Besides the three major pioneering works on the medieval Indian economy, several other works and articles also bear ample testimony to Moreland's acumen and wider outlook as a historian. In 1936, just two years before his death, Moreland published, A Short History of India in collaboration with Atul Chandra Chatterjee, the main theme of which was to portray "the evolution of Indian culture and its response to successive foreign contacts."[1] Thus when the British emerge on the scene, the authors "tried to write the history, not of British rule in India, but of India under British rule".[2] The book covers a time span of nearly 5,000 years and the changing boundaries of India have been illustrated in ten maps. The book certainly gives a bird's eye view of the historical events from the Indus Civilisation down till the year 1935.[3] There are certain interesting statements worth noticing. Talking about Hinduism, the authors point out, that, "An immense mass of philosophical literature was produced during the Hindu period, containing practically all the metaphysical conceptions which are now current in the West,".[4] At another place, they call the elephants used in Indian warfare, "as movable strong-points.[5] Further

[3] A survey of Indian history has also been presented in works like, Jadunath Sarkar, India Through The Ages, Calcutta, 1928, which traces the growth of India through the ages, and K.M. Panikkar, A Survey of Indian History, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1947, which also gives a bird's eye view of the panorama of Indian history.
the Indian is described as being "seldom wholly absorbed in the ceremonies which are his primary object: the event is a holiday in his life, and while the ceremonies are scrupulously performed, there is essentially plenty of time for conversation, shopping, sight-seeing, and all the various interests which combine to make travel an important element in education". Yet, pilgrimage was "one of the great factors making for the unification of Hinduism".[6]

Coming to the Sultanate period, the authors indicated that, "the palace of those days must be thought of as a school of administration, and also of ambition. It contained a large number of lads, some of them Indians, others brought from distant places like Samarcand or Baghdad, employed directly under the king's eye, serving at first as pages or in even humbler positions, promoted in time to the charge of a household department... and then selected... for more responsible duties as governors of provinces or commanders in the field. Discipline was strict, and the cane was freely used for trifling faults, but each boy admitted to the palace knew that he had his foot on the ladder which he might be able to climb, by merit or by favour or by both, to the highest positions in the Kingdom".[7] However, an "unpleasant topic" to the authors was that, "The Turks who came to India, while they professed to be sincere Moslems, did not conform to all the moral precepts of their faith. For one thing, they drank heavily and convivially, for another, some of them, particularly in high places, were addicted to homosexual practises, a fact which must have been as great a scandal to Hindus of the period as it would be to all Indians at the present day".[8] Further while the authors found the measures adopted by Ala-ud-din Khalji sound in essence, yet he is described as "intensely ambitious and entirely unscrupulous, cruel, treacherous, and an evil liver", and whose reign lasting for twenty years was a reign of

[8] Ibid., p. 155.
terror. [9] On the other hand, Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluk is depicted "as the pleasantest figure in the line of Turkish kings," [10] who was concerned about his troops as well as peasants.

The Mughal Emperor Akbar appeared to the authors as, "An untiring worker, accessible to all complaints", and "from the financial standpoint his administration was brilliant when judged by the standards of the time, for he was able to secure a recurring surplus, which added to the spoils of victory, left an overflowing treasury, so that he died, as was commonly said, the richest ruler in the world". [11] Jahangir was his father's son, though on a smaller scale, for he was "a sane and competent administrator", but, "He soon tired of the drudgery of administration and handed it over to his Persian Nur Jahan" who ruled the Empire with her father and brother. But while the State affairs ceased to trouble Jahangir, "he seems to have retained his capacity for enjoyment almost to the end,..." [12]

Referring to the controversy relating to two incidents under Clive, firstly, the large sums paid to individual officers by Mir Jafar on his accession", amounting to half a million sterling and which were fiercely denounced in England, and secondly, "The use by Clive of a fictitious document, in the course of some intricate negotiations", the authors pointed out that, "there is no evidence to show that the

[9] W.H. Moreland & Atul Chandra Chatterjee, A Short History of India, p. 162. Karl Marx, Notes On Indian History, Moscow, pp. 24-25 also referred to Al-ud-din Khilji as "most ferocious and sanguinary" and that there was great disorder in the country because the people were "outraged by Ala-ud-din's ferocity and tyranny".


payments were considered unusual in India, where officers were accustomed at this period to make personal profit out of public business in the form of either bribes or presents".[13] While Clives' conduct "was justly condemned in England, but it is doubtful if Indian diplomats of the day would have seen any reason for objecting to it".[14] Even Aurangzeb had made use of forged letters to break up the coalition which had been formed in favour of Prince Akbar. Thus Clive had only "followed the Indian practice of the day".

The Chapter entitled, "India in the Eighteenth Century", contains a brief description of India of the time when the English were to succeed. Thus, as regards the political situation, "everywhere might counted for much more than right, and in the conduct of public affairs, there was no room for ethical considerations".[15] In administration, "The whip was the symbol, and the instrument, of executive power, used not only as a punishment, but also in order to obtain evidence of guilt, or, perhaps, merely to assert the authority of the wielder; and there is nothing to suggest any regulations restricting its employment. Each local official was thus very much of an autocrat within the area of his jurisdiction".[16] Further, "The economic life of the country was dominated by the prevailing insecurity, for war might break out almost anywhere while bands of robbers made the roads unsafe, and harried the villages at their pleasure".[17] The incidence of revenue claimed was higher than under Akbar "being nearer one-half than one-third of the produce, but in practice the amount claimed was decided by no standard other than ability to pay under the severest pressure; and when one collector had done his worst, the officers of some rival claimant might

[17] Ibid., p. 281.
come to glean whatever had been overlooked'.[18] With the rise of Tālukā or spheres of interest, a new dimension was added to the prevailing affairs so that "the agrarian position towards the close of the eighteenth century was thus essentially unstable... and stability was reached only when sovereignty passed to the Company'.[19]

The authors found it reasonable to conjecture that the ordinary handicrafts "had suffered from the decline of agriculture and the dangers of transit. The artisans who worked for export tended more and more to congregate at the European settlements, where they found their markets and where they were comparatively safe; the export trade therefore suffered less than inland commerce from the prevailing insecurity'.[20] Owing to the growing demand for competing European goods, the artistic crafts began to suffer. As "time went on purchasers came to look mainly to the West and a foundation was thus being laid for what must be described as the degradation of Indian taste which characterised most of the nineteenth century, when almost anything European found a ready market, but local craftsmen could not sell their best work'.[21]

The authors found the environment equally unfavourable for cultural development also. The increasing popularity of the cult of tantricism in parts of northern and eastern India reflected "the moral degradation to be expected in such a period'.[22] The establishment of

[19] Ibid., p. 284. According to Jadunath Sarkar, India Through The Ages, "when the English power first asserted itself in India in the middle of the eighteenth century, the country had reached the lowest point of moral decay and political weakness", and was economically desolated. The Mughal civilisation was like a spent bullet". The first gift of the English to India was universal peace and freedom from internal disorder", See pages 54, 57, 59.
[21] Ibid., p. 290.
[22] Ibid., p. 291.
European garrisons in the various settlements had unfortunate social results, because the intercourse of soldiers, who were drawn mainly from the lowest classes, "took place mainly in taverns and brothels, and it may fairly be said that in this environment India and Europe saw each other at their worst".[23]

The administrative achievements of Warren Hastings have been lauded by the authors. With the establishment of courts of justice "Indians became familiar with the idea that skilled legal assistance could be had on payment as an alternative to the reliance on bribes and influence which had hitherto been their only resource, and they were quick to avail themselves of the new facilities".[24] Soon Indians also followed the Englishmen in this profession. Cornwallis laid down the foundations of the modern police force, for 'no regular system of police had existed in Muslim India'. Further, under Wellesley the Company attained a position which "did not differ in essentials from that occupied by the Maurya or Gupta emperors of the old days, ruling directly over a large position of the country, and holding a position of superiority over the sovereigns who ruled the rest".[25] Moreover, the activities of Dalhousie are justified on the ground "that his primary object was the welfare of the masses of the people and that he thought much more of the peasants than of their rulers. He was firmly convinced that the people were better under the Company than under Princes or Chiefs, and consequently he approached all questions concerning the States with a definite bias in favour of the Company's rule".[26]

Finally, the authors believed that the period under the English was also marked by a rise in urban wages when the demand for labour to be employed in railways, mines and factories arose. Besides, the British rule also provided the opportunity for political discussion while in the Mughal times, the nearest approach to politics "was to be

[25] Ibid., p. 325.
[26] Ibid., p. 351.
found in covert personal intrigue".[27] Thus, the main thrust of the authors was to show that in all respects India under British rule was an improvement than under the Mughals.

The knowledge of Dutch greatly facilitated Moreland to bring to light many important documents and records in that language. Three centuries ago, the Dutch as a major commercial power were in close relations with India, and Moreland rightly regarded them as "the agents of the greatest and most successful trading corporations in the world".[28] Moreover, as compared with the English Company, whose enterprises were always hampered by a chronic shortage of funds, the Dutch occupied a predominant position in the commercial scene, for their's was a much more profitable organisation on account of their practical monopoly of spices and of trade with China and Japan.

In 1925, Moreland, in collaboration with P. Geyl, brought out a translation from the Dutch into English of Jahangir's India The Remonstrantie of Fransisco Pelsaert. Though the Remonstrantie was primarily a commercial document drawn up for the use of the Company, since Pelsaert's object in writing the report was merely to furnish information about the actual or potential trade of the country, but fortunately for posterity, Pelsaert included in it a detailed account of the social and administrative environment in which commerce had to be conducted".[29] Pelsaert's report, according to Moreland was the most interesting of the series of reports prepared early in the seventeenth century. However, although quotations or references to it were made by various writers on Mughal India from de Laet downwards, but the complete document had never seen the light. "It's contents inevitably precluded publication at the time, three centuries ago, when it was submitted to the Dutch East India Company, for it disclosed some important secrets of

their trade". [30] About forty years later "when the commercial situation was very different," M. Thevenot translated portions of the Remonstrantie in his Divers Voyages Curieux (Paris, 1663), which according to Moreland was reproduced in later collections and had hitherto been the only source of information regarding Pelsaert's observations and opinions. But Thevenot also had not translated the entire document "and it so happens, that the portions omitted by him are of greater interest to students of history than those which he translated." [31] To fill this gap, Moreland assisted by P. Geyl, brought out a complete translation of the Remonstrantie from photographs of the contemporary MS. in the Rijksarchief at The Hague. The aim was to reproduce "Pelsaert's statements of fact and expressions of opinion as nearly as possible in his own language, but in a form which shall be intelligible to modern readers". [32] The translation was provided with an introduction in which Moreland outlined the brief but distinguished career of Pelsaert in the Company's commercial service.

The Report written in 1626 was the outcome of Pelsaert's seven years of experience and residence in Agra during which he also mastered the language spoken in Agra. It was an important period both for the Dutch company and also for the development of Indian commerce. The Dutch were struggling to gain a foothold in Western India, for they had realised that for the successful conduct of their commercial operations a supply of cotton goods from Gujarat was indispensable. Within seven years from 1620, the Dutch achieved such amazing commercial success due to the enterprise of Pieter van den Broeke, that they even superseded their forerunners, the British. Two important considerations led to the establishment of a factory at Agra and subsequently the dispatch of two factors, Heuten and Pelsaert in January 1921. Firstly, "no European merchant in India could afford to neglect the indigo-trade, and the best

[31] Ibid., p. V.
indigo was grown in the vicinity of Agra".[33] Secondly, "the Dutch at this time relied mainly on sales of spices to finance their purchases, and Agra, or rather the Mogul Court, was the most extensive spice-market in India".[34] The result of Pelsaert's efforts may be perceived from the fact that, while reaching Agra as one of a small party of pioneers, when he left it, the Dutch had secured the leading position in the indigo market.

The Report is of immense historical value for it gives first-hand information on the contemporary condition of trade, administrative system, standard of life, and social and religious customs of the people. The town-planning of Agra[35] also has been described in details by Pelsaert. Pelsaert observed that the commerce of Agra had flourished during Akbar's time and also in the beginning of Jahangir's reign, while he still "possessed a vigorous intellect", but since he devoted his life to pleasure, violence took the place of justice, people were "drained" dry by the Governors who knew "very well that poor suppliants cannot get a hearing at the king's Court; and consequently the country is impoverished, and the citizens have lost

[34] Ibid., p. xi.
[35] For a comprehensive account of the city of Agra, its growth, town-planning, economic profile, the royalty and the administration of the city, and its social structure, see I.P. Gupta, Urban Glimpses of Mughal India, Agra, The Imperial Capital (16th & 17th Centuries), Delhi, 1986.
heart,..."[36] About the decline of Cambay, indeed of all Gujarat trade, Palsaert wrote that, "Because of this decay, we are cursed not only by the Portuguese, but by the Hindus and Moslems, who put the whole blame on us, saying that we are the scourge of their prosperity; for, even though the Dutch and English business were worth a million rupees annually, it could not be compared to the former trade which was many times greater, not merely in India, but with Arabia and Persia also....The leading merchants tell us they heartily wish we had never come to their country".[37]

A single paragraph written by Pelsaert summarises the contemporary condition of cultivation and peasants thus, "The land would give a plentiful, or even an extraordinary yield, if the peasants were not so cruelly and pitilessly oppressed; for villages which, owing to some small shortage of produce, are unable to pay the full amount of the revenue-farm, are made prize, so to speak, by their masters or governors, and wives and children sold, on the pretext of a charge of rebellion. Some peasants abscond to escape their tyranny, and take refuge with rajas who are in rebellion, and consequently the fields lie empty and unsown, and grown into wilderness. Such oppression is exceedingly widespread in this country".[38]

Describing the administration of the country under "the

[36] W.H. Moreland, Jahangir's India, Pelsaert's observation runs contrary to the view put forward by Wahed Husain, Administration of Justice During The Muslim Rule in India, Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delli, Delhi, Reprint, 1977, p. 41, that "The most noticeable and attractive feature of the Royal Court were the golden chain and bells hung up by the Emperor Jahangir,... Jahangir loved to do justice and took keen interest in its administration. This device was adopted by the Emperor so that litigants and the aggrieved persons could tie their petitions to be drawn up to the Emperor and avoid the harassment of the porters and court-underlings", p.6.
[37] W.H. Moreland, Jahangir's India, pp. 20,40.
[38] Ibid, pp. 27-28.
peculiar rule of this king", Pelsaert reported that Jahangir, "has surrendered himself to a crafty wife of humble lineage, as the result either of her arts or of her persuasive tongue. She has taken, and still continues increasingly to take, such advantage of this opportunity, that she has gradually enriched herself with superabundant treasures, and has secured a more than royal position".[39] Jahangir was king in name only, while Nurjahan and her brother, Asaf Khan held the Kingdom firmly in their hands. Jahangir did not trouble himself with public affairs, and behaved as if they were no concern of his.

The provinces were so impoverished that a Jagir (assignment of revenue) which was estimated to be worth 50,000 rupees, might sometimes yield not even 25,000, "although so much is wrung from the peasants, that even dry bread is scarcely left to fill their stomachs".[40] For this reason, many nobles holding the rank of 5000 horses, did not keep even 1000 in their employ, but they spend large sums on an extravagant display. The most astonishing thing which Pelsaert found was "that the avarice of the nobles has no solid basis, though they devote themselves entirely to gathering their treasures without a thought of the cruelty or injustice involved."[41] Immediately on the death of a lord who held a Jagir, or even, before the breath was out of his body, the King's officers made an inventory of the entire estate recording everything "down to the value of a single pice", even to the dresses and jewels of the ladies, provided they had not concealed them, the King took "back the whole estate absolutely for himself except in a case where the deceased has done good services in his lifetime, when the women and children are given enough to live on, but no more".[42]

[40] Ibid., p. 54.
[41] Ibid., p. 54.
According to Pelsaert, Jahangir possessed the largest area of all kingdoms of the world and if it was governed justly, they would not only yield incalculable income, but would also enable Jahangir to conquer all the neighbouring Kingdoms. "But it is important to recognise also that he is to be regarded as King of the plains or the open roads only; for in many places you can travel only with a strong body of men, or on payment of heavy tolls to rebels ... and the people who live in, or beyond, the mountains know nothing of any King, or of Jahangir; they recognise only their Rajas, who are very numerous, and to whom the country is apportioned in many small fragments by old tradition".[43] Thus, Jahangir whose name implied that he held the whole world, "must therefore be regarded as ruling no more than half the dominions which he claims, since there are nearly as many rebels as subjects".[44] Moreover, the Governors were usually bribed by the thieves to remain inactive, "for avarice dominates manly honour, and instead of maintaining troops, they fill and adorn their Mahals with beautiful women, and seem to have the pleasure-house of the whole world within their walls".[45]

Describing the manner of life, Pelsaert wrote that the life of rich was characterised by great superfluity and absolute power', while that of the common people was marked by such utter subjection and great and miserable poverty, that their life could be described "only as the home of stark want and the dwelling place of bitter woe".[46] Moreover,

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[45] Ibid., pp. 59.
[46] W.H. Moreland, Jahangir's India, p.60. I.P. Gupta, Urban Glimpses of Mughal India, Agra the Imperial Capital (16th & 17th Centuries), p. 82, has pointed out that, "The European travellers have painted a very sordid picture of the masses. In fact, the lower classes with their meagre means of livelihood had the moderate amenities of life. Travellers coming from affluent nations with completely different cultures grossly misunderstood the traditional style of living of the lower classes".
a workman's children could follow no occupation other than that of their father, nor could they intermarry with any other caste. The three classes of people, workmen, peons or servants, and shopkeepers, nominally, were free but their status differed very little from voluntary slavery. For the workman there were two scourges, low wages [47] and the oppression of the Governor, nobles, Diwan, Kotwal, Bakhshi and other royal officers. Peons or servants, who were exceedingly numerous, were paid for their slack and lazy service only after large deductions. As regards food, Pelsaert observed that "they know little of the taste of meat. For their monotonous daily food they have nothing but a little Khichri, .... and eaten hot with butter in the evening".[48]

Even the shopkeepers, who were well-to-do, "must not let the fact be seen, or they will be the victims of a trumped-up charge, and whatever they have still be confiscated in legal form... Further they are subject to a rule that if King's nobles or governors, should require any of their goods, they must sell for very little less than half price,...".[49]

This in brief was a "sketch of the life of these poor wretches, who, in their submissive bondage, may be compared to poor,

[47] For a different view-point see, Brij Narain, Indian Economic Life, Past and Present, pp. 10-26. Also, Nishat Manzar in his article, "Wages of Labourers and Artisans in some Urban Centres During the 17th Century", Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 47th Session, Srinagar, 1986, Vol. I, 265-272 has argued that the general condition of the wage earners was not miserable.

[48] W.H. Moreland, Jahangir's India, pp. 60-61, According to Brij Narain, Indian Economic Life, Past and Present, pp. 14-15, Pelsaert obviously spoke, "in the language of extreme hyperbole" and mentioned Khichri could not have been the "monotonous daily food" of any class of labourers in Agra because, "It is a wholesome preparation which is still occasionally taken by the rich and the poor alike".

contemptible earthworms, or to little fishes, which however, closely they may conceal themselves are swallowed up by the great monsters of a wild sea.\[50\] On the other hand in the palaces of the lords "dwell all the wealth there is, wealth which glitters indeed, but is borrowed, wrung from the sweat of the poor.... There mahals are adorned internally with lascivious sensuality, wanton and reckless festivity, superfluous pomp, inflated pride, and ornamental daintiness,..."\[51\] Their women, reported Pelsaert had quickly picked up the habit of drinking from their husbands. Eunuchs were appointed to keep an eye on them. What was more, many or perhaps most of them, "so far forget themselves that, when their husband has gone away... they allow the eunuch to enjoy them according to his ability, and thus gratify their burning passions when they have no opportunity of going out...."\[52\]

Pelsaert also noticed a large number of religious superstitions prevalent in this country. Thus, the Muslims had many pirs or prophets, who dabbled largely in magic and through the subtlety of the devil they "blind the eyes of the poor" and "know how to establish their position by means of sorcery.\[53\] Describing Sati at length, Pelsaert wrote that, "Surely this is as great a love as the women of our country bear to their husbands for the deed was done not under compulsion but out of sheer love.\[54\]

Moreland was also a member of the Hakluyt Society and he

\[50\] W.H. Moreland, *Jahangir's India*, p. 64. According to Brij Narain, *Indian Economic Life, Past And Present*, p. 1 "Pelsaert has given a very unfavourable account of the economic condition of the common people in the time of Jahangir". He gathered much "trust worthy evidence" to show that in India even in normal years the necessaries of life were cheap and extraordinarily plenty and that people lived comfortably.

\[51\] W.H. Moreland, *Jahangir's India*, p. 64.
\[52\] Ibid., p. 66.
\[53\] Ibid., pp. 69-70.
\[54\] Ibid., p. 80.
translated and edited two accounts for it. In 1931, he edited *The Relations of Golconda In The Early Seventeenth Century*. The volume contains three Relations describing the Indian Kingdom of Golconda as it appeared to the Dutch and English merchants in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, that is, between the years 1608 and 1622. Moreland provided the volume with a Preface, an Introduction, an Appendix on Currency, Weights and Measures, List of Authorities, Index, and also illustrated it with two maps, showing the position of Golconda in relation to the neighbouring Asiatic countries, and the places in those countries which are named in the volume; the second shows all the identifiable places in the South of India to which reference is made. In the Introduction, Moreland has given an account of the Kingdom of Golconda and the mercantile activities of Europeans - Portuguese, Dutch and English, on the Coromandel Coast, in order to acquaint the readers with the environment in which the Relations were written. This is followed by a fuller account of the Relations and their authors, including their life-sketches. The first Relation was written by William Methwold, who was in charge of the English factory at Masulipatam and is based on the experience gained by him at that place in the years from 1618 to 1622. The Relation is reprinted from Purchas, *His Pilgrimage*, which was published in 1626. Methwold has given an account of the cities of St. Thome, Pulicat, Masulipatam, the Portuguese on the East coast and also climate. A description of the city of Golconda is followed by that of its administration, religion, agriculturists, artisans, religious festivals, marriage ceremonies, clothing, wages, widow-burning, the diamond field at Kollur and finally foreign and coasting trade. The second Relation was written either in 1615 or early in 1616 by Antony Schorer, who was employed at the Dutch factory in Masulipatam. It was written for the Directors of the Company in Holland and was not published. The Relation contains a description of Teynapatam, Pulicat, Nizampatam and Masulipatam, where the Dutch had

their factories. Besides, it also throws light on such aspects as administration, social conditions, commerce and customs administration. The third was an anonymous Relation, which according to Moreland was written in the latter part of 1614, and probably by Pieter Gielisz. Van Ravesteyn, who was employed in the Dutch factory at Nizampatam from 1608 to 1614 and subsequently held charge of the factory at Surat also. Apparently this Relation was also written, not for publication, but for the use of the author's superiors in the Company's service. It contains an account of the religion, customs and administration of the people of the Coromandel Coast, as well as their fortresses, animals, products of the land, flora and fauna, temples and ceremonies of Hindus, widow-burning, clothing and the decline of the Portuguese trade. Thus, the three Relations, "when taken together, furnish a much more complete picture of the life of the time than can be drawn from any one of them taken by itself".[56]

A Reviewer questioned the statement made in Relations of Golconda, that Vellore was the capital of Venkata, the reigning king of the Vijaynagar dynasty, from about 1608 A.D. He suggested that the term 'King of Vellore' may have come into use owing to the negotiations having been carried on with the king when he happened to be in camp at Vellore. Moreland examined this suggestion in the light of the Dutch sources. Dutch relations with Vijaynagar began in 1608, when by an agreement with the Nayak of Gingee, the Dutch were permitted to establish a factory at Tegnapatam.[57] Two years later, Arend Maertssen made an agreement with the Nayak on 29 March, 1610, to renew this arrangement. This and another agreement for the establishment of a factory at Pulicat were sent to Vellore for the action of the King. Maertssen was invited by the king to visit Vellore, for he "desired

that they should see his magnificence and royal state, his noble castles and remarkable buildings". The next Dutch appearance at the court was in 1610.

According to Moreland, "if these facts stood alone, they would not be inconsistent with the Reviewer's suggestion that the style 'King of Vellore' might have arisen from the accident of the King being temporarily at Vellore from March to September, 1610, and again in December 1612, though the reference to the castles and buildings at Vellore was more appropriate to a capital city than to a temporary halting place."[58] But the suggestion was definitely negatived by the fact that the style 'King of Vellore' was in use in Tegnapatam before any Dutchmen had visited the King; it was used in the Dutch Letter-book at least, as early as 26th March 1610, or two months before Maertssen's mission, when a letter was "received from the great King 'Vekata poti Raj', King of Velor", in which the king offered the Dutch a choice of one of the three ports "Pallicatte, Connomer, Armogon" and assured them of his protection. Thus Moreland's argument was that the style 'King of Vellore' was current at Tegnapatam, one of Venkata's seaports, in March 1610, and that certainly the Dutch took it from the inhabitants of that place.[59].

In 1934, Moreland edited the contemporary translation of the Journal, Peter Floris-His Voyage To The East Indies In The Globe 1611-1615. The original Journal written by Floris had not been traced. Moreland therefore made use of the translated manuscript of the Journal, lying in the India office. The manuscript is continuous, but for convenience Moreland divided it into chapters. The edited volume consists of a Preface, an Introduction, a Note on Currency, Weights, and

[59] Ibid., p. 116. In response to Moreland's clarification, Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar forwarded his own arguments, (see pages 117-121) which sought to establish, that Penugonda and not Vellore was the capital of Venkata.
Measures, List of Authorities, Index, and three Maps illustrating, (1) The Course of the Voyages both outward and homeward Journey, (2) The Southern Malay Peninsula, and (3) The Passage of the Straits. In the Introduction Moreland discussed, the place of the Voyage in Commercial history, inception of the Voyage, the trade conditions encountered, the position in Siam, the results of the Voyage, the Dutch Chief Merchants, Peter Floris, the Man, and finally the manuscript of the Journal. According to Moreland, since "The Globe which made the seventh Voyage for the East India Company, was the first English vessel to engage in the trade of the Bay of Bengal and the Gulf of Siam;... consequently, the Journal of the Voyage possesses the interest which attaches to all records of the experiences of pioneers".[60] Peter Floris was a Dutchman, who had earlier been employed by the Dutch Company on the Coromandel Coast. Floris, along with another Dutchman, offered their services to the English Company, and were responsible for the dispatch of the Globe. They were to act as chief merchants in the business of the Voyage and to furnish security "for the deliveringe up in writeinge of a true and just account of all their proceedings in the said Voyage", a provision which doubtless accounts for the existence of this Journal.[61] The Journal gives an account of the places to which the Globe sailed, for instance, the Coromandel Coast, Bantam, Patani, Siam, Masulipatam and Bantam. Commercially, the voyage was a success. However, Floris died two months after his arrival in London.

In 1912, a Dutch record containing the expenditure accounts of the Agra Factory for the years 1637-39 (which now form the Nos. 120 and 123 of the W. Geleynssen de Jongh Collections in the Public Record Office at The Hague), was made available to the students. Geleynssen was the head of the Agra Factory from 1637 to the beginning of 1640 and apparently he carried away to Holland the complete account books of his


[61] Ibid., p. xvi.
tenure, which form the only original accounts of a Dutch Factory in India. However, while the record does not show the commercial transactions of the factory, it gives month by month expenditure on (1) diet of factors (2) stables (3) servant wages (4) messengers, and occasionally (5) extraordinary charges, among other things. Moreland used this information in his article, "Some Side-lights on Life in Agra, 1637-1639", (1923), to construct an account of the life of the Dutch Factors, the economic life of people of Agra, means of communication and building costs.[62]

Moreland indicated that apart from the salary, the Dutch factors at Agra had the following benefits (1) diet allowance (2) use of horses and coaches (3) use of certain servants, whose wages varied from Rs. 3 to 8, monthly, rates which were rather higher than those paid in Akbar's Court, but certainly not so much higher as to meet the heavy increase in the cost of living, so that the year 1637 was a hard one for the working classes in Agra, while 1638 must have been very hard indeed.[63]

Moreland found no trace of extravagance and display which characterised some of the European Factories. On the other hand, according to him the provision allowed for the Dutchmen was frugal and in fact, it proved inadequate in the year 1638, when, firstly, owing to high prices of grain and other provisions the expenditure exceeded the annual allowance for the diet. Secondly, the consumption of 'wine or arrack' at the table also increased and presents of wine given to nobles also exceeded the amount earmarked for it.[64]

Moreland indicated that an accurate idea of normal conditions

[64] Ibid., p. 150. The Mughal nobles drank heavily during this period and Pelsaert also, writing ten years before commented on the rapid extension of the habit in Agra and noted that ladies had acquired it from their husband.
relating to economic life in Agra could not be formed, since the accounts covered only a short period, and it would be seen that the time was one of high prices. For instance, in Akbar's time and till 1615, 80 pice would be exchanged for a rupee, but, in January 1637 the rate reached an all-time high of 50 pice, in June it was 53, in December it was 55 and by October 1638, it rose to 58. The sharp rise was due to the failure of copper supply in Northern India, which led to a rapid and permanent rise in silver-price of copper. The rate was stabilized when the Dutch Vessels began to bring silver from Japan to Surat from 1635 onwards. "The reaction in the value of copper at Agra from the beginning of 1637 may safely be attributed to the opening of this new line of business, which became commercially possible only when the Indian price of copper had risen well above the 16th century level". [65]

Since the system of cash allowances prevalent in the Dutch factory excluded the entries of cost of food for human consumption from the accounts, it was from the stable accounts that movements in the prices of gram, moth, meal (ata), Ghi and Gur, could be traced. Thus Moreland observed that while a good monsoon brought a marked drop in prices, the failure of rains resulted in a sudden rise, implying thereby that the prices depended greatly on climatic factors. Besides prices varied greatly by locality as well as by time. On comparing the price figures in January-April 1637 with what Abul Fazl thought fair and reasonable about forty years before, Moreland found that prices had certainly risen. [66].

Talking about the means of communication Moreland pointed out that the writers who wrote eulogies of the Mughal Official Postal system overlooked the fact that it handled only service messages. [67] Pelsaert recorded that the nobles kept private runners to carry their letters.

[66] Ibid., p. 153, See The Table.
[67] Ibid., p. 155. See also B.K. Sarkar, Inland Transport and Communication in Mediaeval India, Calcutta, 1925, pp. 72-82.
and similarly the Dutch and English factors also relied on patamars or Kasids, and one of the regular accounts is 'Cassetsgelden' (cost of messengers), and it provides for journeys as far as Surat and Hooghly. The messengers were of two classes, 'bazar' and 'express'. The 'bazar' service was quite frequent, while express messengers cost more. This method of communication however was certainly not cheap, according to Moreland.

Besides, while travelling an idea of expenses relating to hire of a camel, peons, boat, and house, could also be formed from some of the accounts. Further, the account books also indicate the changes for inland customs. For instance, we come to know that, "For the journey from Ahmadabad to Agra it was usual to contract with the carrier, known as "adoway", to meet all liabilities on merchandise;..."[68] and that the contract charge per cart was Rs. 40. The hire of 'sit-car' or coaches from Surat to Agra was Rs. 50 and "the charge made by the "adoway" for carriage of goods, (district) from the contract for customs was Rs. 2 per maund (74 lb.) for the whole journey.[69]

With regard to building costs, Moreland indicated that some of the rates charged could be compared with those sanctioned in Akbar's Public Works department about half a century before. Comparisons revealed that "the labourer was at any rate no better off in 1637-38 than in Akbar's time"[70]. In the case of Kankar lime also there was no material changes. Akbar's rate was Rs. 6 per 100 Shah Jahani maunds and the Dutch paid Rs. 7 for the same quantity.

In his paper, "A Dutch Account of Mogul Administrative Methods" (1925), Moreland offered a version of all the references, contained in the Gujarat report, relating to the practical working of

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[69] Ibid., p. 159.
[70] Ibid., pp. 159-160.
the Mughal administration in Gujarat.[71] The report indicated that while Broach and Baroda were granted to one Nahir Khan by the King, all other places granted by the King were also held at his pleasure. Some of the Amirs were "transferred yearly, or half-yearly or every two or three years, according to their position in the favour of the king and his lords"[72] so that "the Mogul's servants have no assurance of any place, still less any assurance of their life, for any one may bring false charges against them lightly and on trifling grounds if only they have plenty of money - and they are lucky if they can buy their life with money and goods".[73] A common saying among Muslims was, "strike first, and hear reasons afterwards". Thus the first to complain always had the best right before the magistrate, even if he might be greatly in the wrong. "The whole of Hindustan and Gujarat is administered practically on these lines", and this procedure was "followed more readily than any other sound principles.[74]

In Broach as in other places throughout Hindustan, petty offences were disposed off by a Kotwal. Serious offences, capital and other crimes, were disposed of by the Governor, the Kazi and some of the

[71] W.H. Moreland, "A Dutch Account of the Mogul Administrative Methods", Journal of Indian History, April 1925, pp. 69-83. The Gujarat report was completed in the year 1629. The report was apparently never published in Holland. Moreland obtained a copy of the Report from the Public Record Office at the Hague. As the MS is not signed, it gives no indication of the author's name. However, Moreland assumed that the report in all probability was written by a Dutch factor named Wollebrand Geleynsen de Jongh, from whom this and several other commercial documents were obtained in 1912 and transferred to the Public Record Office at the Hague. In this article, Moreland has provided only 'an instalment' of the lengthy report.

[72] Ibid., p. 72.
[73] Ibid., p. 73.
[74] Ibid., p. 73.
oldest citizens, though the final power lay with the Governor. At Broach, "and nearly everywhere else, the almost universal practice is that very few offences which deserve death are punished capitally, but nearly all fines and penalties are added to the Governor's profits, and fill their chests; ... The prevalence of fines in place of capital punishment results in much lawlessness, and many injuries to travellers".[75]

In Ahmadabad citizens were little troubled with tolls or exactions. A large business was conducted by merchants of all nationalities - Turks, Arabs, Persians, Portuguese, Dutch and English, "and everybody, workmen as well as merchants, want to live here because of the small expenditure on tolls, charges, or exactions, both for citizens and for merchants... without molestation or interference by anyone ...".[76] According to the author, all merchants but particularly the Dutch, English and Portuguese had to befriend the Monsterheeren or inspectors, "because their letters of recommendation are indispensable for all ordinary journeys with merchandise in order to travel without being molested by the garrisons posted at different places on the road; without letters from these inspectors, or from Governors, it would be impossible to pass without paying guard fees, or (?) Chauki as they say, but payment is avoided by such letters, which are of the nature of a pass, or in their language formanna".[77] The annual revenue from

[77] Ibid., p. 76.
Ahmadabad was over 62 tons of gold.[78] It was more earlier, but the increased oppression of the peasants led them to abscond. Consequently much land was left unsown and the revenue decreased. The author observed that the Dutch and English merchants must befriend the Governors and this could not be done without presents because most of them were "exceedingly covetous and avaricious". By presents, "one should win their favour, and this is the best plan to carry on your trade freely.[79]

The author further indicated the types of torture employed. Another common occurrence noticed by the author was "that Governors, who are transferred by the King, had come to know of it sometimes 20 or 25 days beforehand, sorely tax, plunder and rob the inhabitants of their towns in whatever way is convenient, be it with a false charge of having injured some one, or of not having paid the title due, ..."[80], and thus plagued the ordinary men and enriched themselves unjustly.

De Laet's treatise De Imperio Magni Mogolis was, according to Moreland, "of sufficient importance to students of the Mughal period to justify an examination of the sources from which De Laet derived his information".[81] De Laet himself stated that he relied partly on Dutch authorities and Moreland pointed out, "that it is among them that we

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[79] Ibid., pp. 80-81. "This passage has some significance in regard to Dutch policy in the East. Batavia held the tradition established mainly by Coen, of settling all disputes by the strong hand; it worked on the whole well in the maritime towns where it was usually applied, but Dutch officers in India soon realised that the policy of the Mogul Empire could not be dominated from the sea, and there are indications in other records of the period that they stood out against the enforcement of the Coen tradition".
[80] Ibid., p. 83.
should look for what is not supported by the English and Portuguese literature".[82] One of De Laet's sources was the Remonstrantie or Report of Fransisco Pelsaert. Since the Report does not appear to have been published in Dutch, the translation, included in M. Thevenot's Diver's Voyages Curieux (1663-72) was the only source. However, some parts of it appeared to Moreland as unconvincing and on examining the contemporary Dutch MS, he found that Thevenot had greatly curtailed the original so that "his translation is therefore a dangerous document for students".[83] This much however was clear that De Laet made judicious use of Pelsaert's important Report, but, as was inevitable, most of the fire and colour of the original disappeared in his condensation, and, for those who can read Dutch the Report originally drafted is a more accurate and precise account than either the Latin condensation or the French version.[84]

Moreland was able to obtain a manuscript of the diary of Pieter Van Den Broeke, who spent nine years in Agra (1620-29) and was "one of the outstanding figures in the early history of the Dutch East India Company". After examining the manuscript, however, Moreland found that it was a less important document than he had hoped. In his article "Pieter Van Den Broeke at Surat (1620-29),"[85] Moreland translated only those entries which threw a definite light on the economic or social life of the period or on the individuality of the writer. It was when Broeke was posted to Surat as 'Commander and Director', in 1620, with the change of the Company's interests in Arabia and Persia, and North and West of India, that the Dutch commercial success began on the Western Coast. Among other things, the diary reflects, the activities of the Dutch, the English, the Portuguese as well as the rivalry between Dutch and English at that time. Broeke referred to Nurjaham as "the

[83] Ibid., p. 86.
[84] Ibid., p. 87.
King's concubine,[86] and also mentioned the strangling of Sultan Khusraw at Burhanpur by Sultan Khurram.

With the article on "John van Twist's Description of India", (1937), Moreland practically completed the study of all the important Dutch writers who had lived and written anything about India in the first half of the seventeenth century. Johan Van Twist was in charge of the Dutch factories at Ahmadabad, Cambay, Baroda and Broach. Around 1638 he completed a work entitled "A General description (Beschrijvinge) of India". The first extant edition appeared in Isaac Commeline's collection of voyages, known compendiously as Begin ende Voortgangh (Amsterdam, 1644-46). Since there appeared to be no modern edition or translation, the work was found to be "exceedingly rare" by Moreland and at one time Moreland even thought of preparing a full translation for the use of Indian students. But when Moreland examined it he found that much of it was a compilation from other works, which were now available, for instance, De Imperio, Magni Mogolis by John de Laet, the Relations (Remonstrantie) of Fransisco Pelsaert and Wollebrand Geleynssen de Jongh and the Itinerary of Van Linschoten. In this article, Moreland therefore, gave a short account of the work, and translated "only those chapters which appear to be original"[87], based on Van Twist's observations. The article contains valuable information of the famine in Gujarat, its origin, and its pathetic results-hunger, starvation, suicide, and cannibalism. Another incident reflects the prevalence of incest.[88] It also gives first-hand information on Muharram, the Muslim festival, "Suttee, weights, measures, and coins in Gujarat, see trade of the Muslims of Gujarat, the Malabar trade with Gujarat, and finally the Portuguese trade with Gujarat as it was conducted during the heyday as well as decline of Portuguese maritime power.

[88] Ibid., p. 69.
Since very little material was available in English and Persian for the main route from Surat, which crossed the peninsula to Golconda and on to the East Coast, Moreland in his article, "From Gujarat to Golconda in the Reign of Jahangir"[89] (1938), used the information contained in the diaries kept by two well-known Dutchmen, Pieter Gielisz van Ravesteyn, who travelled from Masulipatam to Surat and back between May, 1615, and January, 1616, and Pieter van den Broeke, who led his shipwrecked crew from Gandivi to the East Coast in November and December, 1617. The route fell into three sections, and taking the Eastern section first, the road from Masulipatam to Bhagnagar "ran N.W. to Bezwada, and then a little N. of W. to Bhagnagar by way of Nandigama, Mangala and Nalgonda".[90] Broeke found Bezwada "very large and populous" and that most of the route lay through productive country, but between Nalgonda and Bhagnagar he found the villages "Most wretched - houses, people and food". Foreigners were not welcome in Bhagnagar, but Broeke was impressed by two features of the place - prostitutes and police.[91] The second part of the route ran from Bhagnagar through Andol, Kaulas, Deglur, Kandhar, Pathri and Ambarh to Daulatabad; a road to Burhanpur diverged at Pathri. The chief interest of the diaries in this route was the account of Malik Ambar's camp, which lay at Khirki about 10 miles S.E. of Daulatabad. From Ambarh to Pathri the country was astonishingly productive and populous. Pathri was the centre of the Mughal administration. Kandhar was held in Jagir by Mansur Khan, a Portuguese convert to Islam. The frontier of Golconda was in a very disturbed condition, because of great taxes or imports. Broeke records that a large Golconda force was encamped near Kaulas, a frontier post, "and was clearly levying supplies by violence", for on the next march Broeke met many fugitives who had abandoned their villages, which had been overrun and plundered, and further on he found four villages

[90] Ibid., p. 137.
[91] Ibid., p. 138.
On the last stage of the route the determining factors were the Ghats, and the Rajput State of Baglan which commanded the passes. A direct road ran from Daulatabad to Surat. On entering Baglan, Ravesteyn found that almost every village seemed to have wanted toll, the amount of which had to be settled by bargaining. Broeke and his party of over hundred Dutchmen were attacked in Baglan. They were however, welcomed by Malik Ambar's troops and Broeke procured a pass from Malik Ambar, which ensured his safety in the territories of Ahmadnagar.

This article is important from another view-point also. It furnishes first-hand information on Malik Ambar, "one of the outstanding figures of the period whose, military achievements are well known", but the one on whom Moreland could scarcely find a word in the published chronicles to indicate the kind of man he was. Broeke was apparently impressed by Malik Ambar's personality and related his dynastic story as he heard it in the Camp. The records reflect an important point of political interest. Thus, the Cambridge History of India (iv, 261) states that at this period neither Golconda nor Bijapur "concerned himself much with the important struggle in the north-west of the Deccan otherwise than by supporting Malik Ambar by pecuniary contributions". However, this statement is contradicted by the accounts of Ravesteyn and Broeke, which clearly refer to the spies of Golconda and Bijapur helping Malik Ambar.

Apart from trying to discover new information in the Dutch

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[93] Ibid., p. 141.
[94] Ibid., For more details on Malik Ambar, see pages 145-148. See also Radhey Shyam, Life and Times of Malik Ambar, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1968.
records Moreland also covered various aspects of the Mughal administration in his articles. In the article "The Mogul Unit of Measurement", Moreland pointed out that the precise size of the Mughal unit of measurement was a matter of considerable importance, since the linear and square measures used in Mughal period were usually explained in terms of the digit or finger-breadth (angesht) which was a small unit and had to be multiplied by large factors in order to interpret distances and areas. The Ain-i-Akbari was also not helpful in determining the precise size, "because the digit is there defined in terms of ordinary barley corns, and the barley corn in terms of hairs from the mane of a Turki horse, things which do not lend themselves to precise evaluation".[96]

Prinsep calculated the limit as three quarters of an inch and Akbar's yard as 30.75 inches, but he recognised that the evidence drawn from land measurements pointed to 32 or 33 inches. Apparently Prinsep had no access to contemporary commercial documents which indicate clearly that the latter figure was nearer the truth. Moreland found that "the most definite statements on the subject were contained in some letters of 1647-8 (The English Factories in India 1646-50, pp. 122-190)[97] which reveal that by Shah Jahan's order the Agra Covett, identifiable with Akbar's yard (the Ilahi Gaz) was made equal to the Lahori Covett, "the difference computated at least 2 per cent" and that after this change, the Agra Covett was "exactly 8/9th of a yard or 32 inches". Moreland pointed out that the reduction of 2 per cent could be explained by Abdul Hamid's Badshahnama which gives all measurements in terms of a "royal yard" (zara-i-badshahi) of 40 digits (Badshahnama), in Bibl. Ind. I, ii, 237). Akbar's yard was 41 digits (Ain, Text, i, 296) and the difference between those was 2 per cent, the figure given in the English record. Thus according to Moreland, it could safely be inferred that Shah Jahan in 1647 ordered Agra to adopt

[97] Ibid.
the royal yard of 40 digits in place of Akbar's yard of 41 digits and that the royal yard was exactly 32 inches; Akbari yard would then be 32.8 inches and the digit would be 4/5th of an inch as against Prinsep's 3/4 inch.[98] This small difference became important in case of the bigah, the unit of land measurement, since according to Prinsep the bigah was equal to 0.617 acre, which nearly approached the arbitrary value of 0.625 adopted by British Government.[99]

Moreland devoted his attention to other administrative aspects of the Mughal Empire also. Thus, when "Mr. Rao Saheb cited Father Anthony Monserrate as an authority in support of his contention that Mogul officers were under obligation to maintain contingents of infantry as well as cavalry",[100] the subject appeared to be of sufficient interest to draw Moreland's attention. After Moreland scrutinized and translated Monserrate's actual words and reproduced the order of his sentences, he found that Monserrate "did not say anything to support the view that Mogul officers were under obligation to maintain contingents of infantry",[101] and that the infantry contingents mentioned by Monserrate were not officer's contingents but the local forces called bumi, which were maintained by hereditary chiefs or Zamindar, and not by the salaried officers of the Empire.[102]

In his article, "Rank (mansab) in the Mogul State Service", Moreland gave a detailed history of the Mughal rank (mansab) including the remuneration of officers and the size and constitution of their contingents. He examined "the position held by the executive officers of the Mughal Empire in the light of some new documentary evidence, and from a standpoint different from that occupied by earlier

[99] Ibid., p. 121.
[101] Ibid., p. 53, For details see Pages 50-52.
[102] Ibid., pp. 51-52.
writers on the subject". The new documents were a series of assignment orders issued by the Revenue Ministry to Raja Jai Singh of Amber in the reign of Shah Jahan. Digressing from the current tendency, which was "to regard the State Service as a static organization, so that the facts of Shah Jahan's reign could be explained directly by those of Akbar's, and vice versa", Moreland, allowed for the possibility that the organization changed with changing times and tried to review the recorded facts against the known background of administrative, military, and financial history. When treated thus, five successive phases emerged from the story of the rank.

Moreland indicated that the method of denoting rank by a numeral with a suffix went back through Babur and Timur to Chingiz. Under Chingiz and Timur the numerical rank was a fact, thus the Hazari or 1000-er was a man who commanded 1000 troopers, and nothing else. In the second phase, that is by Babar's time till the early years of Akbar, the effective strength fell below nominal, and the ordinary officer maintained far fewer troopers than his designation indicated. Thus the titular 1000-er might command only a few hundred troopers. In the third phase, this divergence was recognised and Akbar met the situation by instituting the trooper (suwar) rank, and from then onwards, an officer's position was indicated by two numerals instead of one, the first indicated Zat, which denoted his personal rank in the service, while the second, or Sawar denoted the actual strength of his mounted contingent. For instance, the 1000-er who commanded 100 was not degraded from his titular rank, but became "1000-er personal 100 troopers". In the fourth phase the effective strength once again fell below the nominal, since Jahangir, granted trooper rank lavishly but let contingent fall far below their nominal strength. In the fifth phase, Shah Jahan, when faced with bankruptcy, began his reign with a drastic reorganization. "As the result of his father's lavish promotions, he had on paper an army larger than he could pay for, and also larger than he

[104] Ibid., pp. 647-648.
needed; but its effective strength was small, because the contingents maintained by officers had fallen far below the nominal figures”.[105] Shah Jahan tackled the situation by scaling down the contingents on one hand, by fixing the mounted contingents at 1/3 or 1/4 of the trooper rank, and on the other, by making large reductions in emoluments of his officers, on an average by more than one-third. Further, allowances for contingents were reduced by at least 1/6 with further reductions in case of lack of mobility.[106] Thus, while the officers received similar assignments, they had to spend less on their contingents; so that “on balance, their net income was substantially larger than in Akbar's time, while there was a very definite inducement to maintain their contingents in a reasonably mobile condition”. [107] These were the main features of Shah Jahan's reorganization. This position persisted during and after Aurangzeb's reign and Shah Jahan's regulations appear to have stood, with only minor alterations, until the Mughal empire collapsed.[108]

A list of administrative charges was compiled by Moreland from the Mughal chronicles pertaining to the first four decades of seventeenth century. A list was compiled by Sir Thomas Roe also, when he was in India in the years 1616-17, and sent home a brief topographical account of the Mughal territories under the title, "The Kingdomes and Provinces subject to the Great Mogol". Sir William Foster, the editor of

[107] Ibid., p. 660.
The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe (1926) observed that while Roe's description differed from the topographical account of the Empire given in The Ain-i-Akbari, the list was of a historical nature "enumerating roughly the state which had fallen under the sway of the Mogul Emperors". However, as an 'alternative hypothesis', Moreland suggested that Roe's list gave the administrative charges existing in his time, to which, appointments were made by the Emperor. His suggestion was based on the fact that Roe's list of 'Kingdoms and Provinces' bore a distinct resemblance to the list of administrative charges which Moreland had himself compiled. And "if this hypothesis can be established, the list can be regarded as a definite contribution to our knowledge of the Mogul administrative system, because no other contemporary record of these charges appears to be in existence".[109] In order to illustrate his viewpoint Moreland first examined the nature of both the lists and then carried out a comparison between the two.

Roe's account made it clear that he drew the names of Kingdoms and provinces in the list from the 'King's register'. In the administrative dyarchy of the Mughal administration, the fundamental distinction was illustrated in the phrase mulki wa mali, which Moreland translated as 'general' and 'revenue'. Thus, while the general business was done in the Presence (Hazur) by the Emperor himself, the revenue business was conducted in the separate Ministry, the Diwani. Moreland indicated "that the list of provinces and districts set out in the Ain-i-Akbari with its intimate details of revenue matters came from the Diwani, and it may be referred to the register 'in charge of the Diwan', which Pelsaert mentions in connection with the grant of assignments to the Mogul's officers".[110] However, the contents of Roe's list revealed that it was not based on this Diwans register. Tracing its source in the Hazur as was implied by the phrase 'the king's register', Moreland's hypothesis was that Roe's list was based on a register of appointment for he believed that ",... it is certain that there must have been a

[110] Ibid., p. 150.
register showing the names of the officers appointed by the Emperor to take charge of the general administration'...\[111\] Further, Moreland found no evidence of the existence of a register of territorial acquisitions in the Hazur as suggested by W. Foster.

As regards his own list, Moreland pointed out that after being unsuccessful in finding a contemporary list of faujdaris, he collected materials for one by tabulating all appointments and other references in the Tuzuk (supplemented by the Iqbalnama) and the Badshahnama, which were the official records of a period of forty years in the first half of the seventeenth century. Book III of the Ain-i-Akbari indicates that for general administration of the Empire, Akbar relied on two grades of officers, Viceroy of the Province and the Faujdar or Commandant, who was placed in charge of several parganas, with the primary duty of keeping peace. While compiling the list, Moreland, contrary to his previous assumption, "learned that faujdaris were in fact not universal, the duty of keeping the peace being performed in some places by officers with other designations; there was therefore no complete network of faujdaris covering the whole Empire, but there was a complete network of administrative charges to which the Emperor personally appointed officers with varying designations, but all of them responsible for keeping the peace, and carrying on the general administration".\[112\]

Thus in the large settled provinces in the north, there were faujdaris everywhere, though in some cases the Viceroy held direct charge of his headquarters, and Faujdars were posted at other centres. In some small provinces, Faujdar is not mentioned during the period of forty years, and Viceroy himself did Faujdar's work. Next, there were some areas, which Moreland called sub-provinces, where the Emperor appointed a Governor (Hakim, or Zabit). He had no Faujdar, in unsettled country, a Fort Commandant (Qiladar) was usually in charge of peace. Finally,


\[112\] Ibid., p. 152.
Moreland noticed those cases also, where the assignee (Jagirdar) was clearly required to do Faujdar's work. In cases where the Faujdari was included in the Jagirdari, that is, in tracts where local conditions rendered this course desirable, an officer was stationed with a free to keep the country in order and in other cases, a recognised hereditary chief was entrusted with administrative powers.

Thus, "taking together Faujdaris, small provinces, sub-provinces, fort commands, and these special assignee-slips it is possible to cover the whole of Jahangir's Empire with a net work of administrative charges...",[113] and it was possible to enumerate those centres where an officer was appointed, directly by Emperor, to the charge of its general administration. It is these centres which Moreland mentions in his list. The charges are Faujdaris unless otherwise specified. According to Moreland, the official name of these administrative charges was Nahiyati, a word which occurs only in one passage in the literature of the period.[114] This was the case Moreland placed before the students for their judgement.

In his article, "Feudalism(?) in the Moslem Kingdom of Delhi," Moreland totally rejected the view that the kingdom of Delhi in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries contained any institutions to which the terminology of feudalism could properly be applied. He indicated that in the contemporary chronicles, "the main divisions of the kingdom, and the persons who held charges of them, are described in two groups of terms".[115] The first group was the Wilayat, Wali. Wilayat indicated either a province, or a tract or region or kingdom as a whole, or a foreign country, or the home country of a foreigner. But the position was different with regard to the second group of terms, Iqta, Muqti. Moreland pointed out that on account of the application of European

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[114] Ibid., p. 161.
terminology of feudal system to Iqta and Muqti, it appeared to the ordinary reader, "that the organization of the Kingdom of Delhi was heterogenous, with some provinces ruled by bureaucratic Governors, (Wali) but most of the country was held in portions (Iqta) by persons (Muqti), whose position resembled that of the barons of contemporary Europe".[116]

Iqta, implied, "an assignment of revenue conditional on military service". And at that period, Iqtadar always meant an assignee, while the Muqti denoted "the holder of one of those charges". Moreland gathered from the chronicles that firstly, "A Muqti had no territorial position of his own, and no claim to any particular region", as well as "no previous territorial connection with the places where they were posted", and that he was chosen for his administrative capacity. Further the Muqtis were appointed, transferred, removed or punished at the King's pleasures. Secondly, a Muqti was essentially administrator of the charge to which he was posted, and was liable to be fined or dismissed if he failed to discharge his duties. Thirdly, the Muqti's duty was to maintain a body of troops for the King's service, the strength and pay of which were fixed by the king, "who provided the cost; the Muqti could, if he chose, increase their pay out of his own pocket, but that was the limit of his discretionary power in regard to them.[117] Fourthly "the Muqti had to collect the revenue due from his charge, and, after defraying sanctioned expenditure, such as the pay of the troops, to remit the surplus to the King's treasury at the

[116] W.H. Moreland, "Feudalism (?) in the Moslem Kingdom of Delhi", Journal of Indian History, vii, April 1928, 2. Moreland indicated that, "Various translators in the 19th century rendered these terms by phrases appropriated from the feudal system of Europe; their practise has been followed by some recent Indian writers, in whose pages we meet 'fiefs', 'feudal chiefs', and such entities..."

[117] Ibid., p. 5.
Finally, the Muqtis financial transactions were audited by the Central Revenue Ministry, and the balance due was recovered by processes, which, under some kings, were remarkably severe. Thus, an analysis of the Muqti's position, clearly indicates that it was "a purely bureaucratic organization". None of the features enumerated above, have any counterpart in the feudal system of Europe. In fact, the position resembled "the bureaucracies which rulers like Henry II of England attempted to set up as an alternative to feudalism"[119] Thus Moreland concluded that, the Delhi Kingdom was not a mixture of bureaucracy with feudalism but it was bureaucratic throughout. Moreland found that while references to local functionaries like the village headmen, (Muqaddam), the village registrar-accountant (Patwari) and registrar-accountant of the Pargana (Qanungo) occurred in the chronicles of Turkish kings of Delhi and Mughal period, the Pargana headman (Chaudhri) scarcely appeared in the chronicles of the period. The administrative literature also contained practically nothing to indicate his functions and mode of remuneration.[120] The only reference to him was to be traced in a statement in the Ain-i-Akbari (Jarrett, ii, 228) that in the province of Berar, the Chaudhri was known as deshmukh. But this only indicated that the Chaudhri was a familiar figure in the North. Therefore, in an attempt to fill some gap in our knowledge about the Chaudhri Moreland used the photographs of five documents issued by the Mughal Emperors, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb and probably Bahadur Shah or Farrukhsiyar. These are preserved in the Revenue Office of the State of Hyderabad. They are of three kinds: Farman - (an

[118] W.H. Moreland, "Feudalism (?) in the Moslem Kingdom of Delhi", Journal of Indian History, vii, April 1928, pp. 5-6. See also S.B.P. Nigam, Nobility Under the Sultans of Delhi, Munshi Ram Manoharlal, New Delhi, pp. 159-160.
order issued by the Emperor), Nishan (an order issued by a prince), and Parwana (an order issued by an executive officer other than a prince). On examining them Moreland found "that these documents relate only to the southern provinces of the empire, and to functionaries described as deshmukh; but the equation of this term to Chaudhri in the Ain-i-Akbari justifies the inference that the Mogul administration regarded the deshmukh in the south as equivalent to the Chaudhri in the north, and the stock phrases which recur in the documents may reasonably be taken as applying to parqana headman throughout the empire".[121] On the basis of this view Moreland described the headman's position, emoluments, and obligations.[122] Thus we come to know that the Chaudhri's position was hereditary, though under the Hindu Law of inheritance it might be held jointly by co-heirs, but in one document Shah Jahan ruled that adoption gave notice to succeed. However, succession was not automatic, for a claimant had to secure recognition by the authorities; after which he became entitled to remuneration, in two forms. First, there was a grant of land free of revenue (inam), which could be increased as well as diminished by authorities. The second part consisted of fees, "according to the ancient practise (mamul-i-qadim) of the parqana", though their amount is not specified. While the practise may have varied with the locality, the prohibition of innovations and exactions in three documents indicates that there was a natural tendency to increase these customary demands. Besides, there must be a possible liability to pay a gift (peshkash) into the treasury. Their primary obligation was loyalty (daulat - khwahi). There is also reference to various functions, executive as well as those concerned with land-revenue. The Chaudhri's executive functions were two-fold, extension of cultivation and


protection and encouragement of peasants. One firman refers to an additional duty of dealing effectively with bad characters (Mufsidan wa mutamarridan) also. "The Chaudhri thus stands out as an important agent in securing an approach to the Mogul idea of an empire fully cultivated by a contented peasantry protected from evil-doers".[123] Since there are no orders regarding the Chaudhri's revenue duties, it may be generally assumed "that the Chaudhri was expected to assist with his local knowledge the salaried revenue staff".[124] Only one reference occurs that could be called clerical work. For instance, the Chaudhri of a portion of Pargana Pathri was required to file annually the taqsim-i-Manfi or "apportionment of profits" of the villages in his charge.

However, Moreland found that it was not easy to bring the Chaudhri of the Mughal times into relation with the shadowy figure in the earliest British records. In order to do so Moreland assumed that the Chaudhri's "position was materially affected by the anarchy of the eighteenth century, when a strong Chaudhri would naturally emerge as a talukdar (in the contemporary sense), and the weak ones would atrophy".[125] In Benaras, Jonathan Duncan gave them no place in his general scheme of administration, but one case is recorded where a Chaudhri's daul or estimate of the revenue, was used as a check on the ganungo. In Delhi and the Ceded and Conquered Provinces no use was made of Chaudhri by the British in the administration. In Punjab also Chaudhri was practically ignored by the early British administration. Moreland indicates that Elliot, in his book, Chronicles of the Oonao has offered a fullest account of the Chaudhri's position just before annexation of Oudh. Thus, no material differences existed between the work done by the ganungo and Chaudhri, but the former appointment was

[124] Ibid., p. 518.
[125] Ibid., p. 519.
always held by one of the Kayasth class, and the latter was generally given to the chief Zamindar of the pargana. According to Moreland the original intention of the double appointments, was undoubtedly that one should be a check on the other. Further, "the duties of the qanungo and Chaudhri lay entirely on the revenue side, and almost all work of this kind passed through their hands". Thus it can be gathered that "while the executive functions of the Chaudhri had disappeared, his connection with the revenue had for a time been emphasized, for Duncan's employment of a Chaudhri's figures to check those of the qanungo squares with the position which had developed in Oudh".[126] Moreland explains this development by the change in assessment methods in the seventeenth century. Since Akbar assessed each peasant separately, the qanungo's importance was not great; "but after the change to assessment on the village as a unit, his records of the past and present condition of each village in his pargana became indispensable to the assessors, and it is easy to suppose, though precise evidence is wanting, that he was considered to be too powerful, and that the Chaudhri was required to furnish independent information, so that each might be a check on the other".[127]

C.N. Parkinson's suggestion in Trade In the Eastern Seas (Cambridge, 1937, p. 7) that "Asiatic seamen were deterred from rounding the Cape by want of courage rather than technical equipment", raised a question, whether Asiatic seamen actually possessed the technical equipment necessary for such a voyage. In his lengthy article, "The ships of the Arabian Sea about 1500" (1939), Moreland discussed


In the fifteenth century and earlier, two types of vessels sailed in the Asiatic seas, the strongly built iron-fastened junks of China and the frail stitched ships of the Arabian Sea. In fact, the Arab seamen were tempted to make the voyage as far as the Cape, and if they did not sail, the reason according to Moreland, was certainly not lack of courage. The evidence collected by Moreland pointed to the structural weakness of the ships of Arabian Sea, the distinguishing features of which in all the early accounts were the insistence on stitching and the absence of ribs or frame. Such ships "could not be expected to stand prolonged battering such as they would have experienced had they sailed beyond Madagascar to South Africa." In order to illustrate further, Moreland gave the observations contained in four narratives of thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

1. Thus Odoric could find no iron in ships at Hormuz. 2. John of Montecorvino, writing of Arabian Sea, wrote "Their ships in these parts are mighty frail and uncouth with no iron in them and no caulking. They are sewn like clothes with twine. And so if the twine breaks anywhere there is a breach indeed!... And they have a frail and flimsy rudder.... They have but one sail and one mast, and the sails are either of matting or of some miserable cloth". Jordanus wrote from Malabar, "The vessels of these Indies be of a marvellous kind. For although they be very great, they be not put together with iron, but stitched with a needle, and a thread made of a kind of grass. Nor are the vessels ever decked over, ...." Keeping in view the conflicting versions of Marco Polo's account, Moreland gathered that, according to the older version, "Their ships

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[129] Ibid., p. 64.

[130] Ibid., p. 67.

[131] The following excerpts are taken from the narratives are quoted by Moreland in the article. See pp. 63-74, 173-192.
(Sc. those of the Hormuz merchants) are very bad, and many of them are wrecked, because they are not put together with iron nails, but sewn with twine made from the husk of Indian nuts.... The ships have one mast, one sail, and one rudder, but no deck.... (Further) they possess no iron to make nails, and so have recourse to wooden tree nails, and to stitching with twine". The latter version indicates that the ships were 'very bad and dangerous' because they were not fastened with nails, since the wood was too hard.

All the four accounts therefore agree to the stitching and the absence of iron in the ships of the Arabian Sea. Also there is no hint of the use of stringers, but Marco Polo said either, that the ships were clinker-built or that pegs, perhaps tree nails, were used as well as stitching.[132] Moreland pointed out "that the insistence on the absence of iron, and the consequent weakness, indicates that, in the Mediterranean practice with which the observers were familiar, the planks must have been nailed".[133] The Portuguese accounts examined by Moreland also indicated the same point. Moreland's research indicated that the Arab and Gujarati ships built in 1500 A.D. were weak, and fit only for fair-weather voyages. Their weakness was primarily due to constructional methods, in which string was used in place of nails. It was possible, though, that the Malabar ships sailing to Malacca might have been stronger, but Moreland could find no evidence to support this view.[134]

The conflicting versions of Marco Polo indicated the main


[134] Ibid., Part II, p. 190.
cause of the weakness of the ships was the hardness of the wood, if it was benteak, for it was difficult to drive nails into it; but if teak was used to build ships, then the only assignable cause was the high cost of iron. Teak, when properly seasoned, could be nailed without difficulty. It was not that iron was not available, for according to Barbosa, iron was exposed from Bhatkal, which was obtained from the North-West districts of Mysore. The Portuguese also obtained iron from the East Coast.

According to Moreland, the explanation was probably to be found in a consideration of Indian crafts in general. "They are distinguished by the economy of iron, .... This economy cannot be attributed to the absence of iron, which was available - at a price - all over India; and the only hypothesis which accounts for the recorded facts is that Indian crafts developed under a regime of dear iron, so that its use was avoided when possible and in any case minimized. Ships were built without iron, just as carts were built; and the cost of the metal would discourage craftsmen from experimenting with it". Thus although an Arab owner might have provided iron and also have imported workmen to show how ships should be nailed, but he found that the stitched ships were perfectly suitable for his purpose and even saved his capital. Moreover, the data available for the price of iron in Akbar's court and in Surat in 1613, indicates that "in North and West India, if not in the East, iron was two or three times as expensive as it was in the free market which existed about 1912 - when the ordinary countrymen found the price very high". In the final analysis, Moreland stated that, "Whatever the cause, Arab or Indian seamen cannot be charged with lack of courage if they did not anticipate the

[136] Ibid., p. 190
Of commendable importance is Moreland's article, "Recent Work in Indian Economic History (1905-1928)", wherein he has surveyed most of the relevant literature, other than older sources, and the official publications of British Governments, which appeared from 1905-1928. For general study of the subject, Moreland recommended the historical notices in the general volumes of the Imperial Gazetteer of India (Oxford, 1909). Despite a few attempts made, with varying success, to handle particular topics or regions, extending over the entire historical period, in Moreland's opinion, "the sources are so heterogenous, and require so much preliminary criticism, that for the present this line of work can scarcely be recommended; the necessary shadework must be done by periods", which he grouped into the Hindu

[137] W.H. Moreland, "The Ships of the Arabian Sea about A.D. 1500", Journal Of The Royal Asiatic Society, Part II, p. 190. See also Simon Digby, "The Maritime Trade of India", p. 130 in Tapan Raychaudhuri & Irfan Habib, ed. The Cambridge Economic History of India, Vol. I, Simon Digby pointed out that Moreland had excluded the shipping of the Bay of Bengal from his discussion of fifteenth century craft on the ground that evidence was lacking. However, some conclusions could be drawn from the "meagre and unsubstantial evidence". Thus "In Bengal the survival of indigenous methods of shipping tradition is attested by the great variety of crafts and ship building techniques found in a state of decay on the lower Brahmaputra in the twentieth century." Further a vigorous riverine shipbuilding tradition was attested not only by the Mughal campaigns of the seventeenth century but also by Ibn Batuta's account.


[139] Ibid., p. 165.
Dealing with the Hindu period, Moreland pointed out that serious difficulties in the voluminous and varied literature of the Hindu period were that, "there is no formal history or biography, few of the texts are as yet dated with precision, and the practice of recension prevailed so widely that it is often impossible to be sure even of the century to which a particular statement refers".[140] He recommended measures to ensure, in course of time, a chronological framework for historical material.[141] Besides, Moreland also mentioned the recent works which had been published on the Hindu period.[142] The Chief benefit of the Muslim period, indicated Moreland, was the precise Islamic chronology, and an almost continuous series of contemporary chronicles. Upto 1500 A.D. Moreland noted no recent work on this period. "With the sixteenth century we come to an epoch of foreign influence, with the Mogul conquerors in the North and a succession of European nations on the coasts".[143] Moreland grouped the extensive literature relating to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries into three sections. (1) The Records of Trading Companies - East India Company, Dutch Company and French Company. Moreland ascribed a place of pride to the invaluable calendars of the East India Company records and other records which furnish immense economic information. (2) Contemporary Descriptions - Moreland gave a list of individual descriptions accompanied usually with adequate explanatory matter and which contained "a substantial amount of

[141] Ibid., p. 166.
economic matter indispensable to the student of the period".\[144\] (3) Modern Studies - This category contained the works published on the subject in the modern period. Prominent among these were the works by W.H. Moreland, B.K. Sarkar and Jadunath Sarkar.\[145\] Coming to the British period Moreland also mentioned the works which had been written on that period. To complete the picture, he also mentioned the mass official statistics and reports which had been issued from the Government Presses at the various provincial capitals, which formed an almost unequalled body of material for the economic history of the nineteenth century, and the one, as yet almost entirely unexploited, except in 'political controversies'.\[146\]

\[144\] W.H. Moreland, "Recent Work in Indian Economic History, (1905-1928), Journal of Indian History, 1929, p. 169. See List of works on page 168. 4 Fn.


\[146\] W.H. Moreland, "Recent Work in Indian Economic History, 1905-1928, Journal of Indian History, p. 171.
However, Moreland intentionally excluded their "publications which seem to me to be definitely tendencious. The Indian renaissance, which we were privileged to witness, has naturally a political side; and a substantial amount of literature has appeared in which facts and occasionally fictions, drawn from economic history, or legend, have been selected, and sometimes distorted, so, as to support preconceived views; I have discarded this literature en masse".[147]

The numerous articles of Moreland on the Indian peasant, namely, "The Indian Peasant and His Critics" (1922), "The Indian Peasant and his Future" (1928), "The Indian Peasant in History" (1929) and "Peasants, Landholders and The State" (1931), bear ample testimony to his prime concern and sympathy for the latter. It is on the basis of these articles that the Appendix - A of the thesis W.H. Moreland On the Indian Peasant has been framed.

In his article on "Village Surveys",[148] (1925-26) Moreland suggested methods by which a defect which marred, in a varying degree, nearly all attempts to make an economic survey of an Indian village, could be avoided. He realised the potential value of Village Surveys and felt that "valuable as the existing material was, it could be made much more useful if it were supplemented by detailed and intimate accounts of the economic life of individual villages. Moreland also realised that a Village Survey was not an easy task, for "the facts are complex, the sources of information are not readily accessible, and,... the tendency is to furnish estimates and conjectures instead of facts".[149] The weakest point in the Surveys examined by Moreland was the incredibly low proportion of ascertained fact, and detailed scrutiny revealed that this common defect originated largely in a common cause, "the transitional state economic life in Indian Villages at the present day". For "the

[149] Ibid., p. 69.
process which Marshall called adaeration has progressed unequally: cash economy is superseding the traditional grain-economy of older days, but, while in the cities the change is nearly complete, in the villages the earlier system survives to an extent which necessitates its recognition in a Survey". [150]

Moreland suggested that in making a Survey two principles should be adopted. (1) All transaction in grain or other produce should be shown separately from cash-transactions, so that the Survey will give both a cash-account and a grain-account for the village (2) External transactions should be kept quite separate from internal. Moreland even gave a concrete example to show the operation of these principles. The skeleton of a Survey was arranged under three heads (1) Description (2) Cash Account (3) Grain Account. In case a Surveyor wished to go further he could turn his attention to the internal economy of the village also, which could be studied effectively by collecting the accounts of as many families as possible. But the main difficulty in the case of labourers was to get a complete account of the family income, because in addition to wages, they were remunerated by many items of varying amount, accruing at irregular intervals and were very apt to be overlooked. According to Moreland, "such survivals of the servile regime are probably still common, as they certainly were 20 years ago and they make the task of ascertaining the annual income very tedious". [151]

Thus, the Paper on "Village Surveys", was in fact a plea for experiment. Moreland also suggested that students who attempt a survey must undergo, "a progressive preliminary training, ranging from the outlines of village mentality through tenures, land records, estate-accountancy, markets, and household accounts, to such details as the diversity of local weights and measures". [152] And also study poultry raising, milk-selling, strawberry growing. A student should be in a


[151] Ibid., p. 79.

[152] Ibid., p. 81
position to spend enough time on the spot, especially during the two
harvests, when the bulk of the year's income was being realised and
sales and purchases were at the maximum. Further, "A student who is
already connected with a village, and on friendly terms with the
inhabitants, will start with very great advantages over a stranger
coming to the village for the first time, but the decisive factors will
be the good sense, tact, and patience of the Surveyor".[153]

That Moreland's interest was not restricted to economic themes
alone is clearly borne out by his lengthy article on "The Science of
Public Administration", which was written with the intention of
familiarising the readers with the theory of the subject at a time when
the study of Public Administration, though provided for in the
University of London, had not yet won formal recognition at Oxford or
Cambridge or in the most important Universities of the Empire. Also it
still had no place in the principal public examinations. According to
Moreland, "Practise is not infrequently in advance of science; and,
though Englishmen have long and wide experience of the practise of
public administration,..."[154] yet he could find no systematic treatise
in English on the theory as a whole. The individual Englishman had been
very little concerned with the working of the central government and the
able men by whom it had been conducted had been under no temptation to
expand the principles of their art. However, the position changed
materially with the War, which for the civil administration meant the
inception of new tasks on an unprecedented scale. For instance, the
control of the food supply and constant interference with various
aspects of social life brought the existence of the administration home
to every individual. The Press Journalists and Administrators, all made
efforts, so that "the paragrapher now seeks material in the blue-book;
and the whole subject has acquired an interest which it did not

[153] W.H. Moreland, "Village Surveys", Indian Journal of Economics,
1925-1926, Allahabad, p. 81.
previously possess".[155]

In the above named article, Moreland has offered a compendious account of the scope of the Science of Public Administration, its relation with the principal Ministries and the functioning of the Ministry. Or more simply, Moreland has "outlined the science underlying the activities of the government and state a few leading principles which appear to rest on a firm basis of experience".[156] Highlighting the importance of the Science Moreland pointed out that, "The practise of entrusting administrative duties to farmers of the revenue has lost its vogue; the retention of fees by officials survives only in some minor departments and it is now generally agreed that the incentive to efficiency must be found in the career which the public service offers when viewed as a whole".[157].

Moreland wanted that the Universities should come forward and meet the needs of the situation by establishing Honour Schools of Public Affairs and provide, "the last stage of a liberal education which would fit the student either for administrative duties or for a political career". Further while "The Course of reading would inevitably be based mainly on the cognate sciences of jurisprudence, politics and economics, arrangements for the teaching of which are already in existence, but its value, both to future public men and to future public servants would be greatly enhanced by the inclusion of the science of administration and the provision of adequate equipment for its study. Most aspirants to a public career hope eventually to take a prominent part in the work of administration; and it is surely desirable that they should start with a knowledge of the underlying theory, knowledge which is already indispensable to the expert administrations of the future".[158]

[156] For more Details, refer to article, "The Science of Public Administration, Quarterly Review, pp. 410-429.
[157] Ibid., p. 427.
[158] Ibid., pp. 428-429.
However, as Moreland pointed out the account of the Science offered by him was by no means complete for its scope was likely to extend day by day.

Thus Moreland occupies a unique position as regards the vast and varied range of his miscellaneous works and articles (*), some of these provide a glimpse beyond economy too. As co-authored works like, *A Short History of India* and his translation of Pelsaert's account of *Jahangir's India*, his unique contribution in making the Dutch sources for the first half of the seventeenth century available, and his articles like, "The Relation of the Weather to Rust on Cereals", "The War and Indian Wheat", "Village Surveys", "Recent Work in Indian Economic History (1905-1928)", "The Science of Public Administration", "Zat Rank in Mogul Empire", "The Pargana Headman in the Mogul Empire", "Some Side-Lights on Life in Agra", apart from the numerous articles related directly to Indian economy project Moreland at once as a practical and pragmatic land revenue administrator and as a historian of Indian economy - which ranges from land revenue, the Indian peasant, prices, wages and value of money, coinage, commerce and feudalism to non-agricultural production, famines, Indian poverty and the 'Drain' of India's wealth.

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* Some of the articles of Moreland have been discussed in Chapter III, IV, V and VI.