

[Now this] Ao was none other than Mao Hai-fêng, the adopted son of Chih. Tsung-hsien tried his utmost to placate him; placing his hand on his heart, he swore that he was sincere. But then, when Zemmyo saw Colonel Lu Tang¹⁶⁹ in the Chou-shan islands, the latter gave orders that Chih be captured and handed over to him. This speech leaked out and Chih became more suspicious. Tsung-hsien tried every possible means to convince him otherwise; but still distrustful, Chih told him to let Wang Ao return and then he would go to see him [Tsung-hsien]. Tsung-hsien immediately let Ao return. Chih then asked to be given an important official as hostage. Hsia Chông, police magistrate, was immediately ordered to go. Chih now thought [Tsung-hsien's action] was convincing. Accompanied by Yeh Tsung-man and Wang Ch'ing-ch'i, he came over to see Tsung-hsien, to the great satisfaction of the latter. Tsung-hsien treated him most cordially and arranged to let him have an interview with the circuit censor, Wang Pên-ku,¹⁷⁰ at Hang-chou. Pên-ku, however, turned him over to the government officials. At this news, Ao and the others became highly resentful. They decapitated Hsia Chông, set fire to the ship, climbed the hill, and made the port of Ch'ên their base of action. They put up a strong defense until the following year (1558), when reinforcements of pirates arrived in great numbers. Then they carried their raids into the three prefectures of eastern Chê. Those who had been in the port of Ch'ên they moved quietly over to Ko-hai.¹⁷¹ They built new ships and sailed out to the open sea. Tsung-hsien did not go after them.

In the eleventh month (1557) the pirates set sail southward. Anchoring off an outlying islet off the coast of Ch'üan-chou,¹⁷² they sacked T'ung-an, Hui-an, Nan-an¹⁷³ and other districts. They attacked Ning-chou in Fu and overran Fu-an and Ning-tô.¹⁷⁴ In the fourth month of the following year (1558), they laid siege to Foochow for more than a month. They attacked and burned Fu-ch'ing, Yung-fu,¹⁷⁵ and other areas. They spread out as far as Hsing-hua¹⁷⁶ and sped on to strike

Chang-chou. Now the seat of all these troubles with pirates moved to Fukien, and also to the region of Ch'ao¹⁷⁷ and Kuang. Alarms of raids sounded often and loud.

When the fortieth year came (1561), the pirates of eastern Chê and northern Kiang were subdued one after the other. Then Tsung-hsien was arrested because of an act of complicity.

In the eleventh month of the following year (1562), the military headquarters at Hsing-hua surrendered and massacre and pillage were rampant. Then the pirates moved their base of action to P'ing-hai-wei¹⁷⁸ and remained there.

When the Wa had made inroads in Chekiang, they had been victorious against departments [chou] and districts [hsien] in more than one hundred encounters; but they so far had never subdued a prefectural city [fu]. This news, therefore, inspired terror far and wide.

Generals Yü Tai-yu, Ch'i Chi-kuang and Liu Hsien¹⁷⁹ were summoned in haste to the Court. Then in concerted attacks, they subdued the pirates. Those who had made inroads in other states and prefectures were also defeated by these generals. Fukien was also pacified.

Later, powerful pirate chiefs of Kuangtung, such as Tsêng I-pên and Huang Chao-t'ai, all managed to get Japanese pirates on their side; and during the Lung-ch'ing era (1567-1572),¹⁸⁰ they vanquished various forts at Chieh-shih and Chia-tzŭ,¹⁸¹ made inroads in the Shih-ch'êng district in Hua-chou and subdued the forts of Chin-nang-so¹⁸² and Shên-tien.¹⁸³ Such districts as Wu-ch'uan, Mou-ming, Hai-fêng, Hsin-ning and Hui-lai, all suffered fire and pillage. Turning aside also into the three prefectures of Lei, Lien, and Ch'iung,¹⁸⁴ they made the border region suffer.

During the second year of Wan-li (1574),¹⁸⁵ they attacked four prefectures of eastern Chê -- Ning, Shao, T'ai, and Wên.

Then in Kuangtung, T'ung-ku-wei and Shuang-yü-so¹⁸⁶ fell into their hands.

In the third year (1575), they made inroads in Tien-pai.¹⁸⁷

In the fourth year (1576), they made inroads in Ting-hai.

In the eighth year (1580), they made inroads to Chiu-shan¹⁸⁸ in Chekiang and also over to the P'êng-hu¹⁸⁹ and Tung-yung islands off Fukien.

In the tenth year (1582), they made inroads in Wên-chou and also in Kuangtung.

In the sixteenth year (1588), they made inroads in Chekiang; but this time, because of the lesson learned in the troubles of the Chia-ching era, the coast officials kept the maritime defense in good condition, so that the pirates lost ground promptly. Those who were making inroads in Kuangtung under the leadership of the sea bandit, Liang Pên-hao, were the most formidable. The Governor-general of the province, Ch'ên Jui,¹⁹⁰ mobilized all forces available and attacked them. He beheaded over six hundred and sunk more than a hundred of their junks. Pên-hao himself was beheaded.

The Emperor took this occasion to offer thanksgiving at the shrine of the Imperial ancestors, proclaiming the victory and accepting congratulations at the same time.

From times of old, Japan has had a king. Below him, the title of kwampaku is the one most respected. At this time, Nobunaga,¹⁹² head of the province of Yamashiro, was kwampaku. One day while out hunting, he came upon a man lying beneath a tree, who, when suddenly awakened, jumped to his feet and ran into him. When this man was caught and reprimanded, he said he was Taira Hideyoshi,¹⁹³ the servant of a man of Satsuma. Hale, strong, agile, and alert -- he was clever too in speech. Very much pleased, Nobunaga put him in charge of his steed, calling him Kinoshita -- "man beneath the tree." He was gradually given more responsibility and developed a plan on behalf of

Nobunaga to capture more than twenty provinces. He was appointed Commandant-general of Settsu.¹⁹⁴

There was a staff-officer by the name of Akechi¹⁹⁵ who was indicted for a crime. Nobunaga ordered Hideyoshi to head an army and attack him. But all of a sudden, Nobunaga was assassinated by the lieutenant, Akechi. Hideyoshi at that time had already defeated Akechi. When he was informed of the incident, he turned back with his lieutenant, Yukinaga,¹⁹⁶ and, carried on by the momentum of victory, fought [with Akechi] and killed him.¹⁹⁷ His prestige was thereby firmly established. [Then] he went on to dispose of the three sons of Nobunaga. Arbitrarily calling himself kwampaku, he took over their forces as his own. This was the fourteenth year of Wan-li (1586).

Carrying his arms farther and farther, he conquered sixty-six provinces. By means of threats, also, he compelled Liu-chiu, Luzon, Portugal,¹⁹⁸ and Siam to send envoys with tribute.¹⁹⁹ Then he rebuilt the mountain castle where the King used to live and made it into an enormous Court. He erected large castles and stockades, built mansions and pavilions -- some nine storeys high -- and filled them with beautiful women and rare treasures. He was stern in justice and in his military operations there were only advances -- never retreats. All who did otherwise, even his own son and son-in-law, were put to death. Thus wherever he went, he was unconquerable.

When the era changed to Bunroku,²⁰⁰ he thought he would attack China and [also] subjugate Korea and make it his own. He summoned the remnant of Wang Chih's followers in order to obtain information and learned that the Chinese were as afraid of the Japanese as of tigers. Waxing all the more arrogant, he made a large-scale preparation of arms and armor and made repairs of ships and boats. He held conferences with his subordinates in order to map out an invasion of China. For [the invasion of] Peking, the plan was to employ Koreans as guides. As for Chê and Min and other coastal provinces, the plan was to

use Chinese. But since he was aware that the people of Liu-chiu might let the information leak out, he gave orders to suspend their visit with tribute.

[Now] a native of T'ung-an,²⁰¹ a certain Ch'ên Chia, was in Liu-chiu on business. He became worried lest disaster should be brought to China. In collaboration with Chông-hui, the recorder of Liu-chiu, he sent detailed information home by an envoy who was visiting China with tribute and also with a request for the formal installation of the King. Chia also returned to his native village and offered information himself to the Governor, Chao Ts'an-lu.²⁰² Ts'an-lu made a report accordingly [to the Court]. The Court referred the matter to the Board of War and sent a formal letter of inquiry to the King of Korea. The [Korean] King then took pains to explain that it was not true that he was furnishing guides [for Japan]. He was still unaware of the fact that the plan was also aimed against him.

When Hideyoshi first gathered fighting men from all the local military headquarters and collected provisions for a three year's campaign, he desired to head the invasion of China in person. However, his son died, and he had no brother. [Besides] he had previously taken away the wife of the governor of the island of Bungo and made her his concubine, and he was worried lest trouble might ensue. In addition, all the local chiefs in the country harbored resentment against Hideyoshi's despotism and all said that his campaign was not to attack China but to attack them. Since everyone was so antagonistic [to his ideas] Hideyoshi did not dare go in person.

In the fourth month of the twentieth year (1592), his generals, Kiyomasa,²⁰³ Yukinaga,²⁰⁴ and Yoshitomo,²⁰⁵ and the monks Ganso²⁰⁶ and Shuetsu,²⁰⁷ were dispatched at the head of a fleet many hundred ships strong.²⁰⁸ Going across the sea by way of Tsushima, they captured Kim-san in Korea, and taking advantage of this initial victory, drove forward rapidly. In

the fifth month, they crossed the bay, harassed Kaesŏng, and made various prefectures of P'ungdok surrender. Korea was entirely swept off her feet. Kiyomasa and his men pressed on vigorously toward the capital. The King of Korea Yi Yŏn, left his castle and hastened to Pyŏngyang and then to Uiju. Emissaries arrived [at the Court] one after the other with reports of imminent danger. The Japanese finally entered the capital and made the Queen and Prince prisoners. After a hot pursuit [of the King], the Japanese reached Pyŏngyang. There the soldiers were let loose to rape and pillage.

In the seventh month, Assistant-brigade-general Tsu Ch'êng-hsün, was ordered to go with reinforcements. He fought with the Japanese outside the castle of Pyŏngyang and met a heavy defeat. Ch'êng-hsün himself had a narrow escape.

In the eighth month, the Chinese Court appointed Vice-minister of War, Sung Ying-ch'ang,²⁰⁹ as Commander-in-Chief of the expeditionary forces, and Li Ju-sung²¹⁰ as Admiral to lead the campaign. Ning-hsia still remained unsubdued when these things took place in Korea and the Minister of War, Shih Hsing,²¹² did not know what to do. A volunteer who could speak Japanese was sought to feel out the situation. A man from Chia-hsing,²¹³ Shên Wei-ching, offered himself. Shih gave him the commission of Acting General-at-large and assigned him, with special instructions, to serve under Ju-sung.

The following year, Ju-sung's forces gained a great victory at Pyŏngyang and recovered four circuits lost before. Taking advantage of this victory, Ju-sung marched rapidly to Pokyegwan, where, however, he met defeat and beat a retreat.

Then discussions began, regarding the installations [of the King] and regarding tribute. The Chinese Court tried to patch up matters. Through Shên Wei-ching an agreement was reached on peace terms, the details of which will be found in the History of Korea.²¹⁴

After some time, Hideyoshi passed away²¹⁵ and all the Japanese set sail and returned home. Thus Korea's troubles came to an end.

The invasion [of Korea] by the kwampaku lasted nearly seven years. Casualties in the war exceeded many hundred thousand; wasted supplies amounted to many millions. Though China and Korea fought hand in hand, they had no chance of victory. Only the death of the kwampaku brought the calamities of warfare to an end and sent the Japanese forces back to their insular retreat. Then the east and the south began to enjoy a period of undisturbed peace.

Hideyoshi's line came to an end in the second generation. To the end of the Ming dynasty, however, the regulation forbidding intercourse with the Japanese was strictly enforced. At the very mention of Japanese, the people in the street became so excited that women and children held their breath in alarm.

NOTES

1. The Ming shih, or History of the Ming (1368-1644), in 336 chüan (hereafter abbreviated to MS) was compiled according to official accounts by a board of editors headed by Chang T'ing-yü 張廷玉 (1672-1755). Actually the task of compilation, ordered 1645, began tentatively in 1646, and was announced to be complete in 1736. Publication followed in 1739. The emperor then reigning, however, disapproved of certain sections (the imperial annals in 24 chüan); so he ordered it revised. This task was probably completed in 1782. The Po na pên erh-shih-ssü shih edition is based on the original 1739 edition.
2. Goryūsan, Takashima, an island at the mouth of the Gulf of Imari, off Hizen. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, p. 123, and note 96 under Takashima in the Yuan account above.
3. Kao Huang-ti, the name by which the first emperor of the Ming, Chu Yüan-chang, who reigned under the title Hung-wu (1368-1398), was canonized after his death. His temple name was T'ai-tsu.
4. Fang Kuo-chên, a native of Huan-yen, modern Chekiang province, died in 1374. His biography appears in MS 123:11b-

15b. Chang Shih-ch'êng died in 1367. His biography precedes Fang's in MS 123:6a-11a.

5. This message, which appears in slightly different form in the Ming shih lu (hereafter abbreviated to MSL), is placed in the 2nd month of the 2nd year (MSL, reign of Hung-wu, 37:3b).
6. King Ryōkai 良懷, error for Prince Kanenaga 康良 (1329 or 1330-1380), the military governor of Kyūshū representing the Southern Court.

Between 1336 and 1392 there were, as a result of a succession dispute, two separate imperial courts, the Northern Court in Kyōto, supported by the military government of the Ashikaga Family, and the Southern Court in Yoshino. Thus, in Kyūshū, besides a number of powerful local lords, there were also a tandai (inquisitor) representing the Northern Court, and a military governor representing the Southern Court. This confusion in political authority is reflected in this account by the erroneous references to "kings" who were, in most cases, only lords or officials of one of the imperial courts.

7. Wên, T'ai, and Ning are all in modern Chekiang.
8. Lai-chou is on the Shantung peninsula. Chao Shih 趙希, whose origin is unknown, had just begun his duties at Lai-chou. See Wang Hung-hsü 王鴻緒 (1645-1723) in the Ming shih kao 128:5a-5b.
9. Sorai. Buddhist monks, skilled in drafting dispatches in Chinese, almost invariably served as ambassadors. But there is little information on some of them, especially those who represented local lords or officials. The reader is referred to a useful table giving the names of all known emissaries who went to China during the Ming period, and other pertinent data, including references, in Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsu-shi, vol. 2, pp. 410-425.
10. Two Japanese monks studying in China at the time served as interpreters for this embassy. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsu-shi, vol. 2, pp. 276-278.
11. Both Hai-yên and Kan-p'u are in modern Chekiang.
12. Yü Hsien 於顯, said to have been good at books, horsemanship, and archery, fell into the good graces of the first Ming emperor by following his fortunes at an early date. In 1373 he was raised to the rank of tu-tu 都督. See the T'u shu chi ch'êng 圖書集成, XIV:63:1b.
13. Têng is on the Shantung peninsula.
14. The "King" referred to here is Prince Kanenaga, but his reasons for detaining the Chinese are not clear. This embassy had gone as far as Saga, near Kyōto. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsu-shi, vol. 2, pp. 276-278.