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SOUTHERN MIGRATION OF THE SUNG DYNASTY

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The forty years covered by the reign of Chê Tsung, Hui Tsung and Ch'in Tsung, viz. A.D. 1086-1126, must be considered as one period. It was during this time that the waning fortunes of the Sung Emperors came to the climax which resulted in the abandonment of Pien-lo (modern K'ai-feng) in Honan Province as the capital city and in the establishment of a new capital at Ling-an (modern Hangchow) in Chekiang Province. This enforced flight from Pien-lo to Ling-an is euphemistically referred to as "The Southern Migration"—nan ch'ien or nan tu. The Sung dynasty, previous to this change of capital, is usually spoken of by later writers as the Northern Sung—Pei Sung, and after this event as the Southern Sung—Nan Sung. The events which caused this migration may be conveniently classified as foreign aggression and internal dissensions.

I.—*Foreign Aggression.*

Since the time of O-pao-chi, who died A.D. 926, the Kitan Tartars had united the powerful Nü-chên with other Tartar tribes and secured a hegemony. This was during the last years of the T'ang dynasty when there was fierce rivalry between the two statesmen, Chu Wên and Li K'o-yung. Li K'o-yung had been highly honored on account of his suppression of the rebellion of Huang Ch'ao, who, in 880, captured Ch'ang-an, the capital city of the T'angs, and forced the Emperor to take refuge at Hsien-yang. Li K'o-yung in 884 led the Imperial troops against the rebel, Huang Ch'ao, drove him from the capital and brought upon him such disaster that he and his brother committed suicide. As a reward for his achievements, Li K'o-yung was highly honored by the Emperor, but this did not satisfy him, and in 907 he set up an independent kingdom in Shan-si with his capital at T'ai-yüan, using

the same name, T'ien Yu, as that of the last Emperor of the T'ang dynasty. His discontent with the honors conferred upon him was fomented by his jealousy of the statesman, Chu Wên, who had gained almost unlimited power over the weak T'ang Emperor. Chu Wên had rescued the Emperor from the domination of the eunuchs, but in return for his services had compelled the Emperor to move the capital from Ch'ang-an to Lo-yang, where Chu Wên himself lived. In 904 Chu Wên caused the Emperor and all his sons, except one, to be assassinated, and he proclaimed himself as the first Emperor of the Hou Liang dynasty.

These troublous times continued through the fifty years when the country was divided among the various parties of the Five Dynasties. One of these dynasties which needs to be especially mentioned in this connection is that of the Hou Chin, founded by Shih Ching-t'ang, A.D. 892-942. This man was of Turkic descent, and married the daughter of the Emperor Min Ti of the Hou T'ang dynasty. He was a man of violent temper, and after a quarrel with Li Ts'ung-k'o, he came to an understanding with the Kitan Tartars, promising them half of Chih-li and Shan-si if they would help him to drive Li Ts'ung-k'o from his throne. Having succeeded in this object, Shih Ching-t'ang proclaimed himself as first Emperor of the Hou Chin dynasty, made himself a vassal of the Kitan Tartars and promised to pay to them an annual tribute of 300,000 pieces of silk. He moved his capital to Pien-chou (K'ai-fêng) in Honan province, where he died in 942. He was succeeded by his nephew, Shih Ch'ung-kuei, who did his best to throw off his allegiance to the Tartars, but only succeeded in making more trouble for himself. Pien-chou was captured and he himself was carried away by the Tartars who conferred upon him the opprobrious title of "The Disobedient Marquis," Fu I Hou. Reference is made to this inferior dynasty to show that the Kitan Tartars who founded the Liao dynasty in A.D. 907, succeeded in a comparatively short time in establishing themselves at a point in Honan province from which they could easily bring strong pressure to bear upon all parts of Northern China.

The rise of the power of the Tartars, and the gradual extension of their domination through the time of the Five Dynasties and the Sung dynasty, until they secured control not only of China, but of nearly all Asia and Europe in the Yüan dynasty, is one of the most interest-

ing subjects for future historical research. It can only be referred to in this connection in general terms and with sole reference to the short period to which this paper is restricted. The events are largely connected with the fortunes of the two families of Yeh-lü and Wan-yen. The chieftain who brought the Yeh-lü family into prominence was O-pao-chi, becoming the first Emperor of the Liao dynasty. Another chieftain, Akuta, A.D. 1069-1123, brought the Wan-yen family into prominence and became the founder of the Chin dynasty. None of the Emperors who came from these families was able to withstand the perils of court life and they all fell easy prey to dissipation and corruption. The ninth and last Emperor of the Liao dynasty was Yeh-lü Yen-hsi, who died 1125, the last year of the reign of Hui Tsung. He had a wild impetuous nature and was fond of hunting. He made no attempt to retain the good will of the other Tartar tribes and contented himself with the pleasures of his palace in Peking. He paid no attention to the warning of his Ministers concerning the rise to power of the Nü-chen Tartars and was surprised by their appearance before the walls of Peking in 1122. The Nü-chen tribe under its new leader, Akuta, easily drove him from the capital and he took refuge with his sons in the mountains north of Peking. Here he was soon captured and banished to the Ch'ang Pai mountains in Manchuria.¹

Akuta, the founder of the fortunes of the Wan-yen family, was inspired by the teachings of his father to believe that he could lead his tribe of Nü-chen to the hegemony of all the Tartar tribes. In order to accomplish this result he decided in 1114 to throw off his allegiance to the Kitan Tartars whose chieftain family of Yeh-lü ruled under the dynastic name of Liao and to capture

¹The Yeh-lü family continued to be prominent among the Tartars down to the time of Genghis Khan when Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai in 1214 was Governor of Peking when it was captured. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai claimed kinship with the conqueror, Genghis Khan, was attached to his staff, and in 1219 accompanied Genghis Khan on his campaign against Persia. He was a good scholar and an earnest disciple of the teachings of Confucius. His grandson, Yeh-lü Hsi-liang, A.D. 1247-1327, was also of a studious disposition and attained prominence under Kublai Khan, who appointed him President of the Board of Civil Office and a member of the Hanlin College. The names of these last two prominent members of the Yeh-lü family are mentioned in order to call attention to the remarkable fact that for more than four hundred years this family exercised great influence throughout the territory which is now known as Manchuria, Mongolia and Northern China.

their capital, Peking, which, as has been noted, was accomplished in 1122. This military success brought about the formal abdication of the Liao dynasty which recognized Akuta as the first Emperor of the new Chin dynasty. Akuta had already entered into negotiations with the Sung Emperor, Hui Tsung, and had formed with him an allegiance for joint action against the Liao sovereign. This alliance did not last long and Akuta soon turned his forces against the weak Hui Tsung, being determined to make himself master of all China. He did not survive long to carry his plans into execution but died during the year following the capture of Peking and is known in history by the posthumous title of T'ai Tsu. He was succeeded by his younger brother who carried on the struggle against the Sung and twice in 1126 laid siege to the capital city Pien-lo (K'ai-fêng). After the first siege a heavy ransom and some territory were forced from the Sung Emperor; during the second siege the city was pillaged and its treasures were dispersed among the Generals and their troops. The successful Chins also captured the two Emperors, Hui Tsung and Ch'in Tsung. Hui Tsung had abdicated the previous year in favor of his son and had himself fled to Chinkiang. After the first unsuccessful siege of the capital, Hui Tsung had returned and was found there together with his son when the second attempt of the Chins against K'ai-fêng proved successful. These two Emperors were carried off into captivity in the wilds of Northern Manchuria. The family name of this second Emperor was Wan-yen Shêng and his dynastic title was T'ai Tsung.²

It was the combined influence of these two families, one founding the Liao dynasty, and the other founding the Chin dynasty, which made the tenure of office on the part of all of the Sung Emperors so precarious. Far

²During the Chin dynasty the capital was moved from place to place, but was usually either at K'ai-fêng or Peking. The fourth Emperor, Wan-yen Liang, who is generally known as Hai-ling Wang, made his capital in Peking from A.D. 1149 to 1161 when he organized an unsuccessful attack on the Sung who had established their capital at Hangchow. The Emperor was unable to secure boats to convey his troops across the Yangtze, and his expedition broke up in great confusion. The last Emperor of the Chin dynasty was Wan-yen Shou-shü, who made an attempt to negotiate peace with the Mongols, but was himself driven from his capital city whereupon he committed suicide. His young son was also captured and put to death. This was the end of any prominent activity on the part of this illustrious family, although it still has descendants living in Peking.

from being a period of peace and prosperity, the Sung dynasty was a long succession of internal strife and external aggression. The "Southern Migration" stands out as the most conspicuous example of the power exercised by the two Tartar families which have been described, and shows the disastrous effects of the constant incursions of the tribes led by them upon the territory of China. Even more disastrous was the vacillating policy of the Sung Emperors which wavered between military opposition, insincere alliances and playing one tribe off against others. Throughout the three hundred years of the Sung there never was a time when the larger part of what is now known as China was not under alien control. In history the Liao and Chin dynasties are recognized on the same footing as the Sung, although they were contemporaneous. The Sung dynasty had no such unqualified position as the Han, Ming or Ch'ing. It was only one of two rival existing dynasties, struggling to be recognized as supreme.

II.—*Internal Dissensions.*

The Sung dynasty was founded by a strong man Chao K'uang-yin A.D. 927-976, who emerged from the chaotic conditions prevailing throughout the Five Dynasties. He was descended from a family which had distinguished itself during the T'ang dynasty, and himself had risen to an important military command during the reign of Shih Tsung of the Hou Chou dynasty. He was in charge of troops who carried on successful wars against the Kitan Tartars and drove them northward. Shih Tsung was succeeded by his son who was only six years of age and who brought his short-lived dynasty to a close by abdicating in favor of his Grand Marshal, Chao K'uang-yin. This gave the founder of the Sung dynasty only a nominal right to the Imperial title, and he is referred to by the commentator of the official text as an usurper (ts'uan). The title to the throne having been obtained through the treachery of Chao K'uang-yin to the Hou Chou dynasty, the misfortunes of the Sung dynasty are regarded by many writers as just punishment for the heinous crime of disloyalty. The title of Chao K'uang-yin as Emperor, however, was later confirmed by his army which placed upon him the yellow robe of Imperial authority at K'ai-feng during the period of a rumored attack of the Tartars. The new Emperor made a most favourable impression upon the country on account of his scholarly

attainments, his frugality, and his generosity to enemies. During the reign of his successor, there were constant attacks by the Tartars, the Western Hsia kingdom was established and there was a serious rebellion in Szechuan province. During the reign of the third Sung Emperor there was much progress in restoring order. The Western Hsia kingdom was crushed and the Tartars were forced to agree to a treaty of peace. The last two years of the life of this Emperor were clouded with insanity and there was more or less confusion until Jên Tsung came to the throne in 1022. He was a man of good personal character, but weak. Rebellions broke out in the south and the west, Korea refused to pay tribute and the laws were loosely enforced. It was during the reign of the sixth Emperor, Shên Tsung, that definite plans were made to recover the territory which had been lost to the Tartars. The experienced statesman, Han Ch'i, warned the Emperor against these plans on account of the lack of funds, but Wang An-shih came forward with his revolutionary projects for raising money, to which the Emperor readily agreed. In the light of previous history these proposals were considered revolutionary. They presented a new theory of private property, of the relation of a citizen to the state, and of public taxation. Under the methods recommended by Wang, the state could conscript labor, call upon all citizens to bear arms and compel a socialistic form of taxation. These schemes of Wang An-shih engendered bitter controversy but they were successful in providing the Government with the funds necessary to equip armies. Several expeditions were sent out, one against the Western Hsia, one against the Turfan, one against the Aborigines of the southwest, and another against Cochinchina. These war movements involved the expenditure of vast sums of money for which there was little return. After a futile expedition on the north-west frontiers headed by the eunuch, Li Hsien, the Emperor gave up his aggressive military campaigns and sought to bring peace to the country. This was impossible, for the Tartars continued their raids and the country was seething with discontent.

During these years, many men illustrious in literature came into prominence. There were the two Ch'êngs, Ch'êng Hao and Ch'êng I, one of whom wrote the Commentary on the Book of Changes, and the other of whom became the tutor of the great commentator, Chu

Hsi. There were the two Sus, Su Shih and Su Chê, and their brother-in-law, Wang Tsing-ch'ing. There was also Chang Tsai, (a disciple of Fan Chung-yen) who sat upon a tiger's skin while giving public lectures on ethical and philosophical problems. The aim of these scholars was the finding of a solution of the problem of government. They studied the teachings of the sages, investigated the traditions of their country as incorporated in Taoism, and steeped themselves in Buddhistic doctrine and ceremonies, all in the hope of discovering some method of curing the civic evils surrounding them. There was also the great historian, Ssü-ma Kuang, A.D. 1019-1086, who wrote the famous history of China called *Tz'ü Chih T'ung Chien*. He was active in politics and became the most outspoken opponent of the political theories of Wang An-shih.

When Chê Tsung came to the throne in 1086 the policies of Wang An-shih and Ssü-ma Kuang were struggling for supremacy and bitter controversy continued throughout the reign. The Conservative party represented by Ssü-ma Kuang divided into three factions, the Lo-yang being lead by Ch'eng I, the Ssu Ch'uan lead by Su Shih, and the Northern party lead by Liu Chih. The quarrels between these factions became so intense that the Emperor swung back to the policy of his father in favoring the theories of Wang An-shih. This unhappy Emperor was succeeded by his younger brother who is known as Hui Tsung, A.D. 1100-1126. During his reign the eunuch, T'ung Kuan, reintroduced the policy of making friends with the Tartars and attempting to use one tribe against another. T'ung Kuan was responsible for the recall of the traitor Li Liang-ssü, and suggested using the Nü-chen against the Kitan Tartars. The Emperors Chê Tsung and Hui Tsung were monarchs of mediocre talents, fond of pleasure and unwilling to devote attention to affairs of State. Both of them were easily brought under the dominating influence of intriguing Ministers, who flattered them, deceived them and finally brought about their ruin. In the reign of Chê Tsung there were Chang Tun, A.D. 1031-1101, and Ts'ai Pien, A.D. 1054-1112, who were typical of this class of officials. Chang Tun was a protege of Wang An-shih and the Emperor appointed him President of a Board and Minister of the Presence. He took every possible opportunity of persecuting the Yüan-yu (Conservative) party, plotted against the Empress Dowager who had been Regent during the minority of the Emperor, and suc-

ceeded in removing the Empress from her high position. Offices were sold or given to favorites and every kind of luxury and excess in the Palace was encouraged. At the death of the Emperor he was given the nominal title of Duke, but was in reality degraded by being sent to a minor position at Lei-chou in Kuang-tung province where he only survived for a short time. His chief assistant when he was in office was Ts'ai Pien who was a son-in-law of Wang An-shih. The deep schemes of this man were concealed by a very plausible manner which readily misled those who came under his influence. He had a revengeful spirit which made him a good accomplice of Chang Tun in his violence against Ssü-ma Kuang's party. His power continued into the reign of Hui Tsung when he was supplanted by his brother, Ts'ai Ching.

During the first years of the Emperor Hui Tsung, Ts'ai Ching was in disfavor on account of his refusal to take up an inferior office in the provinces, but he soon recovered himself and rose to high position. He adopted harsh measures against the Yüan-yu party and had the names of his opponents, including that of Ssü-ma Kuang, engraved as traitors upon a stone tablet, Tang Jên P'ai. This tablet was erected at the entrance of the Palace in order to expose his enemies to the greatest possible notoriety as members of an "infamous party," Chien Tang. Three times during this reign he was dismissed from office, but always came back until finally he became blind, after which he left public affairs in charge of his son, Ts'ai Tao. Even more destructive to the fortunes of the dynasty than his domestic policy were the expensive frontier wars which he continually waged. In order to provide funds for these campaigns he debased the coinage and imposed heavy taxes upon salt. He was an advocate of the policy of keeping the court in "luxury and dissipation," fêng hsiang yü ta. It was in pursuance of this policy that he made use of the eunuch, T'ung Kuan, and of Chu Mien. The eunuch was placed in charge of expeditions against the western frontiers, but was defeated at very turn. It was he who persuaded Hui Tsung to enter into an agreement with the Nü-chen Tartars under Akuta for the purpose of overthrowing the Liao dynasty. In 1123, he led his forces against Peking and, failing to take it, he purchased its possession from the Liao ruler at a great sacrifice of other territory. When he entered the city he found that the inhabitants had all fled, taking their belongings with them. Another

lieutenant of Ts'ai Ching was Chu Mien, a man of humble origin. Chu Mien was sent on a commission to the provinces to obtain all kinds of valuable articles for the Palace at Pien-lo. He forced the people to give up their paintings, and writings, bronzes and jades, precious stones and ornaments, and every article which would help to adorn the Palace or gratify the luxurious taste of the court. At times the roads were blocked with carts and the Huai river with boats all bearing valuables which had been extorted from the people. The Emperor easily succumbed to the pleasure of the Palace and thoroughly enjoyed the luxury with which he was surrounded. He gave himself entirely to dissipation, leaving public affairs to Ts'ai Ching and T'ung Kuan, and trusting Chu Mien to provide the means for his personal gratification. The result of this orgy of pleasure was bitter discontent in the provinces with the heavy exactions imposed by Chu Mien, a loss of prestige through the defeat of the expeditions under T'ung Kuan, and a demoralization of the Government under Ts'ai Ching. This prepared the way for the two attacks of the Chin Tartars in 1126 and compelled the Sung to start on their "Southern Migration." To summarize, it was the misrule of Chang Tun and Ts'ai Pien during the reign of Chê Tsung, and the luxury and dissipation imposed on the court during the reign of Hui Tsung by Ts'ai Ching and his two lieutenants, T'ung Kuan and Chu Mien, which forced the Sung to forsake their beautified capital at Pien-lo, invited the Chins to pillage the city, abandoned the two Emperors, Hui Tsung and his son, Chin Tsung, to disgraceful captivity and brought about the establishment of a new capital at Hang-chow.

One name is reserved for special mention, as his power continued after the abandonment of Pien-lo. During the later years of the Emperor Hui Tsung, no one exerted a more pernicious influence than Ch'in Kuei, A.D. 1090-1155. He was appointed on the commission for settling the amount of territory to be ceded to the Chin Tartars, but did not succeed in securing favorable terms from them. He was with the Emperor Ch'in Tsung and his father, Hui Tsung, when they were captured, and went north with them as far as Peking. He was a native of Nanking, and it was during a visit to his home that the ninth son of Hui Tsung was proclaimed Emperor in 1127. Ch'in Kuei went south in 1130 and joined the new Emperor, Kao Tsung, over whom he subsequently had almost unlimited control. It was Ch'in Kuei who in 1134

concluded peace with the Tartars and ceded to them practically all China north of the Yangtze River. He was of great assistance to Kao Tsung in the establishment of the new capital at Hang-chow, and for his services was promoted first to the rank of Duke and later to that of Prince. His corrupt practices contributed in no small measure to the downfall of Hui Tsung; it was he that made peace with the Tartars and it was he also who built the capital for the Sung Emperors at Hang-chow. In the lifetime of this one man the Northern Sung Dynasty at Pen-lo in Honan province was ended and the Southern Sung dynasty was established at Hang-chow. His name is one of the most execrated of all statesmen in Chinese history, and subsequent to his death was held in such contempt that it became synonymous with a spittoon.

In these troublous times two men were conspicuous for their attitude of compromise. Liu Yü was a high official in Shansi who fled on the approach of the Nü-chên Tartars. Later he was Prefect at Chi-nan in Shantung province, thus having enjoyed the confidence and patronage of the Sung Emperors. On account of his failure to receive Imperial consent to one of his requests, Liu Yü renounced his allegiance and went over to the Chin Tartars. Wishing to have some able man whom they could set up as a puppet Emperor, the Tartars chose Liu Yü and set him on the throne of what they called the Great Ch'i State. His capital was first at Ta-ming in Southern Chihli, but was later removed to K'ai-fêng. Having served their purpose for a few years as a stop-gap he was dismissed to private life. Another compromiser was Chang Pang-ch'ang, who rose to be Prime Minister during the last year of Hui Tsung. Along with Ch'in Kuei he strongly urged the Emperor to make peace with the Chin Tartars. When the capital was captured during the second siege of the Tartars and the two Emperors had been sent away, the victors made Chang Pang-ch'ang Emperor with the title of Ta Ch'u. This honor remained in his hands only for a few months, for as soon as Kao Tsung was proclaimed Emperor in Nanking, Chang was forced to retire, and later committed suicide. These two men were types of a large number of high officers of state who played fast and loose between the Imperial House of Sung and the Tartar invaders. They always tried to be found on the winning side, but as is usual with such men, generally came to grief.

In opposition to those who were corrupt in administration or compromising in their allegiance, there were several men of high character and remarkable bravery who did their utmost to oppose the growing tendencies which surrounded them and to uphold the interests of the last three sovereigns of the Northern Sung dynasty. During the early years of his reign the Emperor Chê Tsung was fortunate in having Ch'êng I as his tutor, to which position he had been appointed on the recommendation of Ssü-ma Kuang. Ch'êng I was of the radically puritanical type, and on account of his temperament, made enemies for himself not only among the followers of Wang An-shih, but also in the ranks of his own conservative class. The poet, Su Shih, naturally belonged to the same conservative group as Ch'êng I, but so strongly attached was each of these men to his own views that they could not work together in harmony. Su Shih, who had violently opposed the policies of Wang An-shih during the previous reign, was promoted by the Emperor Chê Tsung in 1091 to be President of the Board of Rites. He only held this position for three years when his plain speech and frank denunciation brought upon him demotion to an inferior post in the barbarous wilds of the distant province of Kwang-tung. These two men, Ch'êng I and Su Shih, were models of uprightness in official life, but neither of them was able to accomplish much in preventing the oncoming disasters which were rapidly enveloping the Court.

During the subsequent reign of the Emperor Hui Tsung, there was the upright Chao Ting. He denounced the policy of compromise in dealing with the Chin Tartars as advocated by the infamous Ch'in Kuei. His advice was unheeded and he himself was banished to Kuang-tung where he was kept for five years. There was also the Censor, Yen Tun-fu, who bitterly denounced the traitorous acts of Ch'in Kuei. When it was suggested to him that a man of his advanced age should be more moderate in his speech, Yen Tun-fu replied that ginger and cinnamon grow hotter with age. He also was sent away to an inconsequential post at a place distant from the capital.

There were three men whose services extended both to the reign of the Northern Sung Emperor, Hui Tsung, and that of the Southern Sung Emperor, Kao Tsung. Li Kang, A.D. 1085-1140, was so perturbed by the attitude of the Emperor Hui Tsung toward the Chin Tartars that

he wrote a memorial in his own blood calling upon the Emperor to abdicate. He was in charge of the troops which defended the capital during the first unsuccessful attack of the Tartars. After the accession of Kao Tsung, Li Kang joined him and was appointed to a high position which he held for less than three months. He was an inveterate foe of the Tartars, denounced Ch'in Kuei's policies and urged Kao Tsung to undertake active campaigns north of the river against the invaders. There was also Tsung Tsê, A.D. 1059-1127, who opposed the plan of using one Tartar tribe to crush the other, *i.e.*, to use the Nü-chên Tartars to exterminate the Kitan Tartars. He fought the Tartars in many campaigns, tried to rescue the two Emperors when they were being carried off to the north, and later to secure their return from exile. He joined the Emperor Kao Tsung south of the river, and on the same lines as Li Kang, constantly urged him to undertake expeditions against the Tartars. It is said that his last words on his death-bed were "Cross the River," thus to the very last urging the policy of attacking the Tartars. Another strong man was Wang Lun, who was sent on many expeditions to the Tartars. Every attempt was made to bribe or cajole him, but his constant reply was that his duties were those of an envoy and that he would never consent to be a traitor. Finally on one of his missions he was given an opportunity to renounce his allegiance to the Emperor, and when he stoutly refused to do so, submitted quietly to being strangled. These were all men of strong character, but in popular remembrance are eclipsed by the fame of the national hero, Yo Fei, A.D. 1103-1141. His first achievement was the defeat of the Tartar Chieftain, Wu-shu, by a small troop of five hundred horsemen whom Yo Fei had rapidly collected. Wherever he fought, victory followed him. This was not to the liking of Ch'in Kuei, for Yo Fei's victories made more difficult the compromising peace treaties upon which Ch'in Kuei was bent. Yo Fei was denounced and afterwards executed under the direct orders of Ch'in Kuei. Yo Fei remains to this day the type of a loyal, brave military leader as expressed in the proverb, "Easy to move a mountain, but difficult to move the soldiers of Yo Fei." His tomb on the side of the West Lake at Hang-chow is one of the most revered spots in China. Notwithstanding the combined efforts of these sturdy supporters and fearless advisers, the condition of the Sung dynasty at Pien-lo became more and more

untenable and the "Southern Migration" took place. The new Southern Sung dynasty even in its distant situation at Hang-chow found itself unable to plan any effective measures against the Tartars who occupied all of the northern half of China.

III.—*The Flight.*

It was in 1126 that the last two Emperors of the Sung dynasty were carried into captivity. At this time K'ang Wang the ninth son of the Emperor Hui Tsung was at Nanking. Through the combined influence of the surviving widow of the Emperor Chê Tsung, and of Chang Pang-ch'ang whom the Chin Tartars had placed upon the throne, this ninth son of Hui Tsung was chosen as Emperor. He is known in history as Kao Tsung. He had no more liking for war than his dissolute father, and was inordinately fond of pleasure and ease. During the first year of his reign a peace was patched up with the Tartars under which the three districts of T'ai-yüan, Ching-shan and Ho-chien were definitely cut off from the Empire. The Emperor wandered from place to place, going as far north as Ch'ichow (Chuang-p'ing) in Shantung Province where he was joined by the Empress. At the end of the year he took up his residence at Yangchow where he remained for more than a year. During the third year of his reign, *i.e.* 1129, Wang Yüan proposed that Hang-chow should be made the capital and his proposal was agreed to by the Emperor. The Emperor soon started on his way to Hang-chow, stopping at Chinkiang, Chang-chow, Soochow, Hsiu-chow (Ka-shing) and Ch'ung-tê (Shih-mên). He finally reached Hang-chow only to find himself deposed by the Empress Dowager, who, however shortly reinstated him. The Chin Tartars continued their terrifying raids and added to the terror of Kao Tsung by equipping naval expeditions against the seacoasts of Kiangsu and Chehkiang. Kao Tsung first sent the Empress away to Hung-chow (Nan-ch'ang) and himself fled to Soochow. Here he remained only a short time before returning to Hang-chow and he fled eastward to Yüeh-chow (Kuei-chi). He did not stay long in any one place and was soon found at Ming-chow (Ning-po). After the news reached him that the Tartars had already crossed the River and were occupying Chang-chow on the Grand Canal and Nan-k'ang in Kiangsi, the Emperor left Ning-po by boat and took refuge on one of the Chu-san Islands at Ting-hai. During the following year

the Emperor returned to the mainland, and during the next nine years sought safety in several places south of the River where he could be secure from sudden attacks of the Tartars. During these years the capital was moved from place to place as the emergencies of the situation required. It was at Shao-hsing in 1131-1132, at Ling-an in 1133-1134, at Soochow in 1135-1137, at Nanking in 1138, back to Ling-an in 1139. Ling-an is the Sung dynasty name of the city known now as Hang-chow. It will thus be seen that a period of twelve years elapsed between the loss of Pien-lo, the capital of the northern Sung dynasty, and the establishment of Hang-chow as the capital of the Southern Sung dynasty. The establishment of a new capital did not bring peace to the country; it only provided a safe halting place for the pleasure-loving Sung Emperors to pass a few score insecure years.

To summarize, the "Southern Migration of the Sung" was brought about as a direct result of the controversies which grew up around the political theories of Wang An-shih. These in turn had been made necessary by the extravagance of the Court and the mismanagement of military expeditions against the Tartars. The primal cause was the weakness and incapacity of the Sung Emperors, coupled with their incessant tendency to be dominated by courtiers who flattered and misled them. These rascals pandered to the expensive tastes and vicious habits of the Emperors. They also interfered with the succession, and in some instances younger brothers were placed upon the throne in defiance of the legitimate heir. Although the Sung Emperors favored art and literature and extended their patronage to artists and learned men, there was but slight restraint upon the caprices of the Court. The government was continually pressed for funds in order to satisfy the whims of Imperial favorites. Thus it will be seen that the breaking up of the country and its subjection by a stronger, hardier race, such as that which pressed in from the north, became inevitable.