are wicked people, you really are wicked, aren't you? Attendants, drive these wicked people out!

(The runners drive the common people offstage.

Hung A-lan comes on, beats a drum, and the runners beckon her to enter and kneel down.)

Wang Ming-yu:-- Here comes another plaintiff. I can guess, without a doubt she is here to complain about the Hsu family.

Well, alright, woman, whom are you accusing?

Hung A-lan:-- Your worship, I accuse Third Master Hsu of kidnapping my daughter and administering a beating to my father-in-law which resulted in serious injury. I trust Your Worship will redress my grievance! (weeps)

Wang Ming-yu:-- I was able to divine her intentions as well as if I were God himself. Well! What about your daughter?

Hung A-lan:-- She has been kidnapped by Third Master Hsu.
Wang Ming-yu:— Who will testify to that effect?

Hung A-lan:— There were all kinds of my fellow peasants who saw it with their own eyes.

Wang Ming-yu:— Where are these witnesses?

Hung A-lan:— My father-in-law was severely injured. All our good peasant friends are at home looking after him and so they have not come.

Wang Ming-yu:— I knew from the beginning you were going to pull a stunt like this. First no evidence and then no witnesses. Who really took your daughter? Where is your father-in-law?

Hung A-lan:— He was so badly injured that he cannot even move.

Wang Ming-yu:— Enough! If you are going to make accusations concerning injuries, you must verify the injuries. That is the universal requirement. If your father-in-law does not come to verify his injuries, how am I to know whether he has any injuries or not? You come here to launch a suit and in the first place you do not have formal papers. In the second place, you have no relevant evidence, and third, you have no proof of injury. This is obviously the false report of a vicious person. I am taking into consideration the fact that you are a woman and that this is your first offence, so I am not going to deal with you severely. Come, take her out of here.

Hung A-lan:— I have indeed been badly used. Your Worship, please
have compassion, and redress my grievances.

Wang Ming-yu:— If there is any injustice, it will be set right, but the making of false accusations must also be dealt with. If you are going to file a complaint, you must have people to come as witnesses and give evidence. The only proof is what I hear from your mouth alone. I am not the type of addle-brained official who is going to hear one side of the story only and believe it.

Hung A-lan:— Your Worship is an honest official. He should redress my grievance.

Wang Ming-yu:— Of course I am an honest official. What need is there for you to say that? If you are not satisfied, next time come back with witnesses to testify for you. Now, leave the court.

(Exit the runners. Exit Hung A-lan, weeping.)

Wang Ming-yu:— This is a bothersome case to handle. Both kidnapping and beating people. Supposing I were to handle it according to law, could a little minion like me afford to provoke the wrath of Grand Tutor Hsu? Yet if I let it drag on without doing anything, this woman can come here every day laying charges and bother me to death. So, how am I to handle it? (ponders) I know, I shall personally go and consult with His Excellency Li P'ing-tu, the Prefect. He is extremely knowledgeable and he will have a way of dealing with
Night and day, the wicked people stir up wind and waves,
When shall we ever see the end of the annoyances they cause? (exits)
Scene II  The Case is Tried

Time:-- One month later.
Place:-- The Yamen of the Hua-t'ing Magistrate.
Characters:-- Hsu Ying and Hsu Fu.

The farmer, Chao Yu-shan, and Hung A-lan.
The Hua-t'ing Magistrate, Wang Ming-yu, in the company of many runners.
A crowd of peasants.

(Hsu Ying and Hsu Fu come onstage.)

Hsu Ying:-- (recites) I have sent gold and proffered flatteries,
And I still have some tricks up my sleeve to win this case.

My good Chao Yu-shan, I did not think you would dare to come into court and report me. However, one must fight fire with fire and I did not have to ponder long before a scheme presented itself to me. I sent Hsu Fu with two hundred taels of gold for the magistrate and three hundred taels for the prefect. I have bought off everyone concerned, at all levels. That Wang Ming-yu is an exceptionally astute fellow. He says it would be absolutely lacking in propriety on his part if he were not to deal severely with any wicked people who make false accusations against the gentry. So! There is to be a lawsuit, eh Chao Yu-shan? Chao Yu-shan, we shall see how far you are prepared to carry your evil scheme! Hsu Fu!
Hsu Fu:—Yes.

Hsu Ying:—Go into the court, and if the magistrate asks you what happened on that day, you must be very careful; we cannot let the cat out of the bag.

Hsu Fu:—That goes without saying. You may rest assured, Master.

(They exit together.)

(Wang Ming-yu comes on, followed by the runners and takes his seat.)

Wang Ming-yu:—(recites) These last few days have seen much good fortune,

How much has greased my palm, I know not,
Concerning lawsuits, the money involved is my only interest,

Yet my reputation surpasses that of Pao Lao.

This is really very interesting, very interesting!

It used to be that I knew only how to fleece the poor people. But there is no percentage in that. Today, for instance, even the family of the Grand Tutor Hsu has sent great quantities of gold. Being an official has really been worthwhile for me. In any event, I must bring this case to a close today. If not, people will say that I am a bumbling official for not even being able to handle a small affair like this. Runners, call into court the people involved in the case of Hung A-lan.
(The runners shout out the summons. Enter Hung A-lan, Chao Yu-shan, and a crowd of peasants.)

All:— We simple folk and this young lady wish to pay our respects to Your Worship.

Wang Ming-yu:— Stand to one side. These last few days I have been conducting thorough investigations about the case of Hung A-lan. Today I am holding court. You must speak only the facts. You must not add anything extra in order to try and make trouble. Hung A-lan.

Hung A-lan:— I am here.

Wang Ming-yu:— You accuse Hsu Ying of kidnapping your daughter; what day did this kidnapping take place?

Hung A-lan:— He kidnapped her on the day of the Ch'ing-ming Festival.

Wang Ming-yu:— Are there any eyewitnesses or not?

All the Peasants:— We humble people saw it with our own eyes.

Wang Ming-yu:— Hung A-lan, you accuse Hsu Ying of beating your father-in-law. Has your father-in-law come or not?

Chao Yu-shan:— I am here.

Wang Ming-yu:— Where are the injuries you suffered in the beating?

Chao Yu-shan:— They beat me with their fists and kicked me with their feet. I was injured all over my body.

Wang Ming-yu:— Do you have an eyewitness or not?

All the Peasants:— We folk saw it with our own eyes.

Wang Ming-yu:— Coroner, verify these injuries.

(The coroner strips off Chao Yu-shan's clothing in
order to examine the wounds.)

Coroner: I must report, Your Worship, that his body is entirely unmarked. There are no scabs or scars and there are no injuries.

Wang Ming-yu: So! The colossal gall of you vicious people! You spread slanders and false accusations. Bring the cane and give him a severe beating for me.

Chao Yu-shan: Ah? Your Worship, my body does have wounds and scars. How can it be said that there are no wounds? I beg Your Worship to make a careful examination.

Peasants: Chao Yu-shan took a fearsome beating at the hands of Hsu Ying; this we saw with our own eyes. If this be false, we are willing to take the punishment ourselves.

Wang Ming-yu: This is certainly very strange. There clearly are not any wounds, yet the whole lot of you says that there are. Coroner, go and have another look and tell me what you find.

Coroner: There appear to be some self-inflicted wounds here, resulting from an intentional fall. But there are absolutely no traces of any injuries resulting from a beating.

Wang Ming-yu: Runner, summon Hsu Ying into court.

(Enter Hsu Ying and Hsu Fu)

Hsu Ying: Hsu Ying, of the Hsu family of gentry, wishes to pay his respects to Your Worship.

Wang Ming-yu: Do not stand on ceremony. Hsu Ying, we have on hand here some people who accuse you of kidnapping a young
girl and cruelly beating a respectable man. Can there be anything to such a story?

Hsu Ying: I am a member of the Prime Minister's household. I spend my time earnestly studying the Classics and I thoroughly understand the lofty ideas expressed in them. How could I stoop to kidnapping girls and cruelly beating respectable folk? Your Worship understands clearly what I mean. Your Worship, may I inquire on what day this took place?

Wang Ming-yu: According to the original accusation, it was on the day of the Ch'ing-ming Festival.

Hsu Ying: The Ch'ing-ming Festival? Where did I go on that day?

Oh! I know! It was that day that I was at the home of Scholar Chang, discussing the Classics. I never went out of the city.

Wang Ming-yu: Where are your witnesses?

Hsu Ying: My bond-slave, Hsu Fu, went along and he was in attendance. He can bear witness.

Wang Ming-yu: Hsu Fu, where did Hsu Ying go on that day of the Ch'ing-ming Festival?

Hsu Fu: I can report to Your Worship that on that day of the Ch'ing-ming Festival The third master was indeed studying at the home of a hsiu-ts'ai of this city, and he never left the city. The family bondsmen were at his side and I can testify that we never left him for a single moment.

Wang Ming-yu: Then this is the way it was. On the day of the Ch'ing-ming Festival, Hsu Ying spent the whole day
studying at the home of a hsiu-ts'ai in this city. If this is so, could he then have split himself in two so as to go outside the city, kidnapping and beating people? This is very obviously a case of wicked people making false accusations against gentry. This is absolutely intolerable. Come forward, attendants, and give Hung A-lan a severe beating!

Hung A-lan:— Your Worship! If I must repeat it a million times, this business of kidnapping and beating people is true, it is absolutely accurate. I have the peasants of my neighborhood here as witnesses. Your Worship must see that justice is done for me. My daughter is now in the Hsu household. I beg Your Worship to return her to us so that flesh and blood might dwell together again.

Wang Ming-yu:— What! The great gall of this shrew! So you have witnesses. Am I therefore to act as if the others do not have witnesses? Am I to be so partial as to simply assume that your witnesses are telling the truth and that the other party's witnesses are lying? His Worship hears both sides and then decides according to law. To listen to one side only would be very poor justice. If I did not listen to what the gentry said, how could I possibly listen to the words of poor people on the other hand? Come, drag her out and give her a sound thrashing.
Chao Yu-shan:—Have mercy, Your Worship. Although I am involved only
in farming and am a very poor man, my human spirit is
not poor at all. Although I do not read books, I do
nevertheless possess some intelligence. I inherited
a little property and my whole family depended on
this for a living. Third Master Hsu forged a contract,
tanted it, and seized my land as his own. Because
of this, my only begotten son became so vexed and
angry that he died of chagrin, leaving his widow and
child. The land had gone, but the taxes still had to
be paid. I had to pay the grain tax by doing corvee
labor. There was no place where I could go to report
these injustices. On that day of the Ch'ing-ming
Festival, Third Master Hsu, thinking he could get
away with it because of his position, both kidnapped
my granddaughter and gave me a severe beating, leav­
ing me wounded. And so I have suffered one wrong
after another. Overhead is the sun in the sky and
here below are my peasant neighbors; and all can
corroborate what I say. If Your Worship will not do
anything about it for us, but on the contrary believes
only the stories of our opponent and wants to beat the
plaintiff, where are the eternal principles of
justice? Where is your conscience? Your Worship,
you cannot behave like this; you must act in the
interests of the little people!
Wang Ming-yu:—The great gall of you wicked people! It is absolutely clear that you have no wounds yet you still say that you were wounded. It is absolutely clear that the other party was at the home of a friend, studying, and never went out, yet you falsely accuse him of going out into the countryside, beating and kidnapping. Is this your universal principle of justice? Is this an example of conscience? Your human spirit is also poor, so poor that in the end the only thing you can think of is to summon up all your gall and make false accusations against the gentry. You are truly an extremely vicious and evil man! Come, take him out and thrash him!

Chao Yu-shan:—Your Worship, you cannot beat me! If you are really going to have me beaten, I am going to report it.

Wang Ming-yu:—Where are you going to report it?

Chao Yu-shan:—I shall report in the prefectural court; I shall report it in Soochow; I shall report it in the capital:

(sings) When an old man like me suffers injustices, High Heaven sees, Streams of tears flow for my beaten body and kidnapped granddaughter, Your office is used not to uphold justice for the people, but to transgress it, I shall charge you in the capital as a corrupt
official, selling law for the highest bribe.

Wang Ming-yu:— The nerve of you!

(sings) I never knew the wicked people could really be so bold and daring,
As to falsely accuse the gentry in such a wild and irresponsible manner,
Come, seize him, let his punishment be eighty strokes of the bamboo.

Give him a fierce and thorough beating for me!

(The runners drag Chao Yu-shan out to receive the heavy beating and Chao Yu-shan is beaten to death.)

Runners:— Your Worship, we must report that the guilty one has died from the beating.

Hung A-lan:— My God, no!

(sings) My heart full of grief and anger, I can only call on God in Heaven,
When my father-in-law can be beaten to death right before the court,
Who among men can still distinguish right from wrong? Heaven, oh heaven!
My daughter who was kidnapped remains in danger.

Wang Ming yu:— (Alarmed, pales and becomes upset, but then settles down.) Carry him out and get her out of the court.

(Exit the group of peasants, carrying Chao Yu-shan's corpse. Exit Hung A-lan, weeping bitterly. Exit Hsu Ying, laughing, followed by Hsu Fu,
who is scowling.)

Wang Ming-yu:— We have been careless. I did not think this old fellow was so unable to stand a beating. (ponders)
Still, this is nothing to worry about, nothing to worry about at all!

(Enter a runner to deliver the Peking Gazette.)

Runner:— Your Worship, I have here an urgent dispatch. Please read it, Your Worship.

Wang Ming-yu:— (Tears it open and reads it carefully; gives a start and nervously drops the paper.) Good Lord! Hai Jui has been taken from his position as Censor in the Supreme Court and is ordered to take the post of Governor of Ying T'ien and the Ten Prefectures. My God! This old beggar is going nowhere else but right here to Kiangnan. What are we to do now?

(He has dropped the Peking Gazette. Now he picks it up again, hesitantly.)

Runner:— What? Hai Ch'ing-t'ien is coming? What can we do?

Wang Ming-yu:— Get my luggage ready. We leave on a journey to Soochow immediately.

(The runner accompanies Wang Ming-yu offstage.)
Scene III. Taking Office

Time:-- The first week in June, 1569.

Place:-- The pavilion for welcoming officials, outside Chang Men, in Soochow.

Characters:-- The Prefect of Soochow, Cheng Yu, fifty-five years of age, willing to enact his duties honestly. He has a good reputation as an official.

The Magistrate of Wu Hsien, Hsiao Yen, forty-five years of age, an avaricious official.

The Sungkiang Prefect, Li P'ing-tu, approximately fifty years old, sycophant of the gentry. Willing to bend the law to increase his own wealth, he is widely known as Li Po-p'i.

The Hua-t'ing Magistrate, Wang Ming-yu.

Hung A-lan and the group of peasants.

Hai Jui, fifty-four years old, beard already half whitened, wearing ordinary, everyday attire.

Hai Jui's mother, Hsieh Shih, seventy-one years old, of stern and upright disposition. Since her husband died while she was still in her youth, she alone has educated Hai Jui and raised him to manhood. Hai Jui has the utmost respect for her.

Hai Jui's wife, Wang Shih. She is his second wife. She is thirty years of age and of a meek and timid disposition. She greatly respects Hai Jui but also
fears that his unbending principles will bring misfortune. She often advises him against doing things, but after he explains his reasoning to her, she fully supports him.

Hai P'eng, the aged servant of the Hai family. He is resolute, loyal, and sincere, but fearful that Hai Jui will offend someone. He too tries to dissuade Hai Jui at times. He is fully devoted to his master. Also, he suffers from contradictions, but in the end he is always straightened out by Hai Jui.

An officer, and a great many soldiers.

(Enter a group of officials, officers, and soldiers, accompanied by banners, parasols, and shouting.)

Cheng Yu:- Gentlemen, Censor Hai has already started on his journey from Nanking, but to date he has still not arrived. I fear this will be yet another fruitless trip on our part.

Hsiao Yen:- When the eunuch, Huang Chin, Superintendent of the Imperial Silk Factory, heard that Hai Jui was coming, the old man's big sedan chair was reduced from eight to four men.

Li P'ing-tu:- Yes. And we have some gentry right here who have gone out at night and smeared black paint over the red gates in order to avoid any unnecessary trouble.

Wang Ming-yu:- Gentlemen, everyone describes Hai Jui as an absolutely honest and upright official, but when all is said and done, what kind of man is he?
Cheng Yu:- When I was in the capital many years ago, I knew a little about what kind of man Censor Hai was. Gentlemen, I shall give you a bit of a description:

(sings) Recognized as the most upright of men, he gave himself the name Kang-feng,

Near the close of the Chia Ching Reign, he memorialized the throne, provoking the emperor's wrath, He tried to persuade the emperor that the pursuit of immortality was but wasted effort,

"Whether we speak of ancient times or modern, was there ever a man who never died?

If one squanders wealth on sacrifices while the affairs of the people are neglected, the people will all complain, and war, poverty, and distress arise from all directions,

Now the people use 'Chia Ching' to signify 'every house is empty',

Unless changes are made, the state will be endangered, and you will be unable to face your ancestors."

He scolded the emperor bitterly and the emperor flew into a great rage. He was going to condemn Hai Jui to death. He ordered some men to apprehend him and not let him escape. Afterwards it became known that Hai Jui had already put his final affairs in order and the emperor was so taken aback he did not know what to do. Hai Jui
was locked up in the Imperial Prison and endured all manner of punishments. Only when the emperor died was he pardoned and let out of prison. Now that he is coming to Kiangnan, gentlemen, you will have to watch your steps.

(Hsiao Yen, Li P'ing-tu, and Wang Ming-yu pale and become very nervous and jumpy.)

Cheng Yu:– The weather is absolutely scorching. Let us now take a little rest in the Official Welcoming Pavilion. When the heralds arrive, we shall come back out to welcome him. That will be soon enough. Come, let us go back to the pavilion. (All exit together.)

Hai Jui:– (offstage) Let us hurry forward.

(Enter Hai Jui, Hsieh Shih, Wang Shih, and Hai P'eng, together.)

Hai Jui:– (sings) I have imperial orders to tour the Ten Prefectures, first to Chin-chang,

This presents the possibility of fulfilling my ambition to help the weak against the strong,

Kiangnan is a place of rice and fish, but the land tax there is high,

It is often said that above there is heaven, while below there is Su-Hang,

But evil gentry and greedy, oppressive officials tyrannize their fellow countrymen,

So badly do they mistreat the people that many of the suffering have fled elsewhere,
People are poor, there is no money, and the lifeblood of the country is drying up,

I, Hai Jui, if I am to serve my emperor, must take matters into my own hands.

Wang Shih:— The perspiration is flowing like rain right through my clothes. Although the scenery is very pretty, I simply cannot enjoy it.

Hsieh Shih:— Son, how far do we still have to go from here to the city of Soochow?

Hai Jui:— We go directly ahead, not much farther, and then we are at Soochow City. The weather is scorching hot. Mother, how about resting for fifteen minutes or so and then going on?

Hsieh Shih:— Just as you say.

Hai Jui:— Look, up ahead there is a grove of trees. Please, mother, have a rest there. Hai P'eng, lead the way.

(Exit Hsieh Shih, Wang Shih, and Hai P'eng)

(Enter Hung A-lan and a crowd of peasants)

Third Peasant:— The weather is scorching hot. Let us have a little rest before going on, eh? Young lady, you are crying and sobbing away so uncontrollably, what has been done to you?

Hung A-lan:— I am going to Soochow to launch a complaint at the Governor's Yamen.

Third Peasant:— Against whom are you filing a complaint?

Hung A-lan:— I am going to file against the third son of the Hsu
family in Hua-t'ing County and against the Hua-t'ing
Magistrate for seizing land, kidnapping, and murder.

Third Peasant:— Please tell us a few particulars of the case.

Hung A-lan:— Ah, me! Heaven help me!

(sings) The evil Hsu Ying tramples on our rights,
using his power to seize our land,
Old men are beaten to death, girls kidnapped,
and I am driven to beseech heaven,
The Hua-t'ing Magistrate shielded the defendant
and put the blame on me,
With an anxious heart, I rush to Soochow to
report it to the governor.

(Hai Jui listens attentively, shaking his head.)

Third Peasant:— Can it really be true that there are injustices such
as these?

First Peasant:— How can it be untrue? We all saw it with our own
eyes.

(Sings) In an old grave and a new one are buried
father and son, two generations,
A son hounded to death, his father beaten
to death, his daughter kidnapped,
Buried in this ground will be the injustices
of three generations.

Hai Jui:— Why do you not go and report it to the officials?

Second Peasant:— Excuse me sir, but you would have no way of know­ing
how it could be that we would not report such
a thing. When it was reported, the injured person was beaten to death.

Hai Jui:- If this was the case, what law did they rely on for their judgement?

First Peasant:- They said it was a false accusation, that he had falsely accused the gentry.

Hai Jui:- Why did they say it was a false accusation? Was there an eye-witness?

First Peasant:- Yes, his family's head-servant gave evidence.

Hai Jui:- What! How can a bond-slave be a witness for his master? Well, what testimony did he give?

Second Peasant:- He said that on the day of the Ch'ing-ming Festival, Third Master Hsu spent the entire day reading at the home of a hsiu-ts'ai of this city, and what is more, that he never went outside the city.

Hai Jui:- What Third Master Hsu is that?

First Peasant:- The Third Master Hsu of the family of Grand Tutor Hsu. Is there any other?

Hai Jui:- No, you are quite right. Since Third Master Hsu never went outside the city, how could he still be in the countryside kidnapping and beating people?

First Peasant:- Bah! Do you think we were all seeing a ghost in broad daylight? We all watched him commit this kidnapping and beating with our own eyes.

Hai Jui:- Then it was your own fault. Since you saw it with your own eyes, why did you not go and give evidence?
Second Peasant:— Oh, sir!

(sings) When we all go into court to appear as witnesses,
The magistrate becomes rich on the bribes he receives,
The words spoken by the gentry he believes absolutely,
But he has difficulty accepting what poor men see with their own eyes.

Hai Jui:— The speech of the gentry is automatically true and the testimony of poor people is automatically false.

Crowd of Peasants:— Exactly.

Hai Jui:— In this case the gentry was only one man and there are many of you. When you had all had your say, did he still not believe you?

First Peasant:— Sir, how could you know the sufferings and hardships of us poor people? We are all tenants of the Hsu family. How could we dare to say anything more?

Hai Jui:— Oh! You are all tenants of the Hsu Family.

All the Peasants:— Our lands and fields have all been seized by the Hsu family but we still have to hand over the rents and do corvee labor. Truly, we have a bitter time of it.

Hai Jui:— This is your own fault too. Why do you not report it?

First Peasant:— Sir, you are not a local man, and so it is not surprising that you think the way you do. The
prefect is the famous Li Po-p'i and the magistrate is
an absolutely corrupt official. How could we dare to
lay a complaint?
(sings) The yamens of the officials are opened wide,
But if you have only evidence and no money,
you stay outside,
From the highest levels to the lowest,
it is always an official's world,
And they say the poor people have only them­
selves to blame that they do not live better.

Hai Jui:— Amazing! But if you cannot report it to the prefect or
the magistrate, where are you going now?
Third Peasant:— We are going to lay our complaint at the yamen of
the Soochow Governor.
Hai Jui:— The Soochow Governor. Then does he not demand money, and
can he see that justice is done for you?
Third Peasant:— Exactly. The newly appointed governor is Hai Ch'ing-t'ien,
and he certainly can see that justice is done
for us. If you listen, I shall tell you about him.
(sings) Many years ago when I was selling rice in
Shun-an,
Everyone talked of the fairness and impar-
tiality of the official, Hai Ch'ing-t'ien,
He decreased the number of couriers and
implemented the "One Whip Policy",
The mouths of the people are as tablets,
recording the merits of a good magistrate, and praising him, 29
He abolished the li Headman, removed bad traditional practices, instituted many good policies,
He encouraged the people in their farming, regarding them as his own children,
And all who had previously fled returned,
Clothed in broadcloth, living only on vegetables, his life was very hard,
He rounded up the bullies, eliminated the scoundrels, saw justice done in court,
When he was transferred and had to leave, the common people he had benefitted were very grieved.

Hai Jui:- Do you truly believe that he can act on your behalf?
Third Peasant:- Of course, he still has not arrived to take up his post. We are just going by all the reports that he lets the common people state their grievances and gets them redressed. But if he will not act for us, how can he still retain the name of Ch'ing-t'ien?

Hai Jui:- Oh! Thank you for your information.

(sound of drums and music from the rear)
Second Peasant:- Here come the officials out to receive Hai Ch'ing-t'ien. Let us get a look at Hai Ch'ing-t'ien.
(Hung A-lan and all the peasants push forward and collide head-on with the group of officials, officers, and soldiers. A soldier knocks the Third Peasant down; in helping him up, Hai Jui then bumps into Li P'ing-tu and both are knocked off balance.)

Li P'ing-tu:— You blind old fool, you knocked me over! Beat this old good-for-nothing!

(A soldier raises his whip, Cheng Yu restrains him, and the crowd of officials, officers, and soldiers goes off. Exit Hung A-lan and all the peasants in a fright.)

Hai Jui:— This petty little official with such an awe-inspiring reputation!

(sings) The common people come in droves to lay their complaints,
Supporting their aged, leading young by the hand, they flee to remote areas,
All because avaricious officials behave no better than packs of foxes and dogs,
They squeeze and bleed the poor and proffer bribes to the detriment of the people,
This official uses his awe-inspiring reputation to intimidate and push others around,
It is obviously his habit to treat others with haughtiness and contempt,
As Governor of Kiangnan, Hai Jui will nourish and protect the interests of the masses, I shall entirely sweep away evil officials, repress the sinister, and support the virtuous.

In a word;

I shall restore the fabric of our society and destroy the tyrants, I shall fulfill the ambitions which I have cherished through my entire life. (exits)
Scene IV  Meeting with Hsu

Time:— Ten days later.

Place:— The mansion of Hsu Chieh in Hua-t'ing County.

Characters:— Hai Jui, wearing a silk cap and long red robe.

Hai P'eng.

Hsu Chieh, seventy-five years of age. His beard is streaked with white and grey. He is small, short in stature, with a fair complexion. He carries himself elegantly. Dressed in ordinary clothes.

A domestic servant of the Hsu family.

(Hsu Chieh enters with his domestic servant following in attendance.)

Hsu Chieh:— (sings) I held the power of the state in my own hands for twenty years,

Such was my calibre as a statesman that my portrait was painted for posterity,

Only when I retired did I come to experience the joy of country living,

I can laugh at the nobility and I envy not even the immortals.

I, Hsu Chieh, have been Prime Minister during two reigns and I am among the most famous men of my generation. I retired because of my advanced years and now my estates and properties are scattered through the length and breadth of Wu. I have a thousand servants and I am
rich and high-ranking. What else is there to wish for? A month ago I read in the Peking Gazette that Hai Kang-feng had been transferred to the governorship of Kiangnan. I have not seen him for many years, but if he comes here I know he will certainly do some outstanding things.

(sings) I am glad that my old friend brings his banners to govern this place,
A man of integrity, the older he grows, the more resolute he becomes,
We shall renew our old association, discuss the Classics, be an inspiration for youth,
He will rule with benevolence and bring great benefit to the masses.

Oh, oh, hold on. I was at court for many years, but my children live in the country and there is always inevitably some affair arising from their insulting and ridiculing of the peasants. This man Kang-feng is extremely old fashioned. What shall we do if he should dig any of this up? (contemplates) I know, I had definitely better give my children some further instruction on these matters and control them rigorously.
I cannot let them stir up a lot of trouble needlessly.
Even if he starts trying to dig things up, as long as there is nothing concrete for him to get his hands on, we can meet the situation satisfactorily. Truly, I
am very happy in one way, and yet quite apprehensive at
the same time.

(Enter a domestic servant)

Servant:— I beg to inform the Grand Tutor that the Honourable Censor
has come to pay his respects.

Hsu Chieh:— Ask him in quickly, and sound the drums of welcome.

(Sound of drums and music. Enter Hai Jui and Hai
P'eng following.)

Hai Jui:— Grand Tutor.

Hsu Chieh:— Kang-feng.

Hai Jui:— Since I have taken up this post, many public affairs and
responsibilities have kept me occupied and only today
have I come to pay my respects. Please forgive me.

Hsu Chieh:— What is Kang-feng talking about? The emperor has es-
pecially dispatched you to come and govern this place
and we are all grateful for this blessing. I am old
and my strength has declined, so I have not gone to
great lengths to welcome you. I hope you will excuse
me.

(They bow and then sit down.)

Hai Jui:— I have not seen you for many years. You have become
more robust and perky than ever.

Hsu Chieh:— Thank you, thank you, but I am old and of no use
whatsoever. But my teeth are still good and I can
still eat meat. Kang-feng, I presume that your hon-
Hai Jui:- My mother's age is very advanced, but she is also still very robust. My wife has come with me to look after her.

Hsu Chieh:- Good, good. Another day, I shall send my daughter-in-law to call on them.

Hai Jui:- You are too kind.

Hsu Chieh:- Kang-feng, I am honoured by your visit today, but what is it you wish to speak to me about?

Hai Jui:- I have come to pay my respects to the Grand Tutor. But the second reason for my coming is that I want to ask your advice.

Hsu Chieh:- If I know anything that can help you, I shall of course be entirely sincere with you and tell you everything.

Hai Jui:- The Grand Tutor was an important statesman at court and you are an elder in this place. You will certainly have a profound understanding of the merits and demerits of politics in Wuchung. This is the first time I have ever been here. I have hopes that you will condescend to give me some instructions concerning what the first priorities should be in relation to government.

Hsu Chieh:- Ha ha, Kang-feng, you are too modest, but since you want me to speak, I shall not try to beat around the bush. I shall be perfectly direct with my old friend. (sings) The wicked people in the area of Wu are characteristically vicious and stupid,
And so frivolous about litigation that pending cases are piled high as a mountain,
To rule without resort to coercion or petty regulations requires great courage,
Uphold the law and use it to preserve stability in this time of instability.

Hai Jui:— Thank you for your instructions. If the wicked people sue frivolously, I shall of course uphold the law and preserve stability. And if the gentry break the law and oppress good people?

Hsu Chieh:— Kang-feng, you have been absolutely upright and straightforward all your life. Even to the late emperor, your words were entirely direct when you admonished him. You will leave a fragrant name in history. I expect you will be even more direct with the gentry here.

(sings) The great law of the Imperial Court is promulgated throughout the land,
Princes and common people must all receive exactly the same treatment,
Wolves barring the way must be scattered, do not put aside your precious sword.

Hai Jui:— Many thanks for your advice. Ah, Grand Tutor! (sings) I recall years ago at the emperor's court,
anxiety caused me to lose sleep and forget to eat,
I had the courage to face the late emperor and
admonish him to rectify bad political practices,
Now I shall dwell in the countryside as the uni-
versal hope of the peasants here,
I shall set an example for the youth by strict
adherence to the law and by a long, peaceful rule.
There is still one thing I wish to ask you about.

Hsu Chieh:— Please do.

Hai Jui:— Hung A-lan, a peasant woman of Hua-t'ing County, has
launched a lawsuit accusing someone in your household
of seizing people's fields, kidnapping a girl, and vi-
ciously beating an innocent man. How should I handle it?

Hsu Chieh:— (pales) What! If such a thing has happened, who is it
she has accused?

Hai Jui:— Hsu Ying.

Hsu Chieh:— He is my third son. Kang-feng, you remember what kind of
a man I am, you have a profound knowledge of me. These
lands and estates of mine were all purchased with cash.
How can anyone talk about them being seized? My son, Hsu
Ying, is a law-abiding man. Kidnapping and beating
people? He certainly would not go so far as to commit
foolish crimes like that. I have just told you how these
wicked people in Wu characteristically make false accusa-
tions. Kang-feng, you must pay absolutely no attention
to their falsehoods.

Hai Jui:— There is absolutely no truth to this affair?

Hsu Chieh:— There is absolutely nothing to it.

Hai Jui:— What if this affair were true?
Hsu Chieh:—What if it were true? There is not one chance in ten thousand that it is true.

Hai Jui:—What if the one chance in ten thousand occurred and the evidence was really factual?

Hsu Chieh:—If there were proof, you should do as you see fit and handle it according to law.

Hai Jui:—Good! Good! According to law, then. Well said. That being the case, I shall take my leave of you.

Hsu Chieh:—Good day.

Hai Jui:—Good day.

(Drums and music. Hsu Chieh bows and Hai Jui exits.)

Hsu Chieh:—Ai ya! This affair which Kang-feng was just talking about! If one thing leads to another, this is really going to be terrible. Let me call Hsu Ying in here and I shall find out the facts of this thing. Servant, summon the Third Master to come in here.

Domestic Servant:—Calling Third Master!

(enter Hsu Ying)

Hsu Ying:—Allow me to pay my respects, father. What is it that has prompted you to call me?

Hsu Chieh:—Someone has accused you of kidnapping and beating people. Can there be anything to this?

Hsu Ying:—Why, damn! Yes, it is true, but the case has already been settled.

Hsu Chieh:—Where was it settled?

Hsu Ying:—In the Hua-t'ing County Court.
Hsu Chieh:— How was it settled?

Hsu Ying:— The District Magistrate told me to say that on that day I was studying at the home of a hsü-ts'ai in this city and never left the city. Then he had the old man who had laid the charge beaten to death publicly. He settled the case by getting rid of the plaintiff.

Hsu Chieh:— (pales) Ai ya! He beat the man to death! He beat the man to death! You said you never went outside the city. Who did you have for a witness?

Hsu Ying:— Hsu Fu was a witness.

Hsu Chieh:— Do you mean the Hsu Fu of my household? (asks Hsu Fu) Were you the witness?

Hsu Fu:— Grand Tutor, it was no one else but your bond-slate.

Hsu Chieh:— That is no good, that will not do at all. How can a family slave be a witness? (to Hsu Ying) You! This case is now going to be reported at the Governor's Yamen. You fool! How do you think you are going to handle it this time?

Hsu Ying:— Father, what is the problem about this? It cannot come to more than us having to spend some more money again. With the people they have for officials these days, I cannot imagine that there could be one who does not love money.

Hsu Chieh:— Oh, you fool! Do you know who the governor is?

Hsu Ying:— Does it matter who he is? Whoever he is, he cannot be more than a governor.
Hsu Chieh:- Bah! Idiot! You have rushed headlong into a calamity. This governor cannot be compared to other men. He happens to be Hai Jui, the one honest official of these times. He is honest, upright, and absolutely incorruptible. He is resolute and selfless and if he judges this case according to law, you simply need not think about living any longer.

Hsu Ying:- (alarmed) My God! Hai Jui! Father, what can be done about this?

Hsu Chieh:- What can be done about this? What can be done about this, indeed.

Hsu Ying:- Father, I have done something wrong. We must think of a way out.

Hsu Chieh:- Bah! There is no alternative to be considered. Good God! First, he beats someone half to death and then he gets his bond-slave to testify for him. What can one do about a thing like this? I have it, a virtuous man has ways of handling things. Hsu Ying, come close to me so that I may whisper in your ear.

Hsu Ying:- Yes. (His father whispers in his ear and Hsu Ying looks pleased.)

Hsu Chieh:- My son, I order that from now on no one in this family is to go needlessly provoking trouble and committing crimes.

Hsu Ying:- Yes, father.

Hsu Chieh:- I mean it! This cannot go on any longer.
Hsu Ying:— I understand, father. I shall leave now. (exits)

Hsu Chieh:— Ai yai yai! This charge of kidnapping and beating is indeed legitimate. When Hai Jui and I were talking just now, I was not careful. I said too much. If Kang-feng takes a firm stand on the law, there is no doubt that he will be difficult to deal with. Wait! There is another side to it. I did a kindness for him once in the past. I think he is an absolutely sincere and virtuous man. A virtuous man repays a kindness with kindness. I would calculate that he would not turn on me now. I think my son’s life may still be saved. Anyway, I cannot think of anything more than this. If it is the wrong move then it is the wrong move, but the only thing I can do is to try to handle it this way. We shall see how he handles things and cross our bridges when we come to them. In a word:

I do not worry about national affairs, but family affairs,
And I would serve as a slave for the benefit of my children.
Scene V. A Mother's Counsel

Time:– Three days later.
Place:– An inner court in the Soochow Governor's Yamen.
Characters:– Hai Jui.
              Hai P'eng.
              Hsieh Shih.
              Wang Shih.

(Enter Hsieh Shih and Wang Shih with a slave girl following in attendance.)

Hsieh Shih:– (sings) As my son prepares to resume sittings of the court and ask questions about this case, so diligent, loyal, and devoted is he that he forgets to sleep and ignores his food.

Wang Shih:– (sings) He will eradicate the greedy officials and their rapacious underlings, the youth and the aged will all enjoy happiness together.

Hsieh Shih:– My daughter-in-law! These last few days Hai P'eng has been coming to me saying that in every street and alley there is a babble of discussion. They say that the eyes of heaven have been opened. They say there really are some standards of justice and that there is a living Buddha for every family. Some say that since he has taken up his post, the dikes have been maintained and the people have been saved from the
calamity of floods; they say that Hai Lung Wang has come to earth. The Wusung River also floods after extended rains and he has already begun dredging operations on it. Moreover he has personally gone to the river to superintend the labor. The refugees have all gone joyously to join in the work. Besides this, he has surveyed the land and implemented the equitable "One Whip Policy". When she hears words like those, his old mother feels very happy. Having a son such as this makes an old woman like me feel that all her efforts in bringing him up have been well worth it.

(sings) I think of bringing up this fatherless child and the sadness in the black of the night,
Taught the Book of Odes and the Book of History, trained to be filial, disdaining anything lacking in propriety,
We hired a strict and stern tutor to make him study diligently; he placed first in the local examination,
He became a magistrate, eliminated cruel abuses of the people, restored the basic regulations of society,
Nowadays, as the Governor of Kiangnan, he occupies a very high official position,
His responsibility is very great and the people all look up to him in hope that he will help
them in their tribulations.

Wang Shih:— Oh, mother!

(sings) I have followed my husband through ten years of hardship in official life,
As an official, he is uncompromisingly righteous, loyal, and brave enough to peel the scales off a dragon,
Imprisoned in the Imperial Dungeon, flogged in the audience chamber, your son nearly lost his life,
With his upright nature he is difficult to dissuade, but I still hope you might counsel him to be more moderate.

Hsieh Shih:— Daughter-in-law, your husband is an honest and conscientious official and he has a wide reputation for being resolutely incorruptible. He was dismissed from office without warning and imprisoned but he is still the same as he always was. What he says is exactly what he means and a hundred trials will not wear him down. This is precisely what is so good about him. It would be best if you stopped worrying so much about him.

Wang Shih:— You are right.

(Enter Hai Jui, dressed in ordinary clothes, with Hai P'eng following.)

Hai Jui:— (sings) The gentry and the evil officials are feeding on the fat of the people,
The resentment of the people bubbles and boils, their hatred will be difficult to overcome, When troops prepare for battle, wanting to shoot men, they first shoot their horses, The various affairs of state in Kiangnan require a great deal of careful consideration.

Wang Shih:- My Lord.
Hai Jui:- Greetings, my wife. I pay my respects, mother.
Hsien Shih:- I am glad to see you. Sit down beside me.
Hai Jui:- Thank you, I shall. Ah!
Hsien Shih:- My son, since you have come here to this post you do not think of food or drink and you have not had a peaceful sleep for many days. You should work hard as an official, but at the same time you should not overdo it and wear yourself out.
Hai Jui:- Many thanks for your advice, mother, I shall take heed. Only....
Hsien Shih:- Only what?
Hai Jui:- Ah!
Hsien Shih:- Why does my son heave such a long sigh?
Hai Jui:- There is so much that you do not know about, mother. Since I have come to this position, the common people have flocked to accuse Grand Tutor Hsu of seizing their fields, allowing his son to act wickedly, oppressing the little people, and shielding the gentry. It truly seems that he is concerned with wealth, rather than
virtue. His third son, Hsu Ying, usurped the property of the Chao family, kidnapped an orphan girl in the Chao family, hounded the only Chao son until he died of chagrin. And on top of all this, he bribed a corrupt official to beat to death an injured member of the Chao family. Many years ago, the Grand Tutor still had a good reputation at the court and he saved my life. The way he seems now! Oh, this man!

(sings) Although masked as a moralist, discussing propriety and duty, evil lurks within him,
His son inflicts injuries on the common people and amasses property and wealth,
Lending money at high interest rates, seizing land,
they are truly shysters,
His virtues are false and his vices are real,
of that there is no doubt.

Hsieh Shih:— My son, it is not easy to know the nature of men. There is no use crying over spilt milk. He was kind toward you, but nevertheless he has come to hate the common people. Do you hold with private favors? What about your duty to apply the law of the country? Oh, my son!

(sings) Fifty years you have studied the classic writings of Confucius and Mencius,
Han Dynasty people buried cart-wheels and wiped out the evil classes of people,
In this dynasty, Prefect K'uang reversed unjust sentences of imprisonment,
With ancient and contemporary men as examples,
why should you hesitate?

Hai Jui:- Those are my sentiments exactly. Very well, mother!

Tomorrow I shall reopen the court. The first thing I shall do is to deal with Hsu Ying according to law.
Second, I shall make the Hsu family give back all the property which they have taken forcefully from the people.
Third, I shall issue a proclamation saying that any gentry who have unlawfully seized land from the people must return it to the original owners, under penalty of law. But I particularly wanted to hear your advice, mother.

Hai P'eng:- My Lord, excuse your old servant for speaking frankly.

(sings) Throughout the entire country, those in official positions mistreat the common people,
Though the people suffer pain and distress, there is nowhere they can seek redress,
Grand Tutor Hsu has great influence and is of a sinister and vicious disposition,
Do not do anything hasty which might bring a hornet's nest down on your head.

Hai Jui:- What you say is not correct. It certainly will not do for me to be afraid of the Hsu family, just because it has great influence!
(sings) What is it in your experience that accounts for this kind of talk?
I, Hai Jui, have endured many hardships yet my will remains entirely undiminished,
Getting rid of the tyrants and assuaging the people's anger requires a man's will,
No matter how great his power, I will deal with him.

Wang Shih:- My husband, there is still merit in Hai P'eng's words and I still hope you will think it over carefully.
(sings) These several years you have received the emperor's favor, your rank has risen steadily,
A protector of this area and overseer of its important affairs, your plans are flawless,
If you kill Hsu Ying, uphold the law of the country, and disregard personal considerations,
They will say you have forgotten old obligations and cast aside favors done you,
On top of all that, you should consider how powerful he is,
His connections are both local and at court; his power is immense,
This is no small matter and you must give it most careful consideration,
Do not let this result in the sorrow and trouble of his wrathful retribution.
Hai Jui:— My wife, what are you talking about? When that Hsu Chieh allows his son to act wickedly, if I, Hai Jui, paid attention to personal obligations and forgot the law of the country, how could I face my beloved mother, or the emperor, or the people?

(sings) When the son of Grand Tutor Hsu is kidnapping girls and committing murder, And the people lose their property and are taxed into poverty, What is the use of studying great books if I consider private obligations and forget the law? To protect the borders and comfort the common people, one must govern very fairly.

Hsieh Shih:— My son, my daughter-in-law, Hai P'eng! If one is to read the sacred books and do virtuous deeds, the law of the country must be upheld and the people delivered from their hardships. My son must be concerned only with the impartial observance and implementation of the law. He should think only of answering to the emperor on the one hand, and maintaining the peace of the people on the other.

(sings) I am glad my son applies himself to the people's problems, giving first priority to upholding the law, To wipe out the tyrants and to support the small and weak is to be very virtuous,
Grand Tutor Hsu is a man of wide experience, his calculations have far-reaching implications, but his son has violated the law of the country and must certainly be punished, your mother and wife wish to support you within the family and are not concerned with high position, with simple, homely food and cloth clothes and shoes, we can be happier than the gods, even if it means that some of these people undermine you and cause your downfall, you can return to Ch'iuang-chow and enjoy the sight of the green water and the blue mountains.

Hai Jui:— Many thanks for your advice, mother. My wife, mother has become weary, how about taking her into the court for a little rest?

(Exit Wang Shih, supporting Hsieh Shih)

Hai Jui:— Hai P'eng, go and issue the order for the court to resume sessions tomorrow. Summon everyone connected with the case of Hung A-lan to appear. The officials of the two prefectures of Soochow and Sungkiang will sit in judgement on the case. There must be no mistake about this.

Hai P'eng:— Very well. (exits)

Hai Jui:— In a word:

I must apply the laws of the emperor,

And kill these greedy, corrupt officials.
(exits)
Scene VI  The Lawsuit is Continued

Time:-- The next day.

Place:-- The Great Court in the Soochow Governor's Yamen.

Characters:-- Hai Jui.

The officials of Soochow and Sungkiang Prefectures.
Hung A-lan and a large group of peasants.
Hsu Ying, accompanied by Hsu Fu (wearing the cap and gown of a hsiu ts'ai.)
The Director of the Hua-t'ing District Academy.
Standard-bearers, officers, soldiers, and many yamen runners.

(Enter the officials of Soochow and Sungkiang Prefectures.)

Cheng Yu:-- (recites) Every day I wait before the yamen gate for an audience,

Li P'ing-tu:-- It makes me feel very worried inside and ill at ease,

Hsiao Yen:-- Why do they not come and summon us?

Wang Ming-yu:-- Night and day, I feel as if I am sitting on pins and needles.

Hsiao Yen:-- Gentlemen, Censor Hai came to this position wearing everyday apparel, and so we did not receive him. Now he shuts his doors up tight and never comes out and for the most part never receives any military or civilian officials. All he does every day is go to the river to
superintend labor. And he summons the lower classes and impoverished, the peasants, workers, and merchants to him so that he can ask them questions. Does no one know the reason for this?

Cheng Yu:- It was his own doing that we did not meet him and welcome him, since he entered the city wearing ordinary clothes. I do not think this would cause him to blame us for anything. It is just that since taking office he has not resumed public business or the sittings of the court. Everything is in a state of limbo, waiting for him to do something. When he never comes forward to take up his responsibilities, it is certain to make people become anxious.

Li P'ing-tu:- It certainly is strange! First he orders us to come here and wait for an audience, and then, several days later, he still has not summoned us. Doesn't anyone know what the purpose of this is?

Wang Ming-yu:- Every day we have come here to wait before the yamen gate for an audience, yet there still is not a sign of life from in there. It really does make a person anxious.

(Enter a standard-bearer)

Standard-bearer:- His Lordship has ordered the gate to be opened.

Court is now in session.

(Exit the group of officials. Enter officers, soldiers, and yamen runners, to the sound of
drums and music. Enter Hai Jui, wearing a red robe and silk cap.)

Hai Jui:-(recites) Restore the rule of law, in the name of the people, injustice must be redressed,
The people have suffered cruel treatment and can bear no more,
The gentry have presumed to conduct themselves in an evil and vicious fashion,
Slaying the scaly dragon and shooting the tiger are affairs for a man,
Why should one deserve a tablet for virtuous government simply for doing his duty?

I, the Ying T'ien Governor, Hai Jui, since taking office, have been investigating the unreasonable and unlawful conduct of the rich gentry class. Avaricious and corrupt officials have been oppressing the people. In cases where there is factual evidence against the people concerned, we shall expend our full effort in eliminating the evildoers. The state has punishments to deal with them. Today, I am reopening the court. I am determined to set up a system of laws which will relieve the suffering of the people.

Attendants, call all the officials to come in here before me.

Standard-bearer:- The officials of Soochow and Sungkiang Prefectures are to come in before the Governor.

(Enter all the officials, each announced as he
presents himself.)

All the Officials:— The officials of the two prefectures of Soochow and Sungkiang report to the Honourable Censor. When Your Lordship came here to fill this office, we missed the opportunity to welcome you. We beseech your forgiveness.

Hai Jui:— Thank you very much for coming to welcome me. But the reason you did not meet me was that I came to take up my duties wearing ordinary clothes and without using a dispatch horse, so what is there to forgive? Moreover, we have met before, so why is any further formality necessary?

Li P'ing-tu:— May I ask His Lordship the Censor where it was that we met previously?

Hai Jui:— It was right in front of the Official Welcoming Pavilion. Please lift your eyes and let us recognize one another. (All the officials look up, startled. Li P'ing-tu becomes alarmed and flustered; he feels like crawling into a hole.)

Hai Jui:— There is a matter I wish to talk over with you. Please be seated.

All the Officials:— Thank you.

Cheng Yu:— My Lord Censor, I summon all my courage in order that I might dare to ask you if you have fixed a date to resume business and allow complaints to be heard?

Hai Jui:— Why is it necessary to select a date? I am resuming
business right today and I shall allow complaints to be heard. Standard-bearer, proclaim the resumption of official business and the opening of the court for complaints.

Standard-bearer:— Your command is received.

(The standard-bearer takes the seal and stamps the tablet proclaiming the opening of court. A soldier picks up the tablet and goes off.)

Hai Jui:— Gentlemen.

All the Officials:— Your Lordship, the Great Censor.

Hai Jui:— How do you conduct yourselves as officials?

All the Officials:— We are absolutely honest and meticulously careful officials. We manage things in the interest of the Imperial Court, and we mitigate the misery of the common people.

Hai Jui:— Is that a fact? You truly manage things in the interest of the Imperial Court, and mitigate the misery of the common people?

All the Officials:— Absolutely.

Hai Jui:— Ha ha! Well, since you are all absolutely honest officials, there is a case about which I would like to question all you gentlemen together and hear your judgements. Where is the Hua-t'ing District Magistrate?

Wang Ming-yu:— I am here.

Hai Jui:— I would like to ask you how you disposed of the case of Hung A-lan?
Wang Ming-yu:— This case, this case, I handled it with justice, it is already settled.

Hai Jui:— What was your way of settling it with justice?

Wang Ming-yu:— Hung A-lan charged that on the day of the Ch'ing-ming Festival, Hsu Ying had kidnapped her daughter and beaten her father-in-law, causing him serious injury. I summoned the accused and made an inquiry. On that day of the Ch'ing-ming Festival, Hsu Ying was at Scholar Chang's house, studying. Moreover, he never went outside the city. It was obvious that the vicious person was making a false accusation, so I drove her out of the court. We cannot tolerate such cases as these.

Hai Jui:— If Hsu Ying never went outside the city on the day of the Ch'ing-ming Festival, who can testify to that effect?

Wang Ming-yu:— The Hsu family's head servant accompanied him in attendance and he testified in court.

Hai Jui:— Oh! There was a witness. The Hsu family's bond-slave was a witness! Good! The next thing I would like to ask you about is the manner in which Chao Yu-shan died.

Wang Ming-yu:— Why, why....it happened while I was giving him a few very light strokes of the cane. Who could know that because he was so old, he would just go suddenly, like that?

Hai Jui:— Ha ha! Ha ha! How well you put it; he just went suddenly. It is a good thing that you handled everything
according to justice. Standard-bearer, summon Hung A-lan and the witnesses concerned to come into court.

(The standard-bearer calls out the summons. Enter Hung A-lan, all the peasants, Hsu Ying and Hsu Fu.)

Hung A-lan:- (wailing bitterly) Your Worship! Redress the wrongs which have been done me!

Hai Jui:- There is no need for you to lament in this way. Just speak the truth.

Hung A-lan:- Oh, Your Worship!

(sings) Having suffered injustice, full of bitterness,

I have harbored this grievance till now,

His land seized by evil tyrants, so vexed was my husband, he died of chagrin,

During Ch'ing-ming Festival, they stole my beautiful daughter, brutally beat my father-in-law,

Why did Magistrate Wang beat to death the injured party, on the basis of perjured evidence?

Hai Jui:- Her land seized, husband hounded to death, daughter kidnapped, father-in-law beaten to death. How pitiable, how pitiable! Disgusting, disgusting! Oh, how hateful!

Hsu Ying:

Hsu Ying:- I am here.

Hai Jui:- Hung A-lan has accused you of usurping land, kidnapping, and beating people. Can these things be true?

Hsu Ying:- I am a junior member of the family of a statesman, a very
scholarly family. How could I stoop to this lawless act? Moreover, on that particular day of the Ch'ing-ming Festival, I actually never went outside the city. I have Scholar Chang of this city as a witness. This case has already been fairly concluded by His Worship Hua-t'ing District Magistrate Wang. So I hope His Honor the Great Censor will not simply listen to the version given by these wicked people, but will have some regard for my father's position and settle this case justly.

Hai Jui:—Since there is a witness, it should be easy to settle this case.

Hsu Ying:—I shall give my evidence through an intermediary and, according to the universal principle, if the evidence is false, I am willing to undergo the appropriate punishment.

Hai Jui:—That is wonderful of you to say that you are willing to undergo punishment if your evidence is false. Scholar Chang.

Hsu Fu:—I am here.

Hai Jui:—You must tell the truth. On that day of the Ch'ing-ming Festival, was Hsu Ying really at your house, studying?

Hsu Fu:—That is the absolute truth. On that day, Third Master Hsu was not only studying, but writing an essay.

Hai Jui:—What essay was he writing?

Hsu Fu:—(agape with astonishment) He wrote the Thousand Character Essay. No, that is not correct. What he wrote was the
Hundred Family Surnames.

(Hsu Ying pales, stamps his foot.)

Hai Jui:— (banging the table) The nerve of you, you blackguard.

What should the punishment be for impersonating a hsiu-t'ai?

Hsu Fu:— I would not dare to do such a thing. My cap is legitimate, I am not an impostor.

Hai Jui:— It is legitimate; you are not an impostor. Well, that is good. I would like to ask you, what year did you enter the academy?

Hsu Fu:— Why, why....

Hsu Ying:— If I may inform the Honorable Governor, I can testify that he really is a hsiu-t'ai from the District Academy.

Hai Jui:— Silence. Is the Director of the Hua-t'ing Academy here?

Academy Director:— I am here.

Hai Jui:— Is he a graduate of your school?

Academy Director:— I have never seen him before. This man is certainly not from our school.

(Hsu Ying trembles; Hsu Fu kneels on the ground.)

Hai Jui:— So! The great gall of you, you villain! To impersonate literati and give false evidence in order to bring undeserved suffering on good people! Attendants, take him out and flog him to death.

Hsu Fu:— (kowtows) Save my life, Your Worship. I shall testify according to the real facts.
Hai Jui:— If you tell the real facts, I shall spare your life. Who are you?

Hsu Fu:— I am Hsu Fu, Third Master Hsu's servant.

Hai Jui:— Since you are a servant, why did you impersonate a hsiu-tsa'ai?

Hsu Fu:— I deserve to die but I was ordered to impersonate him. I did not do it voluntarily.

Hai Jui:— Impertinent bond-slave, I shall ask you once more. Where did Hsu Ying go on the day of the Ch'ing-ming Festival?

Hsu Fu:— He went to the graveyard on Heng Yun Mountain for an outing.

Hai Jui:— Was Chao Hsiao-lan kidnapped by Hsu Ying, and where is she now?

Hsu Fu:— I kidnapped her on the orders of the Young Master and we gave her a fearful beating when she would not submit to him. At present, she is still locked up in his house.

Hai Jui:— Why did you also beat Chao Yu-shan?

Hsu Fu:— When we were carrying out the kidnapping, Chao Yu-shan blocked our way. So the Young Master ordered us to beat him.

Hai Jui:— How serious was the state of his injuries?

Hsu Fu:— He had scars all over his body. His injuries were very grave.

Hai Jui:— The Hua-t'ing Magistrate examined the injuries, so how was it that he said there weren't any?

Hsu Fu:— On the orders of the Young Master, I bought off the prefect, the magistrate, and the coroner. The coroner accepted our
bribe and he therefore said that there were no injuries.

(Li P'ing-tu and Wang Ming-yu arise, trembling)

Hai Jui:— How much did you bribe them? Who witnessed it? Speak the truth.

Hsu Fu:— Three hundred taels of gold for the prefect, and two hundred taels of gold for the magistrate.

(Wang Ming-yu, Li P'ing-tu, and Hsu Ying kneel down, trembling.)

Hai Jui:— Did you yourself hand it over?

Hsu Fu:— It was handed over by myself personally.

Hai Jui:— What were the circumstances of Chao Yu-shan's death?

Hsu Fu:— He was beaten to death by the Hua-t'ing District Magistrate. This is how the lawsuit was won.

Hai Jui:— Did you see this with your own eyes?

Hsu Fu:— With my own eyes.

(Wang Ming-yu, Li P'ing-tu, and Hsu Ying kowtow, confessing their crimes and begging for mercy.)

Hai Jui:— (sings) These avaricious and corrupt officials are entirely without conscience,

It is in vain for them to dress in the official robes of the court,

Today, I shall certainly quell the resentment of the people,

The law will be as firm and solid as a mountain, showing no mercy.

This is the sentence: Hsu Ying abducted a girl, savagely
beat a common man, bribed the prefect, and gave false
evidence which led to the killing of another man. In
accordance with the law, he will be strangled. As for his
family property, aside from what is returned to his vic-
tims, the rest will be confiscated by the state. Chao
Hsiao-lan is to be reunited with Hung A-lan. Wang Ming-yu
received bribes, administered the law crookedly, and killed
the plaintiff by beating. According to law, he will be
beheaded. Li P'ing-tu, nicknamed Li Po-p'i, you have been
greedy, corrupt and dishonest. You are to be stripped of
your rank and imprisoned at the pleasure of the Imperial
Court. Hsu Fu has impersonated a hsiiu-te'ai, given bribes,
and committed perjury. Considering that he did not do this
voluntarily and that he has, moreover, now testified ac-
cording to the law, one hundred strokes of the cane and
banishment for three years. The coroner has received
bribes and committed perjury. He will be stripped of
his duties and according to law, he will receive one
hundred strokes of the cane and banishment for two years.

Gentlemen, are the sentences fair?

Cheng Yu:- The Great Censor has removed the abuses of the people.
I support you.

Hsu Ying:-(kowtows) Great and Honorable Censor, please have re-
gard for my father's face and save my life.

Hai Jui:- Silence. When a prince violates the law, the punishment
is the same as for an ordinary man. Take him away.
(The soldiers bind Wang Ming-yu, Li P'ing-tu, Hsu Ying and Hsu Fu, and all exit.)

Hai Jui:- Hung A-lan, do you have anything more to say?

Hung A-lan:- Your Worship has erased the hatred amongst the people.

    Long life to you, noble sir. (kowtows)

Hai Jui:- Elders, the day before yesterday, we had a chat. Many thanks for your counsel. This case is now closed; is there anything you would like to say?

First Peasant:- Your Worship’s judgement is extremely fair! It is only that our lands were stolen by the Hsus and other gentry families. The property is gone but the taxes remain, so that the lives of the people are full of hardship. We hope that Your Worship can also do something about this for us.

Second Peasant:- Please act in our interest, Your Worship.

Third Peasant:-

Hai Jui:- Standard-bearer, I want you to issue this order for me and publish notices of it. Within the time limit of ten days, every gentry family which has seized land from the people will return all of it. I shall not accept any delay.

    If they disobey, they will be punished according to law.

Standard-bearer:- Your command is received.

All the peasants:- (kowtowing) Your Worship has acted for the people. From now on there will be happy days in store for the poor people of Kiangnan! We are much obliged to you for your kindness. We shall return home
and paint a portrait of Your Worship, which we
shall honor morning and evening!

(all sing) These days we shall look up to Heaven
above,
We shall plough and sow diligently,
restoring orchards and gardens,
While we have land, what worry do we
have for clothes and food,
A promising future is therefore right
before our eyes.

Our humble thanks, Your Worship!

Hai Jui:- There is no need to go on like this. You had better leave
now.

(Exit Hung A-lan and all the peasants, still expressing
their gratitude.)

Cheng Yu:-
We shall take our leave now.

Hsiao Yen:-

Hai Jui:- Not so fast. Wu District Magistrate.

Hsiao Yen:- Yes.

Hai Jui:- You are greedy, corrupt, and extravagant. You have a bad
reputation as an official. Do you acknowledge these
faults?

Hsiao Yen:- I acknowledge them.

Hai Jui:- You are cashiered and sent home. Standard-bearer, remove
his silk cap.

(Standard-bearer removes Hsiao Yen's silk cap. Exit
Hsiao Yen.)

Hai Jui:-- Prefect of Soochow.

Cheng Yu:-- Yes.

Hai Jui:-- You are to instruct all the officials to put their minds at ease and resume their duties. There is no need to harbour any uneasiness.

Cheng Yu:-- Very well. I shall go now.

(exit Cheng Yu)

Hai Jui:-- Ha ha, for ten days now I have had to occupy myself solely with the handling of this case. The irrigation system on the Wusung River is right in the middle of repairs and the Pai Mao River needs dredging. The reforms of the "One Whip Policy" must be extended to the people. I shall do all of these things one by one and the common people will breathe a little easier. In a word:

I shall expend every effort to eliminate greed and corruption, and revitalize government,

I intend to act in the interests of the common people.

(exits)

(Exit the standard-bearer and soldiers, carrying a placard, beating a gong, and reading out the proclamation.)

Standard-bearer:-- All gentry and commoners, hear this:

Censor Hai of the Imperial Court of Censors,
Governor of Ying T'ien and the Ten Prefectures,
in relation to the matter of returning land, pro-
claims for all to know: Evil gentry tyrants have
usurped land belonging to the people. The innocent
people, having lost their property, are in a state
of helpless dependence and hardship. According to
the law of the country, the land is to be given
back. Whoever dares to disobey will be inviting
punishment.

(All the people listen quietly and then go off,
dancing happily to the sound of drums. Exit
standard-bearer and soldiers.)
Scene VII—Asking a Favor

Time:—Three days later.
Place:—The Yamen of the Soochow Governor.
Characters:—Hai Jui and Hai P'eng.

Hsu Chieh and a domestic servant from the Hsu household.

(Enter Hsu Chieh, dressed in ordinary clothes and
riding on a sedan chair, with his domestic servant
following in attendance.)

Hsu Chieh:—(sings) I regret that I left the Imperial Court and
lost the emperor's favor,
I have no alternative but to protect my estate
for my children, otherwise all my efforts will
come to nought,
Oh, how bitter, to have such an unfilial son
who acts so rashly and violates the criminal law,
In my old age, to have to watch my grandson, son,
and daughter in their weeping and grief, how can
my heart endure it?
I shall forget my face and go to beg my old
friend to overlook the law and act according to
his feelings.

Ah! Things have come to such a state that I can no
longer have any regard for face. As long as I can
succeed in my plea that my son should not die, we need
not bother to quibble about anything else. Ah!
(continues song) But I hope that Censor Hai will
remember our old friendship and lend
a helping hand to save his life,
If I can get this, though I gnash my
teeth to the roots, I shall forsake
my property, and whether they punish
me lightly or harshly, I shall comply.

We have arrived at the Governor's Yamen. Servant, go
forward and announce us.

Servant:— Who is on the gate?
Yamen Sentry:— What is it?
Servant:— Grand Tutor Hsu pays a return visit to Censor Hai.
Yamen Sentry:— Wait here while I report it. Excuse me, Your Wor­
ship, Grand Tutor Hsu has come to pay respects.

(Enter Hai Jui.)

Hai Jui:— Grand Tutor Hsu has come to return my call. Indeed, so
he has. Come in, please.

Hsu Chieh:— Kang-feng, the day before yesterday you came to see
me. Today, I have come especially to return your visit.

Hai Jui:— I am greatly honoured. Please be seated.
Hsu Chieh:— Thank you.

Hai Jui:— Am I correct in judging from the Grand Tutor's appear­
ance that there is something troubling you?
Hsu Chieh:— You certainly are correct. Oh, Kang-feng!

(sings) In my old age and feeble infirmity,
Hsu Ying, the violator of the law, is my son,
I beg you to consider me and cover up my son's crimes,
And give him a light sentence in order to comfort me.

Hai Jui:- Grand Tutor!

(sings) Stealing land and abducting girls is a heavy crime,
Openly dispensing bribes and killing poor people,
You do not have any concern for the law,
How can the law be so elastic as to be changed at will?

Hsu Chieh:- Lord Hai, every other son that I have raised has already died. Of all my children, there is only this one son left. I still have the hope that you will remember my old age and show some leniency.

(sings) In my old age, I love my son and he looks after me from dawn to dusk,
The love of parents for their offspring is a happiness ordained by Heaven,
I beg you to deign to remember me and to bestow some pity on me,
I shall be grateful for your kindness, repay your goodness, and always remember it.

Hai Jui:- Grand Tutor, you know all about the love you have for your son, but do you know anything about Hung A-lan's daughter, or her husband, or her father-in-law? And it is not only
Hung A-lan. Besides her, how many orphans and widows are there? Are they all people without parents or sons and daughters?

(sings) The law of the land is as firm and inflexible as a mountain,

The Grand Tutor previously furnished me with the instructions,

That when the law is broken, no matter whether the offender be of noble rank or low,

The prince and the pauper will be treated with absolute equality.

Hsu Chieh:– Oh! Oh! You are right. I did say something to that effect. But many years ago, Lord Hai was incarcerated in the Imperial Prison, and it was I who went before the emperor with entreaties for your release. Now there is a chance for you to repay the favor. I beg you to think it over once more. Oh, Lord Hai!

(sings) Many years ago you were punished for violating the law of the emperor,

How can you forget the fact that it was I who begged for your release?

I put my head in the lion's mouth, interceding and petitioning the emperor,

It is only because of this that you are here today as governor of this area.

Hai Jui:– Grand Tutor, many years ago I irritated the late emperor,
and it is true that it was through you I was released and saved. But I had sent in a memorial criticizing the emperor because I was loyal to my sovereign and loved my country. How could that be considered committing a crime? Hsu Ying has beaten people and transgressed the criminal law. This is an unpardonable offence and it is abundantly clear that the two things are not comparable. How can you speak about them in the same sentence?!

(sings) Hai Jui is loyal to his emperor and he has a fragrant reputation,

Hsu Ying is a ruthless offender of the law of the land,

"Maintain a fair balance and uphold the law," says the Grand Tutor.

"When eliminating evil one first eliminates the wolf which blocks the way."

Hsu Chieh:- That is right! That is right! I really did say those things about maintaining a fair balance and upholding the law. And since this is the case, I am willing to hand over a part of my estate in order to atone for my son's crime.

(sings) My son has broken the law and I have no face left,

I shall give land to pay for his crime and pay grain for military provisions,

The law clearly states that an offence can be
paid off in grain,
You can save a man's life and uphold the law simultaneously.

Hai Jui:- Handing over land is another thing altogether. I have already issued a proclamation stating that any gentry who have usurped land belonging to the people will have to restore it to the original owners, under penalty of law. Your family has stolen two hundred thousand mou from the people. It will be returned to them as a matter of course under the law.

(sings) The gentry surpass even the tiger and the wolf in treachery,
They usurp the land of the people and then pay no taxes,
The people in Kiangnan lead a cold and lonely life of hardship,
Unless their stolen land is returned, they will not be able to go on for long.

Hsu Chieh:- (turns his back to the audience) Two hundred thousand mou! Two hundred thousand mou! You want to have the land returned and carry out the death sentence as well! You are making me furious. Hai Jui, Hai Jui, you have gone absolutely mad! (faces Hai Jui) All right, Lord Hai, you had better listen to what I have to say:

(sings) You are a man who conducts himself very sternly and strictly,
You see only one side of a problem, ignoring the major aspects, but disaster awaits you,
All the gentry you have injured will be of the same mind and purpose,
And I fear that you will not be wearing your black silk cap much longer.

Hai Jui:- Bah! Ha ha, ha ha! My black silk cap? I do not even fear death, so can you imagine how much less important it is to me whether I go on wearing a black silk cap!
All right! All right! (takes off his black silk cap) (sings) Poor students for twenty years, studying diligently to learn to write essays,
Talking of Confucius and Mencius, discussing the Book of Songs and Book of History,
These people all end up losing their direction because of you,
Should I imitate the compromisers, I would be ashamed to face the emperor.
Grand Tutor Hsu, here is my black silk cap, here it is!
Hai Jui wants not only to be an official, but to be a man, with nothing to be ashamed of. When the decree comes, I shall return home immediately.

Hsu Chieh:- Lord Hai, you really will not take our old friendship into consideration?

Hai Jui:- I administer the law of the emperor. I could not think of letting personal considerations take precedence over the
public good!

Hsu Chieh:- You cannot reduce Hsu Ying's sentence?

Hai Jui:- The Grand Tutor has said that I should uphold the law and maintain balance, treating princes and paupers absolutely alike! "If there was proof of the crime", it was to be handled "according to law".

Hsu Chieh:- There is no way that the return of the land can be avoided?

Hai Jui:- Usurping land belonging to the people is absolutely intolerable by dint of reason or emotion. Certainly it shall be returned!

Hsu Chieh:- You cannot compromise even a little bit?

Hai Jui:- When it comes to upholding the law, I am absolutely implacable. I cannot compromise even one iota!

Hsu Chieh:- Very well! Very well! Hai Jui, I hope you do not have any regrets later on.

Hai Jui:- I have no thought for life or death, glory or shame. I decidedly will not have any regrets.

Hsu Chieh:- When you speak like this, does it mean that our friendship is broken off?

Hai Jui:- It is finished!

Hsu Chieh:- Ha ha! Hai Jui!

(sings) You are a mad and seditious man, fishing for praise and reputation,
You dare to do injury to the entire gentry class, collectively,
You refuse to listen to this old man's words of wisdom,
But how do you think you will end up in the future?

Hai Jui:— (sings) There is no need for the Grand Tutor to say anything more,
Hai Jui is loyal and patriotic toward his Imperial Majesty,
Even though I lose my position and am misunderstood, my name will shed fragrance through thousands of years of history.

Goodbye.

(Exit Hsu Chieh, in a rage.)

Hai Jui:— I had anticipated that the old man would come here and make a scene, and indeed, I was right. I do not think he will be willing to just sit back and accept this. Of the various affairs of state in Kiangnan, the elimination of the tyrants, the land survey, implementation of the "One Whip Policy", the regulation of the irrigation system, and the return of the land, these five important matters must be concluded at an early date, in order that hundreds of thousands of ordinary people will be able to live happy lives, and also in order to lessen some of the worries of the emperor. In a word:

Although I am old, my bones are as proud as ever,
How could they bend in order to ingratiate me with
a powerful minister.

(picking up the silk cap) This silk cap! This silk cap!

Ha ha! Ha ha! (exits)
Scene VIII  The Counter-Attack

Time:– The next day.
Place:– The apartments of Hsu Chieh in Hua-t'ing County.
Characters:– Hsu Chieh.
Two close friends of the Hsu family.
The Hsu family secretary.

(Enter the two friends of the Hsu family)
First Friend:– (recites) My heart has been in my mouth ever since
Hai Ch'ing-t'ien suddenly came on the scene,
Second Friend:– We must make plans, we villains cannot just
watch our defeat occur before our eyes.
First Friend:– Old friend, Censor Hai has issued a proclamation
that the land must be returned. What can we do about
this?
Second Friend:– My family also received a copy of the proclamation.
From the way he speaks, he really means business.
It seems there is no way to get out of returning it.
First Friend:– How can you bear to return something which represents
a whole life's work?
Second Friend:– Who can bear it?
First Friend:– Where are you going?
Second Friend:– I am going to find our good friend, Hsu.
First Friend:– I too am on my way to find him for a discussion.
His third son has been sentenced to death and our
good friend Hsu has gone to the Governor's place
to beg Lord Hai for leniency. I shall wait until he returns. He will certainly have some news.

Second Friend:— In that case, we might as well go there together.

First Friend:— We are here. Who is on the gate?

(Enter a domestic servant)

Servant:— Oh, it is you two. The Grand Tutor has still not come back home, but you are welcome to wait for him in the rear court.

First Friend:— Then ask the secretary to come and have a chat with us.

Servant:— I shall ask the secretary.

(enter the secretary)

First Friend:— The Grand Tutor still has not come home so we are going to wait for him here for a while.

Second Friend:— Lord Hai has commanded that the land be returned. In every prefecture and district, the gentry are extremely angry. They are all discussing it and everyone hopes that the Grand Tutor will come up with an idea.

Secretary:— According to his proclamation, what he wants returned is the land which was forcibly seized. This is something which one simply cannot argue against. It is very difficult even for the Grand Tutor.

First Friend:— He has posted notices that complaints will be heard and thousands upon thousands of the vicious people are coming to make false accusations against
us gentry. The lower classes are upsetting every-
thing, what is this world coming to?

Secretary:- The common people in Kiangnan always loved litigation
in the first place, but now, with him urging them on,
they have gone beyond all reason.

Second Friend:- Secretary, do you think it would be possible to
hold a re-trial in Hsu Ying's case?

Secretary:- Lord Hai and the Grand Tutor have been close friends
for many years. A few days ago, he even came here to
call and today the Grand Tutor is returning his visit.
I think that if Lord Hai attaches any importance to
their friendship, he will give him a lighter sentence,
but still, there is no way of knowing.

First Friend:- Of course. The Grand Tutor was Prime Minister during
two reigns and Lord Hai has always looked on him
with favor.

(Enter Hsu Chieh and his domestic servant)

First Friend:-
Second Friend:- The Grand Tutor has returned.
Secretary:

Hsu Chieh:- Yes, I have returned and I am so angry I could die!

First Friend:-
Second Friend:- What? Censor Hai does not even show deference to the
Secretary:-

Grand Tutor?

Hsu Chieh:- What deference? He wants the land returned and the
execution is still going to go ahead.

First Friend:-

Ai ya! If even the Grand Tutor cannot do anything
Second Friend:— with him, we might as well give up.

Hsu Chieh:— Do not be so quick to give up the ship. If we all discuss it thoroughly together, we may be able to come up with an idea.

First Friend:— We and all the gentry in every prefecture and county have all discussed it already. If the Grand Tutor can come up with a solution, everyone is prepared to share the expenses.

Hsu Chieh:— We shall pull the rug out from underneath him. We must get rid of this cursed official. At present, we are enduring a temporary defeat, but when we get a new official, will the world not belong to us again?

Second friend:— Yes! Yes! I have a plan. We shall gather all the gentry together and send a memorial to the throne. We shall accuse him of inciting the wicked people, provoking the lower classes to revolt, oppressing the gentry, and ruining discipline.

Hsu Chieh:— That is no good. When you send in a memorial to the throne, it is discussed month after month for a whole year in some outer court. Far away water is no use in putting out a nearby fire.

First Friend:— I have an idea....we can expend a large amount of money and hire an assassin to stab him. That way we shall solve the problem at its root.

Hsu Chieh:— That is even worse. Since he is in command of the
military and has personal guards, it could not be done. In the second place, if by one chance in ten thousand the scheme should leak out, remember that to murder the greatest official of this territory is no small crime.

First Friend:— This is no good, that is no good. If that is the way you feel, we had better admit we are beaten.

Second Friend:—

Hsu Chieh:— What do you mean, beaten? Let us all try to think of another idea.

Secretary:— Grand Tutor, I have an idea.

First Friend:— Let us hear it quickly.

Second Friend:—

Secretary:— Accuse him of oppressing the gentry, of course you should accuse him. But if you want it to be handled quickly, you must work through an insider. If there is someone at the palace whom the Grand Tutor knows well, write him a letter in your hand, send him an expensive gift, and get him to expedite the approval of the memorial. Then pull some strings and bribe some of your friends from this area who are now officials in the capital to hand in the memorial accusing him. With a double-barrelled attack like this, we shall hit him from all sides at once. As long as he leaves here, then our situation will be a thousand percent happier.
Hsu Chieh:— This is an excellent plan. We shall pull the rug from underneath him and get immediate results. However, if he is only transferred to another post, it will not satisfy my hatred of him. I shall be satisfied only if we can fix it so that he can never become an official again.

First Friend:— Indeed it is a good plan, and for our part, we ask
Second Friend:— the Grand Tutor to go ahead with it.

Hsu Chieh:— (sings) In order to protect their families, many friends have held long discussions,
We shall combine the ideas and the strength of many people, and then set the trap,
We shall send someone to secure an insider,
and I shall write a letter,
And then we shall wait and see how you make out, Hai Kang-feng!

First Friend:— If this is what we are going to do, there should
Second Friend:— be no delay. All the gentry will share expenses equally, and we must send someone immediately. He should start on his journey to the capital by this very evening.

Hsu Chieh:— So it is the opinion of my friends that I should send the letter immediately. We shall need to raise three thousand taels of gold among us, two thousand taels for the eunuch in the palace, and one thousand for our
colleague in the capital. We had better all discuss
which of the officials in the capital would be best.

Second Friend:- Tai Feng-hsiang, the Kei Shih-chung of Chia-hsing
is a relative of mine. His family has also been
forced to return land, so he will certainly be
willing to expend every effort on
our behalf.

Hsu Chieh:- Tai Feng-hsiang is my student, he definitely will
make the effort for us. I shall ask you to go to the
capital, leaving immediately on a swift horse, what
ho!

Second Friend:- Right. I shall have to pack my bags, so I shall
leave now.

(Exit First Friend, Second Friend, and Secretary)

Hsu Chieh:- Ha ha! Ha ha!
He shall ride into the capital and procure the ser-
vices of an insider,
and I shall not rest until Kang-feng is driven off.
(exits)
Scene IX  Dismissed from Office

Time:-- A certain day five months later.
Place:-- The Great Court in the Yamen of the Soochow Governor.
Characters:-- Hai Jui.

Tai Feng-hsiang, fifty years old, newly appointed to the position of Ying T'ien Governor.

Hsu Chieh.

Hsu Ying and Wang Ming-yu.

Tai Feng-hsiang's standard-bearers, officers, soldiers and runners.

(Tai Feng-hsiang comes on wearing a silk cap and red robe, followed by standard-bearers, officers, soldiers, runners, and a procession of banners and parasols.)

Tai Feng-hsiang:-- (recites) I have come to Kiangnan, this is a promotion,

What difficulty will there be here in making a hundred thousand?

I must not punish the wealthy and powerful but just ignore them,

I shall just go along without rocking the boat, and all will be peaceful.

I am Tai Feng-hsiang, the newly appointed Ying T'ien Governor. Yesterday, a letter came from the Grand Tutor, asking me to hurry there. That is why I am galloping there in great haste.
(exit Tai Feng-hsiang and his party)
(enter Hsu Chieh)

Hsu Chieh:—(recites) I gallop on my way to welcome the new Governor, expending every possible effort to save the life of my son. The clerk in the criminal department of the Governor's Yamen has told me that the Imperial Decree from the Fall assizes will arrive within a day or so. The new Governor, Tai Feng-hsiang, has already set out on his journey here in order to save the life of my son. I am galloping to welcome the newly-appointed Governor and that is why I am in this great hurry.

(Hsu Chieh gallops offstage, whipping his horse.)

(Enter a standard-bearer)

Standard-bearer:—His Lordship summons you into court.

(Enter a crowd of officials and soldiers and some runners. Enter Hai Jui, wearing a silk cap and red gown.)

Hai Jui:—(recites) I have received the Imperial Decree, ordering the execution,

I shall eliminate the traitors and set up proper standards.

Attendants, bring out the two condemned prisoners, Hsu Ying and Wang Ming-yu. The day of execution has
arrived.

(Enter soldiers leading Hsu Ying and Wang Ming-yu, both bound.)

Hai Jui:- Hsu Ying, Wang Ming-yu: the Imperial Decree has been handed down calling for the sentence to be carried out. You are to be executed forthwith.

(signs writ for execution) You two villains!
(recites) You disregarded the law of the country and used that law for your own advantage,
We shall make an example of you, inspiring other greedy people to turn over new leaves.

Hsu Ying:- Spare our lives, Your Worship. (they kowtow)
Wang Ming-yu:-

Hai Jui:- Take them away. They will be executed at the appointed time.

(the soldiers lead Hsu Ying and Wang Ming-yu offstage.)

(Enter Tai Feng-hsiang's standard-bearer.)

Standard-bearer:- I bring an Imperial Decree.

(drums and music. Enter Tai Feng-hsiang and Hsu Chieh, together.)

Tai Feng-hsiang:- By decree of his Majesty the Emperor, the Ying T'ien Governor, Hai Jui, is dismissed from office and retired from public service. Let all know that the new Ying T'ien Governor is Tai Feng-hsiang.

Hai Jui:- Long, long live the Emperor. I would like to ask
the Great Commissioner what transgression I have committed, that I should be stripped of my rank and retired?

Tai Feng-hsiang:- Officials at court have accused you of oppressing the common people and abusing the gentry.

Hai Jui:- What!

(sings) The gentry are ruthless and overbearing, the common people impoverished, Like wolves and tigers, the gentry create an empty wilderness, To speak of oppressing the gentry is truly to speak absolute nonsense, And to degrade me is most unreasonable and unfair! May I ask the Great Commissioner on what day the newly appointed governor will arrive here to take up office?

Tai Feng-hsiang:- I am Tai Feng-hsiang himself. How do you do, Lord Hai.

Hai Jui:- How do you do, Lord Tai. Since you have arrived to take up your duties, I would like to say a few words to you.

Tai Feng-hsiang:- Please do.

Hai Jui:- (sings) The greatest evil in Kiangnan is the gentry, Seizing people’s land, making agriculture difficult, It is essential that these injuries be corrected, Only by return of the land can peace be preserved.

Tai Feng-hsiang:- Silence! It is precisely because you have oppressed the gentry by making them give back land, terror-
ized the common people, and badly mistreated the
gentry, that the Emperor has dismissed you.

(sings) One's relative rank or status in life
is a predestined matter,
It is entirely appropriate that the
masses should have a bitter time,
The distinction between good and bad
is precisely the distinction between
manual and mental labor,
You have studied the sacred books of
Confucius,
That you should tyrannize the common people
and treat a man with cruelty,
And even oppress the gentry, to do this
is very wrong.

Hai Jui:- Who is wrong?

Tai Feng-hsiang:- You are the one.

Hai Jui:- Silence!

(sings) You say that the common people are tyrannized,
But do you know that the gentry injures the people?
Much fanfare is made at court about oppressing
the gentry,
But do you know of the poverty endured by the
common people?
You just pay lip service to the principle that
the people are the roots of the state,
The officials oppress the masses while pretending to be virtuous men,
They act wildly as tigers and deceive the Emperor,
If your conscience bothers you, you know no peace by day or night.

Tai Feng-hsiang:— How do you have the gall to open your mouth and scold other men? You make me furious.

Hsu Chieh:— Gentlemen, why don't both of you stop quarelling and be more agreeable? Kang-feng, some time ago I gave you some good advice. I urged you not to stir up everyone's anger and not to cheat the gentry, but you would not listen. Now you are dismissed from office and leaving here, and I have a few words for you.

(sings) In your period of middle age, your faculties remain sharp,
You have tasted bitterness for several decades now,
You have been overzealous in your application of the law,
In your prejudice and radicalism, you do injury to people,
The last time we talked, our conversation was unpleasant,
This time, you have fallen, and far-reaching changes have occurred,
I advise you to cultivate and refine yourself,
And if you get a post again, do not indulge
yourself like this.

Hai Jui:— Oh, Grand Tutor Hsu!
(sings) The Grand Tutor’s words are completely lacking
in thought,
Hai Jui is dismissed from office, but with a
fragrant reputation,
As a man, I am on the inside what I appear to be
on the outside,
To secretly conspire for the downfall of another
is a dishonorable deed.

Hsu Chieh:— Who has secretly conspired?
Hai Jui:— You have!
(sings) You have been at court and held state power
in your hands,
You talked of ethics, explained Confucius and
Mencius, and related details of former kings,
Your sons who lived in the country seized land
and property, abducted women, proffered bribes,
and acted entirely without conscience,
But you have suddenly found a crafty method of
pulling the wool over Our Sovereign’s eyes,
And you have falsely accused the common people
of being the wolves and tigers,
You say the gentry are being victimized and are
unable to speak out,
But you can hardly escape the hatred of all the people, where will you hide now?
I, Hai Jui, have lost my black silk cap, but my conscience is clear,
One day I shall be an official again and once more the law will be enforced with rectitude.

Hsu Chieh:— You are so obstinate that there is nothing more to be said.

Standard-bearer:— The appointed time has arrived. Please give the order to carry out the punishment.

Tai Feng-hsiang:— (alarmed) What punishment?
Hsu Chieh:—

Hai Jui:— I have already received the Imperial Decree. Hsu Ying and Wang Ming-yu are to be executed forthwith.

Hsu Chieh:— What! (starts, pales, and begins to tremble)
Tai Feng-hsiang:— Order the execution to be stopped.
Hai Jui:— Order the execution to go ahead.
Tai Feng-hsiang:— The newly-appointed Governor orders that the punishment be stopped.
Hai Jui:— The present Governor orders that the execution go ahead.
Tai Feng-hsiang:— Lord Hai, you cannot kill them.
Hai Jui:— Why not?
Tai Feng-hsiang:— I have received personal instructions from Secretary of State Li and Inspector Feng that in deference to Grand Tutor Hsu's advanced
age and his service to his country, Hsu Ying is to be reprieved. We are just awaiting the Imperial Decree.

Hai Jui:-- Where is the Imperial Decree?

Tai Feng-hsiang:-- The Imperial Decree is following us and will arrive later.

Hai Jui:-- And for the moment?

Tai Feng-hsiang:-- For the moment, I am issuing the order that in accordance with the instructions from the Secretary of State and the Inspector, a reprieve is to be granted.

Hai Jui:-- You cannot go issuing orders.

Tai Feng-hsiang:-- Why not?

Hai Jui:-- I still have not handed over to you. The Great Seal and the Arrow of Authority are still in my hands, so how can you issue any orders?

Tai Feng-hsiang:-- If this is the case, then please hand them over now.

Hai Jui:-- Absolutely not. I have the Imperial Decree ordering me to go ahead with the punishment. When the execution is over, then I shall hand over to you.

Tai Feng-hsiang:-- What! Lord Hai!

(sings) To disobey an Imperial Edict is no small crime,

You may lose your life and have your entire clan wiped out before your eyes,
You should respect the great age of
the Grand Tutor,
Do not succumb to your urges or you
will later regret it.

Hai Jui:—Ha ha!
(sings) I have received Imperial authority for this
beheading,
The execution will of course proceed forth­
with,
How can one in office heed special circum­
stances?
Even if punishment follows, it is of no con­
cern to me.

Tai Feng-hsiang:—Do you not even fear the misfortune of being
killed as a result?

Hai Jui:—A real man stands with his head held high and his feet
planted firmly on the ground. How could I fear the mis­
fortune of losing my life and bend the law according
to my personal feelings? To do so would be to bring
shame on myself as a man whose conduct was not pure
and incorruptible. (grasping the Arrow of Authority)
Standard-bearer, order the executions carried out.

Standard-bearer:—(accepting the arrow) It will be done.
(Exit the Standard-bearer. Three shots of a
cannon are heard. Hsu Chieh collapses on the
ground; Tai Feng-hsiang becomes alarmed and
flustered. Hai Jui holds up the Great Seal.)

Hai Jui:- Lord Tai, here is the Great Seal. Now, I shall hand over to you. I shall leave now.

(Amazed and confused, Tai Feng-hsiang stands absolutely rigid. Hai Jui offers him the Great Seal again. The curtain falls.)

Entire cast sings:-

Heaven is cold, the earth is freezing,
and the wind whistles mournfully,
The thoughts of all the people go with this official as he leaves,
Father Hai returns south and we cannot stop him,
We burn incense for the Living Buddha of all the people.

The End
CHAPTER II

The Role of Hai Jui Dismissed from Office

in

The Cultural Revolution
The first criticism of this Peking Opera, *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*, has been widely hailed both by the official organs of the Chinese Communist Party and by foreign observers as the first shot fired in the current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. The purpose of this chapter is to place Wu Han's drama in meaningful perspective by noting the political environment in which it was written and discussing chronologically the series of events related to this drama which have culminated in what many commentators have described as the most crucial power struggle in the history of the Chinese Communist Party.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has often been regarded by Western analysts as a strictly political confrontation, having little or no relation to the cultural sphere. It would probably be futile to dwell on the distinction between the cultural and political aspects of the Cultural Revolution, as in China the two are inextricably related. Nevertheless, there are two points which should be stated clearly at this time, both of which will be further amplified in the ensuing discussion. The first point is that although since August 1966, the Cultural Revolution has indeed become a fight for supremacy among competing elements within the Chinese Communist Party, there is no denying the fact that in the early stages it was waged almost exclusively within the cultural sphere, involving plays, fables, essays, short stories, journalism and films. In this sense the Cultural Revolution may be seen as the latest stage of a campaign against writers and intellectuals which has continued unabated ever since Mao Tse-tung enunciated his
thesis that all art and literature has a class character. According to this thesis any art or literature not explicitly serving the interests of the workers, peasants, and soldiers must of necessity serve the interests of the exploiting classes. The Anti-Hu Feng movement of 1955 may then be seen as the direct historical antecedent of the Cultural Revolution, at least in the early stages of the latter.

The second point to be stressed, however, illustrates the artificiality of attempting to press the distinction between culture and politics too far. It will be clearly demonstrated below that although literature has been the vehicle through which the elements attacked in the initial stages of the Cultural Revolution had previously waged their own attacks on Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party, important aspects of Chinese foreign and domestic policy were from the beginning the real issues in dispute. The realm of art and literature has always been seen as a forum for class struggle in Communist China, and in the course of the Current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it should not be surprising that the theoretical journal of the Chinese Liberation Army should warn readers that the "enemies without guns" are far more deadly than any armed adversaries.

The controversy raised by the criticism of Wu Han's drama in November of 1965 led directly to all the events which have transpired since. The charges levelled against Wu amounted to charges of treason. As criticism of Wu grew more widespread, various colleagues who had either co-authored articles with him or sought
to defend him at some point were implicated. Within a matter of months, a number of important political figures within the Chinese Communist Party had been attacked as the strategists standing behind the supposedly anti-communist writers. After a deluge of attacks on a wide array of plays, films, essays, dramas, and anecdotes, the official charge was made that the traitors had their base in the Peking Municipal Party Committee.

Although a number of Western commentators have accorded recognition to the fact that *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* sparked the current struggle, the actual content of the play has never to my knowledge been presented to readers in the English language, and its political implications have never been analyzed anywhere else but in the Chinese press. This is the reason for translating the entire text here. The remainder of this chapter consists of a chronological survey of events from the origins of the Cultural Revolution until the end, in July 1966, of what might be called the literary phase of the struggle.

On June 19, 1959, an essay entitled "Hai Jui Scolds the Emperor" appeared in the pages of *Jen Min Jih Pao*, under the name of Liu Mien-chih. This was a pen-name used by Wu Han. The article concerned the same Hai Jui who appears in the drama translated here, a genuine historical figure who served the Chia Ching Emperor in sixteenth-century China. The author emphasized the fact that in traditional China it was almost unheard of that any official would criticize the emperor, and expressed great joy at having discovered an historical official who actually possessed the courage
to do so. With the advantage of hindsight and a considerable body of evidence which will appear below, we can now say with reasonable assurance that the publication of this article by Wu Han was directly related to another event which occurred less than a month later.

On July 14, 1959, P'eng Teh-huai, then China's Minister of National Defence, sent a letter to Mao Tse-tung in which he articulated his opposition to the CCP general line, the "Great Leap Forward", and the people's communes. In August of 1959, the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee was held at Lushan in Kiangsi. At the Lushan Conference, as it has since become known, an historic confrontation took place in which Marshal P'eng Teh-huai is alleged, with the aid of several high-ranking supporters within the party, to have launched a full assault on the leadership of Mao Tse-tung, the failure of the "Great Leap Forward", and the people's commune movement. There is also justification for believing that P'eng and Mao had serious differences over the issue of the modernization of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the acquisition of nuclear weapons in particular. Prior to the Lushan Conference, P'eng Teh-huai had been touring Eastern Europe and had been in close contact with Soviet leaders. An analysis of the Sino-Soviet dispute is beyond the scope of this study, but in view of the fact that the conflict was developing in 1959, it should be noted that P'eng Teh-huai has been regarded as a pro-Soviet element within the CCP, that he was subsequently defended by Nikita Khrushchov, and that it has even been suggested that he may have divulged secret information to the Soviet leaders during his 1959 tour of
In any case, Mao was able to withstand the challenge of P'eng Teh-huai and his supporters and the latter were all dismissed from their posts by a special resolution of the Lushan Conference. During this period and in the years immediately following, Wu Han's writings began to dwell on the exploits of Hai Jui. Prior to the dismissal of P'eng Teh-huai and his followers, (and prior to P'eng's letter to Mao) Wu Han praised Hai Jui for having the courage to scold the emperor. Subsequent to the dismissal of the "Right Opportunist Clique" (as P'eng and his followers are now classified by the CCP), Wu Han began to extol the virtue and courage of Hai Jui after the latter's criticisms of and struggles against tyrants had resulted in his being dismissed from office. This is clearly one of the main themes of Hai Jui Dismissed From Office, a play on which, according to the preface, Wu Han began work almost immediately after the Lushan Conference. Two secondary themes, that of returning land to its rightful owners, and that of the opposition by honest officials to tyrants who had usurped power, were also stressed by Wu Han.

On September 21, 1959, Wu Han published another article in the pages of Jen Min Jih Pao, entitled "On Hai Jui". This article was widely interpreted as lauding P'eng Teh-huai. Once more the theme of courage in the face of dismissal from office was stressed, and in this article Wu Han called for a modern-day Hai Jui who would understand the people, lead them, and fight against modern bureaucratism in the same way that the real Hai Jui
had fought against the "feudal" gentry. It was also in the year 1959 that Wu Han gathered together a collection of short stories he had published years earlier and republished them in a collection entitled *Javelin-Throwing*. This volume was also later criticized in the course of the Cultural Revolution. In the most important criticism later made of Wu Han, it was charged that *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* was a prelude for all the anti-party literature in the years that followed.

*Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* was first published in January of 1961 in *Peking Literature and Art*. In March of the same year, T'ao began a series of articles entitled "Evening Chats at Yenshan" which appeared in *Frontline* and the *Peking Daily*. As long as it continued to be published, "Evening Chats at Yenshan" constituted a series of bitingly satirical and sarcastic articles which lampooned the Chinese Communist Party, and Mao Tse-tung personally, in a manner which in most cases could not even be described as subtle. When the Cultural Revolution was launched late in 1965, it was stated that the period of June to July, 1961, had constituted a major campaign by "Right Opportunist" writers to upset the results of the Lushan Meeting. One article by Wu Han, which appeared on June 7, 1961, was particularly singled out for criticism. In this article, Wu praised Yu Chien, yet another historical figure who had been dismissed from office. Moreover, he stated that Yu Chien had been rehabilitated and had returned to power as Secretary of War (the equivalent of Minister of National Defence).
On October 10, 1961, the column "Notes from Three-Family Village" was initiated in the magazine Frontline. This column was jointly written by Wu Han, Teng T'o, and Liao Mo-sha. By the spring of 1966, "Three-Family Village" had become a household word throughout China. The expression referred to the newspaper column on one level, but on another and more common level it came to denote the three authors mentioned above, and by extension their supporters and sympathizers as well. On May 21, 1966, an article in Shanghai's Liberation Daily traced the origin of the name "Three-Family Village" to a poem by a Sung poet, Lu Yu, concerning a high official who had lost his post and was spending his last days in a place called Three-Family Village.

The Twenty-second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was convened in October of 1961. The month following this event saw a proliferation of satirical material by the "Three-Family Village" group. Between 1961 and 1963, Teng T'o alone wrote at least four separate articles on the theme of virtuous officials in Chinese history who were dismissed from office when they refused to compromise their principles.

"On Waves", an article by Wu Han which appeared on January 1, 1962, was later interpreted by the foremost spokesman of the Cultural Revolution as the signal that the "Three-Family Village" forces intended to sweep everything before them in 1962. In the February 4 instalment of "Evening Chats at Yenshan", Teng T'o wrote,

The bitter cold of the north wind will soon come to an end.
In its stead a warm east wind will blow and a thaw will soon set in on this earth.28

Later it was charged that the use of the word "thaw" was a deliberate borrowing of the vocabulary used by the "Khrushchov Revisionist clique against Stalin". On March 29, 1962, Teng published an article entitled "In Defence of Li San-tsai. Again, the theme was that of a "good official", dismissed from office during the Ming Dynasty. In the most important criticism of "Three-Family Village" in 1966, the purpose of "defending" Li was questioned since he had been dead for four hundred years and it was quite obvious that no one was attacking him. It was also charged in 1966 that Li San-tsai was really a villain and that Teng T'o had whitewashed his character for his own political purposes.

It appears that Mao Tse-tung and his supporters launched a counter-attack against their critics during the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, held in September of 1962. Mao used this conference as a forum from which to issue a plea that the class struggle never be forgotten and that "Right Opportunist" tendencies among the cadres be combatted. Significantly, Teng T'o abandoned "Evening Chats at Yenshan" almost immediately after the Tenth Plenary Session. This action appeared to be a signal for retreat on the part of "Three-Family Village". The three partners entered a period of decline and during 1963 and 1964 Liao Mo-sha was subjected to continuous public criticism because of his article "There is No Harm in Ghost Plays". It was later noted by Wu Han's chief attacker that the self-
criticism published by Liao Mo-sha in this period was repeated almost word for word by Wu Han when he himself was attacked at a later date.

On June 5, 1964, Lu Ting-i, Director of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, made an important speech in which he linked ghost themes in Peking Opera dramas with support for "Krushchov Revisionists". In the course of this speech, Lu made an obvious reference to the above-mentioned article by Liao Mo-sha. In July, "Notes from Three-Family Village" was discontinued.

Mao Tse-tung is said to have called for the launching of a new wave of criticism against reactionary bourgeois ideology at a meeting of the central leadership of the Chinese Communist Party in September 1965. Shortly afterward he disappeared from public view and was not seen from November 1965 until May 1966. It is possible that Mao was already experiencing difficulty with the Communist leadership in Peking and that he planned the early stages of the Cultural Revolution in Shanghai. What is known is that when the first banner of the Cultural Revolution was raised, it was raised in Shanghai. Moreover, several CCP documents have indicated that Mao's hand guided the Cultural Revolution from the first. The remainder of the chronology presented here shows quite clearly that the call for the Cultural Revolution was taken up only belatedly in Peking and when the purges began in 1966, they were directed almost exclusively against government and party officials in Peking.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was launched offic-
ially on November 10, 1965, with the publication of an article in the Shanghai newspaper, Wen Hui Pao, criticizing Wu Han. Written by Yao Wen-yuan and entitled "On the New Historical Drama, Hai Jui Dismissed From Office", the article became the model for almost all the criticisms later levelled against the assorted works of "Three-Family Village" and other writers of a similar bent. Yao charged that Wu Han was using historical characters in order to satirize contemporary people and events, that he was denying the basic thesis of Mao Tse-tung which holds that only the people are the motive force of history, and instead substituting the actions of an honest and upright "saviour" as an antidote to all the hardships which plagued the peasants. Further, he accused Wu of desiring,

to replace the state theory of Marxism–Leninism with the state theory of the landlords and bourgeoisie. He wishes to replace the theory of class struggle with the theory of class harmony.

Finally, Yao raises the fact that in the preface to Hai Jui Dismissed From Office, Wu Han had suggested that there were things to be learned from the old histories and that the life of Hai Jui was worthy of study today. Noting that the two most important themes of the play were the return of the land to its rightful owners and the redress of grievances, Yao asked two very pointed questions. Were the readers to learn about returning the land? In the words of Yao,

The peasants of our country have already realized socialism, possess everything, and have established the great People's Communes. Return to who? The landlords? The peasants? Can one say that on the road of socialism, our five hundred million peasants need to study the lesson of "returning the land"?
Or was it some lesson to do with redressing injustices that the readers were to learn from this play? Again, Yao Wen-yuan answers his own rhetorical question,

Our country is one which has achieved the state power of the proletariat. If we speak of "redressing injustices" at a time when the proletariat and all the oppressed have been delivered from the hell on earth of the exploiting classes, if the landlords and bourgeoisie have been smashed, how can it be said... that there are any injustices to redress? If, in the contemporary situation, he wants us to learn about the "redress of injustices", I would like to ask, in the final analysis, which class has suffered the "injustice" and how is it to be "redressed"?

The fact that Yao Wen-yuan's article quickly became a basic manual for the prosecution of the Cultural Revolution and was probably the most widely quoted document in China during 1966 has led to some interesting speculation on the part of non-Chinese observers. The unique prestige which the essay has enjoyed has been linked with statements in Chinese documents to the effect that Mao's guiding hand has been behind the Cultural Revolution from the beginning and presented as evidence that Yao Wen-yuan may in fact be Mao Tse-tung. This speculation, however, appears for several reasons to have little basis in fact. On November 22, 1966, Yao Wen-yuan was named a member of the Cultural Revolution Group, the body officially described as "an organ of power of the cultural revolution". He has also been identified as the chief editor of the Shanghai newspapers Wen Hui Pao and Liberation Daily at the time his essay appeared. Furthermore, he has delivered at least one major public address, and has been photographed in public with Mao.
Not until November 29, 1965, did the Peking Daily reprint Yao Wen-yuan’s article. This delay of almost twenty days formed the basis of a later attack against the Peking Daily and the magazine Frontline in the pages of Red Flag, the theoretical journal of the Chinese Communist Party. The editors of these two publications were accused of criticizing the publication of the article in Shanghai. It has also been charged that the above publications, together with the Peking Evening News, systematically attempted to stifle a growing wave of criticism against Wu Han.

December 12, 1965, marked a shift in tactics by the members of "Three-Family Village". On this date, Frontline and Peking Daily both published an article by Hsiang Yang-sheng, entitled "From Hai Jui Dismissed From Office to the Theory of Inheriting Old Ethical Values". This article was the first in a series of criticisms and self-criticisms which were later identified as "phoney" attempts to deflect the growing criticism of Wu Han and "Three-Family Village" before the political purposes of the writers were exposed. Hsiang Yang-sheng appeared to chastise Wu Han quite thoroughly, but it should be noted that he treated Wu Han’s errors purely as a case of bad historiography and completely ignored the political implications raised by Yao Wen-yuan’s article of a month before. Wu Han published a self-criticism in the Peking Daily on December 27. In his confession, Wu Han criticised himself for having forgotten the class struggle, ignored class contradictions in history, and falsified the real character of Hai Jui. Completely ignoring what he had said in the preface to Hai Jui Dismissed From
Office, however, Wu claimed that his writings constituted only "drama for the sake of drama" and that they had absolutely no significance for contemporary situations. Jen Min Jih Pao reprinted Wu's self-criticism on December 30.

In early 1966, a number of allegedly anti-socialist literary works and their authors were subjected to criticism, although the attack on Wu Han grew in intensity and continued to be the main focus of the Cultural Revolution. On January 8, a stage play entitled Hsieh Yao-huan, written by T'ien Han, was described as a "big poisonous weed" by Jen Min Jih Pao. The Peking Daily published a second self-criticism by Wu Han on January 12. In this article, Wu Han expressed gratitude to Hsiang Yang-sheng for pointing out his errors, and admitted his articles lacked adequate class analysis. Within a few months it was disclosed that Hsiang Yang-sheng was a pseudonym employed by Teng T'o. On February 1, an article by one Li Tung-shih was published, entitled "A Comment on Comrade Wu Han's Conception of History". Li Tung-shih is said to have been a pseudonym for Li Chi, the Director of the Propaganda Department of the Peking Municipal Party Committee.

The first significant reverberation in the political realm occurred on March 29, when P'eng Chen, the Mayor of Peking, eighth-ranking man in the Chinese Communist Party, and long a confidante of President Liu Shao-ch'i, disappeared from public view.

In April and May, the attack on Wu Han reached a level of unprecedented ferocity. "The Reactionary Nature of 'Hai Jui Scolds the Emperor' and Hai Jui Dismissed From Office", by Chi Pen-yu, and
"Hai Jui Scolds the Emperor" and Hai Jui Dismissed From Office Are Two Big Anti-Party, Anti-Socialist Poisonous Weeds", by Kuan Feng and Lin Chieh, were two key articles published early in April by Red Flag. The latter was particularly significant in that it formally charged Wu Han with the crimes Yao Wen-yuan's article had hinted at. For example the two authors are explicit in their allegations that Wu Han's writings concerning Hai Jui were directly connected with the Lushan Conference. The formal charge is made for the first time in this article that Wu Han's real intention was to scold the Chinese Communist Party and its Central Committee. Wu Han is accused of singing the praises of the Right Opportunist elements who had been dismissed from office, encouraging them not to lose heart because of their failure and urging them to "reassume political power and restore capitalism".

Also in April, Wu Han was subjected to a widening range of criticism in a series of increasingly unsophisticated articles printed by Jen Min Jih Pao. His family background and class origins were thoroughly scrutinized in the pages of the newspaper. His educational history was also examined. On April 13, an article in Jen Min Jih Pao accused Wu Han of being a devoted follower of Hu Shih, and a fervent admirer and cultural servant of the U.S.A. The title of another article appearing in the same newspaper on April 27 speaks for itself: "Wu Han—Strategist for the Chiang Family Monarchists and Helper of American Imperialism". Red Flag, on April 29, carried a long article attacking Javelin-Throwing, the earlier-mentioned collection of Wu Han's satirical essays. It was
alleged that this volume was intended to provide "Right Opportunists" with a blueprint for overthrowing socialism and restoring capitalism.

At the same time, the attack on Wu Han now grew into an onslaught against the entire "Three-Family Village" superstructure. On April 16, *Frontline* and the *Peking Daily* both published an article entitled "A Criticism of Three-Family Village and Evening Chats at Yenshan". The editors of the two publications engaged in some very mild self-criticism, stating that their "minds were influenced by bourgeois and feudal ideas...." Yao Wen-yuan later charged that Three-Family Village had been in complete control of the *Peking Daily*, *Peking Evening News*, and *Frontline*, and that their crimes had not been the result of any mistakes, but had on the contrary constituted a well-planned and well-coordinated campaign against the party over a long period of time. Yao reminded his readers that at an earlier stage, Teng T'o had penned a fraudulent criticism of Wu Han under the name of Hsiang Yang-sheng, in order to divert the main force of the attack from "Three-Family Village". He charged *Peking Daily* and *Frontline* with employing the same tactics.

The month of May brought a flurry of attacks on "Three-Family Village". On May 8, the *Liberation Daily* in Shanghai published two militant articles attacking *Peking Daily* and *Frontline* for the reasons stated in the above paragraph. Two days later, the same paper printed an extensive condemnation by Yao Wen-yuan, entitled "On 'Three-Family Village'--The reactionary Nature of 'Evening Chats at Yenshan' and 'Notes from Three-Family Village'". Yao's
latest article came to play a role in relation to "Three-Family Village" which was identical to that which his earlier article had played in relation to the writings of Wu Han. On May 11, an article appeared in *Red Flag* further amplifying the extent of the control which "Three-Family Village" had exercised over *Peking Daily* and *Frontline*. *Jen Min Jih Pao* of May 14 published an attack on Teng T'o and for the rest of the month there was scarcely an issue which did not carry several attacks on him. Finally, on May 25, the newly re-organized Peking Municipal Party Committee dismissed the editorial boards of *Peking Daily* and *Peking Evening News*, fired their director, Fan Chin, and suspended publication of *Frontline*.

It was in June of 1966 that a series of major political repercussions occurred, moving the Cultural Revolution out of the literary sphere and into the arena of a serious political struggle within the Chinese Communist Party itself. On June 3, the Central Committee of the CCP decided to completely re-organize the Peking Municipal Party Committee. It was at this time that Li Hsueh-feng was transferred from his post as First Secretary of the North China Bureau of the CCP Central Committee to that of First Secretary of the Peking Municipal Committee. Wu Teh, First Secretary of the CCP Kirin Provincial Committee, became Second Secretary of the Peking Municipal Committee. At the same time Lu P'ing was dismissed from his posts as President of Peking University and Secretary of the Peking University Party Committee.

On June 4, *Jen Min Jih Pao* made the claim that "Three-Family Village" had had its roots right in the Peking Municipal Party
Committee. This was not an unreasonable charge, in view of the fact that the Peking Daily and Frontline were both organs of the Peking Committee. An editorial in Liberation Army Daily in Shanghai on June 6 made the direct accusation that "Three-Family Village" had been in constant close collusion with the "Right Opportunists" both before and after the Lushan Conference. The same editorial linked up "Hai Jui Scolds the Emperor", Hai Jui Dismissed From Office, "Evening Chats at Yenshan", "Notes from Three-Family Village", and the three publications Frontline, Peking Daily, and Peking Evening News as component parts of a sinister plot against the CCP. On June 17, an attack was launched against Ch'en Ch'i-t'ung, Deputy Director of the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army, for an article he had written entitled "A Searching Anatomy".

Red Flag launched a two-pronged attack on July 1. On the one hand it accused "leading members of the former Peking Municipal Committee" of promoting revisionism. Simultaneously, it launched the first attack on Chou Yang.

Lu Ting-i was removed from his position as Director of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the CCP on July 10, 1966 and replaced by T'ao Chu. It has been suggested that action was taken against Lu because he procrastinated in carrying out Mao's directives on the Cultural Revolution. The evidence for this view is based on the fact that until June, neither Jen Min Jih Pao nor Red Flag had participated in the Cultural Revolution with a zeal which could be compared with the tone of Wen Hui Pao,
Liberation Daily, and Liberation Army Daily. Both of the former publications were directly under the control of Lu Ting-i in his capacity as Director of Propaganda. By July 11, a furious attack against Chou Yang was in progress and during the remainder of July and most of August it rivalled in intensity the earlier campaign against Wu Han. It is now a matter of common knowledge that the political struggles which occurred subsequent to August, 1966, moved to even higher levels of the Chinese Communist Party, until eventually it resulted in conflict between the two top men. This phase of the Cultural Revolution is beyond the scope of the present study.
CHAPTER III

Evaluation of the Charges
In this chapter an attempt will be made to determine what it was that Wu Han was expressing in *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* and other related writings from 1959 through the early 1960's. In order to do this, it will also be necessary to analyze the most important charges which have been brought against him and determine whether or not they are basically valid.

Prior to analyzing the charges brought against Wu Han, there are certain observations which can be made simply on the basis of a reading of the play translated here, together with a number of articles by the same author on Hai Jui and similar themes, and a representative collection of material penned by the other two members of "Three-Family Village". Ordinarily, it would be completely unjustifiable to hold one man responsible for the works of other contemporary writers. However, very substantial evidence has been brought forward to indicate that Wu Han was coordinating his efforts closely with those of Teng T'o and Liao Mo-sha. Therefore it seems perfectly valid to examine the writings of the latter two for themes identical to or complementary to material appearing under Wu Han's name.

For the moment, let us by-pass the question of whether or not *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* harbours a genuine and deliberate attack on the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Even had the play not been so interpreted, it is still likely that it would have been subjected to serious criticism in China. Even to a reader with only a rudimentary knowledge of communist ideology and the Marxist interpretation of history, it is immediately obvious that nearly all the important themes and ideas expressed here are
anathema to Marxism-Leninism.

One need progress no further than the preface to find the first examples. Wu Han begins by telling us that he uses the case of Hung A-lan to illustrate the class contradictions of the time. Yet in the play itself, the problems of Hung A-lan are clearly not solved through the conflict of any class contradictions. On the contrary, the solution of her problems depends entirely on the benevolence of an official who, Wu Han himself tells us, is entirely loyal to the "feudal" ruling class. The only meaningful class contradictions during the period in which the drama is set would have to be between the ruling class of "feudal" landlords on the one hand, and the peasantry on the other. Yet Wu Han has taken a member of the former class and portrayed him as the "saviour" of the latter class. Class contradictions appear to be completely solved once the land is returned to the peasants. "A promising future" lies ahead, even though the "feudal" system continues. Revolution would seem to be unnecessary under such circumstances. A few paragraphs after the reference to Hung A-lan, Wu writes of the "longing, affection, and friendship for Hai Jui" felt by the peasantry.

The dependence of the common people on the virtue of a "saviour" who emerges from the ranks of the ruling class is an important theme running through the entire drama. In the scene "A Mother's Counsel", reference is made to the common people saying that since Hai Jui had assumed office there was a "living Buddha" for every household. The same term is used to describe Hai Jui when the entire cast assembles on stage at the play's close. The peasants are quoted as saying that
Hai Lung Wang has come to earth. This is almost tantamount to portraying Hai Jui as some form of superman. When Hai Jui finally brings justice to Hung A-lan and returns the land to the peasants, the peasants announce that when they go home they will have a portrait of Hai Jui painted which they will worship morning and evening. It would be difficult to imagine anything more un-Marxist than the fawning, idolatrous worship of Hai Jui by the Chinese peasants in this play.

There are numerous other examples in this play of ideas which simply cannot be reconciled with Marxism-Leninism. Hai Jui's unswerving devotion to the emperor is portrayed as a virtue. Yet it is absolutely basic to Chinese Communist ideology that the emperor, as the supreme authority in a system which exploited the peasants, was the enemy of the people. We see the glorification of traditional Confucian teachings in the description by Hsieh Shih of the upbringing she has given her son. In the same scene, Hai Jui sings, "The resentment of the people bubbles and boils, their hatred will be difficult to overcome". The idea that it should be overcome, in order to prevent the outbreak of revolt, would immediately be interpreted by any Marxist-Leninist as the propagation of "reformist" politics.

There are times when Wu Han's viewpoints appear so "reactionary" that it is scarcely possible for the reader to believe that his writings appeared in print in contemporary China. In his essay, "On Hai Jui", Wu praises Hai Jui for the fact that his actions never betrayed any unseemly emotions and states that he patterned his
standards on those of the ancient emperors. "Even when he beat his slaves", Wu tells us, "he never displayed any anger". Later in the same article, Wu Han introduces as evidence of Hai Jui's virtue the fact that Ho Liang-chun criticised Hai Jui only for attempting to implement his reform policies too rapidly. Ho Liang-chun was the greatest landlord in the Sungkiang-Suchow area during the period when Hai Jui governed there, and his father was the government tax collector.

Although the discussion to this point shows quite clearly that Wu Han's thinking is incompatible with the basic tenets of Marxism, the instances cited so far certainly do not constitute any proof that the author was intentionally attacking the Chinese Communist Party or any of its leaders. Wu Han has never himself been a member of the CCP. He was a member of the Democratic League. It is certainly conceivable that his writings simply represent the ideas of a man whose understanding of Marxism never rose above a very low level. Indeed, this is essentially what Wu tells us in his two self-criticisms of late 1965 and early 1966. The essence of his position at that time was that through lack of vigilance on his part, his mind was influenced by bourgeois ideology and he had forgotten the class struggle. It is therefore now necessary to examine the evidence for the much more serious charges which have been levelled against Wu Han by his critics.

Yao Wen-Yuan maintains that all the writings of Wu Han and "Three-Family Village" as a whole since 1959 were carefully planned and coordinated. Yao Wen-yuan's articles criticising Wu Han and "Three-Family Village" have become something akin to modern classics
in the course of the Cultural Revolution. After Yao's initial article, literally scores of attacks appeared in the Chinese press. Very few, however, had new evidence to bring to light and most simply parroted Yao. Given the prominence which the Chinese accorded his first essay, one is surprised at the lack of sophistication of much of what is contained therein. As will be shown below, there are strong arguments which can be brought to bear in support of Yao Wen-yuan's contentions. Nevertheless, his case and those later presented by many of his followers are considerably weakened by the fact that many of their charges are either utterly ludicrous or else altogether irrelevant. Also, their sources are at times very dishonestly presented. This aspect of the attack will be considered before going on to some of the more concrete charges.

One of the flagrantly dishonest techniques employed by Yao Wen-yuan is that of citing quotations taken not only out of context, but frequently with no reference given. Often, even a single word will appear in quotation marks in the middle of a paragraph which contains the most damning statements but which, with the exception of the one word quoted, has been composed entirely by Yao. As will be seen shortly, this was a technique which was carried to even greater lengths by later critics. Also, Yao has a habit of stringing together a whole series of highly questionable hypotheses, each of which is dependent on the validity of the one which precedes it, and then arriving at a sweeping conclusion which simply cannot be justified on the basis of the evidence presented. For example, in his attack on "Three-Family Village", Yao quotes Teng T'o as having
once written, "'everything' should be 'actively guided to facilitate its smooth development'". Yao Wen-yuan's analysis of the meaning of these few words deserves to be quoted at some length as an apt example of his ability to construct a large case from very meagre materials,

"Everything", please note, including those dark, reactionary things that are anti-Party and anti-socialist,...By demanding that instead of blocking we should "facilitate the smooth development" of "everything", including anti-socialist things, was not Teng T'o clearly demanding that we should practice bourgeois liberalization and bend and surrender to the ill winds which were blowing at the time, the winds of "going it alone" (i.e., the restoration of individual economy) and of the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas based on the household?8

Yao is also prone to occasionally lapse into the rather hysterical use of jargon.

The above criticisms of Yao Wen-yuan, however, do not really deal with his central arguments. There is one very basic charge levelled against Wu Han by Yao which should now be carefully considered. Yao chooses to base his case largely on this charge. He accuses Wu Han of having falsified history in his portrayal of Hai Jui, going so far as to state that the historical Hai Jui bore no resemblance whatever to the Hai Jui depicted in Wu Han's drama.

Yao's arguments on the historical questions raised by the play are on a much more sophisticated level than his other criticisms noted above. His main arguments will be summarized here and then evaluated. He cites Wu Han's constant reference in the play to the "people's lands" which have been seized by big landlords. Yao points out that an examination of Ming history will show that the lands
seized at that time by big landlords had previously belonged to small and middle landlords. The system of tax evasion by big landlords existing at that time had led to a situation in which big landlords became bigger and small landlords became progressively smaller. Yao claims that the demise of the small and middle landlord classes had a seriously adverse effect on the income of the state. Therefore, under the conditions prevailing at that time, he sees the return of the land as a benefit to the state and the emperor rather than as a benefit to the people. Yao advances his argument a step further by reasoning that since the records show that in the period in which the drama takes place, 90% of the land was owned by landlords, any talk of returning land to the original owners must mean returning it to small and middle landlords. Moreover, Yao claims that according to the plan of the real Hai Jui, the land was not to be returned free of charge, but had to be re-purchased by the original owners. Obviously, the peasants could not afford to pay even if they had originally owned the land. On the basis of these facts, Yao argues that Wu Han is using his drama to propagate the return of the land to the landlords in contemporary China.

Yao quotes from a letter written by Hai Jui, in his capacity as Ying T’ien Governor, to Li Ch’ung-fang. In this letter, Hai Jui says that he wants Li to return more than half the land in his possession. Otherwise, he says, the peasants will revolt and "you will lose control". He admonishes Li to be satisfied with the land he has and states that he is taking this action "only for your lasting peace". Since the return of the land was implemented only
for the purpose of preventing a rebellion of the people, Yao asks how
Wu Han can possibly suggest that Hai Jui was really concerned with
solving the land problems of the tenant farmers. The same analysis
is applied to the memorial which Hai Jui sent to the Chia Ching Em-
peror. According to Yao's sources, Hai Jui's complaint to the
emperor in this document was not that the plight of the people was
difficult to bear. Rather, he was concerned that the money-lenders
and millers were allowed to take their cut of the people's crops
prior to the emperor's tax being applied. He suggested that the
emperor's shortage of funds, which had resulted from the tax
evasion system mentioned earlier, could be solved by taking the
taxes first and then allowing the money-lenders to exact their
interest from the people. Wu Han never ceases to eulogize Hai Jui
for his virtue, honesty, and refusal to compromise his principles,
and states that he stood on the side of the people against the
large landlords. Yao Wen-yuan claims that historical records
show only Hai Jui's loyalty to the emperor, not to the people.

A very basic question occurs at this stage. Can Wu Han really
be faulted for the bad characteristics of the real Hai Jui? Many
dramas in both East and West have eulogized historical characters
who were undoubtedly never as noble in real life as on the stage.
Certainly, it need hardly be mentioned that "proletarian writers"
in China imbue their characters with superhuman qualities as a
matter of course. Hai Jui, to be sure, is drawn from the "feudal"
ruling class, but that is a matter to be discussed separately
below. The question for consideration here is whether a writer can
legitimately be charged with harboring malevolent intentions simply on the basis of having "whitewashed" an historical character for dramatic purposes. It seems that the key factor in this case would be the historical awareness of the audience watching the play. If those who saw a performance of *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* were fully aware of the details of Hai Jui's life, then the requirements for satire would be fulfilled, and Yao Wen-yuan's accusation of falsifying history would have some meaning. On the assumption, however, that the audience's acquaintance with Hai Jui's personal history would not be nearly so intimate as that of Wu Han, it would be reasonable to conclude that the message contained in what transpired on the stage would have a far more profound impact on the audience than would the secret facts of Hai Jui's real intentions four hundred years ago.

Perhaps anticipating some doubts about the relevance of his charge that Wu Han has falsified history, Yao Wen-yuan attempts to set out some criteria for defining the bounds within which an historical dramatist may operate.

*Historical dramas need some artistic improvements and also require creativity. We definitely do not ask that new historical dramas be exactly according to history in all their details, but we must ask that a character's class standpoint and class relations fit historical fact.*

Nevertheless, he still seeks to embellish his case against Wu Han by quibbling about the fact that according to the official histories, the magistrate and prefect were neither executed nor discharged by Hai Jui. No one higher than a magistrate was discharged during the
period in which Hai Jui served as Ying T'ien Governor. Also Yao takes pains to point out that Hsu Ying was not really executed, but only exiled for ten years. This news, of course, comes with a somewhat lessened impact in view of the fact that Wu Han has already stated it in his preface, and fully explained his reasons for making the change. Yao is also quite concerned about the fact that Hsu Ying's punishment was not really handled by Hai Jui at all, but by Kao Kung, the prime minister who had succeeded Hsu Chieh after securing the dismissal of the latter. Again, Wu Han has already stated in his preface that he has cast Huang Chin and Tai Feng-hsiang in roles which are not strictly accurate historically. This practice not only appears perfectly reasonable for dramatic purposes, but also falls completely within the bounds set by Yao Wen-yuan himself in the quotation cited on page 143. Yao reaches perhaps the lowest level of that part of his criticism based on historical analysis when he chides Wu Han for portraying Hai Jui as repairing the water control system on the Wusung River in one week. He holds that this would have been a physically impossible task, forgetting that "Historical dramas need some artistic improvements and...creativity." Yao could also perhaps be accused of forgetting that there can be no limits to the achievements of the people when properly motivated.

Aside from the preceding array of charges concerning Wu Han's trifling with history, there is another charge which is also very weak. The reader cannot help but have noticed the emphasis throughout the play on the fact that Hai Jui steadfastly refuses
to compromise his principles, regardless of the situation in which he finds himself. No matter who opposes him, he always stands his ground. Yao claims that this "individualism" identifies Hai Jui as a bourgeois hero. A proletarian hero, claims Yao, is always willing to modify his position according to the views of other people. If anyone in China ever applies the same standards of analysis to this statement that Yao Wen-yuan has applied to Wu Han's emphasis on the "return of the land", Yao himself could well become a victim of the Cultural Revolution. The people surrounding Hai Jui and opposing his policies were exclusively officials and gentry who quarreled with his limitations on their exploitation of the peasantry. Thus it is obvious that for Hai Jui to fulfill the requirements of a proletarian hero and submit to the views of others, he would have to adopt the policies of the biggest landlords. It might therefore be argued that Yao Wen-yuan is really using his attack on Wu Han as a vehicle to argue for the restoration of capitalism and landlordism!

Once Yao Wen-yuan's article had fired the first salvo of the Cultural Revolution, a proliferation of critics appeared in the pages of several Chinese daily newspapers and fortnightly magazines. Generally speaking, the charges levelled against Wu Han became ever graver and the evidence upon which they were based became ever flimsier. Two documents will be briefly noted here as examples of the level to which the theoretical basis of the attack on Wu Han had sunk by April of 1966.

On April 27, Jen Min Jih Pao published a lengthy article by
Li Ssu-chun, entitled "Wu Han—Strategist for the Chiang Family Monarchists and Helper of American Imperialism". The basis for this sensational charge consists entirely of a collection of quotations from Chiang K'ai-shek, Wu Han, Hu Shih, and a number of American officials. Occasionally, the quotations express roughly similar ideas. The author quotes Chiang K'ai-shek, in China's Destiny, as saying that in the present period of Chinese history it is necessary for a small group of politicians and scholars to come forward and assume the responsibility of changing Chinese social customs. A statement by Wu Han is then taken from one of his essays, "Social Customs", arguing that only the educated group within the middle class can assume responsibility for changing social customs. An elitist and un-Maoist viewpoint this certainly is; proof of collusion with Chiang K'ai-shek, it decidedly is not. The remainder of the writer's argument that Wu Han had been a strategist for Chiang is conducted on a similar level of banality, brings forth no evidence whatever in support of his contentions, and warrants no further space here.

Before leaving Li Ssu-chun's article, however, his handling of his second charge against Wu Han should also be noted. The accusation that he was a helper of American Imperialism was, after all, the most serious charge ever brought against Wu Han. The evidence in support of it? Leighton Stuart, the American Ambassador to China, in his report of September 29, 1947, to Secretary of State Marshall, advocated American support of what he termed "the progressive elements" within and without the Chinese government in order
that America could achieve her goals in China. In the 1950 American White Paper on China, Stuart is quoted as advocating a "third force" in China. As a member of the Democratic League, Wu Han belonged to a "third force". According to Li, this may be taken as concrete proof of an alliance between Wu Han and the Americans.

Returning now to the criticisms concerned with what Wu Han had actually written on the subject of Hai Jui, a comment should be made concerning the CCP theoretical journal, *Red Flag*. Despite the abundance of rather banal political ranting appearing in the Chinese press as a whole at the time, several articles of a relatively high analytical standard appeared in this journal.

In view of the gravity of the charges made against Wu Han and his cohorts, it is necessary to examine all of them, despite the fact that many appear groundless. Because we have until this point been systematically eliminating the weak or absurd charges hurled in the frenzy of the Cultural Revolution, the reader may have already assumed that there is no case against the group. This would be entirely incorrect. Although sometimes obscured by the type of polemic we have cited in the first part of this chapter, well-substantiated charges do appear both in Yao Wen-yuan's essays and in other analyses which have appeared in the Chinese press.

Earlier, it was noted that Mao Tse-tung has declared that the class nature of any work of literature must be determined primarily on the basis of the class from which it draws its heroes. The question of Hai Jui, a member of the "feudal" ruling class, being characterized by Wu Han as a "saviour" of the common people has
already been discussed. It is noteworthy that Wu Han's glorification of the old scholar-official class was not an isolated phenomenon. Virtually everything written by Wu Han, Teng T'o, and Liao Mo-sha under the headings of "Evening Chats at Yenshan" and "Notes from Three-Family Village" is centred around some aspect of pre-modern literature or aristocratic social life. Jen Min Jih Pao stated in an editorial of June 2, 1966,

On the cultural front, they have worked hard to let emperors and kings, generals and prime ministers, scholars and beauties, foreign idols and dead men dominate the stage....

Yao Wen-yuan, once he frees himself from the quagmire of his obsession with historical details, makes some penetrating criticisms. Several of these were already raised at the beginning of this chapter without reference to Yao. They are simply noted here without discussion prior to beginning consideration of a number of rational charges which have not been considered as yet. Yao raises the fact that in the play, once the land is returned to the peasants, "sharp class contradictions suddenly have no meaning whatsoever", even though the "feudal" system remains unchanged, and the cruel exploitation and oppression by the landlords still exists. Yao argues that since according to Marxist theory, the state is a machine through which one class oppresses another, all officials, including "honest ones" and "good ones", were of necessity members of the landlord class. But the play, says Yao, simply tells us no!

Wu Han is interpreted as saying that the "honest official" "is not a political instrument of the landlord class, but on the contrary is in the service of the peasantry". Wu has been charged by other
critics as well with trying to portray the virtues of "good officials" as being above class. Yao holds that in Wu Han's opinion the "good official", not the class struggle, constitutes the motive force of history.

The masses of the people do not need to rise up and liberate themselves. They only need to wait for the kindness of an "honest official" or "your worship" and then they will immediately arrive upon "happy days".

He also raised the question of what Wu Han was asking readers to learn in the preface of the play. Are they to learn something about returning land, or perhaps about the "redress of injustices"?

In the final analysis, the case against "Three-Family Village", "Hai Jui Dismissed From Office", "Hai Jui Scolds the Emperor" and "On Hai Jui" must stand or fall on the basis of one accusation. Despite charges to the contrary, there is no conclusive evidence that any of the three writers attacked were acting in collusion with foreign powers. It is highly doubtful that Wu Han's manipulation of historical characters constitutes any form of political satire in itself. However, Yao Wen-yuan and others have also accused Wu Han of "using the past in order to satirise the present". Here they are on much more solid ground. When we ignore the accuracies or inaccuracies of the play in terms of Ming history and concentrate only on the contemporary political events transpiring in China at the time this literature appeared, it is not difficult to discern biting satire. Earlier, Yao Wen-yuan's contention that Wu Han made his argument by "whitewashing" bad historical characters was held to be implausible on the ground that the audience's lack of detailed
historical knowledge would render satire impossible. When the parallels are drawn between the stage play and current events, however, the requirements for parody are fulfilled. The remainder of this chapter is devoted to demonstrating that Hai Jui Dismissed From Office was in fact intended as an attack on the Chinese Communist Party and as support for Marshal P'eng Teh-huai.

In the course of the long public discussion which followed the disclosure of the Wu-Teng-Liao alliance and the pervasive influence it enjoyed for a number of years through journals under its control, several comparisons were made with the Petofi Club in Hungary. "Three-Family Village" and their followers have been regarded by elements loyal to Mao as the political arm of a counter-revolutionary movement. Their ridicule of Party leaders and policies and constant promotion of "bourgeois ideology" were seen as the necessary political groundwork for the restoration of capitalism. Mao has taught the Chinese that before an established political order can be overthrown, the necessary ideological groundwork must be completed. According to Mao, "This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class".

The chronology in the previous chapter began with the events surrounding the Lushan Conference of 1959. It was stated there that Defence Minister P'eng Teh-huai and a number of his supporters launched an attack on the Party's Central Committee. This attack resulted in P'eng and his followers being dismissed from their posts. "Three-Family Village" has consistently been accused of coordinating their writings with the actions of the "Right Opportunists", both
before and after the Lushan Conference, and with systematically attacking the Party over a period of years. The evaluation of this charge depends largely on an examination of the dates of publication of important articles in relation to the occurrence of major political events.

The article "Hai Jui Scolds the Emperor" was published less than one month before P'eng Teh-huai sent his critical letter to Mao. The emphasis of the article is entirely on the courage of a minister in criticising his superior. In the following month, P'eng Teh-huai was dismissed from his post as Minister of Defence. One month after P'eng's dismissal, on September 21, 1959, Wu Han penned another article, "On Hai Jui". No longer emphasizing the matter of ministers criticising their superiors, Wu's theme now became that of the "virtuous official" who has been unjustly dismissed from office. Perhaps it was mere coincidence that Wu Han's change of themes happened to coincide with the change in fortunes of the "Right Opportunists". However, Wu Han became extremely interested in the question of "unjust dismissal" and over the next few years he culled other examples from Chinese history. Perhaps it was simply a further coincidence, but between 1961 and 1963 Teng T'o also wrote four separate articles about "good officials" in Chinese history who had been dismissed from office. As one proceeds with an examination of the writings of "Three-Family Village", however, the number of occasions on which articles with possible double meanings coincide with major political events is seen to greatly exceed the laws of chance.

Yao Wen-yuan takes issue with Wu Han's statement of theme in
the preface to *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*. Although Wu claims that the final writing of the play took as its central theme the elimination of tyrannical landlords, Yao states that the main conflict of the drama occurs over the issue of "returning the land". According to Yao, the "high tide" is the dismissal of Hai Jui and this occurs because of the returning of the land. The land question in Wu Han's writing appears, in the views of most of his critics, to be an attack on the Great Leap Forward. Yao also stresses Wu Han's emphasis and re-emphasis on the fact that "there are many injustices which must be reversed". In "On Hai Jui", Wu Han stated quite openly that modern people should oppose bureaucratism in the same way that bad officials were opposed in the olden days.

A *Red Flag* article in June of 1966 specifically charged that the play, *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*, was intended to sing the praises of the "Right Opportunist elements" who had been dismissed from office in 1959, to encourage them not to submit, not to lose their spirit, and to try again when they met failure. The same article also accused Wu Han of encouraging these elements to "reassume political power and restore capitalism".

When he says in the preface that 'he did not submit even though he lost his position, and did not lose his spirit....that he deserves our study today', he has already made the central idea of *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* absolutely clear.

In the opinion of the authors of this article, two of the major purposes of the play are to stress the sympathy felt by the people for Hai Jui after his dismissal, and to use Hai Jui's statement that he will one day return to power as an opportunity to publicly promise
that P'eng Teh-huai would also eventually triumph. It is in this particular article that the most weighty single argument is produced concerning Wu Han's real intentions in writing the play. The authors claim that at the time of the Lushan Conference, one of the "Right Opportunists" was actually referring to himself as "Kai Jui". If this claim is valid, it surely constitutes quite concrete proof of Wu Han's intentions, when considered in conjunction with the chronological record. Unfortunately, Kuan and Lin do not elaborate.

Further evidence that Wu Han's writings were intended as political satires may be found through an examination of some articles by other members of "Three-Family Village" during the same period. At the Twenty-second Congress of the CPSU, in October of 1961, Nikita Khrushchov launched an open attack on Albania, and by extension, on the Chinese Communist Party as well. Whether by coincidence or otherwise, this period saw a considerable upsurge in the publications by the Wu-Teng-Liao group. To cite but one example, in November, Teng T'o published the article "Great Empty Talk". In this essay, Teng wrote disparagingly of people who "talk...like water flowing from an undamned river". "After listening to them", he says, "...you can remember nothing". He then tells us that his neighbour's little boy has developed the habit of indulging in meaningless cliches and "great empty talk". Recently he has written an absurd little poem, the last two lines of which are,

The East Wind is our benefactor
And the West Wind is our enemy.

There can be no doubt that this is a rather unsubtle attack on that
theory of Mao Tse-tung's which Yao Wen-yuan calls the "scientific
Marxist-Leninist thesis that the East Wind prevails over the West
Wind". Teng T'o ends his article by advising,

    ....those friends given to great empty talk to read more,
    think more, say less and take a rest when the time comes
    for talking, so as to save their own as well as other
    people's time and energy.

Yao Wen-yuan has strongly attacked Teng for articles which Yao
interprets as support for Soviet Revisionism. In one, Teng advocated
that China unite with countries stronger than herself, and expressed
satisfaction that China had stronger friends. In a more pointed
statement on the same theme, Teng T'o wrote,

    If a man with a swelled head thinks he can learn a subject
    with ease and kicks his teacher out, he will never learn
    anything.36

The above quotation was seen by Yao Wen-yuan as a vicious attack on
the Great Leap Forward and the policy of "self-reliance". In this
period, Teng T'o wrote "The Family Wealth Consisting of a Single
Egg", which was also widely interpreted as supporting Khrushchov's
position on the Great Leap. There are numerous other examples which
can be cited, but the purpose of examining Teng T'o's writings is
only to shed light on Wu Han's motives, not to initiate a full dis-
cussion on Teng.

In case there should be any further doubt about the joint
motivation of the members of "Three-Family Village", they themselves
provide some of the most conclusive evidence. As mentioned in the
previous chapter, the very name they selected was based on the story
of the last days of a "virtuous official" who had been dismissed from
office. Furthermore two of Teng T'o's articles consist of describing the methodology of satirists whom Teng admires. One such description is particularly valuable for helping the reader to understand the real meanings of Liao Mo-sha's works. Liao's specialty within "Three-Family Village" was the writing of articles about ghosts. Lu Ting-i made a pointed reference to Liao in 1964 while stating that the ghost themes in a number of Peking operas supported revisionism. Another critic who has achieved prominence in the course of the Cultural Revolution saw in the ghosts of Liao Mo-sha,

....the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries of various countries....landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists....

In writing of the career of an artist who drew satirical ghosts, Teng T'o states,

....his satirical portrayal of ghosts is actually a satirical portrayal of men....if the artist had used the cartoon directly to satirise living men, he would simply have been asking for trouble....if he only satirised a few ghosts, he would be quite safe.

To conclude the argument, Kuan Feng and Lin Chieh have raised a number of valid points, mostly concerning the discrepancy between the content of Wu Han's early explanations of his interest in Hai Jui and the content of his later self-criticisms. They recall that at the time when "Hai Jui Scolds the Emperor" and "On Hai Jui" were written, Wu Han was urging his readers to study the past in order to apply its lessons to the future. In his self-criticism, however, Wu says that Hai Jui Dismissed From Office has no meaning whatever for the present and no political content. He says he had forgotten the principle that all art must serve the needs of the present day
political situation. In organizing their case against Wu, Kuan and Lin emphasize the fact that it was he who made the connection with the Lushan Conference. Since Wu Han has claimed that he wrote "On Hai Jui" and *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* only in response to the call by the Central Committee of the CCP at Lushan for a struggle against "Right Opportunists", Kuan and Lin insist that the play be analysed in terms of its relationship to Lushan.

They point out that the claim of responding to the call of the Central Committee is simply tacked onto the end of Wu's essay and has no connection with what precedes it. It must also be noted that there is no explanation whatever of how the essay or the play fulfills the task of combatting "Right Opportunists". Moreover, the argument that "Right Opportunism" could be exposed by taking a member of the ruling class and casting him in the role of "saviour" of the peasants is politically illogical and certainly requires explanation. The final blow is dealt Wu Han's claim of responding to the Central Committee's call when Kuan Feng and Lin Chieh draw attention to the fact that "Hai Jui Scolds the Emperor", the direct antecedent of "On Hai Jui" and *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*, was published two months before the Lushan Conference took place. It is therefore clear that whatever Wu Han's plan at the time, he had "mounted horse" and was "in the saddle" before the Central Committee's call ever went out from Lushan.
Footnotes
Chapter I

1 This occurred in January, 1961, as noted in the chronology which appears in Chapter Two.

2 A pavilion on the edge of the city where minor officials staged receptions for high officials coming to assume office.

3 A mountain north-west of Sungkiang County in Kiangsu province. See Chung-Kuo Ku Chin Ti Ming Ta Ta'u-tien (Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1967), p. 1219.

4 Ming Dynasty Emperor, ruling from 1522 to 1567.

5 The Chinese character Ao which is used here is translated as "sea-turtle".

6 The Chinese for which the translation "Peking Gazette" is given is Ti Pac, literally "newspaper of the capital".

7 The rhyme scheme of traditional T'ang Dynasty poetry.

8 An old Chinese saying, roughly the equivalent of "throw a sprat to catch a mackerel".

9 In order to provide a faithful translation of everything Wu Han wrote in his preface, this passage is translated even though the portrait, calligraphy, and historical notes are not reproduced here.

10 The "One-Whip Policy" was a tax reform introduced during the last century of the Ming Dynasty. It was intended to overcome the gross corruption which had grown steadily under the li-chia system, which put responsibility for collecting government taxes in the hands of the wealthiest and most powerful families of each area. These powerful gentry families quite commonly forged land documents and registered their own land in the names of the poor. The latter then had to pay the taxes, though they were completely helpless to enforce any rights of ownership. Also, so many land, grain, and labor taxes were assessed against the common people that they were paying some sort of levy almost throughout the year. In many areas, the burden had become so great that large numbers of the people fled their land. The "One-Whip Policy" combined this myriad of assessments into only one, or sometimes a few, payments. See Edwin O. Reischauer and John K. Fairbank, East Asia The Great Tradition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960), pp. 337-340.

11 Literally "cultivated talents", this was the term used to denote a graduate of the first degree under the old examination system.

12 The meaning of Ch'ing-ming is literally "clear and bright". Here, it refers to a solar period occurring approximately April 5. At this time of the year, the Chinese traditionally visited their family graves.

13 The mistake here is either that of the writer or else is a misprint, and did not occur in the translation. It seems clear that the speaker is Chao Hsiao-lan.

14 The Chinese word, ku, usually translated as orphan, is not the exact equivalent of the English term. It actually means "fatherless child".

15 This is a reference to a Sung Dynasty judge who established a reputation for redressing injustices.

16 The Chinese term here rendered as "scholar" is sheng-yuan, meaning "a first-degree licentiate under the former system".
17 See footnote 11.
18 Ch'ing-t'ien is a polite term denoting an honest official.
19 The Gates of Heaven.
20 Wu District or County, referring to the Woosung-Shanghai area.
21 The translation of the characters Po-p'i is "to skin; to fleece; to extort; to rob the clothes off".
22 The significance of this statement is not clear to the translator. It appears that only gentry of a certain standing were entitled to paint their gates red, and many lower ranking gentry had done so prior to Hai Jui's arrival.
23 Meaning "resolute, firm, unyielding, lofty".
24 The date of Hai Jui's memorial was February, 1566. See Wu Han, "Hai Jui Scolds the Emperor", in K. H. Fan (ed.), The Chinese Cultural Revolution: Selected Documents (New York: Grove Press, 1968), pp. 72-76.
25 This is a pun based on the fact that the two characters designating the reign title of the emperor, chia-ching, have the same sound in Chinese as the two characters meaning "empty house".
26 An abbreviation referring to Suchow and Hangchow.
27 See footnote 21.
28 See footnote 10.
29 See footnote 10. The reference would appear to indicate that Hai Jui had done away with the practice of putting tax collection in the hands of a village-headman, as had become the custom in the Ming Dynasty, under the li-chia system.
30 This is the ancient name for Wu County in Kiangsu, dating from the Spring and Autumn period. See Chung-Kuo Ku Chin Ti Ming Ta Tz'u-tien (Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1967), p. 37.
31 A sword given by the emperor as a rare honor to officials who had distinguished themselves. The possessor was entitled to perform executions at his own discretion with this sword.
32 The literal meaning of Hsu Chieh's words is "beats to death". However, the reference is to the first beating of Chao Yu-shan, in which the latter was only injured.
33 Hai Lung Wang, according to Chinese mythology, is a dragon-king of the sea, with powers over the rivers, lakes, rains, and waters generally. He is said to have the power of providing prosperity and peace. See E. T. C. Werner, A Dictionary of Chinese Mythology (New York: Julian Press, 1961).
34 See footnote 15.
35 This phrase seems inapt in this context, yet the English expression is very close in meaning to the Chinese. Wu Han's method of expression seems awkward here.
36 In the reign of Emperor Shun Ti, during the Eastern Han Dynasty, the Prime Minister, Liang Yi, ordered a commission of eight men to go on a tour of inspection and examine the customs and morals of the empire. One of the eight, a censor named Chang Kang, had been campaigning against official corruption. He refused to go on the tour and as a symbol of his defiance he
buried the wheels of his cart at the gates of the capital and uttered the statement, "While wolves are in office, why seek out foxes?"


37 The "Thousand Character Essay" was a standard exercise book for children learning to write characters. In this text, no single character is used more than once. The "Hundred Family Surnames", as the title implies, was a compilation of Chinese surnames, and this also formed a standard text for students beginning their study of the Chinese written language. Hsu Fu at this point completely exposes himself because these two well-known texts could not possibly be mistaken for original essays, and also because no educated Chinese would spend his time writing them out.

38 Here Hsu Fu is referring to the black silk cap which could be worn only by a *hsiu-ts'ai*.

39 A polite term, used by Hai Jui in this case as a form of address to the peasants whom he had befriended.

40 Wu Han tells us that this scene occurs three days after the trial has taken place. The phrase "day before yesterday" therefore seems to be inaccurate, but this is what appears in the Chinese text.

41 A Chinese measure of land which is approximately equal to one sixth of an acre.

42 A Supervising Censor.
Chapter II


2 See Jen Min Jih Pao, April-June, 1966. An editorial in this newspaper on June 2, 1966, describing the writers then under attack, stated, "On the cultural front, they have worked to let emperors and kings, generals and prime ministers, scholars and beauties, foreign idols and dead men dominate the stage...." On June 4, the same paper elaborated, "Your poisonous products filled our newspapers, radio, magazines, books, textbooks, lectures, literary works, films, plays, operas and ballads, fine arts, music, dancing...." Again, on June 8, "We criticise the bourgeois conception of history, bourgeois academic theories, pedagogy, journalism, and theories of art and literature, and all bad plays, films, and works of literature and art."


7 "Resolution of Eighth Plenary Session of Eighth Central Committee of CCP Concerning the Anti-Party Clique Headed by P'eng Teh-huai", in K. H. Fan, Ibid., p. 67.

8 Ibid.

9 This speculation is based on a combination of facts. As is noted here, claims have been made that P'eng Teh-huai divulged information to the Soviets. Also Khrushchov came to P'eng's defence after the latter's dismissal. Mao's decision to acquire nuclear weapons for China appears to have been made after receiving only minimal Soviet support during the Quemoy-Matsu crisis. P'eng Teh-huai was Minister of Defence, and if he was as close to
the Soviets as circumstantial evidence would indicate, it is surmised that Mao and P'eng may have clashed over much more than the Great Leap Forward and the People's Communes.


12 Floyd, op. cit., p. 67.

13 Ibid.


15 Editor's Note, Ming Pao (April, 1966), p. 67.


17 Teng T'o is a former editor of Jen Min Jih Pao. He was Secretary of the Peking municipal Party Committee prior to June 1966, when that body was re-organized. Until the month before, he had also been editor-in-chief of the Peking Daily, Peking Evening News, and the fortnightly magazine, Frontline. In 1964, he was elected deputy for Peking to the Third National People's Congress, and in 1965 he became an alternate member of the CCP North China Bureau.

18 See quotations from his essay, "Great Empty Talk", in Chapter III.

19 Yao Wen-yuan, op. cit., p. 43.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.

22 K. H. Fan, op. cit., p. 65. Liao Mo-sha is the former Director of the United Front Work Department of the Peking Municipal Committee of the CCP.

23 Beginning in late April of 1966, dozens of articles attacking "Three-Family Village" appeared in the pages of Jen Min Jih Pao and Red Flag. The writer can state on the basis of personal experience in China in October of 1966 that even at this time it seemed impossible to engage a Chinese citizen in a discussion of the Cultural Revolution which did not centre on the threat which "Three-Family Village" posed to the Party.


25 On October 10, 1961, the column, "Notes from Three-Family Village" began in Frontline. It was under this title that some of the most blatantly satirical material written by the three appeared. On November 10, Teng's article "Great Empty Talk" appeared. Liao Mo-sha published two articles on November 21. One, entitled "Wherein Lies Confucius' Greatness", characterized Confucius as a democrat. The second article was entitled "Jokes About Being Afraid of Ghosts" and was interpreted as supporting "revisionism". On November 26, Teng T'o published "Two Foreign Fables" in his regular column.
"Evening Chats at Yenshan" which was carried in the Peking Evening News. Teng was later accused of having used this article to attack the CCP policy of self-reliance.


27 Yao Wen-yuan, op. cit., p. 47.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.


31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid., p. 62.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid., p. 64.

37 Ibid.


39 Ibid.


41 This speculation is based on a combination of noteworthy facts. The beginning of Mao's absence from public view coincided with the publication of Yao Wen-yuan's attack on Wu Han. This article initiated the Cultural Revolution. In a very short time, the Cultural Revolution began to assume the character of an attack on Peking Party officials by their counterparts in Shanghai. Not until the Peking Municipal Party Committee and its official organs were reeling under heavy attack did Mao reappear in public.


44 See footnote 42.


46 Asia Research Centre, op. cit., p. 419.

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid., p. 91.

49 "Commemorate Lu Hsun and Carry the Revolution Through to the
50 Yao's photograph has appeared in Peking Review on October 27, and December 25, 1967, and February 2 and June 28, 1968.
52 Ibid., p. 51.
53 Ibid.
54 Yao Wen-yuan, op. cit., p. 64.
55 The questions asked by Yao and quoted earlier in this chapter concerning whether Wu Han was actually propagating "return of the land" and "redress of injustices" in contemporary China are not explored. The key question of a link between Wu's writings and the 1959 Lushan Conference is also avoided.
56 The fact that Jen Min Jih Pao published a self-criticism which was later held to be a sham may be significant, as Lu Ting-i's later fall from power was linked to the lack of enthusiasm exhibited by Jen Min Jih Pao in the initial stages of the Cultural Revolution.
57 See Asia Research Centre, op. cit., pp. 194-204.
58 T'ien Han was Chairman of the Union of Chinese Drama Workers, vice-chairman of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, and the writer of China's national anthem. He was subject to fierce attack in Jen Min Jih Pao and other Chinese newspapers throughout 1966, and eventually was accused of working for Chiang K'ai-shek.
59 One of Yao Wen-yuan's most central themes in his attack on "Three-Family Village" is the fact that the three partners and the publications under their control, when faced with attack, have consistently criticised themselves for forgetting the class struggle. Yao maintains that, on the contrary, they have constantly and consciously waged a class struggle against the CCP.
60 Yao Wen-yuan, op. cit., p. 64.
61 Chi Pen-yu, op. cit., p. 54.
63 Asia Research Centre, op. cit., p. 169. Actually, although P'eng was not seen in public after this date, the political implications were not fully appreciated until he lost his position as First Secretary of the Peking Municipal Committee of the CCP in early June. Just prior to P'eng's dismissal, on May 21, Jen Min Jih Pao stated that someone more powerful must have been standing behind the members of "Three-Family Village", shielding and supporting them. The paper demanded that this person be identified.
64 "Expose Wu Han's True Social Standing", Jen Min Jih Pao, May 20, 1966.
65 "Wu Han and Hu Shih", Jen Min Jih Pao, April 13, 1966.
66 Ibid.
67 For an English summary of the main charges in this article, see Asia Research Centre, op. cit., p. 187.
68 Yao Wen-yuan, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
70 Kao Chu, *op. cit.*; Lin Chieh and Others, *op. cit.*
71 The article by Lin Chieh's group is also particularly valuable because it reproduces a great number of the articles carried under the titles of "Evening Chats at Yenshan" and "Three-Family Village". There is a short analysis and commentary after each article.
72 Chi Pen-yu, *op. cit.*
73 Lin Chieh, "Expose Teng T'o's Anti-Party and Anti-Socialist Features".
74 Asia Research Centre, *op. cit.*, p. 494.
78 *Ibid.* In the June 5 edition of *Jen Min Jih Pao*, Lu was accused of allowing Peking University to be used by members of the former Peking Municipal Committees as an instrument for gaining the allegiance of students, attempting to spread "revisionism" and discriminating against students of worker and peasant backgrounds.
79 As noted earlier, since May 25, *Jen Min Jih Pao* had been raising the question of who had been responsible for allowing "Three-Family Village" to function for such a long period of time.
80 Chi Pen-yu, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
81 Asia Research Centre, *op. cit.*, p. 497.
84 It is only by comparing these papers from January to June, 1966, that the difference can be appreciated. *Jen Min Jih Pao* seemed in April and May to be joining in the Cultural Revolution with great vigour. However, much of the material it printed was initiated in Shanghai.
85 Asia Research Bureau, *loc. cit.*
Chapter III

1 It has already been noted that "Notes from Three-Family Village" was jointly written by all three. In the last chapter, it was also pointed out that when Wu Han first came under attack, Teng T'o penned a sham criticism of Wu under a pseudonym. Moreover, in February of 1961, after Hai Jui Dismissed from Office had been published, Liao Mo-sha published an open letter to Wu Han, congratulating him on "breaking through the door and dashing out...in order to encourage people to greater efforts". See Yao Wen-yuan, "On 'Three-Family Village'—The Reactionary Nature of Evening Chats at Yenshan and Notes from Three-Family Village (Liberation Daily, May 10, 1966). Reprinted in The Great Socialist Cultural Revolution in China (1) (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1966).

2 Jen Min Jih Pao, September 21, 1959.

3 Ibid.


5 Who's Who in Communist China (Hong Kong: Union Research Institute, 1966), p. 636.


7 "...slander the Party line for socialist construction as 'forced' and claiming that China's 'only out' is to 'learn from' the Soviet revisionist clique and practise revisionism in China." See Yao Wen-yuan, op. cit., p. 42.

8 Ibid., p. 40.

9 "Everybody knows that the great Chinese Communist Party and the great Chinese people, educated by Mao Tse-tung's thought, are not only not afraid of monsters and ghosts, but are determined to destroy all the monsters and ghosts in the world." Ibid., p. 49.

10 A rather complicated procedure, involving the registering of one man's land in the name of another, in order to circumvent the highest tax rates, is discussed in some detail by Yao in this article.

11 Identified by Yao as the biggest landlord in the area under Hai Jui's jurisdiction.

12 Yao claims that the historical records show only Hai Jui's devotion to the emperor and that there is no historical evidence of any devotion on his part to the people. This point was later greatly amplified by Kuan Feng and Lin Chieh. They charge that Wu Han has translated the original memorial from Classical Chinese into modern and used his own translation as the basic source for his description of the memorial in "Hai Jui Scolds the Emperor" and Hai Jui Dismissed from Office. It is claimed that Wu Han's translation is entirely different from the original. Allegedly, some parts are taken out of context, some are entirely different from the ideas expressed in the original, and some are entirely figments of Wu Han's imagination. See Kuan Feng and Lin Chieh, "'Hai Jui Scolds the Emperor' and Hai Jui Dismissed from Office Are Two Great Anti-Party, Anti-Socialist Poisonous Weeds", Red Flag...

14 This is a theme which pervades almost all the military writings of Mao Tse-tung.

15 Kuan Peng and Lin Chieh, op. cit.; Chi Pen-yu, "On the Bourgeois Stand of Frontline and the Peking Daily" (Red Flag No. 7, 1966); "Long Live the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" (editorial in Red Flag No. 8, 1966).


19 Mao Tse-tung has stated, "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force of world history". Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, vol. III (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), p. 257. This is among the most widely cited quotations of Chairman Mao.

20 See Chapter II, pp. 126-127 for Yao's elaboration on this question.


22 In one of his "Evening Chats at Yenshan", Teng T'o discussed the old practice of writing up the biographies of the important gentry in each geographic locality, and seems to suggest that the famous gentry of the Peking area should be written up in this fashion. Yao charges that this is an "attempt at restoration in the most profound sense of the term." He also accuses the members of Three-Family Village" of going so far as to advocate the return of the old Confucian style of greeting (the clasping of the hands in front of the body), and of indulging themselves in gluttony and the pursuit of bourgeois pleasures. Unfortunately, he gives no references to substantiate these charges. See Yao Wen-yuan, op. cit., pp. 59-61.


24 Ibid.


26 Yao Wen-yuan, op. cit., p. 43.

27 Wu's consistent emphasis of this theme has been taken as opposition to the collectivization of land formerly owned privately by peasants.

28 Kuan Peng and Lin Chieh, op. cit.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
33 Yao Wen-yuan, Ibid.
34 Ibid., p. 42.
35 Ibid.
36 Ibid.
38 Ibid., pp. 41-42 and pp. 45-46.
41 Lin Chieh and Others, op. cit., pp. 45-46.
42 Kuan Feng and Lin Chieh, op. cit.
43 Wu Han, "On Hai Jui", Jen Min Jih Pao (September 21, 1959).
Sources in Chinese

曼哈，«海瑞瑞」，人民日报(1959.9.22)。明报月刊(香港)，1966年4月。

姚文元，«评新编历史剧《海瑞罢官》(1965.10.10载于文汇报)」，红旗，6，1965

关锋，林杰，«海瑞罢官》和《海瑞罢官》是反党反社会主义的两颗大毒草』。

红彤，5，1966

马泉，«评吴晗同志的资产阶级历史观》，红旗，2，1966

史述实，«评吴晗的《报效集》》，工农兵群众批判吴晗及党及社会主义的政治
立场和学术观点》，红旗，6，1966

«工农兵向党及社会主义分子开火)，红旗，7，1966

史述实，«吴晗与吴晗》，人民日报，1966.4.13

斯群，吴晗—蒋家王朝的策士，美国的帮凶》，人民日报，1966.4.27

丁硕志，王正华，«批判吴晗“民主斗士”画皮》，人民日报，1966.5.3

工农兵批判吴晗及党及社会主义的立场和思想》，人民日报，1966.5.4

谭文兴，«评吴晗宣扬的“改”的精神》，文汇报，«评吴晗的“用人唯才论”)。

张世琪，王丽华，«帝国主义精神侵略的辩护士》，人民日报，1966.5.5

周超，黄英，«评李其的《评吴晗同志的历史观》》，人民日报，1966.5.5

李平凡，«在吴晗的“学术”活动中夹杂着什么黑线意? »，工农兵批判吴晗及党
及社会主义的立场和思想》，人民日报，1966.5.6

徐达，吴晗的“清官”论是彻底彻头彻尾的修正主义谬论》，人民日报，1966.5.8

林杰等，«邓拓的《燕山夜话》是反党反社会主义的黑话》，人民日报，1966.5.9

林杰，«揭露邓拓反党反社会主义的面目》。人民日，1966.5.14

方正立进，«揭露吴晗的反动真面目》。人民日报，1966.5.20

鲍文蔚，等，«请看“三家村”的反动真面目》，人民日报，1966.5.15
郑公层，《“文艺”在为谁服务？》，人民日报，1966.5.20

积极参加社会主义文化革命，彻底搞掉反党反社会主义黑线，人民日报，1966.5.24

方泽生，《“海瑞上疏”必须继续批判》；丁雪雷，《“海瑞上疏”为谁效劳？》，人民日报，1966.5.28

《燕山夜话》（团结出版社印行：香港，1966年）

《燕山夜话》（团结出版社印行：台湾，民国五十四年）
Sources in English


