

從制度變遷論清代漕運的終結

李順民

慈濟技術學院護理科

摘要

中國的漕運制度創立於秦漢大一統王朝，隨後為歷朝統治者所採用，是中國歷史最悠久的制度之一。所謂漕運是利用天然或人工河道來供給首都糧食，涵括徵、運送、倉儲等複雜程序，其中尤以清代的制度最為完備，為漕運的極盛時代，直到光緒廿七年才劃下休止符。清代漕運制度的終結是一個制度變遷的漫長過程，清廷創立嚴密的組織來執行，可是隨著制度與組織間的『鎖進』效應，漕運組織為捍衛自身利益，抗拒海運、折徵等變革，而陷入『路徑相依』的僵化中。同時，清代漕運法規過於細密，卻又經常修改，遂讓官員有機會矇騙百姓；『立法從嚴』的結果導致不得不『執行從寬』，讓官員形成相互包庇的集體貪污；而其一味顧慮漕糧安全，也無形中縱容官員為所欲為。而在漕運的執行方面，因為執行規範的條件退化，朝廷又未建立有效的稽查偏差機制，整個制度的『交易成本』乃居高不下；復以漕運組織堅持自我利益，使得代理人效用下降，漕運遂呈現執行不完全的窘境。隨著組織、規範、執行各方面的變遷，漕運制度乃為市場機能所取代，成為見證時代變遷的縮影。

關鍵字：清代、漕運、制度、糧食

From the Changing of Institution to Approach the Falling of Ts' ao-Yun in Ch' ing Dynasty

Lee ShunD-Ming

Department of Nursing Tzu Chi College of Technology

Abstract

Ts' ao-Yun institution was one of the oldest institutions in China, it was established in Ch' in Dynasty and followed by successive dynasties. Ts' ao-Yun means to transport grain to national capital by water, its complex process includes levying grain, shipping and storage. Ch' ing Dynasty was the golden age of Ts' ao-Yun, but Ts' ao-Yun also couldn' t escape its fate of falling in 1901A.D.The falling of Ts' ao-Yun is a long term of changing in institution. Although Ch' ing government set a strict organization to execute the policy, Ts' ao-Yun organization locked-in with the institution generally and created its own profits at last. And then Ts' ao-Yun organization lost in a stiff situation of so-called "path-dependence" ; it was against any changing like transporting by sea, levying cash etc. Meanwhile, the rules of Ts' ao-Yun were legislated rigorously and corrected frequently by Ch' ing government. Therefore the rules of Ts' ao-Yun were too detailed to work. Hence officers took the chance to harbor each other, to cheat people and to take bribery. Since the government only cared about the safety of transporting grain, the connived officers have theirs way to execute policy. Because of the atrophic conditions of rule executing and the ineffective of supervising system, the "executing cost" of Ts' ao-Yun institution became more and more expensive. Besides, because Ts' ao-Yun organization insisted to preserve his own profit, the function of Ts' ao-Yun as an agent was lowered. Therefore Ts' ao-Yun couldn' t be executed completely. Through the changing of organization, rule, and executing, Ts' ao-Yun institution was taken place by market function and became a miniature of social changing in Ch' ing Dynasty.

Keywords : Ch'ing Dynasty, Ts'ao-Yun (transport grain by water) institution, grain

