THE CHINA REVIEW.

A CHIP FROM CHINESE HISTORY,

OR

THE LAST TWO EMPERORS OF THE GREAT SUNG DYNASTY, A.D. 1101-1126.

(Continued from page 150.)

Hsuan-Ho, seventh year, A.D. 1125. The Liao Lord, fearing China was an unstable support, schemed to fly to the Western Hsia. Meeting, however, men sent by Hsiao-hu-lu 小呼嚕 of T'ang Hsiang, 黨項, inviting him to his territory, he was about to hurry to T'ien Tê-chun across Sha-mo, when the Kin soldiery suddenly arrived. The Lord contrived to escape on an attendant's horse, but fell short of provisions, and his attendants, to satisfy their hunger, had to eat ice and snow. In the night he rested at a poor man's house pretending to be a skirmisher, but was recognized by the man, who prostrated himself before him, much moved at his distress. He remained some days; pleased with the man's loyalty, he made him a Chieh-too-shih. Proceeding on towards T'ang Hsiang (Ko ko Nor) he made the Chief, Governor and Superintendent of military affairs. In the 2nd moon he reached Ying-chow 應 where he was taken by the Kin General Lo I-su, thus closing the dynasty of Liao.

It is the rule that a prince recovering his own Kingdom is said to 'come,' but when it is destroyed by others he is said to 'yield' (or 'submit'). 'Capture,' an opprobrious term, is applied by history to the Liao. Yen Hsi yielded voluntarily, for he was not forcibly captured but in reprobation of his conduct, causing the ruin of his Kingdom. On such a ruin, three courses are always open; death, which is the most honorable; flight, which is less so; and submission which is disgraceful. After fourteen years the Kin behold the annihilation of the Liao; but amidst hardships and indignities Yen Hsi still cherished the idea of a restoration, and refused submission to his foe. By his flight through Sha-mo he risked death rather than submit, which was a lofty resolution; and his subsequent capture by his enemy's servant was not his fault. Yen Hsi in these circumstances acted in a prince-like manner.

As a rule a nation's destruction brings out some Minister willing to die for his country; but Liao produces none. Yen Hsi, by his licentiousness, lack of humanity and patriotism, brings the certain retribution. Mencius says, 'the treatment given by Sovereigns to their Ministers will be reciprocated by corresponding behaviour.' So it is here. From the Hu-chen rising there follows a succession of districts submitting;

of plotters being executed; of the surrender of famous cities like vases; and of members of the royal family yielding the capital towns under their charge like ragged shoes. No heroe nor patriot comes on the scene. So when Yen Hsi flies, he finds himself destitute of help, and even Yeh-li-ta-shih thinks but of his own advancement to royal dignity.

Yeh-li-ta-shih* 達實 of the Liao now styles himself Emperor at Chi-er-men 奇爾滿. After killing the Liao Lord's War Minister Hsiao I-Soo, Ta-shih made himself prince and then fled with a numerous following to O Tun 哈屯 city to the West and lived at the *O-Court* in Tu-huo-fu 都護府. He here meets the prince reigning over seven Chows and eighteen tribes and orders him to assist in a restoration, thus obtaining 10,000 men. He then sets up civil officers, registry offices, prepares weapons, and sends a letter to Pi-li-ko, 必里克, prince of Hui-hua 回鶻. Pi-li, on receiving it, meets Ta-shih at the capital, swears to make his children his feudatories, and escorts him through his domains. Ta-shih then conquers all who resist, and pacifies all who follow him, till his army has traversed a myriad *li*, and gains the submission of many nations. He captures also immense numbers of cattle, sheep, camels, and horses at T'a-shih-kan 塔實干. The various nations of the Western boundaries (New Dominion) resist him with cries of 'Hu-erh-tsa;' but Ta-shih, dividing his men into three bodies, attacks and defeats them with great slaughter and halts his troops there nineteen days; the various Mahommedan princes then yield to him, bringing articles of tribute. Marching still West he reaches Chi-er-man and is hailed as Emperor by his Generals. He takes the name of Yen Ching, 延慶, and the proud designation of 'Heaven-supported' 天祐 Emperor, his wife Hsiao being styled the Empress Chao Te 昭德. Thus is the W. Liao founded. Chinese historians differ as to the propriety of this act. One side says, Ta-shih, by reviving the Liao, and continuing its sacrifices after the capture of Yen Hsi, showed a lofty resolution worthy of commendation, and fulfilled the wishes of his countrymen. Others say, after receiving the adherence of so many tribes, he should, like a brave and loyal patriot, have marched East to revenge the wrongs the same Heaven could not cover. But he goes westwards into the desert, designing only his own advancement to royal dignity. Hence history writes of him as one who was but 'styled' Emperor.

In the 4th moon Ts'ai Ching's resignation is pressed on him. He doted on his son T'ao, and allowed him full authority and power. The brother, You, jealous of T'ao, begged the Emperor to kill him, but was refused; whereupon Pai-shih-chung and Li-pang-yen joined You in exposing T'ao's crimes. The Emperor was about angrily to dismiss him when Ts'ai Ching succeeded in begging him off, but the Emperor insisted on his allowance being stopped. *Hau-Lu, T'ao's brother-in-law,* is placed away at Huang chow; T'ao himself is degraded to the post of lecturer; the imperial letters by which he came into notice are destroyed. It was desired to shake Ts'ai Ching, but he had no wish to go, and the Emperor had to order Tung Kuan to tell him to send in a letter of thanks for favours received. Ts'ai Ching said with tears, 'His Majesty might leave me here for a few years; some intrigues must be on foot.' Tung Kuan replied he did not know, and Ts'ai Ching was obliged to send in his paper. His Majesty ordered a censor to prepare Ts'ai Ching's resignation, and a decree assenting thereto is issued.

The greed of Ts'ai Ching for emolument and position is noticeable both in this case where he is 'urged' to resign, and in the former case where he was 'ordered' to do so. He is a perfect example of the mean man of the classics whose advance is easy, as opposed to the superior man whose advance is difficult. Harmony between relations is essential, but Ts'ai Ching and his sons violated every principle. Was it possible for

* This man is supposed by Colonel Yule to be the Prester John of mediævalism.

one brother, wishing to have the other killed, to be loyal to the Throne? or was it possible for a Minister, incapable of maintaining his parental authority, to serve the Emperor with decorum? Most valuable to mankind is the sense of shame. With its aid he can become a sage; without it he is little better than a beast. Ts'ai Ching shows his lack of shame by his tearful entreaties to Tung Kuan to obtain his retention in office. Such a man is totally unfit to be a Minister and the term 'urged' shows how history marks such shamelessness.

The official standards of the Yuen-feng period are restored. The office of Shang Shu Ling is restored as a title. The three (公) Kung do not necessarily involve the directory of the three Cabinet Councils. In the sixth moon Tung Kuan is created Prince of Kuang-yang fief. His Imperial Majesty Shen Tsung left orders that the recoverer of Yen and Yun was to be made a Prince. History, to show its disapproval, does not give Tung Kuan official titles. To great virtue grant great office, and to great merit great reward. Gold and silver suffice for the mean man. The rank of Prince is here granted to a treacherous slave of no special ability who by his invasion of the Hsia harassed the people on the border; who exhausted the provinces of Ho pei by his attack on the Liao; who sheltered bad men by his influence; and who tempted Hui Tsung to indulge in extravagance. In former dynasties many monarchs had granted military and civil authority to eunuchs, but never the rank of Prince. The wishes of Shen Tsung were well known and Tung Kuan's eagerness to recover Yen at any cost is easily accounted for. By an unscrupulous use of the national resources he got his barren territory. Really for a nominal conquest he caused actual misfortune. But so beguiled and besotted was Hui Tsung that he never understood this.

The late 待制 of the Pao-wen pavilion, Liu-an-shih, deceases. Liu, hated by Ts'ai Ching and his cabal, is scuttled off to a succession of distant and inferior posts. When young he was a disciple of Tsu-hua-kuang; would sit upright without leaning back; wrote the round not the grass character; cared nothing for money or beauty; and attributed all his merit for filial piety and upright conduct to Tsu Ma's example. He was long a censor. At Court he would stand unmoved disputing and reprimanding. On His Majesty showing impatience, he would stand aside till the storm blew over and then again come forward till the bystanders perspired and quailed at his pertinacity. Most of the eminent men of the Yuan-you were dead or very old. Liu was however much respected. Ling, when in authority, wished to gain over a sage. He induced one Wu, a subordinate, to follow Liu with a letter and ask him to take office if only for his children's sake. Liu smiled and thanked him saying, 'If I had desired this, should I have waited till now?' and he did not answer the letter. Soo chih calls the Yuan-you period men 'Men of Iron.' Others prove by their example the hatred superior men have towards mean men and the envy mean men have of the good. During the Yuan-you period the superior men had the majority, but the strictness of their loyalty and uprightness and their detestation of wrong excited the mean men's envy. Under Chang Tun these latter overwhelmed the State in trouble and roused faction throughout the four seas. Regardless of national welfare they usurped the royal authority to the injury of the people. They were opposed at every turn by the superior men and their propositions were disputed. The treatment of these upright men by the Sung is indeed lamentable, but history shows its approval of them by recording Liu's titles and 'decease.'

An earthquake occurs at Hsi Ho 西和, Lanchow 蘭州 and Ho Tung 河東. In the first named the earth opened for several chang, and at the second named the local treasuries were swallowed up. These frequent earthquakes show the predominance of the passive, earthy, mean principle; its

counterpart appears in mean men and the fulfilment of the omen in the Kin invasion now close at hand. Even portents may be made auspicious by timely obedience to the warning of Heaven. But now with a savage foe drawing near, and mean men swarming at Court, earth itself could not be still.

In the 8th moon the Kin Lord degrades the Liao Lord to be Prince of Hai Pin 海濱王 and despatches an envoy with congratulations to the Sung on the event.

In the 7th moon a fox ascends the Throne and sits down! A vegetable seller is taken with a fit on reaching the Hsuan Te gate of the palace and cries out, 'Your ancestor Shen Tsung has sent me to call on you to amend your ways.' The man is seized and thrown into prison. During the night he recovers and declares his complete ignorance of all that has happened, but is despatched. Floods, fires, wars, and invasions by barbarians are calamities: earthquakes and droughts are portents. All are equally detrimental to the public, and equally deserve to be recorded. Hui Tsung had ample experience of all, but that a wild creature should seat itself on so eminent and honoured a place, is more extraordinary still, and is an omen to the Sung that China is soon to be lost to them. The omen is fulfilled by the invasion of Ni-ma-a. (Some very quaint and lengthy remarks are made on the cunning nature of the fox, and how its presence indicates the prevalence of flatterers at Court).

In the 10th moon Ni-ma-a 尼瑪哈 and Wa-li-ya-pu divide forces, and invade and plunder China. Wa-li had sent a man from P'ing-chow (平) to urge on the extradition of criminals. The Court, after holding a council, refused. Wa-li, on hearing Tung Kuan and Kuo Yao-shih were holding Yen Shan with an army, said to the Kin Lord, 'You must take the initiative in invading the Sung or there will be trouble.' The Kin Lord hesitated, and several envoys came and went between the Sung and Kin Courts. By their means the condition and nature of the roads was ascertained, the number of the Sung soldiers, and the state of its treasuries. In possession of full details, Yeh-li-i-tu and Liu Chan-tsung 劉彥宗 declared the Sung must be beaten, but that the invading army should be small as supplies would be difficult. The Liao Lord was also now a captive. The invasion of China is decided on. The An-ban-bei-lo 舍音 She Yin is made generalissimo of troops of the capital, Ni-ma-a being his left coadjutor. Ni with Ku-tun and Yeh-li-i-tu are to advance on T'ai-yuan-fu from Yun. Wa-li commander-in-chief of troops at P'ing-chow has under him Ta-lan 達蘭, chief of six tribes; Tung-mo 棟摩, Tu Tung of the Loo of the Southern capital; and the general of the Chinese auxiliaries Liu Yen-tsung 劉彥宗. Wa-li is to march from P'ing-chow on Yen-shan-fu. It is essential in declaring war to have apparent right and justice on your side: this the Kin gain by their extradition demand. Greed for territory, the property of other people, means war, while to ensure victory and avoid defeat, an army of defence must be ready. This the Sung do not possess, though the Kin do; victory is therefore inevitable for the Kin.

In the 11th moon, the Emperor sacrifices 郊 to Heaven. A secret report of the Kin outbreak on the frontier arrives but none dare mention it. Fearing to disturb the solemnity of the respectful thanksgiving, even the Ministers of the Cabinet are not informed. They are however told when the ceremony is concluded, but still keep it from the Emperor. This is trifling with their Prince. The Kin have now been ravaging over a month, nor is the present a time to pursue the ordinary avocations of life with tranquillity. But His Majesty sacrifices and pleases himself; and his Ministers lull him into security, increasing his pride and extravagance. Are such measures likely to prevent disorder?

The Junior Minister of the Court of Religious Ceremonial, Fu Tsa 傅察, refuses, as

Sung envoy to the Kin, to bow to them and perishes. He was sent as chief of a congratulatory mission and met Wa-li on the frontier. Wa-li endeavoured to force him to bow and come over. He refused, and on the attendants using force he stood bolt upright, disputing their right. He is then slain. He was a Chin Shih at 18, and Ts'ai Ching wished to marry his daughter, but was refused. Generally complacent, he here proves himself stout and steadfast. He is canonized as the 'Ever loyal.' Envoys abroad should never disgrace their Prince's commission. Fu certainly disgraced neither it nor himself; what were threats of *death to the loyal man who would* neither beg nor steal his life from a foe? He entirely fulfils the text in the domestic sayings, 'In great State concerns a Minister must exert himself even to the death.'

Chung Shih Tao is made Regulator 制置使 of the Two Ho Loos. He was living in retirement in Shansi when the Kin arrived, is summoned to Court, and starts for the capital Peen-liang with 4,000 cavalry.

In the 12th moon Tung Kuan retreats from T'ai-yuan, and Ni-ma-a takes So 朔 and Tai 代 Chows and lays siege to T'ai-yuan-fu. The Kin Lord sent an envoy agreeing to cede Wei and Ying Chow together with the district cities of 飛狐 Fei Hu and Ling Chiu 靈丘. His Majesty credited the offer and Tung Kuan was sent to negotiate the cession. Tung Kuan heard at T'ai-yuan of Ni's advance and sent Ma-kuang to ask about the cession. Ni awaited Ma with his men drawn up in imposing array, and Ma was made to prostrate himself before Ni as if he was the Kin Lord in person. The case of the land behind the hills was to be discussed. Ni said, 'The four towns you desire, and the land behind or before the hills, belong to our Royal family and need not be discussed. Cede us some cities to atone for your faults; depart and I will myself send men to the Governor.' Ma returns and Tung Kuan expresses surprise at the Kin daring to advance armies over the frontier. Ma replied, 'They hate us about the Chang Ku affair; and many of the old Liao Ministers are with them and are pressing on war in revenge for their late misfortunes. Immediate preparations for defence should be made.' Tung Kuan declined. Ni then sent So-to-lo to T'ai-yuan-fu, conveying a note concluded in haughty terms, upbraiding *the Sung for* breaking the treaty and keeping rebels. Tung Kuan enquired why information was not first sent to him. 'Our troops have already moved; why should we have informed you? Cede instantly Ho Tung and Ho-pei provinces, and make the river the boundary, the Sung retaining only their ancestral lands.' Tung Kuan was aghast, and pretending consultation with the Court was necessary, proposed to slink off, when the Governor of T'ai-yuan, Chang Hsiao-shun (張孝純), stopped him, saying, 'The Kin having broken the treaty, Your *Highness* should collect the provincial armies; but men will be agitated by your departure. Let Ho Tung fall into the hands of the Kin, and Ho-pei is in danger also; remain here then a short time. T'ai Yuan is very strong; its walls are firm, and its inhabitants accustomed to war; the Kin will not easily take it.' Tung Kuan said angrily, 'My orders are to act as assuager not defender; if I remain, what duties will remain for you to perform?' and he went. Hsiao-shun sighed and remarked, 'how is it possible for a T'ai Shih, a person of the highest rank, who trembles at the approach of danger and scuttles off head down, to face his Emperor?' Ni then advances. T'ai-chow is taken; and the Patroller General, seized after a fierce fight, dies cursing the rebels. Ni then besieges T'ai Yuan. (A long disquisition follows on the shamelessness of Tung Kuan in flying on the first appearance of danger, and on the blindness of Hui Tsung for his persistent employment of a petty rascally eunuch, whose only merit was the favour of a doting monarch).

Wa-li-ya-pu enters Shan (檀) and Chi* (薊) Chows, and Kuo Yao-shih submits to the Kin, taking over with him all the Chows and Hsiens of Yen-shan-loo. Chan-Tu (詹度) was Yao-shih's coadjutor, and the latter wished to take precedence as holding the insignia of the office of Chieh-too-shih. Chan however claimed superiority on the ground that his name came first in the Imperial letter. Yao-shih refused to yield and assisted in increasing the tyrannical bullying of the ever-victorious army. Chan was unable to control it, so the Court growing anxious sent Ts'ai Ching (靖) to take Chan's place. On arrival he treats Yao-shih proudly who honours him and relaxes his attitude somewhat. When Wang An-chung was summoned to Court, Ching acted as Prefect; Yao-shih then ordered his men to trade in arms and coats of mail with other districts; he also makes curious articles, and gives them as presents to the high officers at Court and eunuchs. These then mentioned him to the Emperor, who gave him authority over the Loo. Yao-shih then increased his troops to 300,000, but retained their Liao dress. He then became again an object of suspicion at Court, was advanced to the rank of Commander-in-Chief (太尉) and ordered to Court. He declined to go. His Majesty then instructed Tung Kuan to proceed to the frontier to watch his proceedings secretly, and if necessary bring him back by force. Tung Kuan on arrival was treated by Yao-shih as a superior, but protested, declaring Yao-shih as T'ai Yu was his equal. Yao said, 'Your Highness is my father and in that respect I honour you.' He then invited Tung Kuan to inspect his army and took him to an uninhabited plain. Yao-shih dismounted, waved a flag, and innumerable troops of mailed cavalry suddenly dashed out from the mountains, glittering in the sun. Tung Kuan turned colour. On returning he reported to His Majesty, 'Yao can resist the enemy.' Ts'ai-yan also strenuously insisted he was trustworthy, so no further precautionary measures were taken against him. Reports however of risings and of intrigues and of correspondence with the Kin continue to arrive, but the Court fails to comprehend. Chan Tu remarks, 'Yao-shih possesses extraordinary ambition and harbours great designs; his rebellious intentions are growing and his daily outrages increasing.' An officer is then sent to ascertain the truth, but Wa-li-ya-pu had then left P'ing Chow for the South, and taken Shan and Chi Chows. Ts'ai Ching then sent Yao-shih against Wa-li with 45,000 men, but he was defeated, returned, carried off Ts'ai Ching, and submitted to Wa-li. Wa-li retained Ching, carried him off with his army, and entered on possession of Yen-shan. Yao-shih then kept Wa-li informed of the actual condition of affairs at Court, and was employed as guide. Detached bodies now penetrate further into China.

Yao-shih first deserted the Liao for the Sung, and now the Sung for the Kin. He had been originally received for the momentary advantage of obtaining a couple of Chows, and was then made a confidential servant, promoted, his advice followed, and notwithstanding an occasional remark, gave no cause for anxiety. It must have been obvious after the Chang Ku affair, he would probably rebel, but he is granted insignia of authority, sent to Yen, and of course loses it. A Prince who receives and employs a traitor from another country must expect, when he meets with misfortune, the same treatment as the original country did from the said traitor.

The flowers* and stones museums are closed and also the various metropolitan and provincial factories. Liang Fang-p'ing (梁方平), the eunuch, is ordered to hold Li-yang 黎陽 with the guards, on news of the Southern invasion of the Kin

* In the North of modern province of Chihli.

* In modern phraseology Botanical and Zoological Museums; but for show, not knowledge in science.

arriving. Hou Ho-kuan (侯何灌), general of infantry, said to Pai shih Chung, 'the whole of the Kin have turned out and will be resisted with difficulty, yet Fang-p'ing removes all the best troops from the capital and leaves it, the root of all, defenceless. If he fails, as he will, what will become of us?' He is not attended to. During the advance of a fierce foe, when the best defensive measures are required and gallant generals and steelful statesmen should be searched out and employed, the Sung must needs employ a eunuch, acquainted only with household affairs and give him command of troops! The robber attacks you and sees you have only a feeble assistant; is it likely to make him desist? Hui Tsung's mental blindness continues to the very end. He employs Tung Kuan who is so stupid, he fails to understand the meaning of Yao shih's review in the plain, and keeps him at Yen till an army is defeated and not Yao shih alone lost; and now he must needs employ another Tung Kuan? Attach to yourself men of worth and keep flatterers at a distance and you will prosper.

The Heir Apparent is made 'pastor' of Kai-feng fu. His Majesty grew very anxious about the Kin armies, so Ts'ai-you suspecting his wish to retire, induced Wu-hien at a Ministerial Council to say, 'the Kin in breach of treaty have raised troops and broken their allegiance, why, Sire, should you await them here' (in the capital)? His Majesty was perplexed and then said, 'There is no help for it.' His progress eastwards being determined on, one Li-che was sent on to hold Chin-ling. Min addressing the Ministers said, 'His abandonment by the Court of the capital is most unprincipled. I will die rather than carry out such an order.' Nothing was said and Li's march was stopped; but the Heir Apparent was appointed.

Orders are now issued to the Empire to rally round the Throne; free speech is allowed, and the abolition of Taoist officials follows, who are specially censured, together with certain 'progress' bureaux which are also stopped. Yu-Wen, Tung Kuan's military adviser, sent up a letter couched in strong language that the failure of every plan, and the lack of skill in the commanders, would entail disgrace and resembled a fire which would only burn yourself. Wang Foo was much angered, and when suggestions of plans of defence for the capital were sent in, they were not answered. On the advance of the Kin South, Yu Wen and Tung Kuan returned to Court, and His Majesty said to the first, 'Tao will not adopt your suggestions; what is to be done in the present state of affairs?' Yu replied, 'Let Your Majesty publicly accuse yourself in a public edict, reform or reduce abuses, and you will again win men's hearts and avert punishment of Heaven.' The Emperor caused a draft to be drawn up and shown to him. Its purport was, 'We have been remiss and unintelligent; wealth was accumulated in these times of abundance, but we have given ear to flatterers; only our favourites have held authority and greedy rapacity has always obtained its will. Men of worth and ability we ruined by classing them for a generation or more as a cabal. Our grasping taxation has exhausted the public wealth, and our officers have wearied the energies of our armies. We have revelled in useless enterprises on so extravagant a scale that the sources of wealth are parched; rapacity has been common; yet our armies have and do now lack proper supplies of food and clothing. Sinecurists have enjoyed wealth; portents and calamities are frequent; but we have comprehended them not. We have been kept in ignorance of many popular wrongs and have not remedied them. Repentance is now too late, but pondering over our faults, we desire, in the interest of public order, to obtain the best plans available. We call on our armies within the four seas to rally round the Throne, and we hereby announce our intention to resist the enemy on our two frontiers. Memories of the extensive vir-

tue and benevolence of our sainted ancestors, which have enveloped the empire over 100 years, should induce the patriotic and the loyal to come forward in its defence in these its days of trial. Let Governors and Magistrates throughout the empire respond to these words and bring their forces to assist the Throne. Merit will be granted honours and wealth; and unusual capacity will find employment in missions to the frontier. Promotions will be made in regular order. Ministers will be expected to tell the whole truth and to give advice and to remonstrate when necessary.' His Majesty on seeing this said, 'Promulgate this at once, we must not be sparing in reformation of our errors.' Yu Wen also requested that courtiers and Taoists might be dismissed, and that the various bureaux of music, palaces, and progresses, might be abolished. Destruction never comes after just government, but is inevitable in times of disorder. Hui Tsung lived in quiet times, was intelligent and benevolent, and might have reformed abuses. But in 1102 he yielded to his love of extravagance and flattery, and dismissed Han Chung-yen to employ Ts'ai Ching. Free speech was then stopped, upright men were dreaded, and desire for glory on the frontier, rapacity, love of dissipation, superstitions, and magic sprang into existence. These bad tastes Tung Kuan and Wong-foo assisted to increase and, though no revolutionary wishes existed, the empire could not be preserved. Without the Kin invasion the dissipated monarch might long have maintained his Throne, and his ministers have been free from anxiety. But High Heaven sent down punishment, Yen and Yun revolted, the country betwen the four seas was divided, and the two Ho Provinces lost. The remissness displayed in the defence of the frontier was most culpable. It was the natural result of employing eunuchs at so critical a juncture in military service, and the catastrophe, which followed, should be a mirror to all succeeding monarchs. Twice before in history has an Emperor publicly accused himself.

Han Wu Te did so and Tang Te Tsung. Neither of these Emperors met the unhappy fate which befell Hui Tsung and the likeness is only nominal. They indeed did their best to ruin the Empire; but they had loyal and intelligent Ministers, and brave and skilful Generals, friends and supporters were numerous, and flatterers few. But Hui Tsung not only ruined the State by his measures, but also employed fools, flatterers, and eunuchs. The banditti which swarmed during the Han dynasty equalled not the Kin; nor were the Tu-fan (Thibetans) during Tang Te Tsung as savage. Hui Tsung exceeded Wu Te in extravagance and Te Tsung in greediness and rapacity. Ts'ai Ching flattered him at Court. Tung Kuan mismanaged his armies abroad. Sycophants swarmed at Court, the honest and loyal dwelt in the wilds. Alone, Hui Tsung could not resist the Kin. His self accusation was mere gnawing at his own entrails. He was doomed to perish.

Yao Ku 姚古 marshal of Hsi Ho 熙河 and Chung Shih-chung 种師中, marshal of Ch'in Feng 秦鳳, are ordered to bring up reinforcements. They wished the armies to effect a junction at 尊 and 洛, so as at once to assist Ho and to protect the capital. Yu Wen is appointed Grand Herald of the provinces of Ho Pei and Ho Tung, having disposition of the local forces. He orders the armies to march to assist the capital. In grave times like the present the army should have gone at once without any summons.

Wu Min is made president beneath the gate. His Majesty's wish to move eastwards becomes more pronounced every day. Li Kang of the ceremonial Court said to Wu, 'The late appointment conferred on the Heir Apparent shows he is intended to be left as regent. The cruelties and atrocities of the Kin are increasing, and in order to effectually assemble the heroes of the Empire, it is essential his succession to the

Throne should be proclaimed.' Wu said, 'He can superintend Imperial affairs.' Li Kang answered, 'T'ang Ming Te refrained from declaring his son as his successor. The assumption of the Imperial dignity was essential for the State and an independent announcement was proclaimed. History regrets the Emperor did not abdicate himself. His present Majesty is intelligent, benevolent, and forgiving. Do you, Sir, speak to him on the subject.' On the next day Wu Min related to His Majesty the substance of Li Kang's remarks. His Majesty summoned Li. Li Kang pricked his arm and wrote with the blood, 'It is not extraordinary for an Heir Apparent to be left Regent. But our great foe is advancing to attack us, and the result is very uncertain: are ordinary measures advisable or possible? or can the empire be effectually roused without a great title and great authority? Let Your Majesty resign the Throne to H. I. H., and one heart and a single resolve will animate the breasts of officers and men to resist the enemy to the death, and the empire will be secured.' His Majesty then decided, and next day announced his abdication 傳位 at Court, Wu Min drafting the abdication Edict. Loyal and honest men always exist, it only rests with the Monarch to employ them, or to dismiss them. In earlier times Hui Tsung had retained in his service such men as Ts'ai Ching, Tung Kuan, and Wang-foo near his person, but had dismissed Li Kang and his compeers to distant provinces, whilst the former worked their wicked will. But in times of danger and of trouble loyal hearts become manifest and His Majesty the Emperor turns for advice not to Ts'ai Ching and Tung Kuan but to Li Kang and Wu Min.

The Emperor abdicates in favour of his son, styling himself Prince Bishop of Taoism, great Supreme Huang Te. The Empress becomes Dowager Empress. The Heir Apparent declined with tears but had to yield, honoring His Majesty with his new title. Hui Tsung retired to the Lung-te Palace, Li Ping-yen being Chief, and Ts'ai-you and Wu Min sub-Ministers in attendance. By his luxurious life during peace Hui Tsung had unfitted himself for enduring hardships in times of war. After so many years of extravagance causing general distress, to resign to his son at the first sound of war, and to slink away in fear and trembling, shows that Hui Tsung was a man of decidedly inferior type. Slight was the honour for the Master of 20 legions of the new title. It might for the time have deceived the multitude, but at the hands of the Kin it earned for Hui Tsung the soubriquet of the 'besotter of virtue' 昏德公. The three Emperors 皇 established the principles of government, and the five 帝 sovereigns put them in practice, thus denoting the identity of the two. Lu-cheng (or Ch'in Chi) 秦始皇 boasted he exceeded both, and claimed the title of Huang Te the first. A son may honour his deceased father with a superior title, as Confucius styled the Marquis of Lu, Duke. But Hui Tsung's title was due to his Taoist leaning, and not to any love of antiquity. The title of Hien Te given to the father, and of Chung Te 窮德公 to the son by the Kin, were both well-deserved.

Li Kang 李綱 is made President of the Board of War. He said to His Majesty, 'China is at present weak, able men are absent, and the laws have become relaxed. Your Majesty, on your accession, should fulfil popular wishes by rooting out abuses, and follow his late Majesty's intentions by the execution of evil Ministers.' The Kin were then negotiating a cession of territory. Li said, 'Defend your ancestral domains to the death; yield not a foot nor an inch of ground.' Alas, had Hui Tsung given ear to such honest, intelligent, and fearless counsels, his successor would have been in a better position.

A general amnesty is announced. Madame 朱 Chu is made Empress. She was the daughter of Po Tsai, military Governor of Wu Kong. Keng Nan-chung 耿南仲 is made Under Secretary for War. Li Yen 李鄴 is sent as envoy to the Kin, and

reports to Wa-li Hui Tsung's abdication, and a wish for the restoration of friendly relations. Kuo Yao-shih however said to Wa-Li, 'The Sung are unprepared, you should advance at once.' His advice is followed.' The ruin of the Sung, and the destruction of Peen Leang are mainly due to this speech of the traitor Yao-shih; and is an example of the Confucian text, 'with one word to ruin a State.'

The great scholar Chien Tung 陳東 requests the execution of Ts'ai Ching and the other six Ministers of his party. That the present disasters were entirely due to Ts'ai Ching and his employés was very generally known, though no one had had the courage to say so to His Majesty. Ch'en in his memorial stated, 'The present condition of affairs is due to the disorder long ago caused by Ts'ai Ching. In the palace Liang Shih-ch'eng has played the part of traitor. Li Pang-yen has earned hatred in the North West. Choo Meen did the same in the South East. By following the counsels of Tung Kuan and Wang-foo strife on the frontier and the enmity of our two national foes has been obtained. The Empire now hangs suspended by a hair. To the above-named six traitors is this accumulation of troubles due; arrest them, Sire, have them publicly executed, and their heads poled.'

This address marked out for the new Emperor the line he was to pursue, and made a broad distinction between those he should and should not employ. An announcement for the execution of these six would have isolated the members of their party, and have assisted loyal and upright men in their efforts. Many future calamitiés would then have been prevented. Such a proof of the vigour of the new Emperor might have deterred the Kin, and have preserved the Sung and its capital from ruin. Failure to act on this advice denoted a lack of power to do so and was a poor augury so early in the new reign of what might be expected in the future. Of the six, Ts'ai Ching was undoubtedly the most criminal, and from Min arose the various foreign disasters and it was he who was the object of universal detestation. Benefit, when serving a Prince, his dominions as much as possible, but do so by upright counsels and in an honorable way. Yet with the Empire in disorder, and amid the devastations of a savage foe, Ts'ai Ching, the cause of the whole trouble, is to retain his rank and wealth. This honest address of a plain scholar, without office or right of censure, influenced loyal minds, and caused remorse even to the Ministers themselves. Irresolution in punishing the wicked is pitiable indeed.

E. L. Oxenham.