

An Example of the Granary Workers in the Latter Half of the Yi Period

The case of the people levied by the office for receipt of
rice contributions (宣惠廳 Sŏnhech'ōng 倉募民 Ch'angmomin)

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1. It is extremely difficult to find out about the life of the common people under the Yi dynasty. There are arguments by officials in the 'Veritable Records' and literary collections, but they are largely no more than abstract phrases, and one can only obtain an outline impression by putting them together. But in the 18th and 19th centuries there were merchants with special rights, 市塵市民 *sijŏn-simin* and 貢契人 *kongyein*,⁽¹⁾ and there exist records and documents left by them, in addition to governmental records. But it is not easy to cope with the obscure jargon or the free-hand script, or, sometimes, the scribble. Again, there are such documents as the 詞訟錄 *sasongnok* and 題辭案 *chesa'an*, written by regional officials, but their contents are too abbreviated. These record the essentials of judgments passed on accusations or complaints, but their contents amount to no more than simple memoranda. But they are, of course, even so, important sources of knowledge about the life of people in the provinces. Apart from this, the present writer has recently obtained knowledge of the existence of material relating to the granary workers. And this too must be considered as an extremely valuable source concerning the common people. It consists of two fascicules entitled 嶺營膳本 *Yŏng'yŏng tŭngbon*, the first of 50 sheets, the second of 54. 嶺營 *Yŏng'yŏng* is the superintendence of 嶺南 *Yŏngnam*, that is, of 慶尚道 *Kyŏngsangdo*, and so it was at first thought that it would be a record of official exchanges with this superintendence. This document is now preserved in the National Central Library in Seoul. A few years ago the present writer applied to this library, and was kindly enabled to acquire photographs of the document. It turns out that the contents are otherwise, and it is a record of complaints and related departmental documents, principally concerned with the people levied by the office for receipt of rice contributions, 宣惠廳 *Sŏnhech'ōng* (abbreviated as 惠廳 *He-ch'ōng*) 倉募民 *ch'angmomin*. In the title of both fascicules, 'Yŏng'yŏng' is certainly wrong, and it would seem

that the document originally had no cover, and so some suitable cover from another book was used. To judge from the contents, it could also well be entitled the records, 膳本 *tŭngbon*, of the *Sŏnhech'ŏng ch'angmomin*. The year of the complaints and other documents is given only in terms of the sexagenary cycle, while the sequence is both disordered and broken; it is certainly not a complete document. Even so, there is nothing comparable to it in relation to the granary workers, and it must be accorded great importance in that respect. In this article I propose to use this as my central point and examine the life and also the environment of the *Sŏnhech'ŏng* granary workers. In what follows *Tŭngbon* (records) will be used as short for *Yŏng'yŏng tŭngbon*, cited above.

2. The *Sŏnhech'ŏng* was set up about the end of the 3rd or beginning of the 4th month of the year of the accession of 光海君 King Kwanghaegun (1608). Along with the cessation of the system of contributions and important corvées outside the capital, which had already been in a state of chaos and collapse for a century and more, the 大同米 Taedongmi (rice) was levied as a new land tax, apart from the rice tax and distinct from the land tax that had existed hitherto; in order to ensure the expenses of regional government departments, this was used as a source of revenue, a part being retained in the provinces, and the remainder being sent to the centre and applied to the essential commodities and other expenses of the various government departments. This new law was at first called 宣惠法 the *Sŏnhe* Law but was almost at once termed 大同法 the Taedong Law. At the beginning it was operated in 京畿道 *Kyŏnggido* and 京畿廳 the *Kyŏnggich'ŏng* was established, then combined with the former 常平廳 *Sangp'yŏngch'ŏng* and called the *Sŏnhech'ŏng*. Later, in the second year of 仁祖 King Injo (1624), it was set up in the remains of the old 仁慶宮 *Yingyŏng Palace*⁽²⁾ inside 崇禮門 *Sungnye Gate* (the great south gate) of capital. This area was later called 倉洞 *Ch'angdong*. There were established 江原廳 the *Kang'wŏngch'ŏng*, responsible for 江原道 *Kang'wŏndo*, in the same year; 忠清道 the *Ch'ungch'ŏngdo* 湖西廳 *Hosŏch'ŏng* in the second year of 孝宗 King Hyojong (1651); 全羅道 the *Chŏllado* 湖南廳 *Honamch'ŏng* in the eighth year (1657); and finally 慶尙道 the *Kyŏngsangdo* 嶺南廳 *Yŏngnamch'ŏng* in the third year of King Sukchong (1677). There were thus five *Sŏnhech'ŏng*. It was put into operation in 黃海道 *Hwanghaedo* in the thirty fourth year of 肅宗 King Sukchong (1708) and there is the name, 海西廳 *Haesŏch'ŏng*, but no special office (廳 *ch'ŏng*) was set up, the duties being carried out by the *Hosŏch'ŏng*, and later the *Kang'wŏnch'ŏng*. In addition to these there were established the 賑恤廳 *Chinhylch'ŏng* and the 均役廳 *Kyunyŏkch'ŏng*. The former was transferred to the *Hech'ŏng* in Sukchong 12 (1686)⁽³⁾ and amalgamated with the *Sangp'yŏngch'ŏng*; the latter was incorporated in 英祖 King Yŏngjo 29 (1753). Thus apart from the five *Hech'ŏng* already mentioned, the *Sangp'yŏngch'ŏng*, *Chinhylch'ŏng* and *Kyunyŏkch'ŏng* were amalgamated and one

more office was added; alongside was also established, in Yǒngjo 35 (1759), 公剩色 the Kong'ingsaek, which handled the distribution of monthly salaries and clothes to 都提調 *tojejo* and lower officials.

The staff of the Hech'ǒng consisted of three *tojejo*, first class first degree (領議政 *yǒng'üijǒng*, 左 *chwa*-(left) and 右 *u*-(right) 議政 *üijǒng*) and three 提調 *chejo*, second class second degree or above, among whom one combined the office of 戶曹判書 *hojop'ansǒ*. The *chejo* and above were called 惠廳堂上 *hech'ǒng tangsang*; one of the *chejo* was in sole charge of the duties, while the other two were regarded as subordinate and assisted him. Below there were five 郎廳 *nangch'ǒng* as administrative officials, and, again, in each office there were 計士 *kyesa*, 書吏 *sǒri*, 庫直 *kojik*, 使令 *saryǒng*, 茶母 *tamo* and 軍士 *kunsa*.⁽⁴⁾ Again, the Taedong-mi (rice) was levied as white rice in the plains, and in the hills as copper cash or cotton; and from the time of King Hyǒnjong to the first year of King Sukchong, it was levied at a uniform rate of 1 結 *kyöl* 12 *tu* (斗) with the exception of Kang'wǒndo. Those who contributed cash or cotton did so according to an officially fixed conversion rate.⁽⁵⁾ The Sǒnhech'ǒng, as a first class first degree yamen, ranked as the most senior of all the offices, and, sharing, as it did, with 戶曹 the *Hojo*, control of the finances of the whole country, it occupied an extremely important position.

The tax rice transported from all the provinces (道 *to*) was all gathered into granaries both inside and outside the capital. And, as was said above, with every extension of the application of the Taedong Law these granaries were successively established, amounting to nine sites in all:

- (1) 內廳庫 *Nach'ǒnggo* (storehouse): granary established at the site of the head office of the Hech'ǒng. On the 首善全圖 *Susǒn Complete Map*⁽⁶⁾ this is given as *Sǒnhe* granary, occupying a large area at 養生坊 *Yangsaengbang* 倉洞 *Ch'angdong* inside the Sungnye Gate (the Great South Gate). The cash and cotton were gathered into their respective storehouses, and the rice grain was transported to 江倉 the Kang Granary. Under the heading of the different storehouses of Sǒnhech'ǒng, 萬機要覽 the *Mangiyoram* says, "In the 2nd year of Yinjo (1624), the Kang'wǒnch'ǒng was also established, and an inner office (內廳 *naech'ǒng*) was built. The latter had 84 門 doors." There is a list of 京畿 *Kyǒnggi*, 8 doors; 湖西 *Hosǒ*, 11 doors; 湖南 *Honam*, 36 doors; 嶺南 *Yǒngnam* 8 doors; 海西 *Haesǒ*, 3 doors; 公剩色 *Kong'ingsaek*, 3 doors, and 均役廳 *Kyunyokch'ǒng*, 7 doors. On the subject of 'doors', the work says, "All the big granaries have the outward appearance of a single structure, but they are divided inside into a large number of compartments. The interior was divided into storehouses (庫 *ko*) of a number of *kan* (間). [A *kan* was an area of about 2.4 metres square], and these necessarily had doors. Where a number

of doors is mentioned here, one door means one storehouse.”
Total, 84 storehouses.

- (2) 江倉庫 Kangch'anggo: this was on the hill Yongsan beside 漢江 the Han river, about 4 kilometres to the south west of the capital. It was built when the Kyōnggich'ōng was established, and in the first year of King Hyojong (1650) the Hosō and Honam storehouses were successively built. The *Mangiyoram* gives Kyōnggi, 5 doors; Hosō, 9 doors, and Honam, 8 doors, total 22 storehouses.
- (3) 舊賑倉庫 Kujinch'anggo: this was to the north of the Kangch'anggo. In Sukchong 15 (1689), having originally been the *Chinhyulch'ōnggo*, it was made into granaries belonging to the Hosō and Honam *ch'ōng*. 5 doors each, total 10 storehouses.
- (4) 別倉庫 Pyōlch'anggo: this was in 太平洞 T'aep'yōngdong, 養生坊 Yangsaengbang, inside 昭義門 the Soŭi Gate (Small West Gate Sōsomun) of the capital. When the Chinhyulch'ōng was set up in Hyōnjong 2nd year (1661), a storehouse was built, and in Sukchong 36 (1710) the Hosō storehouse was constructed. In Yōngjo 14 (1738) this was enlarged, in the 19th year (1743), the Yōngnam and Honam storehouses were built, and at the same time as these two were enlarged in 正祖 Chōngjo 9 (1785), the 新大廳庫 Sindaech'ōnggo was constructed. There were subsequently Kyōnggi, 2 doors; Hosō, 21 doors; Honam, 19 doors; Yōngnam, 14 doors; Kyunch'ōng, 10 doors; total 67 storehouses. This constituted the largest store structure after the Naech'ōnggo and is given as 宣惠新廳 “Sōnhe New store” at 館井洞 Kwanjōngdong, Yangsaengbang, on the Susōn Complete Map.
- (5) 新倉庫 Sinch'anggo: this was at 萬里峴 Mallihyōn, 龍山 Yongsan, and was also called 萬里倉 the Mallich'ang. At the same time as the *Chinhyulch'ōng* was built in Sukchong 15 (1689), the storehouses of Hosō and Honam were established, and then they came under the control of the Honam and Haesōch'ōng. *Chinch'ōng*, 35 doors; Haesō, 3 doors; Honam, 20 doors; total 58 storehouses.
- (6) 平倉庫 P'yōngch'anggo: this was at 蕩春臺 Tangch'undae, 普賢峯 Pohyōnbong mountain, outside 彰義門 the Ch'ang'ŭi Gate (North Gate). This was originally built, in Sukchong 39 (1713), for the supply of military provisions to the mountain strongholds (山城 *sansōng*) of 北漢 Pukhan under the control of 經理廳 the Kyōngnich'ōng, and was called 蕩春倉 the *Tangch'unch'ang* (store); the military provisions were sent from the Hosō, Honam and Yōngnam *ch'ōng*. Later, in Yōngjo 23 (1747), the *Kyōngnich'ōng* was abolished, and 摠戎廳 the *Ch'ong'yungch'ōng*, which had been at 三清洞 Samch'ōngdong, 鎮長坊 Chinjangbang, in the northern section of the capital, was moved to 鍊戎臺 Yōnyungdae outside the Ch'ang'ŭi

Gate and given sole control of the mountain strongholds of Pukhan, and at the same time *Tangch'unch'ang* was placed under it. So the P'yöngch'ang of the *Kyöngnich'öng*, which had been here hitherto was transferred to the Hech'öng. Here there were Honam, 9 doors; Hosö, 1 door; Yöngnam, 4 doors; total 14 storehouses.

- (7) 北倉庫 Pukch'anggo: this was at Samchöngdong, before mentioned. After its transfer to the Ch'ong'yungch'öng, it was built afresh on the remains of its foundations in Yöngjo 24 (1748).⁽⁸⁾ Here there were Honam, 8 doors; Hosö, 3 doors; total 14 storehouses.
- (8) 南倉庫 Namch'anggo: this was at 鑄字洞 Chujadong, 薰陶坊 Hundobang, in the southern section of the capital. In Yöngjo 26 (1750), houses and storehouse for 均役廳 the Kyunyökch'öng were built here on the foundations of the old 守禦廳 Suöch'öng, and in Yöngjo 35 (1759), Hosö, Honam and Yöngnam storehouses were further established. Later there came to be: Honam, 8 doors; Yöngnam, 8 doors; Kyunch'öng, 19 doors; total 39 storehouses. On the Susön Complete Map "Kyunyökch'ang" is written below 木覓山 Mongmyöksan (Namsan).
- (9) 東倉庫 Tongch'anggo: this was at 梨峴 Yihyön, 蓮花坊 Yönhwabang in the eastern section of the capital. At first it was under 壯勇營 the Changyong'yöng, which was established in Chöngjo 9 (1785), but after the abolition of this department of administration in 純祖 Sunjo 2 (1802), it was transferred to the Hech'öng. Yöngnam, 17 doors; 17 storehouses.

Above were the 9 sites, both inside and outside the capital of the storehouses and other buildings of the various departments under the Hech'öng, with a total of 282 storehouses. This is nearly double the 5 sites for 軍資監 the Kunjagam, 廣興倉 Kwanghüngch'ang, 別營 Pyöryöng, 別庫 Pyölgo and 豐儲倉 P'ungjöch'ang, so that the Hech'öng was in charge of the greatest number of storehouses of all the various departments. However, these figures are those given in the *Mangiyoram* and are therefore those of the time, Sunjo 7 (1807), when this work was compiled.

3. Whether at the centre or in the provinces the workers for guarding, handling and other duties in connection with the storehouses were recruited among the local inhabitants. They were generally called 倉民 *ch'angmin* (store people), 倉居民 *ch'anggömin* or 倉底居民 *ch'angjö-kömin*. Their work was assessed as corvée, but after the Taedong Law had been put into operation, they received what was called 役價米 *yökkami* ('wage rice') as wages, which were their means of living. And it was the same in the case of the storehouses under the Sönhech'öng. But the store people of the Yongsan-kangch'ang, that is to say of the Hosöch'öng and the Honam-ch'öng, and later also those of the new Chinhyul-ko, were distinguished from the others by

the special appellation of *ch'angmomin* ('store levied people').

One finds such passages as:

"In the beginning, the appellation of 募民 *momin* was only instituted to apply to the workers of the Kangch'ang."

"When the Taedong Law was put into operation, storehouses were built in uninhabited localities, and people were levied to live in the surrounding area and guard them; they were named *momin*, and when this matter had been reported to the king and his permission was obtained, it became fixed, and the appellation was even used in the statutes."

Also, when the Chinhyul-ko was established, the royal assent was obtained, and people were levied, made to abandon their old houses and live round the storehouses.⁽⁹⁾ That is to say, the workers belonging to the Yongsangang-ch'ang, the old Chinhyulch'ang and the Sinch'ang, outside the capital, were called *ch'angmomin*, and as the storehouses were all established in originally uninhabited localities, they built their own houses at the same time and moved their residences. 嶺南庫 The Yŏngnamgos were contained in the storehouses of Sŏnhech'ŏng inside the capital, and also were built beside the P'yŏngch'ang at the foot of Mount Pukhan, outside. But the people in charge of this were not levied.

It is said in the record of the Hech'ŏng itself:

"The people of the Yŏngnamch'ang were not levied in the beginning nor were there storehouses to be guarded. After the establishment of the storehouses, there was a great difference in the degree of hardship of the work between them and the *momin* of the Two Ho 湖 (Ch'ungch'ŏngdo, Chŏllado)."⁽¹⁰⁾

The people of the various stores inside the capital were from the start inhabitants of the place and were consequently not *momin*. As regards the statutes mentioned above, we find in 續大典 the *Soktaejŏn*, compiled in Yŏngjo 20 (1744), that under 戶典·徭賦 the Hojŏn Yobu section there is written *ch'angmomin*,⁽¹¹⁾ and in 工典·雜令 the Kongjŏn chamnyŏng section, 募民契 *momingye*.

They did not differ only in their appellations; in particular, the *momin* of the Kangch'ang, who existed only from the time of the institution of the Taedong Law, differed conspicuously from the others both in the nature of their work and in point of their wages. The most senior of the heads of households among them was designated 倉主人 *ch'angju'in*, store master, by the Hech'ŏng. We find 23 names distinguished in the *tŭngbon* in the 1st month of Hyojong 9 (1658).⁽¹²⁾ The store masters were officials who were in general charge of the storehouse, responsible for storage, issuing, receiving and handling, but *momin* were at the same time issued with 差帖 *ch'ach'ŏp*

(certificates of appointment) as masters of such and such an office (office here means prefecture, sometimes referred to as 邑 *ŭp*) for each prefecture levying Taedong rice. They were commonly called individually 洪州主人 *Hongju-ju'in*, 靈岩倉主人 *Yŏng'amch'ang-ju'in* 興陽邑主人 *Hŭng'yang'ŭp-ju'in* and so on. This was on the model of the store people of the Kunjagam of the Hojo. Also, because they gave their children sole charge of handling and transport, their appellations came to be divided into 主人 *chu'in*, master, and 役人 *yŏgin*, official. The number of *momin* is extremely obscure, but according to what they said in Chŏngjo 12 (1788),⁽¹³⁾ they were only several hundreds, and if fathers, mothers, wives and children are counted, only some thousands.

Next, they were obliged by the necessity for their own management, defence and solidarity vis-à-vis outsiders to form 契 *kye* (guilds). This emerges clearly from the section on various ordinances in 工典 the *kongjŏn* of 續大典 the *Sŏktaejŏn*: "The handling and transport of the tax grain designated as coming from the ports on 漢江 the Han River is dealt with by 運石契 the *unsŏk-kye* (also called 運負契 the *unbu-kye*: transport guild) and the *momin-kye* (guild of *ch'ang-momin*), who take half each of the tax grain." The formation of these guilds probably came gradually into being from the time of the reign of Hyojong. Also, in respect of the *momin* of the Sin-ch'ang Chin-ch'ŏng storehouse, we find, "Three appointments (三所任 *samsŏ'im*) of the *momin* of the Chinhyul-ch'ŏng" in a document concerning the 三南募民 *Samnam momin* of Yŏngjo 40 (1764). The three appointments were members of the guilds, and they were called, as a rule, 領位 *yŏng'wi*, 上任 *sang'im* and 下任 *ha'im*, or 首座 *sujwa*, 二座 *i'jwa* and 三座 *samjwa*. According to the relative number of guild members and the relative size of their organization, there were further differences in their numbers and appellations, but the three appointments were the three kinds cited above. It thus perhaps goes without saying that there was this kind of official also in the *momin* guilds. They led their guild members and were their representatives vis-à-vis outsiders. Normally they took office by rotation. This was also known as 契任 *kye'im* or guild appointment. One also finds in a document concerning the inhabitants of Samch'ŏngdong of the 6th month of 1782, that a guild of officials was in existence for the people of the Kyŏnggich'ŏng and the P'yŏngch'ang store, in respect of cargo handling workers. The *momin* guilds may be supposed to have covered the storemasters and the officials under them.

Next, what duties or work had the *ch'angmomin* and what wages or salaries? Let us try to sum these up as follows on the basis of the *tŭngbon* and complaints and so on.

(1) Protection and patrolling of the storehouses and other buildings. This was carried out throughout the year, day and night, and whatever the weather. This included camping out on guard by the riverside from the

unloading of the grain from the boats until its entering the storehouse, and it was often the case that the exiguity of the storehouse would necessitate the temporary loan of storehouses elsewhere, and these guard duties would be temporarily spread among two or three different places.

(2) Inside and outside the storehouse buildings, weeding, snow clearing and time-keeping (坐更 *Chwagyǒng*).⁽¹⁴⁾ *Chwagyǒng* or time-keeping was receiving information from the clepsydra office of the palace (漏局 *nuguk*) and warning the night patrol of the hour. Within the capital, from the earliest times of the kingdom, from lords and ministers down to the common people there was 坊役 *pang'yǒk* (district duty) of transit for all ranks. The 坊 *pang* (district) both inside and outside the capital, was an urban administrative division, cities being divided into five *pang*, below which were 洞 *tong*, which were further subdivided into 契 *kye*. One can see in 經國大典 the *Kyǒngguk-taejǒn* that this was particularly strict in the case of storehouses. Weeding and snow clearing made one of the district duties, and fell to the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of the palaces and the various official departments. Thus this item relates to the duty in relation to transit incumbent on the inhabitants of the capital.

(3) Unloading of rice grain from ships, transport and cargo handling. Transport and cargo handling were basically regarded as the exclusive duty of the *momin*, and no outside interference was considered permissible. The storemasters took charge of this, with their sons under them, but sometimes they took on other labour, in which case the wages were the responsibility of the storemasters. Basically the responsibility for delivery of the tax rice grain to the storehouse was held to be that of the 領運監官 *yǒng'un-kamgwan* (transport officer) or 沙工 *sagong* (ship's master) sent from the administrative centres on board both 漕船 *chosǒn* (ships designated by the state for the transport of tax rice) or hired ships. For the Hojo there were *momin* officials, but for the storehouses managed by the army there were no cargo handling workers exclusively assigned, and it was normal practice for the transport officer, ship's master or captain themselves to hire labour, which was very different from the *momin*. Strictly speaking, the *momin* had the exclusive responsibility for the transport of tax rice grain for the Hosǒ, Honam and each Chinhyul-ch'ǒng. When deliveries were made to the Kangch'ang on Yongsan, they were of course in charge, but they also had the exclusive responsibility for the transfer of stored grain to the various storehouses in the capital or to those of other official departments, and for transport from the docks. But there were no wages for the transfer of stored grain. They were, so to speak, the exclusive workers for the Hosǒ, Honam and each Chinhyul-ch'ǒng.

(4) Repair of storehouses and attached buildings. As well as repairing walls damaged by rain or otherwise, and opening up drains, they dealt with the construction of thorn fences in spring and autumn and covering roofs,

providing the tools and materials themselves. This was not only for the storehouses based on Yongsan, but applied similarly to those dependent on them inside the capital, and if they engaged other labour because they were short-handed, they paid the expenses themselves.

(5) Construction of new storehouses. They were also responsible for all the work when additions were made to existing storehouse buildings. We find these complaints made by them:

“When new building was done on the Mallich’ang (Sinch’anggo), Naech’onggo, Pyölch’anggo, Samch’ondongch’ang (Pukch’anggo) and Kyunyökch’ongch’ang (Namch’anggo), we received wages for labour, but we ourselves were responsible for the wages of large numbers, and paid them, the whole sum amounting to several tens of thousands of 兩 *taels*.” (Words in brackets are the writer’s, and similarly below.)

“When there was the new construction of the Pyölch’ang in 1662, when there was reconstruction of the new department (new office) of the Naech’ongch’ang in 1626, when the Pukch’ang was newly built on Samchöngdong in 1748, when the Namch’ang was built on Chudong in 1753, and when the Sin-pyölch’ang (New Pyölch’ang) inside the Söso Gate, and on the occasion of other work, of varying size, on repairs or new building, of annual occurrence, we were responsible, overall, for labour charges amounting so some tens of thousands of *taels*, which we have not yet been able to have reimbursed.”⁽¹⁵⁾

It can be said that, apart from the P’yöngch’ang and the Tongch’anggo, almost all the work of building the storehouses of the Sönhech’öng was handled by the *momin*. ‘Wages for labour (口料 *kuryo*)’ in the quotation were the wages for the workmen employed by the storemasters in the course of the job. Being considered that the works were large scale, they were five pints (升 *süng*) daily supplied by the Hech’öng, but seven tenths of the cloth currency there included were the responsibility of the storemasters. There is the following passage, among the transcripts, in a situation report on the *momin* of the Kangch’ang of the head department.

“When this storehouse was being built, one sök of rice per month per man was supplied by the Sönhech’öng (one 石 *sök* was 15 tu 斗). But for every 9 *tu* we receive 1 *tu* as liquor rice, which we give to the workers. For the 5 *tu* short we pay additionally 3 *taels*, being the value of 2 rolls (1 roll = about 15.5 m.) of cotton in lieu of the 5 *tu*.”

One sök was 15 *tu*. (A *tu* by Japanese standards was about 3 *shō* 升 6 *gō* 合 = approximately 6.5 litres: [韓國農産土地調査報告 *Kankoku nōsan tochi chōsa hōkoku*]) The total of 10 *tu* of liquor rice and eating rice was provided officially, but the remaining 5 *tu* were in cloth currency, for which

the *momin* paid 3 *taels* for 2 rolls, thus paying for the labour they employed.

(6) Various tasks when 堂上 the *tangsang* and 郎廳 *nangch'öng* went out on their duties. It was the rule that, when a transport arrived at the anchorage, the *tangsang* and *nangch'öng* should proceed to Yongsan and carry out a check of the tax grain, and an inspection of the crew, from 監官 the *kamgwan* down to 沙工 the *sagong* and 格軍 *kyökkun*. The check was carried out in the Yongsan checking department (點檢廳 *Chömgömch'öng*). The *tangsang*, together with the 領運差使員 *yöng'un ch'asa'wön* (civil and military officials of the locality of 漕倉 the *choch'ang*; (that is storehouses on the coast at places designated by the government, where the tax rice from the prefectures and counties was collected and there loaded on to the transporting ship) who came on board from the *choch'ang* in the various provinces, took one *sök* of grain from the ship, and examined it for quality and quantity against a rice sample in a special bag. The sample rice was called 看色帶封米 *kansaek-taebong-mi* ('inspection bag rice'); the name of prefecture and county was marked on the bag, and one *sök* of rice was put in it and taken on board. The examination was for quality and contraction in volume of the rice. The inspection involved checking a list of the crew, from the *kamgwan* down, to verify whether the men were the right ones or substitutes. On these occasions the storemasters were responsible for providing 鋪陳 *pojün* (mats) and 依幕 *üimak* (tents) and for weighing and making the comparative examination.

4. The duties of the *ch'angmomin* were thus extremely broad. What, then, of their wages? There were two rates, the wages of the storemasters and the handling wages of the *momin*. The storemaster's wage was sometimes called 烟役價 *yön-yökhka* ('smoke' wage) but normally was known as 百一條 *paegilcho* ('one in a hundred'). This meant one *sök* for every 100 *sök* of tax grain, that is to say, a wage of 1%. The limit of the amount of high-grade grain on board a ship was from 800 to 1,000 *sök*; to this, when the Taedong rice levy was introduced, were added an extra 120 or so *sök*, as supplementary taxes such as 加升 the *kasüng*, 二價 *iga*, 作紙 *chakchi* and 人情雜費 *injöng-jappi*: *injöng*, kindness, originally had the sense of gift or gratuity, and was practiced in a customary way, until it was later regularized and the amount fixed. It was not just a tax payment; just as when commodities were delivered to senior official departments, this was distributed to the clerks, lower officials of the various tax gathering departments, and regarded as their income). 加升 The *kasüng* was compensation for contraction, 二價 the *iga* was payment for transport to the granary, 作紙 the *chakchi* was commission on delivery to the granary, and 人情 the *injöng* ('gratuity') was eating rice for the clerks and other minor officials directly attached to government departments, wages paid from the miscellaneous expenses. Since they were in fact 1% of the tax grain of the different prefectures, it may perhaps go without saying that there was a certain amount of difference

between them.

As will be explained below, the 'one in a hundred' was later held to cover the expenses of feasting (供饋 *konggwe*) and entertaining ships' crews. The former meant supplying meat and drink and making courteous acknowledgement to all a ship's crew when it came into port; the latter meant providing food and drink three times in a day to the transport superintendent and subordinate cargo handlers in the courtyard of the granary, when delivery was made. It is to be supposed that the *konggwe* or feasting did not take place from the start, but rather consisted in selling liquor and rice-cakes to the crews, and only later turned into this custom. The sale of liquor and cakes started in Hyojong 8 (1657) when the Honam storehouse was established. When any kind of transport vessel came into port, it had long been the custom that not only the local inhabitants but also influential members of the royal household, including the king and his wives and concubines, should send inferiors to sell tobacco, liquor and cakes to the ship's crew. There were also frequent occasions on which large quantities of wage rice were extorted and fights provoked. In this year the *momin* of the Kangch'ang were authorized to sell liquor and cakes to the crews of ships transporting the Taedong rice and surreptitious selling by others was forbidden, so that they obtained recognition of their monopoly.

Year musul 戊戌 2nd month day: order:

The foregoing order concerns the items in the appended complaint. The substance of the order is to be faithfully adhered to in the towns and villages listed below. If after the presentation of a petition in this way any infraction is discovered, those serving as 頭々 *tudu* ('head of hamlet'), 行首 *haengsu* ('chief officials') or 有司 *yusa* ('officials') will be unable to avoid grave guilt. It shall be fully communicated to every household that from now on the secret sale of liquor (to ship's crews) is entirely prohibited. 'If by any chance I am negligent I submit to incurring guilt.' [The last sentence is written as a request by the recipient of the order, and his seal appears below it.]

Western section: 麻浦 Map'ŏ street, 西江 Sŏgang street, 棺榔契 Kwangwak street, 灘江契 T'angang street, 兄弟井契 Hyŏngjejŏng street, 瓮里契 Ongni street, 黑石里 Hŭksŏk village, 水鐵里 Such'ŏl village, 東門外契 Tongmunwe street.

This was a written order issued by the Sŏnhech'ŏng to the Western section 奉事 *pongsa* (section head, in charge of administration), and is glued to, or appended to, a written petition from the *momin* on which there is a hand-written monogram. The *tudu* and other officers were urban officials. Hŭksŏk village and Such'ŏl village were west of Map'ŏ street and the other six listed, in the neighbourhood of Sŏgang. They thus obtained the monopoly

of selling to the crews of ships transporting the Taedong rice. Probably at the time their income was addition to their wages. But it seems quite likely that in the course of time disputes broke out among the crews, as a result of this the income regarded solely as coming from the provision of liquor and cakes ceased, and it was then included in the 1% wage together with the receptions in the granary courtyard. In Sukchong 45 (1719), there was a dispute on the part of the ships' crews, planning to reduce their wages in accordance with the extent of the hospitality provided. At this time the *momin* made the following complaint:⁽¹⁷⁾

“After their (the crews') arrival, they are entertained as is the custom. On these occasions we prepare quantities of liquor and meat, and sometimes go to the docks to offer hospitality. Further, when the rice-grain is delivered to the granary, we provide three times in a day food and drink for 50 or 60 people, including numbers of ship's crew and cargo handlers, as well as *kamgwan* (not officials with direct responsibility for tax payment, but, rather, local low-grade public service personnel), and clerical staff. Consequently the *kamgwan*, *sagong* (ships' captains) and *kyökkun* (sailors), in return for our labours, supply the storemaster with one *sök* of rice for every hundred on board the ship.”

In Yöngjo 40 (1765), of the year *üryu* 乙酉 were compiled 湖南稅大同漕運節目 the *Honamse-taedong-cho'un-chölmok* (also called 乙酉作隊節目 the *Uryu-chaktae-chölmok*), ('Regulations relating to the transport by ship of Chöllado tax rice-grain and Taedong rice-grain' with 'regulations concerning the formation of ships') and the articles on the *Injöng-jappi* (the various 'gratuities') were laid down at the same time.⁽¹⁸⁾ One of the latter was to the effect that in respect of every 1,000 *sök* of Taedong rice “8 *sök* were the wages of the store master, 2 *sök* for the entertainment of the crews, making a total of 10 *sök*, known as the 1%.” The Sönhech'öng explained, “Previously the normal expression was 'wages' and the hospitality item did not exist. But since the *momin* provided liquor and cakes and went to the ships, and provided meals in the granary courtyard, the wages item was divided and the hospitality item introduced.”⁽¹⁹⁾ Since the 1% wage combined the two, there was no change in the previous arrangement. Subsequently, towards the end of the reign of Yöngjo, there was revision of part of the law relating to the maritime transport of tax rice and tax goods, and regulations were introduced whereby the *injöng-jappi* were reduced, but the wages of the store masters remained unaffected.

Next, what were the wages of the store people under the Sönhech'öng, apart from the *momin*? In the 嶺南廳事例 Yöngnamch'öng-sarye' it is stated, under the heading of *injöng-jappi* that for every 1,000 *sök*, 'the wages of the *momin* are 4 *sök* 5 *tu*.' This further agrees with the explanation given by the Sönhech'öng to 舟橋司 the *Chugyosa* ('office of pontoon bridges'),⁽²⁰⁾

'Yöngnam regulation, 4 sök 5 tu.' That the Yöngnam store people (*ch'angmin*) were not *momin* was, as mentioned previously, explicitly stated by the Hech'öng, so the 嶺南廳事例 Yöngnamch'öng-sarye may be supposed to have been drawn up in the time of 憲宗 Hönjong or 哲宗 Ch'ölchong, and the appellations of *momin* and *ch'angmin* were confused by that time. It follows that the store people (*ch'angmin*) of the Sönhech'öng, apart from the *momin*, had a salary of 4 sök 5 tu.

Next, what of the costs of employees and cargo handling? These are also set out in the *üryu* (1765) regulations of the Hëch'öng relating to the *injöng-jappi* ('various gratuities'). The whole text is as follows:

"Schedule of basic gratuities per 1,000 石 sök of Taedong

- | | |
|---|---|
| (1) 書吏 <i>söri</i> (4 people) 6 石 sök | (2) 庫直 <i>kojik</i> (4 people) 8 石 sök 8 斗 tu |
| (3) 使令 <i>saryöng</i> (5 people) 7 石 | (4) 假使令 <i>kasaryöng</i> 1 石 |
| (5) 文書直 <i>munsöjik</i> 7 升 süng | (6) 私庫直 <i>sagojik</i> (4 people) 7 斗 |
| (7) 大廳直 <i>taech'öngjik</i> 3 斗 | (8) 都使令 <i>tosaryöng</i> 3 斗 |
| (9) 助傍軍 <i>chobang-kkun</i> 8 斗 | (10) 答價 <i>taega</i> 2 斗 |
| (11) 假文書直 <i>kamunsöjik</i> 2 斗 | (12) 皮帛直 <i>p'idaejik</i> 2 斗 |
| (13) 等牌軍士 <i>tüngp'ae kunsä</i> 2 斗 | (14) 軍士 <i>kunsä</i> 2 斗 |
| (15) 茶母 <i>tamo</i> 1 斗 | (16) 洞任 <i>tong'im</i> 1 斗 |
| (17) 燭匠 <i>ch'okchang</i> 1 斗 | (18) 催促使令 <i>ch'oech'ok saryöng</i> 2 斗 |
| (19) 掃雪軍 <i>sosöl-kkun</i> 1 斗 | (20) 甘結使令 <i>kamgyöl-saryöng</i> 2 斗 |
| (21) 告祀 <i>kosa</i> 3 斗 | (22) 陳省例債 <i>chinsöng-yech'ae</i> 3 斗 |
| (23) 色駝 <i>saekku</i> 3 斗 | (24) 請坐使令 <i>ch'öngjwa-saryöng</i> 1 斗 |
| (25) 積石軍 <i>chöksök-kun</i> (3 people) 3 斗 | (26) 雨裝直 <i>ujangjik</i> 2 斗 |
| (27) { 倉主人役價 <i>ch'angju'in yökka</i> 8 石 | total 10 石 called the <i>paegilcho</i> |
| { 缸人供饋次 <i>kang'in-kong'gwech'a</i> 2 石 | |
| (28) Wage rice for employees 11 石 7 斗 5 升 süng | |
| (29) 江倉軍士 <i>kangch'ang-kunsä</i> 9 斗 | (30) 馬夫色掌 <i>mabu-saekchang</i> 2 石 9 斗 |
| (32) 管領 <i>kwallyöng</i> 5 斗 | (31) 都掌 <i>tojang</i> 4 斗 |
| (34) 助傍軍打石代 <i>chobang-kkun tasöktae</i> 8 合 hop per 石 | (33) 江邊主人 <i>kangbyön-ju'in</i> 5 升 |
| (35) 私庫直 <i>sagojik</i> 6 合 per 石 of spilt rice recovered." | |

(28) in the above is the wages for cargo handling by the employees among the *momin*. In an official exchange between the Hech'öng and the Chugyosa ('pontoon bridge office') of Chöngjo 15 (1791) there is, "for the employees handling cargo (負石 *pusök*), 1 sök 2 tu 2 süng 5 hop per 100 sök," which exactly agrees with 11 sök 7 tu 5 süng per 1,000 sök. The expression, *pusök* in the above quotation means "carrying sök of rice on the back",⁽²¹⁾ which is the job of transporting the cargo by carrying 空石 *kongsök* or bales on the back.⁽²²⁾ (22) above was commission for the reports

on Taedong rice made by the heads of prefectures and sub-prefectures, and, together with (10) and (21) was collected by the head office. The rest was almost all rations for the employees of the Hosŏ-, Honam-, and Chinhaul-ch'ŏng. They were supplied with monthly rice and clothing by the head office, but the rations were a separate special allocation. (16) were officials of 洞 the *tong* or streets and (32) were officers of 坊 the *pang* or districts; in 新補受教輯錄 the *Sinbo-sugyo-jimnok* there is, "kwallyŏng" or warden of the first sub-district of the capital along the Han River," (the sub-districts (面 *myŏn*) were below the prefectures and sub-prefectures, and below them were villages.). The officials (16) and (32) had the responsibility of reporting the arrival of the ships carrying tax grain to the board of civil office and the Sŏnhech'ŏng. We do not know about the *kangbyŏn-ju'in* or 'riverside masters' (33). Were they perhaps in charge of the docking places along the river? The *mabu-saekchang* (30) were probably those in charge of horse drawn transport, and the *tojang* (31) their subordinates. But there are questions about (6), (19) and (25) among the remainder. About the *sagojik* (6), the Sŏnhech'ŏng has an explanation:⁽²³⁾

"The *sagojik* were basically responsible for the distribution of the 'gratuities'. Their duties were, in fact, when the rice was collected into the granaries, to prepare the measuring instruments and the mats to receive the grain, and to pick up any rice that was spilt. When they had previously had the right to the rice they picked up from the ground, they deliberately spilt a lot of it, and for this reason alone there was a serious loss of tax grain; in consequence of this the crews of the Honam (Chŏllado) and Hosŏ (Ch'ungch'ŏngdo) boats and of the vessels on the Han River, in order to put an end to this abuse, applied to the Sŏnhech'ŏng to fix a payment of 6 hop per sŏk of rice, and this was authorized by the head office. In fact, the *sagojik* were regulated by the ships' crews, and this was in order to prevent the loss of tax rice-grain."

That is to say, the *sagojik* had the task of preparing the *kok* 斛 (a measuring standard) and 網席 *mangsŏk*,⁽²⁴⁾ adjusting the weighing and sieving⁽²⁵⁾ apparatus, and collecting any rice spilt in the course of the examination of the quality of each sŏk. Since in the course of their duties they had a tendency deliberately to spill too much, it was laid down that 落庭米 *nakchŏngmi* 'rice spilt in the courtyard', should be at the rate of 3 sŏng per sŏk, and 色米 *saengmi* ('sample rice' or rice spilt in the course of the quality check) at 5 hop per sŏk, and some of this was applied to making up for shrinkage in the tax grain, employees' rations and 雜費 *chappi* or miscellaneous expenses. The *sagojik* worked in accordance with crews' demands and were not on the staff of the head office. The *chŏksŏk-kun* (25),⁽²⁶⁾ responsible for stowage in the granaries, together with *sosŏl-kun* (19), snow-

sweepers, may also be accepted as not being staff but *momin*. Among the staff listed, it may be supposed that the *chobang-kun* too were probably *momin*, but we cannot be certain. In addition to these, it is said that the services of 注石軍 *chusök-kun*, 擧石軍 *kösök-kun*, 添米軍 *chömmi-kkun*, 剩軍 *ing-kun* and 前執軍 *chönjip-kun* were supplied on the demand of the ships' crews.⁽²⁷⁾ These too were probably *momin*. We have no details as to their work or wages, but they were probably ancillaries connected with the checking operations.

Above are the wage rates of the cargo handlers and other *momin*; what then of the cases of the store people who were not *momin*? There is a clue to this in the Yöngnamch'öng-sarye, which say, "In the handling of cargo, the wages for the work of removing dust or dirt mingled with the rice grain are 4 sök of rice, at 6 hop per sök, and this is not found among the various expenses for gratuities in the *Üryuchölmok* previously quoted. Here the handling of the cargo by the employees is the transport of the cargo. The 'shaking' was done by adjustment of a fan, and 'beating' was presumably the same. These wages may be supposed to indicate the rations covering the cargo handling and other duties of store people other than *momin*, corresponding to the "*momin* wages rice 4 sök 5 tu", previously mentioned.

The work of the store masters and *momin* was multifarious. Compared with the other storepeople their income too was to that extent greater. They had a monopoly of the work, which was hereditary, passing down to sons and grandsons. There were also occasions when the duties were sold and exchanged, and this was comparable to the buying of the right to collect tax goods, that is to say, commodities, possessed by the tax goods masters (貢物主人 *kongmul-ju'in*). There was buying and selling of the right to the duties of 邑倉主人 *üpch'ang-ju'in* or district (*üp* 邑) store masters. When there was a lot of Taedong tax rice, the 1% wage was worth as much as 1,000 or more taels and was said to have been never less than several hundred. I do not know whether any documents of these transactions have survived, but if any were ever to be discovered, a further large number of interesting questions would doubtless develop. Again, during the period between the arrival of the ships' crew and their sailing again, they not only had the sole charge of the unloading, protection and handling of the grain, but it would also seem to be the case that their reception and provision of food and liquor was a very considerable convenience to the crews. So they maintained a relationship of host and guest with the sailors, and on occasions, if a crew member turned out to be guilty of a crime, they would also take on the duty of 保授 *posu* (this involved taking the man into one's house, and guaranteeing and guarding him there, until his acquittal). Also, in order to safeguard their duties and protect their wages, they made positive efforts for the convenience and reception of the crews.

5. Though the *momin* of the Kangch'ang had duties as multifarious as similar workers in the storehouses of the Hech'öng, their income amounted to much more. They therefore drew on themselves the envy of others, and there were ceaseless quarrels in attempts to get the cargo handling. Also, their wages were sometimes regarded by the ships' crews as too great, and there were frequent disputes about its grant. The wages were loaded together with the tax grain from the various provinces, but as a result of the compensation for the shrinkage of the tax grain being settled at a low figure, and the lower the amount of the miscellaneous expenses for 'gratuities', so much greater did the surplus become and the increase in the crews' income. This did not mean therefore that the sailors necessarily submitted to the wages awarded to the *momin*. And for this reason, some vaguenesses and variations in the duties and earnings of the *momin* were also inevitable. Let us next look at some of the principal disputes.

As early as Hyönjong 6 (1665), there was a dispute between the store people under the Hech'öng and those of the storehouses of the Naech'öng. Two years earlier the 下大廳庫 Hadaech'öng store was built at the main storehouse, the site being enlarged and neighbouring dwellings evacuated. This in itself increased the amount of work for those who remained, but this did not mean any special increase in their earnings. They planned to seize control of the handling of cargo for the main storehouse, which was the monopoly of the Kangch'ang *momin*, and three times in this year they submitted complaints. But from the initial establishment of the main storehouse, it had been laid down that the Kangch'ang workers were responsible for the unloading and carriage of the rice grain, and the workers of the main storehouse were responsible for transporting and storing the Taedong copper cash and cotton. Moreover, the employees of the main office took advantage of the calculations of the tax copper cash and cotton, there were many abuses involving embezzlement or bribery and coercion of regional officials, and government servants felt considerable lack of confidence in them. And so, though there was just a chance of consent, the complaints were rejected by reason of the difficulty of preventing theft and the inevitability of conflict between the sailors and the Kangch'ang workers.⁽²⁸⁾ After this there was a similar dispute between the inhabitants at the Pyölch'ang and the *momin* of the Sinch'ang on Yongsan. Though they had complaints several times rejected in the course of some ten years or so since Sukchong 36 (1710), the Pyölch'ang store people continued the dispute, and the *momin* of Sinch'ang Chin-ch'öng and of the storehouses of Hosö and Honam united in resistance to them. In Kyöngjong 2 (1722), the court proposed granting the cargo handling to the Pyölch'ang store people by means of a partition of the tax grain, but this was cancelled in the face of strong opposition on the part of the department officials. Later, in Yöngjo 14 (1738) there were further outbreaks of disputes on the part of the store people of the Nae-

ch'ang and Pyölch'ang but O Irwon 吳一源 and the other signatories of the complaint were condemned to be banishment,⁽²⁹⁾ and it was defeated. Then the longest lasting dispute was on the part of the people of the Pukch'ang, in Samch'öngdong. They had been the cargo handlers attached to the Ch'ong'yungch'öng storehouses, which had previously been on this site. After the removal of this establishment in Yöngjo 20 (1744) and the building of the Hosö and Honam storehouses of the Sönhech'öng, the cargo handling was transferred to the *momin* of the Kangch'ang, and the original handlers were only made responsible for local guard duties, for which they were granted no more than 1 sök of rice per ship, according to the number of ships carrying Taedong tax rice. Again, when the storehouses were constructed, they frequently appealed to take part in the work, but in spite of this, the storemaster stubbornly refused and managed to gain the monopoly of the handling. It is not difficult to imagine how discontent turned into anger. Although the signatories of every complaint on behalf of the Pukch'ang people incurred flogging and banishment, they obstinately persisted for nearly half a century. Their resentment lay in the fact that, while the storemasters had the high earnings of the 1% wage, they themselves had suddenly been reduced to the earnings of their labour wage. Finally, in Chöngjo 6 (1782), they heard that the priests were proposing to appoint altar guardians for the 祈雨祭 *ki'uje* ('rain prayer ceremony') at Mt. Pugak, and they begged that four people from Samch'öngdong, where they lived, be chosen, and given this duty in turn, and obtain rations and cloth for it, but this request too was rejected.⁽³⁰⁾ It was the plight of the common people to rely on authority and struggle for the slightest benefit. And in addition to all this, there were similarly ceaseless disputes revolving round the cargo handling between the Kanch'ang *momin* and the Sinch'ang Chinhyul-ko *momin*, as well as the storemasters of the Namch'ang and 均廳 Kyunch'öng and of the army administered Chang'yong-yöng. However, the unloading and cargo handling most certainly did not continue to be the monopoly of the *ch'angmomin*. In Kyöngjong 1 (1721) there was the case of the inhabitants of the sub-prefecture being given half the responsibility for the cargo handling of the Hojo and Hech'öng *momin* on the insistence of 漢城府 the Hansöng-bu (Metropolitan Bureau). However, this was stopped because of the many abuses arising from the fact that many of the inhabitants were slaves of 兩班 the *yangban* ('distinguished families') or vagabonds, and the affair was over in a short time.⁽³¹⁾ Again, after this the government decide on a half sharing of the tax grain handling with the *unbu* guild.

The following appears under the heading of miscellaneous orders in 續大典 the Soktaejön and under the heading of work regulations in 工典 the Kongjön and 新補受教輯錄 the Sinbo-sugyojimmok:

"The handling and transport of cargo from vessels arriving in the Han

river is decided by regions, and the cargo is divided equally between the 運石 *unsök* guild and the *momin* guild, to whom the duty is allotted.

(Note) The work of unloading from the ships, transporting and collecting into the external granaries [granaries in the suburbs outside the capital] of the Sönhech'öng, Hojo and the other government departments was carried out by the two groups of workers, each taking half.

. For the cost of horse transport, a household tax was levied on the inhabitants of the towns and villages on the banks of the Han River, and the *unsök* guild and the *momin* guild, and this was taken as a source of revenue; thus it was arranged that there were no cases of those working on horse transport on the pretext of inadequate reward. . . ."

Unsök is *unbu*, that is to say, 'transport'. The *unbu* guild was originally established for the transport of kyoch'ö 郊草 (shrubs and grasses for fence and other using) for the Naesusa.⁽³²⁾ This decision originally arose from a relief policy for the horse guildsmen (also called 貰馬契 *sema-gye*) responsible for horse transport. In Kyöngjong 1 (1721) 備邊司 the Pibyönsa (Board of National Defence) decided to levy a tax of 3 copper *taels* per household on the inhabitants on the banks of the river, in order to revive the horse guildsmen, who were in a ruined condition, to attribute this to the horse guildsmen as their revenue, and to give them sole responsibility for collecting into the storehouses along the river. At this point the Hojo accepted the levy of the household tax on the workers attached to the granaries under their control, but they refused to hand over the transport work, which they held to remain unchanged. The Sönhech'öng at first accepted the concession of half the work, but it subsequently obtained the king's consent to follow the example of the Hojo.⁽³³⁾ The plans of the Pibyönsa were thus overthrown, and later, in Yöngjo 5 (1729),⁽³⁴⁾ the horse guild was amalgamated with the *unbu-gye* or transport guild. The difficulty of levying the household tax and the delay in payment of wages resulted in another very serious decline for the horse guildsmen. The decision quoted above from the Soktaejön must have been made at this time. Because the household tax to be applied to the wages of the horse guildsmen was regarded as levied on those living along the banks of the Han River and on the *unbu* and *momin* guildsmen uniformly, and it is clear that the *unbu* and horse guilds' amalgamation took place. This did not, however, mean that the *momin* obeyed the decision. They repeatedly struggled to put an end to cargo handling by the transport guild, but without success, and the two went on with the transport and handling for a long time. Further, in the legal text there is mention of half shares, but the wage per 1,000 *sök* was 11 *sök* 7 *tu* 5 *süng* which was not equally divided in half, 6 or 7 *tu*

being deducted from the transport guild. This was probably because when the two guilds were quarrelling, a written document, contracting to pay tax to the *momin* guild was handed over by the transport guild. A report by 右議政 the Uüijong (3rd minister of state), 金鍾秀 Kim Chongsu, of Chǒngjo 14 (1790) says:⁽³⁵⁾

“Several hundred years have now passed since the creation of the Sǒnhech’ǒng. During this period the *unbugye-in* or transport guildsmen have exchanged documents whereby they contract to pay tax to the *momin* guild in respect of their share in the handling and transport of grain, and the documents of the time still exist. As a result, the wages for cargo handling and transport have never been equally divided between the *unbu* guild and the *momin* guilds; the wages earned by the *unbu* guild are reduced below half by the amount of the tax that they pay to the *momin* guild. There is therefore a difference of several *sǔng* per *sǒk* in the earnings of the two guilds.”

This tax constituted a lease for the concession of half the transport and handling.

The disputes of the *momin* with others were not confined to the matter of cargo handling alone. They were also extended to the matter of the 1% wage. It has already been said that, for the transport of Taedong rice, ships from the capital on the Han river were also used. In addition to these there were also 待變船 *taebyǒn* ships of 訓練都監 the Hullyǒn-togam (in shortened form, 訓局 Hunguk),⁽³⁶⁾ ferry boats under the control of 工曹 the Kongjo, as well as ships belonging to the royal family and private merchants. The shipping charges varied with the length of the voyage between 1 *sǒk* and 2 *sǒk* 5 *sǔng* per hundred *sǒk* of rice on board, and a further 浮價 *puga* (miscellaneous expenses) was given, between 1 *tu* and 7 or 8 *sǔng*.⁽³⁷⁾ The Hunguk applied this to the rations of their crews, the Kongjo to the repair and maintenance of the ferry boats, and the others to profit on their vessels. From Yǒngjo 13 (1737), the commanders of the Hunguk vessels, using the borrowed prestige of the naval department adopted an obdurate policy of frequently not only refusing the 1% fee but also permitting no outside participation in the cargo handling. As a result of energetic complaints of the *momin* and negotiations conducted by the Sǒnhech’ǒng with the Togam, a solution was momentarily reached, but in Yǒngjo 25 (1749) there was a recrudescence when the Togam received complaints from the commanders and demanded that the Hech’ǒng reduce wages. This was firmly rejected by the Hech’ǒng and there were constant negotiations, but no satisfactory solution was found. In Yǒngjo 27 (1751) the former head of the Hech’ǒng was appointed admiral at the Togam, and proposed making *momin* commanders of ships, and six of them were eventually thus appointed. In

Yŏngjo 33 (1757) this was abolished, but in the six year period there were no disputes and the payment of wages went on tranquilly.⁽³⁸⁾ Thereafter the commanders persisted in their obstinacy, even recruiting other labour for cargo handling and rejecting the *momin*, on whose services they only called for the unpaid work of transferring granary rice or on the occasion of 水操 *sujo* (naval manoeuvres). In fact they took advantage of this distress of the *momin* to insist on buying 2 sŏk of the cargo handling wages, exchanging contract documents on this. This was money for the right to about 200 sŏk of grain. Moreover, when commanders were relieved they insisted on repurchase of these,⁽³⁹⁾ provoking fierce disputes. The obstinate attitude of the commanders was thus so unreasonable that it was tantamount to digging their own grave; as a result of the complaints of the *momin* and the protests of the Hech'ŏng, the Hullyŏn-togam severely punished their commanders, and a solution to the affair was eventually found. This was in Yŏngjo 34 (1758), 7th month. (The sequel of the affair was occurred probably due to a conspiracy between the commanders and clerks in the Togam, 13 years later.) An affair arose in which it was planned to abolish the 1% fee and force the acceptance of the *momin* of such abolition. That is to say, in Yŏngjo 47 (1771), 1st month, they produced a document purporting to be a minute composed by the head of the Hech'ŏng to the *momin*, which was as follows:⁽⁴⁰⁾

“When a post of ship's captain is vacant, one of the *momin* is appointed to succeed. Since *momin* are appointed to these posts, the so-called tobacco wage [payment made to *momin*] should not be demanded, and this is abolished in accordance with precedent. This has already been accepted and decided by the head of the Hech'ŏng.”

This was in fact something the Hech'ŏng had not granted and of which it was ignorant. The commanders were instantly arrested and closely examined, and strict orders were given that the previous custom be followed. This was an affair of conspiracy to forge an official document, and we do not know what steps were taken in that connection. The opportunity was taken to master the high-handedness of the Hunguk. But following on this, confusion was caused by the Chŏllado tax ships and the paper guild's ships. The former put an end to the shipments of Taedong rice from seven districts of this province, including 全州 Chŏnju and 靈光 Yŏnggwang, by the ships from the capital, and changed over to the use of newly built tax transport vessels, and at the same time the tax fleet aimed at those who were inexperienced in the new regulations. This was based on the so-called revised minute of Honam of the 7th month of 1771.⁽⁴¹⁾ And it was probably also due to their ignorance of previous custom. On the occasion of the shipments in the

spring of the following year, payment to the *momin* was refused; eventually complaint was made directly to the king and severe punishment was inflicted. The case of the paper guild people's⁽⁴²⁾ ships was that they planned to make an extra shipment fee in the intervals between transport of paper by carrying Taedong rice. Conflict with these crews arose in this year too, and it continued for some three years, but the crews of the paper ships were severely punished by the Hech'ong.

In this way many problems came to arise, but the wages of the *momin* developed into disputes between government departments, and, it may be said, reached settlement through them. In Chongjo 13 (1789), the Chugyosa (pontoon bridge authority)⁽⁴³⁾ was created, and it took control of the ships of the capital along the Han River, joining with the Hunguk to take charge of the transport of the Taedong rice. So they planned on this occasion to sweep away the various abuses connected with the transport, especially the exactions from the crews, and, in order to protect the latter, to reduce the unjust levies of the government departments and the admiralty as well as the miscellaneous gratuities to the granary people, thus reducing the outgoings, because these reductions alone increased the surplus, and directly related to the crews' earnings. Cooperation was sought with those in charge of the granaries and with the Hojo, and in the Sonhech'ong there was in particular the demand for cancellation of the 2 sŏk *konggwe* items for the *momin*, for the reduction of the wages to 7 sŏk, while the reduction of the cargo handling fee also came to be required. The Sonhech'ong was firm and refused to give in, and the struggle between the two sides went on. The Chugyosa sheltered behind the pretext of wanting fairness for other workers; the Hech'ong took the stand that the wages were something that had remained completely intact even when there were revisions of the tax laws over a period of more than two centuries, that they were no extra-legal exaction, and were therefore not the abuse alleged by the Chugyosa. The negotiations went on for more than six months, and there were many vicissitudes, but in the end, by a decision of the Pibyonsa, the claims of the Sonhech'ong prevailed.

Conclusion

The appellation of *ch'ang-momin* was specially applied to the workers of the Kangch'ang at the granary on Yongsan, and they had a particular kind of existence different from the workers at other storehouses. They shared with the prefect or subprefect responsibility for the Taedong tax rice in the various prefectures and sub-prefectures, and not only did they protect, handle and transport the grain of the granaries, they were also busy with duties similar to those immediately attached to the head office, and at the same time they were also construction workers. There was also

a peculiarity about their income in comparison with others; in order to protect and continue this indefinitely, their duties were passed on hereditarily from father to son. We have now no means of knowing precisely to how many generations in fact extended. But whereas in the case of the *kong'in* 貢人 there seem to have been many comparatively short term changes, were these people perhaps not more permanent, more like the *sijön-simin*? Cargo handling workers were normally different from the free labourers of the present day, but they seem generally to have been liable to severe transfers and redistributions. Among them were the specialized workers exclusively attached to the Hosö, Honam and Chinhyul departments, and these too were hereditary. In respect of the Sönhech'öng to which they belonged, they were not just employees, but preserved a permanent relationship of mutual compensation. Even though it was to safeguard and maintain their work and earnings, they would allocate construction work and be responsible for labour costs; the government for its part found this convenient and did all in its power to protect them. Again, though there were many disputes, it is discernible that they also did their utmost to maintain very friendly relations with the ships' crews. The reason for their disputes with people of other granaries or with the crews was the attempt to seize from them their special income. On the part both of the attacker and the defender it was always a desperate fight for their livelihood. Such a dispute as that of the people of the Pukch'ang was a fight in which there was grief and anger at the simple resignation of the government authority and similar changes in circumstances. Thus then the *momin* had been a special kind of existence in which they were able to safeguard their livelihood by maintaining a firm grasp on their authority.

NOTES

- (1) 鮎貝房之進 Ayugai Fusanoshin, *Shiten-kō* (市廩考), Kokusho kankō-kai. The present writer, 李朝貢納制の研究 *Richō kōnō-sei no kenkyū*, chapter 7, section 2, *shiten shimin*. See 貢人關係文書について *Kōjin kankei bunsho ni tsuite* (Enoki Kazuo *kanreki kinen tōyōshi ronsōshu*).
- (2) The Yingyōng Palace was build in Kwanghaegun 8 (1616) and discarded in Injo 1 (1623). *Mangiyoram*, entry 'Financial section 6, the granaries of the Sönhech'öng'. Also 漢京識略 *Han'gyōngjiryak*.
- (3) Entry 宣惠各廳事例設廳 'Sönhe-kakch'öng-sarye, sölch'öng'. *Mangiyoram*, 'Financial section 4, Sönhech'öng regulations'. Both works are wrong in assigning the transfer of the Chinhyulch'öng to 1626; it was attached to the Pibyōnsa even after that date. The amalgamation of the Hech'öng and Sangp'yōnch'öng took place in Sukchong 12 (1686), 6th month. (備邊司謄錄 *Pibyōnsa-tūngnok*, entry for Sukchong 12, 6th month 4th day, 7th month 14 day); on this point the account of the 湖南廳事例 *Honamch'öng-sarye*. 江原廳事例 *Kang'wōnch'öng-sarye* is correct.
- (4) 5 *kyesa*, actually on the staff of the Hojo, were detailed for turns of duty of a year; there was one chief departmental officer (*taech'öngjik*) at the head office of the Hech'öng, and, in addition, 27 *sōri*, 32 *saryōng*, 8 *munsojik* and 12 *tamo* were assigned the 6

- branch offices (*ch'öng*). 23 *kojik*, together with soldiers detached from the Pyöngjo, were assigned not only to each *ch'öng* but also to the storehouses under them. The head office had, in addition, one each of 書寫 *sösa*, 掌務書吏 *changmu-söri*, 奇別書吏 *kibyöl-söri*, 奇別使令 *kibyöl-saryöng* and 入直分拔書吏 *ipchik-punbal-söri* attached to it. (*Yöngnamch'öngsarye*, entry for 'Köng'ingsingnye, Kusangmi 公剩式例, 驅朔米').
- (5) In the beginning, the rates were: Kyönggi- and Kang'wön-do, 1 *kyol* 16 *tu*; Ch'ungch'öng-do, 10 *tu*; Chölla- and Kyöngsang-do, 13 *tu*. Kyöng'gi in Hyönjong 4 (1663), Ch'ungch'öngdo in Hyönjong 6 (1665), Chöllado in Hyönjong 15 (1674), Kyöngsangdo in Sukjong 9 (1683), were each changed to 12 *tu*. In Sukchong 35 (1709), a general survey was carried out in Kang'wön-do of paddy fields and other land; in the following year the seven prefectures, known as the Yöngsö, west of the Taebaek range which runs from north to south in this province, were fixed at 12 *tu*, the nine prefectures of Yöngdong, running along the eastern seaboard, at 14 *tu*, and the area in the north, which had not yet been surveyed, at 16 *tu*. In Hwanghaedo the rate was 12 *tu* from the start, but in addition a separate further levy of 3 *tu* of rice was made, making a total of 15 *tu*, and in this case it was not called Taedong but Sangjöng 詳定 rice. Next the conversion rates for cash and cloth were on the following scale: in Ch'ungch'öngdo, 1 roll of cloth to 5 *tu* of rice; Chöllado, 8 *tu* of rice; Kyöngsangdo, 7 *tu* of rice; also, 1 roll of cloth was the equivalent of 2 *taels* in cash.
- (6) This map is a wood-block print. It is a map of the capital, and the area outside the capital is bounded to the north by the Pukhan and Tobong mountains, and to the east west and south by the Han River. It was probably made in the time of Ch'ölchong (1850-1863). It is not known who made it, but it may well have been from the hand of 金正浩 Kim Chönggho, who made 大東輿地圖 the Taedong'yö Map. The very close resemblance in the style, the engraving of the characters and the shapes of mountains, between this map and that of the five sections of Kyöngjo may be noticed.
- (7) The *Honamch'öng-sarye* is of the year imo 壬午 of 康熙 K'anghsi, that is to say, Sukchong 28 (1702), but the incorporation of the Chinhylch'öng into the Sangp'yöngch'öng dated from Sukchong 12 (1686), so that the building of the granary comes sixteen years later, which is too wide a gap in time. According to a document of the Samnam *momin* of the year kapsin 甲申 (Yöngjo 40=1764), 3rd month, 3rd day, "When the Kangch'ang of the Chinhylch'öng was first built in the year kisa 己巳, the granary in the central courtyard on the west side was entirely built by the Samnam *momin*, and that makes it 70 years' ago." The year kisa corresponds to Sukchong 15 (1689), so that this account agrees with that of the *sarye* 事例 apart from the discrepancy in the time. Counting from the year of the amalgamation of the two *ch'öngs*, this is three years later. The *imo* date of the *sarye* is wrong.
- (8) The *Mangiyoram* gives Sukchong pyöng'in 丙寅, and the *Yöngnamch'öng-sarye* too gives K'anghsi *pyöng'in* 丙寅, which is Sukchong 12 (1686), but the *Honamch'öng-sarye* gives Ch'ienlung 乾隆 *pyöng'in*, which is Yöngjo 22 (1746). Here the first two works are wrong; In the *Süngjöng'won-ilgi* 承政院日記, for Yöngjo 24 (1748), 12th month 14th day, there is, "The building of the granary of 264 *kan* 間 on the old site of the Ch'ongyungch'öng on Samch'öngdong was now finished". The year Yöngjo 22 was the date of the project for building the granary.
- (9) *Tüngbon*: (a) complaint of the inhabitants of Samch'öngdong of the year imin (壬寅 1782), 6th month day, (b) *nonp'um* 論稟 in *chesa* 題辭, opinion submitted by the Nangch'öng recorded in a decision; (c) Reply [from Sönhech'öng] to Chugyosa (pontoon bridge office) of the year sinhae 辛亥 (1971), 2nd month day. On the Chinhyl-ko, there is a complaint of the year imin 壬寅 (1782), 12th month day, of the *momin* of the Kangch'ang, which belonged to the Hosö- and Chinch'öng of the Sönhech'öng, where we find, "When at first the Sönhech'öng established the granaries of the Hosö-Honam-Yöngnam- and Chinhyl-ch'öng in uninhabited regions along the Han River, it reported to the king that it would recruit people for that area, make them live and protect

them, after which we were recruited and transferred from our old homes to the vicinity of the granaries, as a result of which we are considered to be *momin*."

- (10) *Tŭngbon*: Reply to Chugyosa of the year sinhae 辛亥 (1791), 2nd month day.
- (11) In the *Sŏktaejŏn*, under the entry kŭppok 給復, we find the names of three offices, "Naesusa-sanjik, Kapsa, Ch'angmonin" among others. In this respect, the *Sŏktaejŏn* and the *Taijŏnhoet'ong* in lead-type printing, published by the Chŏsen Sŏtoku-fu Chŭsū'in, reads the latter two as one office as '. . . kapsamomin . . .', while the *Taejŏnhoet'ong* with Korean translation and notes by the Korean Classic Translation Committy, interprets as 'kapsach'ang's *momin*'. They are both wrong. It should be taken as 'kapsa and ch'angmomin'.
- (12) The *Tŭngbon* record the names of 23 people, including Chŏng Kyŏngsaeng 鄭敬生 and Kim Tŭgin 金得仁 as "the number of persons inhabiting the vicinity of the granaries now for the first time appointed to principal officers in the prefectures on the coast of Ch'ungch'ŏngdo. Year musul 戊戌, 1st month day." The year is that of Hyojong 9 (1658), and this is a copy of the list of principal officers made in the Hosŏch'ŏng; the *ch'ach'ŏp* 差帖 (certificate of appointment) must have been given individually to each principal officer.
- (13) *Tŭngbon*: complaint of the *momin* of the Sŏnhech'ŏng, Samnam-, Kyun- and Chinch'ŏng, year musin 戊申 (1788), 4th month day.
- (14) *Pibyŏnsa-tŭngnok*, Yŏngjo 3 (1727), 11th month, 17th day. Also *Tongguk-yŏji-bigo* 東國輿地備考 chapt. 2, s.v. night-watch duty. One night was divided into 5 shifts which were called *kyŏng* 更, and a *chŏm* 點 was one fifth of a shift; but the first and fifth shifts were divided into 3 *chŏm*, while the second, third and fourth were divided into 5, thus making 5 shifts 21 *chŏm* per night. For these terms, see s.v. *chwagyŏng* in *Chŏsen-go-jiten* 朝鮮語辭典 published by the Sŏtoku-fu.
- (15) *Tŭngbon*: year sinmyo 辛卯 (1771), 1st month day, complaint of the Samnam *momin*; year musin 戊申 (1788), 4th month day, document of the *momin* of the Sŏnhech'ŏng, Samnam, Kyun- and Chinch'ŏng.
- (16) "*Pakhae* 博解 *Chojŏn* 漕轉 and *Changgang-silchae* 裝紅實載". *Sŏktaejŏn*, *hojŏn*, *chojŏn*. *Takchiji* 度支志, chapt. 7, *Chojŏn*. The tax ships of Chŏllado were first at 600 sŏk, then in Yŏngjo 47 (1771) they were changed to 800 sŏk; those of Ch'ungch'ŏngdo were 800 sŏk in Chŏngjo 5 (1781), and in Chŏngjo 15 (1791) both these provinces were changed to 1,000 sŏk, while Kyŏngsangdo was at 1,000 sŏk from the start. This was also the figure for chartered vessels, (local vessels under the control of the coastal prefectures, vessels on the Han River at the capital, or naval vessels) (except chosŏn).
- (17) *Tŭngbon*: year kihae 己亥 (1719), 3rd month day, complaint of the Samnam Chinch'ŏng *momin*.
- (18) *Pibyŏnsa-tŭngnok*, Yŏngjo 41 (1765), 4th month, 13th day. Hong Ponghan 洪鳳漢, *Hong-Yikchŏnggong-jugo* 洪翼靖公奏藁, chapt. 6, tax transport. Because at this time it was the rule that Han River ships of the capital, which were chartered, should sail in convoy, the term *chaktae-chŏlmok* 作隊節目 came into being.
- (19) *Tŭngbon*: year sinhae 辛亥 (1791), 4th month day; the following account is given in a reply to the pontoon bridge authority.

"Before it was laid down that the ships transporting tax grain should sail in convoy, no separate item had been created in the wages for entertainment. The *momin* had previously been in the habit of treating the ships' crews as guests, going on board with food and liquor, giving comfort to them after the rigours of the voyage, and also, on the days they stored the rice in the granaries, they would give them meals in the court-yard; therefore this term was created for the part of the wages set aside as entertainment expenses. When the *chaktae-chŏlmok* (the ordinance of 1765, of the year ūryu 乙酉 whereby the ships were made to sail in convoy) was introduced, this term was introduced for the sake of the crews too. The reason for its listing

after the official replies now sent is simply that it has been copied from the items of that time.”

- (20) *Tŭngbon*: Pontoon bridge authority's submission to *Pibyŏnsa*.
- (21) *Pibyŏnsa-tŭngnok*, Chŏngjo 14 (1790), 9th month, 25th day: report submitted by the *chwauijŏng* 左議政, Chae Chegong 蔡濟恭.
- (22) Straw sacks or bales were called *kongsŏk* 空石 *sŏm*. For the purposes of the tax grain specially made ones were used. Under tax collection in the *Honamch'ŏng-sarye* there is, "The sacks into which the rice was put are made of closely woven 12 strand straw rope, in such a way that there is no spillage of rice or penetration of water." Those in general use were of 4 strands, holding 1 *sŏk* or more, the weight being *kan* 貫, five or six hundred *momme* 匁. See *Chŏsen no zairai nŏgu* 朝鮮の在來農具.
- (23) *Tŭngbon*: year *sinhae* 辛亥, 2nd month, reply to Pontoon bridge authority.
- (24) *Mangsŏk* 網席 were tightly woven rectangular mats of straw, somewhat less than two metres by three. There was another kind, the *toraiparmsŏk* 回方席. This was round, a little under two metres in diameter. Both were of strong material and stood up to long years of use; as well as for grain, they were used for measuring fruit and nuts. (*Chŏsen no zairai nŏgu*).
- (25) For winnowing, *puttu* 風蓆 were used. They were made of straw, somewhat less than one metre long by half a metre wide, both ends and the middle sewn with fine thread, the rest matting. By standing on the middle and shaking the two ends from left to right, dirt and dust were removed. Large round fans were also used. See as preceding.
- (26) An item in *Takchiji*, chapt. 7, 'tax transport', 'Yŏngnam ships', says, "Labour was employed to bring the grain into the storehouses of the capital, to stow it and to deal with impurities and so on, and the cost of this was put into store at the rate of 4 *sŏk* of rice per ship, as an addition to the 'gratuities'.
- (27) *Tŭngbon*: year *sinhae* 辛亥 (1791), 2nd month day, reply to Pontoon bridge authority.
- (28) As preceding, year *ŭlsa* 乙巳 (1665), 3rd month, complaint of granary employees; *p'ummok* 稟目, which was a letter of opinion submitted by the *nangch'ŏng* in response to a suggestion; and *chesa* 題辭 or decision.
- (29) As preceding, year *imin* 壬寅 (1722), 12th month day, complaint of the *Kangch'ang momin* of the *Sŏnhe-*, *Hosŏ-* and *Chin-ch'ŏng*. Year *keyu* 癸酉, 4th month day, document of *Sŏnhe-*, *Hosŏ-* and *Chin-ch'ŏng momin*. Opinion on the situation report (*wŏnjŏng*) of the people of the *Pukch'ang*.
- (30) As preceding, situation report of the *Kangch'ang momin* of the head office. Situation report of the *Pukch'ang momin*. Year *kyeyu* 癸酉 (1753), diploma (*tajim* 榜音) of *Sŏk Yŏn'gwang* 石鍊光, qualified in examination of the military section of the people of the *Pukch'ang* and of *Kim Tallin* 金達麟 a commoner. Year *imin* 壬寅 (1782), 6th month day, complaint of inhabitants of *Samch'ŏngdong*. Year *kyehae* 癸亥 (1803), 4th month day, complaint of inhabitants of the neighbourhood of the *Samch'ŏngdong* granary.
- (31) *Takchiji*, chapter 6, 'P'anjŏksa' 版籍司, 'taxation facts', *Kyŏngjong* 1 (1721), 12th month. *P'anjŏksa-tŭngnok*, *Kyŏngjong* 1, 5th month, 19th day; 12th month, 19th day.
- (32) *Pibyŏnsa-tŭngnok*, *Yŏngjo* 27 (1751), 9th month, 1st day.
- (33) *Tŭngbon*: year *sinch'uk* 辛丑 (1721) 4th month day, copy of *Sŏnhech'ŏng* decision. *Sŭngjŏngwŏn-ilgi* 承政院日記, *K'anghsi* 康熙 (*Kyŏngjong* 1), 4th month, 2nd day.
- (34) *Pibyŏnsa-tŭngnok*, *Yŏngjo* *Yongjo* 27 (1751), 2nd month, 8th day: "Kim Sangno 金尙魯, Secretary of the Board of Revenue and Population (*Hojo p'ansŏ*) reported to the king on this 5th day of the 2nd month. In the year *kiyu* 己酉, the *Pibyŏnsa* and the *Hansŏngbu* drafted a notice to the king that cargo handling and transport would be put into the hands of the *unbu-gye* 運負契 (transport guild) together with the *momin*, consent was obtained and the order made. The *unbu-gye* is responsible for handling and transporting the *Taedong* rice from the prefectures and putting it in the granaries, and since this work is not excessively laborious and there is a large surplus of rice, the

- levying of the 'street money' is suspended, and the injury inflicted on the inhabitants along the Han River eliminated. The *unbu-gye* and the *ma-gye* 馬契 (horse guildsmen) are combined and given the transport work to carry out. To this day this has given rise to no abuse". The year *kiyu* 己酉 here is Yōngjo 5 (1729), and the 'street money' is the household tax and money for service.
- (35) *Tūngbon*: year *kyōngsul* 庚戌 (1790), 4th month, *Piguk-tūng kŭpsa* 備局膳給事. *Pibyōnsa-tūngnok*, Jōngjo 14 (1790), 4th month, 11th day. Moreover, in the 12th month of the previous year, a complaint was made by members of the transport guild as to the unfairness of the handling wages, and in spite of the smallness of the amount, the *Pibyōnsa* ordered a strict division in half, but when it was later known that there were written contracts on both sides, it was annulled by Kim Chongsu 金鍾秀. See also *Pibyōnsa-tūngnok*, same year (1789), 12th month, 12th day, 21st day.
- (36) There were 11 *taebyōn* ships; in the spring and summer they were used for transport duty, and in autumn and winter were assigned to guarding Kanghwa 江華 and Yōmha 塩河. (*Mangi-yoram*, section on military administration, Hullyōn-togam, ships and vehicles.)
- (37) *Tūngbon*: year *musul* 戊戌 (1778), 2nd month, complaint of the *Samnam momin* of the *Sōnhech'ōng*. See also *Takchiji*, chapter 7, tax transport.
- (38) *Tūngbon*: year *sinmyo* 辛卯 (1771), 1st month day, complaint of the *Samnam momin*. See also *Pibyōnsa-tūngnok*, Yōngjo 27 (1751), 1st month, 15th day.
- (39) As above, year *muja* 戊子 (1768), 6th month, complaint of the *momin* of Yang-ho.
- (40) As above, year *sinmyo* 辛卯 (1771), 1st month day, complaint of the *Samnam momin*.
- (41) *Pibyōnsa-tūngnok*, Yōngjo 47 (1771), 7th month, 26th day. *Takchiji*, chapter 7, tax transport, Honam revised section. *Tūngbon*: year *imjin* 壬辰, 7th month day, complaint of Yongam store master. Also, year *sinhae* 辛亥 (1791), 2nd month, reply to Pontoon bridge authority. Also, year *musul* 戊戌 (1778), 2nd month day, complaint of the *Samnam momin* of the *Sōnhech'ōng*.
- (42) The paper guildsmen (*chige-in* 紙契人) were established on the proposal of the government in Yōngjo 3 (1727), 11th month, with government clerks and specialist paper merchants (*chijōn-in* 紙塵人), and engaged in the monopoly sale of paper as monopolists (*togo* 都庫, 都賈). They bought up the paper made in the temples and monasteries south of Ch'ungch'ōngdo, delivered it to the government for household register forms, for which they received payment. They had ships for the transport of this paper.
- (43) The Pontoon bridge authority was set up in Chōngjo 13 (1789), 12th month, for the construction of a pontoon bridge on the Han River for royal progresses. It continued in existence until its abolition in Kojong 19 (1882).
- (44) *Tūngbon*: year *sinhae* 辛亥 (1791), 1st month, Pontoon bridge authority's *kwan* 關 (ordinary notification). 2nd month day, reply to Pontoon bridge authority, Pontoon bridge authority's ordinary notification. 4th month day, complaint of the *momin* of the *Sōnhech'ōng* to the *Pibyōnsa*. *Kamgyōl* 甘結 (promise) of *Pibyōnsa* to the *Sōnhech'ōng* and Pontoon bridge authority. 5th month, [reply] to Pontoon bridge authority. *Ch'ōp* 牒 (submission) of Pontoon bridge authority. 6th month, Pontoon bridge authority's ordinary notification; to Pontoon bridge authority, complaint of the *momin* of the head office. 7th month, official communication of Pontoon bridge authority to *Pibyōnsa*, promise of *Pibyōnsa*.