

stituted, and in the seventh month of the thirty-first year (1552), Wang Yü,¹¹³ president of the censorate, was appointed to the post. But by that time, the situation was already such as to make complete subjugation of piracy well nigh impossible.

Thus in the early Ming period, all along the strategic points of the seacoast, guard-houses and forts had been erected and war craft made ready with a first captain, a superintendent of police, and the regional commandant in command; [thus] governmental control became thorough and strict. However, because of the protracted peace that followed, ships fell into decay and guard-posts were deserted. When the alarm was sounded, fishing boats were recruited to help in scouting and patrolling; but the soldiers were not well trained and the boats were not built for this particular purpose. At the sight of a buccaneer's ships, the guards ran to seek a hiding place. Besides, there was no one at their head to give command, so that wherever the pirates sailed, there was nothing but defeat and desolation in their wake.

In the third month of the thirty-second year (1553), Wang Chih induced various Japanese pirates to join him and started [an invasion] in great force. Craft after craft, many hundreds in number, arrived like clouds over the water. From east to west of Chô, and from north to south of the Kiang,¹¹⁴ many thousands of li of the seacoast sounded the alarm all at once. The fort at Ch'ang-kuo¹¹⁵ suffered defeat. In the fourth month, T'ai-ts'ang was raided, Shang-hai hsien was defeated, Chiang-yin¹¹⁶ was looted, and Ch'a-p'u¹¹⁷ was attacked. In the eighth month, the guard-post at Chin-shan¹¹⁸ was threatened, Ch'ung-ming [island], Ch'ang-shu, and Chia-ting¹¹⁹ were raided.

In the first month of the thirty-third year (1554), [the pirates], starting from T'ai-ts'ang, looted Soochow and attacked Sung-chiang.¹²⁰ Again, running over to the north of the Kiang, they pressed on to T'ung and T'ai.¹²¹ During the fourth month, they captured Chia-shan¹²² and broke through

Ch'ung-ming, again pressed into Soochow and entered Ch'ung-tê hsien.¹²³ In the sixth month, marching along the Wu Kiang, they looted Chia-hsing, and retraced their way to Chê-lin.¹²⁴ They encamped there as their base of action, and moved around in all directions just as though they were invading an uninhabited land. Yü was unable to do anything. After a while, Tü was transferred to the post at Ta-t'ung and Li T'ien-ch'ung¹²⁵ took his place. Then the President of the Board of War, Chang Ching,¹²⁶ was ordered to take entire charge of military affairs and to draft armies from all sides on a large scale in order to launch a concerted attack. By that time, the pirates had made the river basin of Ch'uan-sha¹²⁷ and Chê-lin their headquarters and were looting and plundering in all directions.

In the first month of the year following (1555), the marauders seized ships, attacked Ch'a-p'u and Hai-ning, and captured Ch'ung-tê. Then they turned to loot T'ang-chi, Hsin-shih, Hêng-t'ang, and Shuang-lin at various points, and attacked Tê-ch'ing hsien.¹²⁸

During the fifth month, uniting with a new force of pirates, they forged their way onward to attack Chia-hsing, and reached Wang-chiang-ching.¹²⁹ There they were defeated by Ching, who beheaded more than nineteen hundred of them and drove away the rest to Chê-lin.

There was another band of pirates who were looting the borders of Soochow to points as far distant as Chiang-yin and Wu-sih, and who were roving in and out of T'ai-hu.¹³⁰ Generally only about three-tenths of these [pirates] were real Japanese, while seven-tenths were [others] who followed them. When the Japanese fought, they drove those whom they had captured in their vanguard. Their discipline was stern and they all fought to the death; but the government forces were effeminate and cowardly and always gave way and ran.

The Emperor thereupon sent Chao Wên-hua,¹³¹ Vice-president

of the Board of Works, to superintend the morale of the army. Wên-hua demoted the meritorious and promoted the guilty, so that all the forces became still more demoralized. Both Ching and T'ien-ch'ung were arrested and Chou Ch'ung¹³² and Hu Tsung-hsien took over their posts. Within another month Ch'ung resigned and Yang I¹³³ took his place. It was at this time that the pirates ran amuck far and wide and there was no place in Chê or Kiang that was not overrun. New forces [also] were coming to them in increasing numbers and working havoc with greater abandon. Usually these pirates set fire to their boats before they landed to loot and plunder. Setting out from west of Pei-hsin-kuan¹³⁴ of Hang-chou, they robbed Shun-an¹³⁵ and stormed Hui-chou and Hsi-hsien. They reached Chi-ch'i and Ching-tê, passed beyond Ching-hsien, and hastened on to Nan-ling and even as far as Wuhu. There they set fires on the south shore. Speeding on to T'ai-p'ing-fu, they attacked the fort of Chiang-ning¹³⁶ and [then] straightway carried the raid to Nanking. These Wa pirates, in red attire and yellow umbrellas, and at the head of a large band, attacked the great Gate of Peace and Virtue¹³⁷ and the Twin Hills.¹³⁸ Then they left Mo-lin-kuan and from Li-shui kept on raiding at random as far as Li-yang and I-hsing. When they heard that the government forces were on their way from Lake T'ai, they went across Wu-chin¹³⁹ to Wu-sih and encamped at Hui-shan.¹⁴⁰ Then in a day and a night they sped over a hundred and eighty li to reach Hu-shu,¹⁴¹ where they were besieged by the government forces. The latter overtook them at Yang-lin ch'iao¹⁴² and annihilated them.

Throughout the raids, the rebels consisted of not more than sixty or seventy men.¹⁴³ They trespassed, however, for many thousands of miles, killing and wounding nearly four thousand people. Moreover, eighty days passed before they were subdued. That was in the ninth month of the thirty-fourth year (1555). The Governor of Nanking, Ts'ao Pang-fu,¹⁴⁴ duly made report of the victory to the Court.

Wên-hua was jealous of the exploits [of the government forces]. As the Wa pirates still kept their headquarters in T'ao-chê,¹⁴⁵ he took the opportunity to summon forces from Chê and Chih,¹⁴⁶ and together with [Hu] Tsung-hsien, took personal command of the army. At the same time making an agreement with Pang-fu for a concerted attack by different roads, he marched to Chuan-ch'iao¹⁴⁷ [tiled bridge] at Sung-kiang and encamped there. [Then] the pirates made a sudden attack with all their strength. Wên-hua was finally badly defeated and became disheartened, whereas the rebels waxed all the more aggressive.

In the tenth month, the pirates landed at Lo-ch'ing¹⁴⁸ and ransacked Huang-yen, Hsien-chü, Fêng-hua, Yü-yao, and Sheng-yü;¹⁴⁹ the killed and captured were countless in number. Only when they reached Ch'êng-hsien were they annihilated. This band, too, consisted of less than two hundred, yet they penetrated far inland to the three prefectural centers.¹⁵⁰ Fifty days passed before they were subdued.

A short time before, another gang had started looting from Jih-chao in Shantung,¹⁵¹ carrying their raids to Tung-an-wei, and they penetrated to Huai-an, Kan-yü, Lu-yang, and T'ao-yüan. When they reached Ch'ing-ho,¹⁵² rain worked against them and they were annihilated by the government forces of Hsü P'ei. The gang was not more than several tens in number, but the damage they did extended tens of hundreds of miles and they killed and slaughtered more than a thousand. Such was their ruthlessness.

After the defeat at the tiled bridge, Wên-hua saw the formidable character of the raiders' might. Those who had moved from Chê-lin to Chou-p'u¹⁵³ and those who had encamped at the old camp in Ch'uan-sha or by the Kao-ch'iao [tall bridge] of Chia-ting,¹⁵⁴ were the same in their way of attacking and raiding -- they did not give a day of respite. Then Wên-hua, giving the pretext that the pirates were brought into subjection, requested that he be recalled to the Court.

In the second month of the following year (1556), [Yang] I was dismissed, [Hu] Tsung-hsien taking his place, and Yüan O¹⁵⁵ was appointed governor of Chekiang.

Thereupon Tsung-hsien requested the Court that an envoy be dispatched to Japan, in order, first, to advise the King of Japan to ban or subdue the island raiders, and also at the same time to summon home those rebellious Chinese traders who had been conniving with foreigners. [These traders] would be permitted to atone for their offense by rendering distinctive service. Thus an understanding was obtained and finally young men of Ningpo, Chiang Chou and Ch'ên K'o-yüan, were sent over [to Japan].

On his return [to China], K'o-yüan said that upon reaching Gotō [in Kyūshū], he had met with Wang Chih and Mao Hai-fêng, who had told him that during internal warfare in Japan both the King and the premier had died, so that the various islands were no longer unified and were out of control. It had become necessary to give specific instructions to each locality to put an end to depredations. He also said that there was a certain province of Satsuma from whence raiders already had set sail [for China]; but that these people of Satsuma said that raiding was not their real object. The resumption of the tribute and of trade was what they desired, and they had expressed willingness to kill the pirates in order to make clear their own sincerity. So he had left Chou there to carry instructions to the various islands and he, K'o-yüan, had been escorted home. Tsung-hsien made a report accordingly. The Board of War recommended as follows: "As Chih and the others are duly registered subjects and say they are loyal and obedient, it is only proper that they should disband their forces; but without a word about that, they have asked for resumption of trade and of the tribute. Their actions resemble those of outlanders from across the sea. Moreover, their treachery is unpredictable. It behoves the government to issue

commands to the officials concerned to uphold the national prestige by strict attention to military preparedness and defense, and at the same time to send notice to Chih and all the others to clean up the pirates' nest in Chou-shan¹⁵⁶ as an act of vindication. In case the seacoast is entirely cleaned up, gifts and favors might be in order." This recommendation was acted upon.

By this time, the two Chê¹⁵⁷ were suffering because of the pirates. Loss of life by fire in Tz'ü-ch'i¹⁵⁸ was particularly tragic. Only second [in suffering] was Yü-yao. In western Chê, Chê-lin, Ch'a-p'u, Wu-chên, and Tsao-lin all became the haunts of pirates and the number of raiders was estimated to be over twenty thousand altogether. Tsung-hsien was ordered to make plans immediately to meet the situation.

In the seventh month, Tsung-hsien advised [the Court] that after Ch'ên K'o-yüan's return home [from Japan], Mao Hai-fêng, the rebel ringleader, had defeated the Japanese pirates once at Chou-shan and a second time at Li-piao.¹⁵⁹ He had also sent his partisans to convey the government's instructions and all the islands, one after the other, had become obedient and loyal. [Tsung-hsien] requested the grant of a substantial reward [for Mao]. The Department told Tsung-hsien to act according to expediency. At this time, Hsü Hai, Ch'ên Tung, and Ma Yeh were together laying siege to T'ung-hsiang.¹⁶⁰ By a certain scheme Tsung-hsien set them against each other, so that in the end Hai captured Tung and Yeh, and surrendered. The rest of the two latter's followers were annihilated at Ch'a-p'u. Shortly after, Hai also was attacked at Liang-chuang.¹⁶¹ He was killed and his followers were destroyed. Thus the pirates in Kiang-nan and in Chê-hsi were nearly all subdued.

To the north of the Yangtze, the pirates [now] made inroads as far as Tan-yang.¹⁶² They raided Kua-chou and set fire to boats and junks. In the following spring, they raided Ju-kao and Hai-mên, attacked T'ung-chou, and looted Kao-yu in Yang-

chou. They entered Pao-ying and finally ransacked the city of Huai-an. Then they collected their forces in Miao Bay.¹⁶³ Only in the following year were they subdued.

The pirates in eastern Chê, who had their haunts in the Chou-shan islands, were also attacked by the government forces at about the same period.

Some time before, Chiang Chou, who had proclaimed instructions to the various islands, reached Bungo¹⁶⁴ and was held there. He therefore caused a certain monk to go to Yamaguchi and other islands to convey instructions that raids should be ended. Thereupon the governor-general of Yamaguchi, Minamoto Yoshinaga,¹⁶⁵ sent [to the Court] a letter of explanation, and at the same time sent home the men held as captives. In this letter he used the King's seal.¹⁶⁶ The governor of Bungo, Minamoto Yoshishige,¹⁶⁷ sent the monk, Tokuyo, with indigenous products. [Tokuyo] carried with him a memorial with an apology for offenses and also with a request that a tally for the tribute be granted. Chou was escorted home.

A certain Chêng Shun-hung, who had been sent by Yang I out to sea as a scout, had also reached the island of Bungo. The chief of this island then sent the monk Seiju [to China] in Chêng's boat. Upon his arrival, he asked pardon for the raids and aggression which had taken place, saying that they all without exception had been caused by the wicked Chinese traders who had secretly lured on the seafarers of the island. Of this, he said, Yoshishige had been entirely ignorant.

Then Tsung-hsien wrote an explanatory report to the Court, saying: "Chou has been in Japan for two years carrying out his instructions and visiting the two islands of Bungo and Yamaguchi. [Yet] now some are here with tribute but do not bring the seal and the tally, and others come with the seal but not in the name of the King. In neither case [do they act] in accord with our regulations. However, the fact that they sent the tribute and returned the captives indicates that they have

guilty consciences and wish to ask forgiveness. It would be well, therefore, to treat the envoys with cordiality and send them home with orders to Yoshishige and Yoshinaga to have instructions forwarded to the King of Japan to arrest the leaders of the raids and to offer them to the Court, together with the wicked Chinese traders, [and to say that] then the resumption of commerce would be permitted." This the Court approved.

When Wang Chih dominated the islands, his partisans, Wang Ao, Yeh Tsung-man, Hsieh Ho, and Wang Ch'ing-ch'i had each his own band of pirates to make himself formidable. The Court offered the rank of earl and ten thousand pieces of gold as a reward for the capture of [Wang Chih] but without success.

By this time, however, the government forces of China were quite well prepared, so that the pirates, ruthless though they were, were killed in great numbers. There was one instance in which not a single man from an entire island returned alive. [The islanders] often bore enmity toward Chih, so that he gradually began to worry about his own safety.

Now Tsung-hsien hailed from the same district as Chih. He had let Chih's mother and his wife and servants live at Hang-chou, and dispatched Chiang Chou with a letter from Chih's family inviting him to come home. When Chih learned that his family and dependents were all safe and well, he was greatly moved. Yoshishige and others also were highly elated because of China's permission to reopen trade. They prepared a large ship and sent a subordinate, Zemmyo,¹⁶⁸ and a party of more than forty people with tribute and merchandise to accompany Chih and his party home.

Early in the tenth month of the thirty-sixth year (1557), the ship reached the port of Ch'ên in the Chou-shan islands. Officers and officials took it for a raider and lined up the guards for battle. Chih thereupon sent Wang Ao to have an interview with Tsung-hsien and ask him why they were greeted with martial display when they had returned home in good faith.