

a child, he had practiced singing and the Japanese envoy had seen him and liked him. [Now] Kao's paternal uncle, Têng, had owed money [to the Japanese envoy] and gave him Kao in payment. Sokyo now arrived at Soochow as the legitimate envoy and met Têng, so that the matter came to light. According to the statute, this meant death [for Têng]. However, Liu Chin took him under his protection and by saying that Têng had surrendered himself, obtained a reprieve [for him].

In the seventh year (1512), Yoshizumi's envoy again came with tribute.<sup>89</sup> The defense official stationed in Chekiang suggested that in view of the prevalence of robbers at that time in the area around Peking and in Shantung, and in view of the danger that the delegation might be waylaid and robbed, Court permission be requested to hold the tribute merchandise in the government storehouse in Chekiang, but to accept the memorial to the Throne and send it up to the capital. The officials of the Board of Ceremony held a conference with the Board of War about this matter and asked the Court to give instructions to the commanding officer at Nanking to offer a banquet and gifts [to the envoy] in that place and then to send him home; and also to give the full price for all the tribute merchandise he had brought, so as not to alienate the good-will of the foreigners. This request was complied with.

In the fifth month of the second year of Chia-ching (1523),<sup>90</sup> the envoy Sosetsu arrived at Ningpo with tribute. Soon after, Sō Sokyo, in company with Zuisa, arrived there again. A quarrel arose between them over their true authority.<sup>91</sup> Sokyo bribed the eunuch of the port, Lai Ên, so that at the banquet given, Sokyo was seated above Sosetsu. Despite the late arrival of the former's ship, it was given priority in the inspection and release. Sosetsu became angry and in a combat killed Zuisa and set fire to his ship. [Then] he pursued Sokyo to the walled city of Shao-hsing.<sup>92</sup> Sokyo had a narrow escape and sought shelter elsewhere. [But] his unruly band came back to Ningpo,

starting fires and causing havoc wherever they passed. They took prisoner Yüan Chin, the police magistrate, captured his boat and went out to sea. The chief of sea patrol, Liu Chin, went after them, only to drown in the battle.

The circuit censor, Ou Chu,<sup>93</sup> duly sent in a report to the Court, adding [as follows]: "According to Sokyo's statement, there is a certain Tara Yoshicki<sup>94</sup> on the western sea route who is under Japanese jurisdiction. This man has never brought tribute to the Court. Because the tribute ship had to come by the western sea route as a matter of necessity, the tally of the Chêng-tê era had been stolen. Thus he [Sokyo] had been compelled to bring the tally of the Hung-chih era and to come by the southern sea route. By the time his ship had reached Ningpo, an accusation was made of the deceit which had led to the squabble." This matter was submitted to the consideration of the Board of Ceremony. The Board came to the following conclusion: "It is considered that Sokyo's words can hardly be trusted and he should not be permitted to visit the Court. But the trouble was started by Sosetsu and Sokyo's party suffered death in large numbers. Though Sokyo had once been a transgressor of the law of expatriation, still he had obtained a pardon from the Court of the last Emperor. Wherefore, without reopening the accusation, instructions may simply be given for him to return home. At the same time, a written message should be sent to the King of Japan ordering him to investigate what has become of the tallies and to administer justice accordingly." The Emperor gave his approval to this counsel. The censor Hsiung Lan and supervising censor Chang Ch'ung<sup>95</sup> wrote memorials to the effect that Sokyo's offense was too serious for him to be let off thus, and that Lai Ên should be brought to justice, as well as Chang Ch'in,<sup>96</sup> assistant official of the sea-circuit, Chu Wu-yang, regional commander, Hsiü Wan, regional assistant, and Chang Hao, police magistrate. The memorials also advised that the port be closed and the tribute discontinued in order to restore the prestige of the country and in order to put an

end to the trickery of the treacherous raiders.

When this recommendation was about to be carried out, it so happened that the boat which was carrying Nakabayashi Magotaro [and others] of Sosetsu's band was blown to Korea by a gale as they were escaping. The Koreans beheaded thirty and captured two alive whom they presented to the Court.

The supervising censor Hsia Yën<sup>97</sup> then recommended that the two in chains be taken to Chekiang, where the local officer of justice could try them, together with Sokyo. Thereupon the supervising censor Liu Mu<sup>98</sup> and the censor Wang Tao<sup>99</sup> went to that place. By the fourth year (1525), the trial was completed. Both Sokyo and Nakabayashi Magotaro were sentenced to death and kept in prison. As a result of protracted imprisonment, both wasted away and died.

At this time Chêng Shêng, an envoy from Liu-chiu, was [just] returning home. He was ordered to convey instructions to Japan to arrest and extradite Sosetsu and also to send home Yüan Chin and other men from the coast region whom the Japanese had captured; otherwise the ports would be closed, the tribute suspended, and in time a campaign [of war] planned.

In the ninth year (1530), a certain Liu-chiu envoy, Ts'ai Han, came [to China] by way of Japan. King Minamoto Yoshiharu<sup>100</sup> entrusted to him a memorial to the Court which read [as follows]: "Because our country is in turmoil and recurring warfare obstructs communications, the tally of the Chêng-tê era failed to reach the capital. That was the reason why Sokyo had to go with the tally of the Hung-chih era. For this we beg your forgiveness. It is hoped that a new tally will be granted, as well as a gold seal, so that the tribute can be resumed regularly."

When the officer of the Ministry of Ceremony examined this paper, [he found that] it was without a signature. Then he proposed that since the Japanese were too deceitful and treacherous to be trusted, it might be well for the Court to tell the King

of Liu-chiu to convey instructions to Japan to carry out the previous order.

In the seventh month of the eighteenth year (1539), Yoshiharu's tribute envoy arrived at Ningpo.<sup>101</sup> The local official made a report to the Court accordingly. It was seventeen years since the tribute had come, and so a special order was given to the circuit censor to direct three local commissioners to ascertain the true state of affairs -- whether or not the delegation was loyal, obedient and law-abiding. If so, they were to be treated according to precedent and sent home. Otherwise, they were to be told peremptorily to return home. At the same time, the ban against contact of the coast people with foreigners was to be stringently enforced.

In the second month of the following year (1540), the party of the tribute envoy Sekitei<sup>102</sup> reached the capital and repeated the previous request, asking the Court to give them a new tally of the Chia-ching era, and also to return Sokyo and the tribute merchandise sequestered by the officials. The advice of the Board of Ceremony was that the tally should not be hastily granted, but that the old one might be exchanged for the new one; the tribute might come every ten years, but the party should not exceed a hundred men and the ships should be only three [in number]; the rest of their request should not be granted. An edict was issued in accordance with this advice.

In the seventh month of the twenty-third year (1544), the tribute arrived again.<sup>103</sup> It was not yet time for it, and it was without a memorial. The official of the Ministry [of Ceremony] recommended that it should not be accepted and accordingly it was rejected. The envoy, however, lingered about near the shore because the trade brought profit, and would not go home. The circuit censor, Kao Chieh,<sup>104</sup> requested that [the Court] deal with the officials and officers, civil and military, of the seacoast for their offenses and strictly forbid the big clandestine traders from establishing contact [with foreigners] and

carrying on transactions secretly. But the greedy Chinese dealers, because of the profit they realized from this trade, were willing accomplices. Thus it was impossible to put an end to [the trading].

In the sixth month of the twenty-sixth year (1547), the circuit censor, Yang Chiu-tsê,<sup>105</sup> recommended as follows: "The Chekiang prefectures of Ning, Shao, T'ai, and Wên, all bordering the sea, are contiguous to Fu, Hsing, Chang, and Ch'üan, prefectures of Fukien. Because of piratical raids, they all have guards and forts established with patrolling officers and defense commanders. Still sea marauders make their appearance without notice, and the officials of those two provinces find it impossible to put up concerted defense. It seems advisable that, as in former days, an important Court official be especially appointed to the defense post, who shall have all the affairs of the maritime prefectures under unified control. Power vested in one man would command more prestige and bring better results." The Court gave approval [to this plan], whereupon the vice-president of the censorate, Chu Wan,<sup>106</sup> was appointed as governor of Chekiang and also as commander-in-chief of five armies in Fu, Hsing, Chang, Ch'üan, and Chien-ning.

Shortly after that King Yoshiharu sent Shuryō<sup>107</sup> as envoy. The embassy arrived ahead of time with four ships and with six hundred men. They anchored off the coast to wait there until the next year when the tribute was due. The defense officer held them but they explained that the wind was the reason [for their early arrival]. In the eleventh month, this event came to the notice [of the Court]. Because of the arrival [of the embassy] ahead of time in violation of the regulation, and also because of its exceeding the stipulated number both of crew and of ships, the Emperor issued an edict to the port officials ordering that [it] be sent home.

In the twelfth month, the Wa pirates raided the two prefectures of Ning and T'ai,<sup>108</sup> killing and looting ruthlessly.

The [military] officers and [civilian] officials of the two counties were indicted on this account.

In the sixth month of the following year (1548), Shuryō came again and asked for the resumption of the tribute. Wan made a report accordingly. The Ministry of Ceremony recommended as follows: "Japan has violated the stipulation as to the time and also as to the number of ships and crew; but the words of the memorial are respectful and obedient. Besides, the time stipulated for the tribute is not so far away. We might make a sweeping refusal, but after all, their trouble in making a protracted voyage deserves sympathy. It might be well to be somewhat tolerant, bearing in mind as a lesson the case of Sosetsu and Sokyō. It might be advisable to instruct Wan to follow the precedent of the eighteenth year and send up fifty men [to the Court], keeping the rest at the guest house and consoling them with additional gifts as a persuasion to return home. As for private transactions and emergency measures, they may well be left to the discretion of Wan."

This counsel was approved. Wan, however, asserted that fifty was too small a number and that a hundred should be allowed to proceed to the capital. The Department decided to grant gifts only to this hundred, and that the rest should be left without any awards. [But] Shuryō made an appeal, saying that the ship carrying the tribute was so tall and spacious that a crew of five hundred was indispensable in order to man it; besides, Chinese merchantmen on the high seas often hid themselves behind islets to practice piracy. One ship had therefore been added as a convoy to defend against aggression; no regulation at all had been violated. The Ministry then recommended that the grant of gifts be extended, adding also that since the regulation not to exceed one hundred men might be difficult to carry out in the present state of affairs in the country, it might be well to make inspection of the size of the ships before proceeding to apply the regulation. This

recommendation was followed.

Japan formerly kept about two hundred tallies which had been given under the two reigns of Hsiao and Wu.<sup>109</sup> When the last envoy had brought over the tribute and requested that the tallies be changed for new ones, he was ordered to hand in the old ones. [But] this time [Shu]ryō brought fifteen tallies of the Hung-chih era and explained that the rest had been stolen from the hands of Sokyo and that there was no way of recovering them. As to the tallies of the Chêng-tê era, he had left fifteen of them at home for [future] identification and brought forty to hand over. The Ministry advised that in the future instructions be given to bring in all old ones and that only then would new ones be given in exchange. This recommendation was reported as approved.

At this time when the King of Japan was sending over tribute, the Wa of the different islands were incessantly raiding and looting the seacoast;<sup>110</sup> and the greedy traders were often involved [in these raids]. Wan therefore issued a proclamation saying that the ban against intercourse [with the Wa] would be stringently enforced. Those who were caught in clandestine transactions would instantly be put to death without waiting for order from the Court. Now influential families of Chekiang and Fukien, who had been the Chinese connivers with Japanese piracy, were thus deprived of their profit and were very much aggrieved against Wan. Wan also from time to time wrote appeals to the Court dignitaries advising of the connivance of the rich traders with the pirates. On that account, the people of Min<sup>111</sup> and of Chê all hated him -- the Min people being especially resentful. The circuit censor, Chou Liang, who was a native of Min, wrote an appeal to the Court in which he criticized Wan and requested that the office of governor be changed to that of superintendent of police in order to curtail Wan's power. Partisans of Chou in the service of the Court supported him and in the end his request was complied with. Deprived of

his office, Wan was arrested on the charge of putting people to death arbitrarily. Wan [then] committed suicide. After that, a governor was not appointed for four years, so that maritime restrictions became lax again and irregularities steadily increased.

In Chekiang, the office of Commissioner of Ports had been created by the first [Ming] Emperor and a eunuch appointed as chief official to be stationed at Ningpo and regulate prices upon the arrival of ships. Thus the control of trade had always been kept in the hands of the Court. [But] in the reign of Shih Tsung, all eunuchs stationed at various posts in the country were withdrawn, as well as the Port Commissioner. The way was thus opened for the greedy traders of the seacoast to get their hands on the profit. At first, the market still retained the semblance of a place of trade, but when the ban on transactions with foreigners came to be strictly enforced, the market was moved into the household of an important official. Failure to make payment became increasingly prevalent. When the buyer was pressed hard for payment, he would intimidate [the seller] with threats or would deceive him with fair words; and in the end he would say he owed nothing. Thus the Japanese lost their merchandise. Being unable to recover it, they became exceedingly resentful.

Rebel leaders such as Wang Chih,<sup>112</sup> Hsü Hai, Ch'ên Tung, and Ma Yeh were originally of the same breed [as these illicit traders]. Because in their own country [of China] they were unable to obtain what they wanted, they had made their way over the sea to the islands to become gang leaders. The Wa listened to them and were persuaded by them to start raids. Then these buccaneer chiefs, donning Japanese robes with Japanese ornaments and insignia, came in various craft to loot their native land. As the profit was always enormous, trouble with these pirates became worse day by day.

By decision of the Court, the office of governor was in-